

The life and works of James Miller, 1704-1744, with particular reference to the satiric content of his poetry and plays.

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The life and works of James Miller, 1704-1744, with particular
reference to the satiric content of his poetry and plays

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submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



ABSTRACT

James Miller was born the son of a Dorset rector in 1704. He was himself ordained, but acquired no benefice until just before his early death, probably because of a scathing portrayal of the Bishop of London in one of his verse satires. At Oxford he wrote a vivacious comedy of humours, set in the University. Its production in 1730 began his dramatic career, at a time when the number of London theatres had just doubled, and new dramatic forms were being invented. In 1731 his poem Harlequin-Horace, a witty inversion of the Ars Poetica, attacked pantomime and opera, but also painted a lively portrait of the entire theatrical world, in the tradition of the Dunciad.

After collaborating in a translation of Molière's works Miller wrote two plays based on this author. Of all his dramatic works these were the most successful with his contemporaries, and were followed by a modernisation of Much Ado, and a ballad-opera adapted from an afterpiece by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, and rendered highly topical. Miller made similar use of a recent French comedy showing a Red Indian's reactions to civilisation, a satiric "fable" by Walsh and Voltaire's Mahomet. A large quantity of original material was incorporated into most of these, and this is generally satirical in nature. The Indian is made to voice almost egalitarian sentiments.

An afterpiece, "The Camp Visitants", satirised military inaction in the war, and was apparently banned. The manuscripts of the six plays produced after the Licensing Act bear the examiner's deletions, and illustrate the nature of the censorship at this time.

Miller's greatest strength is probably his flexible, vigorously

colloquial dialogue. His political satire is mostly contained in the poetry, which attacks Walpole's administration with increasing vehemence through the seventeen-thirties, until its fall. In 1740 two poems that used Pope in symbolic contrast to Walpole caused a sensation. In both poetry and plays Miller is also a social satirist, who lays unusually strong emphasis on false taste and the deterioration of culture.

PREFACE

I am indebted to the Reverend S.B.Freeman, who invited me to examine the parish registers at his house, and to the Reverend Hugh Mumford of Cerne Abbas, who unlocked for me the now unused church at Upcerne. Miss J.Holmes, the archivist at the Dorchester public records office, was extremely helpful.

Mr. David Foxon drew my attention to the Cogan catalogue, which attributes to Miller items not otherwise known to be his work, and which is frequently referred to in my text. In spite of great pressure of work Mr. Foxon was kind enough to see me, to show me the proofs of his then unpublished catalogue of eighteenth-century poetry, and to answer several letters of mine.

I have profited quite unscrupulously from the extensive erudition of Mr. Bertrand Goldgar. To him, and to Michael Crump. I am grateful for information and advice, generously given.

My husband has typed the thesis, and provided warm encouragement and exacting criticism, in the right amounts. Its completion is entirely owing to his support, and that of my mother-in-law.

Lastly I have to thank Professor Peter Dixon under whose supervision this dissertation was written, for his tactfulness, patience and judicious counsel at every stage of the work.

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The place of publication of books referred to in the text, footnotes and bibliography is London, except where otherwise stated. Translations supplied to Latin quotations of Horace, unless indicated, are from the Loeb Classical Library edition of the Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough (1966).

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1704 Miller born on August 11th, and baptised on August 22nd.
- 1725 Miller's father installed as Rector of Upcerne.
- 1726 Matriculation at Wadham College on July 11th.
- 1730 The Humours of Oxford performed on January 9th, and published the same month.
A Satyr on the Times by John Loyd published.
- 1731 Harlequin-Horace registered with the Stationer's Company on February 5th.
- 1732 The eight volumes of Select Comedies of Mr. De Moliere published at intervals between May and December.
- 1734 The Mother-in-Law performed on February 12th, and published the same month. The second edition published in October.
An anonymous satire, The Dramatick Sessions, published in August.
- 1735 The third edition of Harlequin-Horace published on February 20th. The Man of Taste performed on March 6th, and published soon after.
Richard Savage's Progress of a Divine published in April.
The fourth edition of Harlequin-Horace published on May 2nd.
Seasonable Reproof published in November.
- 1736 The Prompter suggested on January 13th that Miller might succeed "Bavius" on his retirement as editor of the Grub-street Journal.
Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland printed in the Grub-street Journal for January 27th.
A dispute over The Man of Taste and William Popple's Double Deceit was conducted in the Grub-street Journal and the Daily Journal during February and March.
- 1737 The Universal Passion performed on February 28th, and published in March.

- 1738 The Coffee-House and Art and Nature sent for licensing on January 12th.
The Coffee-House performed on January 26th, and published on January 31st.
Art and Nature performed on February 16th, and published on March 4th.
 An anonymous satire on Miller, The Pigeon-Pye, published in March.
Of Politeness, an Epistle to ... Lord Harrington published in May.
 Another satire on Miller, The Breeches, A Tale, published in October.
- 1739 The Works of Moliere, French and English, published.
The Art of Life published, probably on October 31st.
An Hospital for Fools sent for licensing on November 1st, published on November 10th, and performed November 15th.
- 1740 A Fast-sermon, The Cause of Britain's being become a Reproach to her Neighbours, preached on January 9th; published the same month.
Polite Conversation sent for licensing on March 28th, and performed on April 23rd.
Are these Things So? published on October 23rd.
The Great Man's Answer published on December 18th
 "The Camp Visitants" sent for licensing on December 11th.
- 1741 Stephen Duck's Every Man in his own Way published in March.
Miscellaneous Works, vol.I, published in May.
The Death of M - L - N in the life of Cicero published in May.
The Year Forty-One published in November.
- 1742 The Expediency of One Man's Dying published in January.
The Dean of Winchester His Character of the English Clergy published in February.
An Epistle from Dick Poney Esq; published, probably in May.
- 1743 Miller contributed an epilogue for the benefit night of the family of William Milward, on April 11th.
 The libretto for Handel's oratorio Joseph and his Brethren was composed before August, as Handel worked on the music during that month.
 The will of Miller's father was sworn in December.

1744 H — r Heroes published in January.

Joseph and his Brethren performed on March 2nd, and published the same month.

Miller died on April 27th.

A new rector was installed at Upcerne on May 31st.

1747 "A Compleat List" published, appended to Whincop's Scanderbeg.

1749 Sermons on Various Subjects published for the benefit of Miller's widow.

1753 Theophilus Cibber's The Lives of the Poets published.

1754 John Miller's Poems on Several Occasions published.

1764 David Erskine Baker's A Companion to the Play-House published.

CHAPTER I: BIOGRAPHY

i) Previous biographies of James Miller

The earliest account of Miller's life is a brief paragraph in "A Compleat List Of all the English Dramatic Poets, and of All the Plays ever printed in the English Language to the Present Year, M, DCC, XLVII," which was printed in the same volume as Scanderbeg, a tragedy by Thomas Whincop, in 1747.¹ Whincop had died seventeen years before this publication date, and the compilation was nominally edited and brought up to date by his widow, Martha. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, however, the editing was more probably done by John Mottley, a dramatist whose plays were staged between 1720 and 1730, and who certainly seems to have written his own biography in the collection.²

The account of Miller's life is followed by a list of his plays, with terse comments on their success on the stage. It omits Miller's last published play, The Picture, including it elsewhere as anonymous, and lists his third play, The Man of Taste, which appeared in 1735, as his second, giving it an incorrect date, 1731. Inaccuracy and confusion in the Miller bibliography thus began very early.

The next account of his life to add anything of importance was that contained in The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland to the Time of Dean Swift, which was published in five volumes in 1753. A modern article on the authorship of this

¹Scanderbeg: or, Love and Liberty. A Tragedy. Written by the late Thomas Whincop, Esq.. The play's titlepage mentions that the "List" includes some account of the authors' lives. Miller appears on pp. 260-261.

²DNB, s.v. John Mottley.

work, whose second and subsequent volumes declare it to be "By Mr. Cibber, and other Hands," quotes Dr. Johnson's remarks on the subject, and declares that "the story of the composition and publication of the 1753 Lives, long since worked out by David Nicol Smith bears out, in general, Johnson's account of the matter."³ This is rather too deferential towards Johnson, who wrote in the Life of Hammond that: "it was not written, nor I believe, ever seen, by either of the Cibbers, but was the work of Robert Shiels Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted his name for ten guineas."⁴

Boswell records Johnson's remarking that Theophilus Cibber was paid for giving permission that "Mr. Cibber" should appear on the title page, and "by this a double imposition was intended: in the first place, that it was the work of a Cibber at all; and in the second place, that it was the work of old Cibber."⁵

Shiels was paid seventy pounds, and Cibber twenty guineas, not merely for the use of his name, but for revising the work, which was necessary because of Shiels' violent Jacobite prejudices, and Johnson is certainly unfair in his assertion that Cibber never saw the work. After the accusation had appeared in the Lives of the Poets in 1781, Griffiths, who had published the 1753 Lives,

³William R. Keast, "Johnson and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, 1753," in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Alan Dugald McKillop, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago, 1963), pp. 89-101. David Nicol Smith's conclusions are given in an extended footnote to Sir Walter Raleigh's essay "Early Lives of the Poets", in Six Essays on Johnson (Oxford, 1910), pp. 120-125.

⁴Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (1905), vol. II, p. 312.

⁵The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1934), vol. III, pp. 29-30.

wrote in a letter to Edmund Cartwright:

Mr. Cibber did accordingly very punctually revise every sheet; he made numerous corrections, and added many improvements - particularly in those lives which came down to his own times, and brought him within the circle of his own and his father's literary acquaintance, especially in the dramatic line. To the best of my recollection, he gave some entire lives, besides inserting abundance of paragraphs, of notes, anecdotes and remarks, in those which were compiled by Shiells and other writers.⁶

If Theophilus Cibber did write some of the lives, it is likely that Miller's was one of them, as Cibber knew Miller during the period when his plays were being produced at Drury Lane. The biography particularly mentions that two of them "were brought on the stage, without the author's name being known; which probably not a little contributed to their success; the care of the rehearsals being left to Mr. Theo. Cibber" (vol. V, p334n). This seems to sound a personal note. I shall therefore refer to Cibber henceforth as the author of this account of Miller's life, although some doubt certainly remains. It claims at the beginning to be "from the information of his widow," and so is likely to be basically accurate, but with some bias towards a favourable view.

A slightly more critical attitude is shown by David Erskine Baker in his biography of Miller in A Companion to the Play-House (1764, later published as Biographia Dramatica). His father was Henry Baker, a microscopist of note, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. His Original Poems, Serious and Humourous were published in two parts in 1725 and 1726. In 1728 he began, under the name of Henry Stonecastle, the Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal. He ran the periodical together with Defoe, who was his father-in-law, and contributed essays to it until 1733. He was Miller's

⁶Quoted by J.W.Croker in his edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson (1848), p. 504n, from Mary Strickland's Memoir of the Life, Writings and Mechanical Inventions of Edmund Cartwright (1843).

collaborator in the translations of Molière, and advised him during the composition of his play The Mother-in-Law, allowing himself to be declared its author when Miller's hopes of church preferment made it desirable to conceal his involvement. Henry Baker was still living when the biography was written, and obviously provided his son with much of his data. The latter, moreover, spoke of being "long intimate in the Family" (vol. I, sig. T5^V). His is the longest and fullest account of Miller and his works produced by his contemporaries.

The Dictionary of National Biography's entry for Miller is almost entirely based on the accounts by Cibber and Baker. The unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Texas in 1939 by Powell Stewart, "The Dramatic Career of James Miller," although a valuable study, particularly of Miller's use of his sources in the plays, offers little additional biographical information.

ii) Miller's early life, and theatrical career up to the Licensing Act (1704-1737).

Both Cibber and Baker give Miller's date of birth as 1703, but the Dictionary of National Biography has 1706, based presumably on the admissions register at Wadham College, which lists Miller as matriculating in 1726, aged 20. The register is wrong, however, regarding Miller's age, as are all his biographers, for he was born in August 1704. The parish register of Compton Valence, Dorset, where Miller's father, the Rev. John Miller, was rector, lists "James the son of John Miller Rect^r." as born on August 11th and baptised August 22nd, 1704. This entry is in the elder Miller's handwriting, and no mistake is therefore possible.

John Miller and his wife Helen, already had a daughter, Mary, who was born in 1702. A second son, John, was born in 1706, followed by five more children, Robert in 1708, Helen in 1710, Jane in 1712, Esther in 1714, and William in 1719.

The list of rectors in the Compton Valence register records that John Miller "lived at Bridport." Bridport is a small town (its population in 1801, when the first census was taken, was 3,117), 15 miles west of Dorchester, and about a mile from the coast. Compton Valence may have had no parsonage house suitable for the Miller family, as it is, and has always been, a very tiny village. Its population in 1801 was only 69. It is about seven miles west of Dorchester and eight miles east of Bridport, but further inland. The church stands high on a hillside surrounded by rolling farmland. The patron of the living at Compton Valence was the lord of the manor, Francis Thistlethwayte.

In 1725 John Miller acquired a second benefice and became Rector of Upcerne, an equally small village (its 1801 population was 68, in 17 houses), in the hills just above Cerne Abbas, about 8 miles north of Dorchester. Although he continued to hold the benefice of Compton Valence, it seems likely that the family moved to Upcerne at this time. The entries in the Compton register in John Miller's handwriting ceased in 1725, and the records were thenceforth kept in varying hands, while the register at Upcerne was then kept consistently in his writing from 1725 until 1741. Upcerne had a parsonage house (pulled down in 1842), described in Hutchin's History of Dorset as:

a low, ancient, thatched building, pleasantly situated at the foot of a very lofty hill, a little east of the churchyard, from which it is separated by a branch from Cerne Water.... The house fronts to the south, and commands a good view of the rich vale beneath. In the garden before the house is a fine pond¹

¹John Hutchins, The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, 3rd edn. (1861-1873), vol. IV, p. 158.

Upcerne no longer exists as a village, but the church still stands, unused, next to the beautiful 17th-century manor house, where the patron of the benefice, Nicholas Cary lived at the time with which we are concerned.

Both Cibber and Baker describe John Miller's two livings in Dorset as "considerable." Upcerne was one of the most valuable in Dorset. Its clear yearly value was £48 in 1711, when the highest value in the county was £49-8s-0d, and the lowest 6s-8d.² This was at a time when many clergy were quite unable to live on their benefices and were forced to resort to other means of support, even manual work, or to hold several livings at once, in order to eat. There is a "terrier" of Upcerne in existence which lists the land, buildings and rights of pasturage that belonged to the benefice in 1721.³ These included the parsonage house, a barn, a stable, a garden, an orchard, two meadows, 13½ acres of arable land in the common fields, pasturage for a hundred sheep, seven cows, one yearling and four horses, and liberty of cutting furze for domestic use "without stint" on the common hills.

Compton Valence was apparently not as profitable. It was a "living remaining in charge" (i.e. not exempted from the payment of first-fruits), and its yearly value in 1711 was £12-5s-2½d. The highest value for such a living in Dorset was then £41-15s, and the lowest 9s-4d.⁴ The acquisition of Upcerne must have meant a great improvement in the financial situation of the Miller family. James did not go up to Oxford until 1726, when he

²John Ecton, Liber Valorum and Decimarum. Being an Account of the Valuations and Yearly Tenths of ...Ecclesiastical Benefices... (1711), p. 44.

³Held in the County Record Office, Dorchester, where the parish register of Upcerne is also kept.

⁴Liber Valorum, p.38.

was twenty-two years old. Probably John Miller was unable to send his son to the University until the amelioration of his income in 1725. James was at first destined for a business career, and was, according to the "Compleat List" biography, "for some Time on that account with a Merchant, his near Relation, in the City" (p. 260). In the register at Compton Valence John Miller recorded his own marriage, which had taken place at St. Olave's in Old Jewry, in the City. Weddings normally took place in the bride's home parish; James's mercantile relative may therefore have been a maternal uncle or grandfather.

Richard Rawlinson's manuscript notes, made in the seventeenth forties for his projected new edition of Wood's Athenae Oxonienses, supply two separate brief biographies of Miller.⁵ There are gaps left in both for information that apparently was never found. One of the accounts relates that Miller was "putt apprentice to Mr.... 'a sugar Baker in.... where he made bold with his master's cash in several embezzelments afterwards went to Wadham College in Oxford....."

An anonymous literary enemy wrote, in a satire called The Pigeon-Pye in 1738, that Miller "was sent to Oxford, in full Age, out of a Compting-house, after he was designed for every thing, but what Necessity forced him to at last, which is the first Thing your good-for-nothings ought to be put to - the Cloth."⁶ Theophilus Cibber, however, says that Miller abandoned business because he could not endure the servile drudgery demanded of him.

Rawlinson's notes also recount, in one version (J. 45 fol.318),

⁵Bodleian MS Rawl. J^o45 fol. 318, and MS Rawl. J7 fol. 34.

⁶The Pigeon-Pye, or, a King's Coronation, Proper Materials For forming an Oratorio, Opera, or Play, According to the Modern Taste (1738), p. 15. A footnote to "Compting-house" adds "Consult Fame."

that Miller "spent four years very idly and [illegible word] took the degree of B.A., retired to London ..." and in the other (J7 fol. 34), that he spent about four years, but took no degree.

The founder of Miller's College, Nicholas Wadham, came from Somerset, and it was, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, a west-country college. Of the original foundation twenty-two out of thirty-four members came from Somerset, Devon and Dorset.⁷ From 1723 to 1739 the Warden was Robert Thistlethwayte, who was one of the sons of Francis Thistlethwayte of Compton Valence.⁸ The Pigeon-Pye tells a story that involves Miller and a character named "Guzzlewight", who has a servitor called "Jo Trapes". The first name obviously suggests the Warden and the second, Joseph Trapp, who was also a Fellow of Wadham. They were both Tories, and it is specifically mentioned that Guzzlewight (who is not the Warden but a Commoner) and his servitor Trapes "were the only Tories that have been Wadhamites for several Years last past" (p.18). The Warden in the Pigeon-Pye is called Dunster. Thomas Dunster had been Warden of Wadham from 1689-1719. He was succeeded by William Baker, and four years later by Thistlethwayte. Under Dunster the college "became notorious for its strong Whig leanings at a time when the University was

⁷H. B. Wells, "Wadham College", in The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Oxfordshire, ed. H.E.Salter and Mary D. Lobel (Oxford, 1954), vol. III, pp. 279-280.

⁸See Robert Barlow Gardiner, Registers of Wadham College, part 1, p. 432. There Warden Thistlethwayte is described as the son of Francis, of Winterslow, Wiltshire. The family pedigree in Hutchins' History of Dorset (vol. II, p.194) shows that Francis Thistlethwayte of Winterslow married the heiress of the Compton Valence estate, and become lord of the manor in 1683. The pedigree does not include Robert, perhaps because he was disgraced in 1739. However, "the Rev. Robert Thistlethwayte DD warden of Wadham College" was one of the parties mentioned in a document preserved in the County Record Office Dorchester, an "Agreement to suffer a Recovery of the Rectory of Compton Valence." It is dated 1745, and also mentions two other members of the Thistlethwayte family.

predominantly Tory."⁹

It is Guzzlewight who exposes "Windmill" at the climax of the story. The latter is alleged to have boasted to his friends that he intended to make a journey to London, to see the coronation of George II in 1727, but when the time came could not afford to go. He therefore ordered a whole pigeon-pie from the cook, planning to hide in his room for a few days, sustained by the pie, so that he could pretend he had been away in London. He alerted Guzzlewight however, by upsetting a chair in the dark, and a series of farcical mishaps followed, ending with Windmill's exposure and disgrace. The story is not a very credible one, but the possibility exists that it may be an elaboration of a real incident. If Miller was involved in an undergraduate scrape, it seems that it was not serious enough for any punishment to have been recorded in the College or University archives.

While still at University, Miller wrote his first play, The Humours of Oxford, which was performed at Drury Lane on January 9th, 1730, and published the same year. Cibber asserts that this piece, "as it was a lively representation of the follies and vices of the students of that place, procured the author many enemies" (vol.V,p.332), and Baker states that some of the characters were taken to represent students, "and indeed Heads, of that University," and that this "gave considerable Umbrage, created the author many Enemies, and probably laid the Foundation of the greatest Part of his Misfortunes thro' Life"(vol. II, sig. Y1^r).

If the incident later recounted in The Pigeon-Pye had any foundation in fact, Miller might have felt some resentment towards Thistlethwayte and Trapp, who expose the unfortunate hero at the

⁹Wells, "Wadham College", p. 281.

dénouement of the story, and might conceivably have wanted his revenge. The Humours of Oxford does satirise two Fellows of a college, although one, "Conundrum", is in a lowlier position than the other, "Haughty". They appear to correspond fairly well to the real life Thistlethwayte and Trapp, as Powell Stewart points out.¹⁰ Miller does make specific mention, as The Pigeon-Pye was to do, of Haughty's being a Tory. Ape-all, an undergraduate, calls him "a furious High-Church Man" (p.24).

If Miller did intend to satirise the Warden it was surely a rather rash undertaking, since the Thistlethwaytes were the patrons of one of his father's livings. Moreover, Robert Thistlethwayte became Prebendary of Westminster in March 1730, and his favour might have been helpful to Miller's own career in the church. (He was, however, disgraced and self-exiled in 1739, accused of a homosexual assault on a student.)

Cibber recounts that Miller "no sooner quitted the University than he entered into holy orders, and was immediately preferred to be lecturer in Trinity-College in Conduit-Street, and preacher of Roehampton-Chapel" (p.332). A lecturer was an assistant clergyman, licensed to preach, but without cure of souls. He was normally appointed and paid by the rector. "Trinity—College" must refer to Trinity Chapel (as the DNB assumes), which was located in a small square off Conduit Street, adjacent to Bond Street and Savile Row. It was at first attached to the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and after 1725, to that of St. George's, Hanover Square, a few hundred yards away. John Evelyn wrote on July 18th, 1691:

I went to London in order to the hearing Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new erected Church of Trinity,

¹⁰"The Dramatic Career of James Miller," p. 31.

to which I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant Preacher & Lecturer: This church being formerly built of Timber, on Hounslow-heath by K. James for the Masse-Priests, being beged by Dr. Tenison Rector of St. Martines, was set up by that publique minded, charitable, & pious Doctor ...¹¹

The chapel was rebuilt in brick by Tenison during his time as Archbishop, from 1695 to 1715, and demolished in 1877.¹²

The Chapel at Roehampton must have been the private chapel at the mansion built by the Earl of Portland in Roehampton Park. A chapel was consecrated there in 1632 by Laud, when Bishop of London. In Miller's time the house belonged to Joseph Bagnall (who subscribed to Miller's Miscellaneous Works in 1741). These two chapels were a considerable distance apart, but Miller was probably not called upon to preach in both on the same day. An obituary notice in the London Evening Post for April 28th, 1744 calls him "the Rev. Mr. Miller, of Roehampton, Author of the Tragedy of Mahomet ..." but the Dictionary of National Biography states, without giving the source of its information, that he died in Chelsea, "at his lodgings in Cheyne Walk." This would have been a convenient address for someone who divided his time between Roehampton and Conduit Street, being located roughly half-way between the two - about four and a half miles from Roehampton and three and a half from Conduit Street. The Miller family's connexion with Chelsea is indicated later by the subscription list for the Poems on Several Occasions published in 1754 by Miller's son John. The majority of names on the list are without any indication of address, but of the others, except for fellow naval officers (the younger Miller was a Surgeon's Mate in the navy)

¹¹The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. de Beer (1959), p. 942.

¹²Henry B. Wheatley, London Past and Present (1891) vo. I, p.449.

the largest number lived in Chelsea. A later publication by John Miller, his translation of Charles Batteaux's Cours de Belles-Lettres (1761), has a dedication dated from Chelsea.

James Miller was an admirer of Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, as we learn from his poem Seasonable Reproof (1735), and a friend of the Bishop's son John, and, if he lived in Cheyne Walk, was also a neighbour of the Bishop's, since Hoadly occupied Winchester Palace in Cheyne Walk from 1734-1761.

In the preface to his Miscellaneous Works (1741), Miller states that The Humours of Oxford was written not for the stage, but "with no other View than for his own Amusement and that of some of his particular Friends; but being by one of the latter shewn to the late Mrs. Oldfield, she insisted upon its being immediately brought on the Stage."¹³ This type of disclaimer was common from authors who preferred, ostensibly at any rate, the rôle of talented amateur gentleman to that of professional dramatist. In Miller's case his cloth made such explanations all the more necessary. Mrs. Oldfield's "insistence" may be an exaggeration, but she did play the more vivacious of the comedy's two heroines when it was produced. The text was published as being "By a Gentleman of Wadham-College."

Although certain individuals were said to have been libelled by the play, it may be that even more people were angered by the disrespect they felt it showed towards the University itself. Miller explains in the same preface that "during the Time of its being in Rehearsal a Report was industriously propagated that it was a general and indiscriminate Invective upon the University"

¹³Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose, vol. I (all published), sig. A2^r.

(sig.A2^r). The audience therefore came on the first night of the play, January 9th, 1730, prepared to prevent a word being heard, but were pacified by the "artful Address" of the actor Robert Wilks, until the scene where two college Fellows get drunk in a tavern, which caused uproar. In spite of this, the play, having a seven-night run, can be counted a success. A satire published the same year by John Loyd, Minister of Gilden Sutton in Cheshire, A Satyr on the Times, and some of the Modern Plays, calls Miller a beast defiling its own nest in slandering his Alma Mater.¹⁴ Loyd also declares that the play left its author's purse "as empty as his Skull," but Miller would have received the profits from two benefit performances, and as the play was dedicated to Lord Chesterfield, a present could be expected from that direction. The copyright, moreover, was bought by John Watts the bookseller for £80. Speaking of the prices paid for successful plays, A.S. Collins writes:

Indeed, in the matter of copyrights, Watts the bookseller, who specialized in their purchase, seems to have been very generous. For two plays by James Millar [sic] The Humours of Oxford (1729) and The Mother-in-Law (1733), he gave £80 each.¹⁵

Watts was particularly keen to buy the copyrights of new plays, as is witnessed by a joke in Fielding's Eurydice Hissed (1737):

3 Gent But it was mighty pleasant to behold,
When the Damnation of the Farce was sure,
How all those Friends who had begun the Claps,
With greatest Vigour strove who first should hiss,
And shew Disapprobation. And John Watts,
Who was this Morning eager for the Copy,
Slunk hasty from the Pit, and shook his Head.¹⁶

¹⁴A Satyr on the Times, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵Authorship in the days of Johnson (1927), p.262.

¹⁶The Historical Register, For the Year 1736 ... To which is added a very Merry Tragedy called Eurydice Hiss'd, or A Word to the Wise. Quoted from the 1741 edition by John Watts, p.47. The first edition was printed for J. Roberts, 1737.

The Humours of Oxford was criticised in the press as well as in John Loyd's poem. It was mercilessly dissected by the new-born Grub-street Journal in the greater part of two issues, the sixth and seventh numbers of the journal, on February 12th and 19th, 1730. "Bavius" seized on Miller's comedy as the first opportunity to exercise his heavy irony upon a new play. He was the Journal's editor, the non-juring clergyman Richard Russel. If one of the characters in the play was recognised as representing Joseph Trapp, it is probable that there was a personal motive for the long and unfair attack on the play, as was so often the case in Russel's journal. The following points regarding Russel and Trapp were suggested to me by Professor Bertrand A. Goldgar, who is at present preparing an edition of The Grub-street Journal. Firstly, Trapp was one of the subscribers to Russel's translation of Quesnel's New Testament with Moral Reflections in 1719. Secondly, Trapp contributed several pieces to the Grub-street Journal.¹⁷ The very issue of the Journal which contains the second attack on The Humours of Oxford (February 19th, 1730), also carries an item expressing obvious pleasure that, contrary to earlier reports, Trapp's sermon preached at St. Paul's on January 30th would be printed, despite the refusal of the aldermen to vote him their thanks. Trapp's high-church Toryism would certainly have been approved of by the Journal. Finally, manuscript letters from Russel in 1747/8 show that he was on friendly terms with Trapp's son, and speak of Trapp himself, who had recently died, as though they had been personally acquainted.¹⁸

¹⁷See Gentleman's Magazine II (1786), 662.

¹⁸B.M. ADD. MSS 41169, fol. 5v, 10v.

After the production of The Humours of Oxford, Miller recounts in the Preface to the Miscellaneous Works that Mrs. Oldfield pressed him to write a comedy on a subject she wanted to have brought upon the stage:

This was to take the several Characters of Sir Roger de Coverly, the Widow, Honeycomb, &c. which the Spectator's Club was compos'd of, and to furnish Theatrical Business for them; saying at the same time she proposed it, that she fancied Mr. Cibber and Herself should make no disagreeable Figure in the parts of Sir Roger and the Widow. This Task was undertaken with great Alacrity, and three Acts of it written and approved of by that excellent Actress before she died ... Since that time the Author has finished the Comedy as high as he is capable of, but the present turbulent State of the Theatre is enough to deter anyone from risking a Piece in it that he has been at considerable Pains upon.¹⁹

This play was unfortunately never performed or printed, and no manuscript is known. A comedy by Joseph Dorman based on the Spectator characters, Sir Roger de Coverly; or the Merry Christmas, was printed at Dublin in 1740 by and for the author, and a benefit night was allocated at Covent Garden for "the Author of Sir Roger de Coverly" on November 15th, 1740, although the plays given were not by Dorman, and Sir Roger was not performed until 1747. It was an afterpiece in two acts, while Miller's apparently had five, as he said he had written three acts before the death of his patroness, and had subsequently finished the play. He probably mentions the long-standing nature of the enterprise in this preface, because Dorman's play had recently been published. The revision of Baker's Companion to the Play-House made by Isaac Reed, and published in 1782 as Biographia Dramatica, states that Dorman's play was never acted, like Miller's, and like a third play on this theme by the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, whose version was actually in the managers' hands when he was taken into custody.

When this preface appeared in 1741 Miller had had no successful

¹⁹Sig. A2^v-a1^r. Anne Oldfield died in October 1730.

play produced since The Universal Passion in March 1737. The theatre had for him certainly been in a turbulent state. Ten years earlier, at a time when he was much more optimistic, the state of the stage, and the influence of the Dunciad, led Miller to compose a verse satire entitled Harlequin-Horace; or, the Art of Modern Poetry. This adaptation of the Ars Poetica, which inverts all Horace's precepts in order to make them applicable to the modern, topsy-turvy theatrical world of Harlequin, was published by Gilliver in February 1731, and showed that its author was already familiar with that world.

Miller's attack on the theatre, unlike Pope's in the Dunciad, was somewhat one-sided; the main target being John Rich, the manager first of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and then of Covent Garden. Miller seems always to have been on good terms with the management of Drury Lane, where all his plays were presented. Some of the plays mocked by Harlequin-Horace had, however, been staged there. The poem attacks bad writing of all genres, and must have made Miller some literary enemies. But also, fortunately for him, Miller's poem won him the approval of the Grub-street Journal, which had treated The Humours of Oxford so severely. Harlequin-Horace declared its author's discipleship of Pope, and continued the attack on the Grubian dunces which the Dunciad had begun, and which was also the mission, in its beginning, of the Journal. Three issues of the Journal which appeared soon after Miller's poem were devoted to warm and detailed praise of it, by means of an ironical attack from the threatened Grub-street bards.²⁰ Lines from the poem were used as epigraphs to several more issues. Pope may himself have contributed to the articles (see below, pp.128-130). Miller made use of many of these comments in the notes he appended

²⁰No.59 (18th February, 1731), no.60 (25th February, 1731), and no.66 (8th April, 1731).

to the "third edition" in 1735. He then also added (p.59) a complimentary reference to Joseph Trapp, whom the Journal thought he had insulted in The Humours of Oxford.

The poem appeared anonymously, but was virtually acknowledged by Miller in 1738, when Of Politeness, which in its first edition declared itself to be "By the Author of HARLEQUIN HORACE", bore Miller's name on the title-page of the second edition.

It is likely that Miller married about this time, and almost certainly before 1735, since in 1754 his son John must have been grown up, for he published in that year his own Poems on Several Occasions, describing himself as a Surgeon's Mate in the Navy.²¹ Miller's wife, Dorothy, was, according to David Erskine Baker, "an amiable young lady with a very genteel fortune." Miller, he continues, found the expenses of a family growing upon him,

and having perhaps, from the Vivacity of his Disposition, a Desire, as Shakespeare expresses it:

Of shewing somewhat a more swelling Port
Than his faint Means could grant Continuance,
(vol.II sig.YI^r)

he was impelled to use his pen to supplement his income.

Between May and December 1732 the eight volumes of a new translation of seventeen of Molière's plays were published. An advertisement in the Grub-street Journal on December 7th, 1732, stated that the translators were "several Gentlemen, who all joined and consulted together about every Part of it." One of the plays, Tartuffe, was translated by Martin Clare, of the Academy in Soho Square, and dedicated to Mr. Wyndham of Clower-Wall in Gloucestershire, whose son he had tutored. Sganarelle is inscribed to Miss Wolstenholme, signed "H.B.," and dated from Enfield Park, the

²¹See The Companion to the Play-House (vol. II, sig.Y2^r), and the dedication to John Miller's Poems on Several Occasions (1754).

estate of Henry Baker. No other play is signed.

Wilbur L. Cross believed that Fielding was involved in the Select Comedies, because in the preface to his Mock Doctor, which appeared in July 1732, he invited his readers to compare his adaptation with the translation in that collection, which was in the process of publication.²² Although Fielding probably knew of the venture through his bookseller John Watts, who published both, Joseph E. Tucker shows that the literary styles are very different, and that the evidence for Fielding's involvement is very thin.²³ Fielding may have seen the translations through Watts before their appearance, and he probably knew the translators. In a verse satire published in 1735, Seasonable Reproof, Miller describes Fielding, among other theatrical personalities, but not in friendly terms:

F-----g, who yesterday appear'd so rough,
 Clad in coarse Frize, and plaister'd down with Snuff,
 See how his Instant gaudy Trappings shine;
 What Play-house Bard was ever seen so fine!
 But this, not from his Humour flows, you'll say }
 But mere Necessity; - for last Night lay }
 In Pawn, the Velvet which he wears to Day. }²⁴

Fielding's name, however, was removed from the revised version of the poem printed in Miscellaneous Works in 1741, and "Plautus" substituted.

Cibber wrote that Miller was "principally concerned" in the translation (vol.V, p.334), and the introductory essay was very

²²W.L.Cross, The History of Henry Fielding (New Haven, 1918), vol.I, pp.144-145. Discussed by L.P.Goggin, "Fielding and the Select Comedies of Mr. De Molière," PQ,XXXI (1952), 344-350.

²³"The Eighteenth-Century English Translations of Molière," MLQ III (1942), 83-103.

²⁴Seasonable Reproof. A Satire in the Manner of Horace, ll. 46-52. Fielding's boisterous personality, and fondness for snuff, are attested by the anonymous Dramatick Sessions: or, the Stage Contest (1734), in which Fielding bursts in "with a Stride of three Yards," crying "G-- D-mn ye," and taking a large pinch of snuff (pp.11-12).

probably composed by him, since he included it in his Miscellaneous Works. Henry Baker seems to have made no claims regarding his share in the work, and his son, in his account of Miller's life, would certainly have objected to the latter's taking to himself any unwarranted credit for the enterprise, as he did in the case of The Mother-in-Law (see below, p. 30). Miller's own adaptations of Molière, The Mother-in-Law and The Man of Taste, show a very close familiarity with the French writer's works, consistent with having laboured upon the editing and translating of a great number of them. Miller makes use not only of complete scenes, but of short exchanges, minor characters and even single sentences from almost all of Molière's plays, indicating easy recollection rather than reference to a printed text.

There had been an earlier eighteenth-century translation of the works of Molière, made by John Ozell in 1714.²⁵ The Miller-Baker Select Comedies of 1732 seem to have been translated without reference to this previous English version, but when they were expanded into the complete Works of Molière in 1739, eight of the fourteen plays which were then added were dependent on the Ozell translation. Where the 1739 editors felt that Ozell departed too far from the original, or where he used verse, they often made alterations, but sometimes they rewrote only the first few lines of a play, as though to deceive the reader making a casual comparison. Eight of the plays, then, are definitely plagiarised, and some of the remaining six are somewhat indebted to the 1714 translation.

The Miller-Baker style of translation is closer to the French than Ozell's, and consequently is often inferior to his in naturalness and ease of expression. It is more accurate, but, by the same token, sometimes over-literal. This may in part

²⁵The Works of Monsieur de Molière (6 vols.).

be blamed on the intention of furnishing a pedagogic text, which was stressed in the advertisements for Select Comedies. The chaster language used by the 1732 translators, and their avoidance of oaths, were also emphasised.²⁶

The preface to L'Avare, the first play in the first volume of Select Comedies, sets out the translators' aims in undertaking the work. Molière has much to teach modern dramatic writers, they believe, most of all, that "a Play without a Moral, without the Imitation of Justice and Instruction to Life, is a mercenary and scandalous Undertaking" (sig. A10^V). Miller recommended his fellow playwrights to adapt Molière for the English stage in his dedication of the Select Comedies to the Queen, written two years before his own first attempt at adaptation:

For tho' our Translation of 'em, as it now stands, may be thought to be too literal and close for that Purpose, yet the Dramatick Writers might, with very little Pains, so model and adapt them to our Theatre and Age, as to procure 'em all the Success could be wish'd; and we may venture to affirm, that'twould turn more to their own Account, and the Satisfaction of their Audiences, than anything they are able to produce themselves.

(sig.A4^r)

Miller followed this advice in his next play, The Mother-in-Law; or, The Doctor the Disease, which was first staged at the New Haymarket on February 12th, 1734. It was based principally on two of Molière's comedies, Le Malade Imaginaire and Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, but there are echoes of at least two more, namely Tartuffe and La Critique de L'Ecole des Femmes.

The comedy was presented by the group of actors who, led by Theophilus Cibber, had seceded from Drury-Lane in the autumn of

²⁶See the advertisement in the Grub-streetJournal, on December 7th, 1732.

1733. During the play's run Highmore sold his patent to Charles Fleetwood, and the rebels returned to the Theatre-Royal, where the Mother-in-Law continued to be performed. It was published the same month, and was dedicated to the Countess of Hertford, who was a generous patroness of literature. She entertained Shenstone and Thomson at Alwick, and the latter dedicated Spring to her. She was also instrumental in procuring Richard Savage's pardon for murder in 1728. The play was produced and published anonymously, but, according to David Erskine Baker:

The Author received some Helps in the Composition from Mr. Henry Baker; and being at that Time in Orders, and somewhat apprehensive of the Effects that a Known Application to theatrical Writing might have on his Promotion in the Church, he prevailed on that Gentleman to pass as the sole Author of the Piece ... In Consequence of the Success it met with, however, he afterwards on a Publication of his Works all together, resumed his Claim to this Piece ... and, if I mistake not, without so much as acknowledging the Assistances he had had from his Friend.

(vol.I sig.06^V)

This is unfair, for Miller does acknowledge in the Preface to the Miscellaneous Works the help of his "ingenious and very good Friend Mr. Henry Baker" in the composition of the work, as well as in letting it pass under his name (sig.a1^R). The reason Miller gives for this deception is that he feared "an Opposition from the same Quarter that so violent a one was formed against his first Play." Theophilus Cibber states that he himself took charge of the rehearsals of this piece, and of Miller's next, The Man of Taste, to ensure that the author's identity remained unknown. Anonymity must indeed have seemed essential, if in order to preserve it the young playwright was prepared to forego the right of directing the rehearsals of what was only his second play to be staged.

Miller was allowed one more benefit night for The Mother-in-Law

than was normal, that is, the twelfth performance as well as the third, sixth and ninth. On the eighth night "A new Overture, and an entire new Sett of Act Tunes, composed for the Comedy by Mr. Seedo" were advertised.²⁷ The first eighteen performances were given at the New Haymarket, and when the actors went back to Drury Lane, The Mother-in-Law was the first play performed on their return on March 12th, 1734. It was acted three times more that season, and the next autumn was presented on October 19th, "with an additional Scene of a Consultation of Physicians from Molière."²⁸ on October 24th, the Grub-street Journal carried an announcement of a second edition, including the new scene. This, however, was not a true new edition, but a re-issue with the new scene inserted. The Mother-in-Law was staged twenty-five times in all in 1734, and was revived every season until 1740. Theophilus Cibber had great success in it in the part of Squire Headpiece, as did Kitty Clive as Primrose the maidservant.

The attempt to conceal Miller's authorship was successful in the case of at least one enemy, for the author of a poem ridiculing several contemporary playwrights, which appeared in August 1734, The Dramatick Sessions: or the Stage Contest, attacks Miller as the author of The Humours of Oxford, and Baker as a plagiarist of Molière:

... then up came a Parson;
His Beaver he doff'd, and appear'd very supple,
Nam'd the Humours of Oxford, and the damn'd Modish Couple.
In limping came B[oa]ld[e]ns, and bellow'd "resign
"Your Pretensions to that, that Comedy's mine ..."
----- (pp.5-6)
Next B[al]k[e]r advanc'd, but was told that at School
Had he stol'n so barefac'd, he'd been lash'd for a Fool.
(p.13)²⁹

²⁷Quoted in The London Stage 1660-1800 ed. William Van Lennep et al. (Carbondale, Ill., 1960-68), part 3, vol.I, p.370.

²⁸The London Stage, part 3, vol.I, p.423.

²⁹Charles Boadens' comedy The Modish Couple was performed for three nights in January 1732 at Drury Lane but met with great opposition each time.

A footnote to "Baker" reads "Author of the Mother-in-law."

On February 20th, 1735 appeared the third edition of Harlequin-Horace. A second edition had been announced by Gilliver in the Grub-street Journal on April 8th, 1731. No copy of this is to be found in British or American libraries, and it seems possible that this announcement was a ruse of the publisher's, for advertisements later in the year make no mention of a second edition. However, the poem was re-issued in A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose Publish'd on the Occasion of the Dunciad, published by Gilliver in 1732, and edited by Richard Savage.³⁰ This is the closest thing we have to a second edition. The third, however, was genuinely revised, with a new frontispiece and "Explanatory Notes." It must have sold well, for in November the same year the fourth edition appeared, again revised, although this time fewer alterations were made.

Another play adapted from Molière, The Man of Taste; or, the Guardians, was presented at Drury Lane on March 6th, 1735. The "Compleat List" gives this play, Miller's third, as his second, with an incorrect date, 1731. This probably helped to perpetuate the confusion between it and an anonymous attack on Pope, Mr. Taste, the Poetical Fop (1732), which was re-issued in 1733 as The Man of Taste. This satire was written in the form of a play, but was obviously not intended for performance. Its title-page calls it "a Comedy, as it is acted by a Summer Company near Twickenham." It lampoons Pope very cruelly, particularly in a

³⁰Not all copies of A Collection contain Harlequin-Horace. There were actually two issues of the Collection, containing differing items, and, moreover, some copies which list Harlequin-Horace on their contents-page, do not in fact contain it. The University of Yale has a copy containing Harlequin-Horace, which is identical with the first edition. The poems in A Collection have merely been bound together by Gilliver and re-issued with new prefatory material.

scene where the poet's advances are rejected by "Lady Airy."³¹ This confusion of titles has led to Miller's being thought of as the author of still other scurrilous ballad operas, since Mr. Taste claimed on its title-page to be "By the Author of the Opera of Vanelia or the Amours of the Great." This satire on the Prince of Wales and his mistress Anne Vane, published in 1732, was also not intended for performance, and nor was Lord Blunder's Confession (1733), an attack on Walpole, which also claimed to be by the author of Vanelia. The British Museum Catalogue attributes these to Miller, although the mistake was pointed out by J.T.Hillhouse in 1928.³² There is definitely no connexion between the 1733 Man of Taste and Miller's play, which wove together the main plots of Les Précieuses Ridicules and L'Ecole des Maris.

The play is called only The Man of Taste on its title-page, but the running-title that appears above the pages of the text, "The Man of Taste, or, The Guardians," indicates the dual plot of the play. "The Guardians" are the two men (the central characters of L'Ecole des Maris) who are educating female wards with the intention of marrying them themselves, and the "Man of Taste" is the servant who impersonates a foppish gentleman and deceives two silly and affected girls (who are derived from Les Précieuses Ridicules). The play also adopts two characters from Les Femmes Savantes; Sir Humphrey Henpeck and his wife were originally Chrysale and Philaminte in that play. The second scene of Act III,

³¹Robert Halsband refers to this satire in The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (Oxford, 1956), p.139n, and suggests that its author may have been Mrs.Eliza Heywood, as hinted in the dedication to Lady Mary of The Neuter, or a Modern Satire on the Poets of the Age (1733). This dedication, however, does not seem to me to convey any such hints.

³²"The Man of Taste," MLN, XLIII (1928), 174-176.

in which Sir Positive Bubble teaches Dorinda the duties of a wife, is taken from L'Ecole des Femmes (III,ii), and there are echoes of many more of Molière's plays.

The mingling of sources means that the play has a large number of characters, whose connexions with each other are often rather tenuous, but it appealed to its audience nevertheless. The day after its première the copyright was assigned to John Watts for £50.³³ There were thirty performances over a period of nine months: a very successful run, entitling Miller to speak, in the dedication to Lord Weymouth, of the "unusual Favours" the town had conferred on the piece. A second edition appeared the same year, and a third in 1744.

On March 11th, 1735 The Man of Taste was severely criticised in the Prompter, a periodical concerned with the stage, written by Aaron Hill and William Popple. The review is somewhat unfair, particularly in accusing Miller of plagiarism although acknowledging that the prologue stated that the play was "taken from Molière." The writer of the Prompter also commented that he had heard that the new manager at Drury Lane "was determined to stick to GOOD PLAYS," but, " I begin almost to despair of seeing a good new Play, since the Man of Taste or the Guardians, was given out, in the Opinion of the above Manager, to be the best wrote and most humourous Performance, that has appeared for several Years." There may have been a not entirely disinterested reason for the Prompter's taking such an opposite view to that of Fleetwood and the general public, as will later appear. The identity of the

³³The copyright assignment is in the B.M., Add. MSS 38, 728. Miller is described in the document as "James Miller of Wadham College, Oxford." The collection also contains the assignments of The Mother-in Law (1734), The Universal Passion (1736), and The Coffee House with Art and Nature (1738).

play's author was apparently not then known. The Prompter remarks, "Some Persons have fancied they have discover'd Traces of our LAUREAT'S Genius," but asserts that this play is much worse than anything either father or son have ever written.

A month after the play's appearance Lewis Theobald and his friends knew it to be Miller's, since, justifiably aggrieved over his ill-treatment in Harlequin-Horace, Theobald wrote in a letter to Warburton: "Millar, as you say, imitates Molière full as badly as he translates him."³⁴

The profit from his writing was very important to Miller, for he had still failed to get preferment. Baker wrote that:

a certain Right Reverend Prelate, from whom Mr. Miller had perhaps some Expectations of Preferment, made some very harsh Remonstrances with him on the Subject [of his writing for the stage] and, not perceiving him perfectly inclinable at once to quit the Advantages he received from the Theatre, without the Assurance of somewhat adequate to it from the Church, thought it proper to withdraw his Patronage. - On which, in a satirical Poem which our Author published soon after, there appeared a Character, which being universally fixed on as intended for the Bishop, occasioned an irreconcilable Breach between his Lordship and the Author, and was for many Years afterwards thought to have retarded his Advancement in the Church.

(vol.II, sig.YI^V)

This satirical poem was Seasonable Reproof, A Satire in the Manner of Horace, dedicated to the Duke of Argyle, which, says Miller in the Preface to the Miscellaneous Works, was "in some measure occasioned by a notorious and infamous Accusation brought, or rather forged, against one of the best of Men, to obstruct his Enjoyment of a Dignity which his Sovereign had thought good to intend for him" (sig. a1^V). This refers to the controversy aroused when, in 1734, Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, opposed the appointment of

³⁴Dated 26th April 1735, and quoted in Richard Foster Jones, Lewis Theobald (New York, 1919), p.337.

Thomas Rundle to the bishopric of Gloucester, because the latter was suspected of deistical leanings. Some believed that Gibson objected to Rundle only because he had not been consulted over the appointment. Charles Talbot, the Lord Chancellor, had recommended Rundle directly to the King. Gibson was Walpole's chief ally in the church, and therefore very unpopular with the Opposition's sympathisers. Pope and Swift both praised Rundle and deplored his treatment, and many tracts and pamphlets appeared in his defence.

Miller's poem is not wholly on this subject, however, and indeed it may not originally have mentioned it at all. It is based on parts of two of Horace's Satires (Iiii and iv), and offers a justification of satire itself, as well as attacking various forms of social immorality. After the poem had been printed, sheets D and E, forming eight folio pages (pp. 9-16), were cancelled, and two new sheets substituted. The page numbers therefore remain consecutive, but as the eight new pages bear many more lines than did the original ones, there is a discrepancy in the line-numbering. The new section, instead of giving the Latin text on the left-hand page as in the rest of the poem, reduces Horace's lines to footnotes, printing the English text on both recto and verso. This made room for 70 extra lines, the substituted sheets bearing 148 lines in all, while the cancelled ones must have had 78. The attack on Gibson, which occurs in this section, occupies some 85 lines - more than a quarter of the whole poem. It is clear that the change was made after the sheets had been printed. If they had only been set up in type the line numbering could have been corrected. The abrupt transition from the spacious typographical layout to the cramped one would have surprised Miller's readers,

and he must have had a strong motive for adding to his poem at such a late stage. The reason cannot have been the dispute over Rundle itself, for this was very old news indeed. It had raged most fiercely early in 1734, Talbot having recommended Rundle for the bishopric in December 1733, and was settled when Rundle went to Derry, instead of Gloucester, in July 1735. Seasonable Reproof appeared in November 1735, and it seems probable that something happened just before this, while it was being printed, which enraged Miller against Gibson. He attacks the rigidly orthodox Bishop by contrasting his selfish hypocrisy with the genuine virtue of Rundle, Hoadly, and other latitudinarian divines. Miller may have regretted this rashness later, for he never progressed in the church, and soon his plays too began to meet with failure.³⁵

The Prompter for January 2nd, 1736 showed very hostile reaction to Seasonable Reproof, and had no doubts as to the poet's identity; declaring him to be the "Reverend" author of the Humours of Oxford and The Man of Taste. Among the poets laughed at in Seasonable Reproof was "blustering Aaron," and taking this as a riposte for the Prompter's treatment of The Man of Taste (as it probably was), the writer says that Miller has "placed one Gentleman in his Poetical Pillory for Another, mistaking him for the Author of the Prompter against the Man of Taste, when it first appear'd." That criticism, then, had been from the pen of William Popple.

A very long dispute, which had begun in October 1735, was being waged in print between the Grub-street Journal and the

³⁵Powell Stewart gives in greater detail the information I have summarised in this paragraph, in "A Bibliographical Contribution to Biography: James Miller's Seasonable Reproof," The Library, series V,iii(1949), 295-298.

Prompter, on the subject of "The Philosopher's Prayer", a deistical composition by Dr. Matthew Tindal, which was attacked by the Grub-street Journal and defended by the Prompter. In the middle of this feud, however, and two weeks after the attack on Seasonable Reproof, the Prompter gloated over the resignation of Bavius:

This Politick Commander, instead of accepting the Challenge, RESGN'D HIS BATON; which by the Spies I have among them, I am informed, will be conferred on another Reverend Militant, who having served a long time under that Renowned Commander, the experienc'd Bavius, has acquired as consummate a Knowledge as his Predecessor. It is yet a Doubt whether he will carry it (tho' the Odds are very much for him) being opposed by The Honest Yorkshireman But unless Bavius resumes the Baton, in order to prevent a Division, It is most probable, the Election will fall on the Reverend Doctor, celebrated for Performances in the last Prompter but Two, and better known by the Name of the Man of Taste, than his own.

(January 13th, 1736)³⁶

James T. Hillhouse, in his study of the Grub-street Journal regards these comments as evidence that Miller may have taken over as editor.³⁷ However, in the preface to the selections from the Journal that he collected and published in 1737 as Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street, Russel stated that since his retirement the paper had been run by a committee. Moreover, documents relating to the running of the Grub-street Journal which have been recently rediscovered in Queen's College Library, Oxford, confirm Russel's statement that a committee of proprietors was formed which selected and organised the material to be printed in the journal. Russel remained as a member of the committee, and the minute-book of their meetings mentions that every member was obliged to send an advertisement to the printer's each week, or to pay a forfeit of two

³⁶The Honest Yorkshireman was a play by Henry Carey, first performed on July 15th, 1735 (after long delays) at the New Haymarket. Miller knew Carey at this time, and depicts him, unkindly, in Seasonable Reproof (ll. 29-34).

³⁷The Grub-street Journal (1928), p.46.

shillings, except for "R.R.", who was "excused on the account of inspecting and correcting the Paper."³⁸ The entry is dated January 2nd, 1735/6, two weeks before the Prompter speaks of Bavius' resignation. Miller's name is not mentioned in the minute-book. Two of the partners in the Journal, the booksellers Brotherton and Cogan, later subscribed for Miscellaneous Works, and another, Lawton Gilliver, who published the Journal from the beginning, also published some of Miller's poems, most notably Harlequin-Horace, about which the paper waxed so enthusiastic. There are, then, at least slight connexions between Miller and the production of the Journal, and, during the dispute with the Prompter over a play by Popple, which followed the quarrel over the "Philosopher's Prayer," there are stronger indications of such involvement.

A year before, in April 1735, Popple's The Double Deceit had been produced at Covent Garden, some weeks after the first performance of The Man of Taste. It was unsuccessful, and was played only twice that season, but was performed again on February 16th, 1736, by command of members of the royal family, thanks no doubt to the efforts of some of Popple's influential friends. The Play's re-appearance was heralded by an advertisement in the Daily Journal for that date, claiming that it had been hastily produced at the end of the last season to avoid the charge of plagiarism that might have been made if it had not been seen until a year after The Man of Taste, because of a "Similitude in one Part of the Fable" of the two plays.

The Grub-street Journal responded on February 26th, 1736, with a letter from "Neither-side," which asserted that the part of the "fable" in question belonged to neither author but to Molière, and

³⁸Queen's College MS 450.

that The Double Deceit had deserved to fail. Its author had caused "his intimate Friend and Puffer the Author of the Prompter" to attack The Man of Taste repeatedly, in order to pave the way for his own comedy.

Popple's play failed again, in spite of his hastily producing hand-bills answering the attacks of "Neither-side," and distributing them among the audience before the performance.

On February 28th the Daily Journal printed an advertisement, which alleged that "Neither-side" was " a CLERGYMAN, who, instead of employing his Time in Works suitable to the Sanctity of his Profession, has already mispent it in writing ONE DAMNED PLAY, and TWO VILE TRANSLATIONS FROM MOLIÈRE, and is now making MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING; on which Occasion, 'tis hoped SOMETHING will be done with SOMEBODY." From this, incidentally, we learn that Miller's next play, The Universal Passion, adapted from Much Ado, which was not performed until twelve months after this date, was already known to be in preparation.

On March 4th, 1736 the editorial column of the Grub-street Journal denied that Miller was himself "Neither-side":

we are likewise authorized to affirm, that the Gentleman before-mentioned has not to this hour seen the Puff on which the Letter was grounded, neither has he ever seen or read the Comedy mentioned in it. (no.323)

The report then went on to attack Popple further. Two issues later, however, on March 18th, the paper printed a letter from "Common Sence," who asked: "will you never give over pestering your Readers with disputes about a damn'd Play, and a damn'd Prayer?" (no.325). Many readers must have agreed, but "Common Sence" proceeded to vilify Popple, and the editors remarked:

we do not think it comes with a good grace from the person who sent it; who, we have reason to believe, is the same who sent the Piece [denying that Miller was Neither-side].

The writer explained that the paper had complied

with a Correspondent's request, in publishing a Paper, as in our own persons, tho' really drawn up by him. At the same time, we did not in the least doubt that he would perform his promise, by sending us a few Remarks upon the two last new Plays.

The piece in question had concluded with the statement that a few remarks on The Double Deceit and The Connoisseur would soon be published. Thus it seems that the Journal expected Miller to contribute material on this occasion, and he may well have done so at other times. From the length and heat of the journalistic debate one might conclude that Miller must have been in some way involved in the Grub-street Journal, as Popple was with The Prompter, if it were not for the fact that the dispute over the "Philosopher's Prayer" had been even more tediously prolonged.

Miller's next play, presented at Drury Lane on February 28th, 1737, was his adaptation of Much Ado about Nothing, entitled The Universal Passion. Miller frankly acknowledged in the prologue that credit for the play must go to Shakespeare, as was only prudent on his part, but did not mention that he had also made use of scenes from Molière's La Princesse d'Elide. It was a careful adaptation, making many slight adjustments, and attempting especially to make the puzzling behaviour of some of Shakespeare's characters more comprehensible.³⁹ The alteration of the name of the play is significant; Miller changed Shakespeare's wry, self-deprecating title to something more solemn: the "universal passion" is love, and he is at pains in his adaptation to show that it rules the lives of high and low alike.

³⁹For a full discussion of Miller's handling of his sources in this play, see Powell Stewart, "An Eighteenth-Century adaptation of Shakespeare," University of Texas Studies in English, XII (1932), 98-117.

The play met with some hostility, according to the Preface to Miscellaneous Works: "there was a strong Opposition industriously fomented by some who were strenuous Enemies to the Writer," but he could think of no reason for this, except jealousy of his past success (sig. a1^V). Nevertheless, in the dedication of the printed text to Frederick Frankland, Esq., Miller was able to speak of "the extraordinary kind Reception which this Performance has met with from the Town." Watts paid fifty-five guineas for the copyright of the play on December 15th, 1736, two months before it was staged, and the book appeared in February.⁴⁰ The play was performed ten times that spring, and was chosen by Mrs. Clive for her benefit performance in 1741. She played "Liberia" (the Beatrice part) in the original production.

Frederick Meinhardt Frankland, whom Miller speaks of in the dedication as a kind friend, lived from 1694-1768. He was M.P. for Thirsk, and Director of the Bank of England from 1736-1739. He is described by J.B.Owen as a supporter of Walpole's administration, and "one of the staunchest members of the Old Corps."⁴¹ Included in Miscellaneous Works is a poem entitled "Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland" (sig. N2^r-N4^v). The poem had been separately printed, but not, perhaps, put on public sale, since the title-page gives no author's name, publisher's imprint, price, or date.⁴² It may have been issued for private circulation amongst the deceased's family and friends. The verses also appeared "at the particular desire of the Author," in the Grub-street Journal no. 318 on January 27th, 1736. Elizabeth Frankland died

⁴⁰ See footnote 33, page 34.

⁴¹ The Rise of the Pelhams (1957), pp. 59 & 120.

⁴² Foxon (V72), gives the imprint as [London, 1736], but makes no suggestions as to the poem's authorship.

young and a virgin, according to the poem, and so may have been a daughter of Frederick's. He subscribed for Miscellaneous Works, and after Miller's death, for six sets of his collected sermons, published by his widow in 1749.

iii) From the Licensing Act to the adaptation of Polite Conversation (1737-1740).

The Universal Passion was the last of Miller's plays to be performed without a licence from the Lord Chamberlain. After the Licensing Act of 1737 the texts of all new plays were examined, and the manuscripts submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office were retained there. Most of these manuscripts are in the Larpent Collection in the Huntington Library, California. The catalogue by Dougald MacMillan lists the following items by Miller:

2. Art and Nature Comedy, 5 acts. 1738.
3. The Coffee-House Dramatic piece, 1 act. 1738.
15. An Hospital for Fools Dramatic fable, 1 act. 1739.
21. Polite Conversation Dramatic dialogues. From Jonathan Swift. 1740. (Prologue is by James Miller, who may have made the adaptation.)
23. The Camp Visitants Comedy, 1 act. 1740.
46. Mahomet [The Impostor] Tragedy. 5 acts. James Miller and John Hoadly. 1744.
48. The Picture; or the Cuckold in Conceit. Farce, 1 act. 1745.¹

A licence was not refused any of these, and in some cases it was granted without any omissions or alterations being required. In others there are excisions or corrections in the text. Sometimes

¹Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Collection (San Marino, 1939).

one can be fairly sure that the alterations have been required by the Examiner, but often they seem to be due to the cautiousness of the theatre manager who submitted the scripts.² Some of the corrections could have been made by either manager or examiner, or even by the author himself, although the scripts are generally in a scribe's hand, and had passed out of the control of the dramatist by the time the plays were ready to be presented. These problems are discussed in greater detail in the account of satire in the plays in Chapter II, but it is possible to gain a general impression from the manuscripts of the kind of restraints the Licensing Act imposed upon dramatic satire.

The censorship, whether exercised by the examiner or by the prudent theatre manager, was at times surprisingly strict, although often inconsistent. Objection was made to any frank or indelicate sexual allusions, and sometimes to ones that were only mildly improper. Strictures on those who "direct Senates," and any references, however oblique, to the King, were suppressed, as was any irreverent treatment of religion, or the clergy.

Mostly, in roughly two-thirds of the cases, the passages censored in the manuscripts were not omitted from the printed texts. The author's version would have been sent to the printer's, rather than a play-house script, and the printer may sometimes have had a manuscript in his possession before the play was submitted for licensing. The text was often not sent to the examiner until the production was nearly ready, and he was sometimes asked to hurry for this reason. The booksellers liked to publish a play on the day it opened, or as soon as possible thereafter. Pre-

²There is a note to this effect from Charles Fleetwood to the Examiner of Plays, attached to the script of An Hospital for Fools, quoted below, p.p.260-261.

censorship applied only to the play as acted, and not to the printed word. Some of the marked passages, however, were omitted from the printed texts, but so were other, quite innocuous passages, perhaps because rehearsal had shown where cuts were needed. The printed versions contain some passages which are not in the manuscripts. These may have been additions made by the author to the script he sent for publication, or may have existed from the beginning, and been omitted from the acting script for reasons of staging. The Larpent manuscripts are therefore important in two ways, as being differing, and possibly earlier versions of the plays, and as showing which passages were considered objectionable.

The Coffee-House, a one-act play, was the first of Miller's dramatic ventures after the Act. Its licence was applied for on January 12th, 1738, and it was performed on January 26th at Drury-Lane, as the afterpiece to Measure for Measure. Although it was based on Jean-Baptiste Rousseau's Le Caffé, first staged in 1695 in Paris, the piece offended the law-students in the audience, the "Templars," by appearing to centre upon their favourite coffee-house, and the mother and daughter who ran it. Miller disclaimed all intention of "personal Reflexions" in the preface to the published play, but whether or not he had had that particular establishment (Dick's Coffee-House at Temple Gate) in mind when writing the play, he had made himself still more, and surprisingly vindictive enemies by this afterpiece, for the Templars subsequently went in a body to damn any play known to be his.

The law-students were notoriously obstreperous members of a theatre-going public that was, compared with that of today, extremely intolerant and capricious. They were generally to be feared by the authors of new plays. As Common Sense for May 27th,

1738 observed, "They are a set of Gentlemen who never fail to assist the First Night at everything new which is exhibited on the Stage."

Miller's enemy in the controversy over The Man of Taste and The Double Deceit had had his own difficulties with Templars in 1734, as "Neither-side" pointed out during that debate. The preface to William Popple's The Lady's Revenge, or, the Rover Reclaim'd (1734) explains why the author withdrew the play after the fourth performance. On that night, he alleges, the play having been rumoured to be supported by the Court, "a Set of about eight or ten young Fellows went to the Bedford Coffee-House in the Piazza, and declared publicly that they came purposely to damn the Play," and managed to disrupt the performance severely. "Neither-side" asserted that Popple had blamed the Templars for the conspiracy against The Lady's Revenge since he had accused "the Gentlemen who used the Bedford Coffee-House, whom he well knew to belong to the Inns of Court ..."³

Miller's original touches in The Coffee-House lie mainly in its references to real life: Theophilus Cibber appears, for example, as himself - Mr. Cibber the player, and Kitty, the heroine, is played by Kitty Clive. Dr. Johnson recounts an incident in which Richard Savage became enraged at finding himself represented in a farce by Miller, and this was probably the character of Bays in this afterpiece, a poet who writes in the coffee-house to avoid the duns at home, and persistently attempts to read Mr. Cibber his latest tragedy. A conceited poet appears also in The Mother-in-Law, but that play is not a farce, in the usual

³Grub-street Journal no. 323 (March 4th, 1736).

eighteenth-century sense of a one-act afterpiece, and Savage was not as poor in 1734 as he had become by 1738. There was a poet of a similar character in An Hospital for Fools in 1739, but as this farce was inaudible to its beholders on the only two occasions when it was performed, the poet of The Coffee-House is the more likely offender. Johnson's account is as follows:

Those who were esteemed for their Writings feared him as a Critic, and maligned him as a Rival, and almost all the smaller Wits were his professed Enemies.

Among these Mr. Millar so far indulged his Resentment as to introduce him in a Farce, and direct him to be personated on the Stage in a Dress like that which he then wore; a mean Insult which only insinuated, that Savage had but one Coat, and which was therefore despised by him rather than resented, for though he wrote a Lampon against Millar, he never printed it: and as no other Person ought to prosecute that Revenge from which the Person who was injured desisted, I shall not preserve what Mr. Savage suppressed ...⁴

There is nothing in the text to suggest that a particular poet is intended; the figure of Bays is a stereotype, a descendant of the Bays of The Rehearsal, but of course much could be conveyed by costume, make-up, and the actor's mimicry, and Bays was played by Macklin, an actor of the first rank.

Probably the allusion to a real coffee-house and its owners was intended to be part of the play's topical, realistic appeal, in spite of of Miller's protests in the preface to the printed text that the scenes and characters which gave the most offence were taken directly from the French source. His excuse that the scene was laid at Temple-Bar "For no other Reason but as it is the Center of the Town, and the most likely Place for many different Characters to meet at a time" is unconvincing, since he makes Hartly, Kitty's young suitor, a Templar, for which there is no warrant in the original, and actually locates his first scene,

⁴Samuel Johnson, Account of the Life of Mr. Richard Savage (first published 1744), ed. Clarence Tracy (Oxford, 1971), pp.100-101.

which is not from Rousseau, in the Temple itself. Moreover he indulges in some satire on lawyers, when Hartly explains that he is too honest and kindhearted to succeed in his profession.⁵ In 1731 in the preface to Harlequin-Horace Miller had spoken contemptuously of Rich's eager audience, composed of "those Shoals of Templers, Beaux, and Lawyer's Clerks, the Toupee Worthies of Tom's, Dick's and White's." This was before he had himself experienced any severity at the hands of these dreaded critics of the drama.

Baker writes that the pleas in the play's preface might have been believed, but "the Engraver who had been employed to compose a Frontispiece, having inadvertently fixed on that very Coffee-house for the Scene of his Drawing, the Templars ... became ... confirmed in their Suspicions" (vol.I, sig.E1^r). This has been trustingly repeated by several modern stage historians, but in fact the frontispiece shows four characters with a background of panelled walls and a window which appears to have nothing distinctive about it whatever.

It was suggested in the London Evening Post on January 28th that the failure of The Coffee-House was caused by the town's disapproval of the Licensing Act, since that farce and Hildebrand Jacob's The Nest of Plays were the first two new compositions to be performed after it came into force, and both were damned. Jacob blamed the Act for his play's failure in the preface to its printed text (1738), and Leo Hughes suggests that Miller could probably have made the same excuse⁶ but it is clear from his preface that Miller believed the disaster his farce met with was caused by

⁵The Coffee-House (1738), p.2.

⁶Leo Hughes, The Drama's Patrons (Austin, Texas, 1971), p.58n.

supposed personal reflections. The London Evening Post, an opposition journal, was naturally eager to interpret public opinion as being unfavourable towards government measures wherever possible. However, whether through dislike of the Licensing Act, or the continuing resentment of the Templars, or at the instigation of other enemies of Miller's, his next play met a similar fate.

Art and Nature, a comedy performed at Drury Lane on February 16th, 1738, three weeks after the failure of The Coffee-House, was, according to the author's dedication of the printed text " to Lady * * *," destroyed with art, "its Enemies suffering those Things to pass without Disturbance which were of an indifferent Nature, and not so likely to engage the unprejudic'd Part of the Audience, but giving no Quarter to the Parts which they thought would entertain" (sig. A1^r). The audience refused to allow the play to be performed a second time.

John Watts had bought the copyright of both The Coffee-House and Art and Nature on January 5th, 1738, before either was performed, and paid £80 for the two. (This is not really a lower rate than that paid for The Universal Passion, since The Coffee-House is a short piece.) These plays were by a previously successful dramatist, and were expected to be popular. Neither of them deserved to be destroyed by cat-calls and uproar.

Art and Nature contained original material, but was largely based on two French plays, Arlequin Sauvage by L.F.de Lisle de La Drévetière, and Le Flatteur, by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.⁷ The two plays are woven together with care and Miller's additions mostly intensify their social and moral satire.

⁷Both plays were published in Paris, Arlequin Sauvage in 1721 and Le Flatteur in 1697.

Miller acknowledged, at least partially, the French origins of his play in his conciliatory prologue, and in the dedication speaks of scenes "which in Paris, for several Years past, have charm'd the Gay and Polite from all Parts of Europe, nay which lately perform'd in this very Town, in a foreign Tongue, brought together and delighted crowded Audiences ..." (sig.A1^V). Arlequin Sauvage had been performed in French at the Haymarket twelve times during the 1734-35 season.

Art and Nature may have been written at least a year before it was performed, since an advertisement on a spare leaf of the first edition of a tragedy by William Havard, King Charles The First, issued in March 1737 mentions as about to be published: "The Savage; or the Force of Nature, A Comedy of Two Acts. By the Author of The Universal Passion: as Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane." There is no evidence of publication or performance of a play of this title at this time, but The British Theatre (Dublin, 1750), which contains a brief biography of Miller based on that in "A Compleat List," includes Art and Nature with the date 1737, as "A Compleat List" does, and also "The Savage, or the Force of Nature, 1736" (p.177). David Erskine Baker believed this to be a mistake, "as I have not the least Remembrance of such a Piece being ever mentioned to me, tho' long intimate in the Family, as being his."⁸ It seems from all this that Art and Nature, or a play with a very similar title, was being spoken of as early as March 1737 (which would have been called 1736 in Old-Style).

At the end of April 1738 Miller published another verse satire, Of Politeness. An Epistle to the Right Honourable William Stanhope,

⁸A Companion to the Play-House (1764) vol.I, sig.T5^V

Lord Harrington. It was declared on the title-page to be "By the Author of Harlequin Horace" and was printed for Gilliver and Clark. It is very much in the manner of Pope's Epistles to Several Persons, and general rather than personal in its satire. It presents an ideal of "politeness" embodied in Stanhope and in Charles Talbot, the Lord Chancellor who had died in February 1737, set against the fashionable habits which are often mistaken for it. Lord Harrington was Secretary of State for the northern department. He was never in perfect accord with Walpole, although a member of his cabinet, and differed with him more markedly towards the end of his ministry, from 1737 onwards, since, with Newcastle and Hardwicke, he was in favour of war with Spain, which the Prime Minister sought to avoid. The poem, however, makes practically no mention of politics. There is no indication of actual acquaintanceship with Harrington, nor any indication why he should be the recipient of Miller's epistle, other than his exemplary "politeness."

Miller's obligation to the poetry of Pope was on this occasion partially reciprocated, for the account in Of Politeness of a young nobleman's education and tour of Europe with a travelling tutor furnished Pope with the material on which the memorable Governor's speech in Book IV of the Dunciad was based.⁹ There are correspondences of detail as well as of general content. Pope also made use of the poem's description of the eccentricities of fashionable cookery. In the same year, 1738, appeared both a "Second Edition" (which was actually only a re-impression with a new title-page, now bearing Miller's name) and a Dublin piracy.

In March 1738, a month before Of Politeness was published, emerged The Pigeon - Pye, the anonymous attack on Miller

⁹See below, pp. 311-316.

quoted earlier. In October he suffered another onslaught, this time in the form of The Breeches, a Tale. Inscribed to the Fair of Great-Britain, which was printed for its anonymous author. It is remarkable that neither of these enemies seems able to point out any very serious faults in Miller's conduct and character. The Pigeon-Pye is a light-hearted parody of an opera scenario purporting to be based on an incident of Miller's student days a decade earlier, the author asserting, certainly without much expectation of being believed, that, "to qualify himself for his future great Advancements in Farces, &c. He acted one of the compleatest himself" (p.16). It includes a jibe at the failure of The Coffee-House two months before, as "Scene IV" of the scenario is set in a coffee-house:

Windmill equipped for the Coronation.- His Conversation there - See an Excellent Farce, lately damn'd, call'd the Coffee-House. This Difference is to be made between a London and an Oxford Coffee-House.- In the former, there is a great deal of Talk in the most fluent manner, but little sense trickling along with its luculent Current.- In the latter, little or no Talk, except what Windmill used in Impertinence; - but a great deal of silent Sense to be shown in the countenance of every one. (p.27)

The Breeches is vague and confused to the point of incomprehensibility and, although some more reasonable points are made against Miller in its preface, seems primarily intended to accuse him of lack of vigour in his marital relations. The piece is inscribed "To -M--r, Poet, -P--n, &c, &c, &c," and parodies the dedication of Harlequin-Horace to John Rich, using Miller's own words but substituting references to a satirising parson whenever Miller refers to the Harlequin "Lun." The author claims to feel no personal antagonism:

Your Harlequin Horace, Humours of Oxford, and some other of your Lucubrations, were the sole Inducements for our ranking you in the Number of Drones, not having ourselves received any Umbrage from your Spleen.

(p.viii)

These lines from Harlequin-Horace which refer to Lewis Theobald, are particularly objected to:

T---ld in Mail compleat of Dullness clad,
Half Bard, half Puppet-man, half Fool, half Mad
 (p.12)

They are turned back upon their author as follows:

M---r, in Gown of Rags, of rusty Hue,
Half Parson, Player, Jacobite and Jew
 Rose next to please, and make Religion shine, }
 And Sanctify each dull, ill-meaning Line, }
 To tythe old Plays, and make the Stage divine. }
 (p.V)

The charge of being half Jacobite is not followed up, and probably merely shows that Miller was known to favour the Opposition party. It is not even clear whether the first line really describes Miller's appearance, since earlier the author remarks:

our Remembrance chargeth us not with having seen you at any
 Time, save in the Guise of a P-n- or Mungrel, in equal mixture
 of the formal Lay and the precise sacerdotal Habit, which you
 generally chuse to make your Appearance to the Publick in.
 (p.iii)

The image of his wearing rusty black rags is presumably meant to indicate Miller's poverty, and also, perhaps, his moral condition. He is accused of abandoning divinity for drama, of writing for financial reward, and of plagiarism:

To Poetry I never wou'd pretend
 If good Moliere and Terence could not lend
 That Aid, which fills my Purse and stands my Friend.
 (p.viii)

After this "Epistle Dedicatory" there is a verse "Introduction" in which Stephen Duck describes some of his latest poems to his whore Salley. She asks him to explain to her

"Who rul'd the Roast in Times of Old?
 "To whom the Breeches did pertain,
 "Whether to Woman, or to Man?"
 (p.10)

The poem proper, which follows, is another conversation, between

"John" and "Sukey", in which the latter complains that her husband has dwindled "from the Power of Man" after only a month's marriage. There are frequent references to Miller and his works in footnotes, and we learn that "John" had been an Oxford scholar, but otherwise the target of the attack is far from obvious, and it can hardly be called a damaging one, especially as it is not even clear whether it is "John" who is impotent, or "Sukey" who is too demanding.

In 1739 appeared the complete Works of Moliere in French and English, in ten volumes. The plays which had been included in the 1732 Select Comedies are reproduced with only very slight changes. Of the fourteen new ones, eight are largely dependent on the 1714 translation by Ozell, and so the labour involved in this sizeable publication was perhaps not as great as might have been supposed.¹⁰ The editors were once again anonymous, and the translation was dedicated to the Prince and Princess of Wales. There were later editions in 1748, 1751 (Glasgow) and 1755. In more recent times it has been used as the translation of Molière in the "Everyman" series of literary classics, since its eighteenth-century English was considered to be closer to the spirit of Molière than a twentieth-century translation could be. It first appeared in the series in 1929.

In October 1739 John Watts published The Art of Life. In Two Epistles, Epistle the First. By Mr. Miller. This was Miller's second adaptation of the Ars Poetica. It is based, rather loosely, on only the first 150 lines of Horace's poem, and the second epistle never appeared, although advertised on the last page of the first epistle as "In the Press." Perhaps the first part did not sell well

¹⁰See the article by Joseph E. Tucker cited above (p. 27n).

enough to warrant its publication.

The poem is dedicated to Godfrey Clarke, Esq., who appears to have been a young man of considerable wealth, to whom Miller owed many favours, particularly, he says, that of a share in his friendship. He was probably the son of Godfrey Clarke, M.P. for Derbyshire, who had been married to a daughter of the Earl of Chesterfield, and who had died in 1734. Miscellaneous Works contains a verse epistle "To Godfrey Clarke, Esq; and Miss Pole, upon their Nuptials." Seven members of the Clarke family subscribed to that collection, and two of the Poles.

The next month Miller ventured another one-act play; an after-piece with songs, entitled An Hospital for Fools. A licence was applied for on November 1st, 1739, and the piece was played on November 15th at Drury Lane, following a performance of Cato. Nineteen months had elapsed since the failure of Art and Nature, but Miller was still apprehensive of the piece's probable reception. Its introductory scene is an attempt to forestall and disarm criticism. Instead of a prologue, there is a discussion between the poet and an actor and actress in the "Green Room" before the play begins. The actress complains that the play is not funny, that it moralises, and that it satirises all ranks and professions, to which the poet replies that "People of Taste and good Sense need not be always kept on the Grin to be diverted" (sig.B1^V). Thus, while forestalling criticism through the mouths of the unconvinced actors, Miller at the same time attempts to justify his play and appeal to the audience's good nature. The actress says "You don't know the Playhouse yet, I find," and the poet retorts: "But I know Gentlemen that frequent it, and I seldom found when they had anything that would entertain 'em, but they gave it all the Encouragement it

merited" (sig.B2^r). The actor describes what Miller knew might well be the mood of the audience:

Actor Sir - Madam - for Heav'ns sake let us begin.

Actress What's the matter?

Actor Why, they are pounding ready to bring the House down.
- There'll be plaguy Work! plaguy Work! I see that.

Poet Why so, Sir?

Actor Why, I have been just peeping thro' the Curtain.

Actress Well!

Actor And there are a thousand Lac'd Hats in the Pit.

Actress Ay! Nay, then, 'tis over with you.

Poet Not at all, Madam; I meet with Candour and good Sense as often under a lac'd Hat as a plain one.

(sig. B1^v)

This was clever strategy, and if it had been heard, might have succeeded, but, according to Baker, the piece, "being known to be Miller's, was damn'd, the Disturbance being so great, that not one Word of it was heard the whole Night" (sig.I6^r).

There must, however, have been some disagreement about the fate of the piece, for when the next night a different main piece and afterpiece were performed, the Daily Advertiser for November 17th reported:

The Audience in general last Night demanding the last new Farce call'd An Hospital for Fools, and persisting in that Demand so considerable a time, made it impossible to avoid giving it out for [Saturday 17th] .

It was therefore performed for the second time on that date, following Venice Preserv'd, and advertised as being "generally insisted on by last Night's Audience." Unfortunately for Miller, Quin, who was appearing in the main piece, had previously refused to appear in a play by Anthony Brown, a Templar. Brown's colleagues had therefore gathered in full force to hiss the actor.¹¹ Quin managed to placate them, but when the afterpiece began the Templars were not prepared to spare Miller, and "one single Word was not heard

¹¹The play was The Fatal Retirement, which had been staged at Drury Lane on November 12th, 1739 (not 1741 as "A Compleat List" says).

that the Actors spoke, the Noise of these First-Night Gentlemen was so great; however the Actors went thro' it, and the Spectators might see their Mouths wag, and that was all."¹²

The piece, which Miller called "A Dramatic Fable," was adapted from a prose dialogue by William Walsh, Aesculapius, or the Hospital of Fools, included in John Oldmixon's Poems and Translations by Several Hands (1714). The dialogue was rendered more dramatic and lively, and four songs were provided for Kitty Clive to sing, to music by Thomas Arne, but the allegorical action and mythological setting were retained. The piece was published before its stage production, John Watts having registered it with the Stationers' Company on November 10th, but it is the first of Miller's printed plays to be without a dedication.

The next year David Garrick used the same framework for his first play, Lethe, which was first performed on April 15th, 1740 at Drury Lane. It was not printed until a pirated version appeared in 1745.¹³ The only existing copy of the play as it was first produced in 1740 is the manuscript which was submitted for licensing and is now in the Larpent collection. Kitty Clive played the part of a frivolous young woman as she had in An Hospital for Fools, and according to the playbill quoted in The London Stage she sang a song called "The Life of a Belle, etc., in Imitation of The Life of a Beau."¹⁴ She had sung "The Life of a Beau," a song set by Henry Carey, in The Coffee-House, and perhaps this had become well-known, although the play had failed. The printed texts of Lethe,

¹²"A Compleat List," p.183.

¹³Lethe, or Æsop in the Shades (1745). Later published as Lethe, a Dramatic Satire (Dublin, 1749), and (London, 1755).

¹⁴Part 3, vol.II, p.831.

however, do not contain such a song. Garrick frequently embellished and altered the piece, and had a great success acting in it himself in the part of Lord Chalkstone, which was added in 1757.

Garrick's dialogue, and many of his characters, are different from both Walsh's and Miller's, but he uses the underworld setting and the mythological framework, although he shows Mercury conversing with Æsop, instead of Æsculapius. In his version foolish mortals are cured by drinking the water of Lethe and so forgetting their obsessions, instead of being sent to the "hospital." As in Walsh's fable and Miller's play, the patients who arrive in Hades unwittingly expose their own sins and follies. It is impossible to be certain whether Garrick took his inspiration from An Hospital for Fools or from Æsculapius. Although in 1740 Garrick had not yet appeared on the stage of Drury Lane, he had, as the introduction to his collected correspondence narrates, taken great interest in the reshufflings and reorganisations in the theatres that followed the Licensing Act. After settling in London in 1737, "he sought the company of actors, and he was welcomed in the green rooms of both Drury Lane and Covent Garden."¹⁵ At Drury Lane he may well have been shown the script of Miller's afterpiece, which had been inaudibly performed there the year before. In that case he owed to Miller at least the idea of turning Walsh's fable into a comedy. John Doran remarks that "out of Miller's fiasco, Garrick subsequently made a success, and on the 'Hospital for Fools' founded his 'Lethe,' in which he was famous in the character of Lord

¹⁵The Letters of David Garrick, ed. David M. Little and George M. Kahrl (1973), vol. I p. xxxi.

Chalkstone."¹⁶

Garrick's farce was advertised when it first appeared as "a new Dramatic Satire,"¹⁷ and there seems to have been no acknowledgment of any debt to Miller, although its resemblance to Æsculapius was noted in a critical discussion of Lethe published anonymously in 1749, in which a critic of the farce declared:

WALSH's Hospital for Fools and Sir John VANBRUGH's Æsop, furnished the Materials, DODSLEY's Toy-Shop was the Original, and this is but a Copy.¹⁸

The resemblance to either Vanbrugh's or Dodsley's play is very slight compared with its likeness to Miller's.

On April 23rd, 1740, six months after the failure of An Hospital for Fools, Drury Lane presented, as an afterpiece to The Merry Wives of Windsor, an adaptation for the stage of Jonathan Swift's Polite Conversation.¹⁹ Two versions of this work had been staged at the two rival theatres in Dublin shortly after its publication in 1738. George Mayhew's article on the dramatisations of Polite Conversation explains that both these adaptations were probably shorter than the London version, as they were designed to follow not only full-length plays but "several Entertainments of Dancing" as well.²⁰ The Smock-Alley theatre production also omitted

¹⁶ "Their Majesties' Servants": Annals of the English of the English Stage from Thomas Betterton to Edmund Kean, by Dr. Doran F.S.A., ed. and rev. by Robert W. Lowe (1888), vol.3, p.20.

¹⁷ London Stage, pt.3, vol.II, p.831.

¹⁸ LETHE Rehears'd: or, a Critical Discussion of the Beauties and Blemishes of that Performance (1749).

¹⁹ Swift's full title was: A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, According to the Most Polite Mode and Method now Used at Court, and in the Best Companies of England. In Three Dialogues. By Simon Wagstaff, Esq. (1738).

²⁰ "Some Dramatizations of Swift's Polite Conversation," PQ, XLIV (January 1965), 51-72.

two of the characters. Mayhew believes that the adapter of the London version "was almost certainly James Miller, who composed a rhymed 'Prologue proper to the Occasion'."²¹ The attribution is derived from MacMillan's Catalogue of the Larpent Plays, which is less definite: "[Its] Prologue is by James Miller, who may have made the adaptation" (p.4). The source of MacMillan's information is not supplied. Miller often adapted the work of others for the contemporary stage, and the handwriting of the prologue, (though not of the play itself, which is in a scribal hand) does resemble that of the manuscript of another unpublished play, "The Camp Visitants," which is in the Larpent collection. This play is attributed to Miller by MacMillan, on the strength of a note made by John Payne Collier in his copy of Biographia Dramatica. This asserts that the manuscript of "The Camp Visitants", which was submitted for licensing on December 11th 1740, "is wholly in the handwriting of the Revd. James Miller." It certainly seems to be in its author's own hand, since frequent alterations and improvements have been made by the writer as he proceeded. For example, in this sentence: "I'm in hopes Harriet can't hear this whispering whore," the words "in hopes" have been written above an erased word, "afear'd" (fol.25). Evidently the dramatist first intended to write "I'm afear'd Harriet may hear . . .," but changed his mind. The dramatic style, the satire and the language of this one-act play are in accord with Miller's other comedies, and I am convinced that it is indeed his work. The handwriting also resembles that of the untidier parts of the Larpent manuscript of An Hospital for Fools (which is in more than one hand), and the epilogue to Mahomet. It accords well with Miller's signature, which is affixed to the

²¹Op.cit., p.65.

copyright assignments of five of his plays to John Watts.²²

The question of the authorship of the play Polite Conversation is not of very great importance, however, since the adaptation of Swift's dialogues was a simple affair, involving little more than judicious cutting, and the alteration of certain pieces of action which would be physically difficult to accomplish on stage.

²²B.M. Add. MSS 38, 728.

iv) The period of political writing (January 1740 - May 1742)

In 1740 Miller seems to have paid more attention to politics than to the stage. On Wednesday January 9th he delivered a sermon at Roehampton, which was published the same month by J. Roberts. A "Solemn Fast and Humiliation" had been proclaimed for that day, "to implore the Blessing of God on his Majesty's Arms." On the preceding day the Daily Gazetteer reported that "Lord Cathcart ... is appointed General of the 8000 soldiers to be sent to the Spanish West Indies." War had been declared on October 19th, 1739, and those who were eager for the defeat of Spain hoped that the struggle was about to begin in earnest.

Other sermons delivered on the Fast-day were published, including those given before the House of Commons, the Lords, and the University of Oxford, respectively. Miller's sermon speaks, like those three, of the justness of Britain's cause, and of the nation's zeal for the enterprise, but stresses more than they do the need for repentance and reformation from many vices, which are described in detail. His sermon is actually entitled: The Causes of Britain's being become a Reproach to her Neighbours. Philip Barton's sermon preached to the Commons pleads for unanimity and moderation at this

dangerous time,¹ but Miller's exhortations:

Let us be no longer the Tools of a Faction, the Slaves of Power, or the Purchase of a Bribe; but be both in Heart and Hand, a brave, free and unpolluted People. (p.19)

This is clearly an exhortation to both congregation and readers to oppose a government which was constantly being accused of retaining power against the will of the majority by purchasing votes, and had been making prolonged attempts to settle differences with Spain by negotiation instead of war.

In late October the same year a verse satire by Miller was published anonymously. This was entitled Are these Things So? The Previous Question, from an Englishman in his Grotto, to a Great Man at Court, and was the first of his entirely political satires.

Assuming that he was always sincere in what he wrote, Miller's attitude towards the government of Sir Robert Walpole seems to have gradually changed from apparent indifference around 1730 to bitter hatred by the time of the Minister's fall in 1742. In his first play there is even a sign of some sympathy towards the difficulties encountered by a political leader:

A Statesman! I would sooner be a Steer's-man at the Helm of a Coal-Lighter in stormy Weather; for there one has only Wind and Tide to struggle with: but whoever is at the Helm of the Nation, tho' he out-buffet the Storm, has always a thousand Sharks ready to devour him.

Humours of Oxford (1730), p.10.

In the Miscellaneous Works of 1741, however, this sentence was removed. In 1731, in Harlequin-Horace, Miller inverts the passage where Horace advises poets to follow tradition, or make their own inventions realistic, as follows:

¹The Nature and Advantages of A Religious Fast. A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons ... by Philip Barton LLD, 1739 [1740], p.17.

Take then no Pains resemblance to pursue,
 Give us but something very strange and new,
 'Twill entertain the more - that 'tis not true. } 2
 (p.18)

Horace gives examples of what he means by following tradition in describing the characters of legendary figures; Achilles should be impatient and fierce, Medea unyielding, Ino tearful. In Harlequin-Horace "great Sir R — t" corresponds to Achilles:

Describe him mean, revengeful, thoughtless, vain;
 A thousand monstrous Accusations bring,
 False to his Friends, his Country and his King...
 (p.18)

Walpole was indeed, as Pope also acknowledged, none of these things, but Miller would not in later years have exonerated the Minister from charges of treachery. In 1735 in the revised third edition of the poem he added four more lines making even more strongly the point that much of the opposition journalists' vituperation was wildy exaggerated:

Ungraceful giving, in refusing Sour,
 An Wolsey in, a Cat'line out of Power;
 The Church's downfall, and the State's Disease,
 A Turk, a Jew, a Fiend, a — what you please.
 (11.213-216)

In 1741, however, in Miscellaneous Works (p.35), "Sir Robert" is changed to "mighty Marlbrô," and some references to his military rôle inserted, indicating that the sense of the passage is certainly favourable to the subject of it.³ Miller obviously no longer felt able to disapprove of exaggerated literary attacks on Walpole; by 1741 he had made some himself. He inserts elsewhere in the poem a mention of Walpole's notorious epithet for the mob demonstrating

²Ars Poetica, 1.119.

³Ian Gordon, in the introduction to his edition of Are these Things So? and The Great Man's Answer for the Augustan Reprint Society (1972), says that these lines from Harlequin-Horace (209-216) are an attack on Walpole (p.V), but this is certainly to misunderstand Miller's irony.

against the Excise Bill, "Sturdy Beggars," incorporated with a comment on the Licensing Act as an Excise on wit; thus airing two grievances at once:

Since when my good Lord Chamberlain - right Thing!
 Reads each new Play, to strip it of its Sting;
 Tho' long the sturdy Beggars of the Pit
 Loudly opposed this new Excise on Wit.

(p.46)

Seasonable Reproof, which appeared in November 1735, and attacked Walpole's chief ally in the Church, Edmund Gibson, also made a brief, flippant allusion to the Excise controversy (11.5-7).

In 1738 a passage in The Coffee-House was censored by the Examiner of Plays for political reasons. It occurs in a song sung by two beaux, lamenting the fact that their beloved Farinello, the castrato singer, had gone to perform in Spain, against which country a reluctant Walpole was being pressed to declare war by an indignant populace. The song touches upon sensitive political issues, since it begs the Spaniards to

Take all our Ships, take all our Men,
 So we enjoy but him again,

and goes on to include Parliament and St. James's in the general lamentation for Farinello (p9, MS fol.11). The Art of Life in 1739 contained several veiled jibes at "Depredations, Treaties and Conventions," but Miller's name was on the title-page, and he was therefore fairly circumspect.

Although Miller appears to have written little of a political nature prior to 1740, his biography in Cibber's Lives of the Poets tells us that politics affected his life:

Mr. Miller was likewise attached to the High-Church interest, a circumstance in the times in which he lived, not very favourable to preferment. He was so honest however in these principles, that upon a large offer being made him by the agents for the ministry in the time of a general opposition, he had virtue sufficient to withstand the temptation, though his circumstances at that time were far from being easy.

(vol.V, pp.332-333)

He was sorely tempted, the account continues, for the sake of his wife, but when he hinted to her "the terms upon which preferment might be procured, she rejected them with indignation; and he became ashamed of his own wavering." Baker repeats this story in very similar terms, and both biographers mention that Miller often told his friends about this "fiery trial." He would not write for his bread in what Baker calls "the Vindication of Principles he disapproved," but would have been willing to enter into an arrangement "never to have drawn his Pen against them" (vol.II, sig.Y2^r), but this offer was not accepted.⁴

Cibber remarks "This was an instance of honour, few of which are to be met with in the Lives of the Poets, who have been too generally of a time-serving temper, and too pliant to all the follies and vices of their age" (vol.V,p.333), and Miller does indeed seem to have been far from pliant, or even prudent, and to have suffered the consequences of this all his life. Baker describes him as:

firm and stedfast in his Principles, ardent in his Friendships, and somewhat precipitate in his Resentments. - In his Conversation he was sprightly, cheerful, and a great Master of ready Repartee, till towards the latter Part of his Life, when a Depression of Circumstances threw a Gloom and Hypochondria over his Temper, which got the better of his natural Gaiety and Disposition.

(vol.II, sig.Y2^r)

Maynard Mack has shown how Pope came, during the seventeenth-thirties, "to be regarded as the spiritual patron of the poetical Opposition to Walpole - not only in being an eloquent spokesman for the life of disinterested virtue that Opposition writers claimed to wish to restore to their native land, but in being at the same

⁴There is no letter either to or from Miller in the Cholmondely-Houghton correspondence in the University of Cambridge Library, although this of course does not disprove that Miller was ever approached by government agents.

time its emblem."⁵ Other anonymous satirists had adopted the persona of the bard of Twickenham, and still more had used him as a symbolic figure, when Are these Things So? appeared.⁶ Its full title, The Previous Question from an Englishman in his Grotto to a Great Man at Court emphasises Pope's patriotism, as well as his virtuous retirement, and the poem is mostly concerned with Walpole's inaction in the war with Spain, and his retention of power through bribery, in spite of public dissatisfaction.

Baker writes that Are these Things So?"was taken very great Notice of." It appeared on October 23rd,⁷ and in a second edition on December 6th, and between these dates four replies to the poem were published, and five more (six if one includes Miller's own answer) followed in December and January.

On November 15th Paul Whitehead inserted an 'advertisement in the London Daily Post and General Advertiser denying any knowledge of the poem or its author, since it had been generally reported to be his. The Daily Gazetteer, the newspaper commissioned by the government to combat the propaganda of the Craftsman, and distributed free by the Post Office, had ridiculed the poem in its issue of November 11th, suggesting that it had an illustrious precedent in the recent famous poem, How do you after your Oysters? and attributing it to:

⁵Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City (Toronto and London, 1969), p.190.

⁶For example, Paul Whitehead's State Dunces (1733), and three anonymous poems, An Epistle from a Gentleman at Twickenham to a Nobleman at St. James's (1733), Ode to the Earl of Chesterfield, Imploring His Majesty's Return (1737), and A Satirical Epistle to Mr. Pope (1740). See The Garden and the City, pp.189-193.

⁷Advertised in the London Daily Post for this date as "This Day Publish'd."

Absconding W — t — d in his Grot,
Abusing Heav'n o'er Pipe and Pot ...

Whitehead's satire of 1739, Manners, had been regarded as particularly audacious,⁸ and he had been called before the bar of the House of Lords to answer for "personalities" in the poem.⁹ This was widely regarded as a warning to Pope from Walpole, and was actually predicted by Whitehead in the poem in question:

I name not W --- e; You the Reason guess;
Mark yon fell Harpy hov'ring o'er the Press.
Secure the Muse may sport with Names of Kings,
But Ministers, my Friend, are dang'rous Things.
Who would have P --- n answer what he writ?
Or special Juries, Judges of his Wit?
Pope writes unhurt — but know, 'tis different quite
To beard the Lion, and to crush the Mite.
Safe may he dash the Statesman in each Line,
Those dread his Satire, who dare punish mine.
(pp. 13-14)

It seems that Whitehead was anxious not to be arraigned once more because of Miller's poem. Speculation as to its authorship appears to have been general, for on October 28th, a few days after its publication, the Honorable Sarah Osborn wrote to her son Danvers: "Are these things so? is a very severe Poem; tis said to be wrote by Dodington. I send you that also tomorrow."¹⁰ In 1735 Pope had mentioned that verses by such people as Dodington were often thought, by bad judges, to be his, because of their imitation of his style:

⁸An anonymous pamphlet of 1739, An Apology for the Minister, which "defends" Walpole against attacks on his treaty with Spain, mentions "that most audacious Satire call'd MANNERS" (p.23).

⁹DNB, s.v. Whitehead.

¹⁰Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century, 1721-1771, ed. John Mc Clelland (Stanford, 1936), p.49.

And then for mine obligingly mistakes
 The first Lampon Sir Will. or Bubo makes;
 Poor guiltless I! And can I chuse but smile,
 When ev'ry Coxcomb knows me by my style?

(An Epistle from Mr. Pope, to Dr. Arbuthnot, ll.279-282)

Although the publisher of the Dublin piracy of Are these Things So? claimed that Pope was its author, to increase sales, Miller probably did not intend that the reader should believe the poem to be actually written by the "Englishman in his Grotto." Nevertheless in April 1742 Horace Mann wrote from Florence to Horace Walpole about the poem's being translated into Italian, saying that it was "said to be Pope's." In Mann's opinion, however, "there is nothing but downright scandal and insolence in that poem without the least invention of aught that would indicate it to be of Pope but its supreme scandal and villainy."¹¹

The true authorship was known to other pamphleteers, however. In his anonymously published A Supplement to a Late Excellent Poem, entitled, Are these Things So? Thomas Newcomb, after berating the Opposition leaders, "Curio" and Celsus," turns his attention to Opposition writers, among whom "M-ll-r" is the first named:

Still in spruce couplets let pert M-ll-r deal,
 And rather want a Conscience than a meal.¹²
 (p.12)

¹¹Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, ed. W.S.Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith and George L.Lam (vols.17-24 of The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, ed. W.S. Lewis), vol.I, pp.387-388.

¹²For the attribution of this poem to Newcomb see David F. Foxon, English Verse 1701-1750 (1975). As well as being a prolific poet, Newcomb was a pro-government journalist for the Daily Gazetteer, according to An Historical View ... of the Political Writers in Great Britain ... (1740), p.52.

Also, in March 1741, Stephen Duck's poem Every Man in his own Way, printed for J. Roberts and R. Dodsley, attacked Miller (among others, including Whitehead) at some length, ridiculing his plays, and hinting at his authorship of Are these Things So? with this line: "This Itch of Scribbling clings about my Heart," and the footnote to it: "Parody of a Line in a late Poem." This refers to "And Love of Britain clings about my Heart" from Are these Things So? (p.2). Miller treated Duck unkindly in Harlequin-Horace, and this was clearly remembered with some resentment. Duck was, however, careful to make clear his reverence for "Pope's immortal pen," whilst scorning his imitators.

The second edition of Are these Things So? contained an "Advertisement" which read:

The first Publication of the following Poem having been entrusted to the Care of the Printer, it came, thro' either his Ignorance or Timorousness, extremely mutilated, and incorrect from the Press. The twenty last Lines were left out, which made the Conclusion very abrupt, and in a great measure destroy'd the Intention, as well as the Unity, of the whole Piece. The Characters of some great Personages were entirely omitted, and fictitious Names placed to others, instead of the real ones inserted by the Author.

Both editions were published by T. Cooper. The printer of the first edition, who is so severely castigated by Miller, was almost certainly J. Wright, who had printed several of Pope's works for Lawton Gilliver. The evidence for this lies in the printer's ornament employed on the title-page of the first edition of Are these Things So? It appears to be identical (even showing signs of wear in the same places) with the one that was used five years earlier to decorate the title-page of the first edition of An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot. That was

printed in 1734 by J. Wright for Lawton Gilliver, and it is unlikely that the printer's ornament would have changed hands in the six intervening years.¹³ Miller accuses the printer of "Ignorance or Timorousness," and possibly the latter might have been cautious about the inclusion of proper names in a poem purporting (however implausibly) to be by Pope. Or, Pope may even have expressed some views on the subject himself, as the changes seem to have been made after the poem was accepted for publication. The section omitted at the end includes compliments to Cobham and Argyle, but also twelve lines which contain nothing more objectionable than is to be found elsewhere in the poem, and which provide its conclusion, without which, as Miller says, the ending is very abrupt. This seems to show extreme carelessness, although his further accusations, that the "Pointing" was "false in almost every Line, and there were many Words either mis-plac'd or mis-spell'd in almost every Page," are greatly exaggerated. Probably Miller was looking for an excuse for offering the public a second edition. Also, if he had intended the first edition to carry the proper names which appear in the second, someone must have made the decision to remove them, and selected the pseudonyms "Camillus", "Demosthenes," and so on. It is significant that in the Art of Life the year before Miller had used "Atticus" as a pseudonym for Chesterfield, and this poem uses the same name for the same man. It therefore seems most probable that Miller himself provided the pseudonyms, perhaps at the bookseller's request, but later wanted to be bolder.

In spite of these disadvantages, Miller claimed that the public had given the first edition "such a generous and uncommon Reception,

¹³I owe this information to a personal communication from Mr. James McLaverty, of Keele University, who has made a study of the career of Lawton Gilliver.

that a large Number were obliged to be printed off ... before there was Leisure to restore or correct any thing."

Most of the replies to Are these Things So? attempted to refute the allegations made in it, but the earliest response was in its support: a poem entitled Yes they are, which was published, also by T. Cooper, on November 8th. It was written by Robert Morris, the architect who lived near Pope at Twickenham.¹⁴ He was associated with the Earl of Burlington in some of his architectural work (at a later period than that we are concerned with), helped design the lodge at Richmond Park for George II, and modernised a house for Bubb Dodington. As well as several works on architecture, Morris wrote other poetry, and a tragedy, The Fatal Necessity; or, Liberty Regained (1742), which was a "patriotic" propaganda piece, and not intended for performance.

Among the rebuttals of Are these Things So? and Yes they are was a poem called They are Not, published by J. Roberts, probably in December 1740. Its author appears to know who wrote the two earlier poems (although he seems more certain about Morris than Miller):

Are these Things So? - - ill-manner'd ---- cries;
And ecchoing M — s, Yes they are, replies.
(They are Not 11.69-70)

Morris retorted with Have at you all, and the author of They are

¹⁴The attribution of Yes they are and another poem in the series, Have at you all, has been made by David Foxon. Morris's poem of 1743, St. Leonard's Hill, which bears his name, has an advertisement for poems by the same author, which include The Art of Architecture (1742). The latter poem carries an advertisement linking it with Part II of An Enquiry after Virtue: in a Letter to a Friend (1743), which in turn lists Yes they are and Have at you all as being by the same author.

Not with Come on then.¹⁵

Among the replies was The Great Man's Answer to Are these Things So? but this was an answer that deliberately failed to vindicate Walpole, and was also by Miller. The end of the second edition of Are these Things So? perhaps indicates that he planned to write an answer, since the Minister is challenged:

This is a Question all have right to ask,
To answer it with Honour is your Task;
That, if you dare unbosom, I expect,
Till when, I'm Yours, Sir, with all due Respect.
(p.15)

The first poem was a monologue of accusation from a Pope-figure; the second is a "Dialogue between His Honour and the Englishman in his Grotto," in which Walpole, as Maynard Mack remarks, "is given some of the arguments that went farthest, in a period when nothing like modern party discipline was known, to excuse his system of placemen and pensioners."¹⁶ When his rational arguments fail to convince "The Englishman," Walpole tries a bribe, and finally leaves in disgust, crying: "You and your Country may be damn'd together." This poem was also published by T. Cooper, and appeared on December 18th.

Miller did not entirely neglect the theatre during this period. On December 11th, 1740, Charles Fleetwood had applied for a licence for a one-act play called "The Camp Visitants," the attribution of which to Miller was discussed above (p.60). As far as we know the piece was neither published nor performed; and the reasons for this are obscure. The Catalogue of the Larpent Plays does not indicate that the manuscript shows any sign that a licence was refused, although this does not definitely prove that one was granted, since the compiler Dougald MacMillan writes in the preface:

¹⁵The Appendix lists the whole series, rather more completely than Maynard Mack in The Garden and the City (p.197), and Ian Gordon in his edition of Are these Things So? and The Great Man's Answer (Introduction, pp.i-ii)

On some copies the marks of the Examiners indicate objectionable passages, and most suppressed plays bear endorsements which state that the licence was not granted.

(p.viii, Italics mine)

Several passages in "The Camp Visitants" were marked by the Examiner, as in some of Miller's other plays, which were afterwards granted licences, provided those passages were removed. Fleetwood wrote on the last page of the manuscript: "Sir, If this farce be entirely approved off by you I intend to have it acted." In making similar statements on the manuscripts of the five other plays by Miller that he dealt with, Fleetwood does not use the word "entirely." This is perhaps of no significance, but it might mean that he was particularly nervous about this play, and would not stage it at all if the Examiner objected to any part of it. The marked passages are adverse comments on the conduct and usefulness of the army at its camp on Hounslow Heath, but the play depends wholly on the setting of the camp for its originality and appeal, and even without the censored speeches, the implication would be clear that the army was only idling and amusing itself, in time of war.

In May 1741 Miller's Miscellaneous Works, volume I, was delivered to its subscribers by J. Brindley. It was printed for John Watts, and had been long projected, for printed with the text of The Art of Life, which appeared in October 1739, is an advertisement for the works in prose and verse of Mr. Miller in one volume, which concludes:

N.B. The Delivery of this Work has been delay'd some time, that the two Epistles above-mentioned might be inserted in it, and another Piece which will be shortly publish'd .

The "Two Epistles" referred to are The Art of Life (of which only the first epistle ever appeared). The delay was not caused by the preparation of new pieces for the collection, as all the

major items in it had been published previously, none of them later than May 1738, while the Art of Life was not in fact included in it. Nevertheless, Miller had lavished a good deal of time and care on the volume. The texts of the four plays had been carefully revised. In particular, most of the oaths, such as "Odsbud", "'icod" and "'SDeath", which are very frequent in the earlier versions, are here softened or omitted, as are such words as "whore" and "fornicator". In the four years since the Licensing Act the public had perhaps grown used to rather more sedate language in the theatre, and Miller feared to offend. He removed some of the more audacious remarks from the plays, especially those referring to the church or to clergymen. A notable example of this occurs in The Humours of Oxford (on p.7 in the first edition): "Old Dons [who would take no more notice of one at another time, than a Bishop of a Country Curate, will] come cringing Cap in hand ..." The words in brackets are omitted from the text in Miscellaneous Works (p.126). Miller is conscious of the fact that the plays are now appearing under his name, and that, as a cleric, his position is vulnerable. The preface to the volume, which I have frequently quoted already, attempts to justify his writing for the stage by stressing the salutary effects of satire:

The Author ... makes the following Answer. He has met with such very slender and precarious Preferment in his own Profession, tho' he has had the Good-fortune of being well received in it whenever he appeared, that he could see no Harm in making to himself Friends, in a Way not reproachable, by any small Talents he happen'd to possess.

Theatrical Entertainments will and must be exhibited: Many Dramatick Authors show too little Regard for the moral Tendency of such Performances. Pieces of that Kind therefore brought upon the Stage, if barely innocent, may claim some degree of Merit; but when they are entirely turn'd to lash and ridicule the prevailing Vices and Follies of the Age, they... can only be censured by those who are not for having People cur'd of their Mental Disorders out of the common Form.

(sig.a2^r)

Other alterations seem to have been made by Miller merely to improve the style, although their effect is often to spoil the spontaneity and liveliness of the dialogue. In The Humours of Oxford, for instance, Miller obviously felt that the conversation of the undergraduates included too much slang and jargon, and so he omitted in his revised version such phrases as: "no, tho' they sconce me a Fortnight's Commons, I'll not do it " (p.9).

The collection also contained the revised texts of Harlequin-Horace, Seasonable Reproof and Of Politeness; songs from The Coffee-House and An Hospital for Fools; a poem entitled Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland, together with several shorter poems previously unpublished; and two essays, one adapted from the preface to the Select Comedies of Mr. De Moliere, and the other purely a panegyric on the character of Frederick, Prince of Wales. The volume is also dedicated to the Prince, who had become the focus of all the Opposition's hopes at this time. There was enmity between George II and his heir apparent, and all those who had failed to prosper under the father, and disliked the policies of his Minister, looked to find a saviour in the son. Pope's satire One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty, which was not published until 1797, described the nation's plight as desperate, her statesmen of all persuasions corrupt, and her future dependent on Frederick:

Alas! on one alone our all relies,
Let him be honest, and he must be wise

Be but a man! unministered, alone,
And free at once the Senate and the Throne

Europe's just balance and our own may stand,
And one man's honesty redeem the land.

(11.85-86. 89-90, 97-98)

Miller's emphasis, however, is laid, less nobly, upon the Prince's supposed "Munificence, Liberality, Benevolence, Compassion"(p.415),

rather than his integrity, and while his dedication states that he dares not "presume to offer any thing that might look like Panegyrick," his "Essay" is plainly a begging letter.

The preface spoke of a projected second volume, to contain other works since published and "a great number of Pieces both in Verse and Prose, never yet publish'd," to be delivered the following January. The fact that no money was requested until delivery probably indicates that the project for a second volume was tentative, and indeed, it never appeared. For the first volume, however, Miller had mustered an impressive list of subscribers, comprising 154 names. Fourteen of these belong to the peerage, and the leading names amongst this group, which has a marked Opposition slant, are the Dukes of Argyle and Queensbury, the Duchess of Buckingham, and the Earls of Marchmont, Orrery and Shaftesbury. Other notable names are those of Arthur Onslow, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir William Stanhope the son of Lord Harrington, George Frederick Handel, and Gerard Vandergucht, the artist who engraved the frontispiece to the third edition of Harlequin-Horace. Fourteen members of the clergy subscribed, including the Bishops of Bristol and Bangor, and the Bishop of Chichester, Frances Hare, who had been praised in Seasonable Reproof, and had died before Miscellaneous Works appeared. Theatrical names mingle somewhat incongruously with clerical ones on the list. Charles Fleetwood subscribed, as did the actors James Quin and Kitty Clive, and also the playwrights Charles Boadens and Robert Dodsley, in spite of Miller's rather condescending mention of them as wits of humble station in The Art of Life:

Not but sometimes, should Phoebus deign his Fire,
A Duck or Dodsley may to Rhyme aspire;
And Noble Lords, for sake of wholsom Glee,
Facetious Bodens, club their Jokes with thee.

(p.18)

Dodsley was one of a total of eight booksellers Miller persuaded to subscribe.

Several of the people to whom Miller dedicated his previous works were subscribers, including Godfrey Clarke, Frederick Frankland, and Lord Talbot. The list also included Miller's two friends and literary collaborators, Henry Baker and John Hoadly.

In the same month as Miscellaneous Works, May 1741, there appeared a prose pamphlet, entitled: The Death of M-L-N in the Life of Cicero, Being a Proper Criticism on that Marvellous Performance. By an Oxford Scholar. This pamphlet is one of a list of titles attributed to Miller in the catalogue of an auction of the stock and copyrights belonging to Francis Cogan the bookseller, when he went bankrupt in 1746.¹⁶ There is also internal evidence of Miller's authorship, in particular, the quotation of a couplet from Harlequin-Horace, which was probably intended as a hint to the reader.¹⁷

The "Proper Criticism" is of Conyers Middleton's History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero, which had appeared in February that year. This work was eagerly awaited and was received with acclamation by the public. In illustration of this enthusiasm John Nichols quotes a letter from the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning to the Master of Emmanuel College,

¹⁶The manuscript trade-sale catalogue is in the John Johnson col- in the Bodleian Library. It reads as follows:

Are These Things so
Great Man's Answer
Pearce's Character of the Clergy
Expediency of one Man's Dying
Pony's Epistle
Hanover Heroes
Death of Middleton in the Life of Cicero.

N.B. The above Seven Articles by the Reverend Mr. Miller. The whole. Seven Hundred Forty-one, a poem. A Half [share in copyright].

¹⁷Old Things must yield to new, common to strange,
Perpetual Motion brings perpetual Change
(Death of M-L-N, p.28, cf. Harlequin-Horace, p.10).

Cambridge, offering, on behalf of the Society, to publish the life of Cicero which they had heard Middleton was then completing, as they wanted to begin their list of publications with the work of a man of genius and merit, and concluding: "it will be a little estate to the Author whose works they begin with, for every mortal will buy it."¹⁸ The biography was not ultimately published by the Society, but it nevertheless brought Middleton wealth and a great reputation. There were a few hostile critics of his book, however, particularly of the translations of Cicero's epistles which it supplied.¹⁹ Miller's pamphlet ridicules some passages from Middleton's translations of the epistles, and his use of English, but the main motives for his attack are clearly political. The patron to whom Middleton addressed a long and flattering dedication was Lord Hervey, the close associate of Walpole, and the enemy of Pope. The subscribers to the Life of Cicero were many and illustrious, and included Sir Robert Walpole (who took five copies) and four members of his family. Miller, in criticising Middleton for not showing sufficient impartiality in his depiction of Cicero's character and conduct, draws an obvious parallel between the eras of Cicero and of Walpole, and alleges that Middleton is ready to condone the servile flattery of tyrants, and the acceptance of bribes.

Middleton's dedication to Hervey was also seized upon by Fielding, who parodied it with hilarious effect in Shamela, which appeared on April 4th, 1741, a month earlier than Miller's pamphlet.

¹⁸Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. by William Bowyer and John Nichols (1812), vol. II, p.81. The letter is dated December 8th, 1734.

¹⁹See James Tunstall, Epistola ad virum eruditum Conyers Middleton (1741), passim. Middleton replied to Tunstall's attack in the preface to his translation of The Epistles of M.T.Cicero, published in 1743.

Its "dedication" should be read alongside Middleton's for its full humour to be appreciated.²⁰ Fielding renewed the attack on Hervey in Joseph Andrews in 1742, through his depiction of Beau Didapper, and then invoked the Muse of Biography, who "hadst no Hand in that Dedication, and Preface, or the Translations which thou wouldst willingly have struck out of the Life of Cicero ..." ²¹

The Life of Cicero had not been the death of Middleton, but it had certainly given Hervey's enemies a fine opportunity for ridicule by its fulsome dedication.

Later in 1741, in November, appeared an anonymous poem entitled The Year Forty-One. Carmen Seclare, dedicated to the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, and published by Jacob Robinson. This is almost certainly the work described as "Seventeen hundred forty-one, a poem," half the copyright of which was sold in the trade sale of Francis Cogan mentioned above (p.77). It is entered in the catalogue separately, immediately below the seven works specifically listed as Miller's, presumably because Cogan had only a half-share. The third edition of the poem (1742) attributes it to the author of Are these Things So? This edition was printed for T.Cooper, who had also published Are these Things So? The second and third "editions" were actually only re-issues. There were also two Dublin editions, a duodecimo and an octavo, and an Edinburgh octavo, all published in 1741.

The poem continues the theme of Are these Things So?—lamenting the banishment of the Goddess Liberty from Britain's shores, and urging the nation to "take the Wicked from before the King." The dedication to the Duchess, then aged eighty-one, praises her continual efforts "to stem that Torrent of publick Enormities, which

²⁰An Apology for the life of Mrs, Shamela Andrews ... by Mr. Conny Keyber (1741), pp. v-xii.

²¹The History of Joseph Andrews (1742), vol.II,p.98.

has of late bore in upon us with such Power and great Glory." She certainly hated Walpole, and left money in her will for Richard Glover and David Mallet, two Opposition writers, as payment for the biography of her husband she hoped they would undertake. The anonymous Life of Her Grace Sarah, Late Duchess Dowager of Marlborough (1745) spoke of "her hearty Detestation of the late Minister, whom she never nam'd without the most sovereign Contempt, and whose Measures she always oppos'd to the utmost of her Power; never failing to exert her whole Influence, and Interest, to exclude all his Tools, at every election" (p.58). She was on very friendly terms with Pope between 1740 and 1744. He wrote to her frequently during this period, and stayed with her at Windsor Lodge. She was engaged in the preparation of her autobiography, The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, when she first sought Pope's acquaintance, and showed him some of her material.²² After its publication in 1742 she was defended from the attacks it brought by Fielding, in A Full Vindication of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough (1742). The Duchess's enormous wealth may also have had some influence over Miller's choice of her as a patron for this poem. He had had no financial success in the theatre since The Universal Passion in February 1737, and had published nothing substantial since the complete Molière in 1739.

According to the trade-sale catalogue previously cited, Miller was responsible for a piece, presumably in prose, which appeared anonymously early in 1742, entitled The Expediency of One Man's Dying to save a Nation from Perishing. It was printed for T. Cooper, and was listed in the Monthly Catalogue in the London Magazine as being published in January 1742. I have been unable

²²The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, vol.IV, p.258.

to locate a copy of this in any library in Britain or America, but it is clearly a pamphlet calling for the impeachment of Walpole. A general election had taken place in the summer of 1741, and the new parliament met on December 1st. The government was several times defeated in the trials of contested election returns which were then held. There was a recess from December 24th until January 18th, during which time Walpole tried to win the Prince of Wales away from the Opposition with the offer of a rise in income, but the Minister's fall appeared almost inevitable. He accepted defeat on February 2nd, 1742, and called to see the Prince, who assured him that he "should not be molested, as the Jacobites were already clamouring for his head," to quote the Dictionary of National Biography's entry for Walpole. Miller's pamphlet seems to have been a part of this clamour. The king asked Pulteney to ensure that Walpole would be protected from all resentment, but Pulteney was unable to promise this. He refused to support a motion introduced on March 9th to enquire into Walpole's administration for the last twenty years, but later supported a motion to investigate ten years only. A secret committee, consisting almost entirely of Walpole's political opponents, was then formed. Their first enquiry, into the distribution of the secret service money, failed because of the refusal of the secretary to the Treasury, John Scrope, and the Solicitor to the Treasury, Nicholas Paxton, to give evidence. A proposal to indemnify witnesses who would give evidence of any kind against Walpole was defeated, as were all the later measures moved against him in Parliament. He was eventually allowed to pass his last three years in safety, as the Earl of Orford.

These events are worth summarising, for later in 1742 Miller published another pamphlet that refers to them. Meanwhile, in

February, there appeared a translation of a Latin sermon preached before the Convocation of the Church of England by Zachary Pearce, Dean of Winchester, "with a Dedication to the Author, containing Some Remarks on the unjust Aspersions cast upon his Brethren therein, and other Notorious Particulars, By a Member of the Lower House of Convocation."²³ Miller was not a member of Convocation (his rank in the Church was less exalted), but the translation, with its hostile "dedication" to Pearce, is attributed to Miller by Cogan's trade sale catalogue.

The reasons for this severe attack on Pearce's sermon are not immediately apparent. Miller's objections to the Dean's exhortations to the clergy to practise what they preach (which are mildly and pleasantly expressed, and seem perfectly reasonable) appear forced and strained. Pearce's own career in the church, moreover, was actually quite remarkable for its conscientiousness and freedom from ambitious preferment-seeking, compared with those of many of his contemporaries. Miller's principal motive seems to have been political, as with all his prose pamphlets at this period. His Death of M-L-N is evidently a similar case. In that piece he raised objections to the translations of Cicero's epistles, and to numerous other aspects of Middleton's Life, but these lack conviction compared with his dislike of the flattery of Lord Hervey in

²³The full title of the translation is: The Dean of Winchester His Character of the English Clergy. Being a Translation of a Latin Sermon Preached before the Convocation on the 2d of December last, By Zachary Pearce, S.T.P. Dean of Winchester. Pearce's sermon was published as Concio ad Synodum ab Archiepiscopo, Episcopis, reliogioque Clero Provinciae Cantuariensis celebratam, habita in Ecclesia Cathedrali S. Pauli Londini die 2 Decemb. A.D. 1741.

its preface. Pearce was patronised as much by Pulteney as by Walpole, who in preferring Pearce to be Dean of Winchester, was only complying with a wish the Queen had expressed before her death. Much earlier in his career, however, Pearce had helped the Whigs by composing A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England on Occasion of the Bishop of Rochester's Commitment to the Tower (1722). The Lower House of Convocation was rebelliously inclined, and the letter was intended to subdue the high-Tory zeal of some of its members. Possibly this might have contributed to Miller's choice of a pseudonym, "A Member of the Lower House of Convocation." Atterbury himself had used this soubriquet in 1702, when he published The Case of the Schedule Stated, one of a series of tracts concerned with the rights of Convocation, which had been successively prorogued for the preceding ten years, and had therefore accomplished no business during that period. Archbishop Wake, White Kennet and Edmund Gibson all attacked his views, but the Lower House passed a vote of thanks to him. If Miller had felt strong resentment over Pearce's treatment of Atterbury, however, it is likely he would have indicated as much in his preface. He does clearly resent the fact that Convocation was suppressed, and this was a particularly topical issue at the time he wrote. The two houses had been prorogued in 1717, when the Lower House attacked Hoadly's famous sermon, and had not assembled for the transaction of Church business until 1741. They then met, but were again prorogued by the government upon the recurrence of the old disputes. Convocation did not meet again for more than a century.²⁴ The

²⁴The silencing of Convocation is one element in the destruction of civilisation heralded by the great yawn at the climax of the 1742 Dunciad: "The Convocation gap'd but could not speak" (IV, 610). Pope's note points out the progress of the yawn from churches and chapels to the schools, and Westminster Hall, "Then the Convocation, which tho' extremely desirous to speak, yet cannot."

historian Basil Williams describes the unfortunate consequences of this suppression upon the religious life of the church, as follows:

[It meant] the loss of the one opportunity for the higher and lower clergy to meet and discuss the doctrinal and practical questions affecting them all. As it was, there was no common policy in the church for dealing with such new problems as Wesleyanism, hardly even a common religion, and certainly little feeling of common interest between the wealthy bishops and pluralists and the humble village parsons. The suspension of convocations, necessary as it may have seemed to the politicians of the day, whose main concern was not to disturb sleeping dogs in church or state, was one of the causes of the lethargy and want of spirituality not unjustly imputed to the English church of the eighteenth century.²⁵

Pearce mentions in his sermon that the duty the members have to perform in Convocation is of short duration compared with the duty they must practise in everyday life, and Miller interprets this as "A decent sneer enough upon the Convocations not being permitted to sit" (p.10). This implies that Pearce is not opposed to this ministerial interference with the church. Miller attacks Pearce mainly because he considers him an ally of Walpole's, as one passage in his preface to the translation clearly indicates. He quotes Pearce's injunction to the clergy to "esteem every thing foreign to them which had not some Connection with the Cure of Souls," and asks:

what Connection the Modelling and Managing of a Select Vestry, the interfering in Covent Garden Elections, the prohibiting the Parish Bells being rung upon a publick Rejoicing for the glorious Atchievements of a Patriot Admiral ... have ... with the Cure of Souls? And yet, Sir, these Particulars have been practised very lately, if I am not misinformed, by a certain Friend of your's, who has a large Parish under his Care, and that, too, not without your Countenance.

(pp.18-19)

It was certainly considered perfectly normal for prelates to use their influence to affect the outcome of an election, but here the

²⁵ The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760, 2nd edn., rev. C.H.Stuart (Oxford, 1962), pp.82-83.

"Friend" of the Dean with a large parish under his care is probably Walpole himself. The whole country could be said to be his parish, and his handling of Parliament could be likened to the modelling of a "select Vestry." He would also certainly not have relished the nation's acclaim of the exploits of Admiral Vernon. The Admiral's birthday was celebrated (on three different dates, owing to confusion as to the actual day) in November 1740. Walpole had, after protracted negotiations, finally declared war on October 19th, with, it is said, the pessimistic comment: "They now ring the bells, but they will soon wring their hands."²⁶ The capture of Porto Bello with six ships seemed to prove him wrong, and provided the nation with a hero to counterbalance that apparent villain, who would betray his country by keeping her from a war she could easily win, and permitting her trade to be impeded by Spanish guarda-costas. Day after day during November the newspapers carried accounts of the birthday celebrations held in boroughs all over the country. Bells were rung all day, bonfires lighted, gentlemen drank the Admiral's health, and the populace were treated to strong beer.

The London Evening Post recounts that the celebrations gave offence to one gentleman, in " — Lancashire," thus:

This being the Birth-Day of the brave Admiral Vernon ... the Morning was usher'd in with ringing of Bells, but a neighbouring Justice of the Peace, remarkable for his arbitrary Temper, implacable Hatred to Tradesmen, and inviolable Attachment to his Honour; soon put a Stop to their Mirth, by laying his Peremptory Commands upon the Churchwarden ... his Worship was pleased to say, tho' he seldom gives a Reason for what He does, it was shewing a Piece of Disrespect to his
M — .²⁷

This may be an example of the inventive propaganda of an Opposition

²⁶William Coxe, Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford (1798), vol.I, p.618n.

²⁷London Evening Post, November 6th–November 8th, 1740.

journal, rather than an account of an actual incident, but it illustrates the political tensions surrounding the celebrations.

John Nichols quotes a letter from Dr. Samuel Knight, arch-deacon of Berkshire, to Dr. Z. Grey, dated February 22nd 1742, which mentions that "Dean Pearce's Clerum is wrote against very sharply."²⁸ As Miller's attack appeared that month, and I have found mention of no others, it seems that his is the piece here referred to, and that if the Dean published a defence of his sermon, as the Dictionary of National Biography states, it would have been written in reply to Miller.²⁹

The next possible item in the Miller canon was written after April 1742, since it refers to the events of that month, but, presumably, before Paxton's release from Newgate on July 15th. This was An Epistle from Dick Poney, Esq; Grand-Master Of the Right Black-Guard Society of Scald-Miserable-Masons, From his House in Dirty-Lane, Westminster, To Nick P --- n, Esq; Grand Master of the Right Scoundrel Gaxetteer [sic] Legion, at his Chambers in Newgate: another of the items listed in the trade-sale catalogue as being Miller's. The "epistle" is of course addressed to Nicholas Paxton, the Solicitor to the Treasury, who accepted imprisonment rather than give the secret committee of enquiry into Walpole's administration details of the financial transactions relevant to the borough of Wendover. It predicts that Paxton will be hanged, and, addressing him in an ironically friendly tone, composes for him a suitable "Dying Speech, but not Confession," after which it proceeds

²⁸Literary Anecdotes, vol.V, p.362.

²⁹The only evidence for this reply seems to be the assertion in the DNB's entry for Pearce that he published The Character of the Clergy Defended in 1742. This work was not included in the monthly list of publications in The Gentleman's Magazine nor in the Monthly Catalogue in The London Magazine, and I have been unable to locate a copy of the book in any British or American library.

to furnish one for Walpole himself, on the lines of the sensational broadsheets purporting to be the last confessions of condemned criminals, often on sale at executions. This forms the major part of the pamphlet, and displays a most vindictive spirit.

It was printed for T. Taylor, "near Exeter-Change," who was not a publisher with whom Miller is known to have been previously connected. The attribution of the trade-sale catalogue is not in this case reinforced by internal evidence of style or content, and the document is, possibly, not infallible. There seem to have been no further editions of this pamphlet, and, indeed, it did not deserve to be reprinted. This, assuming it to be his, is the last of Miller's political writings (except for a poem criticising the conduct of the Hanoverian army at the Battle of Dettingen), and illustrates in itself why this was so. The enemy had fallen, and satire that kicks a man when he is down, as this does, makes uninspiring reading.

- v) Miller's later dramatic career, and the end of his life (1743-1744).

Nothing more appears to have come from Miller's pen until April of the next year, 1743. The London Stage records that on April 11th a performance of Love for Love was given at Lincoln's Inn Fields for the benefit of the family of the actor William Milward, who had died in February, with an "Epilogue kindly sent to his Widow the Night before by the Gentleman who wrote the Man of Taste."¹ Milward died at the age of forty, "in the very

¹The London Stage, pt.3, vol.II, p.1048.

Meridian of an Actor,"² and was said to have been "thought to be the most proper Successor of Mr. Quin."³ He was a member of Rich's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields until invited by Theophilus Cibber to join the group which had defected from Drury Lane to the New Theatre in the Haymarket in 1734. He there played in Miller's Mother-in-Law, and in The Man of Taste and The Universal Passion at Drury Lane. Miller's epilogue, which is printed in Chetwood's General History of the Stage, praises Milward's virtue and "Integrity of Heart" as highly as his dramatic ability, and unites the two qualities rather neatly:

Whate'er of Friendly, Gen'rous, Good, he play'd,
 In Scenes of real Life he still display'd:
 Young Hamlet's Sable when he chose to wear,
 Young Hamlet's filial Piety was there:
 When the fond Lover Phocyas was his Part,
 Each tender Line sprang glowing from his Heart;
 Or when Macduff's dire Anguish was his Theme,
 The Husband and the Father bled in him.
 Well might he please, when with each virtuous Thought
 The Poet penn'd, the Player's Breast was fraught.
(pp.187-188)

This gesture of generosity towards a theatrical colleague is the only recorded connexion between Miller and the world of the theatre from December 1740 when "The Camp Visitants" was submitted for licensing, and March 2nd, 1744, when Handel's oratorio Joseph and his Brethren, with libretto by Miller, was sung.

Miller must have written the "sacred drama" for Handel to set to music by August 1743, as the composer is known to have worked on the score during August and September. The first two acts were

²William Rufus Chetwood, Prompter at Drury Lane, A General History of the Stage ... Collected and Digested by W.R.Chetwood (1749), p.187.

³The History of the English Stage ... by Mr.Thomas Betterton (1741); p.156. This work was not written by Betterton, who died in 1710; The publisher Edmund Curll merely made use of his name.

completed by September 12th.⁴

In 1731 Harlequin-Horace, in a passage deprecating the new passion for Italian opera, mentioned Handel somewhat disapprovingly:

Since Masquerades and Opera's made their Entry,
And Heydegger and Handell rul'd our Gentry.
(p.29)

These lines were retained in the third edition (which carried many other alterations and excisions) in February 1735. In May of the same year, however, in the fourth edition, "Handell" is removed, and the line stands: "And Heydegger reign'd Guardian of our Gentry" (p.27). Miller seems therefore to have revised his opinion around this time. During Lent that year three of Handel's Biblical oratorios, Esther, Deborah and Athaliah were revived at Covent Garden, with organ concertos played by Handel between the parts, and these were certainly very different from the "melodious Nonsense" and "mysterious Dullness" of Italian opera that Harlequin-Horace deplored. Handel and Heidegger, moreover, had for the time being parted company. One of the songs for Kitty Clive in The Universal Passion (1737) was set by Handel.⁵ In 1739 in his poem The Art of Life Miller accorded Handel the highest possible praise, in coupling him with Pope as the two artists wielding the strongest moral force in the cultural sphere. This corresponds to Horace's discussion of satiric and lyrical verse. When "Handel strikes the Lyre," his audience is deeply moved:

Our Joy and Grief, our Transport and Despair
Wait on each Touch, and change with ev'ry Air.
(p.16)

In 1741 Handel subscribed for Miller's collected works.

⁴Winton Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques (1959), p.407.

⁵See Victor Schoelcher, The Life of Handel, tr. James Lowe (1857), p.235: "Mrs. Clive was occasionally one of his singers. He wrote a song especially for her - 'like the amorous youth' - which she sang in that gallimaufry [The Universal Passion]."

Very little is known about Handel's relationships with his librettists. Winton Dean quotes a letter from the Rev. Thomas Morell, who supplied the librettos for several of Handel's later oratorios. This indicates that collaboration with Handel could be an exacting task for the librettist, who had to agree to many alterations.⁶ Miller was certainly forced to submit to numerous excisions, for the printed text, published by John Watts on March 1st, the day before the first performance, marks with an asterisk the lines omitted in performance, "on account of the Length of the Piece," which amount to about an eighth of the whole. In his dedication of the text to the Duke of Montagu Miller explains that the limitation of time imposed by the form "deprives the Writer of sufficient Room for the gradual and artful Unravelling of his Subject, as well as the clear and full Explication of his Character." The organisation of the plot is indeed confusing, and quite needlessly so. A resumé of it may be found in Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques by Winton Dean, together with some very severe criticism.⁷ Dean states that,

Of all the oratorios Deborah and Joseph come nearest to complete failure ... The failure [of Joseph] can be traced to the Reverend James Miller's libretto.

(p.398)

Only occasionally, Dean observed, does Handel draw real inspiration from Miller's words; generally they suppress his musical genius. Although Joseph has not been performed in England since the eighteenth century, it was really not a failure in Handel's time. It was performed only ten times in the composer's lifetime, which is little compared with the really popular works such as the Messiah, Alexander's Feast, Judas Maccabeus, Samson and Esther, which had

⁶Handel's Dramatic Oratorios p.90ff.

⁷pp.399-402.

all more than fifty performances, but twelve (from a total of twenty-seven) of the oratorios and odes had even fewer performances than Joseph. The libretto appeared in several editions; there were four before Handel's death in 1759, and at least three more after that.

Mrs. Delany, the cultivated society-woman whose correspondents included Swift, and who was one of Handel's most faithful supporters and admirers wrote to her sister on February 25th, 1744:

I was last night to hear Samson ... Joseph, I believe, will be next Friday, but Handel is mightily out of humour about it, for Sullivan, who is to sing Joseph, is a block with a very fine voice, and Beard has no voice at all. The part which Francescina is to have (of Joseph's wife) will not admit of much variety; but I hope it will be well received; the houses have not been crowded, but pretty full every night.⁸

On March 10th she continued her musical news:

The oratorios fill very well, notwithstanding the spite of the opera party: nine of the twelve are over. Joseph is to be performed (I hope) once more, then Saul, and the Messiah finishes; as they have taken very well, I fancy Handel will have a second subscription ...⁹

and again on March 15th:

We went together last night to Joseph. 'Twas the last night, and I think I prefer it to every thing he has made, except the Messiah.¹⁰

The Earl of Egmont saw the oratorio twice, and described it in his diary as "an inimitable composition."¹¹

In 1857 Victor Schoelcher wrote in his Life of Handel that:

.. the dedication of Joseph asks pardon ... for the weakness of the poem, which is nevertheless thought to be the best which Handel has treated. The reader will understand, of course, that I do not refer to those which were taken from Milton and Dryden.

(p.287)

⁸The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany ... ed. Lady Llanover (1861), vol.II, p.271.

⁹Correspondence vol.II, pp.279-80.

¹⁰Correspondence, vo.II, p.282.

¹¹Historical Manuscripts Commission, Diary of the First Earl of Egmont, vol.III, p.290.

Most modern readers, however, would find this comment surprising, for Miller's handling of the Biblical story is sadly lacking in dramatic structure and characterisation, and stilted and rhetorical in style.

Very little is known of Miller's life at this time, apart from Baker's statement that repeated disappointment cast a gloom over his disposition in his maturity. On May 8th 1742, however, Miller's father made his will, "being Sick of Body but of sound and Disposing Mind," and on December 31st 1743 his daughter Hellen (sic) Wallis was sworn as executrix, so that he presumably died shortly before then.¹² John Miller bequeathed to his son James "the sum of Three Pounds and Three shillings, Lawfull Money of Great Britain," and the same amount to his other children, William, Hellen, and one other (there is a hole in the document) and the remainder of his goods and chattels to Hellen, his executrix. He had been a widower since 1731, and doubtless wished to show his gratitude to the daughter who had nursed him. Contemporary biographies of James Miller indicate that he was presented by Nicholas Carey to the living at Upcerne which his father had formerly held. Theophilus Cibber says that this occurred "About a year before Mr. [James] Miller's death, which happened in 1743" (vol.V, p.333), and David Erskine Baker, that Miller died "just as his Prospects appeared to be clearing up" (vol.II, sig.Y2^r). Cibber is inaccurate, since Miller died in April 1744, and his father probably about five months earlier. However, if it had been arranged that James should receive the benefice on his father's death before John Miller made his will, this might account for his leaving his eldest son so little.

If, during the five months or so that elapsed between the

¹²The will is in the Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester.

deaths of father and son, Miller actually went to Dorset and took up the position of rector, there is no record of this at Upcerne. The list of rectors in the Upcerne parish register reads:

1725 John Miller
1743 Charles Hughes M.A.

The handwriting in the parish register is John Miller's (identical with that in the Compton Valence register up to the date of his transition to Upcerne) until July 26th, 1741. After this a different hand begins and continues for many years, so that it seems likely that Charles Hughes took over as early as 1741, perhaps as curate, or as a kind of locum tenens in John Miller's illness. Hutchin's History of Dorset indicates that Hughes was instituted as rector on May 31st 1744, six months after John's death, and one month after James's.¹³ It seems therefore that although the younger Miller probably never took up residence at Upcerne, the benefice was intended for him, since a different man was not installed until after his death.

In January 1744, between the composition of the libretto of Joseph and the performance of the oratorio, Miller published anonymously a poem on the battle of Dettingen, entitled The H — r Heroes: or, A Song of Triumph ... most submissively inscrib'd To the Generals ***** and Ilton. By a H - N - R - N.¹⁴ It is in the form of a ballad, with the last line of every eight-line stanza repeated, and claims on the title-page to be "Translated from the High German, into English, and the Metre adapted to the Tune of The Miller of Mansfield." The verse is a jog-trotting doggerel, befitting, presumably, the writer's Hanoverian persona, in which

¹³History of Dorset vol.IV, p.159

¹⁴This is the last of the items listed in the trade-sale catalogue of Francis Cogan as being by Miller. It was printed for W. Webb, near St. Pauls.

he extols the wisdom and discretion shown by the troops from Hanover under General Ilton, in hanging back from the battle, whilst abusing the pitiful, half-starved English who did the fighting.

Although the victory at Dettingen was a great personal triumph for George, the hostility in the country towards John Carteret, the Secretary of State for the northern province, who had gained George's favour by embracing his Hanoverian interests, was intense. On December 1st, 1743, only a month before the appearance of Miller's ballad, William Pitt accused Carteret of having renounced his country. Carteret is the main target of this poem, which adds to a growing volume of satiric literature protesting at Britain's connexion with Hanover. It appeared comparatively late after the battle. From July 1743 onwards a great many poems were published on the subject; either lampoons similar to Miller's, or odes to the King's martial glory. Many of the points Miller makes were made by these earlier poems. The Hanoverians, and General Ilton in particular, were accused of cowardice, probably on no very concrete evidence.¹⁵

Horace Walpole, when on June 24th he wrote from Houghton to recount the news of the victory to his friend Horace Mann, was delighted to report that "The Hanoverians behaved admirably."¹⁶ On July 11th, however, he wrote:

There is great blame thrown on Baron Ilton, the Hanoverian General, for having hindered the guards from engaging: if they had, and the horse, who behaved wretchedly, had done their duty, it is agreed that there would be no second engagement.¹⁷

¹⁵For example, Beef and Butt Beer, against Mum and Pumpnickle (1743), Stanza V, depicts Baron Ilton hiding behind a tree, as Miller's poem does.

¹⁶Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, vol. II (vol. 18 of Yale Edition), p. 259.

¹⁷Ibid.

In the House of Lords twenty-four peers signed a document protesting at the cowardice and disobedience of some of the Hanoverian troops.¹⁸

Miller's poem was both propaganda for British disengagement from Hanover, and an attack on Carteret for seeking his own personal advancement through royal favour, more than the real interests of his country.

During the first quarter of 1744, Miller may have succeeded to the living of Upcerne, in spite of there being no evidence of his moving to Dorset. He seems to have published nothing between H — r Heroes in January, and Mahomet the Impostor, his adaptation of Voltaire's tragedy Mahomet, which was performed in April. It was written by April 16th, since that was the date on which Fleetwood applied for a licence to perform it. This was granted without any alterations being required, and the play was first produced at Drury Lane on April 25th, and published on May 1st.¹⁹

It was Miller's only tragedy, and his anonymity was perhaps better preserved on this occasion than it had formerly been. Baker writes:

This Play met with tolerable Success, its Merits having fair Play from the Ignorance of the prejudiced Part of the Audience with Regard to its Author.

(vol.I, sig. N2^V)

Reed's Biographia Dramatica adds that since Miller was ill and "unable to put the finishing hand to it, he received some assistance in the completing of it from Dr. John Hoadly."²⁰ The notes on the careers of the Hoadly family in Nichol's Literary Anecdotes go further and assert that the last act of Mahomet was by John

¹⁸W.E.H. Lecky, The History of England in the Eighteenth Century (1925), vol.II, p.14.

¹⁹Announced in The General Advertiser, May 1st, 1744.

²⁰Vol.II, p.213.

Hoadly.²¹ Moreover, David Garrick's 1766 adaptation bore this prefatory note:

This Play is partly a Translation, and partly an Imitation of the celebrated MAHOMET of Voltaire, the first four Acts composed by the Rev. Mr. Miller, and the last by a Gentleman eminent for his dramatic Talents, whose Name we have not the Liberty of mentioning ...

However, in spite of Garrick's wish to give his friend Hoadly credit for the last act, there is, as Powell Stewart's dissertation points out (p.362), no discernible difference in style between the last act and the others, even to the proportion of run-on lines in the verse, so that it seems much more probable that Hoadly only revised and polished the play.

Hoadly was the youngest son of the Bishop of Winchester, and was seven years Miller's junior. He became Chancellor of the diocese of Winchester in 1735, and was chaplain to the Prince of Wales, but was very interested in the theatre, and wrote several plays. The first of these to be performed was "The Contrast," which was acted for three nights at Lincoln's-Inn Fields in 1731. This play, which was never printed, was, according to Isaac Reed, in the form of a rehearsal of two contemporary plays, a tragedy and a comedy (the plan later used by Fielding in Pasquin), and was intended,

to ridicule the then living poets, among whom we find, by the Grub-street Journal, Mr. Thomson author of the Seasons was to be numbered. At the desire of bishop Hoadly it was suppressed, and every scrap of paper, copy, and parts, recalled by Mr. Rich, and restored to the authors.²²

Hoadly, then, was not only a man of the church with dramatic leanings, like Miller, but was writing theatrical satire in 1731, the year that Harlequin-Horace appeared. If the two young men

²¹Vol.III, p.142.

²²Biographia Dramatica (1782), vol.II, p.67. In the Grub-street Journal (May 6th, 1731), "Bavius" implies that the play's attack on Thomson lay in its ridicule of his tragedy Sophonisba (1730).

were already acquainted, Miller might even have been one of the authors of "The Contrast" mentioned by Reed, although in using the plural Reed was probably assuming that John Hoadly's older brother Benjamin, also an amateur playwright, and later the creator of the very successful Suspicious Husband (1747), was his collaborator. Miller, to judge from Harlequin-Horace's warm praise of Thomson, would be unlikely to satirise his Sophonisba, but since the non-juror Russel would have been prejudiced against the son of the Low-Church bishop, the Grub-street Journal may well have exaggerated the extent of the play's attack on Thomson.

Hoadly was for many years a close friend of David Garrick. The first letter to him in Garrick's collected correspondence is dated December 29th, 1744, and by its easy familiarity indicates that they had known each other for some time:

Y^r doubting my Inclination to write, is such a virulent Satire against my Head & Heart, that unless You send immediatly back Y^r Recantation in form, I will never more suffer You to talk of Acting, read Plays, write 'em, or laugh & be Jolly with Me in James Street [up] two pair of Stairs ... when shall I see You in Town pray? with Y^r Funny Head, laughing Face, honest Heart, & cramm'd Pockets?²³

Hoadly was later to undertake revisions and alterations of plays at Garrick's suggestion, and Mahomet, in which Garrick played the juvenile lead part of Zaphna in April 1744, might have been an early instance of this. Although not yet theatre manager, Garrick was in a position of some authority, thanks to the pre-eminence of his talent, and the increasing unreliability of Fleetwood.

Unfortunately the only reference to Garrick's performance in Mahomet in his published correspondence occurs in a letter to Richard Brinsley Sheridan many years later, in which he replies to an accusation of interfering in a rehearsal of the play in 1778:

²³The Letters of David Garrick, vol. I, pp.45-46.

I imagin'd (foolishly indeed) that my attending Bannister's rehearsal of the part I once play'd, & w^{ch} y^r Father never saw, might have assisted y^e Cause ...²⁴

His only other reference to Miller was made in 1775, in connexion with a farce Joseph Cradock wanted him to read. Garrick imagined, wrongly, that the farce was to be on the same subject as The Man of Taste:

Poor Miller I knew a little, & I believe he never troubled his head wth Terence for he never had any part of him in it - He took all he had from Y^e French, & if I remember right his Man of Taste is Nearly copy'd from the Precieuses ridicules of Moliere.²⁵

Mahomet the Impostor did, as Baker said, have tolerable success on the stage; it was performed three nights in succession in April 1744, then again seven months later as a benefit for Mrs. Miller, and was revived in Dublin in 1753 and 1754, and frequently performed in London during the latter part of the century. It was reprinted more often than any other of Miller's plays, through the rest of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.

It is better described as a fairly close translation, rather than an adaptation of Voltaire's play, although Miller makes many slight adjustments of emphasis throughout. The prologue acknowledges its original, and speaks of the storm it aroused in France, amongst her "bigoted" priesthood.²⁶ The target of the play is religious fanaticism - what Miller calls "enthusiasm," and the prologue is surprisingly outspoken, considering it belongs to an

²⁴Letters of David Garrick, vol.III, p.1251.

²⁵Letters of David Garrick, vol.III, p.1034.

²⁶Advertisements for the printed text of Miller's adaptation use the controversy the play caused in France as a selling point:

Mons. VOLTAIRE'S Tragedy of MAHOMET, on which this is founded, was suppressed at Paris ... on Account of the Free and Noble Sentiments, with Regard to Bigotry and Enthusiasm, which shine through it; and which the French Nation found full as applicable to itself, as to the Bloody Propagators of Mahomet's Religion.

(General Advertiser, May 1st, 1744)

adaptation made by a clergyman, and completed by another:

Religion to be Sacred, must be Free;
 Men will suspect - where Bigots keep the Key.
 Hooded and train'd like Hawks th' Enthusiasts fly,
 And the Priest's Victims in their Pounces die.
 Like Whelps born blind, by Mother-Church they're bred,
 Nor wake to Sight, to know themselves misled:
 Murder's the Game - and to the Sport unprest,
 Proud of the Sin, and in the Duty blest,
 The Layman's but the Blood-Hound of the Priest.

It is also rather unusual for Catholics to be described as "Enthusiasts": a term normally applied to fanatical dissenters.

The choice of this particular French tragedy is in itself remarkable for a man of Miller's profession. Because of its implicit criticism of the priesthood Voltaire was at first refused permission to produce Mahomet in Paris. It was therefore performed at Lille in 1741, to immense applause. The audience included several bishops, and this encouraged Voltaire to apply again to Fleury for permission to produce it in Paris. This time he was successful, and the play appeared at the Théâtre de la Comédie Française on August 9th, 1742. Carlyle described its reception in his History of Friedrich II of Prussia:

August 9th, 11th, 13th, Paris City was in transports of various kinds; never were such crowds of Audience, lifting a man to the immortal gods - though a part, too, majority by count of heads, were dragging him to Tartarus again. "Exquisite, unparalleled!" exclaimed good judges (as Fleury himself had anticipated, on examining the Piece): - "Infamous, irreligious, accursed!" vociferously exclaimed the bad judges; ... hugely vociferous, these latter, hugely in majority by count of heads. And there was such a bellowing and such a shrieking, judicious Fleury, or Maurepas under him, had to suggest, "Let an actor fall sick; let M. de Voltaire volunteer to withdraw his Piece; otherwise - !" - And so it had to be: Actor fell sick on the 14th (Playbills sorry to retract their Mahomet on the 14th); and - in fact it was not for nine years coming, and after Dedication to the Pope, and other exquisite manoeuvres and unexpected turns of fate, that Mahomet could be acted a fourth time in Paris, and thereafter ad libitum down to this day.²⁷

²⁷ Thomas Carlyle, History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great (1858-65), vol. III, pp. 633-634.

Mahomet attacked bigotry, but some thought Voltaire aimed at religion itself. Lord Chesterfield wrote in a letter to Claude Prosper de Crébillon on August 26th, 1742 (that is, after the Paris performances):

Voltaire m'a récité l'année passée à Bruxelles plusieurs tirades de son Mahomet, où j'ai trouvé de très beaux vers ... mais j'ai d'abord vu qu'il en voulait à Jesus-Christ, sous le caractère de Mahomet, et j'étais surpris qu'on ne s'en fût pas aperçu à Lille ... Même je trouvai à Lille un bon Catholique, dont le zèle surpassait la pénétration, qui était extrêmement édifié de la manière dont cet imposteur et ennemi du Christianisme était dépeint.²⁸

Chesterfield was thus one of Carlyles "bad judges," as Alfred Noyes shows in his biography of Voltaire,²⁹ but the play was certainly controversial, and John Genest writing his Account of the English Stage in 1832 asserted that "in the English play there are some sentiments which would not be agreeable to the High Church party here."³⁰ As Powell Stewart points out in his dissertation (p.387), Genest may have been thinking in particular of the passage in the adaptation where Zaphna, disciple of Mahomet, having been well treated by Alcanor, asks: "Can then a Foe to Mah'met's sacred Law / Be Virtue's Friend?" and Alcanor replies:

Thou know'st but little, Zaphna,
If thou dost think true Virtue is confin'd
To Climes or Systems ...

(p.39)

As in Seasonable Reproof, Miller is demonstrating his aversion to rigid authoritarianism and oppressive insistence on orthodoxy. In his first play, Haughty, the Fellow of Wadham College, is accused of setting himself up "for a Scholar, without learning enough to

²⁸The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (1932), vol.II, p.520.

²⁹Noyes discusses the question of Voltaire's intention at length in Voltaire (1936), chapter XXII, "Mahomet and Lord Chesterfield," pp.282-297.

³⁰Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 (Bath. 1832) vol.IV, pp.67-68.

be a Pedant - and for a furious High-Church Man, with nothing but Ignorance, which is the Mother of their Devotion."³¹ Although Cibber and Baker both refer to Miller's "High-Church" principles, which retarded his preferment, the question of his allegiance seems really more complex. "High-church" was often a synonym for "Tory," but this is not an unshakeable rule. Edmund Gibson, who was emphatically "high-church," was actually Walpole's chief ally among the bishops. The opinions expressed in Seasonable Reproof, and in Miller's own sermons, show that he veered towards the latitudinarian side. He held virtuous and generous conduct to be more important than the details of orthodox doctrine, as his sermon on "Charity" clearly indicates:

So that when Men shall highly Pretend to Devotion, and yet appear not only disingenuous and unjust, but unmerciful and sanguinary too, an indifferent Person would be tempted to be of that poor Indian's Mind, who would not go to Heaven when he was told that such sort of Men were there.

In saying this, I do not in the least intend to derogate from the Merit of either Faith or Devotion, but only to show that however valuable or great they are, they will avail us nothing without the Practice of this universal Justice and Charity to one another ... Vicious Actions are the greatest Heresy, and a good and upright Life the truest Orthodoxy.³²

Although most of Miller's objections to the Dean of Winchester's Concio ad Synodum seem prejudiced and unfair, some of them spring from these beliefs. Pearce accuses the clergy, according to Miller, of preaching humanist morality rather than religion, and of making too many concessions to unbelievers. Miller finds this harsh, and declares that "Charity and Reason are Things ... which you profess yourself an utter Enemy to throughout this Discourse."³³

³¹The Humours of Oxford (1730), p.24.

³²Sermons on Various Subjects. By the late Reverend Mr. James Miller (1749), pp. 34-35.

³³The Dean of Winchester His Character of the English Clergy, p.15.

Mahomet was acted on April 25th and 26th, and on Friday April 27th the General Advertiser carried an advertisement for the third night as follows:

The Author labouring under a severe and dangerous Illness, hopes his Friends will excuse his personal Application, and send for Tickets to Mr. Watts, at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court; or to Mr. Hobson at the Stage-Door of the Theatre.

A pantomime afterpiece was also given. John Watts printed this play, as he had all Miller's other plays, and also, it seems, acted for him in receiving the money for his benefit night.

Unfortunately Miller never saw the proceeds, for he died on the morning of Friday April 27th, 1744.³⁴ His illness had been short, according to the announcement in the General Advertiser on April 28th, which mistook his name, referring to "Mr. Norton, Author of the New Tragedy call'd Mahomet." The error was corrected on the Monday. The London Evening Post of April 28th gave a little more detail, mentioning The Humours of Oxford and "other Dramatick Performances," as well as Mahomet, and calling him the "Rev. Mr. Miller, of Roehampton."

Seven months after Miller's death a performance of Mahomet was announced for the benefit of his widow. Garrick's name, in capitals, heads the list of actors taking part, and a special plea is appended:

As the Play of To-Night is entirely for mine and my Children's Benefit, and was allotted (by the Manager) for that Purpose a considerable Time ago ... I humbly hope, as Charity and Humanity are my Advocates, the performance will be permitted without Interruption. D. Miller."³⁵

This does not mean that hostility to Miller as a dramatist persisted after his death, but that at this time all performances were in peril, as it was a period of great public dissatisfaction

³⁴The DNB is incorrect in stating that Miller died on April 26th.

³⁵The General Advertiser, November 24th, 1744.

with the unstable management of Charles Fleetwood at Drury Lane. Audiences rioted on November 17th and 19th, because of an increase in prices, and by December Fleetwood had relinquished his proprietorship. Baker recounts that, in spite of nightly riots the town was so favourable and the house so full on the night of the benefit, November 24th, that the widow received more than a hundred pounds from the evening's profits (vol.I, sig.Ngr).

Dorothy Miller wrote a dedication of the published text to the Rt. Hon. Edward Southwell, explaining that this had been her husband's intention. Southwell was Member of Parliament for Bristol from 1739 to 1754. John B. Owen describes his being, at the time of Walpole's fall in 1742, one of a group of Whig country gentlemen who normally voted with the Opposition, and were obviously independent of the Court.³⁶ With his father he was joint Secretary of the Council in Ireland from 1720 to 1730, and sole Secretary from 1730 to 1755.

Although there was no political reaction to Mahomet when it was first staged, at its second performance at Thomas Sheridan's Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin in 1754, the play caused a riot that wrecked the auditorium and scenery to a cost of £9,000.³⁷ Strong feelings were aroused by a speech by Alcanor, the ruler of Mecca, at the opening of the play:

If, ye Powers divine,
Ye mark the Movements of this nether World,
And bring them to account, crush, crush those Vipers,
Who, singled out by a Community
To guard their Rights, shall for a grasp of Oar,
Or paltry Office, sell 'em to the Foe!

(p.2)

³⁶The Rise of the Pelhams (1957), pp.67-68.

³⁷Esther Keck Sheldon, Thomas Sheridan of Smock Alley (Princeton, 1967), pp. 199-206.

The Dublin audience was split on party lines over a clause in a money bill implying that the King had the power of consent over surplus Irish moneys. The Irish who supported the court were accused of betraying their country for bribes of money or preferment. When the actor refused to repeat the lines the manager was called for, but Sheridan would not appear, and havoc ensued.

Possibly in adding this and similar passages to his original Miller was referring obliquely to Carteret, who had acquired influence over the King by waging a war for the sake of Hanover. If so, the satiric thrust was not noticed by the Examiner, and aroused no contemporary comment.

Another adaptation by Miller, The Picture; or the Cuckold in Conceit, from Molière's Sganarelle; ou le Cocu Imaginaire, was not performed until ten months after his death. It was presented at Drury Lane as the afterpiece to Colley Cibber's The Double Gallant, on February 11th, 1745, but was not repeated. Sganarelle was an immense success for Molière when it appeared in 1660. Even his enemies praised it, and pirated editions very promptly appeared.³⁸ Miller's version followed the French quite closely, and had songs set by Thomas Arne, so that its failure is surprising. The explanation may lie in the turbulent state of the theatre, for although James Lacy was now in control, Drury Lane's prosperity was not firmly re-established until Garrick entered into partnership with him in 1747. However, it was considered worthwhile to print The Picture, and, moreover, two different impressions were made, although probably only the second version was actually published. The play was registered with the Stationers' Company on February 13th, two days after its first performance, but the earlier

³⁸John Palmer, Molière, His Life and Works (1930), pp.138-146.

printed text was in existence before February 8th, since a copy (now apparently the unique copy of this version), was then submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office, instead of the usual manuscript, and is in the Larpent Collection.³⁹ Unfortunately the title-page of this text is missing. The later version was printed by Watts. Its ornaments and decorated capitals are different from those of the earlier version, and so it may have been set by a different printer. Perhaps Dorothy Miller intended to have the play printed without its being performed, and the theatre was afterwards persuaded to use it, but why it was necessary to re-print the piece is hard to imagine. There are differences in the texts, but these are so slight they would hardly justify setting up the type for the entire book all over again. The alterations marked on the censor's copy are mostly corrections of misprints, although one or two lines are altered to improve the sense, one song is omitted and another added in manuscript, and these changes are all incorporated in the later text. A few lines referring to religious books are crossed out either by the Examiner, or in anticipation of his disapproval, but these are not omitted from the later version.

The play had no dedicatee, but it is to be hoped that Watts paid something for the text, for Dorothy Miller was left in very difficult circumstances. Baker pays tribute to her loyalty to her husband's memory:

which induced her to devote the whole Profits both of a Benefit Play, which Mr Fleetwood gave her a little Time after Mr Miller's Decease, and also of a large Subscription to a Volume of admirable Sermons of that Gentleman's, which she published,

³⁹Powell Stewart states that there must have been a 1744 published edition of which the Larpent copy is the only one known to exist, since D.E.Baker wrote that the play appeared "without his Name to it" (Companion to the Play-House, vol.I, sig. Q6v), while the 1745 edition bears Miller's name boldly on its title-page. This is not, however, very strong evidence.

to the Satisfaction of his Creditors, and the Payment of those Debts which his limited Circumstances had unavoidably engaged him in, even tho' by the doing she left herself and Family almost destitute of the common Necessaries of Life.

(vol.II, sig.Y2v)

The sermons were published in 1749 in one octavo volume, with a preface by Mrs. Miller, explaining that, except for the first of the twenty-two sermons, which is the Fast-sermon already published in her husband's lifetime, they had not been intended for publication, but had been quickly collected and revised for the press by "a Gentleman," who "first proposed and greatly forwarded this Design in my behalf." The subscription list is indeed a long one, as Baker said, and includes many who subscribed for more than one copy, indicating widespread sympathy for the family's plight. Among the subscribers were, of the nobility, William Earl of Bath (Pulteney), The Duchess of Richmond, and William Lord Talbot; the actors, Mrs. Clive, David Garrick (two sets) and William Havard; the poets John Dyer and Richard Glover; booksellers, Francis Cogan, John Watts and Robert Dodsley; and old friends or patrons, John Hoadly and his father the bishop, Henry Baker, Nicholas Cary (of Upcerne), Joseph Bagnell (of Roehampton), Frederick Frankland, Edward Southwell, and Andrew Trebeck, rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, in which parish Trinity Chapel was located.

A few years later Miller's son John also ventured into print. His Poems on Several Occasions (1754) has a most unusual subscription list, containing a high proportion of ship's officers, surgeons, apothecaries, clerks in the Navy Office and inhabitants of St. John's, Newfoundland. The poems are slight, and mostly in the pastoral idiom, but the volume also contains some translations from Horace and Ovid, and seven "Dramatic Epistles" from characters in popular tragedies. In 1761 he published a translation of the

French critic Charles Batteaux's Cours de Belles-Lettres, in which he substituted examples from English poetry for the original French quotations.⁴⁰

After this the Miller family disappeared from sight, and James Miller's works ceased to be performed, or to be reprinted, except for Mahomet and the translation of Molière, in neither of which, ironically perhaps, had he been free to employ the lively, flexible style of comic conversation in which his strength really lay.

⁴⁰A Course of the Belles Lettres; or the Principles of Literature, Translated from the French of the Abbot Batteux ... by Mr Miller (1761).

CHAPTER II: THEATRICAL SATIRE

i) Pantomime and its critics prior to Harlequin-Horace

When Miller's career as a dramatist began, with the staging of the Humours of Oxford at Drury Lane in 1730, the "regular" forms of drama, comedy and tragedy, were contending not only with the immense popularity of Italian opera, but with new kinds of theatrical production. Audiences now expected to see, as well as the play itself, entr'acte entertainments of music, singing, dancing or tumbling, and "after-pieces" - short farces, ballad-operas, burlesques or pantomimes. Often the after-piece presented more of an attraction than the play, and the latter was abridged to make room for it. Sometimes a whole evening's entertainment consisted of pantomimes, ballad-operas, farces and ballets in various combinations, with no "serious" dramatic item included. The works of Congreve, Vanbrugh, Otway, Farquhar, Rowe, Shakespeare, and a few other long-established dramatists continued to be performed regularly, but aspiring playwrights complained that it was extremely hard to get a new play staged, even though the number of theatres in London was increasing. The theatrical managers preferred to expend money and effort on the staging of new pantomimes, since these brought crowded houses, and greater profits.

The popularity of these irrational entertainments seemed to many literary men to be an ominous sign of the moral and intellectual degeneracy of the times. Polite society now showed no more discrimination than the mob at Bartholomew Fair. Much severe criticism of the state of the stage was published, but it appeared to have little effect upon the policies of the theatre managers, or on

the enthusiasm of their patrons.

After the opening of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1695, the pressure of competition between the company there, led by Betterton, and that of Christopher Rich at Drury Lane, caused both to resort to all kinds of novelties to attract the interest of the public. French dancers were engaged, who introduced Harlequin to the English stage, and stern criticism of such fairground antics quickly followed. Amongst the most vigorous was an anonymous dialogue, published in 1702, and entitled A Comparison between the Two Stages.¹ "Ramble" and "Sullen", two gentlemen, and "Chagrin", a critic, deplore the fact that "the Stage that had kept it's purity a hundred Years (at least from this Debauchery) shou'd now be prostituted to Vagabonds, to Caperers, Eunuchs, Fiddlers, Tumblers, and Gipsies." The antics of "Harlequin and Scaramouch" were particularly despised by the critic:

What a rout here was with a Night piece of Harlequin and Scaramouch? with the Guittar and the Bladder! What jumping over Tables and Joint-Stools! What ridiculous Postures and Grimaces! and what an exquisite Trick 'twas to straddle before the Audience, making a thousand damn'd French Faces, and seeming in labour with a monstrous Birth, at last my counterfeit Male Lady is delivered of her two Puppies Harlequin and Scaramouch.

The "Night Piece" referred to was probably that given at Drury Lane on August 20th 1702, "The last time of Acting till after Bartholomew Fair". The playbill illustrates the variety of entertainments that were offered in one evening to playgoers of the time. The play was The Jovial Crew; or, the Merry Beggars, followed by:

DANCING. Dance between Two Frenchmen and two Frenchwomen. Night Scene by a Harlequin and a Scaramouch, after the Italian manner, by Serene and another Person lately

¹The authorship has often been attributed to Charles Gildon, but Staring B. Wells gives reasons for doubting this in "An Eighteenth Century Attribution", JEGP XXXVIII (1939), 233-246

arrived in England. ENTERTAINMENTS. By the famous Mr Clench of Barnet, who will perform an Organ with 3 Voices, the double Curtell, the Flute, and the Bells with the Mouth; the Huntsman, the Hounds, and the Pack of Dogs. With vaulting on the Horse.²

The contrast shown in this dialogue between the enthusiasm of the public and the disgust of the critics, persisted, for opera as well as pantomime, throughout the first half of the century.

John Weaver, a dancing-master, published in 1728 The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes, with An Historical Account of the several Performers in Dancing living at the Time of the Roman Emperors, in which he sought to establish ancient and honourable origins for the art of mime. His book includes a list of "the Modern Entertainments that have been exhibited on the English Stage, either in Imitation of the ancient Pantomimes, or after the Manner of the Modern Italians."³

The first of these is the Tavern Bilkers, devised by Weaver himself, and performed at Drury Lane in 1702, "in Grotesque Characters," that is, featuring Harlequin, Scaramouche, and the other stock figures of the commedia dell'arte. Weaver lists nothing more until 1716, when he himself composed The Loves of Mars and Venus for Drury Lane. There were scattered examples of pantomime during the intervening period, in particular Aphra Behn's Emperor of the Moon, which was frequently revived because it gave opportunities for pantomimic farce.⁴ In this Penkethman, and later Jemmy Spiller, were very popular in the role of Harlequin. The rivalry between the two theatres had come to an end in 1706, however, and it was not until after John Rich had assumed the management of the new Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre that competition

²The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 2, vol.I, p.22.

³pp.43-55.

⁴First performed in 1687.

was re-established, and new pantomimes were devised.

Weaver's Loves of Mars and Venus had no "grotesque" elements; it was "an attempt in Imitation of the ancient Pantomimes, and the first of that kind that has appeared since the time of the Roman Emperors." The public, however, apparently did not relish serious mythological mime, for the Loves of Mars and Venus ran for only six nights, and the last four of these performances were enlivened by the addition of "4 Cyclops by the Comedians." The successful pantomimes which followed were either wholly humorous harlequinades, or else a combination of the two types, in which Harlequin's exploits in pursuit of Columbine were interspersed with scenes enacting some well-known Classical myth, so that one scene bore no relation to the next in plot, characters, or mood. The grotesque parts of these pantomimes, which were in dumb-show, do not survive in print, although the dialogue of the serious parts was usually printed. This was in general stilted and weak to an extreme degree, and was obviously considered unimportant in comparison with the spectacular scenic effects that were employed, and with the comic antics of the harlequinade. Henry Fielding offered a humorous explanation of this in Tom Jones, where the English pantomime is used as an example of the importance of contrast:

This Entertainment consisted of two Parts, which the Inventor distinguished by the Names of the Serious and the Comic. The Serious exhibited a certain Number of Heathen Gods and Heroes, who were certainly the worst and dullest Company into which an Audience was ever introduced; and (which was a Secret known to few) were actually intended 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, no very civil Use 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 shewn on the Stage, and could only be set off by that superlative Degree of Dulness, which composed the Serious.⁵

⁵The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling (1749), vol. II, pp. 115-116.

Although the grotesque parts of mixed entertainments were not described in the printed texts, accounts were published of the action of some of the pantomimes that used only grotesque characters, and were therefore in dumb-show throughout. These indicate a passion for transformations, magical appearances and vanishings, and extraordinary acrobatics. Audiences evidently liked to be thrilled and mystified, as well as amused.

This, for example, is a scene from Harlequin Doctor Faustus (1724), by John Thurmond:

The Scene changes to the Inside of the Tavern. The Countrymen, Harlequin, and his Companions enter. Harlequin and his Companions pour Wine out of the Flasks, and as often as the Countrymen offer to pour, nothing comes out; upon which, seeing a Bowl of Punch upon the Table, they go to seize it, and the Liquor flies out of the Bowl. He jumps on the Table which hangs in the Air. The countrymen take up their Whips, and get up on their Chairs and lash him, he turns himself into the shape of a Bear, drops thro' the Table, and flies upon the Woman of the House, who is just enter'd ...

(p.10)

The stage directions of the serious parts of many pantomimes show that elaborate machinery was used to achieve fearsome effects, for example, Perseus and Andromeda (1730): "Several frightful and fantastic Monsters spring from Medusa's Blood; some creep, some run, all in search of Perseus"(p.12), and The Rape of Proserpine (1727): "The Nymphs renew their Dance ... An Earthquake is felt, and part of the Building falls; and through the Ruins of the fall'n Palace, Mount Ætna appears, and emits Flames. Beneath, a Giant is seen to rise, but is dash'd to pieces by a Thunder-bolt hurl'd from Jupiter" (p.6).

Although Weaver, and not John Rich, was really the inventor of the English pantomime, Rich was responsible for its immense popularity. The management of Drury Lane made strenuous attempts to compete with him in pantomime, but lacked his unusual talent for

the form. He played Harlequin himself under the pseudonym "Lun", and the comments of contemporaries indicate that he was a brilliant master of mime, and able to impart his skill to his fellow performers. Moreover, he had a unique flair for the presentation of spectacles and processions on stage. Thomas Davies, the biographer of Garrick, described Rich's ability as follows:

... his gesticulation was so perfectly expressive of his meaning, that every motion of his hand or head, or of any part of his body, was a kind of dumb eloquence that was readily understood by the audience. Mr. Garrick's action was not more perfectly adapted to his characters than Mr. Rich's attitudes and movements to the varied employments of the wooden sword magician ... His consummate skill in teaching others to express the language of the mind by action, was evident from the great number of actors he produced to fill up the inferior parts of his mimic scenes

Mr. Garrick, soon after the death of Mr. Rich, introduced in his Harlequin's Invasion, with some success, a speaking harlequin; and bestowed, in a prologue to it, a just eulogium upon the excellence of Mr. Rich, in his personating Harlequin.

But why a speaking Harlequin? 'Tis wrong,
The wits will say, to give the fool a tongue.
When Lun appear'd, with matchless art and whim,
He gave the pow'r of speech to every limb:
Tho' mask'd and mute, convey'd his quick intent,
And told in frolic gestures all he meant.
But now a motley coat, and sword of wood,
Require a tongue to make them understood.⁶

When Rich first took over the management of Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1714 the company was straitened financially, and he was compelled to try out a variety of combinations of comedy, tragedy, farce and dancing, to attract audiences. He had some successes in pantomime, but his fortunes really began to turn when Drury Lane announced a spectacular entertainment, devised by John Thurmond, on the subject of Faustus, a theme which obviously gave great scope for the conjuring up of devils, transformations, and magic tricks. Rich therefore set to work to devise his own pantomime on these lines, which was called The Necromancer; or Harlequin Doctor Faustus, and appeared about a month after Thurmond's Harlequin Doctor Faustus, in

⁶ Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick Esq. (1780), vol. I, pp.
222 224

1723.⁷ Both pantomimes were successful, but Rich's, which extracted the maximum humour or drama from every situation, and seems to have dwelt more on the human aspects of the comedy than on machinery, was far more popular than its model.⁸ Drury Lane had thus courted its own disaster, for the very long run of The Necromancer, and of several more entertainments that followed, combined with the phenomenal success of the Beggar's Opera in 1728, ensured the financial stability of Rich's theatre, while Drury Lane was constantly in difficulties.

The success of the Faustus pantomimes caused an intensification of comment and criticism, including a poem in imitation of the manner of Paradise Lost, by Thomas Merrivale, which depicted Harlequin as a little supernatural "Power" sent by Jove to the "Eastern Theatre" to restore "Wisdom and Wit" to the stage. Merrivale dedicated this odd effusion to Rich, hoping that "the same Judges that approved your Entertainment will ... indulge an Attempt to set it in a true light, and receive it favourably."⁹

Such praise of pantomime is very rare. Far more typical were two vigorous satires, both published in 1724, The British Stage; or, the Exploits of Harlequin, and The Dancing Devils; or, the Roaring

⁷ John Thurmond's Harlequin Doctor Faustus was first staged at Drury Lane on November 26, 1723, and the scenario was published in 1724. The Necromancer; or Harlequin Doctor Faustus appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields on December 20, 1723. A description of the action of The Necromancer was published, together with that of its rival pantomime, in an exact description of the Two Fam'd Entertainments of Doctor Faustus; with the Grand Masque of the Heathen Deities and the Necromancer, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus. As now Perform'd in Grotesque Characters, at both Theatres (1724).

⁸ See Elvena M. Green, "John Rich's Art of Pantomime as seen in his The Necromancer, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus: A Comparison of the Two Faustus Pantomimes at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane," Restoration and Eighteenth Century Theatre Research, IV, no.1 (1965), 47-60.

⁹ The Necromancer; or Harlequin Doctor Faustus: A Poem: Founded on the Gentile Theology. By Mr Thomas Merrivale. Late of Trinity College, Oxon (1724), sig.A3^v - A4^r.

Dragon. The former, which declares itself to be "A Farce. As it is Performed by a Company of Wonderful Comedians at both Theatres, with Universal Applause; With all its Original Songs, Scenes and Machines. Design'd as an After-Entertainment for the Audiences of Harlequin Doctor Faustus, and the Necromancer," is in the form of a play, although the "stage directions," which include exaggerated descriptions of the reactions of the audience, and of the machinery of the pantomime (the Dragon, for example, "wisks down" one of the stage-boxes with its tail), show that the burlesque was not meant for stage presentation. It emphasises forcibly the crudeness and indecency of the Faustus pantomimes, as does Edward Ward's poem The Dancing Devils: or, the Roaring Dragon. A Dumb Farce. As it was lately Acted at Both Houses, but particularly at one, with unaccountable Success (1724). Ward's attack is directed primarily at Rich, as these lines indicate:

The fam'd Projector of these Shows,
 That vex the Wits but please the Beaus,
 Does, by his Hocus pocus Art,
 Make all the gazing Audience start,
 In representing to their view,
 The Tricks old Faustus us'd to shew,
 Hoping e'relong he shall obtain
 The with'ring Bays from Drury-Lane.
 (p.16)

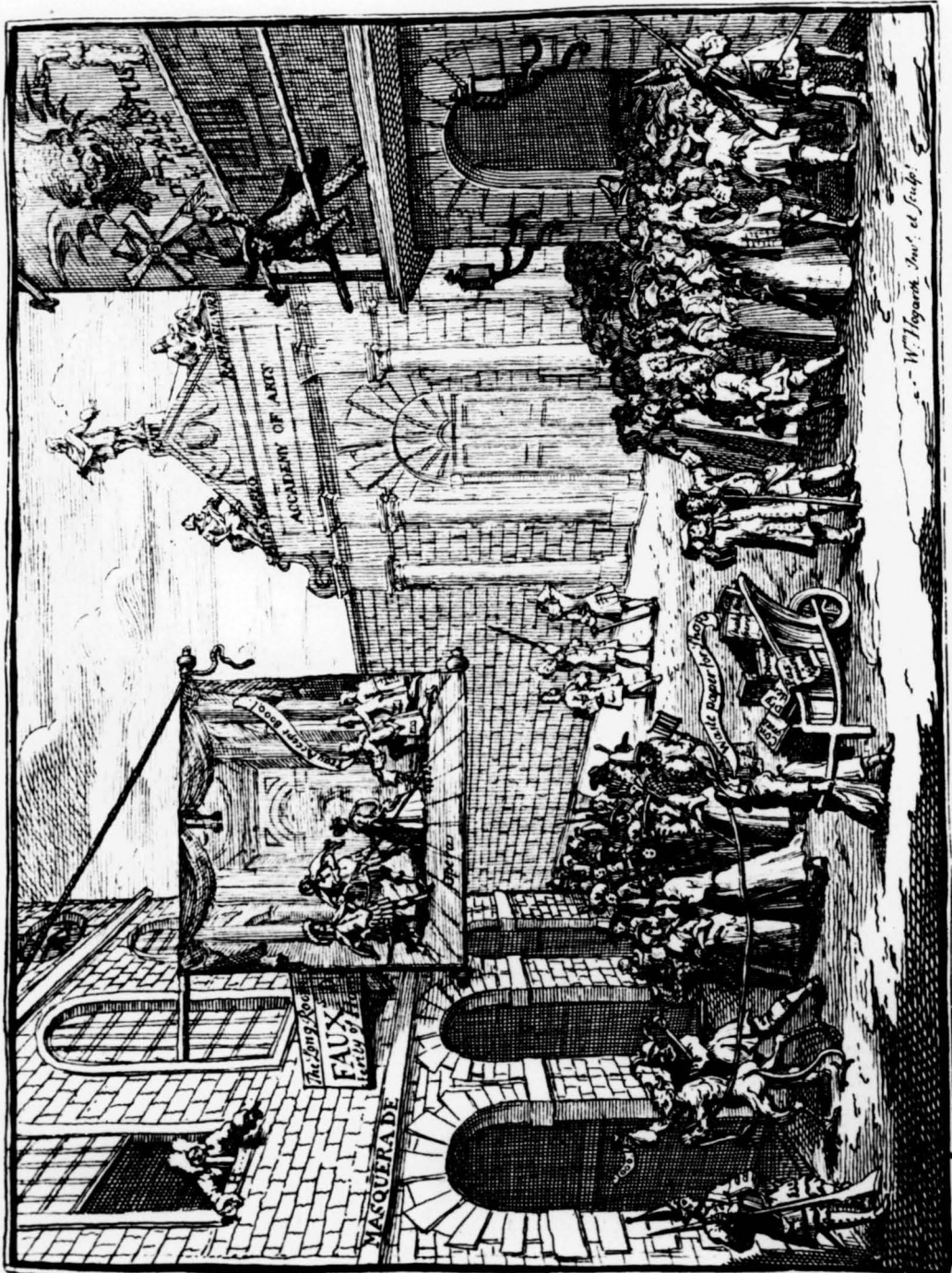
The theatre is no longer, as it was, an influence for good:

This House was, also, once design'd
 T'instruct, as well as please Mankind,
 That all degrees of humane Creatures
 Might learn their Duty to their Betters ...
 (p.6)

or the natural home of poetry:

Here Shakespeare to Elizion fled,
 And, O rare Ben, should live, tho' dead,
 That their inimitable Plays
 In others, might a Genius raise,
 And teach 'em to deserve the Rays. }
 (p.8)

It was not only writers who joined the fray. In February 1724



*Could now dumb Faustus, to reform the Age,
 Conjure up Shakespear's or Ben Johnson's Ghost,
 They'd blush for shame, to see the English Stage
 Debauch'd by fool'ries, at so great a cost.*

Price 1 Shilling 1724

*What would their Mages say? should they behold
 Monsters and Masquerades, where usefull Plays
 Adorn'd the fruitfull Theatre of old,
 And Rival Wits contended for the Bays.*

Masquerades and Operas

in his print, Masquerades and Operas, William Hogarth attacked the Faustus pantomimes, together with masquerades, operas, and the current enthusiasm for Palladian architecture promoted by the Earl of Burlington and William Kent.¹⁰ Hogarth's own name for his print was "The Taste of the Town." Its composite scene depicts crowds thronging to the opera, to Heidegger's masquerades, to Fawk's conjuring and puppet shows, and to Rich's Faustus pantomime. In the foreground a barrow-load of volumes marked "Congreve, Dryden, Otway, Shakespear, Addison and Ben Johnson" is wheeled away as "waste-paper for shops." In the background stands the gateway of Burlington House, labelled "Accademy of Arts," over which is a statue of Kent with palette in hand, flanked by Raphael and Michelangelo. These are all manifestations of false taste infecting the fashionable world, although the verses engraved beneath the picture refer only to the threat to drama presented by pantomime:

Could new dumb Faustus, to reform the Age,
Conjure up Shakespear's or Ben Johnson's Ghost,
They'd blush for shame, to see the English Stage
Debauch'd by fool'ries, at so great a cost.

In December of the same year Hogarth renewed the attack, this time on Drury Lane, which in attempting to outdo Rich, had the previous month produced John Thurmond's pantomime Harlequin Sheppard, based on the escape from prison of Jack Shepherd, who had been recaptured and executed that year. It closed after only seven performances, which was a very poor run for a pantomime, and the printed synopsis is certainly a dull affair. In Hogarth's print, A Just View of the British Stage, the three managers of Drury Lane, Booth, Wilks and Cibber, are shown planning a similar venture, based on another famous criminal, Jack Hall.¹¹ The caption beneath

¹⁰See illustration on p.116, discussed in Ronald Paulson, Hogarth's Graphic Works, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1965), vol.I, pp.103-105.

¹¹See illustration on p.118, discussed in Hogarth's Graphic Works, pp.109-111.

A Just View of the British Stage



This Print Represents the Rehearsing a new Farce that will Include y^e two famous Entertainments Dr. Faustus & Harlequin Shepherd to w^{ch} will be added Scaramouch Jack Hall the Chimney-Sweepers Escape from Newgate through y^e Privy, with y^e comical Humours of Ben Johnsons Ghost, Concluding wth the Hay-Dance Perform'd in y^e Air by y^e Figures A.B.C. Assisted by Ropes from y^e Mules, Note, there are no Conjurers concern'd in it as y^e ignorant imagine & The Bricks, Rubbish &c. will be real, but the Excrements upon Jack Hall will be made of then'd Gingerbread to prevent Offence. Vivat Rex. price six pence.

the picture declares that the new farce will show Hall's escape from Newgate "through y^e Privy, with y^e comical Humours of Ben Johnsons Ghost." That angry apparition has risen through the stage trap-door, so essential for tricks and special effects, with night-shirt, candle, and laurel wreath. Ropes from the flies are attached to a dragon, a dog in its kennel, a flask and a fiddler. They also hang symbolically as nooses above the managers' heads. The caption underlines the foolishness of devising a condemned-cell harlequinade: "The Bricks, Rubbish &c. will be real, but the Excrement upon Jack Hall will be made of Chew'd Gingerbread to prevent Offence."

The theatre managers did not stop presenting "entertainments" in reponse to this kind of criticism, but they apologised for them, giving the public's insistence as their excuse. Rich's dedication of the Rape of Proserpine, ("written by Mr Theobald") to Thomas Chamber Esq, dated 10 February 1726/7, contains the following comments:

... 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. Thus much, however, may be said in their Favour, that this Theatre has of late ow'd its Support in great Measure to them ... [I] do engage for my own Part, that whenever the Publick Taste shall be disposed to return to the Works of the Drama, no one shall rejoice more sincerely than my self.

(sigA3^r)

The year before, Lewis Theobald, who was to be author of many of Rich's pantomimes, dedicated Shakespeare restored, his criticism of Pope's edition of Shakespeare, to Rich. The tone in which Theobald addresses Rich in his preface is, however, somewhat uncomplimentary. He remarks that "It may seem a little particular, that, when I am attempting to restore SHAKESPEARE, I should address that Work to One, who has gone a great Way towards shutting him out of Doors," but claims that the fault really lies in the taste of the

town.¹² Theobald calls pantomime "a Debauchery of the Stage," and exhorts Rich to return to the Drama as soon as the public's palate alters.

Colley Cibber, too, felt compelled to explain in his autobiography that he had deviated from regular drama only with reluctance, when forced by public demand.¹³ The anonymous author of The Laureat: or, the Right Side of Colley Cibber, Esq. (1740), rebuked him for his hypocrisy regarding pantomime:

had the People never tasted these Pantomime Delicacies, they could never have longed; it was therefore your Wisdom, and the Wisdom of your Brother Menagers, that brought these monstrous Medleys upon the Stage.

(p.86)

In 1728 the contemporary theatre and literary scene, and Lewis Theobald in particular, came under devastating attack in the Dunciad. The subject of Pope's poem is declared in its opening lines:

Books and the Man I sing, the first who brings
The Smithfield Muses to the Ear of Kings.

Pope's own note explains:

Smithfield is the place where Bartholomew Fair was kept, whose Shews, Machines, and Dramatical Entertainments, formerly agreeable only to the Taste of the Rabble, were, by the Hero of this Poem and others of equal Genius, brought to the Theatres of Covent-Garden, Lincolns-inn-Fields, and the Hay-Market, to be the reigning Pleasures of the Court and Town.

This theatrical decline marks the beginning of the total eclipse of art and civilisation in the third book of the poem, as the "Dunciados Periocha, or, the Arguments to the Books" in the Dunciad Variorum makes clear. Theobald sleeps in Dulness' lap,

¹²Shakespeare restored: or, a Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope In his Late Edition of this Poet (1726), sig. A2^r.

¹³An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber, Comedian, and Late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal. Written by Himself (1740), pp. 299-301.

and dreams of a descent to the underworld, and a meeting with the ghost of Settle, who "prophecies how first the nation shall be overrun with farces, opera's, shows; and the throne of Dulness advanced over both the Theatres: Then how her sons shall preside in the seats of arts and sciences, till in conclusion all shall return to their original Chaos."

Theobald sees all this in a vision, beginning with the wild confusion of the Faustus pantomimes:

He look'd, and saw a sable Sorc'rer rise,
 Swift to whose hand a winged volume flies:
 All sudden, Gorgons hiss, and Dragons glare,
 And ten-horn'd fiends and Giants rush to war.
 Hell rises, Heav'n descends, and dance on Earth,
 Gods, imps, and monsters, music, rage, and mirth,
 A fire, a jig, a battle, and a ball,
 Till one wide Conflagration swallows all.
(III 229-236)

Theobald is overjoyed, and inquires by whose power such wonders are performed. Settle replies:

Son! what thou seek'st is in thee. Look, and find
 Each monster meets his likeness in thy mind.
(III 247-248)

The theatre managers were of course more to blame than Theobald for the state of the stage, and the managers of both houses appear in the thick of the confusion. Rich creates, and rules, the miniature universe of his stage, like the God of Genesis, although he is only the "angel" of Dulness. In this way Pope raises him from his slightly tawdry sphere of influence, giving him an epic significance, in preparation for the poem's tremendous climax:

Yet would'st thou more? In yonder cloud, behold!
 Whose sarcenet skirts are edg'd with flamy gold,
 A matchless youth: His nod these worlds controuls,
 Wings the red lightning, and the thunder rolls.
 Angel of Dulness, sent to scatter round
 Her magic charms o'er all unclassic ground:
 Yon stars, yon suns, he rears at pleasure higher,
 Illumes their light, and sets their flames on fire.
 Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
 Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of pease;

And proud his mistress' orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.
(III 249-260)

Drury Lane had not been slow to compete with Lincoln's Inn Fields in infernal entertainments, and deserved the same "praise":

But lo! to dark encounter in mid air
New wizards rise: here Booth, and Cibber there:
Booth in his cloudy tabernacle shrin'd,
On grinning dragons Cibber mounts the wind:
Dire is the conflict, dismal is the din,
Here shouts all Drury, there all Lincoln's-Inn;
Contending theatres our empire raise,
Alike their labours, and alike their praise.
(III 261-268)

Settle predicts a glorious future for Theobald, the inexorable progress of which has already been set in motion:

Thy dragons Magistrates and Peers shall taste,
And from each show rise duller than the last:
Till raised from Booths to Theatre, to Court,
Her seat imperial, Dulness shall transport.
(III 299-302)

Pope's note in the Variorum edition draws the reader's attention to the fact that in the first edition the line "Thy dragons Magistrates and Peers shall taste" (230), had read "Thy dragons * * and *** shall taste," and that Concanen had stated that he was sure "George" and "Caroline" were meant. Pope is thus ostensibly denying this charge, but at the same time, deliberately emphasising this interpretation. The Royal Family did sometimes attend pantomimes.

The Dunciad embraces a much wider sphere than that of the theatre. It is concerned with false rhetoric of every kind, with flattering dedications and panegyrics, hired political journalism, scandalous biographies, pedantic textual criticism, and dull yet pretentious poetry, but nevertheless the universal popularity of irrational entertainments is central to the structure of the satire.

The prologues to new plays often commented that the state of

the public taste meant that their authors were unlikely to meet with success. Such was the prologue written by James Ralph for Fielding's second play, The Temple Beau (1730), which began:

Humour and Wit, in each politer Age,
Triumphant, rear'd the Trophies of the Stage:
But only Farce, and Shew, will now go down,
And Harlequin's the Darling of the Town.

This sentiment had become a cliché, as we learn from a discussion of prologue-writing in Fielding's Don Quixote in England (1734):

Author ... One of them begins with abusing the Writings of all my Cotemporaries, lamenting the fallen State of the Stage; and lastly, assuring the Audience that this Play was written with a Design to restore true Taste, and their approving it is the best Symptom they can give of their having any.

Manager Well, and a very good Scheme.

Author May be so; but it hath been the Subject of almost every Prologue for these ten Years last past. The Second is in a different Cast: The first twelve Lines inveigh against all Indecency on the Stage, and the last twenty Lines shew you what it is.

(sig. A7^v- A8^r)

Fielding took over the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in February 1730. The fortunes of this house were at a low ebb, although Samuel Johnson, the Cheshire dancing-master, had had a great success there the previous year with his wild farce Hurlothrumbo. Fielding therefore decided to win audiences through farce and burlesque, and abandoned traditional comedy for a time. His witty burlesques were acutely critical of dullness in all its theatrical forms. The prologue to The Author's Farce; or the Pleasures of the Town, first performed at the Haymarket on March 30th, 1730, asserts boldly:

Beneath the Tragick or the Comick Name,
Farces and Puppet-shows ne'er miss of Fame.
Since then, in borrow'd Dress, they've pleased the Town;
Condemn them not, appearing in their own.

The first two acts show the difficulties that the hero, a hopeful playwright, experiences with landlady, publishers, and theatre

managers, and the last a rehearsal of his puppet-play, the Pleasures of the Town. The author, Luckless, hopes "that my Puppet-Show may expell Farce and Opera, as they have done Tragedy and Comedy" (p.28). The scene is laid "on the other side of the River Styx" (in keeping with the infernal setting of such pantomimes as The Rape of Proserpine, Doctor Faustus, and Orpheus and Eurydice), at the Court of the Goddess of Nonsense. The ghosts of Don Tragedia, Sir Farcical Comick (Colley Cibber), Dr Orator (Henley), Signior Opera, Moun-sieur Pantomime and Mrs Novell (Eliza Haywood) arrive, and the male characters compete for the hand of the goddess. The satire is light-hearted and comic, and includes dancing, and numerous songs set to well-known tunes, after the manner of the Beggar's Opera.

The same evening as the Author's Farce first appeared, Drury Lane also presented a new burlesque, Bays's Opera, by Gabriel Odingsells. This piece failed to please, and was withdrawn after two nights. The author claimed that it had not been given a fair hearing, and defended his good intentions in the preface to the printed version:

For the Judicious this Piece was, tho' unhappily, calculated; and therefore not intended to entertain by Ballad-Singing; which was only accidental to the Design; or rather a means to enliven the Burlesque Scheme. It was my view to alarm Men of Sense to a care of the Liberal Arts, which seem to languish, and, at their last gasp, invoke their Assistance to raise them. So that I hoped they wou'd have been indulgent to the Fable, for the Sake of the Moral.

(sig.A3^r)

The fable, however, demanded a large measure of indulgence, being incoherent and almost incomprehensible. It is a rehearsal play, in which the poet Bays, although a ludicrous figure in the Buckingham tradition, also serves as the mouthpiece for many of Odingsells' own critical views. The play rehearsed is an allegory, in which drama, Italian music, and pantomime compete for the throne of the realm of

Wit. As one modern critic remarks, the many faults of the play are easier to forgive "than its baffling incongruity of allegory, which at times shifts its fundamental images as if they were figures in a troublesome dream."¹⁴ As satire it was therefore ineffective, and as entertainment tedious, being almost devoid of humour.

Equally inept was the burlesque by James Ralph, The Fashionable Lady; or Harlequin's Opera, staged a few days later (April 2nd), at Goodman's Fields Theatre. This is also a rehearsal play, in which the author's critical views are even more confusingly expressed. The play within the play is a satirical comedy, interspersed with harlequin scenes and innumerable songs, the whole commented upon by several critics, each with different prejudices. The piece was, surprisingly, a moderate success, presumably because of its ballad-opera and pantomime elements. All its ingredients were intended to appeal to the audience in two ways, as an amusement in the genre, and as a satire on the genre. As "Bavius" wrote in the Grub-street Journal, "our Author ... thinks it will be sufficient to turn the works of other men to ridicule; if he himself writes a very silly thing after the same manner."¹⁵

Dramatic burlesque of pantomime cannot be sustained as successfully as parody of ranting tragedy. Buckingham, Gay, Fielding, Carey and Sheridan have all shown how appropriate, and hilarious, burlesques of tragedy can be, but the satirist of pantomime has the choice of exhibiting senseless and incoherent action in an earnest manner - as Odingsells did - and exasperating his audience, or of delighting them by imitating Harlequin's ridiculous antics, and

¹⁴Dane Farnsworth Smith, Plays about the Theatre in England, from the Rehearsal in 1671 to the Licensing Act in 1737 (Oxford, 1936), p.152.

¹⁵The Grub-street Journal, no.16 April 23rd, 1730.

thus only adding to the epidemic.

Miller, although a dramatist, chose verse satire, and seeing how the frame-work of the Classical epic had added a dimension to the satire of the Dunciad that was missing from the other forms here examined, making the modern violation of reason and decorum doubly shocking, composed an ironic parody of Horace's Ars Poetica. What Miller had to say was not new, but his inversion of Horace gave his points force and wit. There had of course been straightforward imitations of the Ars Poetica - advice to poets in a modern context, most notably Boileau's and Pope's, and there had been parodies of it, including the Art of Cookery (1708), by William King, LLD, and James Bramston's Art of Politicks (1729), but Harlequin-Horace deals, more aptly, with the same subject-matter as its Horatian model - dramatic poetry - but with every precept reversed.

ii) The poem's dedication to Rich, and homage to Pope.

In a letter to Caryll on February 6th, 1731, Pope wrote:

The Art of Politicks is pretty. I saw it before 'twas printed. There is just now come out another imitation of the same original, Harlequin Horace: which has a good deal of humour. There is also a poem upon satire writ by Mr Harte of Oxford, a very valuable young man, but it compliments me too much: both printed for L. Gilliver in Fleet Street ...¹

The Art of Politicks was written by James Bramston, the vicar of Harting, in Sussex, and published in 1729. Walter Harte's An Essay on Satire, particularly on the Dunciad had appeared in 1730. Harlequin-Horace must have been read by Pope the very day it was published, or even before its publication, since it was registered

¹The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), vol.III, p.173.

with the Stationers' Company on February 5th, the day before this letter was written. Pope was probably sent a copy by Gilliver, or by Miller himself, since the poem shows that his admiration for the elder poet was considerable. The editor of the correspondence points out that all these poems contain praise of Pope. Bramston mentions him only once:

I can discern with half an eye, I hope,
Mist from Jo Addison, from Eusden, Pope,²

but the compliment though not fulsome, must have been pleasing, and this poem, unlike the other two, is not actually concerned with literary matters. Not only are Bramston's and Miller's poems imitations of the same original, Horace's Ars Poetica, but they also have occasional similarities of thought or phrasing which are not merely owing to the Latin source, and indicate that Miller had read the earlier work.

Walter Harte's Essay, every page of which, according to Harte, had been "corrected" by Pope, betrays an unusually perceptive appreciation of the Dunciad, and an awareness that Pope was concerned above all with questions of morality.³ Miller's poem shows a similar reverence, regarding Pope as a poet who symbolises the union of reason with a practised and perfected art, and whose claim to be "Virtue's Friend" is amply justified. The Dunciad, moreover, is the major influence on the poem. The subject-matter in both is essentially the same. The Art of Sinking in Poetry, by Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot, which first appeared in 1728, was concerned with the same questions. It also pretended to be a guide to the production of bad literature, and was illustrated by the earnest efforts of

²The Art of Politicks, In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, (1729), p.26.

³Expounded by Aubrey Williams, in Pope's Dunciad: A Study of its Meaning (1955), pp.48n, 54, 55, 99 and 158.

contemporary poets. Harlequin-Horace is admittedly more limited in its scope than the Dunciad, concentrating principally upon the deterioration of drama, and the threat to its existence presented by the popularity of "entertainments," but Miller regards these as symptomatic of a more general decline in culture and in morality. At this period complaints about the state of letters naturally implied criticism of the state of the nation, and therefore of the administration, as Bertrand Goldgar makes clear in his book Walpole and the Wits.⁴ Although Miller expresses disapproval of virulent "party" satire in the course of the poem, he certainly adopts what would at this time have been quickly recognised as an opposition stance.

Like Pope, Miller borrows a Classical form. While Pope uses the framework and idiom of classical epic to emphasise the bathetic inadequacy of the moderns, Miller gives precepts for the successful composition of modern plays, in contradictory correspondence to Horace's advice to the Pisos. This process does not burlesque Horace, on the contrary, his wisdom gains lustre by the ludicrous contrast.

James Hillhouse suggests that the marked change in the Grub-street Journal's attitude to Miller evinced by its reception of Harlequin-Horace may have been directly influenced by Pope himself.⁵ The Journal was, however, bound to have approved of the poem's attack on the dunces, and also of the political implications of that attack, for the paper was strongly anti-government in its literary judgements, exhorting, six months earlier:

⁴Walpole and the Wits: The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722 -1742 (Lincoln, Nebraska & London) 1976, passim.

⁵The Grub-street Journal, pp.29-30.

Write not like Drapier, or John Bull;
But Ministerial be, and Dull.⁶

A recent article by Bertrand Goldgar demonstrates that the available evidence argues against Pope's having a hand in the Journal's establishment, control or supervision.⁷ If there was any pressure from Pope in favour of Miller's poem, it would probably have been applied through Lawton Gilliver, who was a partner in the Journal. The pressure is actually more likely to have originated with Gilliver himself. In the preface to the Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street Russel explained that he had resigned partly because of the opposition of the booksellers in the partnership to his critical neutrality: "they were highly offended if any bad book, in which they had any concern or interest, was exposed."⁸ In the same way, they would have wanted Bavius to praise their publications. One of the Harlequin-Horace articles actually contains a puff for Gilliver:

Printed for Lawton Gilliver at Homer's Head, worst of all!
That Gilliver has been the author of much evil to our Society,
by bringing to light the works of our most inveterate enemies,
POPE, SWIFT, &c. and what farther we have to expect from him,
may be seen by his sign.

(GSJ no.66)

Hillhouse suggests that Pope may actually have written the articles. This is certainly possible. Having read the poem by February 6th when he wrote to Caryll, he would have had at least two weeks to work on the main review, which appeared on February 25th, 1731, in Grub-street Journal no. 60. It was briefly heralded the week before (no.59, February 18th) and continued in no. 66 (April 8th, 1731). The articles which, according to Russel, were contributed to the Journal by Pope or his friends are reprinted in the Memoirs signed with an "A". They are not very numerous, particularly at the outset. The first, which like several later items,

⁶GSJ, September 24th, 1730.

⁷"Pope and the Grub-street Journal," MP, vol.74, no.4 (May 1977), 366-380.

is an attack on James Moore Smythe, appeared in no. 19, on May 14th, 1730. The Harlequin-Horace notices are not included in the Memoirs, and Hillhouse considers it unlikely that anything known to be Pope's would be omitted. It seems strange that Russel should entirely exclude these lengthy and vivacious articles, whoever had written them. Dislike of Miller, because of his supposed disrespect to Trapp, or some other grievance, might have influenced the editor on this occasion. The Memoirs were not published by Gilliver, so that pressure, if there had been pressure, was then removed. The commentary on the poem is vigorous and witty, and could be Pope's, but the main reason for suspecting his hand in it is the stress it lays on certain characteristic topics. Miller's passing blows at such Grubeans as Philips and Blackmore are strengthened and redoubled by the reviewer, and, most noticeably, allusions to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare are introduced, where Miller had spoken only of his pantomimes. This might be an indication that Theobald's Shakespeare restored still rankled with Pope. Other attacks on Theobald in the Memoirs do bear an "A".

Harlequin-Horace was revised three times by its author. The third and fourth editions, both of which appeared in 1735, were new versions of the poem, showing numerous amendments. The third edition uses most of the remarks of the Grub-street Journal's reviewer as footnotes to the text. The fact that Miller showed this much respect to the Journal's comments may be another indication that they were (or at least that Miller thought they were) by Pope himself. The version of the poem printed in Miscellaneous Works in 1741 was also carefully revised. No copy of the second edition appears to exist, although Gilliver announced one on April 8th 1731, two months after the publication of the first edition. The poem was,

however, reissued in 1732, in a compilation of works inspired by the Dunciad.⁹ Copies of the first edition were bound up by Gil-
liver with poems by Edward Young and Walter Harte, Richard Savage's An Author to be Let, and pieces reprinted from the Grub-street Journal. The volume was "edited" by Savage.

Harlequin-Horace is dedicated, in a lengthy preface, to "J--N R--H, Esq; &c. &c. &c." The et ceteras emphasise the absence in this case of the strings of titles usual in a dedication. Its tone and style are strongly reminiscent of the "Scriblerian Prolegomena" and editorial notes of the Dunciad Variorum of 1729. The archaic and ungainly style of Martinus Scriblerus, who used such phrases as "This Poem, as it celebrateth the most grave and antient of things," and his preference of "we" to "I", as in "We shall next declare the occasion and the cause which moved our Poet to this particular work," in his introduction to the Dunciad Variorum, have been imitated by Miller in some of the notes to the third edition, as well as in the dedication, which begins:

Worthy Sir,

I doubt not most assuredly but great will be your Astonishment to find your Name prefix'd to this our Epistle Dedicatory, seeing true it is, that we neither previously crav'd you Consent thereunto, nor could presume to do it by Virtue of any Personal Acquaintance with you, forasmuch as our remembrance chargeth us not with having seen you at any time, save in the guise of a Hobby-Horse, Bull, Spaniel, or some other such like Animal, in which you generally chuse to communicate your self to the Publick.

It ends by explaining that it had been purposed to supply critical and explanatory notes, but it had been decided to leave this task to the "laborious Dr. Zoilus" who will doubtless execute it "with equal Astonishment and Satisfaction to the gentle Reader, as he has already done with regard to our original Author." Bentley's edition of Horace is referred to by this, as we are informed in the third

⁹A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose which have been published on Occasion of the Dunciad.

edition, which adds that as the great critic has been too occupied with Paradise Lost to comply, "we" have supplied the notes. "Scriblerus" was invented to ridicule pedantic editing and textual criticism. Aubrey Williams has stressed that "dunce" derives from Duns Scotus, and originally meant not plain stupidity, but the pedantic sophistry of the Schoolmen, and their obsession with words rather than ideas.¹⁰ Bentley naturally serves as the main example of this type of critic, as he had in the satires of Swift. The Dunciad regards both theatrical degeneration and the modern pedant's pride as symptoms of the same malaise, and Miller identifies himself with the Ancients in the same way as Pope and Swift.

The typical dedication of the period would apologise to the noble lord or lady to whom it was addressed for the author's presumption in so doing, usually adding that their eulogy was sure to please everyone except the modest subject of it, and asserting that the author could not have thought of addressing his humble efforts to anyone else. The dedication to Rich amusingly parodies the conventional pattern. Miller explains why Rich was the obvious person for Harlequin-Horace to honour in this way:

But to what worthy Personage could we so meetly apply for Protection, as to him who is the great Patron of the Art we here treat on? All the delectable Representations you have entertained us with, have been put together in absolute Conformity to the Rules we havelaid down; nay verily, but from those are the Rules theselves extracted, in likewise as Aristotle compil'd his Art of Ancient Poetry from the Writings of that then renoun'd Ballad-maker Homer.

(sig. b1^v)

This treatise, then, replaces that of Aristotle, which is re-named "the Art of Ancient Poetry," derived from the practice of the "then" renowned ballad-maker Homer. Rich, Theobald, and their friends are the new authorities. The satire seems somewhat overstated until one

¹⁰Pope's Dunciad, p.109.

recalls that Backmore and Ambrose Philips had in certain quarters been hailed as worthy successors of Homer and Virgil. A Guardian essay of 1713 asserted that

Theocritus .. left his dominions to Virgil; Virgil left his to his son Spencer; and Spencer was succeeded by his eldest-born, Philips,¹¹

and Charles Gildon in 1718 called Philips "the third at least in this kind of Poesy" after Theocritus and Virgil.¹² The preface to a translation of Rene Le Bossu's Traité du poeme épique by "W.J." contains the surprising statement: "Sir Richard Blackmore ... may justly be reckoned the Next to, though not an Equal with Homer and Virgil."¹³

As well as addressing Rich directly with ironical praises, and explaining the poem's handling of Horace, the dedication may be intended subtly to convey a graver message, in which the figure of Rich as theatre manager and mimic artist symbolises a mightier Manager. The slippery and sinister nature of Rich's "unparallel'd Agility" is emphasised:

Indefatigable in Well-doing, you couragiously persevere to surmount all Opposition, and risk your very Neck for its Encouragement and Support.

(sig.b1^v)

The humour of pantomime is amoral. In those of which we have synopses Harlequin and his friends steal and deceive, elope with wives or daughters, and deal out the ludicrous, yet violent, punishment of slapstick comedy. The audience admired the adroitness and enjoyed the absurdity of the tricks performed, but, naturally, no concern was shown for the reformation of manners through ridicule: formerly comedy's main justification. The two Faustus pantomimes of 1723 had, moreover, shown Harlequin as a "conjurator", meddling with

¹¹No.32 (April 17th, 1713), final sentence.

¹²The Complete Art of Poetry, pp.156-157.

¹³Monsieur Bossu's Treatise of the Epick Poem (1719), sig.a3^v.

infernal powers. If, however, instead of "well-doing" we read "evil-doing", the sentence applies rather more logically to Walpole than to Rich, especially in the reference to "Opposition", and to the fate of hanging, which was often predicted for the Great Man.

Rich had begun to raise the price of seats for pantomimes, pleading the excuse of the greater expense involved in machinery and special effects. This caused a good deal of indignation, but even disregarding this, Miller implies that Rich is cheating the public by offering rubbish in lieu of a dramatic production:

You are a thorough Master, Sir, of the great and lucrative Art of Delusion, and everything is taken for Gold that but goes through your Hands.

(sig.b1^v)

The choice of the word "delusion", instead of "illusion", which is normally applied to conjuring tricks, emphasises their unethical nature. Part of his magic is to turn everything he touches into gold. In Rich's case the gold passes through his hands into his pockets. A very great deal of gold, however, was thought to pass through the hands of the Prime Minister in the form of bribes, and so the phraseology fits his case at least as well as it does Rich's.

The most telling accusation Miller makes is that Rich is a calculating cynic in his assessment of human nature, and caters deliberately for the lowest of tastes, from a straightforward profit motive:

You know the World. You have a commensurate Idea of the Length, Depth and Breadth of all the Choice Spirits and Fine Genius's of the Age. You are convinc'd by happy Experience, that the Pleasures and Diversions which the present Race of Mortals are most fond of, are such as do the most effectually impose both on their Senses and Understandings: and that the utmost satisfaction they receive, is from being visibly play'd the Fool with.

(sig.b3^r)

Walpole believed in his own realistic perception of the world and of human psychology, and was not impressed by poets and philosophers.

The first two sentences are appropriate for him (and indeed, very likely to invoke his image in the mind of a contemporary reader); the third sentence is applicable only to Rich, whom Miller calls a "Cunning-Man." The phrase is meant to be understood as both "wizard" and "confidence-trickster."

"Harlequin-Horace" speaks of his treatment of the Ars Poetica with duncical self-confidence: "it is Horace new dress'd, modernis'd, done into English, adapted to the present Taste." This means that the Roman poet must be turned upside-down: "it is Horace turn'd Harlequin, with his Head where his Heels should be." (sig.b3^V)

The dedication ends, quite properly, with a pious wish for the health and prosperity of the person it addresses:

intreating Mercury and Venus to take you into their Protection, praying at the same Time that you may never grow fatt, or be laid by the Heels, but may ever remain slender, flippant and free, both for the Recreation of this Metropolis, and your own private Emolument.

(sig.b4^V)

No god can decently be evoked in this case, except these, the least respectable of the Greek deities, the god of thieves and the goddess of carnal love. Harlequin-Horace hopes that "Lun" will not grow fat (like, perhaps, the man he partially symbolises!).

The dedication announces by implication Miller's allegiance to Pope, and the poem itself does so more directly. According to the inverted values of Harlequin-Horace, harmony and truth in literature are now to be despised, and Pope symbolises all that the dunces hate. We are told at the beginning of the poem that they would ridicule a beautiful painting, and -

Such Treatment Friend you must expect to find,
Whilst Art, and Nature, in you works are join'd.
(p.2)

In the third edition, in 1735, "Pope" was substituted for "Friend" in the first line. This may have been done partly because, in the

interval between the first and third editions, the couplet that ends this paragraph was imitated by Pope at the close of the final epistle of the Essay on Man, which appeared in January 1734. Miller's lines are:

Consult no Order, but for ever steer
From grave to gay, from florid to severe.
(p.3),

and Pope's:

Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer
From grave to gay, from lively to severe.
(IV, 11.379-380)

The source for the image was not the Ars Poetica, but the translation of Boileau's L'art poetique by Sir William Soames, revised by Dryden in 1710:

Happy, who in his Verse can gently steer,
From Grave, to Light; from Pleasant, to Severe,¹⁴

and this was derived in its turn from Horace's Satires I x 1.11, "et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso." Horace and Boileau may be Pope's sources too, but the phrase "from grave to gay" is Miller's, and its use may be a complimentary return for Harlequin-Horace's praise of Pope, as Peter Dixon has suggested.¹⁵ Miller

¹⁴The Art of Poetry, Written in French by The Sieur de Boileau... Made English, By Sir William Soames. Since Revis'd by John Dryden, Esq. (1710), p.5.

¹⁵"Pope and James Miller," Notes and Queries (March, 1970), 91-92. It seems almost certain that Miller knew this translation of Boileau, as there are echoes of it elsewhere in the poem. For instance, Miller's couplet:

From first to last write on without Design,
And give us some new Wonder in each Line,
(p.19)

rendering Horace's

si quid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes
personam formare novam, ser̄vetur ad imum,
qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet,
(11.125-127)

seems indebted to Boileau's version in the Soames-Dryden translation:

To these you must surprising Touches joyn,
And show us a new Wonder in each Line.
(p.23)

gives the image a more pejorative sense, however, turning the idea of a pleasing variety of moods into one of wild inconsistency.

Reversing the meaning of Horace's metaphor of the sculptor who could perfect certain details but could not create an harmonious, integrated composition (Ars Poetica ll. 32-37), Miller says that it will not do nowadays to write like Pope, in lines which he states, in a note in the third edition, are an attempt to imitate his style:

What tho' in Pope's harmonious Lays combine,
 All that is lovely, noble and divine;
 Tho' every part with Wit, and Nature glows,
 And from each Line a sweet Instruction flows;
 Tho' thro' the whole the Loves, and Graces smile,
 Polish the Manners, and adorn the Stile?
 (p.6)

In the third edition an actual quotation from the Essay on Man was added:

Whil'st, Vertue's FRIEND, He turns the tuneful Art
From Sounds to Things, from Fancy to the Heart.¹⁶
 (p.7)

Harlequin-Horace certainly doesn't want to emulate this:

Yet still unhappily to Sense tied down,
 He's ignorant of the Art to please the Town.
 Heav'n grant I never write like him I mention,
 Since to the Bays I could not make pretension,
 Nor Thresher-like, hope to obtain a Pension.
 (p.7)

The last three lines descend into the style of Stephen Duck, the "renowned Barns-man," who enjoyed more Royal favour than Pope. There is actually a political aspect to this contrasting of Pope and Duck, for the two poets had been compared by the writer of the pro-government British Journal, the previous October.¹⁷ The article quotes a couplet from the Essay on Criticism:

¹⁶See Essay on Man, IV ll.391-392:

That urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart.

¹⁷No.145, October 10th, 1730.

'Tis with our Judgement as our Watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own.

This is condemned as prosaic, and "a Similitude without a Likeness," and the writer asserts that in Duck's poetry "many Passages have that Purity of Thought and Language which I never saw in any of the Works of that Author from whom I quoted the Similitude of the Watch."

In the same month The Political State of Great Britain, which normally showed no interest in art and letters, included eighteen pages of poetry by Duck. It is clearly in retaliation for this politically biased literary criticism that Miller places such emphasis, which would otherwise appear superfluous, on the superiority of Pope.

Pope reappears much later in the poem, where he again serves as a positive criterion, in contrast to the Grub-Street bards. Horace tells his pupils to study the Greek authors day and night, but nowadays this would be a waste of time and labour:

Besides, who'd read the Antients Night and Day,
And toil to follow where they lead the Way?
Who'd write, and cancel with alternate Pain,
First sweat to build, then to pull down again?
To turn the weigh'd Materials o'er and o'er,
and every Part, in ev'ry Light explore,
From Sense, and Nature never to depart,
An labour artfully, to cover Art ...
(p.36)

Instead "smooth Stupidity" is in vogue, and it is pointless to take pains,

When gentle H — 's Singsongs more delight,
Than all a Dryden or a Pope can write.
(p.36)

The preceding lines describe exactly the striving for perfection that Pope speaks of in his Essay on Criticism. The public now prefers simple, lyrical verse such as that of Henry Carey, whose

Poems on Several Occasions were published in 1729. (The third edition of Harlequin-Horace substitutes "Carey" for "H — ", making clear the oblique reference.) Miller was probably thinking of the immensely popular Sally in Our Alley. Carey wrote the music for many of the songs in ballad-operas, including three songs for Miller's own Coffee-House in 1738. There is a slighting reference to him in Seasonable Reproof:

If hymning H — y C — y once begin,
Where shall I fly from his eternal Din?
— — — — —
For, stop his Mouth, still the suspended Note,
Eager for Vent, lives quav'ring in his Throat.
(11.29-30, 33-34)

Carey was much kinder towards Miller (assuming he knew the authorship of The Man of Taste, which is likely) in his poem Of Stage Tyrants (1735):

Could one good Piece be suffer'd to appear,
The Town would gladly lend a candid Ear;
Prefer pure Nature and the simple SCENE,
To all the Monkey Tricks of Harlequin:
The Man of Taste proves this Assertion true,
We want what's rational as well as New.
(p.5)

Pope enters the scene again at the conclusion of the poem, when the rôle of the critic is discussed. Horace describes a good critic and sincere friend, who would assume that his real opinion had been honestly sought, and would give it thoroughly and truthfully, for the writer's own sake (Ars Poetica, ll.445-452). In the third edition Miller gives two examples of the good critic: Pope and Trapp. This is high praise indeed for Trapp, whom Miller was thought to have satirised in his first play. Possibly he was influenced by the esteem in which Trapp was held by the Grub-street Journal. Dunces are not, of course, likely to be gratified by the verdicts of such judges on their compositions. Their Muse is too puny:

Nor let a Pope or Trapp your Works peruse,
 They'd only overlay your infant Muse.
 (3rd edn., p.59)

If these critics were to erase all they might find fault with,
 hardly a line would remain.

iii) The nature of pantomime - and some thoughts on human nature

Throughout the poem Miller stays close to his source, inverting Horace's precepts with ingenuity and effect. At the beginning, he makes more use of the opening metaphors of the Ars Poetica than merely to turn a compliment to Pope. Horace's description of disorganised poetry, that it resembles a sick man's dreams, is already appropriate to pantomime, with its unconnected sequences of events, magical transformations and sudden surprises. Incidents in pantomime were sometimes luridly grotesque, as in a particularly hectic dream:

No - tis the Ægri Somnia now must please;
 Things without Head, or Tail, or Form, or Grace,
 A wild, forc'd, glaring, unconnected Mass.
 (p.2)

Poetic licence, Horace advises, should not be stretched so far that the reader is asked to countenance the impossible - that serpents should mate with birds, or lambs with tigers. "Serpentes avibus gementur, Tigribus agni" is the motto which appears beneath the frontispiece to the first edition of Harlequin-Horace. In the text, corresponding to this line of Horace's we find:

A Thousand jarring Things together yoke,
 The Dog, the Dome, the Temple and the Joke.
 (p.3)

The third edition supplies an explanatory note:

In the Farce of Perseus and Andromeda, a most obscene Dance was perform'd in a Temple, before a handsome Audience of Priests and Bishops, at the same Time the ingenious Mr. Rich deported himself

naturally in the Shape of a Dog, till a Dome rising voluntarily from under the Stage, gave him Room for another transformation by standing on the Top of it in the Guise of a Mercury, to the high Admiration and Delight of a British Audience.

(p.3)

The poem's frontispiece illustrates this scene. Apollo, in meditative pose, is seated with his lyre at the front of the stage. He is in shadow, while the scene behind him is brightly illumined, and rests an elbow upon a pile of volumes labelled Shakespeare, Vanbrugh and Otway. (These are the three dramatists who are mentioned in the dedication as being performed to empty benches.) He does not notice that his feet are being urinated upon in canine fashion by a man dressed as a dog, while in the centre of the stage are two dancers, the woman with skirts raised slightly to expose the ankles, and the man performing extraordinary, though not discernibly obscene, movements with his legs. They are watched by priests in robes and mitres, and in the background is a tall cupola, with a graceful Hermes, naked except for a helmet (but with his back turned), poised on the top of it. Ladies in the stage-boxes appear entranced, standing up and leaning over the balustrades, although two of them find it necessary to peep from behind their fans.¹

Theobald's Perseus and Andromeda was first produced by Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields on January 2nd, 1730. The printed scenario as usual contains only the spoken lines of the "serious" scenes, and the comic (sometimes called "grotesque") parts of the entertainment, in which Rich performed as Harlequin, are not described. The serious parts involve elaborate transformations and magical appearances, and feature Pegasus, Medusa and the sea monster. Theobald, as the deviser of several pantomimes, is under attack almost as

¹This frontispiece, and that of the third edition, are reproduced in The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume V, "1660-1750", ed. John Loftis et al. (1976), figs. 15 & 16.

much as Rich himself, and, of course, Miller had authoritative precedent for this.

Rich's animal impersonations, already mentioned in the dedication, naturally afforded his enemies opportunities for contemptuous mockery, and for insinuations that his performances were inhuman and de-humanising - almost a blasphemy against the rational order of nature. The beasts that Horace speaks of, serpents and doves, tigers and lambs, serve him merely as metaphors for unlikely unions, but in Miller's lines they are literal. Rich's shows are known to have featured dogs, donkeys, monkeys, dragons and birds.

Hogarth, Fielding and other satirists had concentrated their attacks mainly on the two Faustus pantomimes which had been so remarkably popular in 1724. Miller chose a more recent example. Also, it was impossible to speak of Faustus without including Drury Lane in the attack, and Miller wanted to aim specifically at John Rich. The frontispiece summarises the incongruity of the grotesque and classical ingredients of pantomime, and the threat that modern vulgarity presents to classical culture. Perseus was much criticised for its obscenity when it appeared, and Miller returns to this aspect later in his poem, in response to Horace's injunction that beauty is not enough in a poem; it must arouse the emotions:

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunt
et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.
(11.99-100)

Miller probably knew Henry Ames's translation of these lines:

'Tis not enough that in your Poems shine
Gay Beauties, tempting Sweetness must combine;
The ravish'd Ears must lead the willing Heart,
Charm'd with the Force of Nature and of Art²

The sensuous tone of this, and its mention of "tempting Sweetness,"

²A New Translation of Horace's Art of Poetry, Attempted in Rhyme. By Mr. Henry Ames (1727), p.11.

may have suggested the idea of the seductive dance in Perseus and Andromeda:

The Ladies look for something soft and sweet:
 That ev'ry tender Sentiment can move
 And fix their Fancies on the Part they love.
 In Perseus this was to Perfection done,
 The Dance was very moving they must own.
 (p.15)

The Grub-street Journal, discussing Harlequin-Horace, agreed that fashionable women had viewed without a blush performances of that pantomime, "in which the most lascivious acts, nearly tending to copulation itself, were repeatedly represented."³ An earlier issue of the Journal pretended to criticise the frontispiece of the poem, for giving only a poor and faint impression of the actual scene:

In the first place, the woman's petticoats, in that ever memorable dance, which should have been at least some inches above the knee, are here no higher than the calf of the leg; whilst the man, whose expressive motions our fair Readers must well remember, is placed in a very dull and disadvantageous light. Moreover, the Bishops who are present ... are made in the picture to turn their eyes quite another way; when 'tis certain that at the time of its being represented on the stage, they were as observant of it as any Bishops could possible be.⁴

The question of improper stage dancing recurs in the poem when Horace discusses the proper dignity of tragedy:

effutire levis indigna Tragoedia versus,
 ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
 intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.

(Tragedy, scorning to babble trivial verses, will like a matron bidden to dance on festal days, take her place in the saucy satyr's circle with some little shame; 11.231-233.)

Such dances as that of Monsieur Nivelon and Madame Legar, who according to the Grub-street Journal were the performers in Perseus, can aptly be likened to the lewd antics of the Satyrs, although instead of causing blushes they tend to deprave the female members of

³No.66 (April 8th, 1731).

⁴No.60 (February 25th, 1731).

the audience:

Make our grave Matrons as unseemly Dance
 And talk as lewd as Mademoiselles de France.
 (p.32)

Most of the dancers who appeared at this period were French.

Even without the immodest display of Gallic limbs, music itself was believed to have a corrupting effect. When Horace describes the role of the Chorus in drama, whose songs should advance the plot, and blend with it, expressing the love of virtue and justice (ll. 193-195), Miller discusses the contrary tendency of the songs of the contemporary theatre. There was a fashion for ballad operas at this time, set by the success of the Beggar's Opera in 1728, and the Italian opera continued to flourish. Many conventional comedies, including some of Miller's own later productions, contrived to introduce a few songs. This trend was further encouraged by the presence in the companies of actresses who were also fine singers; most notably Kitty Clive and Susannah Cibber. Even when the play was "straight", singing or dancing was often advertised in the interval, or between the play and the afterpiece. Miller naturally makes Harlequin-Horace approve of this habit:

The antient Chorus justly's laid aside,
 And all its Office by a Song supply'd:
 A Song - when to the Purpose something's lack't,
 Relieves us in the middle of an Act;
 A Song inspires our Breasts with am'rous Fury,
 And turns our Fancies on the Nymphs of Drury:
 Can quell our Rage, and pacify our Cares,
 Revive old Hopes, and banish present Fears;
 Lighten like Wine, the bitter Load of Life,
 And make each Wretch forget his Debts - and Wife.
 (pp.27-28)

Aristotle argued that the emotions of pity and fear should be aroused, and purged, by tragedy. Modern drama is designed merely to soothe these emotions, and to provide an escape from everyday worries in the same way as alcohol does, stimulating only a languid

lasciviousness.

In 1735 The Prompter announced particular concern about the bad moral effects of music upon respectable women:

MUSICK, like Beauty, is an Object of Sense, and creates a Passion. It is to the Ear what the other is to the Eye. NEITHER speak to the Understanding ... it is in the Power of Musick to RAISE EVERY PASSION in the Soul, but not ONE VIRTUE. That must be the Work of the Understanding.⁵

A dubious scene in an opera has a far worse effect than one in a play, because in the play the content of the scene would alarm a woman and arouse her shame, but in an opera her brain has been lulled, and her passions liberated by the music. The adulation of singers like Farinello was also seen as a kind of depravity:

a Fellow (who is only fit to enervate the Youth of Great Britain, by the pernicious Influence of his UNNATURAL Voice, and make our Women, who once dealt in the nobler Passions of Humanity, prostitute their Beauties to his Interest by levying, in Virtue of those Beauties, upon our young Fellows of Fortune ... Ten, Fifteen Guineas for a Ticket, in Favour of one, who, if he COULD, might command THEIR PERSONS as well as THEIR PURSES).⁶

In his Hospital for Fools in 1739 Miller introduces a girl who is obsessed by oratorio, and whose father comments "'tis well they can't ravish," when she speaks of the singers as "ravishing foreigners."⁷

Bertrand Goldgar points out that "even Italian opera became a subject of political controversy, with the British Journal (4 March 1726/7) defending it and the Craftsman attacking it as sybaritic and inappropriate for the British national character."⁸

Miller views the native musical tradition much more favourably. Songs, in the days "when Englishmen were — Men" were sung "in lofty Sense, but humble Verse," and played on the "manly Trumpet,

⁵Prompter no. CVI (November 14th, 1735)

⁶Prompter no. XXXVII (March 17th, 1735).

⁷An Hospital for Fools, p.16.

⁸Walpole and the Wits, p.45.

and the simple Reed" (p.28). This corresponds to Horace's description of the alteration in the performance of the chorus in Greek drama, "postquam coepit agros extendere victor" (when a conquering race began to widen its domain," l.208). Foreign influence, the poem suggests, has both elaborated and emasculated our music:

Since Trav'ling has so much improv'd our Beaux
That each brings home a foreign Tongue, or Nose;
(p.29)

and this effect has been increased by the incongruous mingling of social classes that has taken place in modern times, leading the theatres to aim at gratifying vulgar tastes:

Since South-Sea Schemes have so enrich'd the Land,
That footmen 'gainst their Lords for Boroughs stand;
Since Masquerades and Opera's made their Entry,
And Heydegger and Handell rul'd our Gentry;
A hundred different Instruments combine,
And foreign Songsters in the Concert join.
(p.29)

Miller is here developing Horace's comment:

indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?

(for what taste could you expect of an unlettered throng just freed from toil, rustic mixed up with city folk, vulgar with nobly-born? ll.212-213)

Stock-market speculation was disrupting the social hierarchy by bringing sudden wealth, or equally sudden impoverishment, and the classes were now able to mingle anonymously at the public masquerades held by the Swiss "Count" Heidegger, George II's Master of the Revels. The masquerades also enabled the sexes to make contact with a freedom normally impossible in society drawing-rooms. Masquerades had been linked satirically with opera in 1724 in Hogarth's print Masquerades and Operas, which also contained an allusion to the Faustus pantomimes. Since 1729 Heidegger had been collaborating with Handel in producing operas.

Horace recounts how, as the music of the Greek choruses became

more florid, their diction became dithyrambic, and their meaning oracular and obscure (11.217-219). This idea finds a reflection in the incomprehensibility to its eager audience of the Italian opera libretto:

In unknown Tongues mysterious Dullness chant,
Make love in Tune, or thro' the Gamut rant.
(p.30)

Miller includes in his list of new-fangled musical instruments the French horn, fiddle, flute, bassoon, bass, lute, spinet and drum. These combine with eunuchs and strumpets, "A Roman Weather and Venetian Strum," to make "melodious Nonsense." In 1735 he added a footnote explaining that he only disliked music when it was subservient to obscenity, or "Jesuitically confin'd, like false Devotion, to an unknown Tongue" (p.32).

As well as the evolution of stage music, Horace discusses the continuous development and alteration of language. In his view it is permissible to coin new words to convey new ideas; old words die, like all things in Nature, and new ones must take their place. Miller echoes the Latin original without departing from his satiric purpose. It is essential, he says, to coin words "to suit the Modern Muse," because modern poetry deals in unheard-of things:

New Terms adapted to the Purpose bring,
When Eagles are to talk, or Asses sing.
(p.8)

There were plenty of people Miller might have called singing Asses on the stage at this time, but there was one recent stage burlesque which featured an eagle that both sang and spoke, and a singing ass, and this may be referred to here. It was Gabriel Odingsells' Bays's Opera (1730), a "rehearsal play," attacking modern entertainments.⁹ Miller certainly knew of this ill-fated piece, for he mentions it later, when prompted by Horace's observation that, like paintings,

⁹The eagle and the ass appear in Act II, pp.32-33, and 35. For the play as a satire on pantomime, see above, pp. 124-125.

some poems please only once, and others repeatedly:

haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.
(1.365)

This was translated by Henry Ames as follows:

Some Poems scarce can bear a second View
Others, tho' often read, are always new.
(p.30)

Apparently influenced by this version, Miller has:

Poor Bays's Opera scarce would bear one View,
But Gay's repeated Sixty-times, was new.
(p.49)

Pantomime provides Miller with exact antitheses for Horace's precepts regarding order, decorum and self-consistency in composition. Its concentration on spectacular tricks and machinery constitutes a complete reversal of the classical rule that what would outrage credibility should never be shown on stage. In Greek drama such events would be described by a messenger, because any attempt to represent them would be feeble and unconvincing, as well as undignified. Rich, on the contrary, shows tricks which deceive the audience, but are so unlikely and absurd that they would never be believed if they were only recounted. Miller's examples are the feats of Faustus, the metamorphosis of Jove in Jupiter and Europa, and the Monster, Pegasus and Medusa from Perseus and Andromeda, which also featured "Yahoo Rich transform'd into a Hound" (p.26). Rich, it seems, was an animal even before his transformation: one of Swift's revolting, man-shaped creatures.

Horace likens a poem to a painting; "Ut pictura poesis" (1.361). Some look better the farther away you stand, and Harlequin- Horace agrees that this is especially true of pantomime:

If plac'd too nigh my Pleasure is prevented;
I see the Strings by which the Feats are done,
And quickly find no Conjurer in Lun
(p.49)

Too much reality would spoil the entertainment. In the same way, the lights must be dim when ghosts appear, for the audience wants to feel a thrilling shudder; but when the scene shifts with the customary suddenness to the abode of the gods, the lights must be bright, to show off the goddesses' charms.

Harlequin-Horace advocates the mixing of different genres - the blending of "Sock" and "Buskin", and although Miller may have been thinking of sentimental comedies and unintentionally ludicrous tragedies, this could also apply to the type of pantomime that had alternate scenes labelled "Serious" and "Grotesque", so that in Perseus and Andromeda the mythical rescue of the sacrificial maiden is interspersed with harlequin's antics, and, in the Rape of Proserpine, the sad story of Ceres' loss is enlivened in the same way. The latter, incidentally, also contains a good example of unintentional comedy in one of the scenes intended to be "Serious":

Cyana. O Ceres-

Offering to speak, is turn'd into a Brook.

Ceres. Ha! surprizing Change!

(p.10)

Although Miller turns Horace's suggestion that the language must change and develop like everything else in Nature into a joke about unheard-of verbal innovations, he also takes up more gravely the Roman poet's image of the trees shedding and renewing their leaves:

ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
et invenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.

(As forests change their leaves with each year's decline, and the earliest drop off: so with words, the old race dies, and like the young of human-kind, the new-born bloom and thrive; ll.60-62)

Miller, however, is less concerned with the adaptation of language, than with the change, and decline, of art:

For as the stately Oaks that late were seen
 Proudly compacted, eminently green,
 Rob'd of their leafy Honours, stragling Bow,
 Their hoary Heads beneath the falling Snow;
 So Nature, Wit, and Sense must blasted Fall,
 Wilst blooming Ignorance prevails o'er all.
 (pp.9-10)

The green oaks represent the classic poets, who have been pillaged of their "leafy Honours" - the traditional laurel crown - by the moderns. Horace explains that words cannot be expected to live forever, when mankind, and even the greatest works of architects and engineers, all decay in the end. The achievements of the Romans that Horace mentions are all of benefit to humanity, but those Harlequin-Horace refers to are only monuments to pride:

Blenheims's vast Pile shall moulder into Dust,
 And George's Statues be consum'd by Rust.
 (p.10)

In the version of the poem printed in the Miscellaneous Works of 1741 George is altered to Marlbrô: the tendency in the collected works being generally towards greater cautiousness, both in satire, and in the use of oaths and strong language. The original version seems to hint at an unfavourable comparison between the era of Augustus Caesar and that of George Augustus. The poem's epigraph, "Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis," is taken up in this discussion of mutability:

Old Things must yield to New, Common to Strange,
Perpetual Motion, brings perpetual Change.
 Lo! Shakespear's Head is crush'd by R — h's Heels,
 And a throng'd Theatre in Goodman's Fields.
 Lo! Smithfield Shows a polish'd Court engage,
 And Hurlothrumbo charms the knowing Age.
 (p.10)

The Biblical parody in these lines, the use of "Lo!" and the transformation of the heel of the Redeemer into the heels of nimble Harlequin, seems to make Rich the Messiah of the new kingdom of dullness. Miller employs religious phraseology once more three lines later:

What Bard for starving Sense would suffer Death?
 When fruitful Folly is th' Establish'd Faith.
 (p.11)

Sense is starving, as will the bard who is faithful to her. He will be a martyr indeed. Folly, the established faith, is not likely to have any martyrs. Ignorance blooms, and Folly brings forth fruit, and her adherents are fed.

The changeability of human nature is a recurrent preoccupation in Horace's poetry, and Miller develops this theme later in the poem, although the relevant passage is actually inspired by Horace's advice to poets to make their characters' emotions consistent with their fortunes:

format enim Natura prius nos intus ad omnem
 fortunarum habitum; iuvat aut impellit ad iram,
 aut ad humum maerore grave deducit et angit;
 post effert animi motus interprete lingua.

(For Nature first shapes us within to meet every change of fortune: she brings joy or impels to anger, or bows us to the ground and tortures us under a load of grief; then, with the tongue for interpreter, she proclaims the emotions of the soul; ll.108-111)

This gives rise to a temporary change of mood in Miller's poem, which passes from mockery of modern poets to a more profoundly pessimistic comment on human nature. Horace's mention of the psychological changes which are brought about by events, and which ought to be revealed in dramatic dialogue, leads Miller to ask why mankind now hungers for change and variety. The poet no longer aims at faithful representation of character, and this is a symptom of a more widespread dissembling:

For wanton Nature forms the human Mind,
 Still fond of Wonders, and to Change inclin'd;
Plain Sense we fly, strange Nonsense to pursue,
 And leave old Follies, but to grasp at New;
One hour we court, what we the next refuse,
 And loath to morrow, what to day we chuse:
 Now we are grave, then gay - now wing'd with Joy,
 Then sunk in Grief - and all we know not why.
 The Things we hunt, are Pleasure, Wealth and Fame,
 But a wrong Scent still cheats us of the Game;

For different Objects, different Aims excite,
 And still we think the last Opinion right:
 To Craft, Deceit, and Selfishness inclin'd,
 We never let the Face betray the Mind;
 But then look fairest, when we mean most Ill,
 And Syrens like we only smile - to kill:
 By Interest sway'd, each Word is full of Art,
 And still the Tongue runs counter to the Heart.
 (p.17)

Mankind's unfortunate tendency to act when prompted by impulse or whim rather than rational wisdom was often pointed out by Horace, in particular in the First Epistle of the First Book, in the passage beginning:

idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes (1.82),
 rendered by Pope in his Imitation (1738), as:

But show me one who has it in his pow'r
 To act consistent with himself an hour ...
 (11.136-137)

Miller, however, is more severe, stressing human selfishness and malice, and the cunning which conceals that malice. His condemnation is so all-embracing that when we read the footnote in the third edition we are at first ready to believe that it is spoken in the persona of Harlequin-Horace, and represents the cynical attitude of Rich:

Egregious are the Blunders of all our Commentators on the following Lines ... they have stigmatiz'd them as a virulent Invective on human Nature. Groundless and absurd! Is not the whole Poem an Irony?

But it then becomes clear that it is this footnote which is actually ironic:

Ought not these lines therefore to be constru'd by the rule of Reverse, and doth not our Bard, then, ... sing loudly in Laud of his Fellow-Creatures, and hold forth the present spotless Generation; as replete with Honour, Integrity, Prudence ...
 (p.17)

This is Pope's technique in some of the footnotes to the Dunciad, which, while purporting to disclaim a satiric intention in any particular passage, actually confirm it.

The harsh condemnation of human weakness is continued later in the poem, where Miller follows Horace in describing the four ages of man, and how they should be portrayed in poetry. Of course, since modern audiences are more interested in the novel or sensational than in what is natural, a poet should never suit his "Manners to the Sex, or Age," so that, for example, a little child should be represented like a pessimistic politician:

Like little W — m, boast true English Spirit,
 And gravely talk of Vertue, Sense, and Merit;
 Converse with Patriots, and Politicians,
 And rail at Dunkirk, Hannover, and Hessians.
 (p.23)

Sir William Wyndham (1687-1740), one of the leading Tory statesmen, was particularly preoccupied with the subject of the fortifications at Dunkirk, and attacked Walpole for allowing them to remain, and for maintaining soldiers from Hesse for the defence of Hanover. It seems that one of his two sons must have had a reputation for taking a precocious interest in his father's political affairs, unless Miller merely means "like a little Wyndham."

The beardless youth just out of school should

Copy the stingy Duke so young and thrifty,
 And look, and talk a very Don of Fifty.
 (p.23)

This probably refers to John, fourth Duke of Bedford, who was about twenty at this time, and is described by Lord Hervey as "covetous, and the best economist in the world," and who would have been "able to live within his fortune if it had been fifty times less." His understanding, according to Hervey, was "extremely cultivated without being the better for it," he had a great deal of application, and was in conversation assured, talkative and decisive.¹⁰

The middle-aged man, Horace says, is naturally both cautious and ambitious, but Miller's is "wild and wanton," like Fielding's later

¹⁰ Memoirs of the Reign of George II, ed. J.W.Croker (1848),
 pp. 284-285.

creation, Squire Western:

Void of Ambition, innocent of Fear;
Nor Fame, nor Friendship, nor Preferment mind,
So Jowler prove but staunch, and Phyllis kind.
(p.26)

The dog's name is traditional, but may have been prompted by the version in James Bramston's Art of Politicks of the immediately preceding passage in Horace, about the typical behaviour of young men. Bramston says that the youth prefers hunting to politics:

More he delights in fav'rite Jowler's Tongue,
Than in Will Shippern, or Sir William Young.
(p.20)

Old age should also indulge in youthful pastimes, particularly lascivious ones, and, like "grim Chartres":

Have each weak Side supported by a Whore,
And ravish Drury-Virgins by the Score.
(p.24)

The only maidens such an old man would be capable of ravishing would be those of Drury Lane, who would not resist too resolutely. Colonel Francis Charteris had actually been twice condemned to death for rape, the second time in 1730, at the age of fifty-five. He was pardoned on both occasions. He died in 1732, but his notoriety lived on in the satires of Pope, and in Hogarth's A Harlot's Progress (1732), where he was depicted eyeing the innocent country girl on her arrival in town. The vehemence of the satirists' attacks on Charteris was probably owing to the belief that he was one of Walpole's agents, and his reprieve caused the cries of "Screen" to be raised once again.¹¹ The poem continues:

For 'tis, you know, an uncontested Truth,
That Age is nothing but a second Youth.
(p.24)

This normally means that age is like, not young manhood, but early

¹¹See Biographical Appendix in The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, vol.IV, p.351.

childhood, when both body and mind are weak and feeble. This sobering thought leads Miller into a reflection on life's transience, corresponding to Horace's lines:

multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
multa recedentes adimunt.

(Many blessing do the advancing years bring with them; many as they retire, they take away, ll.175-176)

Miller muses:

Dejecting Thought, that all the Toil and Cares
Which Youth's employ'd in, all our Hopes, and Fears,
The Wealth, Fame, Knowledge, Honour, we obtain,
Pass a few Years, are useless found, and vain.
(pp.24-25)

Since the realities of life can be dejecting indeed, Truth and Nature should be avoided. Audiences like the unexpected, and will be delighted "to see Sixteen like old Sir G—t scrape, / And Sixty sent to Newgate for a Rape," however unpleasant both these may sound. Sir G—t" is Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who was also a target of Pope's. He was an extremely rich Lord Mayor, and yet is said to have objected to a fee of a few shillings for something connected with his brother's burial.

iv) Drama's traditional rôle, and political satire on the stage

When Horace speaks of the glorious history of poetry, Miller describes what poetry has been in the past, a great enobling and civilising force:

By Sense, and Vertue Poets aim'd at Praise,
And in their Country's Service tun'd their Lays.
Taught Men from Fraud, and Rapine to abstain,
And Publick Good prefer, to private Gain:
Shew'd 'em what Reverence to the Gods was due,
And what rich Fruits from Social Vertues grew.
(p.53)

The "Knowing Moderns", however, are partly to blame for the recent

moral deterioration of society. They are often both seditious and blasphemous, reverencing only Vice and Folly. In the third edition a near-quotation from Pope underlines their contrast with him:

To our Applause, He only can pretend
 Who's Sworn, to Dulness and her Friends, a Friend;
 Who by no Laws Divine, or Human aw'd,
 Rails at his Prince, and ridicules his God;
 To Vice and Folly splendid Temples rears,
 And for our Entertainment, risks his Ears.¹
 (p.56)

Horace praises his compatriots for leaving no style untried, and for breaking away from the Greek traditions and writing about events at home. The modern English bards have certainly left no stone unturned in the pursuit of praise,

But bravely launching from the Antient's Road,
 In Paths peculiar to themselves have trod;
 Till Brittain now like famous is become,
 For Arms Abroad, and Poetry at Home.
 (p.38)

This corresponds to the following lines from Horace:

nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
 quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
 quemque poetarum limae labor et mora.

(Nor would Latium be more supreme in valour and glory of arms than in letters, were it not that her poets, one and all, cannot brook the toil and tedium of the file; ll.289-291)

The Romans, although wielding tremendous military power, were conscious of artistic inferiority to Greece. Miller's reference to fame in war, however, is ironic, and aimed at one of the customary targets in his later poems, the peace policy of Walpole. England in the Elizabethan age was great both culturally and politically, but she has recently declined in both respects. Social, political and artistic virtues are mutually dependent. As an earlier satirist of pantomime, Edward Ward, puts it in the epigraph to The Dancing Devils, or, the Roaring Dragon (1724):

¹See The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated (1733), 1.121: TO VIRTUE ONLY and HER FRIENDS, A FRIEND.

Pray tell me, whether, in a vicious Age,
 The Stage corrupts the Town, or Town the Stage?
 For both concur, when Folly makes its way;
 But where the Fault begins, 'tis hard to say.

Miller gives a brief history of the English stage, corresponding to Horace's account of Classical drama, which explains that Greek tragedy was begun by Thespis, whose plays, since they formed a part of the vintage celebrations, were performed on waggons by players whose faces were smeared with wine-lees. Æschylus transformed this into something much closer to the theatre as we know it, introducing costumes, a wooden stage, graceful movement and exalted speech. In this country, according to Harlequin-Horace (who moves the medieval pageant-plays some centuries further back), drama was at first

Shewn by some merry Britton in a Cart,
 Whose naked Tribe of Saxons, Scots and Picts,
 Sung Songs like L — ge, and like R — h play'd Tricks.²
 (p.37)

Miller does not mention that this savage audience was probably painted with woad, but this is naturally contained in the image of naked Scots and Picts ("Picts" being derived from "painted"), and it is an idea that corresponds neatly with the purple stain of the worshippers of Bacchus. Shakespeare, he continues, brought to English tragedy what Æschylus did to the Greek, teaching his actors "to charm the Passions, and engage the Heart." Horace then describes the beginnings of comedy:

Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
 laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
 dignam lege regi: lex est accepta chorusque
 turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.

(To these succeeded Old Comedy, and won no little credit, but its freedom sank into excess and a violence deserving to be checked by law. The law was obeyed, and the chorus to its shame became mute, its right to injure being withdrawn; ll. 281-284)

Comedy began to flower in England too,

²L — ge is the singer Richard Leveridge, and R — h, of course, Rich.

But taking too much Freedom with the Great,
 In Polly's Opera receiv'd its Fate.
 (p.38)

Polly, John Gay's sequel to The Beggar's Opera, which was forbidden to be acted by the Lord Chamberlain in 1729, provides a very apt instance of satiric comedy being suppressed by law. The passage of the Licensing Act in 1737 was even more disastrous for dramatic satire, and so when revising Harlequin-Horace for his Miscellaneous Works in 1741, Miller substituted these lines:

Next witty Comedy, in pointed Prose,
 Lash'd, with Applause, each Folly as it rose.
 'Till, taking too much Freedom with the Great,
 Medling, O fye! with Ministers of State,
 In Anno Seventeen Hundred Thirty Six
 A Law was made to quell such naughty Tricks;
 Since when my good Lord Chamberlain - right Thing!
 Reads each new Play, to strip it of its Sting;
 Tho' long the sturdy Beggars of the Pit
 Loudly oppos'd this new Excise on Wit.
 (p.46)

This passage also illustrates Miller's more severe attitude to Walpole as the decade proceeded. The references to "the Great", "Ministers of State", and "Sturdy Beggars" and Excise", as well as "Harlequin-Horace's" approval of the Act, are all indicative of his hostility.

Horace contrasts the Roman passion for accounting and business with Grecian wit and genius. They sought glory, but the Romans concentrate on gain, and bring up their children in this philosophy. Harlequin-Horace pities the Greeks for their foolishness in starving their bodies for the sake of such a shadowy abstraction as future glory. The Moderns have more "substantial sense," and take the path that leads to the most pence, with which to purchase pudding. Earlier Harlequin-Horace disclaims the title of poet for himself:

Not that I dare to Poetry pretend,
 But boast at most to be the Poet's Friend,
 - - - - -
 To point them out the most successful Ways,
 To purchase Pudding, and to purchase Praise.
 (p.40)

Praise is to be bought in the same way as pudding is. The phrase recalls Pope's

Poetic Justice, with her lifted scale;
Where in nice balance, truth with gold she weighs,
And solid pudding against empty praise.³
(Dunciad I, ll.50-52)

Miller's bards want both. The implication is that they write in order to eat; but "pudding" has especially duncical reverberations. It is also particularly applicable to pantomime, for it then meant not a dessert, but a sausage, a stage-property much employed in harlequinade. This is the sense which survives in the name of the blood-sausage, "black-pudding." Horace too had spoken of nourishment, but of a spiritual kind:

munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam.

(I will teach the poet's office and duty; whence he draws his stores; what nurtures and fashions him; ll.306-307)

Harlequin-Horace pronounces the Greeks wicked heathens, since pride is a sin, and they were too proud to lower their standards for profit, but the Christian knows better; his "Godliness is gain" (p.44). To ignorant publishers length is the criterion. They will pay more for a longer book, and,

Your Readers too you better can impose on,
Whilst the long, tedious, puz'ling Tome they doze on.
(p.45)

Pleasure and profit were what the eighteenth-century reader expected a work of literature to provide for him; a precept learned from Horace:

omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.

(He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader; ll.343-344)

³According to the OED (def.II d 7), "pudding" is proverbially used in alliterative antithesis to "praise", but the earliest example given is the line of Pope's which I have quoted, so that he seems to have coined the proverb.

The modern poet concentrates on both pleasure and profit, but for himself, not his readers.

To Horace, wisdom is the first essential. It can be cultivated through study of the philosophers, and then from life itself. Harlequin-Horace's modern bard should also study both modern books, and modern ways of life, to obtain "A thorough knowledge of the Court and Town." He must read scandalous novels, memoirs and lampoons; the salacious and libellous material of such works as Mrs. Manley's New Alalantis of 1709. This was changed in the third edition to the Weekly Journals, which is both more topical and more politically significant, since this could refer to either the weekly press in general or the Weekly Journal, a fiercely pro-government paper, in particular. The poet must also learn to recognise political deceit and chicanery, and understand the motives of statesmen:

A bard well skill'd in the Affairs of State,
 And all th' Intrigues, and Knaveries of the Great;
 That knows the solemn Promises they make,
 They do - for no one Purpose but to break;
 Their talk of publick Good, and Future Fame,
 Means present Profit all, and private Aim.
 (pp.41-42)

This seems to be a two-pronged attack, critical both of the present government and the moral climate that surrounds it, and also of the glib oversimplifications of contemporary journalists, who consider themselves "well skill'd in the Affairs of State."

Horace speaks of family affections, but the modern poet in this mercenary age must, according to Harlequin-Horace, depict the eagerness with which a son awaits his father's end, and a younger son hopes for the death of his brother. Against Horace's reference to patriotic duty is placed that of the bribed Members of Parliament who "sell their Country with their Voice for - Bread." (p.42), and his mention of the duties of judges, senators and generals is changed to images of mercenary injustice and cowardice. Modern morality may be

reaching these depths, but the satirists who merely recount private scandals are not attacking evils in the hope of improving them, but trying to make easy profits from sensationalism.

Horace advises that it is best to follow tradition in presenting well-known characters (l.119). Harlequin-Horace, however, knows that modern audiences like to be deceived, and the author should studiously avoid what is truthful and natural, as libellous lampooners do. He cites examples of characterisations that are contrary to truth, for instance, of Chesterfield and Argyle:

Shew Ch — ld nor witty, nor polite,
A — le unable or to speak, or fight.
 (p.19)

In the same way the Prime Minister, naturally the main target of the "Weekly Patriots," should be described as "mean, revengeful, thoughtless, vain." Although Miller's satire on the state of the stage implies an evil moral influence at the nation's core, and such references as that to the bribed Members of Parliament are certainly outspoken, in order to reinforce his strictures upon exaggerated personal abuse in satire, he is willing to acknowledge Walpole's personal warmth and amiability.⁴ Pope was later to do something very similar in a passage (which might even have been suggested by this of Miller's), in the Epilogue to the Satires (1738):

Spirit of Arnall! aid me while I lye.
 COBHAM's a Coward, POLWARTH is a Slave,
 And LYTTLETON a dark, designing Knave,
 St. JOHN has ever been a wealthy Fool -
 But let me add, Sir ROBERT's mighty dull,
 Has never made a Friend in private Life,⁵
 And was, besides, a Tyrant to his Wife.⁵
 (Dialogue II, ll.129-155)

⁴For a fuller discussion of Miller's attitude to Walpole in this passage see above, p.63.

⁵In Dialogue II Pope also speaks of Chesterfield and Argyle, praising them for the same qualities that Miller mentions:

How can I PULT'NEY, CHESTERFIELD forget,
 While Roman Spirit charms, and Attic Wit:
 ARGYLE, the State's whole Thunder born to wield,
 And shake alike the Senate and the Field...

Pope's compliment is of course a very mixed one, and is overwhelmingly outweighed by the fierce indictment in the poem in which it is found, as is this extract from Dialogue I:

Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of Social Pleasure, ill-exchang'd for Pow'r;
Seen him, uncumber'd with the Venal tribe,
Smile without Art, and win without a Bribe.
(11.29-32)

Senseless invective against the Minister, Miller indicates, is to be found in the pages of some opposition journals, probably Fog's Weekly Journal for one, which although it opposed the government, was despised by Pope.⁶ The Journals are condemned in Book II of the Dunciad Variorum:

Who flings most filth, and wide pollutes around
The stream, be his the Weekly Journals, bound.
(11.267-68)

and annotated thus:

Papers of news and scandal intermix'd, on different sides and parties and frequently shifting from one side to the other, call'd the London Journal, Mist's Journal, British Journal, Daily Journal, &c....

This type of "satire" is generally inspired by envy rather than moral indignation.

Miller's list of statesmen who are worthy of praise, and so liable to be traduced by dunces, is lengthened in the third edition (p.20). It includes both Whigs and Tories. Like Pope in the Epilogue to the Satires, Miller wants to show that he can praise both sides, where praise is due. He adds an especially warm tribute to Charles Talbot, the Lord Chancellor, and patron of the poet Thomson.

Miller makes some effort to avoid the appearance of violent party-prejudice. The reference to the Dunkirk controversy quoted above (p.153) may have been intended for the discomfiture of the

⁶See the numerous references in the Dunciad to Nathaniel Mist (III 286, I 194, III 28n, 272n, 286n), editor of Mist's Weekly Journal, later renamed Fog's Weekly Journal.

Opposition, since the debate introduced by Sir William Wyndham on the Minister's policy regarding the fortifications at Dunkirk provoked such a brilliant defence from Walpole, that the government afterwards regarded it as a glorious victory.

Miller is critical of political satire on the stage, as well as in journalism. Horace's account of the development of the drama continues with a discussion of the satyric play, which was presented as the fourth piece, following a tragic trilogy at a Bacchic festival, to appease the drunken audience's desire for novelty and humour. He advised that the tragic hero, at least, should not be allowed to reappear in a dingy hovel, speaking coarsely (ll225-230). This enabled Miller to review the career of John Rich, who had produced legitimate plays when he had first inherited Lincoln's Inn Theatre in 1714, and had himself appeared as Essex in John Banks' tragedy The Unhappy Favourite in 1715. He was in constant financial difficulties until he began performing regularly in pantomime. Rich's buffooneries are equated with the Roman satyr plays, and Miller implies that his shows often involved low satire on all ranks and professions:

Long labour'd Rich, by Tragick Verse to gain
 The Town's Applause - but labour'd long in vain;
 At length he wisely to his Aid call'd in,
 The active Mime and checker'd Harlequin.
 Nor rul'd by Reason, nor by Law restrain'd,
 In all his Shows, Smut and Profaness reign'd
 Lords, Squires and Commons, all alike they roast,
 From Knight of Garter, down to Knight of Post.
 (p.31)

The coupling of "Knight of Garter," inevitably suggestive of Walpole, with "Knight of the Post" - a bribed false witness, is a mischievous touch, but Miller disapproves nevertheless of Rich's lack of respect for the hierarchy of society.⁷ He probably did not,

⁷ Compare Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot (1734), ll.364-65:
 A hireling Scribler, or a hireling Peer,
 Knight of the Post corrupt, or of the Shire ...

incidentally, believe that "satire" derives from "satyr", as he seems to show later that he knows the derivation from lanx satura:

While Scandal, Rallery, and pure ill Nature,
Are found the best Ingredients for a Satire.
(p.33)

The naked, half-bestial satyrs, with their reputation for lewdness, however, are well equated with the antics of Rich. Miller could quote an example of the debasement of kingly dramatic characters which Horace deplored, in Rich's 1727 pantomime, Harlequin Anna Bullen:

Lords, Knights and Ladies who but late were seen
With Regal Pomp, and Eminence of Mien;

Here stripp'd of all, in homely guise appear,
Knights Hempten-strings, and Ladies Pattens wear;
The good Lord Mayor, as erst, devouring Custard,
And Musick, as when City-Bands are muster'd.
(pp.31-32)

On October 26th, 1727, two weeks after George II had been crowned, Drury Lane presented Shakespeare's Henry VIII. The performance, exploiting the topical appeal of such things, included a magnificent and elaborate coronation procession. The play was repeated for the following three weeks, and then replaced by a modern tragedy on the same theme, Vertue Betray'd: or, Anna Bullen, which gave similar opportunity for the inclusion of the pageant.⁸ After this the scene was added to other plays, whether appropriate or not, throughout the winter. In 1737, in his imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, this spectacle served Pope as a modern parallel to Horace's description of the victory parades beloved of Roman audiences:

The Play stands still; damn action and discourse,
Back fly the scenes, and enter foot and horse;

⁸The play was by John Banks, and was first performed in 1682. Its first performance with the pageant was on November 22nd, 1727.

Pageants on pageants, in long order drawn,
 Peers, Herald's, Bishops, Ermin, Gold and Lawn;
 The Champion too! and, to complete the jest,
 Old Edward's Armour beams on Cibber's breast!
 (Ep.IIi, 11.314-319)

Lincoln's Inn Fields was provoked by this popularity into attacking the pageant, and added a parody of it to the pantomime The Rape of Proserpine. This burlesque was eventually detached and presented separately, as Harlequin Anna Bullen.⁹

This impudent foolery of Rich's had thus had its origins in a Shakespearean play. In the third edition Miller here inserted a lament for Shakespeare and the great dramatists, couched in the doggerel verse of the dunces:

Ay, this will do! the throng'd Spectator crys;
Ay, this will do! enlighten'd Rich replies;
Shakespeare, Rowe, Johnson, now are quite undone,
 These are thy Triumphs, thy Exploits, O Lun!
 (p.34)

This parodies Addison's line "These are thy Triumphs, thy Exploits, O Caesar!" (Cato, p.62). The couplet appears beneath the frontispiece to this edition, which shows Apollo's expulsion from the stage by Harlequin. The Perseus pantomime which was depicted for the first edition, would have been less topical, if not quite forgotten, by 1735.

Miller objects to the crude introduction of politics into drama when this is intended to win favour by appealing to the partisan nature of the audience, regardless of artistic merit. Where Horace advises consistency of mood and characterisation, Harlequin-Horace urges:

In one Scene make your Hero cant, and whine,
 Then, roar out Liberty in every Line.
 (p.6)

Miller is probably still thinking of the play he had ridiculed

⁹The Rape of Proserpine with the parody of the procession was first produced on November 24th. The scene was also added to Hamlet at Lincoln's Inn Fields on December 8th. Harlequin Anna Bullen first appeared by that name on December 11th.

in the preceding paragraph for its inappropriate purple passages, Timoleon, by Benjamin Martyn (1730). The Dictionary of National Biography's entry for Martyn states that it was "the strokes on the subject of liberty" which elicited the highest applause when the play was acted. In 1734 the anonymous satire The Dramatick Sessions, or, the Stage Contest (which ridiculed most contemporary dramatists, including Miller, as recounted above, p. 31), also aims a passing blow at this characteristic of Timoleon:

Next M-rt-n appear'd, crying Liberty, Freedom,
Here, here are strong Lines, wou'd your Goddess-ship read 'em.
(p.4)

Timoleon was performed fourteen times. The success of the first night was greatly assisted, however, by the author's friends, who "packed" the theatre as Miller alleges later in the poem, when he advises the dunces to do just this, and hire spectators who will

Applaud when Chair, or Couch, is well brought in,
And clap the very drawing of the Scene.¹⁰
(p.56)

A note in the third edition mentions Timoleon's first night, when "the very Candle-Snuffers receiv'd their share of Approbation, and a Couch made its Entrance with universal Applause" (p.58). Some of the most famous plays of the century, such as Addison's Cato, Cibber's Non-Juror and Gay's Beggar's Opera had been partially inspired by party politics, and were received accordingly, but some greatly inferior productions were also cheered or hissed on political grounds, regardless of their intrinsic merit. The note in the third edition adopted from the Grub-street Journal, points out that "the frequent Exclamations of O Liberty! O Freedom! O my Country!

¹⁰Fielding's dramatist-character in Don Quixote in England (1734) has some friendmaking cat-calls in the gallery, who are to "be converted at the End of the First Act" (sig.A8^v).

cannot but draw repeated Applause from all true Patriots" (p.6). These exclamations are a quotation from Cato (p.53). The enemies of Walpole liked to harp on freedom, but John Loftis counts Timoleon as a Whig play, since the plot, in which Timoleon deposes his brother, would have been taken as referring to William of Orange's deposition of his father-in-law, James II.¹¹ The Opposition at this time, however, was composed of both Tories and disaffected Whigs, and it was in any case often possible for both parties to find in the same play what each wished to find.

James Bramston's Art of Politicks had also urged playwrights to find historical themes capable of topical interpretation:

Dramatick Poets that expect the Bays
Should cull our Histories for Party Plays;
- - - - -
For what is Dryden's Muse and Otway's Plots
To th' Earl of Essex, or the Queen of Scots?
(pp.33-34)

According to Horace, it is more difficult, and therefore more creditable, to base one's composition upon a traditional theme. To Harlequin-Horace what is difficult is naturally to be avoided. Moreover, a modern audience prefers novelty:

'Tis difficult a well-known Tale to tell,
It won't admit Variety so well;
But if you bring a Scotch, or Irish Story,
You'll never fail to please both Whig and Tory.
(p.20)

There were not many stage versions of Scottish or Irish stories at this period. The best-known, Joseph Mitchell's The Highland Fair; or, the Union of the Clans was produced in March 1731, too late for Miller to have seen it when these lines were written. It might, however, have been rumoured and discussed in theatrical circles before it appeared. It is interesting, in the light of Miller's emphasis on "Variety" in the lines last quoted, that Mitchell justifies his Scottish ballad opera in a dialogue prologue which argues:

¹¹The Politics of Drama in Augustan England (Oxford, 1963), p.108.

Is not Novelty agreeable to the Taste of the Town? Ought not the Town to be humour'd? And am I censurable for varying its Entertainment?

(sig.A7^v)

Miller may have remembered William Philips' Irish tragedy, Hibernia Freed (1722), and Patie and Peggy: or, the Fair Foundling, which was presented at Drury Lane in April 1730 and published in the same year with a preface by Theophilus Cibber, acknowledging that "I am indebted to Mr Ramsay's GENTLE SHEPHERD (a Scotch Pastoral Comedy, wrote originally in Five Acts) for the greatest Part of the following Piece." Cibber added songs to Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd (Edinburgh, 1725), changed the Scots dialect to English, and made many of the sentiments less "low". The acknowledgement in the printed text is adequate, but if Cibber failed to make his debt to Ramsay clear at the time of performance, Miller may be hinting at this when he goes on to say:

Then other's Labours you may make your own,
Steal every Word, nor fear its being known;
For if another should your Theft explore,
E'en cry Thief first, like honest J — y M — e.¹²
(p.20)

This passage corresponds to Horace's "publica materies privati iuris erit" (in ground open to all you will win private rights; l.131).

Bramston's Art of Politicks gives the clue to another significance for Whig and Tory, although he is actually rendering another part of the Ars Poetica (l.25):

Outsides deceive, 'tis hard the Truth to know, }
Parties from quaint Denominations flow, }
As Scotch and Irish Antiquaries show. }
(p.6)

This refers to the origins of the names Whig and Tory, the former, of uncertain derivation, having been first applied to rebels in

¹²James Moore Smythe (1702-1734) was another favourite target of Pope's. He included 8 lines of Pope's verse in his play The Rival Modes (1727), although permission to do so had been withdrawn.

Scotland, and the latter from the Irish tōraidhe, "pursuer". This may have given Miller the idea of pleasing both parties with Celtic plays.

v) Pantomime as one manifestation of a wider literary decline

Some of Miller's comments are applicable both to pantomime itself and to the whole range of contemporary drama. This couplet:

Bombast, and Farce, the Sock and Buskin blend,
Begin with Bluster, and with Bawdry end,
(p.8)

reminds the reader of pantomime's strange alternation between "Serious" and Grotesque", as well as of the incongruities of more pretentious modern stage-plays. One play is referred to elsewhere in the poem which exactly fits this description, however. This is Hurlothrumbo; or, the Super-Natural by Samuel Johnson, a dancing master from Cheshire. Miller's phrase of a few lines earlier, "cold, dull Order gloriously disdain," might be a quotation from this fantastical farce. The plot, if it may be so called, deals with heroic loves and jealousies, and preposterous civil turmoils, rather like Fielding's Tom Thumb and Pasquin, although without, as far as one can tell, their deliberate burlesque intentions. The characters included "Lord Flame", played by the author himself, sometimes fiddling, sometimes dancing, and sometimes walking on high stilts,"¹ and Soarethereal, the King, whose "high-born soul is above this sublunary World." Hurlothrumbo was first produced in April 1729 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and was published the same year. It caught the fancy of the town, and ran for thirty nights to

¹David Erskine Baker, Biographia Dramatica, vol.II, p.315; confirming Miller's comments in his note to line 118 in the third edition.

fashionable audiences. Fielding had already made fun of it in The Author's Farce in 1730.

Later Miller uses Johnson as his modern equivalent of Homer.

Horace remarks that even the greatest poets have their weaker moments:

indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus
verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
(11.359-360)

This was rendered by Roscommon as:

But in long Works, Sleep will sometimes surprize,
Homer himself hath been observ'd to nodd.²

Accordingly Harlequin-Horace explains that an occasional lapse into sense may be permitted:

I'm griev'd to find even Cheshire Johnson nod,
And sometimes shew the absence of the God.
(p.48)

The coupling of Johnson and Homer is intended to shock, but actually it is true that some of the dialogue of Hurlothrumbo has an insane brilliance. Isolated thoughts here and there are excellent, and therefore constitute lapses from Harlequin-Horace's standards, although the work as a whole embodies them very well.

When Horace exhorts young poets to make their style, diction and metre all in accord, Miller again stresses the mingling of tragic and comic:

Let Comick Wit be wrote in Tragick Verse,
And doleful Tales be told in hum'rous Farce.
(p.14)

In a note in the third edition, which was adapted from the Grub-street Journal (no.66), Miller explains that he was referring not only to the sentimental "weeping comedies," but to modern tragedies, some of which "are so pleasant and diverting that the Spectators can't refrain from frequently bursting into a Laugh (p.15).

Timoleon, which Miller criticises for its crude "patriotism",

²Horace's Art of Poetry. Made English By the Right Honourable

was evidently a tragedy of this type, since he also ridicules its unevenness and ineptitude. Its author is like the poets Horace describes, who promise great things as they set out, but are unable to sustain that high level. They can produce purple passages, but lack overall design:

..... cum lucus et ara Dianae
 et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros
 aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius decribitur arcus
 (11.16-18)

Here they describe a Temple or a Wood,
 Or Streams that through delightful Meadows run,
 And there the Rainbow, or the rapid Rhyne,
 But they misplace them all, and crowd them in ...
 (Roscommon, p.2)

Timoleon provides Miller with an apposite example of a pleasant pastoral description occurring at a most unsuitable moment:

So old Dinarchus tossing on his Bed,
 In dreadful Visions that his Daughter bled,
 A Friend comes in, and with Reflection deep,
 Descants upon the Sweetness of his Sleep;
 When up the Sire starts trembling from his Dream,
 And straight presents you with a purling Stream,
 Describes the Riv'let roving thro' the Trees,
 The dancing Sun-beams, and refreshing Breeze.
 (p.4)

This is a fairly accurate account of Act II, Scene II (pp.16-17), where, just as his friend is remarking on the gentle "Sleep of Innocence", Dinarchus trembles and shrieks. On waking he exclaims "Such, such a Dream! Another such wou'd plunge me into Madness," but then proceeds to give a six-line description of a delightful rural scene, before recounting how "Strait a Ruffian rush'd from out the Grove," and seized his daughter.

The purple-passage style of literature is, of course, firmly recommended by Harlequin-Horace:

Still some gay, glitt'ring, foreign Gewgaws join,
 Which, like gilt Points, on Peter's Coat, may shine.
 (p.3)

Horace was thinking of "shining" descriptions which, though fine in

themselves, are used inappropriately, but Miller makes their shine seem a cheap tinsel glitter, tacked on indiscriminately, like the "points" on Peter's coat in A Tale of a Tub. The Oxford English Dictionary definition (II,5) of "point" is as follows:

A tagged lace or cord, of twisted yarn, silk, or leather, for attaching the hose to the doublet, lacing a bodice, and fastening various parts where buttons are now used; often used as a type of something of small value.

A "gilt point" is thus almost synonymous with "Gewgaw", a paltry thing of no account. The specific reference to A Tale of a Tub, which is underlined by a footnote, is an additional metaphor. In Swift's satire the three brothers, led by Peter, make various changes in their coats, and Peter continues to justify these by manipulation of their father's will:

In consequence whereof, a while after, it grew a general Mode to wear an infinite Number of Points, most of them tagg'd with Silver.

The note by Wotton explains this:

The Popes in their Decretals and Bulls, have given their Sanction to very many gainful Doctrines which are now received in the Church of Rome that are not mention'd in Scripture.³

The modern poet writes for gain, not for art or virtue's sake. His purple passages are as inappropriate and deleterious as profitable clauses added to holy writ by greedy Popes.

Other contemporary writers are introduced to correspond to Horace's account of how the appropriate metres for each type of verse had been established by the great Greek poets. Sir Richard Blackmore replaces Homer, in lines that mock the former's typical subject-matter and style:

Of mighty Matters done in bloody Battle,
How Arms meet Arms, Swords clash; and Cannons rattle.
(p.11)

Blackmore has an important place in the Dunciad, and so does Miller's example of a modern pastoral bard, Ambrose Philips. He also composed

³A Tale of a Tub, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1957), pp.54-55.

rhymes about children (especially ones with wealthy parents), which constituted a new genre, and earned him the nickname Namby-Pamby:

The manner how they Plow, and Sow, and Reap,
How silly they, more silly than their Sheep,
In Mantles blue, can trip it o'er the Green,
In Namby Pamby's Past'rals may be seen.
 (p.12)

"Rage", says Horace, "armed Archilochus with his own iambus" (1.79). In the corresponding position in Harlequin-Horace we find Lewis Theobald:

T — ld in Mail compleat of Dullness clad,
 Half Bard, half Puppet-man, half Fool, half Mad,
 Rose next to charm the Ear, and please the Eye,
 With ev'ry Monster bred beneath the Sky.
 (p.12)

Theobald is not armed with a weapon, but wears the armour of dullness, excluding all common sense, and protecting him from painful criticism. He "rose", as figures arise in history, and also as devils appear through stage trap-doors. The image of Theobald as controller of the universe owes much to that of Rich ruling the pantomime world in the Dunciad.⁴ Theobald's audience is as dazzled as the saints around the heavenly throne:

Encore, Encore, rings thro' the raptur'd Round,
Encore, Encore, the echoing Roofs resound.
 (p.13)

The echo effect is similar to that in Pope's religious pastoral of 1712, Messiah:

Prepare the Way! a God, a God appears,
 A God, a God, the vocal Hills reply,
 The Rocks proclaim th'approaching Deity.
 (11.30-32)

These poets, Blackmore, Philips and Theobald, are all candidates for the vacant laureateship, in Harlequin-Horace's opinion, and so is Stephen Duck. The Thresher-poet's verses had been shown to Queen Caroline in 1730, and she made him an allowance. He became "a

⁴Dunciad III, 249-260, quoted above, pp. 121-122.

wonder", and his Poems on Several Subjects went into ten editions in that year. Miller repeats poor Duck's absurd name with relish. To earn his royal pension he has had to toil as hard at his poetry as he did on the farm:

Laborious Duck! who with prodigious Pain,
Hast thresh'd from thy course, tough, ⁵hard-yielding brain,
A most abundant Crop of golden Grain.⁵

(p.13)

There is an amusing incongruity, imitative of the thresher's own style, between the first and second halves of these two lines:

The Sacred Nine first gave th' uncommon luck,
To charm the Royal Ear, to Stephen Duck.

(p.13)

Duck, while generally plain and prosaic in his diction, was rather fond of invoking the Muses, due, no doubt, to his having educated himself with the help of Paradise Lost.

Duck was widely considered to be one of the more likely candidates for the laurel, following the death of Eusden in September 1730. Several probable contenders were depicted in a new scene, probably by Thomas Cooke, added to Fielding's Tom Thumb on November 30th of that year, and published as The Battle of the Poets; or, the Contention for the Laurel, by Scriblerus Tertius.⁶ They were Fopling Fribble (Colley Cibber), Coment Profund (Lewis Theobald), Sulky

⁵The idea of Duck threshing his brains, although obvious enough perhaps, was previously made use of by the author of a rhyme printed in the Grub-street Journal for October 8th, 1730. The first stanzas tell how Homer and Milton died poor, and the third reads:

Thrice happy DUCK! a milder Fate
This Genius does attend:
Well hast thou thresh'd thy barns and brains
To make a Queen thy friend.

The fourth suggests that Duck may become laureate. Miller's addition of the idea of "golden Grain" very much improves the joke.

⁶This has been attributed to Cooke, since in 1725 he had written a poem called The Battle of the Poets, and in 1731, under the pseudonym Scriblerus Quartus, he published a collection, The Bays Miscellany, which included both the scene and the poem.

Bathos (John Dennis), Noctifer (James Ralph), and Flail (Stephen Duck). Swift wrote to Gay from Dublin in November:

The vogue of our few honest folks here is that Duck is absolutely to succeed Eusden in the Laurell, the Contention being between Concauen or Theobald, or some other Hero of the Dunciad.⁷

The favour shown to inferior writers while Pope and Gay were unpensioned was felt to be proof of royal and Ministerial philistinism, although it was hardly to be wondered at in view of Pope's allegiance to Bolingbroke and Gay's Beggar's Opera. Cibber, who was made laureate on December 3rd, 1730 (after, Miller says, these lines were written) had served the government in the composition of his Whig play, The Non-Juror (1718). It is certainly true, however, that neither George II nor Walpole had any great love of poetry, or special esteem for poets: poets naturally considered this a sign of grave moral shortcomings. If Walpole had wooed them with offers of important posts they would have supported him almost regardless of his policies in other areas.

Miller made use of Tom Thumb itself to provide an amusing parallel for one of Horace's ideas. In order to instruct the reader, Horace advises that precepts should be clear, succinct and memorable, and in order to please, fictions should stay close to reality. A child, for example, should not be shown drawn out alive from the Ogress Lamia's belly after she has swallowed him. (This was a bugbear of the Greek nursery. Naughty children were told that she would eat them up.)⁸ Miller suggests:

Fly far from heavy Probability;
And shew Tom Thumb, the more Surprise to give,
From the Cows Belly taken out alive.

(p.45)

The third edition alters the last phrase to "thrown up again alive,"

⁷Letter to Gay and the Duchess of Queensbury, November 19th, 1730. The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, vol.IV, p.151.

⁸Ars Poetica, ll.338-340.

and adds a footnote: "This piece of Advice has been literally follow'd since the first Publication of this Poem" p.47). In the first version of the burlesque, which appeared in 1730, Tom Thumb is swallowed by "A Cow, of larger than the usual Size", and his ghost appears, to be slain in its turn by the vengeful Grizzle (pp.15-16). The Tragedy of Tragedies of 1731 had the same dénouement, but on May 31st, 1733 the Haymarket presented an adaptation, The Opera of Operas, probably by Eliza Haywood, which ends differently. After the demise of all the other characters, Merlin summons the Red Cow, commanding:

Now by emetick Power, Red Cannibal
Cast up thy Pris'ner, England's Hannibal,

and Tom Thumb is duly cast up.⁹ It is rather pleasing that this advice to poets on the art of the far-fetched was actually fulfilled in this way. Perhaps the adaptor took the hint from Harlequin-Horace, seeing that this would be an amusing way to parody the inane happy endings of Italian operas, as the Beggar's Opera had done.

Miller's tone implies some disapproval of the great popularity of Tom Thumb. This was an attitude shared by the Grub-street Journal. Bertrand A. Goldgar, in his recent study of the relation of politics to literature in this period, points out that the opposition press used Tom Thumb as evidence for the decay of literature in Walpole's England:

Thus Fog's (1 August 1730) ironically cites Walpole's attendance three times at the play in a mock defense of Sir Robert's love of belles-lettres, and the Craftsman (22 August 1730) echoes this theme; neither takes the play as in any way satirical of the government ... both speak of it mockingly in the same vein

⁹ Quoted in James T. Hillhouse's edition of the Tragedy of Tragedies (New Haven, 1918), p.192.

as they do Hurlothrumbo.¹⁰

Miller's hostility may also stem from the undeniable fact that the audience of a burlesque enjoys watching the very absurdities that the play intends to satirise, so that their appeal is somewhat equivocal. They are also very short of instruction and precepts.

That, however, could be said of most modern plays, in Miller's view. He gives a brief summary of the necessary components of each type of drama. Smut will make a success of a dull comedy, scandal and spite are essential for a satire, and rant and fustian for tragedy. The footmen in the gallery love blood, wounds and violence (things forbidden by classical rules), for this is all they can understand, but the "persons of Quality" in the boxes are also enthralled by "Plumes, gilt Truncheons, bloody Ghosts and Thunder" (p.33). Such special effects were employed in serious plays as well as "entertainments." For example, the performance of Macbeth at Lincoln's Inn Fields on September 30th, 1738 was advertised as "With the Musick both Vocal and Instrumental incident to the Play ... With all the Flyings, Sinkings, and Other Decorations".¹¹

The poem touches upon two points which are of some biographical interest. The first occurs in response to Horace's complaint that people imagine that poetry can be written without practice and study (ll. 379-382). Miller expands this in the modern context. His satiric shafts are mainly conventional, for example:

Ladies must study hard to play Quadrill,
And Doctors take Degrees before they kill,
(p.50)

except for a couplet which was removed in the third edition:

Young Levites be completely read in Greek-
Before they school their Parish once a Week.
(p.51)

¹⁰Walpole and the Wits. The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722-1742 (Lincoln, Nebraska and London, 1976), p.105.

¹¹The London Stage, Part 2, vol.2, p.991.

Possibly Miller regretted the inclusion of this mildly audacious comment, which might be applied to his own case, except that he had been unable to put his erudition to even this inadequate use, having no parish to school.

Another passage which is of interest in the light of Miller's own career was added in the third edition. It is a scornful comment on those authors who adapt the plays of the great French dramatists. The hacks cry "Hunger take the Hindmost!" and take the following method of saving time:

'Tis done! the Motley Scenes at once appear,
 Drawn from Corneile, Racine and Moliere;
 Now Theirs no longer - all their Sense and Skill
 Quite lost in your Annihilating Quill.
 (3rd edn., p.57)

This comment is surprising, since in his preface to the Select Comedies in 1732 Miller had suggested that English authors would do well to adapt some of them for the English stage. By the time the third edition of Harlequin-Horace appeared he had written The Mother-in-Law and The Man of Taste, and was later to make adaptations from Voltaire, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau and Shakespeare. He had certainly been motivated in this by his own shortage of money, but he could justifiably maintain that in his own case the latter couplet does not apply.

At the outset of his career, however, Miller showed little sympathy for poverty-stricken poets, who write to pay their debts, and can therefore afford no delay:

N'ere wait for Subjects equal to your Might,
 For then, 'tis ten to one you never write;
 When Hunger prompts you, take the first you meet,
 For who'd stand chusing when he wants to eat?
 (p.7)

The third edition provides this passage with a note adopted from the Grub-street Journal review (no.60), written in true Scriblerian style:

It has been objected to these lines, that they contain an Insinuation, as if our Brethren liv'd by their Wits, which is said to be impossible.

The note then goes on to attempt an evasion of the possible charge that it is poverty itself that is mocked:

Besides we have many eminent Authors amongst us, who never knew what it was to be Hungry, and whose Poetry is more like the Overflowings of a full Stomach, than the keen Remonstrances of an empty one.

(p.8)

As well as being poor, the Grub Street bards are extremely disreputable. Horace avers that the poet who can blend profit and pleasure will gain international recognition, and make money for the Sosii - well-known Roman booksellers. The poet who follows Harlequin-Horace's precepts will swell the profits of Curll, the notorious publisher of scandal and ribaldry (and another of Pope's enemies). He will also gain widespread fame, even as far as the plantations, where even the transportees, like Macheath in Polly, will know his name - or know him personally:

Thus shall you gain the Profit you pursue,
And Curll get Money by the Copy too;
Thus shall all Drury in your Praise combine,
And distant Goodman's Fields their Pæans join;
So far Barbadoes shall re-sound your Fame,
And ev'n transported Felons know your Name.

(p.46)

As elsewhere in the poem, there are echoes of religious pastoral in these lines, which emphasise through contrast the ignoble nature of their subject-matter. The physical appearance of the Grubeans is also discussed. Horace remarks that, to appear truly inspired, many poets avoid the barber and the baths (ll.295-298). Harlequin-Horace concurs: people take "romantick Flights" for poetry, and expect correspondingly "frantick" looks and actions from a poet, who must therefore avoid appearing as the Augustan image of a civilised man, "Good-natur'd, cheerful, mannerly or clean." Horace does not consider a poetic reputation worth such measures, and recovers his good

spirits when spring comes around. But Harlequin-Horace practises what he preaches:

At Shop, or Stall of Stationer appear,
 With tatter'd Habit, and abstracted Air;
 Now fiercely gazing, now in Thought profound,
 My Eyes or at the Stars, or on the Ground.
 (p.40)

As Horace nears the conclusion of his poem he emphasises the importance of submitting one's verses to be judged by a discerning and truthful critic. The work should, moreover, be held back from publication for nine years. The modern writer, of course, should not even waste time reading his piece through, nor leave it for "nine Moments in the dark 'Scrutore;' but after publication, "when the Groans of the griev'd Press, shall cease," then a critic may safely be consulted.¹² Bentley's Paradise Lost appeared in 1732, and so the third edition here mentions "Mighty B — ley", who if he is Milton's foe, will surely prove a dunce's friend:

And if thro' haste, some Parts remain too bright,
 The next Edition he will cloud them quite.
 (p.54)

Horace urges young writers to be sincere when seeking criticism. Praise can always be bought, and one is unlikely to obtain a frank assessment from a man one has just treated to a good dinner (ll. 421-425). Miller here re-introduces the critic John Dennis. Since the seventy-four-year-old Dennis is the "eldest of the scribbling Throng" (p.49), Miller has earlier invoked him at a point where Horace, who is writing to a father and his two sons, specifically addresses the elder son. Dennis is described as skilled in every art of song, and it is true that he had written, as well as criticism, pindaric poems, comedies and tragedies, most of which had been notably unsuccessful. His dullness was not of the tedious everyday kind; he

¹²These lines were added in the third edition (p.53).

was "By Inspiration furiously Dull." Unlike Horace's wise and judicious "elder youth", Dennis was blunderingly hot-tempered. But even such a formidable critic could be tamed if he were first well-fed, Dennis being poor in his old age:

And next old Dennis with a Supper treat,
He'll like your Poem as he likes your Meat;
For give that growling Cerberus but a Sop,
He'll close his Jaws, and sleep like any Top.
(p.56)

This makes yet another allusion to the underworld-setting of many of the popular pantomimes. "Sop" underlines Dennis's senescence - perhaps those jaws now hold few teeth.

Instead of an honest critic, Harlequin-Horace advises the poet to seek out a successful flatterer, one who has obtained a place at Court:

No - rather seek some Sycophant at court,
Some rich, young, lack-wit Lord for your support.
(p.58)

Being like-minded, he will "Judge, with the same Spirit that you' wrote," and so represent, for a dunce, Pope's "perfect Judge."¹³

At the conclusion of the Ars Poetica Horace reinforces his central theme of propriety in art by giving a portrait of a crazy writer, to correspond to the image of the mad painter with which he began. He describes a frenzied poet who seizes on a hapless victim, holds him fast, and like Pope's poets in An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, rhymes him to death:

non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

(a leech that will not let go the skin, till gorged with blood. 1.476)

Miller makes clever use of this final metaphor. Horace's sympathy is with the poet's victim, who has often been himself. His leeches

¹³Essay on Criticism (1711), ll.233-234:

A perfect Judge will read each Work of Wit
With the same Spirit that its Author writ.

are just nasty pests who are impossible to shake off, but Miller's are out to bleed a foolish patron white:

And if a Dupe, that freely bleeds, you nick,
 Be sure you fasten, and be sure you stick;
Be-rime, Be-prose him, Dedicate, and lie,
 And never leave him, till you've suck'd him dry.
 (p.59)

That this patron is politically immoral, a Court sycophant, as well as gullible, is significant.

Dr. Johnson's comment upon imitation, that "it is a kind of middle composition between translation and original design, which pleases when the thoughts are unexpectedly applicable and the parallels lucky," is particularly true of this poem, and for this reason it has been necessary to compare it closely with the source.¹⁴ Much of the poem's humour arises from the invention of apt parallels, and its tone is in general light-hearted, but throughout, beneath the surface, and at times emerging above it, are more serious questions of human psychology. A corruption spreading from above is implied, and the importation of new, foreign entertainments is certainly seen as leading to an effeminate, mindless indolence which undermines independent thought, and favours tyranny.

Miller's satire has been throughout as severe upon the public (that is, the educated public, who should know better) as upon the theatre-managers and hack poets. He is concerned with the fate of literature, but much more with the effects of mercenary "art" upon society. Discussion of the arts has an important place in Miller's later poems, which are primarily social and moral satires. In them false taste repeatedly accompanies moral and spiritual inadequacy.

¹⁴The life of Pope in The Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (1905), vol.III, p.176.

vi) Satire on Pantomime after Harlequin-Horace

The critics of irregular stage entertainments continued through the seventeen-thirties and forties to make, in the main, the same points that had been made from the beginning. Harlequin-Horace covers the subject so fully that most of the satire on pantomime that followed seems to echo it. The only new development was that the metaphorical connexion between the administration of the theatrical and political worlds, which was implied in the Dunciad, and, unobstrusively, in the dedication to Harlequin-Horace, was made far more explicitly by Fielding in some of his burlesques, where the Minister was clearly identified with the theatre-manager. By the middle of the century, however, Garrick had brought about such an upsurging of enthusiasm for the higher forms of drama, and for Shakespeare in particular, that the legitimate theatre could no longer have seemed in danger of extinction, and pantomime, as a contemptible but familiar aberration, could safely be ignored.

In 1735 Miller began his second satiric poem, Seasonable Reproof, with further castigation of the admirers of Italian singers and French dancers, who swarm across the Channel like locusts, and carry off the fat of the land. The populace, even "Senators", are so obsessed with these entertainments that they ignore the political condition of the country.¹

Meanwhile, other satirists of pantomime had renewed the assault. In 1733 an anonymous poem, The Players: A Satire, made many of the points that Miller had made in Harlequin-Horace.² It refers once

¹See below, pp. 290-291.

²The Players has been doubtfully attributed to Edward Phillips (fl. 1730-40), but as he had already had three ballad operas produced before it appeared, and went on to write another, the attribution seems unlikely in view of the poem's references to "Dull, bawdy English Madrigal", and "scurvy Ballad Singers."

more to the temple scene of Perseus and Andromeda:

Behold the Dome ascends! hark! how they roar!
And hollow out for the Black Joke Encore!
(sig. C4^v)

and to the large part played by animals in the dramatis personae of pantomime:

The Sock and Buskin yield to flying Chairs,
Harlequins, Windmills, Monkeys, Dogs, and Bears.
(sig. C7^v)

The poem has a long preface, discussing the importance of good acting, although the taste of the times is so low that

A poet dares not shew his Head, it being agreed on all Hands,
that a Windmill, or a Flying-Chair, is preferable to a Dryden,
or an Otway; and a Scene of Shakespear, much inferior to an
interlude of Ya hoo Pantomime.
(sig. A5^r)

It seems probable that the author was remembering Miller's

Domes voluntary rising from the Ground,
And Yahoo Rich transform'd into a Hound.
(Harlequin-Horace, p.26)

This gives some indication of the impact that the poem had made.

In Pasquin: A Dramatick Satire on the Times Henry Fielding continued the attack on pantomime and opera he had begun in The Author's Farce, although in Pasquin it forms only a part of the framework for an anti-Ministerial satire. The play, which first appeared at the Haymarket on March 5th, 1736, contains two "rehearsals". The second, a tragedy, recounts the defeat of Common Sense by Ignorance. There are evident similarities to the Dunciad, in the ludicrous allegory of the invasion of Queen Ignorance,

With a vast Power from Italy and France
Of Singers, Fiddlers, Tumblers, and Rope-dancers.
(p.45)

Those who should aid and support Queen Common-Sense, Firebrand (who stands for religion), Law and Physick, betray her, having seen the baleful omens:

The Temple shook: Strange Prodigies appear'd:
 A Cat in Boots did dance a Rigadoon,
 While a huge Dog play'd on the Violin ...
 (p.42)

Harlequin is sent as "Embassador from the two Theatres" to greet Queen Ignorance, offering her hostages which include:

Two Dogs that walk on their hind Legs only, and personate human Creatures so well, they might be mistaken for them.
 A human Creature that personates a Dog so well, that he might almost be taken for one.
 Two Human Cats.

The Queen is pleased, and answers:

Take back their Hostages, for they many need 'em;
 And take this Play, and bid 'em Forthwith act it:
 There is not in it either Head nor Tail.
 (p.55)

Fielding probably remembered Harlequin-Horace's advice to playwrights to compose "Things without Head, or Tail, or Form, or Grace" (p.2), as well as the poem's ridicule of Rich's canine impersonations. In spite of the hilarity of the burlesque, it is evident that Fielding saw the decline of the stage as the forerunner of a general corruption and decay. The ghost of Comedy appears to Common-Sense and tells her that, as long as she lives:

A Courtier's Promise will not be believ'd;
 Nor broken Citizens again be trusted.
 A Thousand News-papers cannot subsist,
 In which there is not any News at all.
 Play-houses cannot flourish, while they dare
 To Nonsense give an Entertainment's Name.
 - - - - -
 Thou wilt not suffer Eunuchs to be hired,
 At a vast Price, to be impertinent.

The Queen's death, however, is imminent:

Look to thy self; for then, when I was slain, Thy self was struck at: Think not to survive My Murder long.
 (p.49)

Fielding again emphasized the parallels between state and stage in the Historical Register, For the Year 1736, first performed at the Haymarket on March 8th, 1737. In the auction scene (p.15), in which

abstract qualities are bid for by the fashionable crowd, Mr, Hen, the auctioneer, announces:

Lot 5 and Lot 6. All the Wit lately belonging to Mr. Hugh Pantomime, Composer of Entertainments for the Play-Houses, and Mr. William Goosequill, Composer of political Papers in Defence of a Ministry; shall I put up these together?

Banter, a wit, replies, "Ay, it is a Pity to part them, where are they?" It seems that these works are too bulky to be brought in, being nearly three hundred folio volumes, and Banter dismisses them: "The Town has paid enough for their Works already." The corruption of the mercenary and insincere propagandist is allied to that of the profit-seeking impresario. Moreover, the cheating tricks of Harlequin are now practised in political life, for Quidnam, who represents the Prime Minister, pays a group of "patriots" to pacify them, and then makes them dance so that the money is shaken out of the holes in their pockets, and quietly recouped. This leads Medley to remark:

This, Sir, I think is a very pretty Pantomime Trick, and an ingenious Burlesque on all the Fourberies which the great Lun has exhibited in all his Entertainments.

(p.27)

A year before, in April 1736, Fielding produced an afterpiece to Pasquin, called Tumble-Down Dick: or, Phaeton in the Suds. This was a burlesque of a pantomime called The Fall of Phaeton (1736), which had recently been staged by John Rich. Pasquin contained rehearsals of a comedy and a tragedy, and the new afterpiece presented a rehearsal of a pantomime, devised by "Mr. Machine." The title-page is a satire in itself:

A
Dramatick Entertainment of Walking.
in Serious and Foolish Characters:
interlarded with
Burlesque, Grotesque, Comick Interludes,
Call'd,
Harlequin a Pick-Pocket.
- - - - -
Invented by the Ingenious
Monsieur Sans Esprit.
The Musick compos'd by the Harmonious
Signior Warblerini.

The title-page of The Fall of Phaeton had read: "Invented by Mr. Pritchard. The Musick compos'd by Mr. Arne; And the Scenes painted by Mr. Hayman."

The burlesque is dedicated to "Mr. John Lun, Vulgarly call'd Esquire." W.L.Cross remarks in his biography of Fielding:

As a piece of ironical invective it would be hard to surpass this dedication to a great man who, owing to his "heels" or his "head", had invented or brought into fashion pantomime entertainments without any aid from common sense.³

Miller, however, had done it before him. The two dedications make similar points in similar terms. Miller had written:

But to what worthy Personage could we so meetly apply for Protection, as to him who is the great Patron of the Art we here treat on? 'twas you Sir (to your everlasting Honour be it recorded) that first introduced among us the present delicate and amazing Taste in our Diversions; and 'tis to your lawdable Zeal and unparallel'd Agility that it owes its Success.

Fielding wrote:

I know no Man in England to whom I can so properly dedicate the following Pages as yourself.

It is to you, Sir, we owe (if not the Invention) at least the bringing into a Fashion, that sort of Writing which you have pleased to distinguish by the Name of Entertainment. Your Success herein, (whether owing to your Heels or your Head, I will not determine) sufficiently entitles you to all Respect from the inferior Dabblers in Things of this Nature.

(sig. A2^r)

Both speak of Rich's cynical, mercenary nature, and his disregard of common sense in his productions. This extract is Miller's:

You have Wit enough to make your Advantage of the Follies of others, and Chymistry enough to extract Gold out of every thing but common Sense, and that both as Wit and Chymist you have nothing to do with; neither in verity should you; for one in your Way can no more expect to thrive by common Sense, than a Westminster Justice by common Honesty.

(sig. b1^v)

Here is the corresponding passage from Fielding's dedication:

I fancy you have too strong a Head ever to meddle with Common-Sense, especially since you have found the way so well to succeed without her, and you are too great and good a Manager to keep a needless Supernumerary in your House.

(sig. A3^r)

³W.L.Cross, The History of Henry Fielding (New Haven, 1918). vol. I, p.194.

Miller's dedication explains that the rules of Harlequin-Horace are drawn from the practice of Rich, just as "Aristotle compiled his Art of Antient Poetry from the Writings of that then renown'd Ballad-maker Homer" (sig. b1^V). Fielding must have appreciated the ludicrous incongruity of referring to Aristotle in connexion with Rich, for in his burlesque Harlequin is unexpectedly acquitted by the Justice, because "Aristotle, in his Book concerning Entertainments, has laid it down as a principal rule, that Harlequin is always to escape" (p.9).

Since Harlequin-Horace was featured so prominently in the Grub-street Journal when it appeared, it seems extremely likely that Fielding had read it, albeit five years earlier, and this attack on Rich certainly seems to owe a good deal to Miller.

Tumble-Down Dick ridicules Pritchard's "serious" sections by vulgarising the characters, so that Phoebus, for instance, becomes a watchman with a lanthorn, and through the addition of incongruously prosaic details, as in the scene where Aurora has to get some clean linen from her washer-woman before the dawn can break. This is done to ridicule the pathetically weak dialogue of the original, in which, for example, the inhabitants of earth react to Phaeton's catastrophe by complaining of sun-burn:

2 Priest. Alas! what sudden Change we've undergon!
Varying our Colour with th'approaching Sun.
(p.11)

The "Grotesque"scenes of the burlesque are directed at Rich personally. In Pritchard's "First Comic" a "Genius" imprisoned in a tree speaks to Harlequin (p.10). This spirit is replaced in Fielding's parody by the "Genius of Gin", who rises from a tub to make these predictions:

Thou shalt make Jests without a Head,
And judge of Plays thou canst not read.

Whores and Race-Horses shall be thine,
Champaign shall be thy only Wine;
 While the best Poet, and best Player,
 Shall both be forc'd to feed on Air;
Gin's Genius all these things reveals,
 Thou shalt perform, by slight of Heels.
 (p.8)

It was well known that the prosperous Rich, who was rumoured to be illiterate, now kept race-horses.

In 1741 Miller published his Miscellaneous Works. This included a revised version of Harlequin-Horace, in which the dedication to Rich became a preface addressed to him, and the poem was dedicated to Lord Talbot, Baron Hensol, eldest son of the now deceased Lord Chancellor, who was so highly praised in the third edition. Addressing him, Miller wrote:

At the Time when this Satire was first publish'd, SIR, it was thought to have been of some Service towards shaming People out of their Fondness for those irrational indecent Diversions that they were so strangely infatuated with.

It is hard to tell how far Miller was justified in making this claim for the good effects of his poem. If the craze for pantomime had abated a little since the piece first appeared, this probably had little to do with literary criticism. Nothing remains fashionable for ever. Pantomime was, in any case, still very popular. There was a "war on pantomimes" during the seasons of 1744 and 1745, but this was caused by the sharply increased prices charged when new pantomimes were shown. There were disturbances, even riots, in the theatres, and pamphlets appeared castigating the greed of the managers.

In 1745 Rich was still flourishing enough to inspire an anonymous verse satire entitled British Frenzy: or, the Mock Apollo. Harlequin, the theatre manager, is seen at his levee, exercising the tyranny of his position:

Now shift the Scene to Harlequin immur'd,
 From discontented Salarists secur'd:
 Fools, Poets, Fiddlers, at his Levee wait,
 He shines, a Wretch, significant in State!

— — — — —
 In PHOEBUS' Stead (but oh! how much unfit!)
 Witless hiself, he sits the JUDGE of Wit!

(p.8)

This personage is approached by a "trembling Bard" who hopes that his play will be approved of, but the verdict is: "Sir, I have read your Play, and find it will not do!" This line, incidently, was borrowed from Hogarth. They are the exact words which can be seen on a note accompanying a rejected manuscript which lies on a table before the despairing rake, surrounded by his hungry children, in the Rake's Progress (plate 7), which was issued in 1735. The note is signed "yrs. J.R."

Rich explains to the poet how he can improve his play, in terms which remind one of Harlequin-Horace's precepts:

Let all the Characters (as each comes on)
 Reveal their Names and Bus'ness to be done,
 Be plotting still, from Plot to Plot proceed,
 Like quick'ning Flies, let each Plot Numbers breed;

— — — — —
Bard. 'Tis thus, that Seward plays his Puppets o'er!
Har. No matter - mind, in Writing, still, be sure,
 To take no note of what has gone before.

(p.10)

The conclusion of the poem contains a verbal echo of the epigraph to the frontispiece of the third edition of Harlequin-Horace ("These are thy Tryumphs, thy Exploits O Lun!):

The POW'R of WISDOM ceas'd, th' attentive Crowd
 Exprest Conviction, and assenting, bow'd,
 In Council Sate, resolv'd, by open War,
 Thy Triumphs, R — , and thy Exploits to mar,
Good Sense and Freedom to the STAGE restore,
 And be cajoled with Pantomime no more.

(p.10)

As late as 1761, the year of his death, Rich was accused of crimes against sense, this time by Charles Churchill in the Rosciad:

But think not, though these dastard chiefs are fled,
 That C-ve-t G-rd-n troops shall want an head:

Harlequin comes their chief! See, from afar
 The heroe seated in fantastic car!
 Wedded to Novelty, his only arms
 Are wooden swords, wands, talismans, and charms.
 On one side FOLLY sits, by some call'd FUN,
 And on the other, his arch-patron LUN.
 Behind, for Liberty a-thirst in vain,
 SENSE, helpless captive, drags the galling chain.
 Six rude mishapen beasts the chariot draw,
 Whom REASON loaths, and NATURE never saw;
 Monsters with tails of ice, and heads of fire,
 Gorgons, and hydras, and chymæras dire.

(11.361-374)

There are echoes in this of the triumph of Vice in Pope's Epilogue to the Satires, but there is a direct source for this scene in an engraving of 1732, Rich's Glory, or his Triumphant Entry into Covent Garden, which purports, though probably fraudulently, to be by Hogarth.⁴ It depicts the removal of Rich's company from Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre to Covent Garden. Harlequin drives an open carriage drawn by six satyrs, and in which are seated Columbine, and Rich in his dog costume. Verses printed beneath the picture begin:

Not with more glory through the Streets of Rome,
 Return'd great Conquerors in Triumph home,
 Than, proudly drawn, with Beauty by his side,
 We see gay R--- in gilded Chariot ride.

With Rich's death much of pantomime's popularity abated, although Harlequin survived on the English stage until the early twentieth century, and certain of the characteristics of harlequinade, such as transformation-scenes, animal impersonations, and slapstick clowning are still found in Christmas pantomime at the present day. Miller's satire, like Pope's or Fielding's, probably had little influence on the taste and habits of the theatre-going public, but most men of letters, particularly the dramatists, were united in condemnation of "irregular entertainments", and many were stimulated, and influenced in what they wrote, by Miller's poem.

⁴Reproduced in Paulson, vol.II, plate no.322, and discussed in vol.I, pp.300-301.

CHAPTER III: SATIRE IN THE PLAYS

i) Introduction

Miller wrote twelve plays, if one includes Joseph and His Brethren and the two that exist only in manuscript in the Larpent Collection. This thesis accords separate treatment to only five of these. The adaptation of Swift's Polite Conversation is too close to its original to need much comment. Mahomet is not merely a verbal translation of Voltaire; Miller makes various adjustments of character and emphasis, but apart from the liberal religious views expressed in the play's prologue, and discussed in Chapter I, there is no satiric content or contemporary relevance to be explored, and being a tragedy, the play stands apart from the rest of the œuvre, as does Joseph. Of the remaining nine, two of the Molière adaptations, The Mother-in-law and The Cuckold in Conceit, do not contain enough original material to warrant close exploration, in the light of Powell Stewart's careful and detailed study of Miller's methods of adaptation and technique of combining elements of several of Molière's plays. The Man of Taste however has two or three scenes containing original satirical dialogue, as does Miller's adaptation of Much Ado about Nothing, re-titled The Universal Passion. This play has also been thoroughly discussed by Stewart, both in his dissertation and in a learned article, but there are a few scenes with very bold political allusions that deserve quotation in this study.¹ The Man of Taste and The Universal Passion, therefore, being chronologically consecutive, share a chapter. The remaining five plays are each accorded separate treatment, since although some of them also make use of other writers' works, all contain a great deal

¹"An Eighteenth-Century Adaptation of Shakespeare," University Studies in English, XII (1932), 98-117.

of original and largely satirical material, and handle the scenes which are borrowed in an individual style.

Miller began writing for the stage in the tradition of the comedy of humours. The Humours of Oxford (1730), indicates this in its title, in the elaborate descriptions of character types in its dramatis personae, and in its general emulation of Shadwell's mode. The lost play, mentioned in the preface to the Miscellaneous Works, "Sir Roger de Coverly", probably also concentrated on the comical depiction of "humours" - exaggerated psychological traits - but perhaps with some admixture of sentimentality, Sir Roger's main attribute being benevolence.

The Mother-in-Law (1734), adapted from Le Malade Imaginaire and The Cornish Squire, has expressive character-names such as "Sir Credulous Hippish" and "Looby Headpiece", but lacks the lengthy descriptions of their personalities in the dramatis personae. The comedy stays close to its sources, with very little original satiric material incorporated.

The Man of Taste (1735) has a "humours" cast-list, including such characters as:

Sir Positive Bubble, a churlish, opinative, obstinate old Batchelor, who will not be impos'd on by any body but himself ...
and

Lady Henpeck a great Pretender to Philosophy and Reading, but not withstanding a mere Termagant.

The play is more adventurous as an adaptation, weaving the plots of two plays, with individual strands from many more. The piece contains lively social satire, much of it original.

Miller's alterations to the plot of The Universal Passion indicate some influence of sentimentalism, but they are not too deleterious, since they generally soften moments in which Shakespeare's characters are particularly, and sometimes unaccountably, unfeeling.

The best example of this occurs in Miller's final scene. In the source Claudio submits calmly to marriage with another woman, believing Hero to be dead, but Miller's Bellario cannot endure unfaithfulness to the memory of his beloved, and bares his chest, asking for death.

The Humours of Oxford also had some admixture of sentimentalism, in the conversion of a rake by the purity of a country maiden, and the reconciliation of a father and son. The Molière adaptations are totally unsentimental, as are all the one-act after-pieces, which are technically farces, and in which sentiment would thus be out of place.

The only other full-length comedy, Art and Nature (1738), is sentimental in some aspects of its representation of a Red Indian's reactions to London. There is certainly more emphasis laid upon the savage's innocence and virtue than in the source, which concentrated on the comic aspects of the situation. The play makes some fairly audacious statements about the injustice of the class structure, asserting that the poor are morally equal to, or better than the rich. These are present in the source, but intensified by Miller. In The Coffee House, which appeared the same season, it is remarked by one of the heroes that many gentlemen would not have enough capacity to work as tradesmen (p.2). These egalitarian statements, however, are certainly not exemplified by the general tenor of Miller's drama, which ridicules "cits", and has always fine gentlemen and ladies as its heroes and heroines. Jean B. Kern writes in her recent study, Dramatic Satire in the Age of Walpole, that, in this period,

the dramatist as social satirist identified himself with the middle class to which he belonged. He rarely satirised the middle-class merchants; in fact he dignified them in domestic

tragedy ... the bulk of his satire was on the low standard of morality and the individual vices and customs of the upper class whose existence he challenged.²

This is certainly not applicable to Miller, and seems over-bold when applied to the drama of the period as a whole. It is true that most of Miller's satire, like other dramatists', was on the vices and follies of high society, but this reflects the greater interest felt in that sphere. The well-bred are not criticised: it is only false politeness, and perversions of fashion, that are exposed. The upper class may be satirised, but its existence is never for a moment challenged.

Allardyce Nicoll actually found Miller to be one of the most outspokenly egalitarian of playwrights, which means that the majority were conventional indeed:

Dodsley might show that a King after all was naught but a man, and he and Fielding might be accused of attempts to overthrow the ministry, Miller might raise his voice in defence of tradesmen, but very few of the playwrights before 1750 were even as revolutionary as these.³

Like Dodsley and Fielding, though less recklessly than the latter, Miller attacks the government in some of his plays, but egalitarianism was, of course, not a motive for this. Miller was obeying the literary spirit of the age in denouncing a minister who had not enough respect for poets to offer them profitable or powerful posts. In this object he was greatly hampered by the Licensing Act, and for this reason the satire in the plays is much more covert and less denunciatory than in the poetry and the prose pamphlets. Social satire is uppermost in Miller's drama, but politics lends piquancy here and there.

²Ames, Iowa (1976), p.93.

³A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, 1700-1750 (Cambridge, 1925), p.181.

ii) The Humours of Oxford

Miller's first play declares itself by its title and by the descriptions of their different eccentricities attached to the characters' names in the Dramatis Personae, to be a "humours" play, in the tradition of Ben Jonson. There had been a revival of this type of comedy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, in the productions of Thomas Shadwell, his son Charles, and Thomas Baker. Miller could have seen some of these on the London stage during his time at University, and prior to that, when he was working for the sugar-baker in the city.¹ There was no London performance of the two plays which seem to have been most influential in the creation of The Humours of Oxford, Thomas Shadwell's The Virtuoso (1676), and Baker's An Act at Oxford (1704), but it is evident that Miller was familiar with their texts. The Oxford setting and some of the University characters were probably suggested by Baker's play, although that was a far more vapid and superficial comedy. Miller's character Lady Science is in large part derived from Shadwell's virtuoso, but there are also many small details that seem to have been suggested by the earlier play. Miller's comedy opens with his rakish hero quoting Lucretius, and Shadwell's begins with a young man reading from the same poet. Both have a heroine named Clarinda. A similar plot device is employed by both dramatists, when a fop is married to a maid-servant in a mask (masquerades being so fashionable), in mistake for the heroine.² The

¹Thomas Shadwell died in 1697. His Epsom Wells was performed 32 times during the period 1717-1729 (London Stage, part II vol. 2), the last time being in 1726, when Miller was 22, and his Lancashire Witches 16 times, the last time being in 1727. Charles Shadwell died in 1726. His Fair Quaker of Deal; or, The Humours of the Navy had 32 performances, the last in 1725.

²The Virtuoso, p.97; The Humours of Oxford, p.62.

disguised marriage is a conventional expedient of Restoration comedy, but when combined with the other borrowings from The Virtuoso, its use by Miller can be assumed to have been inspired by Shadwell. Another, more unusual plot device seems to be derived from Shadwell's The Humorists (1671). The parallel is described below (p.212). The preface to The Humorists is referred to in the dedication of The Virtuoso, so that a reader of that play would naturally turn to the earlier one. The preface gives an account of what Shadwell meant by "humours", which is more or less reiterated in the dedication to The Virtuoso:

A good Comical Humour ... ought to be such an affectation, as misguides men in Knowledge, Art, or Science, or that causes defection in Manners, and Morality, or perverts their minds in the main Actions of their lives.

(sig. A3^r)

Shadwell also claimed that "I ne'r produc'd a Comedy that had not some natural Humour in it not represented before" (sig. A2^v). This was the approach to characterisation that Miller brought to his first play.

The prologue to The Humours of Oxford denies that the play is to be a satire on the University:

From Oxford Cells he brings a Group of Fools,
Unshown before - the Vermin of the Schools;
Not that he dares reflect the least Disgrace,
Or hint a Satyr on that sacred Place:
A Place that's founded on the noblest Views,
Parent of Arts, and Nurs'ry of the Muse:
That's truly great and good - but well you know,
In richest Soils the rankest Poisons grow ...

(sig. A4^r)

This attempt to disarm criticism seems something of an afterthought, for although Oxford is conceded to be beautiful, its inhabitants are severely treated in the text of the play. The plot mainly concerns people of fashion who are visitors from London and not members of the University, and the Oxford characters play subsidiary roles.

Lady Science has brought her daughter Victoria and niece Clarinda to Oxford. A rich widow, she is followed by Gainlove, a young rake wooing her for her money. Trumore, a Colonel in the Guards, and Gainlove's friend, has followed Clarinda. In the first scene the two young men discuss Oxford:

Tru. The Place itself is really charming, but take it with the Company -

Gain. 'Tis like a fine Nursery, stock'd with Crabs.

Tru. Right! - for I have scarce met with a conversible Creature since I have been here - their fine Gentlemen are assuming Pedants, or aukward Fops; and their reigning Toasts - Taylor's Daughters, and College Bed-makers.

(p.2)

There is little genuine learning to be found there, no social grace or politeness, and not even any female virtue, it seems, for when the father of the undergraduate, Ape-all says of his son, "What if the Rascal should have snap'd up some Woman of Virtue and Fortune, Timothy, hey ...?" his servant replies:

... what! in Oxford, Sir? - I tell you, Master, you might sooner find a Virtuous Woman in Drury-Lane, or a Fortune in Rag-Fair ...

(p.70)

A similarly disparaging view of University society had been expressed by Baker in An Act at Oxford. One of his heroes, Bloom, "a Gentleman-Commoner of a good Estate", declares, "Wit at Oxford, like true Wine in Town, ought to be valu'd because 'tis scarce" (p.7). Baker's other hero, incidently, like one of Miller's is an army officer.

Lady Science would belong to the University if women could, being a female pedant. The Dramatis Personae describes her as "a great Pretender to Learning and Philosophy, which she places in using uncouth Words, and Terms of Art." Lady Science's words are indeed incongruous and inapposite to the point of becoming gibberish, and technical or scientific terms are introduced with ludicrous

effect, for example:

There is not an individual Angle in the whole Solid of my
Body, but quakes when I come nigh her.

(p.21)

She talks of Plato and Aristotle, of astronomy and astrology, and is a collector of specimens and scientific instruments. Clarinda laughs as Lady Science goes out after her first scene, "farewell, Lady Gimcrack" (p.13). This underlines the already obvious similarity between her ladyship's humour and that of Shadwell's comical Sir Nicholas Gimcrack. Another notable dramatic caricature of a scientist, that of Dr. Fossile in Three Hours After Marriage, was also influential.

This play has in fact many similarities to The Virtuoso. Simon Trussler describes the Scriblerians' play as a comedy of humours, "of literary dilettantism, of obsessive antiquarianism and of sexual possessiveness."³ Lady Science actually combines the characteristics of two people in Three Hours After Marriage; she is like Dr. Fossile in her obsession with "philosophy", and like the poetess Phoebe Clinket in her refusal to see the inappropriateness to her sex of her pursuits. Phoebe makes pastorals when she should be making puddings, and raises tragedy ghosts when she should be raising paste.⁴ There is a scene in the Humours of Oxford in which one of the two young heroes, disguised as an elderly don, is interviewed by Lady Science, and alarmed by such questions as: "which Hypothesis are you of - the Ptolemaick, or Copernican?" (p.57). This may have been inspired by the scene in the earlier play in which Plotwell, the would-be seducer of Fossile's bride, in the guise of a Polish scientist, gropes his way amid the jargon of Fossile's conversation.

³Burlesque Plays of the Eighteenth Century. ed. Simon Trussler (Oxford, 1969), p.92.

⁴Three Hours After Marriage (1717), p.4.

Lady Science comes to learn that her aspirations to scholarship are foolish, and admits this in the final scene, when she finds that she has been deluded in her admiration of the College Fellow, Haughty:

Lady Sci. I am justly made a Fool of, for aiming to be a Philosopher - I ought to suffer like Phaeton, for affecting to move into a Sphere that did not belong to me.

Gain. Why, People of either Sex, Madam, are generally imposed on, when the concern themselves with what is properly the Business of the other. The Dressing-Room, not the Study, is the Lady's Province, and a Woman makes as Ridiculous a Figure, poring over Globes, or thro' a Telescope, as a Man would with a Pair of Preservers mending Lace.

She vows to throw away all her mathematical instruments and geological specimens, and

send all my Serpent's Teeth, Mummy's Bones and monstrous Births, to the Oxford Museum; for the Entertainment of other as ridiculous Fools as my self; and then I will immediately fly from this abominable Place.

(p.79)

Lady Science has other faults, however, apart from this misguided ambition. She is over-proud of her imaginary intellectual superiority, and arrogantly contemptuous of others. When her daughter's love for Gainlove is mentioned, she retorts:

if she be a Daughter of mine, she will bear with nothing so ignorant - I would rather she should corrupt the Blood of the Sciences, by marrying a City Shop-keeper - one of those groveling Animalcula, who are so fashion'd to their Trades; such mere Shop-signs - that you may know by their Looks, whether they sell by the Yard, or Troy-weight.

(p.45)

She is gullible to similar false pretensions in the unpleasant don, Haughty, and, as with most comical old ladies in Restoration and eighteenth-century drama, vain of her own fancied charms as an object to be wooed. She finds Gainlove's ardour too half-hearted:

Gain. ... my old Goddess expecting much more Devotion, than she could promise herself from my Atheistical Notions of her Sex, has turn'd the Sun-shine of her Affections on a more Implicit Adorer.

- - - - -
Tru. ... how couldst thou dream, Charles, of such an old Female Book-worm?

Gain. O 'twas a golden Dream, Sir - of Fifty Thousand Pounds

hid in an old Wall - I could bear with the Rubbish to come at the Coin.

(pp.3-4)

The two College Fellows, who also plan to come at the coin, are not merely ridiculed as pedants, since they also are unscrupulous schemers, and indulge in the lowest vices. An announcement of his marriage would mean Haughty's having to resign his fellowship, and he uses this as an excuse to persuade Lady Science to marry him secretly. He admits to his colleague, Conundrum, that by this means "I am leapt into the Laps and Fortunes of three Wives already; and am just on the brink of a Fourth" (p.49).

Conundrum, who loves to quibble, and pun, and lapse into Latin and Greek, is described before he appears, and the description, which has an appealing quaintness, suggests a real obsession with books. Haughty's servant recounts:

When I came to his Chamber, I found him entrench'd amongst a Parcel of mustyold Books, like a Bug in a Bedstead - with half a Dozen Woollen Night-caps on his Head; a short black Pipe in his Mouth; a great pair of Spectacles on his Nose; and a Book in his Hand, as big as himself.

When the servant delivers his message,

.... he gets up, without ever looking from his Book -claps on and old Weather-beaten Wig, over his Flannel Steeple, and a rusty square Cap upon that, and so advances towards the Door.
(pp.47-48)

The spirit of Ben Jonson is manifested here, the description recalling the first mention of Morose in The Silent Woman: "I met that stiff piece of Formalitie, his Uncle, yesterday, with a huge Turbant of Night-Caps on his head, buckled over his eares"⁵.

Conundrum's erudition is not passed on to his students, however. Haughty accuses him of embezzling College funds when he was Steward, pocketing legacies, and defrauding his pupils by keeping the money sent for their use by their families,

⁵Epicæne, or The Silent Woman (1620), sig. B3^v.

and how horribly thou dost Impose on them, by never giving them any Lectures, nor letting them come nigh thee, but at the Quarter's end, when they are to pay thee for doing nothing.
(p.49)

Conundrum replies that his colleagues will take no action if they are told of this, for many of them do the same.

Particular exception was taken by Miller's audience to the scene of the two Fellows getting drunk in a tavern. Their conversation certainly becomes more and more unpleasantly redolent of drunken and prurient senility:

Haugh. ... Odd! thou art a very sly - a very close old Fornicator - thou do'st not wear all those Night-caps for nothing - Why dost not pledge me?

Conun. Ha, ha! So I will - verily she has a lovely Eye - Ha, ha! O! 'tis the sweetest little Rogue, and is so fond of me - and then, she has such a lovely Eye, that there is no resisting Omnia Vincit amor, & nos cedamus amori.

Haugh. Well, why dost not drink, then?

Conun. Ha, ha! O 'tis the pleasantest little Rogue, she does so prattle, and so giggle, and so smile, and so look - verily she has a lovely Eye.

Haugh. Why, thou art on all on Fire, Man, and crackle'st like a Bush of withered Briars - come, quench thy self with a Bumper.
(p.51)

They are surprised in this condition by the Vice-Chancellor, a figure of real authority and integrity. He alone of the University characters speaks of the necessary link between learning and good manners, the true "politeness" of a cultivated mind, which is one of the main concerns of the play. He is aware that Oxford has already a bad reputation, "'tis such as you, who are the Cause of any Obloquy we lie under," and if the University were to continue to permit such bad examples to be set the young men under its care, "this Place, which is the daily Parent of so many brave and bright Spirits instead of being longer a Seminary of Learning and good Manners, would degenerate into a Nursery of Ignorance and Debauchery" (p.52). Miller's preface to his Miscellaneous Works comments that this scene, although it aroused the ire of its first-

night audience, "instead of being a Reflexion on the University, as it was represented to be, is the highest Vindication of it." It was also this scene, which was concerned more particularly with the Oxford location than any of the incidents in the conventional love-story plot, that Hogarth chose to illustrate for his frontispiece to the play.⁶ The satire must have aroused interest both because of its severity, and its unusual target. It had all the more point for appearing to come from within, from "A Gentleman of Wadham-College." Miller might, later in life, have repeated bitterly the servant Dash's comment on the tavern-scene:

Dash ... Well, happy are those Gentlemen. that can send their Sons to Oxford for Education; for they are in as fair a way to come to Preferment -

Kitty. As what? Pray, Sir?

Dash. As the Man that marries you, Madam.

(p.53)

The notoriety of the University with regard to drinking is attested by An Act at Oxford, in which a country squire, Calf, remarks that during his seven years at Oxford he learned Latin and Greek, "and the two famous liberal Sciences, Whoring and Drunkenness" (p.8). The lechery of Conundrum was also prefigured in Baker's play, when Bloom remarks that the University has been invaded by the public, including "Vacation Whores, which the Proctors are very busy in discovering, first to-examine 'em, and then cart 'em out o'Town" (p.2).

The two tutors, the undergraduate Ape-all, and Lady Science all have moral inadequacies to match their false claims to be learned (or, in Ape-all's case, to be witty). The "polite" people in the play, by contrast, convey without ostentation that they are literate and intelligent as well as amusing, and evince much more sensitivity to others, and a more balanced view of life.

In contrast with her aunt's imaginary female erudition, the

⁶See the illustration on page 204.



Frontispiece to The Humours of Oxford

more fashionable of the two heroines, Clarinda, when provoked by Haughty's churlishness, shows herself to be the possessor of a genuinely cultivated mind (even though the daily round of London amusements she describes seems to leave little time for reading!). Haughty has been referring unnecessarily to classical authors - a thing held to be ill-mannered before ladies, who normally learned no Latin or Greek - in a generally conceited and ungracious speech, and so Clarinda turns these authors into rods for his back, calling him as dogmatical as Plato, and prouder than Cicero. She is surprisingly knowledgeable about them all, and particularly pin-points a vice in which we later see Haughty indulging - drunkenness:

You travel, indeed, as well as Aristotle - but 'tis only from
from one College Cellar to another - and stick with more Con-
tent to a Cask, than ever Diogenes did.

(p.22)

He is also castigated by both girls for assuming that his position gives him the right to contradict others, and of taking pride in a slovenly appearance, as though he were above dressing well. This is most ungentlemanly, like the bards of Harlequin-Horace, with their pose of poetic inspiration:

Be sure that like mere Men you ne'er be seen,
Good natur'd, cheerful, mannerly or clean;
But slovenly and thoughtful walk the Street,
Talk to yourself, and know no Friend you meet.

(p. 39)

Wit and an elegant appearance generally go together, and both are alien to the colleges, according to Trumore, when he meets Gainlove disguised in academic dress and padded with a pillow:

Good Porpoise, don't pretend to Rallery; for it as much mis-
becomes thee, as to pretend to Dress: and Wit, in one of thy
Station, is as contrary to the Customs of A College, as wearing
a lac'd Coat is to the Statutes of it.

(p.55)

Haughty declares that a fashionable man must be empty-headed, "'tis the Prerogative of a fine Gentleman, to do nothing, and be ignorant

of every Thing" (p.45), but Gainlove, the more rakish of the two heroes, although improvident and whimsical, shows himself to be educated and well-read, although this surely must have been acquired without effort on his part. His first speech, which also opens the play, and sets the tone for what is to follow, shows us this at once, and is an example of the vivacious and youthful language Miller employs in this comedy:

But above all, 'tis ravishing to get
 On stern Philosophy's exalted Seat,
 Whence we may learn what Joys from Wisdom flow,
 And see the Vanity of all below.

Humph - I am apt to suspect my Friend Lucretius wrote this with an empty Pocket; for I generally find my Philosophical Genius mounts in proportion to the Weight of my Purse, as the Spirits in a Barometer do to that of the Air; And truly, I am more sublimely given to-day, than I much care for; I fear all is not right below - Let me see [turning out his Pockets] Hah! a compleat Philosopher, by Jove; my last Splendid Shilling shines on my Back - However there's some hopes Fortune may look on me now; for, like the World, it principally regards the Outside of a Man, and is too short-sighted to examine his Pocket, more than his Merit ...

(p.1)

His cultivated wit presents a great contrast to the boorishness of the tutors, the affected foppery of the undergraduate Ape-all (who when told by Gainlove that Trumore courts his mistress "out of Plutarch's Morals" thinks that must be a bawdy book he hasn't heard of), and the stupidity of the Irish impostor Shamwell, who tells the young ladies traveller's tales so exaggerated that they see through him at once.

Marriage is always central to the plot of an eighteenth-century comedy; in this play there are at least three projected marriages, and two that are actually settled upon. Marriage is here also a moral theme, for virtuous love is set against both the simulated, mercenary variety, and selfish sexual desire. Of the four young central characters, only two, Victoria and Trumore, are entirely praiseworthy. Although redeemable from error, the other two have

faults which they have to overcome before they are worthy of their partners. The too-daring Clarinda treats Trumore with unkind perversity, and Gainlove attempts the dishonorable seduction of Victoria. Gainlove and Clarinda are naturally also the most attractive and interesting of the Dramatis Personae. They both wear a veneer of polished mockery, which is finally penetrated by the true worth of their lovers, which their keen intelligence forces them to recognise. In the following exchange with the villainous Shamwell, Gainlove enjoys exercising his wit on the subject of matrimony, but Trumore's comment points out the triviality of the sensual attitude to women:

Gain. ... Now I think, pursuing a Woman for her Beauty, is following a Will o'whisp for its Light ...

Sham. Ha ha! then you think a Woman's Charms are lost, as soon as she is married.

Gain. Yes, faith, to her Husband; as the Diversions of a Puppet-Show are to him who is behind the Curtain.

Sham. Truth on't is, Matrimony generally proves an Extinguisher on our side; but as we admir'd them before, why I think it is the Womens turn afterwards to admire us.

Tru. So that a Wife you think at least may give a Man the same Pleasure as his Glass.

(pp.11-12)

Gainlove is a cynic as to the possibility of finding a wife worthy of real esteem, and give this as an excuse for his courtship of the "Old Female Book-worm." Trumore frankly assesses such feigned wooing as prostitution.

Gain. Look you, Ned, if you can shew me one of the Sex who has Wit and Beauty, without Ill-nature and Vanity; Freedom without Wantonness, and Modesty without Pride or Affectation, I'll marry her without a Farthing - purely for a Curiosity. But as I believe from my Soul there is no such Creature in Being: could I meet with a Fortune to pay my Debts ... if the Possessor of it were an old Beldam ... I would caress her with all the Ecstasy -

Tru. - That a Jilt does her Cully, while she is picking his Pockets - for the Morality of the thing is pretty much the same.

(p.4)

The devoted Trumore's ill-treatment by Clarinda seems to prove Gainlove's theory that boldness in love is best, and that timidity in a

suitor invites abuse, until Victoria's invincible purity converts him:

And now I feel a more exquisite Pleasure from a Repulse - than
I e'er knew in all my vicious Conquests o'er the Sex.
(p.42)

His unwontedly elevated emotion even causes him to express himself from time to time in phrases that are actually lines of blank verse. Clarinda's sophistication is contrasted with her Aunt's crankiness and Victoria's sober thoughtfulness. Lady Science has had Victoria brought up in Dorset (Miller's own county), which has kept her good sense free from the taint of an irresponsible fashionable society, without, as Gainlove and Trumore comment in their first conversation, giving her any social awkwardness. Clarinda teases both her aunt and her cousin, and is particularly witty on the subject of Victoria's rural way of life, mocking her, certainly not for any rusticity of manners, but for possessing the calmness of spirit that can endure

to be coop'd up in an old melancholy Cottage like a Pullet in a Pen, with nothing to do but to Feed - to rise in a Morning because 'tis Light; and go to Bed at Night, because you have no where else to go; to have no Diversion but raising Pies, and reading Weekly Journals - not a Soul to converse with, but an old Grannum, who is continually making you wish to enjoy the Pleasures of Life, by railing against 'em - nor a Creature to visit but the Vicar's Wife, who entertains you with a surfeiting relation of the pretty Tricks of Jacky and Jenny ... Oh monstrous! ha, ha!

(pp.18-19)

The town life she describes for comparison however, is centred in selfishness:

in a word, 'tis to go where one will, say what one will, have what one will, and do what one will, whilst a Revolution of Pleasures, not Hours, is the measure of our Time.

(p.19)

Her wit takes her words sometimes beyond even the town's standards of propriety, as when she tells Lady Science,

Why truly, Aunt, there are some things in Natural Philosophy I should like well enought to understand; but you can't teach 'em to me - I think your Experimental Philosophy is reckon'd

the best, ha, ha!⁷

(p.13)

She advises Victoria to marry soon, in order to acquire a married woman's greater freedom of action, including the freedom to indulge "tender Inclinations." Her cynical description of married life is rather like that in Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode series of prints of 1745:

after the first Moon, 'tis the most unfashionable Thing in the World, either to eat, drink, or lie together - and if ever you happen unfortunately to be alone with one another - why he pares his Nails, and you play with the Monkey.

(pp.20-21)

This levity is mostly due, as Trumore is preceptive enough to see, to the influence on a lively mind of a rather immoral society. Asked by Gainlove why he troubles about "such a giddy insolent Creature" he explains:

Why, I perceive such an elevated Understanding, pregnant Wit, and noble Sweetness of Temper, shine thro' the Morning Mist, which Youth and a little fashionable Vanity have rais'd about her, that I am still encouraged to persevere, by the lovely Prospect of a glorious Noon.

(p.37)

In a more serious mood Clarinda shows a realistic awareness of a wife's position in marriage, and it is this which partly excuses her high-handed treatment of her suitor. Like Millamant, she knows that women have real, inescapable and lifelong tyranny to fear after they are married, and must exercise what powers they have before they finally consent. Afterwards men are often unreasonably resentful when they find that their wives are human, and not the angels that they had romantically made of them. Her mockery of his pretty speeches of gallantry discomfits Trumore, and her capriciousness, as long as she is sure of him, is maddening, but alters when he

⁷This double-entendre is derived from An Act at Oxford, in which a citizen visiting the University remarks that his errant wife "has come to take her Degree too - of natural Philosophy" (p.41).

appears to break away from her spell.

Victoria has hope of a deeper relationship with a husband:

I am so unfashionable as to think, that by marrying a Man, I distinguish him from the rest of his Sex, to contract the most intimate Friendship with.

(p.20)

Seen in this rational light, the masculine attitude to seduction as conquest and subjugation is callous and unnatural:

'tis nothing but Brutal Appetite - a barbarous inhuman Passion, that aims at the Ruin of the Object it pursues, and is never cherished by any, but Wretches who are void both of Honour, and Humanity.

(p.37)

Allardyce Nicoll has written that there is a swing towards sentimental drama in Miller's late plays, but calls The Humours of Oxford "a quite unsentimental comedy".⁸ Certainly there is little resemblance to the celebrated "weeping comedies" of Cibber and Steele, but I find more sentiment in parts of The Humours of Oxford than in Miller's later plays. Some strands of tender feeling are woven into what is otherwise worldly and satirical comedy. Powell Stewart finds the play decidedly sentimental, particularly since a common situation in sentimental comedy was that of two betrothed, one of whom becomes suddenly wealthy, which causes the other unselfishly to renounce his or her claim. A sudden accident reverses their positions, causing the one who is now rich to press the engagement once again, while the other of the financially sensitive pair dissents.⁹ There is a scene of this type between Gainlove and Victoria, when love has awakened Gainlove's conscience.¹⁰

Victoria herself symbolises the moral purity of the country, contrasted with urban decadence. By the end of the play the

⁸ A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, p.203

⁹ "The Dramatic Career of James Miller," p.42.

¹⁰ Humours of Oxford, p.71.

redeemed Gainlove is ready for a moral existence. The terms in which Victoria warns him of her intention to return to the rigours of a life in an old mansion, surrounded by "bare fields of cows," are very like those in which Harriet in the Man of Mode announces her test of Dorimant's love. She proposes to welcome him

To a great rambling lone house, that looks as it were
Not inhabited, the family's so small; there you'll find my Mother,
An old lame Aunt, and my self Sir, perch'd up on Chairs at
A distance in a large parlour; sitting moping like three or
Four Melancholy Birds in a spacious vollarly -

Harriet, however, is too fashionable to like herself what she describes, and when her lover replies with conventional references to his enslaved soul, and the pangs of love, cries:

This is more dismal than the Country! Emilia! pitty
Me, who am going to that sad place. Methinks I hear the
Hateful noise of Rooks already --- kaw, kaw, kaw ...
There's musick in the worst Cry in London!
My Dill and Cowcubers to pickle.¹¹

Victoria belongs to the comedy of sentiment rather than the comedy of manners, or of humours, in being neither a noblewoman playing at shepherdesses, nor a provincial miss entranced by the glamour of the town.

The reformation of Gainlove, through the strength of his love for a chaste country maiden, is in the tradition of sentimental drama. However, even in Vanbrugh's play, The Relapse, which was a work written to ridicule such plays, and in particular, the notion that a hardened rake can be permanently reformed by love for his wife, there is a scene in which satiric intentions are subordinated to human values, when the young wife, Amanda, while justifiably incensed at her husband's infidelity and strongly tempted to find solace with an ardent admirer, resists seduction, and moves both the libertine and the audience by her determination. He exclaims:

¹¹The Man of Mode, or, S^r Fopling Flutter. A Comedy. By George Etherege Esq. (1676), p.95.

Sure, there's Divinity about her; and sh'as dispenc'd some portion on't to me. For what but now was the wild flame of Love, or (to dissect that specious term) The Vile, the gross desires of Flesh and Blood, is in a moment turn'd to Adoration.¹²

It was also an important subject for the novelist, finding its ultimate exposition in 1747 in Clarissa, in which the hero's conversion unfortunately comes too late to save the heroine's chastity, and, hence, her life.

The Humours of Oxford also includes an emotional reconciliation between Gainlove and the father who had believed him dead (p.77). This is in contrast to the appalling callousness of Ape-all (who turns out, by a large coincidence, to be Gainlove's brother), when he wrongly believes that his father has died, leaving him heir. The father comes in person, in disguise, to tell of his own death, and observes his son's delight. This scene is probably adapted from one in The Humorists, in which Lady Loveyouth's husband, presumed dead, returns incognito to recount his end, and watch her reaction (pp. 33-34).

Until this scene Ape-all has figured as an amusing foolish fop, a role calculated to show off the comic talents of Theophilus Cibber, who played it. His affectations are of wit, dress, and gallantry, rather than scholarship - in fact, like most undergraduates he professes never to dream of studying, and bewails being forced to go to chapel when gentlemen ought to be going to bed:

for rivett me if I had been a-bed above five Seconds, before the Bell with its plaguy Jingle roused me to Prayers again.
(p.6)

He has a mistaken belief in the brilliance of his repartee, and when Trumore asks if the Fellows are not learned men, answers:

No, Sir, no more than Officers must be Men of Courage i'gad - I beg Pardon, my Dear - that was very good, ha, ha - you don't take it ill, Colonel - I could not help it, split me - my

¹²The Relapse; or Virtue in Danger: Being the Sequel of The Fool in Fashion, A Comedy (1697), p.100.

Fancy was on fire, and so it slipt from my Tongue, like Spittle from a hot Iron.

(p.7)

But he boasts most of all of his clearly imaginary sexual exploits:

I never met a Woman yet, but I could bring her on her Knees ...
And when once you get them to their Intreaties, 'tis over with
'em, 'igad.

(p.8)

and this attitude is a sign of the more serious callousness and treachery he is to demonstrate later. We are given a reason for his shallow, selfish character, for his father recounts how he spoiled and indulged him as a child. He has no feelings for the "Oxford jilt" Kitty, a tavern-keeper's daughter whom he has seduced, but she wants to marry above herself, and has plenty of tricks up her own sleeve. Certainly they deserve one another. Ape-all says of Kitty:

Ay, I have studied to some Purpose, 'i faith - I have got a lovely Body of Learning to carry off with me - a whole Folio of delicate Romance, 'igad! - Pray, Madam Cassandra, how often have you been lent out to read? - you have been plaguily turn'd over and thumb'd, I warrant you! - if she had been but well-bound and gilt, she might have pass'd Muster; but Trumpery without and within both is the Devil and all his Works ...¹³

(p.76)

This continues a recurring metaphor of people as books that Miller uses amusingly in this play, inspired, presumably, by the University setting and the discussion of real and false learning. Lady Science is called a book (as well as a book-worm) by Trumore:

... such a School System of Crabbed Words, and crooked Figures;
such a musty Aristotle in rough Calf.

(p.4)

and Ape-all himself is summed up by the two friends as follows:

Tru. A true Representative of Elder Brothers, and Oxford Scholars.

Gain. That's to say, a Fool by Birth, and a Rake by Education.

Tru. To which (that the Piece might be finish'd) he has added a Supplement of Impudence, with an Appendix of Modern Foppery;

¹³Cassandre, by B.G.de Costes, Seigneur de la Calprenède, was published in Paris in 1645. A Translation by Sir Charles Cotterell appeared in 1652, and there were several further editions during the remainder of the century. A "Third Edition" of Cassandra, a Romance, with frontispieces by William Hogarth, appeared in 5 vols. in 1725.

and is come out a little Abridgement of the Follies of the Age,
and a compleat Burlesque on Wit and Fashion.
(pp.5-6)

The play's structure is complex, having two central marriages to be resolved, and sub-plots of Kitty's obtaining a husband, and Haughty's near-bigamy with Lady Science. There is therefore a numerous cast, and there are many narrative strands to be woven together. In spite of the Grub-street Journal's merciless dissection and ridicule of the plot, it is undeniable that the young dramatist exercised considerable skill in its management. (One can well believe, too, that, as Miller stated himself, Anne Oldfield was glad to play the scintillating part of Clarinda.)

The last words of the play are Gainlove's:

I have found those lasting Beauties of the Mind, which can
never give Satiety.

Tho' Wit and Youth and Beauty fade away,
The Charms of Virtue never will decay.

(p.80)

The true "beauties of the mind" are the main moral concern of the play. True "politeness" as Miller expounded in a later poem, Of Politeness (1738), embraces unselfishness, respect and tenderness for women, unostentatious cultivation of the intellect, and appreciation of art. The poem's exemplar of all the opposite faults, the young lord "Pulvilio", also mis-spent his time at University:

With half a College Education got,
Half Clown, half Prig, half Pedant, and half Sot.
(p.11)

True politeness is actually something that Victoria and Gainlove will be better able to practise in the country, where she has ordained they are to live, than in the elegant m^êlée of London society: a rather pleasant paradox.

iii) The Man of Taste and The Universal Passion

The Man of Taste, Miller's second adaptation of Molière, was performed and published in 1735. The comedy is enlivened by some satirical dialogue that is not present in its sources. The satire is social rather than political, and arises very naturally in the scenes in which Martin, a clever footman, impersonates a man of fashion, in order to wreak his master's revenge on a pair of silly girls who have just moved westwards from the City, and are "Amphibious, between Court Prudes and City Coquettes" (p.12). The world of fashion is mocked by an outside observer, the servant, for the benefit of the Thames-street maidens, who are also outsiders, eagerly trying to get in.

Martin adopts the name of his former employer Lord Apemode, from whom he learned the affectations of a fop:

Why, Sir, I have heard more Absurdities about Dressing, Singing, Gallanting, Building, Poetry, Pimping, and other parts of Modern Politeness, while I have been adjusting my Lord Apemode's Toupee in a Morning, than I could utter in a whole Fortnight.

(p.50)

The corresponding scenes in Les Précieuses Ridicules are more concerned with literary affectations than Miller is in his adaptation. Molière's girls are from the provinces, but they are mainly ridiculed for being précieuses, and for their vision of themselves as heroines of a romance. Although verbal and literary attitudinising is included in the scope of their silliness, Miller's characters are primarily seen as social parvenues. He does, however, extract a little extra humour from the discussion of Martin's abilities as an amateur author. Molière's Mascarille says:

je travaille à mettre en Madrigaux toute l'Histoire Romaine,¹

¹Select Comedies of M^r. De Moliere (1732), vol. 3, p. 48.

but Martin cries

Odes! Ay, that's my particular Talent; and I'm about turning the whole Roman history into Odes.

(p.37)

Odes were certain to bring to mind the poet laureate Colley Cibber, who had been producing Birthday and New Year verses for five years, with notoriously laughable results. The hint would have been reinforced by the fact that Cibber was particularly renowned for his performances in the rôles of absurd beaux, such as Sir Fopling Flutter in The Man of Mode, Lord Foppington in The Relapse, and Witling in a play with some similarities to the Man of Taste, Cibber's own Refusal (1721). Moreover, Martin, alias, Apemode was acted by Colley Cibber's son Theophilus.

Molière's rather brief discussion of contemporary theatre, which satirises the declamatory style of the actors at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, and the custom of "packing" an audience, gives rise to some rather heavy-handed irony from Miller on the subject, familiar from Harlequin-Horace, of foreign entertainments.

The girls are invited to see the French players act a charming piece, "where our unpolish'd Beef-and-Pudding English Clowns are so rosted!" They won't understand the dialogue, but,

'tis the Beauty of all polite Diversions, not to put People upon the Drudgery of Thinking. The Eye and the Ear are enough to be employ'd - enough in Conscience.

(pp.70-71)

There is a scheme, Martin pretends, to obtain "Strolers of every Country - in twenty unknown Languages at least," and this will not be expensive:

Not above Fifty Thousand a Year at most - and suppose every Penny of it should be carried out of the Kingdom, what's that to a wealthy trading Nation, you know?

This naturally leads to talk of that over-paid Italian, Faronello:

Dorothea. Oh! that charming Creature, Faronelli!

Maria. Oh, Ravishing! Transporting! Killing!

Dorothea. Admiration itself can't express it.

Maria. Dying is too little. He does more than kill one.
(p.71)

The double-entendre in the last line would not have been lost on Miller's audience. He, like other satirists, liked to dwell on the paradoxically sexual reactions of women to the castrati.

Maria's mother, Lady Henpeck, is vastly proud of her own erudition, and is also (or perhaps, in consequence) a household tyrant, as her name implies. She announces, in a passage derived from the words of Philaminte in Les Femmes Savantes (Act III, Sc.ii), that she has written a treatise, "a Plan for erecting a female Academy, a Project which Plato foolishly gave over when he wrote his Treatise of Republicks" (p.66). Lady Henpeck's dictatorial manner towards her husband is enough to discredit her intellectual feminism, and the audience was naturally intended to agree with Sir Humphrey's opinion that:

A Woman's Library ought to be nothing but a Thimble or two, a Thread-Paper, and a sufficient Quantity of Pins and Needles.
(p.59)

There is no shrewish mother in Les Précieuses Ridicules. In introducing this character from another play Miller is continuing his mockery of female learning begun in The Humours of Oxford. She had previously appeared on the English stage in 1721, in Colley Cibber's The Refusal; or The Ladies Philosophy, which was an adaptation of Les Femmes Savantes, and had a version of Philaminte in Lady Wrangle and also a girl whose academic attainments made her a prude, scornful of any love aroused by her physical attributes. Both kinds of pride come, of course, before a fall.

Miller's girls display such talent at defamation that Martin exclaims:

S'life, Ladies, you are as perfect in the Conversation of this End of the Town, as if you had been bred up here. You'll slay your Reputations by thousands and ten thousands.
(p.51)

Maria replies: "I hope in a little time we shall become sociable Creatures, and fit to Converse with the humane part of our Species." They have served a kind of apprenticeship in social malice under Mrs. Slanderwell, the previous year at Bath. That lady, however, is no more:

Martin. No - she lost her last Thousand t'other Night at the Masquerade, in the Habit of a Roman Vestal; and then went home, and shook Hands with the World.

As Fair, as Fearless, and as full resolv'd,
As any Greek, or Roman of them all.

Maria. I don't understand you, my Lord.

Martin. Why, she took a Dose of generous Laudanum, Madam, that's all - a pretty free Glass of Aqua Mortis, and so chous'd her ill-fortune at once.

Maria. Poor creature! I am ready to weep for her - and yet I scarce pity her neither, she dy'd so politely.

Martin. Oh very politely! Yes, yes, very politely. Laudanum is the Tip-Top of the Fashion at present.

Maria. Oh! 'tis the most charming genteel way of doing the Thing, when People are a little out of humour with the World. And then one must needs look so compos'd after it too.

Dorothea. True - and one would not care to look frightful when one's dead.

Maria. But what a pity it is, that it should be polluted, as it too often is, by the unhallow'd Hands of vulgar Wretches!

Martin. That's true indeed; and I think 'tis a shame the vulgar should be suffered to make such an honourable End.
(pp.51-52)

Suicide by opium is not the only evil to have been taught the lower orders by their betters. Miller moves to a topic almost equally grave: religious unbelief:

Martin..... 'twas but t'other Day that I overheard two of my Footmen setting up for Free-Thinkers; and, o' my Conscience, they rally'd as well on the Affair, and talk'd as smartly against Superstition and Priest-craft, and going to Church, and all that, as the best of us all could ha' done.

Maria. Insolent Animals!

Martin. Ay, for these are Privileges which People of Breeding and Distinction only should enjoy.

(p.52)

This is a mordant satire upon the darkest side of a fashionably

dissolute society. In this the play departs markedly from Molière, whose exposure of the précieuses is more playful; they show only youthful foolishness exacerbated by too much reading. The passages just quoted are enlivened by irony. The use of such words as "sociable" and "humane" to describe the art of back-biting is an example, as is the reference to virginity and Roman virtue apropos of the gambling socialite's felo de se. Laudanum is sardonically sanctified by the suggestion that "unhallow'd" hands can "pollute" its "honourable" use. Throughout there is also the comic irony of the footman's deploring the presumption of the servant-classes.

Pope's satires seem to have been present in Miller's mind in the general tenor of this passage, and quite specifically in two echoes of the Epistle To Cobham which had appeared the previous year. The last words of "Narcissa" were:

"One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead -
 "And - Betty - give this Cheek a little Red."
 (11.246-247)

Narcissa, incidentally, represents Anne Oldfield, who had died on October 23rd, 1730, a few months after championing The Humours of Oxford, and appearing in it as Clarinda.

"Free-thinkers" evokes Pope's "smart Free-thinker" (To Cobham, 1.109), especially since Martin's unbelieving footmen talk "smartly" against religion.

Miller's clerical concerns manifest themselves only rarely in his dramatic writing. Here they emerge in his censure of the trend towards deism or agnosticism, and in his admonitions regarding Sabbath observance. Martin is asked if he likes to play cards:

Martin. No Madam - never but o'Sundays.
Maria. Sundays!
Martin. Yes, Sunday is kind of a queer Day, you know - no Plays, nor Masquerades, nor Operas - in short, nothing good

stirring - which, by the bye, is a horrid Shame in a Christian Country; and so then I go to my Lady Vermilions Assembly.
(p.67)

Dorothea remarks that in the City they think of nothing but going to church on Sundays. Martin replies:

I knew a rich old Citizen now that always set that Day apart for settling all the Accounts of the former Week in.

Maria's father, too, "us'd to lock himself up in his Counting-House that Day, and made us believe he was at his Devotions." If the girls believed this then, they are no longer so charitable, and laugh when Martin quips:

Troth, very likely, Madam, for I suppose Gold was his God.

In spite of the suggestions of avarice, the City emerges as morally superior to the Beau Monde, and this difference is naturally most manifest in the region where the two classes deal with one another, as tradesmen and customers. The girls think that to make tradesmen wait months for the payment of their bills is comme il faut, and abuse the class to which they themselves so recently belonged:

Maria Don't you make the impertinent Block-heads wait, my Lord?

Martin. No, Madam, they never wait upon that score at my Home - Because they are sure it would be to no purpose if they did - you must know, Madam, I have two sorts of Debts, which I pay two very different ways - My Debts of Honour I pay with my Ready-Money; and my Tradesman's Debts, I pay with my Honour - which is ready upon all Occasions.

(pp.67-68)

Honourable conduct towards inferiors can be dispensed with, but not one's "honour" with regard to equals, which is a matter of pride and prestige.

The scenes between the two girls, Martin, and at one point, a confederate, Reynard, form only a small proportion of the play, but they contain an almost comprehensive indictment of elite society,

of the kind Miller claims to be necessary in the dedication of the play:

when what is set up for the Standard of Taste, is but just the Reverse of Truth and Common Sense; and that which is dignify'd by the Name of Politeness is deficient in nothing - but Decency and Good-Manners.

(sig.A3^r)

The prologue to Miller's next play, The Universal Passion (1737), admits the author's inability to "soar like Shakespear's Eagle Wing", but claims at least the merit of having striven for "Sacred Decency", and that:

Satire's keen Shafts he freely deals, 'tis true
And boldly gives the Fool and Knave their Due,
Secure that none of those can glance on you.

(sig.A4^r)

The satiric material which does not derive from MuchAdo, or from Miller's other source, Molière's La Princesse D'Elide, is nearly all contained in the speeches of Joculo, a character not in Much Ado. There is a jester named Moron belonging to the heroine in La Princesse D'Elide; but Joculo has a quite different personality, and his strictures on "Fool and Knave" are not found in the speeches of Moron.

Most of Joculo's quips are variations on one theme, that of Court and governmental morality, and are voiced in the first scene of the play, and the last scene but one. They are given prominence by their early occurrence, and the audience's attention is brought back to the same ideas near the end, in case they have been eclipsed by the development of the plot. Joculo is employed by the hero, Bellario, to help him win the affection of the jester's mistress, Lucilia. When Joculo is offered payment for his services he demurs, but when the purse is about to be withdrawn, hastily accepts, "I would not willingly affront you neither." Bellario hands him

the reward:

Bellarario ... Ay, now thou speak'st like thy self.

Joculo..Why, that's true too: I had forgot I was a Courtier sure! - Well, my Lord, I believe I may keep the Purse for your sake, but I can't promise for what's in't. The next Favour I have to ask for my self, that must be transferr'd into another's Clutches.

Lucretius. So Bribing, and being bribed, goes round in a Circle.

Joculo. Ay, ay, this is our dear Life's Blood; if this does not circulate freely every thing here is presently at a stand.

(p.4)

Joculo remarks that a man of his profession can never lack employment at Court, unlike most of those who have places there. Bellarario speaks of the "ceremonious Buffoonery of the various Actors" in the Drawing-room, and Joculo takes up the theatrical metaphor: "where a true-bred Courtier changes Shapes and Faces, as often as Harlequin in a Farce."

He describes the arrogant and deceitful behaviour of those whose favours are solicited, both "Great" men and "Strumpets of Distinction." The courtier who has just embraced someone denies next moment that he knows the man's name, "Upon which he turns on his Heel to his Circle of Parasites, and promises the same Place to twenty in a Breath, which he had given to his Pimp the Morning before" (p.5).

This is another of Joculo's thumb-nail sketches:

Next, Gentlemen, you have an old weather-beaten Officer bringing his young blooming Wife to solicit Preferment for him: Whisk! she pierces like Lightning thro' the Crowd, whispers a great Man in the Ear, makes an Assignation at the Opera with him, and then returning, with the most severe Modesty, chucks her Warrior under the Chin, and cries - I have done your Business for you my Love.

(p.5)

The Great Man is always Walpole, but Joculo's dwelling on sexual inducements to the granting of favours is not really accurate: Walpole was much more concerned to secure Parliamentary votes, or legal and ecclesiastical support for his policies, in return for

pensions and places.

The "Circle" at Court which the jester describes includes "a Courtesan in one Corner deciding the Affairs of the Nation" (p.5). This may be an allusion to the King's mistresses, through whom attempts to win the King's favour were sometimes made, though usually without success, since the procedure brought the risk of gaining the enmity of the Queen, which was much more influential. That Walpole had a mistress of whom he was fond, and to whom he was married twelve months later, may also have been in Miller's mind.

Joculo's image of a "solemn gouty overgrown Frier, just come from preaching up Poverty and Contentment," who stands bowing to a strumpet is a reminder of the sleek hypocritical bishop described in Seasonable Reproof in 1735. He is called "a Frier" in keeping with the Elizabethan setting which is indicated by the presence of a jester, but otherwise he is like a modern cleric. Chaucer's friar, of whom the word might remind some of the audience, was, of course, a lecher, scrounger, and bon viveur.

As in The Man of Taste, Miller points out, through the mouth of a servant, the reversals of social rank he saw taking place around him. In the last act, when Joculo's sweetheart complains of a change in his attitude towards her, he replies:

A Change, my Dear - Lack-a-day, would not you have me like the rest of the World? Why there's a general Metamorphosis thro' the Land; this is the Age of reversing, Child. All Ranks, Stations and Professions are turn'd topsy turvy ... why an't many of our mighty Nobles, and sage Senators, pray, turn'd Rooks, Pimps and Jockies, and fix'd it as the highest Mark of Honour never to be honest, ... and as the Standard of Quality never to be qualify'd for anything at all - except it be Pensions and Places, my Child!

(p.67)

"Jockey" meant at this time not only the rider of race-horses, but a horse-dealer, and thus by a natural extension, any kind of cheat

and swindler. "Rook" also meant a cheat or sharper, particularly in gaming. The latter term is also used by Joculo in his first scene, when aiming a blow at the Minister, who had protected from retribution such wealthy culprits as Francis Chartres, or the South-Sea directors. In a Court drawing-room,

you may see a haughty big-looking Judge cringe to a gaudy Velvet Rook, whom he would have sent to the Gibbet long before, if his Knavery had not been screen'd by Success.

(p.5)

Miller dwells at length upon the subject of preferment, which is conferred, not for merit, but for a talent for flattery, or being amusing, or possessing a pretty sister or wife. Joculo says that if he were not a licensed fool, he would not dare utter truth "within the Walls of a Palace." This play was Miller's next publication after Seasonable Reproof, in which he had vented his resentment towards the Bishop of London, for his failure to be preferred. That satire had, naturally, antagonised Gibson still more, and annihilated Miller's chances. His sense of injury seems to have led Miller to dwell on a theme that has little bearing on the play's characterisation and plot. He includes a wry joke about his own professional situation, as he continues his account of the revolution of manners:

Joculo. Then your Soldiers are half of 'em turn'd Fiddlers and Morrice-Dancers, because fighting is now quite foreign to the Profession; whilst Priests are turn'd Play-Wrights, and preach from the Stage, because 'tis unfashionable to go to hear 'em at Church.

Delia. Um - strange indeed!

Joculo. Physicians are turn'd Collectors of Flies and Cockle-shells, because the whole Country choose to die by the Hand of a single Quack.

(p.67)

The absence of a war for the soldiers to fight was later to be the main theme of "The Camp Visitants" and Are these Things So? The collector of biological specimens was ridiculed in The Humours of

Oxford. The idea of physicians who become collectors was probably suggested by Dr. John Woodward, who had been parodied as Dr. Fossile by Gay, Pope and Arbuthnot. The "single Quack" must be Joshua Ward, whose patent drop and pill were extensively advertised at this time. Their efficacy was attested by many, and Ward enjoyed Royal and aristocratic favour, but was repeatedly attacked by the Grub-street Journal, and by Pope in his satires. Miller comes close to the truth in his joke about the nation choosing to die by his hand, since the medicines were actually dangerous preparations of antimony, and sometimes, arsenic.

The boldest satire of all in this play does not, however, come from the mocking tongue of Juculo, but from the naive ones of the watchmen Asino and Porco, Miller's Dogberry and Verges. After their meeting with Gratiano, the Duke, in a conversation not found in Shakespeare Porco praises his governance:

... 'tis a blessed time with honest Folks when they have got a Duke that loves his People.

Asino. But don't all Rulers love their People, Neighbour?

Porco.... All Rulers love their People! why how should they, when most of 'em never see a Score of 'em in their Lives? No, no, they love the Fleece of the Flock, but for the poor Sheep themselves -

Asino. Not all Rulers love their People! they must be foolish Rulers indeed!

(p.52)

This is not as outrageous as Fielding's personal attacks on Walpole in The Grub-street Opera, and The Historical Register, which provoked the introduction of the Licensing Act, but it is much stronger than anything which would have been allowed after the Act was passed. Miller, like other dramatists, had been growing more outspokenly opposed to the government. After this play his views had to be implied more subtly, at least upon the stage.

iv) The Coffee-House

In Miller's after-piece, The Coffee-House, which was the first of his plays to be performed after submission to the Lord Chamberlain's office for licensing, the Examiner of Plays found only one passage objectionable. This contained the only trace of political satire in the play. It occurs in the last verse of a song sung by two coffee-house beaux, bewailing the opera singer Farinello's absence in Spain:

O cruel Spain! will nought suffice?
 Will nought redeem this lovely Prize?
 Take all our Ships, take all our Men,
 So we enjoy but him again. (p.9)

The idolised castrato is the latest prize to be seized by the piratical Spaniards. The verse continues,

Ruin'd, Lords and Commons all,
 From St. James's to Guild-Hall!

This is in the printed text, and the manuscript presumably at first said the same, but the words "Lords and Commons" and "St. James's" have been erased, and the lines heavily rewritten in a more innocuous form, so that Court and Parliament are no longer linked with the fashionable passion for Italian opera. This mania Miller, like other satirists of his time, including Hogarth, regarded as unworthy and degenerate. Since Farinello was indeed appearing in Spain, as the newspapers had announced, it was now made to seem unpatriotic too.¹ The audience in January 1738 would have responded keenly to this reminder of the Spanish depredations and

¹See Fog's Weekly Journal no.6, July 9th, 1737 and Common-Sense, or, the Englishman's Journal no.49, January 7th, 1738. Paul Whitehead's verse satire, Manners, which appeared in February 1739, refers to the nobility's passion for opera, with this footnote (p.8): "That living Witness of the Folly, Extravagance and Depravity of the English; Farinello, who is now at the Court of Spain triumphing in the Spoils of our Nobility, as their Pyrates are in those of our injur'd Merchants."

the suggestion of effeminacy in Britain's failure to retaliate.

Apart from this song, Miller's satire in the Coffee-House is local and topical, rather than political. In the preface to the printed text Miller denies having had in mind Dick's Coffee-House at Temple-Gate, the favourite of the Templars, and its proprietress, Mrs. Yarrow. He pleads in his defence that his play is merely an adaptation of Rousseau's Le Caffé. This is true, but the possibility of turning Rousseau's establishment into Dick's Coffee-House, because of the coincidence of their both being run by a widow and her daughter, may have been what first tempted Miller to make his adaptation, and to introduce other real-life characters, such as Theophilus Cibber and, allegedly, Richard Savage (see above, pp. 46-47).

Miller claimed that he had actually removed the most unfavourable aspect of Rousseau's café, namely that at night the gentlemen were asked to leave so that the coast would be clear for the women who had made assignations there (sig. A1^v). It is doubtful, however, whether Mrs. Yarrow would have been delighted with her portrait. She is depicted as being fond of male company and of the compliments she receives from her customers, eager to find a new husband, and jealous of her daughter's attractions. This aspect of the Widow's character is not present in the French: Madame Jerosme keeps her daughter away from the customers only to safeguard her purity and prevent her forming undesirable attachments, but Miller's widow declares:

Shall a little chitty-Face Slut think to be Nosing me for
ever here, and putting me out of Countenance with Mother, and
Mother, in all Company?

(p.25)

As well as adding piquancy to the impersonation of the well-known coffee-house proprietress, this gives the play greater verisimilitude,

as the widow's motives for intending so unreasonably to marry her daughter to such an unsuitable husband, and against such firm opposition, are greatly strengthened. In the French her only motive is the belief, which is not even well-founded, that he is a wealthy man.

Miller's alterations often have this dual function, of sharpening, and making more personal, the satire, and of improving the structure or the plausibility of the plot. For example, the opening scene, which is not in Rousseau, establishes that the hero is studying Law, and contains some satire on the legal profession:

Hartly: I must own I have not Talents to push me forward in my Profession. I have too honest, or at least too silly a Temper, to set People together by the Ears in order to pick their Pockets; I can't take a Fee of a Man, and do him no Service for it, by betraying his Cause to his Adversary for another; I can't blacken and defame any one's Character in Publick merely because I'm paid for it; nor can I craftily abuse and quarrel with those at the Bar, whom I am in League and Friendship with everywhere else.

(p.2)

The scene also acquaints us with the situation at the coffee-house before the scene opens there, and describes in advance the character of the heroine, Kitty, and of her elderly suitor, Harpie. The subject is introduced by Hartly's friend Gaywood, in explanation of his presence in the Temple:

I happen'd to have a strong Run against me at Hazard t'other Night, and was forc'd to have recourse to old Harpie the Scrivener here, for a Brace of Hundreds, which I have been to repay him.

(p.1)

Later in the play is a joke, which Miller hoped would amuse the lawyers in the audience, about the Benchers, the senior members of the Inns of Court who formed for each Inn a self-elective body, managing its affairs, and possessing the privilege of calling to the Bar. When Theophilus Cibber, who appears as himself, protests

at the widow's plan for her daughter and threatens to prevent it with the Playhouse Dragoons, she replies:

I have Gentlemen enow that will stand o' my side; all the reverend Benchers to a Man, Sir.

Cibber. Ha, ha, ha! thou art a droll Dear.

(p.13)

In the same way, the substitution of the actor in propria persona for Rousseau's ingenious valet gave Miller's piece an attractive novelty. An audience likes occasionally to meet its favourite performers as their own selves (even though the self presented may be as much a pose as any other), and his conversation with the hopeful poet gives a glimpse behind the scenes of the running of Drury Lane, when he describes the Manager's closet, full of unborn and ill-conceived plays and operas. Asked the news from his "Theatrical Empire" he is eloquent:

Much the same, Sir, as from the other great Monarchies of the World; one Day at War, and another at Peace; abusing one another this Hour, and hugging one another the next, many private Parties, no publick Good; many different Sects, very little Religion; every One for himself, and Heaven - I'm afraid not much to do with any of us.

(p.14)

But Cibber is also a much more suitable figure than Rousseau's valet to play Hartly's trick on Harpie, which brings about the young people's union. The clever servant can seem an artificial dramatic cliché, and this is a particularly implausible one, which would have seemed still more so if transplanted in England. La Flèche describes his ability as an amateur actor and master of disguise, and gives brief samples of the rôles in his repertory, but Miller is able to expand these for Cibber into a virtuoso's spectrum of characterisations. Hartly's ruse is clearly a trifle that the player can well take in his stride.

Cibber's presence also gives a much stronger reason for the

part played by the poet Bays in the coffee-house conversation. He is writing there to avoid the duns at home, and to await the actor in order to read him his new tragedy, and persuade him to produce it. In Rousseau the poet is there to compose an epithalium for the notary and his bride. If Bays were dressed, as Dr. Johnson stated, to impersonate Richard Savage, he provided an extra dimension of humour for the audience, but he is in any case an amusing asset to the play, in his desperate attempts to make Cibber listen. The actor engages in some jovial banter with Boozwell, a prodigious imbiber who exclaims:

For five and twenty Bottles to lie under the Table! 'Tis a Shame, Mr. Cibber; a sneaking puling Trick, I say. O' my Conscience, there's no such Thing as Men to be found! .. the World declines greatly, grows worse and worse every Day.

Bays then interposes:

Ay, so it does indeed, Sir; that's the Moral of my new Tragedy here.

(p.11)

He assures Cibber that there is a good part in the tragedy for him, and when told that the actor's talent lies more for comedy, replies:

And let me tell you, Sir, there's a good deal of Humour in that Part.

(p.16)

He earlier got into an abusive argument with Harpie and his crony, Puzzle, who became even more disgusted on hearing that Cibber was expected. His snobbish attitude towards "a Common Player of Inter-ludes" is quashed by the Widow's vigorous denouncing of coffee-house loiterers, in a passage that well illustrates Miller's vivacious comic prose:

Forbid the Players my House, Sir! why, Sir, I get more by them in a Week than I do by you in seven Years. You come here, and hold a Paper in your Hand for an Hour, disturb the whole Company with your Politicks, call for Pen, Ink, Paper, and Wax, beg a Pipe of Tobacco, burn out half a Candle, eat half a Pound

of Sugar, and then go away, and pay Two-pence for a Dish of Coffee.

(p.6)

Rousseau describes his petite Comédie as a slight and unassuming piece, aimed only to amuse, and therefore not of the first rank even of one-act plays, which like Les Précieuses Ridicules or La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas, make the public laugh utilement.² Miller tacks a "Moral" to his play, but it is virtually meaningless; and is actually omitted from the manuscript:

That Wedlock, which the Rakes and Fools despise,
Hath Joys to charm the Virtuous, and the Wise.

(p.38)

Virtue and wisdom have not been the most conspicuous qualities portrayed. The young people have charm, but one cannot take their love story very seriously. Hartly, in spite of his name, is a practical young man, although his friend accuses him of being snivellingly in love. Kitty's portion is her main attraction, although Miller makes Hartly a little less blunt on this subject than his French counterpart. All Dorante has to say about his Louison is "la petite personne est fort aimable, & sa beauté à part, elle a vingt mille écus. Celà ne messieroit point à un Cadet qui n'a que la cape et l'épée" (p.459). Hartly says:

In Love or not you must own, my dear Captain, she's a delightful Girl. The Mother too has wisely kept her pretty much shut up, and prevented her from any Freedoms with the young Fellows that come there: This indeed has given her a little Aukwardness in her Behaviour; but no matter for that, the Hussy has natural Wit and Spirit enough, and a little good Conversation will soon polish her Manners.

(p.2)

Miller thus prepares us for Kitty's naive and flirtatious personality. Hartly then goes on to speak of the financial advantages:

She'll have a Brace of Thousands at least, and let me tell you, that won't hurt a young Fellow who has little else but his own Industry to live upon, and I must own I have not Talents to push me forward in my Profession ...

(p.2)

²Oeuvres Diverses de Mr. Rousseau (London, Jacob Tonson & Jean Watts, 1723), vol.II, pp.445-446.

Dorante doesn't even consider living by his own industry, although he admits that plenty of gentlemen would have had to turn tradesmen if they had not married tradesmen's daughters. Hartly repeats this, but adds, "provided they had Capacity enough, I mean." In his History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama Allardyce Nicoll cites this as an instance of praise for middle-class virtues unusual before 1750.³

Later, when Kitty offers to come and live with him if turned out of doors by her mother, Hartly exclaims in an aside "No, that won't do neither, unless you could bring the Fortune too" (p.20).

Miller adds another real-life touch in giving his heroine the Christian name of the actress playing her, Kitty Clive. He has lengthened the rôle considerably, as well as providing some songs for her to sing, and allowed her plenty of scope to charm the audience with what Hartly called her "natural Wit and Spirit." Kitty has an innocent boldness, and a very quaint turn of phrase:

I had a thousand times rather have you; indeed and indeed I had, Mr Hartly; but I won't be turn'd out of Doors tho'.
(p.19)

This probably owes something to the idiom of Wycherley's Mrs. Pinchwife in The Country Wife (1675):

Indeed and indeed, but I won't, so I won't.
(Act IV Sc.II)

Louison tells Dorante that after she is married,

nous nous verrons, & nous nous aimerons tant qu'il vous plaira.
(p.468)

Kitty has the same idea, and, like Mrs. Pinchwife, she expresses her love frankly, and proposes adultery with trustful, childlike directness:

³Nicoll mentions on p.203, "a vein of democratic sentiment," quoting Hartly's comment "providing they had Capacity enough," and, on p.181, that Miller had raised his voice "in defence of tradesmen."

When I am out of her Power, we'll see one another and love one another as much, and as long, and as often as you please.

Hartly. But this won't satisfy me, my Dear.

Kitty. Yes, yes, my Dear, I'll satisfy you, I'll warrant me.
(p.19)

Her retort to her mother, who says she ought to love her future husband, Harpie, is quaint, but unanswerable:

Why didn't he make me love him, if he cou'd? who hinder'd him? I know somebody else that made me love him presently.
(p.21)

When she finds herself unchaperoned in the coffee-house she is childishly excited, and sits in the bar, hoping that gentlemen will come and crowd around her, paying compliments and "doing pretty things." Their arrival puts her into a delighted flurry, scolding the boy waiter and displaying her skill in pouring coffee, and she permits Gaywood and Bays to kiss her. They are recounting some raking exploit. In Rousseau their story is disapproved of by the old "politician" La Sourdière. The words he uses in his disgust are borrowed by Miller to express Kitty's rapture at the idea of being a rake:

gallant all the Day, drink all the Evening, scour the Streets all the Night, break Lamps, knock down Watchmen, and make the Constable drunk; rare, by the Stars!
(pp.29-30)

Told that Hartly is sometimes a rake, she cries:

I shall like him ten thousand and ten thousand times the better for it; And, by the Stars, I'll rake with him; and we'll play the Duce and all, once we're got together.

Bawble. Hah! a promising forward Sprig, truly!
(p.30)

In fact Kitty is quite advanced in her views on women's rights, and believes that

'tis an unreasonable Thing, that Women should not come to the Coffee-House; I'm sure if they did, there wou'd be more News stirring there in a Week, than there is now in six Months.
(p.37)

However much she may resemble the Country Wife in some ways,

Kitty has a good deal more common sense (although Mrs. Pinchwife, admittedly, has learned a lot by the end of the play!). She has natural intelligence enough to understand the motives for her mother's strictness:

The only Reason that she won't let me come among the young Gentlemen is, that she may keep 'em all to herself,
(p.20)

and answers her back with spirit:

You have given me a topping Education truly! Do you think I am so blind not to see that you have done all you could to make a Fool of me? I'm ashamed on't I tell you; for I an't a Fool and I won't pass any longer for a Fool.
(p.22)

When accused of preferring Hartly to Harpie she retorts,

To be sure I wou'd - Wou'd not you your self now Mother?
(p.22)

She is a satirist in her own right, and is very severe on the subject of beaux, whose effeminacy repels her. She also paints a vivid word picture of an admirer of her own class, a young mercer:

Such a prim speechless Mortal as that, who comes stalking up and down the Room by equal Paces, employs one Hand in Playing with his pleated Cravat, whilst the t'other dangles by his Side like a Pendulum; stares at one for an Hour as if he could swallow one, and then glides out of the Room like a Ghost, without opening his Mouth. I vow and protest, I'd as soon be married to our Dumb-Waiter.
(p.22)

The well-conducted young gentlewomen who are the heroines of most conventional comedies are really the descendants of the distressed damsels of romance. They rarely disconcert us by their words or actions, and usually show a most unrealistic lack of resentment when unfairly treated by their parents. The bourgeoisie Kitty is free from these conventions, and so more truly comic. She is so taken with the joys of serving gentlemen that she begs Hartly to open a coffee-house. To humour her he murmurs, "If your Mother should happen to die, perhaps," and she takes up the idea

with glee:

And I hope she won't live long. - Nay to tell you the Truth,
I ask'd Dr. Apozem one Day what he thought of her, and he
assur'd me she wasn't a long-liv'd Woman. So there's some
Comfort for us, hey, my Love!

(p.37)

In Rousseau's play Monsieur Jobelin the notary is a cheat and a trickster, who is tricked in his turn. Miller's Harpie has not been deceiving the widow about his wealth, but is fooled into renouncing his pretensions to her daughter. We are prevented from sympathising with him in this ill-treatment, however, by the other faults with which Miller endows him. He is a scrivener, in the usual mid-eighteenth century sense of the word, that is, "one who received money to place out at interest, and who supplied those who wanted to raise money on security;"⁴ in fact, a usurer, who has just been repaid a loan by Gaywood "with swinging Sauce to it." Therefore, although Kitty's fortune is certainly no deterrent, his motive in pursuing her is lechery rather than gain, and the incongruity of this is stressed:

That old Compound of Politicks and Law to think of profaning
such a Girl as that!

(p.3)

and so is the distastefulness of his hoping to win her with presents of jewellery, and his excitement when the widow tells him, untruthfully, that Kitty is titivating for his benefit:

O! 'tis a curious little Love! I am out of all Patience 'till
I have her.

(p.7)

This is not real love, but selfish lust, since he is very ready to relinquish Kitty when threatened with the Round-House.

The trick is not revealed at the end of the French play. Madame Jerosme gives her consent, Jobelin is forced to agree to draw

⁴OED def. no.3.

up the contract, and La Flèche's comment, "Ma foi voilà une véritable aventure de Caffé" ends the play. The whole story is wound up in some seventy lines following the mock-murder of La Flèche. Miller expands the last scenes into a less hasty and more satisfying conclusion in which the ruse is explained, and Kitty re-enters so that her hands can be joined with Hartly's, before singing an epilogue-song in praise of the pleasures a coffee-house affords to all its different types of customer.

H.C.Lancaster writes of Le Caffé:

The vivacious dialogue and rapid movement must have made this seem a promising play, even if the unity of action is not preserved. It had, however, little success. First given on Aug. 2, 1694, it was acted only 14 times in this year and the next.⁵

How much more unfortunate was Miller, that his greatly improved version, so carefully designed for its audience's enjoyment, should have had only the one, disastrous, performance.

(v) Art and Nature

For this play the Larpent manuscript is particularly important, as there are many very considerable differences between the printed text and the manuscript, and in fact a dozen of the more interesting quotations I make in the following discussion of the play are taken from the manuscript, and were not printed at all. This is not, in most cases, owing to censorship, but to the two manuscripts, the one which was sent to the printer and the one submitted for licensing, having evolved separately and therefore

⁵A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. Part IV, The Period of Racine, 1673-1700. (Baltimore & Paris, 1940) vol.II, pp.49-50.

differently.¹

In composing Art and Nature Miller drew upon two French plays. The more important of these is Lisle de la Drévetière's L'Arlequin Sauvage, which is concerned with the reactions to modern civilisation of a primitive and innocent consciousness - that of an American Indian, brought over by the hero as his servant. This story Miller intermeshed with that of Rousseau's Le Flatteur, in which the hero, already engaged to the girl he loves, is almost supplanted by his false friend, who insinuates himself into the good opinion of the heroine's father. The gullible old man breaks off the engagement, intending to make the flatterer his son-in-law instead.

The title of his play indicates Miller's intentions. In combining a story about a scheming flatterer with one about an innocent savage, he wanted to show the contrast between the abstract moral qualities which these men symbolise. At times in the play Miller frankly preaches to his audience, but these passages are enlivened by humour, and he strives hard throughout to make his play function as both a comedy recounting the rise and fall of a villain and the triumph of true love, and as a parable presenting a view of modern society as reflected in the impartial and objective eye of the native.

Miller showed his skill at combining two or more plays in The Mother-in-Law. Here the combination is even more successful, because the two themes are complementary, and because the plots and most of the characters are very similar. Apart from the flatterer and his manservant, and the savage, the cast is basically the same in the two source plays. There is in both a changeable

¹Since it is hard to determine from the microfilm copy whether sheets are "recto" or "verso" I have numbered the pages of the MS like a printed text, f.1 bearing the first lines of the first scene of the play.

father, who in L'Arlequin Sauvage breaks off his daughter's engagement because he hears that her suitor has lost his fortune in a shipwreck, and in Le Flatteur because he is persuaded by flattery and lies. Miller's play combines these two reasons. In both sources there is a fiancé, who in Le Flatteur returns from a journey to find his future father-in-law changed towards him, and in L'Arlequin Sauvage comes home from the West Indies, surviving a shipwreck on the way, and bringing with him one of the American natives. The two heroines are easily combined, as are their maids. The servant-girl in Art and Nature, Violetta, wheedles the vital document from the flatterer's valet, and is quaintly wooed and won by Julio, the Indian. She and Julio share the speeches of the father's servant Ambroise from Le Flatteur, this character being eliminated from the cast.

When adapting, Miller usually improves the plays he handles, concentrating on providing greater verisimilitude and more convincing characterisation. He is anxious that the characters' behaviour should be consistent with their natures as described by others, and as revealed by their own speech. Where the motivation for unreasonable actions seems too slight he endeavours to strengthen it. Sir Simon Dupe, the heroine's father, for example, is vividly described by Violetta before we meet him:

Sir Simon Dupe, of whimsical existence ... he likes or dislikes only out of Contradiction to other People ... He has run thro', you know, all States and Conditions of Men. He has been a Tipling Fox Hunter, & a Sober Citizen, a Courtier and a Stock Jobber, A Westminster Justice, & a Captain of the City Train Bands, and at last is arriv'd to the supream Honour of being Head of the Gormogons.

Flamina. What a motley Figure has thy Fancy furnish'd out
He's sometimes good natur'd nowever, and does not want Sense.²

After this we anticipate Sir Simon's arrival with interest. In

²MS ff.2-3. The third sentence about the Tipling Fox Hunter, etc., is not in the printed text (p.2).

Le Flatteur the maid Justine tells us only that her master "a par fois ses promptitudes, & souvent il s'échauffe sans sçavoir pourquoy, nostre bon Monsieur Chrisante; mais dans le fond il est bon homme"³ and later Ambroise tells him to his face "vous êtes quelquefois brutal & emporté comme tous les diables" (p.15).

Sir Simon's credulity, impulsiveness and obstinacy in opposing the wishes of his only child in the question of her marriage are much better prepared for in Miller's play. He makes more of the humour of the situation, and shows greater psychological complexity, in two scenes involving Sir Simon and Violetta which are borrowed from Molière. In an exchange taken from L'Amour Médecin (Act I, Sc.III), Sir Simon shows himself concerned at his daughter's unhappiness, while at the same time refusing to face the real reason for it. Without pausing, he mentions several ideas for cheering her up, by decorating her room, for example, closing his ears to Violetta's insistent cry of "A Husband! A Husband!" (pp.5-6). Later, in another scene borrowed from L'Amour Médecin (Act II, Scene VI), when she runs to tell him his daughter is falling from one fainting fit into another, the changeable Sir Simon cries:

Ah, poor Girl, poor Girl, where is she? Let me go to her this very Moment, I'll pinch her if pinching will do. Going out sees Outside and returns. But hold, hold, here's my Friend, my bosom Friend, I must first consult with him how to behave my self in this Juncture.

(p.10)

When Outside enters Sir Simon's concern for Flaminia is subordinated to his elaborate courtesy towards the flattering hypocrite. His reaction is reminiscent of Orgon's in Tartuffe (Act I, Scene IV) who, when told his wife has been ill pays no attention. Instead he continues solicitously to enquire after Tartuffe, exclaiming "le pauvre homme," each time he is assured of the comfort and health

³Le Flatteur. Comedie (Paris, 1697), p.2.

of his villainous friend.

Miller enlivens his play through its language, which is more varied than that of his French sources, because it is better adapted to the different characters who are speaking.

Outside uses sentences which are over-elaborate in construction and too declamatory in tone, when he is with those he wants to deceive. This, for example, is addressed to Flaminia:

What Fidelity is here! What divine Delicacy of Affection! And how black a Crime must it be in anyone to endeavour to betray so heroick a Love.

(p.35)

His style is more spontaneous, and more arrogant, when alone, or with his valet, as when we first meet him:

Hold your Tongue, Sirrah, and be easy, I have an Affair on the Carpet which I hope speedily to accomplish ... What think'st thou of my marrying Flaminia here, and receiving her Thousands, Hey?

(p.8)

Violetta's speech is rapid, witty and direct; the style one expects of a girl who declares, in her first scene:

Why, truly, Madam, few things of this Nature are impossible to me when I have a mind to extent my Capacity: Thank my Stars I have a good Legerdemain Genius at Intrigues ...

(p.3)

Being devoted and loyal in her actions, she has no need to flatter and protest her love in her words. Although skilled, as she claims, in intrigues, she does not alter her speech to suit her audience, but is particularly bold and satirical towards Sir Simon, in an attempt to counteract Outside's blandishments. She has greater verbal vitality than Rousseau's Justine. Compare the passage where Damon learns the identity of his rival,

Damon. O Ciel! qu'entens-je! le traître!
Justine. Moderez vos emportemens, j'auray soin de vos affaires. Il y a long-temps que j'ay en tête de connoître l'homme en question.

(p.120)

with its equivalent in Miller:

Truemore. Fury and Distraction; If this be true, I'll have my Revenge this Moment.

Violetta. Ay, do; break the Glasses now, kick the Chairs about, overturn the Tea-Table; why don't you begin? 'twould be worthy of you I'm sure, and then you'd act just as prudently in your Anger, as you did in your Love.

(p.61)

Julio too has his own individual speech, which is also frank and direct, though in a more masculine style, verging on roughness. The "natural Wit" that Truemore mentions lies more in the content of his speech than its expression. He has no foreign accent or idioms as such, but makes idiosyncratic use of certain words, corresponding to his unique way of thinking. He uses "savage" to mean "person", and calls Violetta "Sister Savage". As the play progresses "civilised" begins to be used by him as a term of disapprobation. Having been told that the laws are what make us behave properly, he regards them as the central mystery behind all European oddness; hence this:

You never mean what you speak... I have heard many of you curse your own selves, and sure tis impossible you can mean all this ... But I suppose this is something of the Laws again that I don't understand ...

(f.66, MS; omitted from printed version)

or this, when he agrees to take the picture the bookseller shows him:

Alphabett. But what will your Honour give me for it?

Julio. My Honour give ye! I have nothing to give ye, and indeed I am sorry for't, for I am naturally good-humour'd, tho' I don't understand the Laws.

(f.38, MS; also omitted from printed text)

The style of Sir Simon Dupe tends, like his character, to be erratic and spontaneous. Always emphatic, his words fall over themselves at times, particularly when he is annoyed:

Looke, Mrs. every thing must give way to Duty; but 'tis that Slut there that teaches you this Whine and Cant; She is continually putting into your Hands Romances and Novels, to

corrupt you with, that are full of nothing but Intrigues and Stratagems to abuse Parents, and Billet-doux, and amorous Speeches: I'll e'en have 'em all thrown into the Fire ...
(p.24)

and when his conscience is troubling him:

O'lack, O'lack! I'm glad to hear it: Come hither, my little Girl, come hither; come, thou shall't not pine and pine any longer; I am now resolv'd thou shall't be marry'd.
(p.23)

Miller has thus made improvements on the dialogue, characterisation and humour of his sources. By combining the two plays he also emphasises the moral theme of deception; of the spurious charm of outside appearances, as opposed to truth and virtue, which may seem externally unfashionable and strange. The flatterer's name in the manuscript is Foxcraft, and a note in the printed version mentions that in the representation he was called Courtly, but in the printed text itself he is called Outside, which though an odd name, is far more expressive of what Miller wanted to convey. His villain is above all a deceiving hypocrite, whose outside belies his interior, and not just an insinuating courtier. The scenes in which Julio becomes involved in the story of Outside's project bring together all the characters of the two sources in one theme. When Julio is asked to adjudicate in the choice between suitors, his advice to Flaminia to choose the man she loves rather than her father's favourite, she being the most concerned, is called by Violetta "the Voice of Nature and Reason" (p.43). When, later, he confronts Outside his denunciation is so forceful and so complete he almost converts the hypocrite:

Outside.... 'tis nothing but the Prejudice of thy poor Education.

Julio. No, Friend, 'tis the Prejudice of Nature and Reason, yours is the Prejudice of Education: you must have tutor'd your self with a Vengeance before you could break your Nature, and get rid of all Truth and Honesty thus. Harke'e, don't you hate and despise your self now? wou'd n't you be glad if any Body would cut your Throat for you, hey?

- - - - -

Outside. What shocking Truths has that Creature utter'd!
How divine a Bliss is conscious Innocence! But, hold, I
mustn't be preach'd out of my Purposes by a Natural.
(p.72)

Outside has a pleasant, smiling appearance to match his words, but Violetta sees through it, and in the scene in which her unsuspecting mistress Flaminia appeals to the villain himself for advice, the Lady's maid pointedly castigates the "unknown" slanderer who has caused the trouble, forcing Outside to join her in abusing himself, and making him extremely uncomfortable. These exchanges are more prolonged than in the French play, and culminate in Violetta's imprecation:

I wish I had my Will of him - 'Slife I'd make his Face as
black as his base Soul is, that he might for once appear what
he is.

(f.44, MS; omitted from printed text)

Later Outside himself introduces a symbol ironically appropriate to his own case, when trying to convince Truemore that Flaminia's love is false:

Truemore. ... Is it possible so base a Soul can skulk under
so beautiful a Frame?

Outside. Nothing more common, my Friend, as Swans that have
the fairest Feathers, have nevertheless black Skins beneath 'em.
(p.58)

Julio finds the importance of outward appearance to civilised man quite unaccountable. When he catches sight of Violetta's mirror he is astonished, and when its function is explained he asks:

since you are so skilful in making these Glasses that shew you
your own Faces, why don't you make some that shew the Mind and
the Thoughts as well?

(p.22)

He returns to this idea in the confrontation scene with Outside, declaring proudly, "For my part, I wish my Mind was as naked as my Hands and Face, and I should neither be ashamed nor afraid of having it seen" (p.71). When he is dressed "like a Petit Maitre", complete with cravat and perruque, he finds the costume hopelessly restricting:

I'm so brac'd up, & bandag'd all over that I han't the Use of one of my Limbs.⁴

He thinks it absurd that people compliment him on being very "fine" because of the clothes. "Suppose it be so, what Thanks to me? These Beauties are not my own." The satirical point is pressed firmly home:

he told me that fine Cloaths commanded respect too, and unless a Man is well drest, no body cares for his Company ha! ha! ha! ... Is it possible there should be a Set of Mortals in the World who Judge of a Man's Merit by the Clothes he wears?⁵

The theme of external appearances is also reinforced by the Bookshop scene. In Arlequin Sauvage the mystified Indian meets a pedlar, whose offer of all his wares he accepts without knowing that he will be expected to pay for them. Miller's scene is a distinct improvement on the original. A bookshop and print-sellers gives more opportunity for satire on the modern fashionable world than a pedlar with a pack, and Julio, being very far from acquisitive, accepts only a single picture, and that mainly from a wish to reciprocate what he takes to be the bookseller's courtesy. The books in the shop are bought by the wealthy for their beautiful bindings, and to give their libraries a learned appearance, and might just as well be blank inside. A customer, Lord Gewgaw, whose conversation with Alphabett the bookseller sets the scene, has come to buy a picture, since "Books are quite out of Fashion now, no body furnishes with 'em." He remembers an empty shelf, however, and asks for a neat set of "Elziver's" in wood, "I believe the Classicks will do as well as any thing." They are out of stock, and he accepts "a complete Set of Variorum's" instead (p.28). A similar idea had

⁴MS only, f.86. The first paragraph of the scene in which Julio talks of having dressed up is crossed out in the MS, but not Violetta's compliments on his appearance. Their whole conversation is omitted from the printed text.

⁵MS, f.87.

been expressed in The Man of Taste, in which the disguised footman remarked that although "a Man must have a Library," no one with any taste "reads anything now above a Pamphlet or News-Paper" (p.40).

In contrast to this display of feigned erudition, Julio is frank: "No, no Books I thank you, Friend; I don't understand 'em." When Alphabett explains that his best customers never actually read, he concludes "I'm afraid your Books are like your Selves, fine Outsides, and good for nothing within"(p.29).

Julio is naturally also surprised by civilised manners, since politeness often involves saying what is not literally meant. When Violetta quotes him a typical verbal invitation to supper:

I beg you'd do me the Favour to spend the Evening with me? I can't pretend, Sir, to Entertain you as I ought to do ... I should be extremely glad if I had something better to give you ..

his reasonable reaction is:

Well, get something better, then.
(p.20)

He points out the illogicality of conventional concepts of masculine honour, when Truemore at last learns that his friend is his rival, and proposes to fight for his mistress. In fact, in his discussion, it is Truemore who seems ingenuous, and Julio perspicacious. He suggests

it wou'd be prudent to ask her, before you fight, which of the two she wou'd choose shou'd be kill'd? ... for if she loves him, and you kill him, she will only hate you the worse for it; won't she, hey?

(p.49)

European notions of sexual propriety mystify him too. Attracted to Violetta, and finding her well disposed towards him, Julio begins to kiss her, ignoring her cries.

Julio. That's nothing at all; they do that in our Forests, but they an't angry for all that ... See, see, she laughs now; she is not displeas'd at this way of making Love, you find.

Violetta. Yes, yes, but I must be displeas'd; these things

are not allow'd of here.

Julio. You are a Pack of Fools then, not to allow of what gives you Pleasure, when no body's hurt by it.

(p.21)

Prohibitions are unnecessary in a state of nature and innocence, and so are coverings for the body, as in Eden before the Fall. When he asks Violetta to live with him, he is asked if he can afford to support and clothe her:

Julio. Cloaths, why, she shall do as we do in our Country, go without any.

Flaminia. O fye.

Julio. Well, if that won't do, she shall have mine and I'll go without any myself..

Truemore. But this is not allow'd in our Country .

Julio. What unaccountable Creatures the People of this Country are ... Let us go and enjoy ourselves and be as happy as Nature and Common Sense can make us.⁶

Of course, these exchanges also provide a little risqué humour, as does Julio's comment when he asks how the portrait he sees in the print-seller's is made, and is shown a pencil:

What odd kind of Tools they make People with in this Country! Well I came from a Land of Ignorance indeed, gross Ignorance, where men are such Fools they can't make other Men without the help of Women.

(f.38, MS; not in printed version)

Generally, however, Julio's reactions constitute a stern condemnation of modern morality. There is more emphasis on Julio's virtue in Miller's play than in his source. This is foreshadowed in Truemore's first scene when he tells Outside that he has brought with him a native from the American forests. In the French play *Lélio* explains briefly that he has omitted to instruct Arlequin in European customs in order to observe his impressions of them, having been attracted to the idea because of "la vivacité do son esprit qui brilloit dans L'ingenuité de ses réponses."⁷ In Miller's version it is not only Julio's wit but his "strong good Sense and Integrity of

⁶MS. ff.105-106, Julio's last sentence is omitted from the printed version.

⁷*Arlequin Sauvage, Comedie en Trois Actes* (1st publ. 1721) Dublin 1749, p.4.

Soul" that impress Truemore⁸. Moreover, there is no mention in this scene in the French that there is very much wrong with European laws, arts and sciences, but in Art and Nature Outside, in an exchange based on Le Misanthrope rather than Le Flatteur, inveighs against the falsehood of society, and even though Outside's honesty is feigned, and he is himself an example of the evil he denounces, the criticism carries some weight.

In Arlequin Sauvage the native is a device for satirising civilisation, with no attempt at the realistic presentation of an Indian. In Art and Nature this is still true, but there is a more sentimental emphasis laid upon the native's nobility and generosity, and this tendency was much accentuated some years later in an adaptation of Lisle's play by John Fenwick called The Indian, which was produced in 1800. "Primitivism", the idea that the earliest condition of mankind was morally the best, had been undergoing an alteration, which these three plays clearly illustrate. Lois Whitney describes the transition during the century, "from a rationalistic primitivism at the beginning, which tended to derive the qualities of goodness and sagacity in the savage from the unobstructed operation of the 'light of Reason', to a more emotional, sentimental and antinomian primitivism which became increasingly the favoured type as the century progressed."⁹ The actions of Fenwick's hero Itanoko are prompted not, like Julio's, by simple logical reasoning, but by tender, instinctive benevolence. He makes his first appearance

⁸p.17. Truemore's placating speech on p.17 is borrowed directly from the words of Philinte in Le Misanthrope II, and Outside's declaration that he would rather hang himself than be seduced into the "base cowardly scandalous Prostitution" of flattery is generally reminiscent of the declamations of Alceste.

⁹Primitivism and the Idea of Progress (Baltimore, 1934), p.69

bringing an indigent nephew to his uncle with the words "Thank him for the benefit he confers on you! He is in distress and has chosen you to relive his wants," to which the uncle exclaims "Damme! but this ignorant Indian will ruin me by his benefactions!"¹⁰

Julio's severe criticism of society is all the more effective, however, for being based more on reason than emotion. I do not intend to attribute to Miller revolutionary or radical opinions, but there is undoubtedly evidence in the play he chose to adapt of a questioning of the order of society, and of an uneasy social conscience, which is startling considering the date when it was written, and he intensifies these tendencies. The hierarchy of class, wealth and power is not, at any rate, seen as acceptable because divinely ordained, even though a realist may have to accept it. Miller gives Julio's comments more emphasis on social equality and liberty than Arlequin's had. While the latter observes that in this country, where some people apparently cannot walk, or feed and dress themselves, the insolent people subjugate the cowardly, who "font le métier des bêtes" (p.8). Julio describes "a parcel of haughty big-looking Savages that domineer over their Fellow-Creatures," but adds significantly, "most of whom seem to be better than themselves." His reaction is, "I'll be a Slave to none of 'em, nor won't live where there are Slaves" (p.19). The word "slave" was very much in vogue at this time, when patriotic, and, usually, anti-government sentiments were to be expressed. "Britons never shall be Slaves," ran the famous song of 1740. It may be a particularly appropriate word for Julio to use, as actual slavery was prevalent in parts of his continent, having been introduced there by the white man, but, later in his discussion of the function of money, he shows

¹⁰The Indian, p.7. Quoted in Lois Whitney p.78.

how all the civilised poor really are in bondage to the rich. He learns that one cannot live in a city without money, that one must neither take it nor manufacture it, and it is not given away:

Truemore. .. The Rich have all the Money, and the Poor none.

Julio. A very equal Distribution truly.

Truemore. They are under a Necessity of working for the Rich, who give them Money in proportion to their Labour.

Julio. And pray, what do the Rich do, whilst the Poor work for 'em?

Truemore. Eat, Drink, Sleep, and Dress, and pass their whole time in Diversions and Entertainments.

(p.39)

Julio bitterly resents being brought from a state of happiness and freedom to learn he is only a "miserable Slave." Touched by his grief, Truemore promises to give him all he needs, but he cries:

What! you'd have me give you my self would you, to be a Slave for a little of your glittering Trash? No; I'll have my Liberty if I have nothing else; I'll be free tho' I am poor ...

(p.40)

The fact that he could have been hanged for taking the print-seller's picture proves to Julio the wickedness and inhumanity of the society he has been brought to:

The duce take you, for bringing me where there are Gallowses, into a civiliz'd Country ...

(quoted from the MS, f.53)

It proves moreover that the rich are also slaves:

You are Slaves to your Possessions, which you prefer to your Liberty, and your Brethren whom you'll hang for taking a trifle of that which is of no use to your selves.

(p.40)

His forest society is guided by the light of reason, without laws or threats to make it humane. Violetta explains that politeness, in its true sense is intended to teach us "to assist our Neighbours in Misfortune, and relieve 'em in their Necessities," but experience makes him doubt this:

You'll pardon my Ignorance, dear Sister, for you must know your self, that by meer observing how you act, no body cou'd dream you were such excellent Creatures.

(p.20)

A lengthy discussion on the subject of lawyers and lawsuits in the manuscript is lacking in the printed version; fortunately perhaps, since Julio has moralised long enough in this scene, but one very damning point is thus omitted:

Julio. What, do you give money in those Cases too?
Truemore; Yes. Without that Justice is both Deaf and Blind.
 (MS, f.55)

Miller does not, however, go the whole way with his savage. Julio often shows his audience their faults, but sometimes his inexperience makes him exaggerate their extent, as when, angry at the bookseller's requiring payment, he seizes him by the wig, and is disconcerted when the man escapes without it. The false hair seems the final treachery to Julio, who bewails, "I find 'em all a Wicked as the Devil, or is it my Ignorance makes me think so?"¹¹ He is rightly suspicious of his own impressions, for Alphabett is no devil. At such time the audience can laugh at Julio without restraint. In graver vein, he almost persuades Outside that a clear conscience is better than ill-gotten gains, but he converts no one to the beauty of the simple forest life. At the end he is to marry Violetta, and they are to be maintained in comfort by the family they have helped. Although Truemore agreed with Julio that the rich are not made happier by their possessions, half a century had to pass before a few Romantic primitivists began to consider seriously the idea of returning to the wild, to live in common with their neighbours.

Miller's social criticism fell a long way short of sedition, and the Examiner of Plays found little to object to in the play. Perhaps a year or two later, when impatience to begin hostilities with Spain had increased, he might have objected to Outside's excuse

¹¹MS f.39. The printed version (p.30) has "as possible" instead of "as the Devil".

for not seeking his fortune in the army:

As to the Service, if there was any probability of Action, I should be the first to engage in it; but to take my King's and Country's Money without doing any thing for it, is what my generous Spirit could never submit to.

(p.31)

This is rather different from the French, which does not mention a lack of war prospects:

Je ne voi pour nous autres que le service & la Cour: le premier parti est ingrat et sterile pour les gens mediocrement riches: l'autre est glissant et perilleux pour un homme sincere.

(Le Flatteur, p.38)

An unpublished doctoral thesis by L.W.Conolly on the Larpent plays states that part of the conversation between Truemoore and Julio in the third act, a long passage about lawyers and how they "puzzle" the cases they are paid to unravel, was marked for deletion by the Examiner and duly omitted from the printed text. I think it equally possible that it was cut from both versions for purely artistic reasons.¹² A second passage he mentions, in Act IV, seems far more likely to be a case of censorship, but the markings are not very clear. There is a small marginal cross beside these lines:

Violetta. Julio, you must assist me in my Stratagem. I am just going to make a very great Man of you.

Julio. A great Man! not a Knight I hope.

Violetta. No, no, a greater still, a Lord.

Julio. ... not I indeed. I find the greater your great Men are, they're still the worse.

(MS, f.88)

Julio's first remark is clearly a jibe at Walpole. A second cross is marked in the margin after another four lines which are more

¹²"Theatrical Censorship in England, 1737-1800" (University College of Swansea, University of Wales, 1969) p.527. The condemnation of lawyers is fairly routine, and the marked passage, on ff. 54-55 in the MS, comes at the end of an already very prolonged discussion between Julio and his master, on the subject of the organisation of society.

innocuous, and there had been another cross eighteen lines earlier, involving perfectly innocent material. The whole section, beginning two pages earlier still, was omitted from the printed text, so that Julio need not appear in this scene at all. An argument against this being censorship is that an earlier reference to a great man, also a knight, is not marked at all (f. 32).

Some other interesting touches of contemporary satire have to do with books. When the irascible Sir Simon is seeking to blame his daughter's melancholy on anyone but himself, he accuses Violetta of giving her romances and novels to read (p.24). In the manuscript Sir Simon suggests some better books, in a sentence which is written on a strip of paper and stuck over something else, but which was then crossed out by the Examiner (or Fleetwood), and not included in the printed text:

I'll have you read instead of 'em such usefull & Instructive Books as Mr Francis Quarles Ingenious Emblems, & the Oratory Tracts, & Mr Whitfield's good Discourses, and for amusement there are the weekly Journals & the Hyp Doctor a sett of which I'll gett for you tho' they are to cost me it seems 20 Guineas.
(MS f. 31)

This is borrowed not from Rousseau, but from Molière's Sganarelle, ou le Cocu Imaginaire, Scene I. In the Select Comedies translation of 1732 this play is the only one whose dedication is signed H.B., so that it is presumably Henry Baker's work, but Miller may well have had a hand in the translation nevertheless, and if so, we have three different versions by him of this passage, since he also made an adaptation of Sganarelle for Drury Lane, The Picture, or the Cuckold in Conceit (1745). The angry father in Sganarelle speaks of improving French books:

Lisez-moi, comme il faut, au lieu de ces sornettes,
Les Quatrains de Pibrac, et les doctes Tablettes
Du conseller Matthieu, ouvrage de valeur,
Et plein de beaux dictons à réciter par cœur.

La Guide des Pécheurs est encore un bon Livre ...¹³

Knowing that these names would mean little on this side of the Channel, Miller changed them for improving English authors, with a low-church, whiggish, "citizen" emphasis. In the direct Molière translations he, or Baker, substituted "read me, as you ought to do, Mr Francis Quarles's ingenious Emblems, and the Pilgrim's Progress, a valuable Work." In the passage previously quoted from Art and Nature, Sir Simon also recommends Quarles' Emblems, but his other choices are more topical and controversial. In The Picture Mr. Per-Cent accuses his daughter of reading Pamela and Joseph Andrews, recent "best-sellers" of 1740 and 1742, and complains:

Your Mother's good Books, that I gave you, have not a Soil upon 'em - Baxter, upon unlawful Dreams; Crums of Comfort for Christian Chicken; Whitfield's pious Journals.¹⁴

This passage was crossed out in the 1744 printed text submitted for licensing, but was included in the 1745 published edition.¹⁵ Whitefield's name is common to both the censored passages, and so it may well be this topical allusion to the currently sensational Methodist preacher which is objected to.¹⁶ A reference to "lunatick Methodists" was deleted in An Hospital for Fools a year later. In Art and Nature the sneer at Orator Henley might also have been disliked, as the Examiner was sensitive to any mention of religion and the clergy,

¹³Select Comedies vol.I, the second play in the volume, p.12.

¹⁴p.9 in the 1744 printed text in the Larpent collection, p.10 in the 1745 published edition.

¹⁵The only other marks in the Larpent copy are corrections for the printer, which are adopted in the 1745 edn., and yet the deleted sentence was not omitted. I therefore think that they were made by different people, so that the deletion is probably the Examiner's.

¹⁶A Journal of a Voyage from Gibraltar to Georgia, and A Journal of a Voyage from London to Savannah in Georgia were both published in 1738, and A Continuation of the Rev. Mr Whitefield's Journal from his Arrival in Savannah to his Return to London in 1739.

Discourses on the Following Subjects, viz. how to hear Sermons, by G.W., also appeared in 1739.

and moreover, Henley was paid by Walpole to contradict the arguments of the Craftsman in his journal The Hyp-Doctor, during the period from 1730 to 1739.

To return to the scene in the bookshop, where Lord Gewgaw is ordering his wood-bound editions: a comment of Alphabett's originally read, in the manuscript:

that's the best branch of our business my Lord, next to Books against Religion. Our Wooden-ware and Infidelity go off pretty well still.

(MS, f.35)

This is also the version that was printed (p.18). In the manuscript, however, a political reference was added afterwards, and the both that and the reference to religion underlined, as if both might be disliked by the Examiner, so that it finally reads thus:

... next to Books against Religion and the Government. Our Wooden-ware, Treason & Infidelity go off Pretty well.

There are no italics in the printed version. Sometimes, it seems, the content of a book does count, although as a selling point it is equal in Alphabett's mind with the type of binding.

Looking over his accounts Alphabett notes an order for "the Magazines" for the past year. In the manuscript, more outspokenly, this is the "Gentleman's Magazine." He comments, "that is the Lies and Nonsense of a whole Twelvemonth." Reading magazines instead of real literature probably seemed to Miller like watching "entertainments" instead of legitimate plays. Alphabett also has an order for "best Books" to fill a couple of shelves in Lady Languish's bureau,

I know her Ladyship's Taste; that must be all the Poets of Charles the Second's Time, and all the Plays and Novels that have been wrote by Women.

(p.28)

In other words, the lady requires mild pornography to read in her boudoir - or, if by the poets of Charles II's time is meant the

Earl of Rochester - not so mild. The ladies also like "entertaining Prints" for the walls of their closets, according to Alphabett, some of which are "in so very high a Taste, that I was quite ashamed to let 'em be seen in my Shop."¹⁷

Lord Gewgaw has also bought a picture from Alphabett, and shows himself no connoisseur although he pretends to have a severely discriminating taste: "I deal in nothing but Originals - I would not have a Coppy in my House" (MS only, f.34). The dealer is cheating him, for it is the original work of an employee of his, whom he dubs "Raphieldo Titianero." Gewgaw thinks it must be genuine by its high price; a human enough reaction.

These satirical thrusts, like so much that is best in Art and Nature, are original, and not borrowed from the French sources. They are one facet of a many-sided work, and add contemporary piquancy and bite to the play's more universal themes of truth and deception.

In 1758 another adaptation of L'Arlequin-Sauvage appeared in print, although it was, according to the author's preface, never offered to the theatres. It was entitled Tombo-Chiqui: or, the American Savage. A Dramatic Entertainment, in three Acts, and has been attributed to John Cleland. It is much closer to the original French than Miller's, and is more or less a direct translation. The author writes in his "Advertisement" that L'Arlequin Sauvage "was received in France with the highest applause," and that

A very ingenious gentleman of our nation, in a play called ART and NATURE, also exhibited this character on our Stage, but with unequal success, perhaps because he had incorporated the subject with a very indifferent piece of Rousseau's, entitled, Le Flateur.

This is unlikely to have been the reason why the audience refused to allow the play a second performance. Miller claimed that Art

¹⁷p.28. The mention of the prints being particularly liked by his lady customers is only to be found in the MS, f.36.

and Nature was "destroyed with art", his enemies hissing loudest during the play's best scenes. Le Flatteur was not one of Rousseau's most successful plays, but this was perhaps because it bore too strong a resemblance to Tartuffe. The combination of the two plays in Art and Nature is far from detrimental, as the theme of Le Flatteur reinforces that of L'Arlequin Sauvage, and their amalgamation is most skilfully contrived.

(vi) An Hospital for Fools

Miller's designation of his after-piece, An Hospital for Fools, as "A Dramatick Fable" is far more apt than "farce", which it was termed in some newspaper announcements. The theme of the prose dialogue by William Walsh from which it was adapted (see above, p.57) is that we are so tenacious of our illusions about ourselves that they could not be removed without the disintegration of the personality. Conversely, we are ready to take a critical view of others, thus bolstering still further our own self-esteem. In illustration of this different character-types enter, accuse someone else of a particular folly, and are themselves accused of the opposite weakness: thus an old man blames a young one for extravagance, to be attacked for parsimony in return. The whole is a satire on human nature, but Miller makes his version livelier and more dramatic, than his source, and more critical of contemporary society. There are passing blows aimed at doctors, insolvent courtiers, bankrupt citizens, threadbare poets, and even an extremely topical reference

to "lunatick Methodists".¹

Mercury, in Miller's adaptation, cracks more jokes, is more lecherous, and generally more mercurial than in Walsh, and a lively part, with several songs, was created for Kitty Clive. Miller's language is everywhere less general and more particular than his source, and more vivid and figurative. Walsh's long speeches are broken up into faster, more truly conversational and dramatic dialogue.

Nevertheless, it remains a moralising piece, and Miller seeks to justify this in the introductory scene:

Actor. But, Sir, d'ye think you'll be suffer'd, with Impunity, to satirize all Mankind thus, and shew no respect to Rank or Profession.

Poet. Vice and Folly, Sir, debase all Characters, as Treason taints the highest Blood; and if a Peer will level himself with his Footman, he ought to be treated as such, tho' he wears perhaps a richer Livery.

The poet is also accused of giving the piece no plot:

Actress Why, there's not a single Wedding, nor so much as a Promise of Marriage in it.

Poet. I did not know a Plot was necessary to constitute a Fable. I have heard of a Fable's having a moral, indeed.
(sig. B1^v-B2^r)

Miller adopts a bold and challenging attitude to his audience in this unusual prologue-scene, in the audacious song that serves as an epilogue, and throughout the play in the suggestion that the audience itself forms the bulk of the crowd of fools who have gathered to attend the hospital.

His characters speak often more roughly and unkindly than they do in his source. For example, the old gentlewoman who complains

¹The term "Methodist" was first applied to the members of the Holy Club founded by Charles Wesley at Oxford in 1729. With his brother John he went on a mission to Georgia in 1736, and started to hold meetings in London in May 1738. In February 1739 George Whitefield began to preach in the open air, and in April John Wesley began to go out into the fields and streets, thus starting an immense religious revival.

of her young husband's folly in marrying her without loving her was told in Walsh's Æsculapius (p.12) that she was a fool herself to marry without first knowing whether the man loved her or not, but in Miller that it was "a Folly in you to marry a Man who, the Glass might tell you, never could love you."²

Miller introduces two characters not in his source, a girl obsessed by oratorios, and her fiery, belligerent brother, in order to explore the reasons why people develop eccentricities, showing how their father actually caused the folly he complains of in them both. In the daughter's case he did so by preventing her, through ignorant bigotry, from attending any other form of entertainment, and confining her to the society of a music master. He should not now be surprised, therefore, at her liking the only thing she was ever permitted to like. His son, whose idea of honour is synonymous with constant duelling, blames him for that too:

when you had brought yourself into a Quarrel, tho' I was but a Boy, and you in full Vigour, you oblig'd me to fight your Man for you; I succeeded in the Combat, and ever since have been fond of the Trade.

(p.14)

Miller also showed awareness of how irresponsible upbringing affects a child's character in The Humours of Oxford, where the father of the dissolute undergraduate Ape-all admits indulging him excessively as a child (p.69). In Of Politeness (1738), a young nobleman very similar to Ape-all is spoiled by his mother, "for an elder Brother / Is always courted by a crafty Mother" (ll. 192-3).

The folly of many of Æsculapius' patients is manifested in matrimonial situations. In spite of the high moral tone Miller

²Quoted from the MS, f.18. (As recto and verso are hard to determine from the microfilm, I have numbered the pages of the MS consecutively, like a printed book, beginning with the first page of the "Introduction".) The printed text has "your Age might tell you" (p.11).

adopts in the prologue scene, the discussion of marital fidelity in the play is concerned more with wit than wisdom, more with a neat turn of argument than with deeper human feelings, and the general attitude is cynical. Probably this is inevitable, if most human behaviour is to be viewed as motivated by folly, and most beliefs as illusions. This part is taken directly from Walsh's fable, and demonstrates the foolishness of an over-indulgent husband, the greater foolishness of an over-jealous one, and, more interestingly, the folly of an illicit lover, in his troublesome and perilous attempts to achieve what his mistress' husband received a large sum of money for doing before him. Another husband, in an exchange again borrowed from Walsh, claims to have a perfect wife, but he is told that she must be either an adulteress, or a fool:

Æsculapius ... when a Woman who finds by her Constitution that she shall make any Husband a Cuckold, takes one who is very fit for that purpose, there are some wicked People who think she does as wisely as a Woman in her Circumstances could do.

Mercury. Besides, when a Woman marries a Man who is fit for no other Use than to make a Cuckold of, without a Design of putting him to that Use, that that Woman commits a Folly, is pretty plain, I think.

(p.12)

Fleetwood seems to have been worried by this discussion, as the word "cuckold" is several times crossed out in the manuscript, and "make a fool of" substituted in the theatre manager's hand. There are also vague crosses over the last two speeches quoted, which may be Fleetwood's or the Examiner's. Such primness is surprising, since much stronger expressions, and even more improper sentiments, often pass the Examiner's scrutiny without comment in other Lar-pent plays.

Walsh's husband makes no reply, but Miller's (in the manuscript only) decides to retain his good opinion of his wife, whether

justified or not:

By what I can find hitherto Wisdom is good for Nothing but to make one Spy other Peoples faults sooner and be more sensible of one's own. I'll be a fool and live at ease.

(MS, f.21)

This is the same cheerful philosophy as the oratorio-loving girl's, expressed in her song "A Fool enjoys the Sweets of Life":

Since free from Sorrow, Fear, and Shame,
A Fool thus Fate defies,
The greatest Folly I can name
Is to be Overwise.

(p.17)

This is also the paradoxical conclusion finally reached by Æsculapius, that foolishness is necessary: "by taking away their Folly, we should take away one of the most useful Qualities in Life" (p.27).

The argument is not unlike that of Gray's "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," Erasmus' Praise of Folly, or the famous passage from A Tale of a Tub, which puts forward the persuasive Epicurean case against Swift's own type of probing satire, using the illustrations of a flayed woman, and a dissected beau:

Whatever Philosopher or Projector can find out an Art to sodder and patch up the Flaws and Imperfections of Nature, will deserve much better of Mankind, and teach us a more useful Science, than that so much in present Esteem, of widening and exposing them ... This is the sublime and refined Point of Felicity called, the Possession of being well deceived; The Serene Peaceful State of being a Fool among Knaves.³

Within this social and moral satire Miller makes many comments that might loosely be described as political, and some of these have been censored. Many of the alterations made to the text seem to be in Fleetwood's handwriting, in accordance with his note to the Examiner on the last page of the script, following the normal request for a licence:

I hope you will excuse the imperfections of this copy, but it is the cleanest has come to my hands; you will also be pleased to observed some few remarks w^{ch} I have taken notice of, but

³A Tale of a Tub, With Other Early Works, edited by Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1957), p.110.

entirely submitt everything to Y^r superior Judgement; expedition in the licensing will be an Obligation, the performers being all ready.

When complaining of the play's lack of plot. the Actress declares in the Introduction:

I'll maintain there's no more Design in your Performance than has been in half the State Plots for these Forty Years past.
(sig. B2r)

In the manuscript this is altered, in what looks like Fleetwood's hand, to "the State Plots of the last century." He seems to have thought it best not to refer to state plots being as recent as this. The effectiveness of the conspiracies is disparaged, but probably the government would prefer them not to be mentioned, however scornfully. The plotting of the past forty years had generally been on behalf of the exiled Stuart dynasty. Bolingbroke was exiled from 1714-1723, and Atterbury was banished in 1723 for Jacobite conspiracy. The Hanoverian dynasty was not yet entirely secure upon the throne, as the events of six years later were to prove, when Charles Edward Stuart led his great rebellion. It is also conceivable that Miller intended to hint at secret deals between Walpole and the government of Spain, following the proposal of the Convention of the Pardo earlier in 1739. As the previous century had been extremely turbulent, the alteration is not inappropriate. The change was not made in the printed text.

As the play begins Æsculapius asks Mercury if he has proclaimed Jupiter's intention of curing mankind's folly, and the divine messenger mentions that one of his other duties is to pimp for Jupiter. That task has grown easier of late:

a low Bow, a Golden Shower, and May it please your Ladyship, does the Business ... but to be made a common Crier of, is what I don't understand.

Æsc. Consider, Mercury, you are Jupiter's Prime-Minister

as well as his Son, and therefore must not stick at doing anything to keep him easy.

(p.6)

Miller thus connects the idea of a Prime Minister with that of procurement for money, and with recent moral decline. The neat mythological pun of a golden shower is not in Walsh, but Miller may have been remembering Horace's reference to Danae in the sixteenth ode of the Third Book. Jupiter and Venus knew that the way to Danae's chamber would be safe and open once the god had turned to gold:

.... fore enim tutum, iter et patens
converso in pretium deo.

(11.7-8)

Pope had adopted the idea in the Epistle to Bathurst (1733), where the Tempter pours wealth on his victim,

'Till all the Daemon makes his full descent,
In one abundant show'r of Cent. per Cent.,
Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,
Then dubs Director, and secures his soul.

(11.371-374)

It is surprising that Miller's reference to a Prime Minister was not censored.

Later, when the hot-headed youth is warned that he may one day be hanged for duelling, the boy shrugs off the suggestion, declaring a jury of haberdashers and chandlers unfit to give rules to gentlemen:

As for the Bench, they know better; but as they are well-paid for making of Malefactors, they must say something in defense of the Profession.

(quoted from the MS, f.23)

The printed text refers to their earning £1,000 a year (p.13). In the manuscript the sentence quoted above has been written on a slip of paper and pasted on, presumably to conceal the reference to £1,000, but in spite of this precaution the amended remark has still been emphatically crossed out. It was evidently considered too

harsh an attack upon the administration of justice, although it is in keeping with the wild character who is speaking. His father replies:

Ay, ay, with all reason. I wonder you don't challenge the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament to give you Satisfaction.
(quoted from the manuscript, f.23)

In the manuscript the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament are crossed out, and "the whole legislature" substituted in Fleetwood's hand. The printed text retains "the Crown and the two Houses." The manager apparently felt it safer not to mention such august institutions at all.

The Larpent manuscript includes a loose page with no indication of where it was intended to go. There are only a few lines on it. They are not censored, although as it was a loose page the Examiner may have ignored it. It reads:

Hey day Why you have a very fine Hospital here for your fools.
Merc: Yes Child, 'tis the Fashion nowadays to make your Hospitals Palaces, and your Palaces Hospitals - but not for fools my dear. No no no not for fools.

The juxtaposition of palaces and fools would surely have been too close for safety here.

The musical young lady is mainly a vehicle for satire on Italian opera, and the highly - paid singers she calls "ravishing Foreigners" ("Ah, 'tis well they can't ravish, you slut you," growls her father), but politics intrude even here. She has a suggestion regarding her favourite singers:

I'll swear 'tis a horrid Shame that there is not a new Tax made for the Encouragement of those People; At least, I think they might apply the Sinking Fund to that Purpose.

(p.16)

In the manuscript the latter clause is firmly excised, and marked in the margin. The sinking Fund seems to have been too sensitive a topic to be mentioned so frivolously. The lady later breaks into

song herself. Her second verse begins:

Whilst Men of Sense shall fret and foam,
 'Cause Spouse will rule the Roast at home,
 At Levees cringe, in Lobbies wait,
 Do all that's Little to be Great ...
 (sig. A4^r)

The second couplet reminds one of Pasquin and The Historical Register. "Levees" suggest above all those of the Prime Minister, and "Lobbies", those of the House of Commons. It is not, however, objected to by the Examiner (although indeed the script is so untidy at this point that the words are barely legible).

A character called "A Statesman" actually appears later in the play, paired with a grandiloquent but undernourished poet. Like Walsh's Statesman, he points out the writer's folly in sacrificing his life to the notion of posthumous fame, but it is clear that Miller's character dislikes poets because they are apt to criticise him, and that he thinks everything, particularly art, unimportant in comparison with worldly power. He declares that a wise man is

A politician, one that can direct Senates, advise Kings, and govern Commonwealths.

Mercury replies to this,

why truly, considering how Senates are generally directed,
 Kings advised, and Commonwealths govern'd, A Man has no great
 Reason to boast of his having a Hand in either.

(p.21)

Both references to Senates being directed are crossed out, link words supplied in Fleetwood's hand, and marginal marks made beside them. The printed text retains the phrase, as usual. Advising kings and governing commonwealths are acceptable descriptions of a statesman's rôle, but Parliament ought to be a meeting of free agents, representing their constituents, and voting according to their consciences, not under a Minister's directions. The phrase was deliberately chosen, since these lines are taken from Walsh,

and his Statesman speaks of moving assemblies, advising kings and governing commonwealths, not of directing senates. Miller's poem Are these Things So? published twelve months later, is explicit in attacking Walpole on this matter:

That her fam'd S---te on whose sage Debate
 And free Resolves, depended Europe's Fate,
 Now meanly on your Nod dependent sit,
 And Yea or No but just as you think fit ...
 (p.4)

The rest of the conversation is permitted to stand, although it is generally uncomplimentary to political leaders. Miller's Statesman is less polite than Walsh's, no doubt because of Walpole's well-known bluntness. Walsh's speaks of a statesman's enviable position:

How much is he follow'd and caress'd? What Advantages does he get to himself and Family? And how much is he flatter'd and ador'd by these very Poets who wou'd vainly arrogate the Title of Wise to themselves?
 (p.18)

In Miller's version "all Mankind," not just poets, flatter and adore the Statesman, "advantages" are turned into "Mountains of Wealth ... for our selves and Families," and literature is seen as politically dangerous:

Statesman.... Away with Wit and Learning out of the World, they are good for Nothing but to make People impertinent and seditious.

Mercury. Right; Power and Dominion should not be touch'd upon; Jupiter himself is of the same Mind; he's very apt to winch at some o' my Jokes; but Wits will be sawcy, very sawcy sometimes.

Statesman: Horrible, horrible! I am therefore determin'd to procure a Law to burn the four-and-twenty Letters - and to hang up Cadmus in Effigy for inventing 'em.

(p.21)

Are these Things So? accuses Walpole directly of fraud and nepotism:

That you have pilfer'd Forage from the Beast,
 And with the Publick Wealth your own encreas'd
 - - - - -
 That all your Kindred, BROTHER, SONS and COUSINS,
 Have Titles and Employments by the Dozens...
 (pp.9-10)

In The Great Man's Answer he makes Walpole claim that such remarks are justifiable, for who would toil as "Mill-Horse of the State,"

Did not some Genius whisper, "That's the Road
"To Opulence, and Honour's bless'd Abode ... "
(p.11)

Walpole's biographer, J.H.Plumb, writes of his ostentatious wealth:

He bought pictures at reckless prices, wallowed in the extravagance of Houghton, deluged his myriad guests with rare food and costly wine; his huge ungainly figure sparkled with diamonds and flashed with satin.⁴

Pope, as Kathleen Mahaffey has shown, probably intended his portrait of Timon in the Epistle to Burlington to represent Walpole, in both his opulence and his lack of artistic discrimination.⁵ The minister did not care for intellectual society, and although he paid an army of propagandists, no author of real literary merit wrote on his side. A note in the 1743 Dunciad quotes the price of this journalism, according to the findings of the secret committee on Walpole's conduct, as amounting to £50,077"18s"0d between 1731 and 1741. Pope remarks that this was

double the sum which gained Louis XIV so much honour, in annual Pensions to Learned men all over Europe. In which, and in a much longer time, not a Pension at Court, nor Preference in the Church or Universities, of any Consideration, was bestowed on any man distinguished by his Learning separately from Party-merit, or Pamphlet-writing.

(note to Bk.II, 1.314)

The satirical exchange between Mercury and the Statesman is in retaliation for the governmental imposition of censorship on the theatre, particularly in the line:

I am determin'd to procure a Law to burn the four-and-twenty Letters ...

Mercury had earlier called himself Jupiter's Prime Minister, but now he is his satirist, with the privileges of a court jester,

⁴Sir Robert Walpole: The King's Minister (1960), p.331.

⁵"Timon's Villa: Walpole's Houghton," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, IX (1967), 193-222.

although Jupiter, like Walpole, sometimes winces at his jokes.

The Philosopher, who is introduced to condemn the folly of the Statesman, has his part deleted in the playhouse copy, although he appears in the printed text. Some of his comments might have been censored, if the entire rôle had not already been firmly crossed out of the script. The copy is generally very untidy, and evidently much altered and rearranged during rehearsal, as Fleetwood acknowledges in his apology to the Examiner.

The original of the Philosopher is Walsh's Stoick, and it is his "Stoick's pride" which is ridiculed. Miller treats his Philosopher more sternly than Walsh does, and even has Mercury strike him when he presumes to call a truly wise man "only inferior to the Gods in point of Time." His cries of pain show that he is not, as he had claimed, "above all Care, Pain or Disorder" (p.21).

A character not in Walsh is the "Cunning-Man," the fortune-teller or charlatan astrologer, who is also a knowing "Worldy-Wiseman";

Un homme du Monde, Sir; one that knows the World, and is wise enough to manage it too; that's living Wisdom, Sir, none of your poetical Castles in the Air, nor Philosophical Rhodomontades for me.

(p.23)

The part of the Cunning-Man, like that of the Philosopher, is not to be found in the manuscript; probably they were completely omitted from the play as acted in order to save time, and reduce the cast. In the printed text the parts of the Cunning-Man and Philosopher are omitted from the list of Dramatis Personae, and the dialogue in which they take part is printed with quotation marks down the margin on the left side, probably because it was omitted during the performance. Nevertheless Miller evidently wanted it printed. The Cunning-Man epitomises a type he found interesting, and had explored in the dedication of Harlequin-Horace to John Rich:

In fine, Sir, it may be very emphatically affirm'd of you, that you know the World ... You are a thorough Master, Sir, of the great and Lucrative Art of Delusion, and every thing is taken for Gold that but goes through your Hands ... you can by the single wave of a Harlequin's Wand, conjure the whole Town every Night into your Circle; where, like a true Cunning Man you amuse 'em with a few Puppy's Tricks while you juggle 'em of their Pelf, and then cry out with a Note of Triumph,

Si Mundus vult Decipi, Decipiatur
(sig. b3^r-b3^v)

The Cunning-Man is confident that the hospital is not for him, since he makes his fortune, like Rich, out of the follies of his neighbours,

to steal upon the blind side, and apply to every one's Passions; to flatter the Vanity, and play upon the Weakness of those in Power and Interest ... I always swim with the Stream, and make my Tack with the Wind, never cross upon a prevailing Mistake, nor oppose any Mischief that has Numbers on its side.

Æsc. This is the only Wisdom in vogue at present, I must own.

C.Man ... If I am in the City, for instance, I never harangue against Circumvention in Trade... when at Court, not a word of Honour and Sincerity, Plain-dressing or Plain-dealing; in short, I never behave with regard to what Men really are, but what they have a mind to be. 'Tis my Business to make every body happy with themselves, for then I can strike 'em for my own Advantage.

(p.23)

As Æsculapius' interjection points out, this is satire on the times, on the cynical manipulation of others, which was felt to pervade society from the top. To conform with the scheme of the piece, however, this character too must be accused of folly. This is suggested to lie in the main practical disadvantage of such deviousness, which is that one's vision of reality becomes distorted. Æsculapius tells the Cunning-Man:

... you that are so very subtil and over-wise in your own Conceptions, seldom perceive the Truth and Reality of Things, but because you always Masquerade it yourselves, you think that every one else does the same.

(p.24)

The song provided for Kitty Clive in praise of music illustrates its theme, "the whole World's a mere Song," with examples of hypocrisy in every sphere; the court, the camp, the law, and the

marriage-bed. The verse about the army is as follows:

Repair to the Camp, and review each trim Blade,
 How they strut it so stout and so strong,
 Turn 'em into War's Field, and I'm hugely afraid,
 Their Courage would prove a mere Song.
 (p.25)

This, if it had appeared a year later, at the time when "The Camp Visitants" was submitted for licensing, would probably have been suppressed in the manuscript, as were similar comments in that play, since at that time the country was impatient for the forces which had long been in readiness to be sent into battle with Spain, and mistrustful of the government's intentions in keeping a standing army at home. Instead the Examiner (or perhaps Fleetwood) concentrated on the verse about marriage, and censored a quite mild reference to adultery. In another song, which closes the show, a rather impudent address to the marriageable virgins and the kind, kept, damsels, in the boxes and the slips respectively, is also marked, as is a reference to the aristocracy's obsession with opera singers, which certainly is rather crudely expressed. The lines originally read:

If 'twas not for the singing Fool
 Could Lords their Capons cram?

This has been altered, probably by Fleetwood, to

If 'twas not for the squand'ring Fool
 Could Cits their Coffers cram?
 (MS, p.48)

This alteration, unlike most others, actually appears in the printed version of the play (p.28), and was evidently settled on before the script went to the Examiner. Miller is rather bold in addressing his audience, and in speaking of people who might be expected to be among the audience, and this seems to make Fleetwood nervous.

Miller's two previous plays had been drowned by uproar, and he

hoped by frankly appealing to the public for a fair hearing in his opening scene to disarm his critics, but it was of no avail, and this "fable", although David Garrick had one of his numerous triumphs when he re-adapted it as Lethe in 1740, brought Miller no success.

(vii) "The Camp Visitants"

During the summer of 1740, troops mustered for the war in the West Indies were encamped, their departure delayed by contrary winds, and, it was generally believed, by dilatory government. The camps in Hyde Park and on Hounslow Heath were the goal of thousands of pleasure seekers on Sundays. The London Evening Post for July 8th reported:

On Sunday there were, as 'tis thought, above 20,000 People to visit the Camp at Hounslow, insomuch that it was a very difficult Task for the Soldiers that stood Centinels, to keep the Mob from breaking in upon the Lines, and such Crowds flocked down by Water that at one View might be seen 200 Boats on the River making for Isleworth Stairs.

(no.1974)

The delay in prosecuting the War was attributed to the Minister's reluctance, and the mobilisation of men seemed merely an ineffectual display of might. The Opposition journalists' continual sarcasm on the subject of the army was therefore aimed at the government. The preceding issue of the same journal had accused Walpole of obstructing the declaration of war:

Some speculative Observers of Occurrences remark, that Sir Robert was at Houghton when it was voted in Council to declare War against Spain.

(no.1973)

On August 30th it was alleged that as the Earl of Argyle's tent had been robbed on Hounslow Heath, the Officers had resolved to hire the

constables and beadles of the adjacent parishes to stand sentinel at the avenues of the camp, and watchmen from London to guard it at night.¹ A contemporary ballad, A New Camp Song to the Tune of the King and the Miller, accuses the army of frivolity and extravagance, as well as cowardice and effeminacy, and expresses distrust of the oppressive use that might be made of a standing army at home:

An army so Gay, so sleek and so Large,
 What monarch e'er boasted before our great G[eorg]e?
 It glads all our Souls does this Raree-shew Sight,
 'Tis better than helping yo[n] Vernon to fight?

Here's Dressing and Feasting and Dancing all Day,
 No danger of Fighting and constant good pay;

Here's grand Entertainments, Assembly and Ball,
 And Ladies of Pleasure Gaming all Night,
 Let Vernon go hazard, 'gainst Spaniards to fight.

That Soldiers are useful, we often may see,
 They help honest Bailiffs, and seize smuggl'd Tea;
 For home Insurrections, they quell 'em on sight,
 We'll ne'er vote to send'em 'gainst Spaniards to fight.
 (stanzas 2-4)²

In Miller's own poem, The Great Man's Answer published on December 18th, Walpole boasts:

See Fleets how gallant! See Marines how stout!
 That wait but till the Wind shall turn about.
 E.M. What a whole Twelvemonth! G.M. Pray, Sir, hear me out. }

Next view the martial Guardians of the Land:
 Lo! her gay Warriors redden all the Strand:
Cockade behind Cockade, each Entrance keep,
 Whilst in their Sheaths ten thousand Falchions sleep.

E.M. But, Sir, 'tis urg'd that these are needless quite,
 Kept only for Review, and not for Fight:
 That Fleets are Britain's Safety - G.M. Stupid Elves!
 Why these, Sir, are to save you from yourselves:
 Ye're prone, ye're prone to murmur and rebel,
 And when mild Methods fail, we must compel:
 Besides, consider Sir, th'Election's near -
 E.M. O Sir, I'm answer'd - Now the Case is clear.
 (pp.3-4)

¹London Evening Post no.1997, August 30th, 1740.

²Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, ed. Milton Percival, Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol.8 (Oxford, 1916), pp.147-148, reprinted from an undated broadside in the Madden collection. Percival assigns it to the midsummer of 1740.

Against this background the ridicule of the army in Miller's one-act play, "The Camp Visitants," which might at another period seem mild, routine social satire, would have been politically provocative.

The after-piece went to the Lord Chamberlain's office on December 11th, 1740. The month before Miller had published Are these Things So? and the play shows some of the same satiric zeal, although this had to be much restrained, and a humorous tone prevails. The Examiner, although he might, on considering the total effect of the piece have finally forbidden it to be acted, first made his excisions as he read through the text, as he had done with An Hospital for Fools. As with that play, it is hard to tell whether all the marks in the text are made by the Examiner. Sometimes they seem likely to be Fleetwood's, as a substitute word or phrase has been supplied, and the crossing-out made carefully so that the continuity of the dialogue is not lost. The censor is naturally less punctilious about this, and sometimes makes only a cross or other mark in the margin. There are cases, however, when it is impossible to tell which of them has made the excision.

The hero of the play is a young officer, Captain Freelove. He resembles the heroes of Miller's other comedies, particularly Gainlove of The Humours of Oxford, and Hartly of The Coffee House, who are young, carefree, somewhat deficient in morals but susceptible in the end to true love, provided a good dowry comes with it. Freelove, however, is a greater libertine, and is closer to such heroes of Restoration comedy as Horner of The Country Wife or Dorimant of The Man of Mode, in having several mistresses at once, and regarding them with scant respect. Miller seems to have had The Man of Mode particularly in mind in opening his play with a fruit-seller who is to unite Freelove with his bride, who is, like Etherege's heroine,

named Harriet. The fruit-girl sings of a peach, but without investing it with sexual implications like the orange-woman in the earlier play. Freelove, however, is not as unprincipled as Dorimant, who hopes to seduce his Harriet, and to debauch the fiancée of his friend after her marriage.

The plot of "The Camp Visitants" consists of manoeuvres to bring about the union of Harriet and Freelove in spite of parental disapproval. Freelove contrives to remove his love from her family's surveillance, hampered by visits from his mother and his mistresses. Once married the couple are soon forgiven, and the dowry is secured. The play has, then, a conventional comedy plot. The dialogue has vitality and pace, and Miller seems to have been inspired by the military setting, with its opportunity for indirect attack upon the government.

In the opening scene of the play Freelove reveals his nature to the audience in frank and light-hearted conversation with the fruit-seller, Lucy. He confesses to being constantly beseiged by hordes of citizens, half of whom are his creditors, the other half being visitors encouraged by their wives, who are mistresses of his, and help him out with their husbands' money "at a Pinch-tide." He loves Harriet, but without undue idealism. His preference for her with £5,000 to an unknown lady with £7,000 is hardly reckless, and on the brink of marriage he shows a cynicism consistent with his way of life.

Matrimony, what art thou? - Why an excellent Receipt to Make Cuckolds - Well! 'Tis a Receipt I have often made use of in other Men's Houses, and now I must be Content to be serv'd up my Turn.

(f.33)

The last phrase was afterwards altered, whether by Miller or Fleetwood I cannot tell, to "if I am serv'd up in my Turn," which softens

its harshness very slightly.

Freelove has many faults, but there is an attractive quality in his humorous recognition of the fact, as when he breathes the heartfelt aside:

I wish Lucy would come. I am so honest a Fellow I can't bear a Quarter of an Hour's lying, tho' it be to my own Mother.
(f.34)

His attitude to his mistresses, and to the husband he has made a cuckold, would be thoroughly reprehensible outside the conventions of a comedy. He evidently wishes himself well rid of Mrs. Frail and Mrs. Flant, and speaks of them with scant gallantry, telling "that meek and weeping Turtle Mrs. Frail:"

You always had my Heart, but Flant I fobb'd off with the rest of my Body - (aside) I'm in hopes Harriet can't hear this whispering Whore; but if my ranting, Tearing, Swearing, Drinking - S'Death, she's here - Talk of the Devil & in comes Mrs. Flant.
(f.25)

The two women are worth little consideration perhaps, since one gets drunk on stage, and the other sneaks away with the banker, Mr. Shuffle, but Freelove shows some inclination to prolong his liason with Mrs. Shuffle in spite of his engagement to Harriet, and much humour is extracted from his conversation with her husband, in which Freelove tells the unwitting cuckold:

'I faith, I wish I was with her - I would give her such a Curtain Lecture - I'd let her know what she follow'd me about so for.
(f.24)

We learn that Mrs. Shuffle has persuaded her husband to lend Freelove money, that he visits them constantly, and that she even has a child by him, which Shuffle imagines his own. Mr. Shuffle is ill-treated, but certainly invites it by his obtuseness. He is also shown to be avaricious, and is lecherous himself when he gets the chance.

Harriet's guardians, her aunt Madam Old-Cut and her cousin

Captain Rag, also deserve to be tricked. They are conspirators themselves, and are determined to prevent Harriet's marriage because it would take her inheritance out of the family. Madam Old-Cut is also a character in Lady Wishfort's mould, jealous of her niece's charms, absurdly gullible when flattered, and indeed, rather eager to be seduced.

Considerable ingenuity is needed to save Freelove from the wrath of all parties - above all, Harriet must not learn about the mistresses - and to bring about the marriage. This is exercised mostly by the heroine's former maid, Lucy, who sells fruit at the camp, catering for both sight-seers and soldiers, and by Freelove's servant, Poacher. They are in the tradition of pert and resourceful servants derived from Terence and Plautus by way of Molière. It is also Lucy who voices much of the play's satire on the camp and its military inhabitants. She opens the play with a song that sets the tone of mockery in its third verse:

Pray look at my Peach here, you Warriors so stout,
Which like you is so red and so rough all without,
But trust me, fierce Sirs, if you strip off its skin,
Is like you, too, quite harmless and melting within.
(f.1)

This song passed uncensored, but in Lucy's later reference to "This same peaceable Camp of ours" (p.3), the word "peaceable" is emphatically excised, thus: peaceable. If Miller had crossed out the word himself he would not have drawn attention to it in this way. Lucy's simile for Madam Old-Cut is also rather mischievous:

as upright and superb as one of you at the Head of your Company
when you are marching - marching into Winter Quarters.
(f.4)

In the course of giving complicated directions to the first of the Captain's unwelcome visitors, the Shuffles, she explains:

overright the Castle Booth, on the left Hand, you'll see Ye

Chaplain of the Regiment smoaking his Pipe at this very Hour -
 who as in Duty bound will set you in the right Way ...
 (f.9)

The Examiner of Plays probably thought this disrespectful to the clergy and disliked the implication that the camp was a restful and indolent place. Later, after adopting a disguise to aid her man-œuvres, Lucy whispers slyly:

Hark'ye Captain - Goody Trash's riding-Hood has been of some Service to us to day; you shall hang it up in your Tent as a Trophy; for I believe 'tis the only Victory You'll gain this Campaigne.

(f.23)

In this sentence "only" has been crossed out and "best" substituted in another hand (probably Fleetwood's) and there is a mark (probably the censor's) in the margin. This piece of banter clearly appeared unpatriotically pessimistic in the circumstances of the time.

Mr. Shuffle asks Lucy nervously:

There's no danger in strolling about this Camp here is there -
 They're all as quiet as Lambs I suppose - one may walk as
 peaceably here as upon 'Change I reckon.

(ff.10-11)

The underlining of the phrase "quiet as Lambs" seems to indicate disapproval. It might be the author's underlining, for emphasis, but this is rare in Miller's Larpent manuscripts. Lucy does, however, deny that the soldiers are harmless, although more in order to frighten the old banker than vindicate the military. The enemy is mentioned here for the only time in the play:

they hate to see a Citizen if he han't his Wife about him -
 Besides they may take you for a Spaniard and think you lock
 her up, out of Jealousie, at home - they'll take you for a Spy
 that's certain.

(f.11)

She also teases the close-fisted Shuffle by insisting upon half a crown for the apple she sold him, at which he protests:

do you consider now, that Trading's bad, & Taxes four Shillings
 in the Pound, and Provision's dear, and War's coming on, and -

The Camp is damn'd dear bought at this Rate -
(p.11)

That is the sentence as it was originally written, but it is greatly amended, like this:

are high

... ~~Trading's bad & Taxes four shillings in the Pound, and Provision's dear & War's coming on, and - The Camp is dam'd dear bought at this Rate.~~

The words "are high" are in another hand, which looks like Fleetwood's. The underlining and excisions may be his, or partly his and partly the Examiner's. The Spanish depredations had been detrimental to trade, and in order to alienate Walpole from his own party, his opponents harped on his apparent reluctance to protect the interests of the City merchants who normally supported him. In The Great Man's Answer Miller made Walpole declare "Perdition on the Merchants." Hence the emphatic excision of the phrase "Trading's bad": the government would not want audiences to be reminded of this grievance.

Shuffle and his wife have bought new outfits for their visit to the camp, and he grumbles,

Why the running after this same raree-Show of a Camp here will cost the City more Money than a Seven Year's War.
(f.12)

"Raree-Show" is underlined and crossed out, so that the sentence reads only as a mockery of City naiveté, and the slander on the army is removed. When he comes upon Freelove's deserted tent Shuffle exclaims:

Heyday what Nobody here - Does the Tent keep itself - Adad 'tis a Sign the Enemy isn't very Near if this is the Fashion - I'd engage to take the whole Camp with the City Train-bands - And they might both be taken again by our Bear-Key Porters ...
(f.22)

This passage is marked by several short parallel horizontal lines in the margin. The train-bands were often mocked by dramatists, as were all City institutions and habits. An amateur militia is

considered particularly ludicrous - the modern attitude to the wartime Home Guard is an example. To suggest that the train-bands might capture the camp, and be defeated in their turn by the unarmed porters from Bear Quay, is of course to ridicule both the army and the city.³

When Harriet and her crusty Aunt arrive on the scene, they are escorted by Captain Rag, a character who is introduced mainly for the purpose of continuing this denigration of the army. Most of what he has to say on the subject is censored. Rag is a poor relation of Madam Old-Cut, ridiculously proud of their family's lineage, who runs her errands, endures her rudeness, and helps to guard her niece from suitors. He is a retired soldier, and is swaggeringly contemptuous of his modern counterparts at the camp. Here is the relevant passage as Miller wrote it:

Mdm OldCut. Methinks Cozen Rag, the Soldiers & the Tents & the Captains and all that, make a very fine Shew indeed. What say you Niece. A very pretty kind of Shew enough.

Harriet. I am glad you are so well diverted Madam.

Rag. Ay Cousin - All Shew - All Shew - All Shew indeed! Ah! This isn't Ramilies, nor Blenheim, nor the Camps I have been used to.

Mdm OldCut. Why your Captains here indeed do look a little too fine and finical.

Rag. Ay, ay, ay. They don't look like us Cousin - There's not such a Figure in the Camp as I am - The Times are alter'd, strangely alter'd! See there's a Parcel of 'em saunt'ring about yonder, that look more as if they are going to dance than to fight.

Mdm OldCut. True Cousin Rag - You put me more in Mind of the brave old Officers of our young Days.

(ff.12-13)

Most of this, except for Rag's remark that there was not such a figure as himself in the camp (which was probably true, fortunately for everyone), is underlined and crossed out, perhaps by Fleetwood, since a "but" is inserted in what resembles his hand to make sense

³Bear Quay was a landing-stage near Billingsgate where grain was landed and sold. It was one of a number of "legal quays" which had to be used for incoming goods.

of the shortened dialogue. The amended passage appears as follows, beginning at Harriet's speech:

Harriet. I am glad you are so well diverted Madam.

Rag. Ay ~~Cousin - All Shew - All Shew - All Shew indeed! Ah!~~
This isn't Ramilies, nor Blenheim, nor the Camps I have been used to.

Mdm OldCut. Why your Captains here indeed do look a little too fine and finical.

Rag. Ay, ~~ay, ay.~~ ^{But} They don't look like us Cousin. There's not such a Figure in the Camp as I am - ~~The Times are alter'd, strangely alter'd! See there's a Parcel of 'em saunt'ring about yonder, that look more as if they are going to dance, than to fight.~~

Mdm OldCut. True Cousin Rag - You put me more in mind, etc.

Historical comparisons with the great victories of thirty-five years before are clearly unwelcome, however ludicrous the speaker himself may be.

One of the main characters of The Humours of Oxford, Truemore, is also a soldier, and is mocked a little for his profession, but far less than the dons, students, and some of the other characters in the play, and his métier, although a suitably dashing one, is unimportant and soon forgotten. Truemore is actually a very virtuous young man compared with his rakish friend, Gainlove. In The Man of Taste there is a brief reference to military idleness and flirtatiousness, when one of the disguised footmen, whose identity has just been revealed, remarks that it will be hard for him to resume a menial role:

I like the lazy peaceable Life of a Soldier so well - 'Tis but wearing lac'd Clothes, tucking up one's Hair neatly, and talking Nonsense to the Women; and all those things I can do as well as any Colonel of 'em all ...

(f.87)

In "The Camp Visitants," however, this image has come to dominate the play. The government is the object of Miller's unremitting attack, by way of the army, and the situation in which the hero finds himself and the character his conversation reveals, are in

themselves a satire on the modern officer. The censor can do little to alter this, as it is central to the play, but he does excise specific comments which imply that the majority of the soldiers are preoccupied with love-affairs. These include Lady Freelove's shocked reaction to meeting two strumpets drinking outside her son's tent: "If this be the only Business of Encamping! Heav'n preserve us from any more Camps" (p.28), and the comment of his servant Poacher's, designed to flatter Madam Old-Cut: "What's a Soldier good for, you know, Madam, but for the Ladies" (p.18). The Examiner also apparently objects to Freelove's exclamation on seeing two of his mistresses approaching:

But perhaps they come to some of my Brother-Officers, for they are as common as the King's Private Road - But 'tis only to Gentlemen.

(f.6)

The underlining here was probably done by the Examiner. It seems too carelessly placed to be for emphasis, and long phrases are not usually underlined for that purpose in these manuscripts. If it had been Fleetwood who disapproved of the passage, he would probably have deleted it and rearranged the sentence. It might have been censored both for the coarseness of the expression and for the suggestion that whore-mongering was common amongst the officers. The "King's Private Road" is the King's Road, Chelsea, which by this time had become a public street. I think it unlikely that anything more daring, such as an allusion to a Royal mistress, is intended.

The words of a song can be more memorable, and more stirring, than colloquial prose dialogue, and Miller does not fail to include a "Martial Song," which he probably hoped would gain wider currency, expressing the general eagerness for war. It was to be performed by a male singer who has no other part in the proceedings. Its

four verses are somewhat repetitive, and so I quote only the third, of which the first line, with its reference to the Church, has a mark of three parallel dashes beside it:

War is now the Church-man's Prayer,
 Stranger yet, the Merchant's Gain;
 E'en the Chiefs of powder'd Hair,
 Cry, let's humble haughty Spain.
(f.27)

This afterpiece, then, is by far the most politically aggressive of Miller's plays, and also the only one we know of that was never staged at all. After this attempt Miller returned to more inoffensive dramatic subjects, and in fact abandoned comedy for a time, producing the libretto for Joseph in 1743, and Mahomet in 1744, only returning to it with the Molière adaptation, The Picture, posthumously published in 1745.

CHAPTER IV: SATIRE IN THE POETRY

i) Seasonable Reproof in the Manner of Horace

Harlequin-Horace, although it had ample political implications, was primarily concerned with the theatre. Miller's next poem, published four years later, in 1735, announced on its title-page that it was -

To be continued occasionally as a poetical PILLORY, to execute Justice upon such VICES and FOLLIES, as are either above the Reach, or without the Verge of the LAWS.

The poem follows Horace in pointing out the foolish inconsistency of human behaviour in various contemporary manifestations, but departs from its source, in both subject-matter and style, to make a lengthy and recklessly virulent attack upon a powerful prelate. These lines, although treating of an ecclesiastical matter, have their political aspects too.

The first page of the text names the Horatian sources as "the Third and Fourth of the First Book of his SERMONS to the ROMANS." Miller actually draws on only the first seventy-five lines of Horace's 142-line Satire I iii, and often rearranges the order of the Latin sentences he prints opposite his imitation. He completes his poem by rendering only twenty lines from the middle of Satire I iv, which include Horace's denial of personal libel in his verse, and his declaration of contempt for such writings. These lines (81-85) had been adapted by Pope in his Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot (ll. 283-304), published in January 1735. A briefer version had already appeared in the London Evening Post in 1732.¹

¹"Horace, Sat 4 Lib I 81-85 paraphras'd. Inscribed to the Hon. Mr — , " L.E.P. January 22nd - 25th, 1732.

Miller expands these Horatian extracts into a poem of 320 lines, sometimes following the Latin quite closely, and at other times enlarging expansively upon a single phrase. He uses his source here more loosely than in Harlequin-Horace or his later poem based on the Ars Poetica, called The Art of Life. He acknowledges, in the dedication to the Duke of Argyle, that he has frequently departed from his model, only making use of "some disjointed Hints from different Pieces." He claims in justification of this that, unlike a translator, an imitator need not be "indebted for a single Sentence, or even Sentiment from the Author he follows, as 'tis very possible to erect a Building in the Taste of Inigo Jones, without pulling down the Banqueting-House for Materials" (sig.A2^r). This statement is somewhat illogical, since if no sentiments from Horace were to be made use of it would be pointless to specify exactly which lines were being imitated. Miller evidently means that the purpose really lies in capturing the spirit of a writer. This, according to Henry Felton's Dissertation upon Reading the Classics, can be achieved when -

we are possessed of the Expression, Way of Thinking, and the Genius of any Author, in such an abstracted Manner, as without writing out of him, or making use of him for particular Thoughts and Phrases, we can write in his Way, and after his Manner; so that any one, who is a proper Judge, may say at Sight, This is Horatian, this is Terentian, this is Virgilian; tho' perhaps the very Words, as they stand in our Writings, ar not be found in the Authors we propose to imitate.²

Miller departs from his source most notably in the passage attacking the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, which was interpolated after the poem was printed. As recounted above (pp.36-37), some seventy lines were added, in which Gibson was castigated for his opposition to the appointment of Thomas Rundle to the bishopric of

²Second edition (1715), pp.191-192.

Gloucester, and also for his antagonism towards the liberal doctrinal views of Benjamin Hoadly.

Much of the poem is devoted to the discussion of satire itself and is actually a satirist's apologia. The resemblance between this part of the poem and some lines in Arbuthnot is quite marked, particularly in the following extracts, which have two pairs of rhyme-words in common:

Each Page is blotted with some injur'd Name;
 Each Line's destructive of some Neighbour's Fame.
 Whence this black Charge on me? Who know me best,
 Know 'tis a Crime, I from my Soul detest.
 The Man, who loves to wound an absent Friend,
 Or, wounded, cares not, dares not to defend ...
(Seasonable Reproof, p.21)

That Fop whose pride affects a Patron's name,
 Yet absent, wounds an Author's honest fame;
 Who can your Merit selfishly approve,
 And show the Sense of it, without the Love;
 Who has the Vanity to call you Friend,
 Yet wants the Honour injur'd to defend ...
(Arbuthnot, 11.291-296)

In his book The Garden and the City Maynard Mack says that the author of Seasonable Reproof "seems to labor to be mistaken for Pope,"³ although he admits that once Pope had rendered these lines from Satire I iv so memorably into English it would have been hard not to echo him. Miller would have had little to gain from an attempt to impersonate Pope, who would have been unlikely to treat the same Horatian passage twice in such similar words, but there is a declaration of allegiance to Pope in these echoes of Arbuthnot, and also in the poem's sub-title, which, in speaking of vices and follies which are "either above the Reach, or without the Verge of the LAWS," recalls the challenge to "you who 'scape the Laws" in the Epistle to Fortescue.

Miller had also written in emulation of Pope's subject-matter

³(Toronto and Oxford, 1969), p.190.

and style in Harlequin-Horace, but because of his direct praise of the other's genius in that poem it is clear that no imposture is intended. Seasonable Reproof is certainly inspired by the imitations of Horace, as Harlequin-Horace was by the Dunciad, as Of Politeness. An Epistle to .. Harrington was by the Epistles to Several Persons, and as The Year Forty-One was by the Epilogue to the Satires: Written in 1738. The Art of Life (1739), which actually bore Miller's name on the title-page, is also full of allusions to Pope's works, and cadences like his. The case of Are these Things So? and The Great Man's Answer is more dubious, since here the mantle of the Twickenham bard is ostentatiously adopted. Some people were deceived by this, although Miller may not have expected that they would be.⁴ Other anonymous poets had adopted the persona of Pope, because of its symbolic resonance. In this Miller was following the example set by the anonymous author of An Epistle from a Gentleman at Twickenham to a Nobleman at St James's (1733), and Whitehead's The State Dunces (1733).

Seasonable Reproof was, nevertheless, believed by some people to be by Pope, according to the Prompter for January 2nd, 1736. A quotation from the poem is prefaced by the Prompter's remark that Pope has filled the land with imitating fools, and,

I have heard it said that the Seasonable Reproof, or Poetical Pillory was Pope's, even from those I heard it, that would take it ill of you not to be counted good Judges: I never thought so my self; tho' the lines hereafter mentioned are strongly characteristic.

The thread of discourse in the poem is somewhat erratic and disjointed. This is not inappropriate in an imitation of Horace, who generally moves from one aspect of his subject to another with the swiftness of a lively colloquial conversation. Miller's poem, however, also lacks continuity of style and mood, mainly because of the

⁴See above, p.68.

interpolation of the attack on religious inflexibility. In the dedication he explains that in beginning with so trivial a character as an "Opera Songster" he is following Horace's practice, "who enters upon most of his Performances in a merry Mood, and with Particulars, which promise nothing either serious or important; till having thus craftily engaged the Curiosity of his Reader, and quickened his Attention by applying to his Fancy, he insensibly slides to higher Subjects, and insinuates the noblest Maxims and Morals." There is a progression of this kind in the first part of the poem. Horace began with a description of the perverse behaviour of the Roman, Tigellius, who would refuse to sing to his friends at a banquet when asked to, even by Caesar himself, but if unasked would never stop, and whose entire way of life was equally inconsistent. Miller supplies several different characters to correspond to Tigellius. From Faronelli, contemptuously referred to as a "cram'd Capon," and Poitier, a "skipping Grasshopper," who are so idolised that they have grown arrogant enough to refuse to perform "tho' asked by G—e himself," Miller's attacks move step-by-step up the social scale. The foreigners are thus followed by Henry Carey, the song-writer and author of ballad-operas and burlesques, who will never leave off once he begins to sing his compositions, and Aaron Hill, the poet, dramatist and author of the Prompter, who recites his blustering fustian with equal relentlessness. The ascent continues through Henry Fielding, who has aristocratic connexions, and is inconsistent in his dress and demeanour (his velvet suit being often at the pawnbroker's), and "his Grace," an anonymous peer (perhaps identifiable to some contemporary readers by the mention of his "protuberant" nose) who scours the park in the morning in the guise of a valet, lolls arrogantly at noon in the House of

Lords, and at night hastens to join his sharpers or his whore. Miller arrives finally at one of the "best, and noblest of the Kind," an illustrious figure, "Decius," who is obsessed by gambling. He resembles Pope's "Patritio," modelled on the Earl of Godolphin, who died in 1712.⁵ This character parallels Tigellius' habit of staying awake all night and sleeping all day. Decius' gaming, coupled with his "Sense" and "Candour", and "A Tongue that shows no Guile, a Hand no Stain," suggest an identification with the statesman Henry Pelham, who was a gambler, but whose temperament was candid and open, and who was scrupulously honest in his handling of public money (DNB). Decius however is a peer, which Pelham, although brother of the Duke of Newcastle, was not.

Next, following Horace, there comes a transition when an interlocutor exclaims, "'But hold, Sir, have you then no Fault?'" Horace proceeds to develop this point, but Miller, after leading the reader to expect the argument to become more self-critical, abandons his Horatian model and hastens into the attack on Gibson:

Yes, Sir, - But you and I o'erlook our own;
 Were all oblig'd to practise what they teach,
 Some warm sleek Clerks would still more seldom preach.
(pp.9-10)

There follows a portrait of "Tartuff", identifiable as Gibson by the mention of the other participants in the episcopal drama, "V-enn" and "R-undle". Richard Venn was a disciple of Gibson's who alleged that he had heard Rundle express deistical opinions. Rundle's qualities are then extolled in contrast to Gibson's hypocrisy, and, to emphasise that no "general Sneer" is intended against the clergy, several virtuous bishops are praised, ending with Hoadly, whose brand of theology is defended in a lengthy passage of vehement rhetoric.

Miller then abandons these spiritual topics and takes up

⁵To Cobham, ll. 140-145.

Horace's point that one should not judge character by external show. By particularly referring to statesmen Miller does however give the passage a political slant which is lacking in Horace:

Thus in State Contests, as in Church, we see
 The same nice Justice and Humanity;
 Where Men are damn'd or sav'd for Forms, not Fact,
 For how they're dress'd or shap'd, not how they act.
 (p.14)

Horace presents himself as an example of a man whose awkward appearance is deceptively uncouth, and Miller uses Horace as an example too; "What tho' sage Horace can't be call'd a Beau ..." The humorous effect of self-mockery present in the original is therefore lost. From the description of this quaint figure with "Trowsers often calling to be hitch'd," the transition is rather abrupt to this stern exhortation:

Search, search your own false Hearts, read them with Care,
 And mark what heavier Crimes are written there. (p.15)

This is quite different in tone from Horace's advice to "give yourself a shaking and see whether nature has not at some time sown in you the seeds of folly" (11.34-36). Miller's rhetoric owes more to Juvenal and adopts a proud stance, like that Pope was to employ in the Epilogue to the Satires:

Howe're so great and dignify'd thy Name,
 The Muse shall drag thee forth to publick Shame;
 Pluck the fair Feathers from thy Swan-skin Heart,
 And shew thee black and ranc'rous as thou art.
 (p.15)

From this peak Miller goes back to following Horace, who is arguing that friends should be as tolerant of each other's faults as lovers or parents are. This means that a tone of polite banter is adopted rather too suddenly:

True Lovers, in their fav'rite charming She,
 Can find no Faults, or love those Faults they see.
 (p.17)

These are the first lines following the substituted pages. Before the alteration was made the tone was doubtless more consistent. We are now back in the world of generalised symbolic characters, with such names as Clodio, Socius and Rubia. Although we ought to be tolerant of less serious failings, Miller claims the "British Right" to strike out with freedom at "a fopling Courtier, or a knavish Cit." He defends himself against the charge of unfair defamation, expressing his disapproval of such back-biting in Horace's own terms, in the passage indebted to the Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot which was quoted above. This concludes with the explanation that he learned the satirising habit from his father, who taught him how to behave by pointing out good and bad examples. Most of the bad examples Miller gives are recognisable contemporary names, such as "Ly-l", "W---d", "Th-ps-n", but his last example, "Helluo", is the name of a Roman glutton who occurs elsewhere in Horace, and also appears in two of Pope's Epistles to Several Persons.⁶ With him Miller's poem ends, somewhat abruptly.

Although the satire begins in low key and "insensibly slides to higher Subjects," it lacks Horace's lightly controlling hand upon the reins, and continues to slide up and down rather too palpably. The intensely personal emotions expressed in the interpolated section are the main cause of this incoherence; another is Miller's decision to model his poem on parts of two separate satires by Horace. The arguments for tolerance towards the faults of others are at times incompatible with the defence of the satirist's role.

Although for these reasons the poem is perhaps not artistically successful, it has very interesting aspects. Firstly, it contains more political allusion than is immediately apparent. Although it begins with creatures "beneath the Chastisement of the Muse," the

⁶To Cobham 11.234-327; To a Lady 11.79-82.

first paragraph attacks more than a singer and a dancer:

Ask Fa-ro-li, please your Grace, to sing.
 No, the cram'd Capon answers - no such Thing.
 Shall I, who, being less than Man, am more;
 Whom Beaux, Belles, Peers, and Senators adore;
 For whose sweet Pipe the City's so forsaken,
 That, by Excisemen, it might now be taken, }
 And great Sir Bob ride thro', and save his Bacon; }
 What! shall I sing when ask'd? - I'm so such Elf:
 Not I, by Jove, tho' ask'd by G — e himself.
 Yet, for that single End the Worm was bred;
 Yet, by that single Means, both cloath'd and fed.
 That Poitier dance, if the whole Town should chuse, }
 The skipping Grasshopper will straight refuse, }
 Tho' that alone must furnish him with Shoes. }
 But O! most justly Heels and Throat are nick'd;
 For Poitier's pelted, F-ro-li kick'd.

Sleep, Britain, in thy State of Reprobation,
 Thou mere Milch-cow to ev'ry foreign Nation.
Heaps upon Heaps thy Fair expire, alas!
Slain by the Jaw-bone of a warbling Ass:
 Whilst Shoals of Locusts, spawn'd in Rome or France,
Gelt for a Song, or shrivel'd for a Dance,
 O'er thy dup'd Sons usurp supreme Command,
 And carry off the Fat of half the Land.

(pp.1&3)

This introduces casually, almost in parenthesis, a bold reference to the growing enmity between the Prime Minister and the City, following his attempt to introduce the Excise Bill. The merchants had won the contest in 1732, but Miller suggests that now, while the entire populace, "Senators" included, neglects its duty for these entertainments, Walpole might well achieve his design. To "save one's bacon" meant, as it still does, "to escape narrowly." Partridge's Dictionary of Historical Slang quotes Aphra Behn (1682), "I go church to save my bacon as they say, once a month."⁷ However, according to A New Canting Dictionary (1725), "bacon" in this phrase could have the more sinister sense of "the Prize, of whatever kind, which Robbers make in their Enterprizes." The markedly colloquial tone of "Sir Bob" reinforces the likelihood that this underworld meaning is intended, since Gay had made play with the Minister's name in The Beggar's

⁷Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Historical Slang (1972)

Opera. One of his highwaymen is "Robin of Bagshot, alias Gorgon, alias Bluff Bob, alias Carbuncle, alias Bob Booty" (p.3). "Bob" was the cant term for a shoplifter's assistant, and the verb "to bob" meant to make a fool of, to cheat, or to filch.⁸ There is an additional pun here on Robin (robbing), which was also made by Fielding in The Grub-street Opera (1731).

In linking the Excise scheme with the vogue for opera Miller is pointing, as in Harlequin-Horace, to a correspondence between the public's taste in entertainment and the moral condition of the nation and its government. Britain is said to be sleeping in a "State of Reprobation," and serving as a "mere Milch-cow to ev'ry foreign Nation," and this surely refers to more than the popularity of continental performers. They are similar to the expressions Miller, like many other poets, was later to use about Britain's political standing in Europe, while Walpole maintained his peace policy. There is, however, a humorous note, which is missing from his later patriotic diatribes, sounded in the Biblical parody which follows, in which "the fair" are slain in heaps, like the Philistines, by the jawbone of a "warbling Ass."

The first paragraph also carries a covert jibe at the King himself, in its reference to the singer's being kicked. George II was fond of opera, being a staunch supporter of Handel's company at the Haymarket, and it is he who is mentioned as asking Faronelli to sing. Mention of kicking in the satire of the period was usually intended to suggest the monarch, who was reputed to be in the habit of venting his bad temper in this way. He was often depicted doing so in contemporary prints.⁹ Miller draws the reader's attention to this line by footnotes, in case he should miss its its significance.

⁸Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (1961).

⁹See Maynard Mack. The Garden and the City, pp. 138-139.

There is a note attached to "Poitier's pelted" which states, "A Matter of Fact"; and, indeed, the audience's displeasure when he and Madame Roland refused flatly to appear as arranged was recorded in the newspapers at the end of 1734.¹⁰ A footnote to "F-ro-li kicked" says "A Matter of Doubt, founded upon a current Report about Town; which, if not true, I'm heartily sorry for it." It would be clear, particularly to readers of the opposition press, who is meant to have done the kicking.

Later in the poem Horace advises the reader not to judge men by their outward appearance. Miller makes the same point, but also widens it, to include the assumptions men nowadays make from a statesman's mere possession of certain external trappings:

Where round thick Shoulders, or a Coat cut ill,
 Spoil all the Statesman's Honour, Faith and Skill:
Ribbands must rank Corruption straight impart,
 And the gilt Star betray a grov'ling Heart;
 The garter'd knee must needs to Baal bend,
 And who in Place can be his Country's Friend?
 (p.14)

If to judge a man as corrupt by his mere possession of a ribband or place is as misguided as to condemn him for the cut of his coat, presumably Miller means that those who make such assumptions are mistaken; not every office-holder, after all, can be corrupt. Nevertheless, the point is made that the present state of affairs is so bad that such reactions are common. By appearing to deny an allegation Miller is actually reinforcing it: this is one of Pope's tactics in the Dunciad footnotes. In The Great Man's Answer the "Englishman" in his grotto receives the offer of a ribband as an insult. A "gilt star" certainly did imply some guilt. The anti-government satire of the passage is strengthened by the mention of "Baal", evoking the numerous satirical "allegories" published during the thirties which

¹⁰ London Daily Post and General Advertiser, December 10th, 1734 and January 4th, 1735.

depicted Walpole, or sometimes George II, as an oriental deity or "Pagod". Maynard Mack, annotating Pope's 1742 Dunciad phrase "bow the knee to Baal" (IV, 93) quotes a piece by Bolingbroke from the Craftsman of May 22nd 1731: "There are Men, many We think, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, nor worshipped the brazen Image." It is possible, however, that Pope derived this phrase from Miller's poem Of Politeness (1738), along with several other borrowings from that work, which are evident in this part of Dunciad Book IV, and are discussed below (pp. 312-316).

The attack on Gibson also had its political implications, for he was Walpole's ally, and his manager of the clerical vote. Paul Whitehead had underlined this in his 1733 satire, The State Dunces:

But chief Pastorius, ever grave and dull,
Devoid of Sense, of Zeal divinely full,
While Charges, Pastorals through each Street resound,
These teach a heavenly Jesus to obey,
While those maintain an earthly Appius Sway
(p.12)

"Appius" was one of the opposition journalists' many names for Walpole. Whitehead explains in a note that "Pastorius" is "a prelate noted for writing Spiritual Pastorals and Temporal Charges; in the one he endeavours to serve the cause of Christianity, in the other the Mammon of a Ministry."

Richard Savage also produced an immoderate attack on the bishop of London, in a poem which appeared a few months earlier than Miller's in 1735, The Progress of a Divine. Although Savage was a friend of Rundle's he does not dwell on the dispute over the bishopric, and seems rather to have been inspired by a report that Gibson had procured the acquittal of a clergyman accused of unnatural vice. In the words of Dr. Johnson, the poem "conducts a profligate Priest by all the Gradations of Wickedness, from a poor Curacy in the

Country, to the highest Preferments of the Church ... and insinuates that this Priest thus accomplished found at last a Patron in the Bishop of London."¹¹ Although this imaginary cleric is said to share Gibson's doctrinal views,

He rails at Hoadley; so can Zeal possess him,
He's Orthodox as G-bs-n's self - God bless him,
(The Progress of a Divine, ll.153-154)

the main attack on the bishop is for his tolerance of immorality.

Pope too had mentioned this, in Sober Advice from Horace in 1734:

My Lord of Lo — n, chancing to remark
A noted Dean much busy'd in the Park,
Proceed (he cry'd) proceed, my Reverend Brother,
'Tis Fornicatio Simplex, and no other...
(ll.39-42)

If Miller had been refused assistance or preferment by Gibson because of his connexions with the theatre, the rebuke would have seemed particularly unfair on the part of someone normally more concerned about people's beliefs than the morality of their conduct.

Much of Miller's success as a dramatist up to this time had been thanks to Molière, and he uses the name of Molière's religious arch-hypocrite and sensualist, Tartuffe, to castigate the man who disapproved of his involvement with the stage. The bishop's selfishness and greed are symbolised by his sleek appearance, which gives scope for a pun on "stall":

Stall-fed TARTUFFE reclining in his Seat,
High heap'd his Board, himself brimfull of Meat,
Yawning, with Pain thus sleepy Silence broke,
And to his meagre Curates sagely spoke.
(p.10)

It served Miller's satirical purpose very well that Gibson happened to be stout, and Rundle lean:

Void of the double Tongue, and double Jole,
Th' extended Paunch and Narrowness of Soul.
(p.11)

¹¹Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage, ed. Clarence Tracy (Oxford, 1971), p.84, and see the editor's note, p.84n.

Miller begins his attack with a dramatist's ability to visualise a scene, and to allow a character to reveal itself through its own words. He quotes as a parallel to this passage Horace's example of a man who, though hugely extravagant, claims that he wants only a coarse coat, a three-legged table and a shell of salt (Sat.Iiii, 13-17). His belief that he is capable of frugality is an illusion, but Tartuff's is more conscious hypocrisy. His selfish speech is sprinkled with sanctimonious phrases:

'My loving Brethren, we should rest content
 'With the small Pittance gracious Heav'n has sent:
 ''Tis better much to want, than much abound;
 'Hunger and Thirst hereafter will be crown'd.
 'If we've Prunella, which will hang together,
 'Like the good Baptist, girt about with Leather;
 'And Bread and Water, we should ne'er complain:
 'Here, John, give me a - BUMPER OF CHAMPAGNE.'
 (p.10)

The inclusion of both leather and prunella in one couplet seems to be a reminder of this:

Worth makes the man, and want of it, the fellow;
 The rest is all but leather or prunella,

in the fourth epistle of the Essay on Man (ll.204-205), published the previous year. It is significant that Pope is speaking of a parson getting drunk like a cobbler. The phrase "leather and prunella" soon began to be used as a proverb in a quite different sense from what Pope intended, namely to refer to something to which one is completely indifferent. Byron used it in this sense in 1811 (OED, "Leather", sb.I,d).

This bitter depiction of Gibson seems to have aroused some public interest, for, on January 17th 1736, two months after the appearance of Seasonable Reproof, an engraving depicting the bishop at table with his meagre curates was published by Gilliver, who had published the poem, and advertised in the London Daily Post. The

TARTUFF'S BANQUET.



— Opulus me sibi lat. at mihi plaudo

Spae Ghent — Howat's lat. 1. 1. 1

*Were all oblig'd to practise what they teach,
Some warm sleek Clerks would still more seldom preach.
Stall-fed TARTUFF reclining in his Seat,
High heap'd his Beard, himself brimfull of Meat,
Yawning with Pain, thus Sleepy Silence broke,
And to his meagre Curates sadly spoke;
My loving Brethren, we should rest content
With the small Pittance graciously heav'n has sent.*

*'Tis better much to want, than much abound;
Hunger and Thirst hereafter will be crown'd.
If we're Prunella, which will hang together,
Like the good Baptist, girt about with Leather;
And Bread and Water, we should ne'er complain.
Here, John, give me a — Bumper of Champagne.
Seasonable Reproof.*

Tartuff's Banquet

print, which was entitled Tartuff's Banquet, was probably not by Hogarth, although it has sometimes been attributed to him.¹² The most Hogarthian touches in the engraving are the little dog, which is urinating against the chair of one of the curates, and on to his prunella gown, and the pictures on the wall in the background, which illustrate the parable of the pharisee and the publican, and the scene in the story of the Good Samaritan where the Levite turns away from the wounded man. There is no food for the emaciated clerics, though the dog's plate is full. The caption to the print is the section of the poem containing Tartuff's speech to the curates. As the Rundle affair is not mentioned the identity of the bishop would not be apparent to those who did not know Miller's poem. Such knowledge must have been assumed, for otherwise the print might seem a satire on all bishops.

Ecclesiastical differences are an unusual topic for verse satire, particularly "in the Manner of Horace," to whom such controversies were, naturally, unknown. Horace, however, certainly understood the importance of charity, and of the individual conscience, and it is these that Miller is championing, as opposed to the "powerless Forms" of ritual, and the "vulgar, vain Punctillio's" of belief. Hoadly, Miller says, is hated by the blind for the clarity of his vision. He has dared to suggest that man's ability to reason

Was giv'n to prove God's Word, discern God's Mind,
That all true Faith is not on Ign'rance built,
Nor Thinking, in Heav'ns Sight, held mortal Guilt.
(p.12)

Common sense is not inappropriate in matters of devotion, and nor is morality. Correct beliefs cannot atone for an evil life. Many theologians had made such assertions as these, but Miller points

¹²Ronald Paulson places it among the dubious attributions in Hogarth's Graphic Works, vol.II, pl.331. Paulson's commentary is in vol.II, pp.304-305. The print is reproduced here on page 296.

next to Hoadly's special contribution:

What! preach Christ's Kingdom is not here below,
But far, far off, where they must never go!
(p.13)

In 1717 Hoadly preached before the king a famous sermon, The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ, which because of its denial of authority to the church, gave rise to the lengthy and heated Bangorian controversy.¹³ The sermon declared that, since God's kingdom is here on earth:

... All His Subjects, in what Station soever They may be, are equally Subjects to Him ... No One of them, any more than Another, hath Authority, either to make New Laws for Christ's Subjects; or to impose a sense upon the Old Ones ... or to Judge, Censure or Punish, the Servants of Another Master, in matters relating purely to Conscience, or Salvation.
(p.16)

Hoadly had also caused a much more recent controversy. In June 1735 he had published A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and explaining the eucharist as a merely commemorative rite. This treatise also declared Christ the only authority on what he himself had instituted:

It is of small Importance, therefore, to Christians to know what the many Writers upon this Subject, since the time of the Evangelists and Apostles, have affirmed. Much less can it be the Duty of Christians to be guided by what Any Persons, by their own Authority, or from their own Imaginations, may teach concerning this Duty.¹⁴

Miller stresses the contrast between these views and those of the domineering bigots:

¹³Among those who published refutations of Hoadly's views was Joseph Trapp, whom Miller was alleged to have lampooned in The Humours of Oxford. Trapp's The Real Nature of the Church and Kingdom of Christ appeared in 1717.

¹⁴Dublin (1735), p.5.

Write Tartuff, V—n inform, rail W—r, rail,
Your Craft's in Danger if such Truths prevail.¹⁵
(p.13)

It was probably natural that Miller's discourse should move from Rundle to Hoadly, for the latter's preferment to Winchester had also caused controversy in 1734. Lord Hervey links them in his Memoirs for that year:

there happened in this year some commotions in the Church, proceeding from promotions to be made there, which I must not pass over in silence. The two vacant sees of Gloucester and Winchester gave rise to these contests.¹⁶

Hervey remarks that at the time of his preferment to Winchester Hoadly was "hated by the King, disliked by the Queen, and long estranged from the friendship of Sir Robert Walpole" (vol.1, p.446). His praise for the bishop is as warm as Miller's:

It is true the principles which Hoadly professed could be agreeable to few princes, as they could only please such as preferred the prosperity of their people to the grandeur of their Crown, the liberties of their subjects to the increase of their own power ... and the cause of justice to the lust of dominion.

(vol.1, p.445)

When he was made Bishop of Winchester, Sherlock succeeded him at Salisbury, and according to Hervey, Gibson "was pleased with neither of these translations" (vol.I, p.447).

Miller points to Hoadly's life as a "standing Sermon" of integrity. As well as freedom from high-church ritual:

No Hands extended, nor no Eyes that roll,
Yet off'ring the pure Incence of the Soul,
(p.13)

he writes fearlessly the truth as he sees it, being unafraid "To

¹⁵W—r is probably William Webster, who wrote the Weekly Miscellany from 1732-1741, under the pseudonym of "Richard Hooker of the Inner Temple." It contained many religious essays and became known as "Old Mother Hooker's Journal." (Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, vol.V, p.458). Venn and Webster are coupled as "hot zealots" in an undated letter from William Warburton to Dr. Brick, quoted in Nichol's Literary Anecdotes (vol.V, p.167n)

¹⁶Memoirs of the Reign of George II, ed. J.W.Croker (1848), vol. I. n.445.

frown on Vice, tho' ne'er so high or gay," and exercises all the "Heath'nish Vertues" of charity, honour and justice:

Write Tartuff, V—n inform, rail W—r, rail,
Your Lives must stink, if Deeds like these prevail.
(p.14)

The repetition of this couplet, with only two words altered, in the manner of a refrain, lends the poetry a defiant, incantatory power, as well as emphasising that devotion is a matter of deeds as well as truths. From the introduction of Hoadly's name the verse drives fluently and purposefully forward, as his beliefs are contrasted with Gibson's, clause following clause without ceasing for twelve lines, until the first refrain. Then the rhetoric mounts yet more vigorously, for another seventeen lines, as Hoadly's character and way of life are praised, until the second refrain, which concludes the religious part of the poem.

This revelation of Miller's doctrinal views is animated by strong personal feeling; it is a bold statement from a man who clearly felt himself to be demonstrating the kind of moral integrity he describes in Rundle and Hoadly, and the courage and independence that Pope often declared in his satiric poetry. Perhaps therefore it harmonises rather better with the part of the poem that Miller derived from Horace by way of Pope, with its more earnest personal tone, than with the more light and detached attitude of the parts he has drawn directly from the Latin.

According to the dedication, Seasonable Reproof was intended as an introduction to some "occasional Satire, in the Manner of Horace." Miller's later poems were more consistent in tone, and generally less severe in seizing upon individual victims for the "poetical pillory." Walpole was, of course, the great exception to this, but he was hardly an individual in the normal sense, bestriding as he did the contemporary world.

ii) Of Politeness. An Epistle to ... Harrington.

Seasonable Reproof was more concerned with attacking certain individuals, and defending others, than with satiric examination of human follies and inconsistencies. In Of Politeness Miller denounces various forms of fashionable pretentiousness, but without employing examples based on recognisable personalities. Politics are accorded only the slightest and most fleeting attention. Like Miller's drama at its best the poem concentrates upon social lunacies and moral inadequacies, and their consequences. That the piece was inspired by Pope's Epistles to Several Persons is apparent in both subject-matter and treatment, although Pope refers much more to contemporary individuals, and incorporates more political comment. His concept of the Ruling Passion clearly influences Miller's psychological analyses, and his address to "the Fair" is particularly indebted to some of the more scathing passages of the Epistle to a Lady. Miller is unable to employ the epistolary form as effectively as Pope, since he is not writing to a personal friend. Even when, as in the case of the Earl of Burlington, Pope addresses a social superior, he does so with the ease born of a genuine intimacy, and with the dignity of an independent gentleman, whose literary pre-eminence compensates for his modest rank. The identities of his "correspondents" are constantly in view, and the poet discusses themes of particular interest to them in a conversational style in which tones of pleasantry, or of affection, are sometimes heard. In his epistle to Harrington Miller's position is that of a humble dedicator, whose admiration is unspecific, and who cannot permit his own personality a confident central role in the poem, as the more famous poet does. The individual addressed therefore remains

remote, and is at times lost sight of altogether. The poem may not even have been written at first as an epistle at all.

It begins:

Politeness is my Theme— To YOU I write,
Who are, what all would feign be thought, Polite.
(11.1-2)

Only the wise and good, like Harrington, understand all that the term embraces: it includes everything that exerts a civilising influence over mankind's selfish passions. Enlarging upon this theme, Miller implies that he is giving Harrington's opinion rather than his own, and ends by "agreeing" with him:

Ask you, what's true Politeness, you'd reply,
'Tis nothing but well-dress'd Humanity:
That fairest Offspring of the social Mind,
Nurs'd by good Nature, by good Sense refin'd...
- - - - -
'Tis true, my Lord, yet, such the reigning Taste!
In what's the quite Reverse you find it plac'd.
(11.9-12, 25-26)

Examples of various fashionable perversions of taste are discussed, leading to an account of the career of a young beau, Pulvilio, who embraces them all.¹ This is an excellent passage, enlivened by vigorous satirical humour, but in the course of it Miller forgets his correspondent, and addresses the imaginary fop directly, even calling him "my Lord". This was enough to confuse at least one reader, as is evident from the Dictionary of National Biography's entry for Stanhope. This reads: "according to 'Harlequin Horace', an anonymous satirical epistle in verse addressed to him in 1738, William Stanhope went to Eton and 'half a Colledge education got.'" The reference is to the lines in Of Politeness (not, of course, Harlequin-Horace), describing Pulvilio's - not Stanhope's - time at Oxford, whence he emerges, "half Clown, half Prig, half Pedant, and half Sot" (1.205).

¹ "Pulvilio" was a kind of scented cosmetic powder in fashionable use at this time.

In contrast to Pulvilio Miller describes the virtues of the late Lord Chancellor, Charles Talbot, and contrives to include Harrington in this eulogy without sounding too fulsome:

Alas he's gone! Well, HARRINGTON is here.
(1.344)

Then the epistolary manner is again abandoned, as Miller addresses "the Fair" directly, and actually ends his poem with them, exhorting the sex to follow the example of the Countess of Hertford:

Thus plough your Course, thus steer between the Shelves
Polite to Heav'n, your Neighbour, and Yourselves.
(11.402-403)

Apart from this uncertainty with regard to the recipient of the epistle, the poem is in all other respects firmly and coherently constructed. Politeness is first generally defined. It is a combination of good nature and good sense, which controls the emotions, making possible all peaceful and humane social intercourse. Most, however, mistake politeness for mere modishness and snobbery, which actually spring from the directly opposite motives of pride and malice. Examples are then given of men who strive to gain distinction in fields all shown to be pointless or even potentially vicious. These include people who spend lavishly on costly but unpalatable food, or ill-chosen clothes; those who affect great enthusiasm for scholarship or the arts although intellectually incapable of understanding them, and conversely, those who believe the brutalities of gambling, lust and duelling to be more gentlemanly than reading or thinking. A final example is "Lothario", who adopts the fashionable pose of atheism, but at the sound of thunder involuntarily betrays his inner superstition.

Miller then turns to the subject of female affectation:

But see! the Fair in Throngs pour in their Claims,
All forward press, and hold me out their Names.
(11.113-114)

The general failings of the sex are first described, with frequent employment of succinct antithesis:

Th'important Bus'ness of whose Lives is - Show,
 Whose boasted Knowledge that they - nothing know;
 Who all that's Virtuous piously neglect,
 All that's affected modishly affect,
 And build their Hopes of Fame upon - Defect.
 (11.117-121)

Their varieties of foolishness or falsehood are then briefly recounted. The career of Pulvilio and his wife, who exemplify almost all the aspects of false politeness so far described, occupies more than a third of the poem, and forms its central core. The satiric attack conveyed by the depiction of the young nobleman's progressive deterioration from frivolity to depravity is broad in its scope, since it shows the total absence of any civilising influence from his education or the society in which he moves.

By contrast, a shining example of generosity and integrity has been set by Talbot. If it were followed, the moral grandeur of the distant past could be regained, for the late Lord Chancellor is described in terms that unite the Classical and the Biblical worlds. His administration of justice restores the golden age, "bringing Astraea back to Earth again" (1.324), and his resemblance to Job is expounded at length:

Greatness employ'd the Injur'd to redress,
 Raise modest Worth, and Lordly Vice depress;
 To break the Jaws of those who rob by Guile,
 And from the Plund'rer's Teeth to pluck the Spoil.
 (11.329-332)²

Like Job, Talbot was both benevolent in his own actions and wise in his counselling of others:

Goodness that listen'd to the Orphan's Cry,
 And caus'd the Widow's Heart to sing for Joy

²Compare Job XXXIX, 17.

Whilst on his Lips such magick Wisdom hung,
Peers silent stood, and Princes held the Tongue:
 At his Approach the vain young Coxcomb fled,
 And the grey Sage stood up and bow'd the Head.
 (11.333-338)³

The "Daughters of Britannia's Isle" who wish to learn true politeness are exhorted to study their own abilities and failings, and their social position, and to set themselves an appropriate, and realisable aim in life, instead of drifting in pointless frivolity. A middle course is always advisable, since "in all Extreams, or Vice or Folly's seen" (1.365), and a mental harmony will be achieved by balancing, "in due Degrees", the love of self, of others, and of God.

Much of the poem's argument thus depends upon antitheses, balances, and contradictions. The fads and crazes described are generally not harmful in themselves; sometimes they are for things inherently admirable, such as scholarship or the arts, but are distorted by unreasonable excess. Every virtue is seen as being flanked by two opposing vices - modesty, for example, taken to excess becomes prudishness, but its absence means wantonness. Miller agrees with Pope's remark to Spence, "the middle [is] the point for virtue,"⁴ apropos of these lines in the Epistle to Bathurst:

Where-e'er he shines, oh Fortune, gild the scene,
 And Angels guard him in a golden Mean!
 (11.245-246)

But he does not take up Pope's theory that "Extremes in Man concur to gen'ral use" (1.164), that is, "Avarice lays up (what would be hurtful); Prodigality scatters abroad (what may be useful in other hands)."⁵

³Compare Job XXIX, 8-9 and 12-13.

⁴Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men Collected from Conversation, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1966), p.130-1, § 297. This passage is also transcribed in the introduction to the Twickenham Edition, vol.III ii, p.xxi.

The verse form Miller employs, that of heroic Couplets, is naturally suited to the expression of such balanced contrasts, as in these lines:

Ne'er sweat to shew in Learning you excel,
 Yet never blush to own, that you can spell.
 In Dress ne'er quit the fashionable Road,
 Yet be not first in ev'ry mushroom Mode.
 Swoon not at Sight of Basto or Spadille,
 Yet let not Cards your Time's best Moments kill.
 (11.377-382)

This style of diction is not maintained throughout the poem, however. Miller avoids monotony by varying his handling of the couplet. In the lengthy central account of Pulvilio's success, in particular, the verse drives forward with racy conversational vigour, as, for example, in these lines:

But now the Youth, his wondrous Labours o'er,
 Burns to revisit his paternal Shore.
 Stay, crys the Tutor, something must be bought
 Before we Latium quit - no matter what,
 But something must, to shew our Taste at home,
 And prove we have not been in vain at Rome.
 'Tis done - Once more by Goths poor Rome is spoil'd,
 High! Mountain high! the pretious Plunder's pil'd.
 (11.234-241)

Occasionally, however, there is a pause for the sake of humorous emphasis, with a caesura and a balancing or repetition in the two halves of the line, as in these two examples, the first with a neat parody of Pope's Arbuthnot (1.128):

True Child of Fortune, and true Foe to Fame,
 You lisp'd in Nonsense, for the Nonsense came.
 (11.190-191)

A Front with no Venetian Window grac'd,
 A Wall with not a Scrap of Rustick lac'd.
 What must be done? - What! why my Lord must build,
 And prove, in ev'ry Art alike he's skill'd.
 The Pile is rear'd, full furnish'd ev'ry Floor
 With costly Lumber, and a costly Whore.
 (11.264-269)

The latter quotation is from a passage on a subject which had been explored in the Epistle to Burlington in 1731. Pope feared that the

architectural designs of Palladio, which had been published by the Earl, would be ineptly imitated by wealthy fools. He envisages them causing the winds to roar through long arcades, "Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door" (1.36).

Architectural fads, and curio-collecting on the Grand Tour had been previously ridiculed by Miller in The Man of Taste, in which idle, ignorant extravagance is satirised through the mouth of a clever footman. Posing as Lord Apemode, Martin, when asked about his education and his travels, shows his French embroidery, linen from Cambray, and diamond from the Hague, to prove that he has come home "improv'd". He also purchased a good deal of lumber in Rome:

A whole Barnful of Curiosities, Madam: Old Coins, Medals,
Statues, and Pictures by the Hundred Weight.

He did not take the trouble to collect them himself, but knows their value by their price. He has now to build a house to hold them, "I have sent my Builder over to Venice ... 'tis Building! Building, Madam! by which a Man now must manifest his Taste" (p.39). The new Palladian style is severely treated by Miller:

Martin. Such noble Rusticks without, such elegant Stuccho
within, and such a Grove of Chimnies on Top!
Dorothea. With Windows no larger than the Mount of ones Fan!
Maria. And a Wall before, as high again as the House; which
serves so sublimely for a Blind, that one would think
one's self at Noon-day in some underground Cavern!
(p.40)

In its satire of the social scene Of Politeness is in fact the closest of Miller's eight poems to his stage comedies. The resemblance is especially marked in the account of Pulvilio's marriage, after wasting his substance, to the daughter of a rich merchant:

A Wealth-gorg'd Citt, who long'd to mend his Blood,
And trace his Grandson's Lineage from the Flood.
(11.284-285)

Miller charts the course of a loveless marriage embarked upon from

motives of greed on both sides. Like the daughters of Cheapside in "The Camp Visitants" and The Cuckold in Conceit the bride's head is turned by "dear St. James's magick Air," and she hotly pursues a simplistic idea of politeness. Following the familiar pattern, which in 1745 was so memorably illustrated by Hogarth in Marriage a la Mode:

In each Refinement anxious to excel
 And crown the Business of a perfect Belle,
 In Gallantry at last the Fair embarks,
 And as you keep your Punks, she keeps her Sparks.
 (11.311-314)

Her interest in opera is compared with her inattention in church, in spite of a childhood of needlework and Bible-reading:

At each Assembly she's the first to play,
 At ev'ry Masque the last to go away;
 All ear at Opera, and at Church all Tongue,
 How came she here? - How! Why an Anthem's sung.
 (11.295-298)

In Harlequin-Horace Miller had contrasted the virtuous manliness of old English folk songs with the elaborately orchestrated Italian opera, the effeteness of which was symbolised by its castrated singers. He had introduced the implication that its vogue was almost irreligious by explaining that music was objectionable when made "subservient to Obscenity and Nonsense, or jesuitically confin'd, like false Devotion, to an unknown Tongue."⁶ Here, attention at the opera is coupled with indifference in church. In Seasonable Reproof Miller linked the nation's obsession with Faronelli to its acquiescence in Walpole's rule. In The Coffee House (1738) this obsession was seen as unpatriotic, and in the dedication to Lord Weymouth of The Man of Taste in 1735, as disruptive of the natural order of society, when "Husbands are ruin'd, Children robb'd, and Tradesmen starv'd, in order to give Estates to a French Harlequin,

⁶3rd edition p.32n.

and Italian Eunuch, for a Shrug or a Song."

Even when the pastime is more edifying in its nature, the pre-
tence of enthusiasm for it is ridiculed. Sir John practises the
fiddle with apparent devotion,

Yet all the while (Sir John must own 'tis true)
He's doing what he least would wish to do.
Not less Spadillia Shakespear understands,
Yet runs each Night, and stares, and claps her Hands.
Not Tattle less delights to hold his Tongue,
Yet sits four Hours to hear an Op'ra sung.
(11.86-91)

Pulvilio is censured for bringing home from his Grand Tour a cargo
of works of art and archeological treasures merely for the sake of
ostentation. Judging by the terms in which he refers to this mer-
chandise Miller would appear to despise even the serious collector
of antiques:

Coins so antique, so very rusty grown,
That neither Stamp, nor Metal could be known;
Such curious Manuscripts as ne'er were seen,
You could not guess what Language they were in;
Bustoes that each a Nose or Chin had lost,
And Paintings of much Worth, for - much they cost.
Thus glutted with the Rubbish of each Land,
Swift sails the Chief to gain Britania's Strand.
(11.241-248)

It seems that the concentration upon detailed study involved in
becoming a connoisseur, or an expert in any specialised branch of
knowledge, was considered to be unbalancing in its effect, and to
lead to eccentricities, at the very least. In The Humours of Oxford
the aspiration to female erudition is ridiculed in Lady Science,
but her scientific specimen-collecting would have been considered
ludicrous in either sex.

The same play is severely critical of the members of the Univer-
sity itself, both undergraduates and dons. The first category is
represented by Ape-all, a wealthy young libertine, who is both lazy
and insolent, and whose ignorance remains unblemished by his sojourn

at Oxford. Pulvilio resembles him closely:

Thence Christ's Quadrangle took you for its own,
 Had Alma Mater e'er so true a Son!
Half seven Years spent in Billiards, Cards, and Tippling,
 And growing ev'ry Day a lovelier Stripling ...
 (11.200-203)

The tutor who accompanies Pulvilio on his tour of Europe is like the pedantic, quibbling don, Conundrum, in The Humours of Oxford, who is also foolish and bibulous:

When lo! a letter'd Booby from the Schools
 Big-swoln with Ale and Aristotle's Rules,
 - - - - -
 Who all dead Languages had made his own,
 But never utter'd common Sense in one ...
 (11.211-212, 215-216)

The poem gives an example of a man, "Curio", whose false conception of politeness leads him to feign an ardour for scholarship, and to inflict his pedantry on others, particularly women:

The very Fair he sagely entertains
 With the learn'd Oozings of his addl'd Brains;
 - - - - -
 Wond'rous deep Schemes, like Whiston, can impart,
 And bring to Light the Myst'ries of each Art:
 Reveal the Longitude, the Circle square,
 And make (as well as Pemberton) the Fair
 Know all Sir Isaac Newton to a Hair.
 (11.61-62, 65-69)⁷

In this he resembles The Humours of Oxford's other College Fellow, Haughty, who is so rude as to speak Latin to ladies. The play's urbane and fashionable characters are cultivated as well as witty, but without the University pedants' parade of erudition. They are

⁷William Whiston (1667-1752), scholar and divine, succeeded Newton as Lucasian professor at Cambridge, and was among the first to popularise the Newtonian theories. He combined scientific with theological inquiries, of an unorthodox nature, and was banished from the University in 1710 for heresy. He seems to have been a man of very acute, but ill-balanced intellect. He lectured and published works on an extensive range of subjects, and was particularly interested in such phenomena as meteors, eclipses and earthquakes, which he connected with the fulfilment of prophecies.

Henry Pemberton, in A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (1728), attempted to describe the work of Newton with "young gentlemen" particularly in mind.

better judges of character, and have more considerate manners; in fact this comedy is as much concerned with true politeness as with the conventional topic of true love.

Of Politeness does not deal with political matters, and anti-governmental satire would probably have appeared indiscreet in an epistle to a member of Walpole's cabinet, even though Harrington was strongly opposed to the peace policy. However, there are one or two slight hints at corruption in high places. In the first edition the opening paragraph of the poem consists of only four lines; the third and fourth of which read as follows, defining the word "politeness":

This is the Coxcomb's Av'rice, Courtier's Claim,
The Citt's Ambition and the Soldier's Fame.

In Miscellaneous Works this couplet was added:

This interrupts the wild Projector's Dream,
And mingles with the Statesman's deepest Scheme.

The reference to a statesman is given special emphasis by his being the last-named character of the list, and, although it naturally suggests Walpole, as satire it is mild enough, since a politician almost by definition will be a deviser of deep schemes. Subsequently we are told that the late Lord Chancellor "worshipp'd no big Knave, no titl'd Fool" (1.325). At this period the mention of a big knave that lesser men worship would inevitably have evoked the Prime Minister, and therefore the titled fool who is coupled with him might perhaps have suggested the King, to a reader who was disrespectfully inclined. This is again merely a hint, but it is reinforced by the allusion to "Baals" a few lines earlier. Pulvilio and his wife, although morally worthless, are hailed by society as models of conduct and arbiters of taste. Because of his rank and her wealth they attract a throng of sycophants, but there is rather a disproportionate

degree of hyperbole in the climax to the description of their social success:

Hail noble Pair! your Glory's now compleat,
 And Millions learn Politeness at your Feet;
 Peers, Pimps and Parisites your Trophies raise,
 And dedicating Bards resound your Praise.
 Heavens! is it possible such Crimes should wear
 Virtue's bright Veil, or Honour's Standard bear?
 Alas! 'tis true - look round the Globe and see
 Who to such Baals do not bend the Knee!

(11.315-322)

If Miller's poem had not been written before the appearance of Pope's Epilogue to the Satires one would assume that this had been influenced by the conclusion to Dialogue I, where the marriage of Walpole and his mistress is depicted as the Triumph of Vice. Terms like "Glory", "Millions", "Trophies" and "Baals" move the poem's rhetoric onto a different plane from that of the preceding humourous social satire. Miller also sees a triumph of vice in English Society due to a degeneracy that begins at the very top. As in Seasonable Reproof, where "the garter'd Knee must needs to Baal bend" (p.14), this image inevitably evokes the opposition allegories that connected Walpole and George II with oriental despotism and idolatrous religions.

In discussing Miller's poetry one is often forced to refer to Pope. However, a small measure of Miller's indebtedness is repaid by the use Pope made in the last book of the Dunciad in 1742 of the account of Pulvilio's tour of Europe from Of Politeness. There were also lesser instances of such reciprocation.⁸ The Twickenham edition of The Dunciad cites Of Politeness in connexion with Pope's images of culinary extravagance in Dunciad IV. The footnote to these lines,

.... The Bishop stow (Pontific Luxury!)
 An hundred Souls of Turkeys in a pye;
 The sturdy Squire to Gallic masters stoop,
 And drown his Lands and Manors in a Soupe,
 (11.593-596)

⁸See the description of a small borrowing from Harlequin-Horace in An Essay on Man, above p. 136.

quotes Miller's line, "Then swallows down whole Manors at a Meal" (1.10). However, since in 1732 Sober Advice from Horace had

'Treat on, treat on', is her eternal Note,
And Lands and Tenements go down her Throat,
(11.14-15)

the only borrowing appears to lie in the word "Manors". The passage in Of Politeness from which this single line was taken affords further parallels, however. A few lines earlier in the Dunciad of 1742, we find this:

Beeves, at his touch, at once to jelly turn,
And the huge Boar is shrunk into an Urn:
The board with specious miracles he loads,
Turns Hares to Larks, and Pigeons into Toads.
- - - - -
Knight lifts the head, for what are crowds undone
To three essential Partridges in one?
(IV 551-554, 561-562)

Miller had also spoken of food in mysterious disguises, and the reduction to gravy of large quantities of the flesh of game-birds:

So strange each Viand, and so strangely dress'd,
If Fish, Flesh, Fowl, roast, boil'd can ne'er be guess'd:
Here hid in Peacocks Brains a Squirrel lies,
With Gravy drawn from twice twelve Woodcocks Thighs.
(Of Politeness, 11.41-44)

Much more important, however, is the connexion between Miller's account of Pulvilio's European tour and the superb "travelling Governor's speech" which Pope himself called "one of the best things in my new addition to the Dunciad."⁹ The Twickenham editor notes a general resemblance to a similar passage in James Miller's Of Politeness (footnote to 11.293-326), but this is really an understatement, as the similarities are particular as well as general.

In Book IV of the Dunciad Pope describes how the Goddess Dulness is surrounded not only by her numerous children, but by crowds of other adherents which they bring with them. Her own offspring cling

⁹Spence, Observations, vol.1 p.150, § 335, quoted in Twickenham edition footnote to 11.282-334.

the closest:

Not closer, orb in orb, conglob'd are seen
The buzzing Bees about their dusky Queen.
(IV 79-80)

In composing this simile Pope may even have been remembering Miller's image of the entourage of footmen attending Pulvilio's wife:

Slave clasping Slave hang backward when she drives,
Like clust'ring Drones in Summer from their Hives.
(11.302-303)

The less intimate followers of Dulness, according to Pope's "Argument", are "Half-wits, tasteless Admirers, vain Pretenders, the Flatterers of Dunces, or the Patrons of them." Their courtship of the great is described in a phrase Miller had used in Of Politeness, and before that in Seasonable Reproof:

Nor absent they, no members of her state,
Who pay her homage in her sons, the Great;
Who false to Phoebus, bow the knee to Baal;
Or impious, preach his Word without a call.
(IV 91-94)

The first of the throng to address the Goddess are the schoolmasters, who assure her that they serve her cause by keeping their pupils from real knowledge and confining them "in the pale of Words till death" (1.160). The universities indicate that they are following the same methods. They are driven away by a band of young men returning from travel with their tutors, and one of these presents his pupil to Dulness as a "glorious Youth" of perfect accomplishments.

Pope thus conducts the reader through the three stages of a nobleman's education (school, university and foreign tour), as Miller does, more briefly, in his biography of Pulvilio. The kind of scholarship in favour at the university is indicated by the qualifications of the travelling tutor, who is a "letter'd Booby", ignorant of manners and men, but learned in Aristotle's rules, and all dead languages. Pulvilio was the son of a nobleman,

Who trac'd his boasted Ancestry from Brute,
 A Fool a thousand off - Of royal Root;
 Whilst for your Lordship all may safely swear
 You breathe his lawful own-begotten Heir;
 - - - - -
 True Child of Fortune, and true Foe to Fame,
 You lisp'd in Nonsense, for the Nonsense came:
 Your Mammy's Darling - (for an elder Brother
 Is always courted by a crafty Mother.)
 You ne'er were suffer'd to molest your Head,
 Or hurt your Eyes to be a Pedant bred:
 To Eaton sent, o'er ev'ry Form you leapt,
 No studious Eves, no toilsome Mattins kept.
 (11.182-185, 190-99)

His counterpart in the Dunciad is

Thine from the birth, and sacred from the rod,
 A dauntless infant! never scar'd with God.
 (IV 283-284)

Pulvilio's mother protects him from the unpleasantness of studying.
 The mother of Pope's "young Æneas" is Dulness and not Venus, but she
 acts Venus' part in shielding him from danger with an eclipsing mist.

Thro' School and College, thy kind cloud o'ercast,
 Safe and unseen the young Æneas past.
 (IV 289-290)

The Dunciad frequently alludes to the Æneid, but the reference
 at this point may indicate that Pope had noticed Miller's pun on
 "Brute" (1.182); Pulvilio's family origins being epic or bestial
 according to one's prejudice. If he is descended from the mythical
 Brutus, then Æneas was also his ancestor.

Pulvilio, with tutor, "takes his Flight" to Paris and Rome:

Some new Brocade Parisian Artists weave;
 The new Brocade, Toupee and Solitaire
 Once gain'd - What farther Bus'ness had you there?
 Next Roman Causeways with your Coursers rung,
 Who would not see what God-like Maro sung?
 (11.221-225)

The Dunciad's youth flies "o'er seas and lands", aiming at a Paris
 also associated, albeit metaphorically, with silk:

To where the Seine, obsequious as she runs,
 Pours at great Bourbon's feet her silken sons,
 (IV 197-198)

and thence on to Rome and Venice.

In Rome Pulvilio nodded over tombs and monuments,
 High-pleas'd to hear on Classick Ground you trod;
 For you and your Compeers have still thought meet
 To trample all that's classick under Feet.
 (11.227-229)

Pope's hero reacted in the same way:

Dropt the dull lumber of the Latin store,
 Spoil'd his own language, and acquir'd no more;
 All Classic learning lost on Classic ground;
 And last turn'd Air, the Echo of a Sound!
 (IV 319-322)

Elsewhere Miller uses the word lumber, referring to Pulvilio's re-built mansion furnished "with costly Lumber and a costly Whore" (1.269), and this may have brought the word into Pope's mind.

Pulvilio's voyages are described in mock-pastoral verse:

Breathe bland ye Zephirs, be ye Sails unfurl'd!
 (1.219)
 Whilst Fortune, never to her Bantlings blind,
 Smooths ev'ry Surge, and breathes in ev'ry Wind.
 (11.252-253)

Pope was perhaps following Miller's example in adopting this style, although the poetry transcends its precedent:

To Isles of fragrance, lilly-silver'd vales,
 Diffusing languor in the panting gales:
 To lands of singing, or of dancing slaves,
 Love -whisp'ring woods, and lute-resounding waves.
 (IV 303-306)

Pope expands upon the sensual depravity the young man learns in Europe, while Miller is more concerned with deploring the habit of collecting expensive and useless antiques; but Pulvilio is far from pure, and when he returns home and builds a mansion to house his acquisitions he installs his whores there, and rolls in "Riot, Luxury and Waste" (1.271).

This detailed comparison has revealed more than "a general resemblance" between Of Politeness and the Governor's speech. There can be no doubt that Miller's poem furnished inspiration for this

prominent section of the Dunciad's fourth book, and this can only be to its credit. Of Politeness also has qualities interesting in their own right. It unites the comic dramatist's preoccupation with social morality with some hints of political satire subtler than in his other poems, with the possible exception of The Art of Life, which was the next to be written. Moreover, the poem evinces considerable vivacity of imagination, and a skilful, flexible handling of versification.

iii) The Art of Life. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry

This poem was intended to be the first of two epistles and is based on only the first 152 lines (that is, about a third) of the Ars Poetica. It was published in 1739; the second epistle never appeared. The piece is a commentary upon social behaviour and conversation, the point and humour of which lie in the appropriate adaptation of Horace's images and examples. The task of adaptation is more difficult than it was in the case of Harlequin-Horace, since the earlier poem dealt, like its model, with dramatica and poetic composition, whereas in the Art of Life Miller has to make Horace's advice apply to the conduct of life in general. Nevertheless, he finds many witty analogies. The tone of the poem is light and colloquial, and the satire oblique rather than denunciatory.

Since Horace begins by warning against incoherence in a work of art, Miller shows that an inconsistent way of life is to be despised:

Turn'd by no Bias, pointed to no Goal,
Spendthrift alike of Body and of Soul;
Whose thoughts, like sick Men's Dreams, his Actions steer,
Spur'd by vain Hope, or curb'd by groundless Fear;
Diseas'd his nat'ral, dead his moral Pow'rs,
Who lives not, only kills so many Hours.

(p.2)

As in Of Politeness benevolence is extolled as the greatest virtue, all-important to civilisation itself:

'Tis not enough your Life should barely prove
Decent and just, adorn it too with Love.
Love interesting, gen'rous, unconfin'd,
That Social Chain which links us to the Kind ...
(p.18)

Sincerity is also essential, in life as much as in art, for when the tongue

Utters what ne'er was felt, what ne'er was thought,
And by the Brain, instead of Breast, is taught,
We break through Truth and Reason's sacred Rules,
And fall from Sense for fear of being Fools.
(p.20)

Even here, however, the golden mean should be observed. Frankness should not wound; "Harsh Truths" should be moderated by tactfulness in polite conversation, for example, "I would not mind proud S — h of her Age" (p.22), a little joke at the expense of the redoubtable Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, to whom Miller was to dedicate The Year Forty-One.

Horace advises poets to begin their works modestly, avoiding grandiose promises, and irrelevant descriptive passages:

Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros
aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.
(11.14-18)

In the Art of Life the corresponding passage describes the foolish ostentation with which a young nobleman, "Umbra", embarks on life. Like "Pulvilio" in Of Politeness, he roams Europe to "bring the Dregs of foreign Climates Home," and re-designs the natural landscape of his "paternal Acres", without the funds to support such ventures (p.4). Horace's examples of incongruous purple patches include descriptions of the rainbow and the river Rhine, and these prompt Miller's vision of Umbra, ranging "the Borders of the Rhine and Po,/

Bedeck'd with all the Stains of Iris' Bow" (p.4). In Europe he acquires his "Flanders lace and French Toupee," and this image of unpatriotic modishness is taken up some paragraphs later, where, like most of the satire of this poem, it acquires a political tinge.

Horace's reference to the skilful linking of words in poetry suggested to Miller the idea of the weaving of cloth. The line "in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis/dixeris egregie" (1.46), appears in the Loeb translation as "Moreover, with a nice taste and care in weaving words together ...". Newly coined words are said by Horace to be unknown to the kilted Cethegi, "fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis / continget" (11.50-51); the cinctus being a loin-cloth worn by the ancestors of the Romans. These allusions to weaving and to fashion in dress prompt Miller to take up a favourite subject for contemporary poets, that of the British woollen industry. In passing he recommends a return to an older, more modest style of dress, particularly the high necks that were in vogue in "chaste Eliza's Days." Patriotism, however, matters even more than modesty:

But if some fair Occasion gives you room
To grace the Labours of your Country's Loom,
Britannia's Sterling Products to advance,
And banish all the Tinsel Trash of France,
Then, then, ye Albion Chiefs, exert your Might,
The first in Fashion then's the most Polite.

Or why should Foplings Scoul upon my Pen, }
If, wishing foreign Lux'ry to restrain, }
It toils to cherish home-bred Arts again, }
Since Sloan and Spenser have enrich'd the Land
With Webs unmatched by any foreign Hand. (pp.10&12)

In his authoritative essay, "Whig Panegyric Verse," C.A.Moore describes the shift which had begun taking place amongst the labouring population, from dependence upon agriculture to involvement in the capitalist system of manufacture. These changes, which were the result of Whig policies, made the position of these classes more precarious, once their links with the land had been severed:

Any obstruction to ocean-going commerce meant the death-blow to British prosperity, and the effects would descend first upon the artisan. The Whigs, in a sense the creators of the situation, made a virtue of their necessity by defending all measures protective of commerce and manufacture as policies absolutely essential to the preservation of the poor.¹

In 1721 an act was passed which imposed a fine of five pounds for weaving or using the printed or dyed calicoes which were imported from France, and extremely fashionable. The measure was forced upon Parliament by riots among unemployed weavers. Moore explains that the support of the sentimental poets for these legal measures was directed against the indifference shown by the wealthy classes to the welfare of the poor. "It thus became a staple item in the program of literary sensibility and benevolence" (p.123). The reader is exhorted to wear British wool in Thomson's Britannia (1729), the epilogue to his Sophonisba (1730), Young's Night Thoughts (1745), Shenstone's Elegies (not published until 1764, and mostly composed between 1743 and 1749), and most of all, in that exhaustive treatment of the subject of wool production, John Dyer's The Fleece (1757). The epilogue to Sophonisba contrives with some ingenuity to be both patriotic and risqué:

Your Roman ladies dress'd in Gause all o'er,
Should you, fair patriots, come to dress so thin;
How clear might all your - sentiments be seen.
To foreign looms no longer owe your charms;
Nor make their trade more fatal than their arms.
Each British dame, who counts her country's praise,
By quitting these outlandish modes, might raise
(Not from yon powder'd band, so thin, and spruce)
Ten able-bodied men, for - publick use!

Miller's reference to the need to protect British trade and manufacturing links this section of the poem with the many satires which were being published at the time in angry protest at Walpole's slowness to avenge Spanish obstruction of British maritime commerce. As

¹"Whig Panegyric Verse: A Phase of Sentimentalism", PMLA XLI (1926), 362-461, reprinted in Backgrounds of English Literature 1700-1760 (Minneapolis, 1953), pp.104-144. This passage is from the

early as 1729 James Thomson warned in Britannia of the dire consequences of any obstruction to commerce:

And should the big redundant Flood of Trade,
 In which ten thousand thousand Labours join
 Their several Currents, 'till the boundless Tide
 Rolls in a radiant Torrent o'er the Land,
 Fruitful of Wealth, Magnificence, and Joy,
 - - - - -
 Should this bright Stream the least inflected, point
 Its Course another Way, o'er other Lands
 The various Treasure would resistless pour,
 Ne'er to be won again; its antient Tract
 Left a vile Channel, desolate and dead,
 With all around a miserable Waste. (pp.12-13)

In 1740 Miller was himself to write one of the most intemperate of the attacks on the peace policy, Are these Things So? In The Art of Life he introduces the subject more obliquely, at the point where Horace speaks of the style appropriate to epic poetry:

Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
 quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.

(In what measure the exploits of kings and captains and the sorrows of war may be written, Homer has shown; ll.73-74).

Miller develops this idea thus:

Whate'er to Courts and Politicks relate,
 The Deeds of Kings, and Ministers of State,
 Of Depredations, Treaties, and Conventions,
 And, 'twixt the In and Out, what dire Contentions,
 From sage Debates of Lords and Commons learn -
 Yet make it, as your least, your last Concern. (p.12)

The "Depredations, Treaties, and Conventions" named with such apparent casualness are the burning issues of the day. A convention was signed with Spain on September 9th 1738. That autumn, the country was outraged by the story of Jenkins' Ear, and when a second treaty, the Convention of the Pardo, was submitted to Parliament on February 1st 1739, it was hotly opposed. Approval was voted on March 8th by only 28 votes. The naval commander, Nicholas Haddock, was ordered home, but the reaction to this was so furious that Walpole was forced

to countermand the order. The next day the Opposition seceded, walking out of Parliament in protest. In May the plenipotentiaries met to ratify the Convention. Walpole consented to instruct them that the Spanish right of search must be surrendered. Spain refused, and war was declared on October 19th.

The Art of Life probably appeared later in October. In the British Museum is the copy bought for its customers by Tom's Coffee House. The date of acquisition was usually written on these copies, and presumably they were bought very soon after publication. This one is marked October 31st. Miller seems to expect the opening of hostilities, but not with certainty:

Of old our Citizens complain'd of War,
'Tis now their only Joy, their only Pray'r.
If granted, or in vain our Fleet sent out,
Tho' some dim sighted Politicians doubt,
We trust th'Event will make all Europe know
DON HADDOCK'S England's ablest PLENIPO.
(p.14)

This corresponds to these lines of Horace:

versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,
post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos;
quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.

(verses yoked unequally first embraced lamentation, later also the sentiment of granted prayer: yet who first put forth humble elegiacs scholars dispute, and the case is still before the court; ll.75-78)

The evolution of the elegiac couplet from the expression of sorrow to that of joy is paralleled by the recent alteration in the public's attitude to war, and the disputing scholars by the doubts of the dim-sighted politicians. The comparatively restrained tone of this criticism may be due to the fact that for once Miller's name appears on the title-page of the poem.

Horace continues his account of the origins of the various verse forms by turning to the poet Archilochus, who originated the use of

the iambic foot for verse satire. His rage led him to take up the weapon of the iambus (Archilochem proprio rabies armavit iambo; l. 79), but no comment is made by Horace as to the justness of this anger, or the wrongs which gave rise to it. In The Art of Life Pope corresponds to Archilochus, and Miller clearly concurs with the former's disgust at the contemporary situation:

A righteous Rage at our degen'rate Days,
Arm'd Pope with his own keen Iambick Lays,
To scourge th'enormous Folly o' the Times,
And make the Vicious tremble at his Rhimes.
(p.14)

The ancient writers of comedy and tragedy took up Archilochus' metre, and used it to subdue the clamour of the pit. Modern dramatists, however, according to Miller, have failed to exert a moral influence similar to Pope's. All classes in the audience care only for the spectacle of pantomime, and the playwrights attack only party-political targets:

With like Success, but not with like Desert,
Our Sock and Buskin Bards have ap'd his Art;
Each Vice, by turns, flies bleeding from his Stroke,
But Politicks alone their Stings provoke;
Whilst at each squinting Scene, or full-mouth'd Trap,
Pit, Box and Galleries, thunder out a Clap.
(p.14)

Although dramatic satire is here asserted to be merely political while Pope's poetry is not, the emphatic use of such phrases as the scourging of "enormous folly", making the "vicious tremble", and "degenerate days", would remind most readers of the Epilogue to the Satires, published only the year before, which was openly political and castigated Walpole severely.

Another artist who wields great moral influence by acting directly upon the the emotions is Handel. The praise of his music corresponds to Horace's account of the lyric mode:

musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum

et iuvenum curas et libera una referre.

(To the lyre the Muse granted tales of gods and the children of gods, of the victor in boxing, of the horse first in the race, of the loves of swains and of freedom over wine; 11.83-85)

Illustrations of all these themes can be found in the composer's works; his religious compositions, such as the oratorio Saul, correspond to the stories of gods, and Alexander's Feast to the victor's celebrations, and the lover's sighs. Horace's brief comments are expanded into what is almost an ode to Handel, revealing a deep awareness of the power of music, somewhat surprising after Miller's caustic remarks on modern music in Harlequin-Horace, and his constant hostility towards opera:

Hear David sooth the Phrensy of the King,
 In Sounds as sweet as David's Self could sing;
 When Samuel's boding Notes his Heart appall,
 We stand aghast, and tremble too with Saul;
 And when the solemn Fun'ral March moves on
 To plaintive Chords, whilst David joins his Moan }
 Lamenting Saul and Jonathan his Son,
 How are the Mighty fall'n! we sighing cry,
 And Tears spontaneous gush from ev'ry Eye.

- - - - -
 Whilst in his Royal Macedonian's Feast
 Th'almighty Pow'r of Harmony's exprest,
 Our Joy and Grief, our Transport and Despair,
 Wait on each Touch, and change with ev'ry Air.
 Stupendous Master! now, amaz'd, we see
 All the was feign'd of Orpheus true of Thee.
 (pp.14&16)

The study and enjoyment of both poetry and music have thus an ennobling effect upon the mind:

When such Delights your leisure Moments know,
 Virtue and Wisdom from Amusement flow.
 (p.16)

When Horace discusses the style requisite for tragic characters, whose speech is intended to move the audience, he mentions Telephus and Peleus as examples of men in pitiable difficulties, who had to beg for help (11.104-105). Miller's parallels for these are those individuals who have incurred the Minister's displeasure:

A turn'd-out Courtier, or an exil'd Chief,
 In mild Remonstrances should speak their Grief:
 If anxious to engage the Factious Throng,
 Or raise our just Resentments for their Wrong.
 (p.18)

Since the resentment is "just", the implication is that the statesmen have been ousted because they held to their principles in defiance of Walpole's politics of expediency, but Miller's own remonstrance is as mild as he advises theirs should be.

Horace suggests that poets ought to follow tradition in representing the characteristics of famous individuals such as Achilles, and to keep invented characters self-consistent (ll.119-127). Miller adds to this a comment on the times, and on partisan journalists and poets:

Gain, party, Passion, Whim, so much prevail,
 That few in drawing Characters but fail:
 The safest way's a Medium to pursue,
 Then, if not True, they'll be akin to True.

He gives five examples of moderate criticism, relating to characters who all have pseudonyms, and are not easy to identify:

Don't say Columbus ne'er was once mistaken,
 Yet own he's wise enough to save his Bacon.
 Call Aquilo a Courtier; not a Tool,
 And make of Syphax nor a Saint, nor Fool.
 Own Atticus is witty and polite,
 But quere if his Conduct's always right?
 Give Cleon a free Tongue, but no free Hand,
 He loves his Country much, much more his Land.
 (p.22)

One would expect the Minister to head the list, but Columbus is not one of his well-known soubriquets. Columbus was a captain, and Walpole could be said to steer the ship of state; he also served Spain, as Sir Robert was often accused of doing. The phrase "save his Bacon" is certainly a reminder of the opening of Seasonable Reproof, in which "Sir Bob" saves his bacon when threatened by angry citizens. Again, the implication probably is that Columbus saves his booty, as

well as his skin. Perhaps Miller is referring to the same controversy as in Seasonable Reproof, that of the Excise Scheme, when he speaks of being "once mistaken".

Aquilo means "the north wind", and is probably derived from aquilus, "dark". The latter word was used only rarely in the sense of "swarthy", so it is possible, but unlikely, that Miller is referring to a dark man.² There was a courtier named Lord North, but he belonged to the court of the Prince of Wales rather than that of his father, and was not of sufficient stature to take second place in this list of leading politicians. The Duke of Newcastle, with his obvious northern connexions, is a possibility. Another is that Miller meant to suggest "aquiline", and in that case an identification could be more confidently made. The Lord President of the Council was Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, of whom Pope wrote that his nose was all that could be found remarkable to set on his monument.³ One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty mentions him as "C. that Roman in his nose alone" (1.65). We are told that Aquilo can be viewed as either a courtier, or, more unkindly, a tool, and this is not inapplicable to Wilmington, for according to Lord Hervey, he had "vast complaisance for a Count without any address," and when in 1727 Walpole had him made a peer, to remove him from the House of Commons, "he did not seem to feel the ridicule or the contemptibility of his situation," though robbed of power, "he seemed just as well satisfied to be bowing and grinning in the antechamber, possessed of a lucrative employment without credit."⁴

²C.T.Lewis and C.Short, A Latin Dictionary(Oxford, 1969) s.v. aquilus.

³Letter to the Earl of Marchmont, written in July 1743, Correspondence vol.IV, p.459. .

⁴Memoirs, vol.I, pp.32 and 52-53.

There is only one notable Syphax in classical history, and he appears in two popular eighteenth-century tragedies, Addison's Cato, and Thomson's Sophonisba. In the latter, Syphax, the husband of the eponymous heroine, is defeated in battle by a previous rival for his wife's affection. Sophonisba agrees to marry the victor while Syphax still lives, so this could be a suitable name for a cuckold, but no prominent statesman, with the exception of Walpole himself, had such a reputation at this time. It seems more probable that the name was suggested to Miller by Addison's Cato, since he certainly had the Roman paragon in mind later in this poem, in his reference to "proud Portius":

But ne'er engage in any Party Squabble,
 - - - - -
 Nor, prompted by Vain-glory's feverish Thirst,
 With Strangers toil to shew away at first;
 And, like proud Portius in the Senate-Hall,
 Start up and cry - Come, Sirs, I'm at you all ...
 (p.24)

Marcus Porcius Cato had several confrontations with angry mobs while addressing meetings of the Senate in the Roman forum. They were not dramatised in Addison's play but Plutarch describes at least three incidents when Cato faced a barrage of missiles. Miller might, in this context, be referring in particular to the rage Cato aroused when he persuaded the Senate to make a law preventing bribery in the elections to consulships and praetorships. Plutarch wrote that "This offended the Suiters for the Offices, but much more the mercenary multitude." Cato reached the pulpit for orations with great difficulty, and pacified the rabble with "the boldness and constancy of his countenance onely."⁵

Miller had also quoted from Cato in Harlequin-Horace. The identity

⁵The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans.. by.. Plutarch of Chaeronea, trans. Sir Thomas North (Cambridge, 1676), p.652.

of "Syphax" however, is far from clear. His being revered by one side and derided by the other, the use of the word "Saint", and the initial "S" might suggest Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who could perhaps be seen as a defeated chief. The implication of treachery however, is hard to reconcile with Miller's great respect for Pope.

Atticus is Lord Chesterfield, judging by Miller's use of this pseudonym in Are these Things So? the following year. The first edition of that poem has the following lines:

With thee the darling Atticus may sit,
An abler Partner - if his rebel Wit
Can to such Pains and Penalties submit.
(p.14)

The second edition has "Chesterfield" instead. The Earl's wit was celebrated, and his letters to his son evince his mastery of the social graces, but in both Are these Things So? and The Art of Life, the stability of his character is questioned.

"Cleon" is voluble and avaricious. The pun on the different meanings of country and land is neat, and the name itself is politically significant. Cleon was an Athenian general who opposed Pericles. In two articles in The Craftsman Walpole had been symbolised by Pericles, who was alleged to have subverted Athenian liberties and screened corruption.⁶ Cleon, moreover, had later led the party that opposed making peace in the Peloponnesian war. Cleon is thus likely to be one of the most prominent members of the Opposition, and William Pulteney seems the likeliest candidate. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, the friends and foes of Pulteney agreed "only in censuring his 'too great love of money'." As for his "free Tongue" - he was considered the greatest Parliamentary orator of his age.

⁶No.325 (September 23rd) and no.356 (September 30th, 1732).

Statesmen from both sides of the house are here criticised, and the message is clearly that politicians of whatever party are not to be revered.

Horace advises a quiet and unostentatious beginning to a work of literature, like Vergil's "Arms and the man I sing ..." Miller therefore advises his readers to embark very tentatively on the discussion of current affairs with strangers. One should not defy one's hearers like Portius:

More prudent He who modestly sets out,
 Just moves a Question, or just hints a Doubt;
 "What News, Sirs, tell me? Is his Grace return'd
 "Improv'd, from Trav'ling? - Hah'. the House adjourn'd!
 "Pray how's Sir R—t? - He can't hold it long -
 "Your Judgment, Sirs? Perhaps I'm in the wrong.
 (p.24)

This lesson in the art of conversation manages to "hint a doubt" whether Walpole will be suffered to go unpunished much longer. Miller persists, however, in an assumed contempt for such topics, advising that they be gradually abandoned and "nobler Themes" introduced. He has already suggested that party-political disagreements should be avoided:

But ne'er engage in any Party Squabble,
 'Tis all Discordance, Folly, Tumult, Babble;
 Proving, Defending, Jangling, Wrangling all,
 Sir Will, Sir Bill, Sir Robert and Sir Paul ...
 (p.24)

While willing to convey satirical comment upon the state of public affairs, Miller, conscious of his name on the titlepage, seems anxious to dissociate himself from the ranks of the opposition party-hacks.

If Columbus is a discreet pseudonym for the Prime Minister, there may be another, and it is possible that the poem's innuendoes begin right at the start, with the passage provoked by Horace's opening metaphor. This likens an inconsistent work of art to a painting

of a creature with a woman's head, feathers, paws, and a fish's tail. Miller compares a changeable and aimless way of life to a mixed "portrait-satire", which combines the animal features of several individuals:

His GRACE's Grin expressive of an Ape,
Timon's Swine-Snout, Sir Samuel's Stag-like Front,
 Then clap Lord Simper's Ass's Ears upon't ...
 (p.2)

He may have had a particular simian Duke, cuckolded knight and foolish peer in mind, or these may be only generic instances. Timon, however, seems more significant. The identity of the character of this name in Pope's Epistle to Burlington had caused a great deal of speculation when that poem appeared, in 1731. It was thought by many to be an ungrateful attack upon the Duke of Chandos, but Pope indicated that he believed this notion to have been deliberately fostered by government hirelings, in order to distract attention from the real object of the satire, and to discredit its author.⁷ Only in the past ten years have modern readers of Pope become aware that Timon's Villa is probably Walpole's Houghton, thanks to an article published in 1967 by Kathleen Mahaffey,⁸ although in 1735 George Sherburn showed that Chandos was unlikely to be Timon.⁹ Contemporary readers who were familiar with the argot of the Craftsman were probably quick to recognise the portrait. Maynard Mack quotes a passage from Yes, they are, one of the responses to Are these things So?, which offers an ironical defence of the extravagance at Houghton, using near-quotations from the Epistle to Burlington.¹⁰ The use of

⁷See Pope's Master Key to Popery, Twickenham Edition III,ii, app.C.

⁸"Timon's Villa: Walpole's Houghton," Texas Studies in Literature and Language IX (1967) 193-222.

⁹"Timon's Villa and Cannons", Huntington Library Bulletin, VIII (1935), 131-152.

¹⁰The Garden and the City, pp.275-276. Yes, they are, published anonymously in 1740, is actually by Robert Morris (see above, p.71).

the name Timon in the Art of Life may therefore have made at least some readers think of Walpole. In referring to a swine-snout Miller probably had in mind the traditional porcine attributes of rudeness and greed, as well as the Minister's coarse, fleshy face.

There is also a satiric purpose behing these apparently innocuous lines:

Lo, to Fleet-Ditch Stocks-Market must remove!
 And in its room some future Age will see
 If haply rival Masons may agree,
 A tow'ring Mansion for the good Lord-Mayor,
 Tho' not the Alderman that's next the Chair.
 Whilst that drain'd barren Sluice, whose sable Streams
 "Late roll'd her Tribute of dead Dogs to Thames,
 Prolifick now, the neighb'ring Ward supplies
 With the rich Offspring of th'indulgent Skies.
 So this Day's Mode must to To-morrow's yield,
 And Yesterday's from That regain the Field.
 (p.12)

This is based on a passage in which Horace talks of the alterations in the landscape brought about by Roman engineers - to illustrate the inevitable changes that time brings about in human beings and their language. Horace mentions the enclosing of a harbour, the draining of marshes and the alteration of the course of a river. The Art of Life finds apt parallels for these in the work just beginning on the long-projected residence for the Lord Mayor, the Mansion House, and in the recent alterations to the Fleet Ditch. This stream which, before the intensification of London's population, had been a source of drinking water, had grown foul enough to justify the Dunciad's memorable phrase, here quoted by Miller. It was drained, and its banks cleared in 1674. In 1733 the canal had been arched over from Holborn to Fleet Bridge, and it was again supplying domestic water. This, like the designs for the Mansion House, is cause for civic pride, but Miller, in referring to "rival Masons" and to "the Alderman that's next the Chair", reminds his readers of two recent scandals

in the City of London.

The Stocks market moved to its new site at Fleet-ditch at Michaelmas 1737, leaving a space for the building of the Mansion House, the foundation-stone of which was laid on October 25th 1739, very close to the time of the poem's publication. The method of raising the necessary funds was something of a scandal in itself - A.J.Henderson in his book on City politics calls it "a racket".¹¹ The office of sheriff involved its holder in tremendous expense, and it was therefore a position only the wealthiest could afford to fill. Those nominated to the office had to pay a fine of £400, or stand election. A blatantly long list was annually nominated, and the fines they paid were laid out in three per cent annuities. At the beginning of 1734 the fund stood at £3,550, and had risen by September of that year to nearly £18,000, thirty-seven men having been excused. Moreover, in 1738 there had been a dispute over the tenders for the masonry work, which had not redounded to the credit of the Court of Common Council. Tenders were received from two firms; one was Thomas Dunn and Co., and the other was that of three members of the Court of Common Council, John Townsend, Christopher Horsenaile and Robert Taylor. Both tenders were at first for the same amount, £18,000. Fresh proposals were then submitted, and that of the three members of the Court was accepted, although it was for £17,200, while Dunn's was lower, at £16,975.¹² The Gentleman's Magazine for 7th June 1738 reported "great Disputes in the Court of Common Council." The aldermen voted to negate the decision of the Common Councilmen, and their right to do so was contested. Pamphlets appeared attacking both

¹¹London and the National Government 1721-1742 (Durham, N.Carolina, 1945), p.166.

¹²See Sidney Perks, The History of the Mansion House (Cambridge, 1922), p.176.

sides, including one entitled City Corruption and Mal-Administration display'd (1738). This lies behind Miller's reference to "rival Masons".

He also draws attention to the remarkable departure of the City that autumn from its usual custom of appointing aldermen to the Mayoralty by rotation according to seniority. A loyal Walpolian, Sir George Champion, was due to be elected, but he was also a Member of Parliament, and had earned the City's displeasure by voting for the ratification of the Convention of the Pardo in March 1739. During the last week of September numerous pamphlets were published, and letters and advertisements appeared in the newspapers, either urging that Champion should be set aside, or rejecting this suggestion. On September 29th the Court of Common Hall in an unusually crowded assembly returned the two aldermen next in line to Champion. The senior of these two was chosen by the aldermen on October 2nd. This was a significant action by the City, since it showed that it was united in its opposition to the peace policy. So by emphasising "not the Alderman that's next the Chair" Miller is reminding his readers of a fact very unpleasant to the Government's supporters.

The Art of Life actually contains enough topical satire, albeit light in tone and half-concealed, to make its censure of party-political writing somewhat contradictory. However, a man may be allowed an occasional departure from his own code, as Miller suggests early in the poem, provided, of course, that extreme excesses are avoided:

Some short Excursions all excuse, and make,
But Truth's high Road we must not long forsake.

— — — — —
Play, when you do, with Reason play the Fool,
Deviate with Judgment, and transgress by Rule.

(p.4)

iv) Three political satires: Are these Things So?; The Great Man's Answer, and The Year Forty-One

If The Art of Life was restrained, the poem that appeared a year later presented a striking contrast. Are these Things So? was published, anonymously, on October 23rd 1740. Its sub-title is The Previous Question, from an Englishman in his Grotto, to a Great Man at Court. "The previous question", is a parliamentary phrase. It was moved in order to avoid the putting of the main question, and in the eighteenth century took the form, "that this question be now put". Miller evidently means that if these things are not so, if the state of the nation is not as the poem describes, then the main question, which seems to be, what should be done with "the Author of TO-DAY", need not be put. Since things obviously are so, the answer is supplied within the poem; Walpole should retire, before he is forcibly deposed.

The persona of Pope, in his most unworldly, ascetic posture, gives Miller a pretext for posing the previous question. If "the Englishman" were not so withdrawn from the world of affairs he would not need to ask the true condition of his country:

Then tell me, Sir, for YOU, 'tis said, best know,
Is She, as Fame reports her, fall'n so low? (p.2)

The first hundred and twenty lines of the poem are occupied by accusations in the form of questions setting out the country's plight, beginning with the inactivity of the navy:

Is She now sunk to such a Low Degree,
That Gaul or Spain must limit out her Sea?
- - - - -
Whilst the vast Navies rais'd for he Support,
Nod on the Main, or rot before the Port ... (p.3)

and going on to the dependence of the "S[ena]te" on Walpole's nod,

voting always as he wishes. Even the bishops are corrupted:

.... the Chiefs of even Levi's Tribe
Bow down to you, the Converts of a Bribe?
(p.4)

Should a nobler, more honourable figure gain prominence he is removed:

His dang'rous Virtues are discarded straight,
As sure as they are Vertues of your Hate;
Stripp'd of all Honour, Dignity and Rule,
To cloath some Kindred Oaf, or Titled Tool.
(p.5)

Even the bold exploit of Admiral Vernon in the summer of 1740 in capturing Porto Bello with only six ships is denigrated by Walpole's "venal Scribes" (p.5).

As the fountain of Britain's health is polluted at the source,
the infection spreads throughout the land,

Whilst Commerce flies before th'oppressive Weight,
And seeks in Gaul a more indulgent Fate.

- - - - -
"What then?" I'm told you say, "we nothing lose,
"If they've our Commerce we've their wooden Shoes ...
(p.6)

The "Great Man" is made to speak of the merchants with crude callousness, in an unfairly exaggerated image of his true attitude, although his interlocutor pretends to invite him to refute all these allegations:

ARE THESE THINGS SO? Or is it Fiction all?
A sland'rous Picture drawn in Soot and Gall?
- - - - -
Like Samuel dauntless cry, Lo here I am!
"Witness against me if I'm ought to blame."
(p.7)

The self-justifying speech provided for Walpole is heavily ironic and only adds to the accusations, as the Minister asserts that his schemes have always been profitable, that his Convention was approved by Parliament, that the nation's peace (peace that was so much resented by the public) was owing to the cares and toil of his brother Horatio, and that his sons and cousins also share in the "Publick

Drudgery".

The Englishman suggests that if the statesman lays aside his office and influence, and standing trial, receives "Samuel's Answer", he can then resume power and blast his traducers. The prophet asked his people to witness "whose ox have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you," and received the answer "Thou has not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught of any man's hand" (I Samuel 12, iii-iv).

If the "Great Man" cannot expect this acquittal, he is urged:

Turn your Eyes inward, on yourself reflect,
Think what you are, then what you're to expect:
Pass a few Years the Sisters cut your Thread,
And rank you in the Number of the Dead;
But of what Dead? not those whose Memory,
Bloom with sweet Savour through Posterity.

- - - - -
No! with the Curs'd your Tomb shall foremost stand,
The GAVESTON's and WOLSEY's of the Land

YOUR EPITAPH

In this foul Grave lies HE,
Who dug the Grave of British Liberty.

(pp.10-11)

If this grim presage of the future will not induce him to resign office, he should fear the "Just Vengeance of an injur'd Land." Although the poem has thus far done its utmost to incite rebellion, it now suggests, with apparent earnestness, but one feels with some degree of disingenuousness, that the redress of the populace lies in the hands of the king, who is eulogised in ten hyperbolic lines. The poet seems anxious to assert his loyal and patriotic intentions, and avoid the accusation of sedition, by dissociating the monarch from his evil Minister. The "Englishman" believes that when "HE whose Fame to both the Poles is known" is appealed to by his loving subjects, he

May judge their Cause and, greatly rous'd, Command
The Staff of Power from the polluted Hand.

(p.13)

The italicisation of "May" seems a shade ambiguous.

The poem ends by pointing out some more suitable candidates for office, under pseudonyms which are replaced in the second edition by the real names: Carteret, Pulteney, Chesterfield, Polwarth, Cobham and Argyle. The final paragraph, also added in the second edition, or omitted from the first, again demands Walpole's answer to the accusations.

Several poetical answers, denying the poem's assertions, and denouncing the malice of the Minister's enemies swiftly issued from the pens of the government's literary employees (see above pp.71-72 and Appendix). Robert Morris answered the previous question affirmatively in Yes, they are, an anonymous piece purporting to be by a poor poet in a garret near St. Martin's Lane, which he finds as peaceful and unworldly a haven as the Englishman's Grot.

Miller also supplied an answer, as from the Minister's own lips, that should condemn him still further. This was The Great Man's Answer to Are these Things So? which appeared two months later, on December 18th, 1740. It is in many ways a better poem. The Twickenham local colour is dwelt on fairly playfully, with echoes of Arbuthnot, and Miller employs a more colloquial satirical style - the poem is entirely in dialogue form - than in the denunciatory preceding poem.

The Englishman is discovered contemplating the sweetness of his retreat, which he calls, monastically, a "Cell". The place itself responds to the baleful influence of the approaching visitor:

Whence these big Drops that Ooze from ev'ry Shell?
From this obdurate Rock whence flow those Tears?
(p.1)

Its occupant, however, takes things very coolly:

E.M. What's That approaches, John? J. Why Sir, 'tis He.
E.M. What He? J. Why He Himself, Sir; the great HE.

E.M. Enough. G.M. Your Slave, Sir. E.M. No, Sir I'm your Slave,
Or soon shall be. - How then must I behave?

- - - - -
G.M. Well, solemn Sir, I'm come, if you think fit,
To solve your Question. E.M. Bless me! pray, Sir, sit.
(p.2)

The Great Man is made to hint in an aside that he has really
come to buy his critic's good opinion, or at least his silence:

How restiff still! but I have what will win him
Before we part, or else the Devil's in him.
(p.2)

But first he tries argument, and is given the most plausible justifications possible (which, however, seem more convincing to us, who have hindsight, than they could have to Miller's contemporaries), but at the end of every speech the structure of persuasion is cut down by remarks which are ambiguous, or ironic, or sometime outrageous. For instance, this passage describing his enemies sounds credible enough, until the contemptuous dismissal of wits and citizens in the last line, which indicates that these accusations of jealousy, malice and thwarted ambition apply not just to rival politicians, but to all intellectuals and men of letters, and all merchants and City officials:

Those growling, restless, factious Malecontents,
Who blast all Schemes, and rail at all Events;
Whom Ministers, nor Kings, nor Gods can please;
Whose Rage my Ruin only can appease:
That motley Crew, the scum of ev'ry Sect,
Who'd fain destroy, because they can't direct;
Wits, Common-Council-Men, and Brutes in Fur ...
(p.3)

His comments on the effectiveness of free parliaments seem realistic, if cynical:

Let loose, five hundred diff'rent Ways the'd run;
They'd Cavil, Jarr, Dispute, O'return, Project,
And the great Bus'ness of Supply Neglect;
On Grievances, not Ways and Means would go;
Nor one round Vote of Credit e're bestow ...

but the consequences that seem disastrous to Walpole would be

beneficial to the country:

The sinking Fund would strangely be apply'd,
 And secret service Money quite denied:
 Whilst Soap and Candles we untax'd should rue,
 And Salt itself would lose its Savour too ...
 (p.5)

The Minister is confident of winning the coming election, and governing for seven more years, as money will always buy him the votes. If the population cannot resist bribery, the Englishman gives them up:

Go forth, Corruption, Lord it o'er the Land;
 If they are Thine for better and for worse,
 On Them and on their Children light the Curse.

G.M. Corruption, Sir! - pray use a milder Term;
 'Tis only a Memento to be firm;
 The Times are greatly alter'd - Years ago,
 A Man would blush the World his Price should know:
 Scruple to own his Voice was to be bought;
 And meanly minded what the Million thought;
 Our Age more Prudent, and Sincere is grown,
 The Hire they wisely take, they bravely own...
 (p.8)

The epitaph Walpole suggests for himself instead of the one in Are these Things So? is, from Walpole's standpoint of practical expedience, undoubtedly truthful, but for the "patriot" who believed liberty about to be forever crushed, it is heavily ironic:

Turn my Eyes inward! not quite so devout;
 They've Task sufficient to look sharp without:
 And should the fatal Sisters cut my Thread
 Some score Years hence - I trouble not my Head
 Where I'm entomb'd, or number'd with what Dead; }
 I want no Grave-Stone to promulge my Fame,
 - - - - -
 But if some grateful Verse must grace my Urn,
 Attend ye Gazeteers - Be this the Turn -
Weep, Britons, weep - Beneath this Stone lies He, }
 Who set your Isle from dire Divisions free,
 And made your various Factions all agree.
 (p.12)

The Great Man's Answer also transcends its predecessor in the more realistic view it takes of George II. Are these Things So? was distorted by its lengthy encomium on that monarch, the propaganda purposes of which were all too obvious. The Answer has

Walpole declare "Se[nate]s are sacred Things,/ And no more capable Of Ill than - Kings" (p.4). The Englishman replies, "'Tis granted", that is to say, morally, there is nothing to choose between George II and his corrupted Parliament. Among the pains and drudgeries for which Walpole thinks himself entitled to compensation are those which are inflicted by his royal master:

Who'd cringe at Levees, or in Closets - Oh!
Stoop to the rough Remonstrance of the Toe?
(p.11)

The hope the Englishman had expressed that George might, "greatly rous'd, Command,/ The Staff of Power from the polluted Hand", is brusquely dashed by the Great Man:

As for your may and may, Sir, - may be Not,
Can my vast Services be There forgot?
(p.12)

Since none of his replies have proved persuasive, Walpole leaves his "last best ANSWER" in the form of a thousand-pound banknote. When this, and all other favours are proudly refused, the Statesman's last comment underlines the patriotism of the Pope symbol:

You and your Country may be damn'd together.
(p.13)

Miller's next poem was The Year Forty-One. Carmen Seculare, which was published anonymously in November 1741. Its dedication to the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough explains that the subtitle Carmen Seculare is intended ironically, the ancient songs being hymns to the gods in gratitude for public blessings:

such was that of Horace in the times of Augustus, and such would This have been, had it appeared in those glorious Days, when the immortal MARLBOROUGH presided in the Business of the Publick.
(sig.A2^r)

The glory of Britain has since been meanly negotiated away, and she is threatened by the French, who once feared her. Thirty-five years after Marlborough's victories, the poet can only lament British

slavery, and attempt to rouse the people to unseat an evil government. The previous year, in Miller's unpublished play "The Camp Visitants", the old soldier, Captain Rag, compared the purposeful forces of the past with the indolent army of the present. This passage was censored in the manuscript: "All shew indeed! Ah! this isn't Ramilies, nor Blenheim, not the Camps I have been used to" (p.12). The Year Forty-One develops this theme and enlarges it, since Britain's internal degeneracy is even more alarming than her international status.

Miller actually uses the conventions of the Whig panegyric verse of the earlier and happier epoch to emphasise the contrast between that time and his own.¹

At the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 her Tory ministers found themselves involved in a war with France, begun under the previous Whig administration. The Whig poets at this time naturally concentrated on extolling military achievements, since they wished to prolong the war. The poets contrived to present the Whig position as the embodiment of the most popular moral quality of the age - benevolence. The protection of trade, which was based in turn upon manufacturing industry, ensured employment for the poor, and the war was also (at least at the outset) claimed to be an unselfish project, designed to spread liberal and benevolent government to benighted foreign lands. Among the poems in this vein are Addison's The Campaign (1705), Nicholas Rowe's A Poem on the late Glorious Successes... Inscribed to ... Godolphin (1707) and Charles Gildon's Libertas Triumphans (1708). During the years of peace, patriotic poetry extolled the spread of British influence through commerce. When peace became the government policy, praise of peaceful stability was a way to flatter Walpole, as in Edward Young's Instalment (1726) and his

¹See the discussion of Whig panegyric verse by Cecil A. Moore cited on p.320 above.

Universal Passion (completed in 1728), two poems which were addressed to the Minister. Satire VII of The Universal Passion remarks that the ambitious men who are eager to wage war appear insane to the poet,

While I survey the blessings of our Isle,
Her Arts triumphant in the Royal smile,
Her public wounds bound up, her Credit high,²
Her Commerce spreading sails in every Sky ...

In his poem Of Public Spirit in Regard to Public Works published in 1737 Richard Savage considers solutions to the problem of the unemployed poor:

"Forth shall I lead 'em to some happier Soil
"To Conquest lead 'em, and enrich with Spoil?
- - - - -
"No, no - such Wars do thou, Ambition wage!
"Go sterilize the Fertile with thy Rage!
"Whole Nations to depopulate is thine;
"To people, culture and protect, be mine!
(pp.11-12)

Emigration to unpopulated areas of the world is the scheme favoured by "Publick Spirit".

As Spanish obstruction of British trade increased, however, some of the poets reflected the chagrin felt by men of commerce. In James Thomson's Britannia (1729) the ideal of peaceful imperialism was mingled with the poet's discontentment with the craven inaction of a corrupt administration. In Liberty (1735-36) the same poet accorded the highest possible honour to the Whig cause, tracing the progress of liberty down through history, nation by nation, until she found her true home in Britain at the Revolution of 1688. That home, however, now seems threatened:

Nought but the felon undermining Hand
Of dark CORRUPTION, can its Frame dissolve,
And lay the Toil of Ages in the Dust.
(Part IV, Britain, p.63)

Miller's poem is very much in this vein. Its title, The Year

²The Universal Passion. Satire the Last (1726), p.2.

Forty-One, naturally recalls Pope's dialogues, where the date is part of the title, The Epilogue to the Satires: Written in 1738. Pope had also drafted One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty: A Poem, which was published in 1797 from an uncompleted manuscript in which the expression of many of the sentiments was thought so dangerous that they were cryptically abbreviated and disguised, as were most of the names mentioned. The existence of the poem was not generally known at the time, however, since the Craftsman complained, on October 24th 1741, of Pope's inactivity:

Not me Poetick Cobweb spun,
From Thirty-Eight to Forty-one.

The Year Forty-One, like Are these Things So?, is obviously intended to be associated in the public's mind with Pope's well-known, almost symbolic political stance. Its satire has the Juvenalian bite of the Epilogue to the Satires, and the intensity of Are these Things So? although it lacks the colloquial style of parts of the latter. It also demonstrates some of the interest in cultural and social qualities that Miller had shown in Of Politeness. In The Year Forty-One, however, this concern is more pessimistic. There is a sweeping vision of artistic and moral decay which, although indebted for its imagery to the Dunciad of 1728, anticipates the more sombrely foreboding mood of the New Dunciad. Bertrand Goldgar writes that what makes this poem remarkable is "the stress ... put on the decay of culture as the prime symptom of political infection."³

The poem's epigraph is a severely condemnatory quotation from Cicero:

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis,
superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset, eas omnes SESE
hoc in praetore per * TRIENNIUM pertulisse aiebant.

CICERO.

* Read it now SEPTENNIUM, meo Periculo, BENTLEIUS.

³Walpole and the Wits (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1976), p.212.

(During the three years in which this man has been their praetor, they have endured, they say, every outrage ..., every spoliation and disgrace, that vice, ... greed and insolence could inflict.)⁴

In 70 B.C. Gaius Verres, who had been governor of Sicily for the three preceding years, was prosecuted by Cicero on behalf of the Sicilian people. The case was really a trial for misconduct and oppression, and when Verres saw how the case appeared against him he fled, and was condemned in his absence to exile and a heavy fine. Before the trial, however, Cicero had to argue his fitness to be prosecutor, in preference to Quintus Caecilius Niger, who was put forward by Verres' supporters, and would have deliberately lost the case. Miller's quotation is from Cicero's divinatio, the statement of his case to be prosecutor, but refers to Verres' conduct in Sicily. The Verrine orations are above all concerned to urge the Senate to show more integrity than it usually exhibited, and resist the bribery of Verres.

This aspect of the affair is particularly relevant to Walpole's situation, as were the crimes Verres was accused of, which as well as plundering the rich province, included the embezzlement of sums entrusted to him by Rome for the corn supplies. Are these Things So? had mentioned the old scandal of the Scottish forage contracts in 1711:

Whom, speak, have I defrauded or oppress'd,
Or ever pilfer'd Forage from whose Beast?
(p.7)

Walpole, in allocating two contracts had specified that his relative, Robert Mann, should have a fifth share. One contractor in redeeming this share had made out a note of hand for £500 to Walpole. This was passed to Mann, and was similar to paying him a state pension, but

⁴Against Q.Caecilius, 1 §3, in vol.1 of The Verrine Orations, tr. L.H.G.Greenwood, Loeb Classical Library (1928). Miller omits from the passage Cicero's references to cruelty and tortures.

Walpole was convicted and spent six months in the Tower. His opponents had pursued the matter only as a way of having him expelled from the House.

Verres was also accused of keeping his fleet undermanned and ill-provided with stores, appropriating to himself the funds intended for its maintenance. These charges were particularly appropriate to Walpole's situation in 1741, when the British navy was undermanned and ill-provided, and had suffered serious set-backs in the war with Spain. These are dwelt on in The Year Forty-One, as this chapter will show.

Verres had been adopted by The Craftsman as a pseudonym for Walpole as early as 1731. A lengthy quotation from the first Verrine oration had been used as the epigraph on the titlepage of volume I of the collected edition. The passage was translated for the benefit of the ladies, and expatiated upon in a later issue.⁵ In it Cicero denounces Verres' arrogant assumption that in spite of his flagrant guilt his wealth will ensure his acquittal, and urges the Senate to stand firm.

In 1732 there appeared anonymously a mock-epic poem, Dunciad- inspired, and satirical of the government's journalist-hacks, entitled Verres and His Scribblers. It has been attributed by Foxon to Eustace Budgell, and begins:

Verres o'er fair Sicilia's fruitful Land
Was once, at least the second in Command.
- - - - -
Plump was the Minister, the People thin,
As if he was the Nation's Magazine.
(pp.7-8)

In Pope's Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue I, Sejanus and Wolsey in this couplet:

⁵No.259, June 19th 1731; vol.VIII, pp.23-29 in collected edn. The passage is from §1 of In C.Verrem Actio Prima.

Sejanus, Wolsey, hurt not honest FLEURY,
But well may put some Statesmen in a Fury,
(11.51-52)

were in the first edition, Ægysthus and Verres.

Thus, although Miller gives no reference for his Cicero quotation, and spells out none of its implications, his audience would have been alerted to expect anti-governmental satire.

The poem begins by exclaiming upon the state of affairs during the preceding year:

It's finish'd - lo the long PREDICTED YEAR!
Lo FORTY ONE's black Cycle re-appear!

See ev'ry Vice in gay succession rise,
That can pollute the Earth, or scale the Skies!
(p.1)

The comprehensive nature of the pollution is underlined by an incantatory style of verse, with emphatic repetition at the beginning of the lines:

All private Faith become a publick Jest,
All publick Sanction, Neutral at the best;
All foreign Influence an empty Name,
All home Prosperity, alas! the same.
All Power ONE's Property, all Honours Pay,
And all Religion - why, a mock Fast-day.

- - - - -
No lib'ral Art now meets the least Support,
No publick Virtue finds one Friend at Court;
None are preferr'd but who can serve the Times,
None punish'd who can pay but for their Crimes.
(p.2)

The instigator of this ruin is contrasted with a solitary, uncorrupted, honest man, who "shuts his Gate", (a phrase that inevitably recalls "the Englishman in his Grotto" of Are these Things So?):

The landed Rogue may traffick in Offence,
And sleep secure in his Omnipotence;
And branded Sharpers skreen'd by knavish Gain,
May Captains, Senators, Sir Blue-Strings reign,

- - - - -
Whilst ev'ry honest Man who shuts his Gate, }
Against the Bribe or Menace of the Great, }
Bless'd in his little Independant State, }
Like a dead Member from the Body's rent,
A Limb quite useless to the Government.
(p.3)

The account of Britain's wrongs goes on to embrace standing armies, venal magistrates, and even the clergy, who now preach for reward. The image of idol-worship which Miller employs in most of his poems to characterise Walpole's toad-eaters, is here applied to the priests of Christ, since they now "To Baal bow, and in High Places pray" (p.4.).

Miller cites a recent incident where the misuse of the army was combined with the corruption of a magistrate:

The Soldier who of old to Toils inur'd,
 Was only in the Field of War endur'd;
 Now, for a very diff'rent End obtain'd,
 In Sloth and Riot is at Home maintain'd;
 Dress, Dancing, Drinking, Gaming his Delight,
 His Conquest, in Elections not in Fight:
 Whilst the pick'd Magistrate, by Office ty'd
 To see strict Justice done on every side,
 Lets himself out to shameful Hire, and acts
 Just as the Pence direct, and not the Facts,
 Who, whilst he hangs a petty Thief or Whore,
 Refuses legal Voters by the Score,
 And swears, for S--d--n, One and One make Four }
 (pp.3-4)

This refers to the election of the Members of Parliament for Westminster, in 1741. The poem, which appeared in November of that year, describes an incident which took place on May 9th. The Earl of Egmont records in his diary:

This day, which is the 4th or 5th of the Westminster poll ..., there came a posse of voters for Admiral Vernon and Mr. Edwyn, which being observed at a distance by the head Bailiff of Westminster, who is in the interest of Lord Sundon and Sir Cha. Wager ..., he hastily shut the book, that the poll might be ended while his friends had the majority and ... returned them accordingly.⁶

These thwarted voters, and the surrounding mob, were so enraged by this that the candidate, Lord Sundon, who was present, needed the military assistance that the bailiff summoned in order to escape from Covent Garden church, outside which the poll was held, into a

⁶Historical Manuscripts Commission, Diary of the First Earl of Egmont, vol.III, p.219.

coach. "As soon as he passed by the Palace," Egmont continues, "the Guard drew out loaded with ball and prevented the mob from pursuing him."⁷

"S--d--n" in Miller's poem is obviously Lord Sundon, whose wife, as Woman of the Bed-chamber, had been a close confidante of the Queen, and who was himself a sitting member for Westminster, and always voted with the government. The other member, Sir Charles Wager, was first lord of the Admiralty and had gone with the King on a very unpopular royal visit to Hanover. A contemporary observer, Walpole's friend the Reverend Henry Etough, commented that the King's impatience to make this visit,

prohibited him not only from remaining here till the greater part of the elections were finished, but would not permit him to wait the issue of the important one at Westminster. Wager was taken to attend him from the middle of the poll, which occasioned all the consequent mobbings and mismanagements.⁸

The Opposition candidates were Charles Edwin and Admiral Edward Vernon, who was put up for no less than five seats. His popularity was tremendous, in contrast with that of Wager, who was having great difficulty in organising the fleets for the Channel and the West Indies, as the navy was much below strength at this time.

On December 22nd the petition against the election of Sundon and Wager was debated in Parliament. It was claimed that the poll had been prematurely closed and that the intervention of troops to handle the subsequent rioting was unconstitutional. The members were voted "unduly elected" by majorities of four and five: a most ominous defeat for Walpole. Edwin, and Lord Percival, son of the Earl of Egmont, were soon afterwards elected, since Vernon was to accept one of the other seats for which he had been returned, and the Earl

⁷Diary vol.III, p.220

⁸Add. MS 9200, f.74, quoted in John B. Owen, The Rise of the Pelhams (1957), p.9.

records that there were no government candidates, "though no less than 8 persons had been desired to stand by the Court, but they every one declined."⁹ Miller could not know of this outcome at the time of writing, but he knew the powerful satirical use he could make of such an incident.

Britain's standing in Europe is directly related to her internal condition:

O for a Muse of Fire! as Shakespear cries,
 But not to paint a Henry's Victories,
 - - - - -
 No — to describe our Eminence in Shame,
 Our Impotence in all that merits Fame;
 Our Sinews quite unnerv'd, our Spirits broke,
 Our Necks bow'd down beneath the Gallick Yoke.
 (p.4)

Partly to blame are "The Crouds of Drones in Offices at Home," and Miller continues the insect metaphor with "the shoals of Locusts brought from France and Rome." He had used this phrase before, with rather more justification, in Seasonable Reproof, when referring to the popularity of foreign dancers and opera-singers. There were really no large numbers of foreigners undermining the body politic, but the sentiment may express a general chauvinistic mistrust prevailing at the time. The climax of this part of the poem sweeps energetically forward:

Such new-born Taxes whilst the old exist,
 Such Dowries paid, yet such a Civil-List;
 Such Treating, Voting, Swearing, Bribing, Biting,
 Such Dearth of Learning, yet such Crops of Writing,
 With all that profligate Degeneracy,
 Which reigns in each Sex, Station, and Degree.
 (p.5)

Thus far the poem's style and content has been familiar, but it now becomes more allegorical, and, by dwelling upon the nature of the earthly paradise which liberty had long ago established in these islands, continues the tradition of Whig panegyric verse. The poet

⁹Diary vol.III, p.234.

bids farewell to the goddess, who, renounced by the British, will re-establish her domain in some erstwhile desolate spot:

But say, great Patroness, what barren Isle,
Will't thou from hence impregnate with thy Smile?
What distant Region for thy Mountain mark, }
Where to unload thy Science-freighted Ark, }
And set up next thy Candle in the dark? }
(p.5)

The image of a candle, a fragile gleam of light gradually conquering the forces of chaos, is effective - even poignant. The illumination strengthens as Liberty teaches the wild inhabitants to prefer public good to private gain:

Then plant the finer Taste, prepare the Way
For Science's and Wisdom's lib'ral Sway;
Bid Learning dawn, Art after Art arise,
Lights, which alas! are setting in our Skies.
(p.6)

This echoes, although in reverse, the close of the Dunciad, where "Art after Art goes out, and all is Night." The civilising power of the arts and sciences is explained at some length. "Poesy", naturally enough, is Queen of the "resplendent Train", for her ability to reveal divine truth, to show fools their faults, expose the wicked to scorn, and provoke her hearers to generous action. She is accompanied by her sisters,

PAINTING, that with a half-creative Pow'r,
Calls forth new Worlds, and bids new Edens flow'r, (p.7)

Musick, who "Can each respondent Passion spur, or rein," Sculpture and Architecture. They will be joined by the irresistably persuasive powers of Eloquence, and by Logic:

LOGIC in meditated Pace secure,
Moving by Mood and Figure, slow yet sure,
That dares, undaunted, dang'rous Truths avow,
With keen Conviction flashing from her Brow.
(p.8)

Finally, Liberty will endow this new nation with an equitable public rule,

Steering with equal Course the middle Way,
Twixt Democratic and Tyrannic Sway;

By COUNCILS independant, wise and just,
Taught to discern and to discharge its Trust;
To cherish, guide, protect, exalt, refine,
And, to the human, link the Chain divine;

Till other Locks and Newtons shall arise,
Another Marlbro' other Gauls chastise;
New Miltons and new Drydens strike the Lyre,
Argyles and Pultneys Patriot Zeal inspire;
New Burleighs and new Raleighs hold the Rein,
And new Elizabeths and --- Georges Reign.

(pp.9-10)

While the new civilisation is forming, the British, lying in bondage,
will enter an age of lead:

See Dullness lift her consecrated Head,
And smile to view her dark Dominion spread;
Chaos o'er all his leaden Sceptre rear,
And not one Beam throughout the Gloom appear.

(p.10)

The allegory having reached this climax, the poem adjusts to a
more colloquial tone, and introduces an interlocutor, who, as in The
Great Man's Answer, is actually Walpole himself:

"Stay, Sir, says ONE, whence pray this groundless Cry?
I do not find the times so bad, not I.

(p.10)

Though he can no longer be accused of delaying the declaration of
war, Walpole is depicted as being reluctant to prosecute the hostili-
ties with energy, and failing to make good use of the navy, which was
believed to have shown itself by the Portobello incident, capable of
a glorious victory. He declares:

"Our Troops abroad have got their Tents ashore,
"And well entrench'd will run no Hazards more;
"Our Fleet at home ride gallantly about,
"And the third time Sir JOHN's come in as whole as he went out.

(p.11)

The poet interrupts these bluff self-congratulations with a
rousing reminder of what patriotic Britons have to lament: the failure
of the Cartagena expedition earlier that year, with the loss, mostly

through fever, of some 4,500 men, and the death, disastrous for the outcome of the venture, of the army's commander, Lord Cathcart. The rhetoric of Whig panegyric is again heard, and underlined by Miller's referring to the bold Admiral Vernon as the "MARLBRO' of the Main":

But what of those brave Youths led out a Prey
 To pois'nous Seasons, and a blund'ring Sway?
 Or that unhappy CHIEF, by Britons wept!
 So long at home, for such a Cargo, kept,
 Then, Pedlar-like, sent to th'Antipodes,
 Just time to fight with Equinoctial Seas?
 What of that godlike MARLBRO' of the Main,
 Left unsupply'd, and now call'd home again?
 (p.11)

Miller also complains of the shameful loss of some vessels along the British coast itself, and of further attempts at appeasement.

Unlike the poet, Walpole finds this a golden age, since he grows rich at the people's expense. He does not understand their discontent, especially as:

"Our glorious Monarch's safe return'd in Peace,
 "After his godlike Toils to make War cease
 "In all the World ...
 (p.10)

Are these Things So? had made a flattering appeal to the King to intervene in government and save his country. The Great Man's Answer seems to abandon the pretence of such a hope, and impudently alludes to the renowned royal habit of kicking. The Year Forty-One takes a sterner view of George II. The lines last quoted refer to the King's regrettable journey to Hanover in May, when, scared by the proximity to his Electorate of a French army, George concluded a treaty pledging Hanover to neutrality for a year. This, according to W.E.H. Lecky, excited violent indignation in England.¹⁰ As the words are spoken by Walpole himself, they are certainly meant to be interpreted in the opposite sense. There had been no "Toils", and nothing at all

¹⁰History of England in the Eighteenth Century (cabinet edn., 1925) vol.1, p.462.

"godlike". Walpole had remonstrated against the King's visit, and had not been consulted about the neutrality, but Miller, like most of the country blamed him nevertheless.

Earlier in the poem Miller asserts "No publick Virtue finds one Friend at Court," which certainly does not compliment the King. When, in the passage quoted earlier, the lamp of civilisation moves to a new land, where new Marlbro's, Newtons and Miltons will flourish, the typographical dash is surely significant in the line, "And new Eliza-
beths and — Georges Reign" (p.10). Its presence prevents the line being read "straight".

As he finishes speaking Walpole dismisses the narrator's accusations as "dreams" - which provokes the account of a "vision" that ends the poem.

Britannia and Neptune are seen bewailing their fate on the bleak beach beneath the Dover cliffs:

Sunk in Despair she, sick'ning; droop'd the Head, }
The Laurel Wreath that grac'd her Temples, dead, }
And the cold Poppy nodding in its stead. (p.13)

The phrase "cold Poppy" again recalls the soporific curse of Pope's goddess of Dulness. Neptune complains that the fleets which, with his aid, used to spread wide the fame of Britain, lie "bridled on the Deep", while the "evil Genius" at the helm trusts his country's safety to "a vain unnat'ral Host". Britannia beseeches the aid of Liberty, who appears, clothed in every kind of beauty:

For-ever-blooming Roses crown'd her Head,
And her spread Wings enchanting Odours shed.
(p.15)

With her arrives an optimism not warranted by anything that the poem has said hitherto, but introduced by Miller for rhetorical purposes, in an attempt to persuade his countrymen to rise up and eject the

government. For this reason Britain's disease must now be seen as reversible. Liberty promises to return if her sons will

Purge the distemper'd Land of that dire Crew,
The low Corrupt and high Corruptors too.
(p.15)

Virtue will permeate all social ranks,

When Righteousness shall, then, exalt the Throne,
And publick Spirit at the Helm be shewn.
(p.16)

There are rather similar visions in Thomson's two dissident Whig poems, Britannia of 1729, and Liberty of 1736. In the former, Britannia, seated dejectedly upon the "sea-beat shore", with unkempt locks, azure robe in tatters, and bosom bared to the gale, bewails the "faded Fame" of her degenerate sons. At the end she vanishes:

This said; her fleeting Form, and airy Train,
Sunk in the Gale; and nought but ragged Rocks
Rush'd on the broken Eye; and nought was heard
But the rough Cadence of the dashing Wave.
(p.16)

In Liberty the poet's vision begins and ends in another desolate scene - this time the ruins of Rome. Personification is a characteristic of Whig panegyric verse. In Britannia War mourns his fettered hands; Richard Savage gives us a personified "Publick Spirit",¹¹ and Richard Glover's London; or, the Progress of Commerce (1739) relates the career of the goddess of Commerce, the child of Neptune, who, after various migrations settles, like Liberty, in the land of Albion.

Political satire in The Year Forty-One attacks the same targets as Are these Things So? and The Great Man's Answer, but its vision is more universal. The world is severely out-of-joint; the imagery of disease and decay abounds, and the contrast between the strength and independence of the past and modern selfishness and torpor is tragic on a grander scale. The Dunciad had such a vision, but

¹¹Of Publick Spirit in Regard to Publick Works, 1737

contrasted modern times with the Classical age of gold. That art and morality had declined since then was self-evident - why else call that an age of gold? By employing the genre of the Whig panegyric, Miller emphasises that the degeneration he describes is of very recent date. By dedicating his poem to Marlborough's widow he can even stress that the decline has taken place within a single life-time. Complete annihilation of a civilisation based on freedom therefore seems a real and immediate danger.

CHAPTER V: IN CONCLUSION

This has been an attempt to examine James Miller both biographically and critically. The circumstances of his life and the many difficulties that beset him, help to explain the unevenness of his œuvre, and perhaps the frequency of his recourse to adaptation. The biographical details also account for the bitterness of some of his satire. If the struggle for existence impaired his art, conversely his writing had at times adverse effects on his life, in the offence it caused to influential Oxonians, powerful bishops, and the tyrants of the Temple.

I have attempted to place Miller in his historical context, in the theatrical world which was both the subject of his most important poem, and the setting for his own activities. He took part in the remarkable resurgence of creative energy in the drama between 1728 and the Licensing Act in 1737, when two new theatres began regularly to present plays, in addition to the two patent houses, and new forms of drama were born as a result. Three of these, the ballad-opera, the topically satiric fable, and the Handelian oratorio, were attempted by Miller. Since only two theatres were licensed under the Act, there was a sudden curtailment of the number of new plays produced, and naturally, the satiric content of those presented was drastically reduced. Miller was as much involved in this contracting sphere as he had been in its expansion. He was indeed unusually favoured in having two of his plays produced at Drury Lane in the winter following the Act, although their reception was unfairly hostile, and in having a total of five plays produced there between 1738 and 1745.

In the plays, and the best of the poems, Miller's satire is concerned with social behaviour, with distortions and disproportions of character. More surprising is the remarkably strong emphasis on taste and culture, or the lack of it, in his judgements on the contemporary scene. The hypocritical pretence of taste is severely ridiculed, and true appreciation of the arts is central to "politeness", a quality which in Miller's use of the term approaches virtue itself. Its opposite, however, is shown to prevail throughout the land, in a general decline of artistic standards, ominous for the health of society. Social satire thus connects with political comment, for the government is held responsible for the condition of the nation. The moral effects of taste and education are a main theme of The Humours of Oxford, The Man of Taste and Of Politeness; the widespread, politically significant decline of the arts is the burden of two poems which were published near the beginning and the end respectively of his writing career: Harlequin-Horace and The Year Forty-One.

In spite of the severe view the earlier poem takes of the contemporary stage, it is itself an exuberant exercise of wit, in which Miller relishes the task of providing apt modern parallels to Horace's instances, and uses the classical model to emphasise the ludicrous nature of pantomime. The later poem is far more earnest, pessimistic and forthright in its political attack, corresponding to the intensification during the intervening decade of Miller's hostility to the administration of Robert Walpole. In this he was in tune with the general public reaction to the formulation of the Excise Bill, the government's attempts to avoid a war with Spain, and the prevalence of bribery. Miller's failure to achieve preferment and financial success probably increased his acerbity towards

the end of his life, as Baker's biography avers. Other satirists, most notably Pope, also grew more trenchant during this period. The difference between these two poems of Miller's corresponds in some ways to the difference in mood between the 1728 and 1742 Dunciads.

The chapter on Miller's plays has shown a similar kind of development, The Humours of Oxford containing nothing political, and "The Camp Visitants" being apparently too controversial to be acted. The satirical content of the plays is naturally much more subdued than that of the poetry during the politically-sensitive later period, because of the Licensing Act. After its passage, Miller would have been conscious of the danger of his plays being rejected and would have been forced to exercise some self-censorship, and even then, the excisions on the manuscript show that the theatre-manager or the examiner found many of his lines objectionable.

Miller's treatment at the hands of the examiner of plays provides an illuminating example of the way the censor approached his task in the first months of the Act's implementation. My survey of Miller's Larpent scripts shows that the number of passages censored in them (as far as it is possible to judge who made the deletions) divide almost equally into those excised for political reasons, and those thought merely tasteless or profane. The mildness of many of the latter is remarkable, and indicates the cautious primness of the censorship at the outset.

Miller more than once expressed disapproval of political allusions in drama, regarding them as often just an easy way to win applause. Harlequin-Horace was suspicious of the motives of most modern satirists, whose cynical wordly-wisdom, and close attention to scurrilous gossip, substitute for real intellectual effort. In Seasonable Reproof Miller deplored the uncharitable censoriousness of the age,

while denying, like Horace, that his own verses add to it: "Not at the Man, but at the Vice I strike" (1.211). In the Art of Life he drew a distinction between the scourging of folly and vice practised by Pope in his verse satires, and the political jibes of contemporary dramatists, which amuse without moral effect, like the spectacles of pantomime:

Each Vice, by turns, flies bleeding from his Stroke,
 But Politicks alone their Stings provoke;
 Whilst at each squinting Scene, or full-mouth'd Trap,
 Pit, Box and Galleries, thunder out a Clap.
 (p.14)

In fact Miller aimed many political darts in his verse, and in the plays, whenever he saw a possibility of doing so, but except for the Minister himself, and a few well-know targets of Pope, such as Francis Chartres, or of the Grub-street Journal, such as the quack-doctor Ward, and Orator Henley, he avoided personal abuse. Some fellow-writers suffer his ridicule, in the Dunciad's tradition, but aspersions on their private lives are generally avoided, and they can be said to have invited criticism by offering the public their works, and in most cases, by defending the government for pay.

In his comedies Miller aimed, as he writes of Molière, "to laugh Ignorance and Immorality out of the World".¹ He depicted those vices most suitable for comic treatment: hypocrisy, affectation, social snobbery and sterile pedantry, philistinism, lust, marriage for mercenary motives, and fashionable "free-thinking". In contrast he presented positive values, honesty, genuine cultivation and taste, true esteem and understanding between the sexes, and overall balance and moderation.

In the preface to his translation of L'Avare he wrote that a play without truth to life and instructive qualities was "a mercenary

¹Select Comedies, vol.1, sig.A2V.

and scandalous Undertaking".² In my discussion of Art and Nature and An Hospital for Fools I have pointed out that Miller's desire to instruct is at times rather too obvious, although it is frequently relieved by humour. This tendency is a sign of the times. The middle-class element in theatre-audiences was increasing as the total number of playgoers grew with the theatrical expansion. The aristocratically hedonistic qualities of Restoration comedy were now less admired. Miller expresses disapproval of them in his essay on Molière:

The Poets of our Days are too lavish of every thing but good Sense and good Manners; their Fools are so exuberantly Witty, and their Buffoons so very Droll; their men of Wit so full of Scandal, and their fine Gentlemen so extremely Lewd, that Truth, Modesty and Virtue, are all put to flight by them ... It is no sufficient Vindication to say, that 'tis only maintaining their Characters to make a loose Fellow talk lewdly, and a rude Fellow unmannerly: Every thing that is in Nature is not proper for the Stage, tho' never so well counterfeited.³

Miller's own humour was often far from chaste, in spite of his frequently laying emphasis on his work's purity in prefaces and dedications. The after-pieces, The Coffee-House and "The Camp Visitants", are markedly more relaxed, and less "instructive" than the full-length plays.

As well as being free from "dubious Jests", Miller's prologue to The Mother-in-Law claimed that the play had not a single simile, only one plot, and "No courtly phrase to hide the want of Thought". It is true that this play is simpler in plot and plainer in diction than the others. Its predecessor, The Humours of Oxford, in particular, had consciously aimed at the exercise of verbal wit and agility, which included the use of figurative language. In both cases, however, Miller's talents are most evident in the creation of lively colloquial dialogue. In the plays this is skilfully varied in accord

²Select Comedies, vol.1, sig.A10^v

³Miscellaneous Works, p.413.

with the personalities of the characters; in the poetry this characteristic colloquial tone is best evinced in the passages where a persona is adopted, such as that of Horace, or Pope, or Walpole.

Miller's best work had considerable impact on his contemporaries. Harlequin - Horace was quoted and emulated by other satirist of pantomime; it was recommended by Pope to Caryll for its humour, and extolled by the Grub-street Journal, and Fielding even adopted its dedication to Rich for Tumble-Down Dick. The story of the Red Indian Julio which Miller adopted from the French was re-attempted by both Cleland and Fenwick. The success of The Man of Taste provoked a long and jealous debate in the Prompter and the Daily Journal. Garrick revised An Hospital for Fools as Lethe, and Pope adopted for the 1742 Dunciad Miller's satire on gilded youth taking the Grand Tour. Are these Things So? caused a sensation by its bold imaginary confrontation between Walpole and Pope, and led to the hasty publication of ten "replies".

As a playwright Miller was involved in both the resurgence and the temporary suppression of the drama, especially satiric comedy. Also of some significance is his contribution, in his poetry and in some of his prose writing, to the literary opposition to Sir Robert Walpole which has lately been the subject of studies by Bertrand Goldgar, Maynard Mack and others. Apart from his claims to attention in his own right, Miller's work needs to be seen as forming a part of the literary history of his time, and it is hoped that this study will contribute to the detailed picture of the period which scholarship is steadily creating.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JAMES MILLER

The works are divided into the categories of Collected Works, Plays, Poetry, Prose, Translations and Manuscripts, and listed chronologically under those headings. The location of one copy of every item is given, and where this is the British Library, the shelf-mark of the copy seen is added.

Collected Works

1 Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose, vol.I (all published).

John Watts, 1741.

4°.

Bodleian

Published by subscription. Contains revised texts of Miller's first four plays, i.e. The Humours of Oxford, The Mother-in-Law, The Man of Taste, and The Universal Passion, as well as Harlequin-Horace (also revised); Seasonable Reproof; Of Politeness; songs from two more of his plays; Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland; several short poems previously unpublished; and two essays, one of them adapted from his preface to Select Comedies of Mr. De Moliere.

Plays

2a The Humours of Oxford. A Comedy. As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane
.... By a Gentleman of Wadham-College.

J.Watts, 1730

8°.

B.L.1175e40

b --- The Second Edition.

J.Watts, 1730.

8°.

B.L.80c17(1)

c --- Another edition.

Dublin, 1730

12°.

B.L.11775aaa11

- 3a The Mother-in-Law: or, the Doctor the Disease. A Comedy. As it is Acted By the Company of Comedians of His Majesty's Revels, at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market.
 J.Watts, 1734.
 8°.
 B.L.11775e39
- b --- As it is Acted ... at ... Drury-Lane. The Second Edition: To which is added a New Scene of the Consultation of Physicians.
 John Watts, 1734.
 8°.
 B.L.80c17(2)
- 4a The Man of Taste. A Comedy. As it is Acted at Drury-Lane ...
 John Watts, 1735.
 8°.
 B.L.841d34(1)
- b --- The Second Edition
 J.Watts, 1735.
 8°.
 B.L.11775e37
- c --- Dublin: Printed by and for James Hoey, 1735.
 12°.
 B.L.1607/63
- d --- London Printed, and sold by the book sellers of London and Westminster, 1738.
 8°.
 University of Oregon, Eugene
- e --- The Third Edition.
 J.Watts, 1744.
 8°.
 B.L.80c17(3)
- 5 The Universal Passion. A Comedy. As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane..
 J.Watts, 1737.
 8°.
 B.L.80c17(4)
- 6a The Coffee-House. A Dramatick Piece. As it is Perform'd at ... Drury-Lane ...
 John Watts, 1737[8].
 8°.
 B.L.80c18(1)

b --- Dublin, Printed by S.Powell for W.Heatly, 1738.
12°.

Bodleian

c --- Dublin: Peter Wilson, 1743.
12°.

B.L.11774aaa22(1)

d --- As it is Acted at Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden. Written by the Rev. Mr.James Miller.

Harrison & Co., 1781.
8°.

B.L.11770g5(38)

According to The London Stage, the play was not revived after its initial failure at Drury Lane in 1738, and was never performed at Covent Garden.

7a Art and Nature. A Comedy. As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane.

John Watts, 1738.
8°.

B.L.80c18(2)

8a An Hospital for Fools. A Dramatic Fable. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal ...

John Watts, 1739.
8°.

B.L.80c18(3)

b --- A Comedy. As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane and Covent-Carden. By Mr Miller.

Harrison & Co., 1781.
8°.

B.L.11770g5(17,18)

In spite of the frontispiece in this edition, which shows "Mr Lewes in the Character of Mercury" (Charles Lewes being an actor at Covent Garden in 1781), according to The London Stage the play was not revived at all after its initial failure at Drury Lane in 1739, and was never performed at Covent Garden. Macklin played Mercury in 1739.

9a Joseph and His Brethren. A Sacred Drama. As it is Perform'd at ... Covent-Garden. The Musick by Mr.Handel.

John Watts, 1744.
4°.

B.L.841c23(4)

- b --- Another edition. "Set to Musick by Mr.Handel."
 J.Watts, 1757.
 4°. B.L.162m18
- c --- Another edition.
 1768.
 4°. B.L.T657(9)
- d --- Another edition.
 1781.
 8°. B.L.11779g5(36)
- 10a Mahomet the Impostor. A Tragedy. As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane.
 J.Watts, 1744.
 8°. B.L.841d35(2)
- b --- The Second Edition. "By a Gentleman of Wadham-College."
 J.Watts, 1745.
 8°. B.L.80c18(4)
- c --- Dublin; Printed by J.Esdall ... For W.Smith, Bookseller, 1745.
 12°. B.L.11774aaa15(3)
- d --- As it is now acted at ... Drury-Lane. The Fourth Edition,
With new Improvements.
 T.Lowndes, 1766.
 8°. B.L.11740n58
 Revised by David Garrick
 Reprinted 1773 (Edinburgh), 1774, 1776 ("The Fifth Edition"),
 1777, 1778, 1782 (Edinburgh), 1797, 1806, 1809, 1811, 1815,
 1824, 1871, 1875.
- 11 The Picture: or, the Cuckold in Conceit. A Comedy Of One Act,
founded on Moliere ... As it is Acted at ... Drury-Lane. By
the late Mr.James Miller. Songs set by Mr.Arne.
 J.Watts, 1745.
 8°. B.L.80c18(b)
 An earlier text, printed but not, apparently, published, was
 submitted for licensing to the Examiner of Plays on February

8th, 1745 (Miller had died in April 1744). The title-page of this text, now in the Larpent Collection in the Huntington Library, is torn away, but a manuscript date, 1744, has been added. The play was performed on February 11th. The MS corrections on the earlier text are incorporated in the published 1745 octavo.

Poetry

12a Harlequin-Horace: or, the Art of Modern Poetry.

Lawton Gilliver, 1731.

8°.

B.L.992h9(2)

Subsequently published with Miller's name. No second edition has been identified, but the poem was re-issued in A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose which have been published on Occasion of the Dunciad. Dedicated to ... the Earl of Middlesex By Mr.Savage (Lawton Gilliver, 1732). There were two versions of this collection; only one of them contains the poem.

b --- Dublin, George Faulkner [1731]

8°.

B.L.1506/549

c --- The Third Edition Corrected. With several Additional Lines and Explanatory Notes.

Lawton Gilliver, 1735.

8°.

B.L.11631d27

d --- The Fourth Edition, Corrected. With several Additional Lines and Explanatory Notes.

Lawton Gilliver, 1735.

4°.

Wadham College, Oxford

Dedication signed.

In 1741 the poem was reprinted, with further revisions, in Miller's Miscellaneous Works.

It was also reprinted in A Collection of Scarce, Curious and Valuable Pieces ... Chiefly selected from the fugitive Productions of The most eminent Wits of the present Age.

Edinburgh, W.Ruddiman, 1773.

12°.

B.L.12315f17

Text of the first edition, but without frontispiece, notes, or Latin references.

- e Augustan Reprint Society no.178 is a facsimile of the Miscellaneous Works text of Harlequin-Horace, with an introduction by Antony Coleman.

Los Angeles, 1976.

- 13a Seasonable Reproof, a Satire, in the Manner of Horace. To be continued occasionally as a poetical Pillory ...

L.Gilliver, 1735.
2°.

B.L.11602i11(1)

Sheets D and E are cancels. Miller evidently inserted an attack on Edmund Gibson while the poem was actually in the press.

- b --- The Second Edition.

L.Gilliver, 1735.
2°.

Library of H.B. Forster, Woodstock, Oxon.

"Apparently a reissue with a new sheet A" (Foxon).

- c --- By the Author of The Man of Taste."

Dublin, George Faulkner, 1736.
8°.

National Library, Dublin.

Refers to Miller's successful play, The Man of Taste, published in March 1735.

- 14 Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland.

This poem was separately printed, but not, perhaps, put on public sale, since the title-page bears only the title, without author, publisher's imprint, price or date. It may have been printed for private circulation amongst the family and friends of Elizabeth Frankland. The B.L. Catalogue's estimate of 1750 as its date is certainly wrong since the poem was printed "at the particular desire of the Author", in the Grub-street Journal (no.318) on January 27th 1736, and appeared in Miller's Miscellaneous Works in 1741.

- 15a Of Politeness. An Epistle to the Right Honourable William Stanhope, Lord Harrington. By the Author of Harlequin-Horace.

L.Gilliver and J.Clark, 1738.
2°

B.L.644m14(22)

- b --- The Second Edition. By the Rev. Mr.Miller Author of Harlequin Horace, &c.

L.Gilliver and J.Clark, 1738.
2°.

Bodleian

Apparently a reimpression (Foxon).

- c --- The Third Edition. By the Revd. Mr. Miller ...
 Dublin, George Faulkner, 1738.
 8°.
 B.L.C136aa1(1)
- 16a The Art of Life. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. In Two Epistles. Epistle the First. By Mr. Miller.
 J. Watts, 1739.
 4°.
 B.L.11630c10(1)
 Only the first epistle was published.
- [fine paper].
 Huntington Library, Calif.
- The Second Edition.
 J. Watts, 1739.
 4°.
 Newberry Library, Chicago
 "Apparently a reimpression or press-variant title" (Foxon).
- 17a Are these Things So? The Previous Question from an Englishman in his Grotto to a Great Man at Court.
 T. Cooper, 1740.
 2°.
 B.L.840m1(2)
 The copyright of this poem was sold in a lot with several others to Corbett for a deposit of 10s.6d., in a sale of the stock and copyrights of Francis Cogan, bankrupt bookseller, in 1746. Seven of the works in the lot are attributed to Miller by the sale catalogue, which is now in the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian. The poem is also attributed to Miller by Baker's Companion to the Play-house (1764).
- b --- Another edition (D-E reset)
 B.L.64128(19)
- c --- Another edition (A-C reset)
 B.L.(1973 accession)
- d --- The Second Edition corrected: With the Addition of Twenty Lines omitted in the former Impressions.
 T. Cooper, 1740.
 2°.
 B.L.163n57

e --- "London" [Edinburgh] 1740.
8°.

Harvard

Has an ornament found in other Edinburgh piracies. Follows the text of the first edition (Foxon).

f --- "London, Printed for the perusal of all Lovers of their Country."
1740.
8°.

Bodleian

One of a series of piratical reprints with this imprint, including some of the replies provoked by Are these Things So? Possibly from Newcastle (Foxon).

g --- Another edition of the preceding, with slight typographical differences.

Canberra

h --- "By Alexander Pope, Esq."
Dublin, 1740
8°.

B.L.11633bbb50

Signature A² under "my".

i --- Identical with the preceding, but with signature A² under "lolling".

Harvard

j --- Again identical, but with A² unsigned.

B.L.1488bb30

k --- "To which is added, Yes they are ..."
London, 1740.
8°.

Forster Coll., V.&A. Mus.Lib.

Presumably a piracy (Foxon). The added poem is by Robert Morris, the architect.

l --- "By Alexander Pope Esq....To which is added, the Answer, Yes they are!"
Dublin, 1740.
8°.

B.L.1486s.8

The B.L. copy does not contain the Answer. It was probably issued with one of the Dublin editions of Yes they are.

m Augustan Reprint Society no.153 is a facsimile of the 2nd edn. (b), together with Milller's The Great Man's Answer (see no. 18), with an introduction by Ian Gordon, Los Angeles. 1972.

18a The Great Man's Answer to Are these Things So? In a Dialogue between [sic] His Honour and the Englishman in His Grotto...
By the Author of Are these Things So?

T.Cooper, 1740.
2°.

B.L.11630h.50

One of the seven items attributed to Milller in the sale of the stock and copy rights of Francis Cogan (see no.17).

b --- "London, printed for T.Cooper" Dublin .
1740.
8°.

B.L.1507/462

c --- Issued as facsimile, with Are these Things So?, by the Augus-
tan Reprint Society, see 17m.

19a --- The Year Forty-One. Carmen Seclare.

Jacob Robinson, 1741.
2°.

B.L.11630h.53

This is probably the work described as "Seventeen hundred forty-one, a poem", half the copyright of which was offered as part of a lot in the Cogan trade sale (see no.17). The catalogue specifically lists seven works as by Miller, but this is entered separately immediately below them, presumably because it was only a half-copyright. The publisher of the 3rd edn., T.Cooper, states that it is by the author of Are these Things So? which Cooper had himself published.

b --- The Second Edition.

J.Huggonson, 1741.
2°.

B.L.1482f.38

A reissue (Foxon).

c --- [Edinburgh, 1741].
8°.

B.L.1509/616

Printed by W. Cheyne, on the evidence of the ornaments (Foxon).

d --- Dublin, Printed in the year 1741.
12°.

B.L.1488bb32

e --- The Yaer [sic] Forty-One. Carmen Seculare.

Dublin, Reprinted in the year of 1741.
8°.

B.L.1507/496

f --- The Third Edition. By the Author of Are these Things So?

T.Cooper, 1742.
2°

Texas University

A reissue of the London edition of 1741 (Foxon).

20 The H[anover]r Heroes: or, a Song of Triumph. In Laud of the immortal Conduct, and marvellous Exploits of those choise [sic] Spirits, during the last Campaign, and the Action of Dettingen... By a H-n-r-n. Translated from the High German, into English Verse, and the Metre adapted to the Tune of, The Miller of Mansfield.

W.Webb [1744].
2°.

B.L.1482f.40

Attributed to Miller by the Cogan trade sale catalogue (see no.17).

Prose

21 The Cause of Britain's being become a Reproach to her Neighbours.

A Sermon Preach'd at Roehampton, in the County of Surrey, on Wednesday, January 9, 1739, being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a solemn Fast, &c. By Mr. Miller.

J. Roberts, 1740.
4°.

B.L.1359g4

22 The Death of M-L-N in the Life of Cicero. Being a Proper Criticism on that Marvellous Performance. By an Oxford Scholar.

E.Nutt; A.Dodd; J.Joliffe; and H.Chappelle, 1741.
8°.

B.L.T.110(16)

Criticism of Conyers Middleton's History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero (1741). One of the seven items attributed to Miller in the sale of the stock and copyrights of Francis Cogan in 1746 (see n.17).

23 The Expediency of One Man's Dying to Save a Nation from Perishing.

T.Cooper, 1742.

Mentioned (as "Expediency of one Man's Dying") in the list of items attributed to Miller in the Cogan trade sale catalogue (see no.17). Its fuller title is listed in the Monthly Catalogue in the London Magazine, as being published in January, 1742.

I have been unable to locate a copy in any library in Britain or the U.S.A. It is not listed in the B.M.'s index of British holdings, or the new National Union Catalog. It is clearly a pamphlet calling for the impeachment of Walpole.

24 The Dean of Winchester His Character of the English Clergy. Being A Translation of a Latin Sermon Preached before the Convocation On the 2d of December last, By Zachary Pearce, S.T.P. Dean of Winchester. With a Dedication to the Author, Containing Some Remarks on the unjust Aspersions cast upon his Brethren therein, and other Notorious Particulars. By a Member of the Lower House of Convocation.

T.Cooper, 1742.

8°.

B.L.109c.19

Also one of the works attributed to Miller by the Cogan trade sale catalogue (see no.17).

25 An Epistle from Dick Poney, Esq; Grand-Master of the Right Black-Guard Society of Scald-Miserable-Masons, From his House in Dirty-Lane, Westminster, To Nick P----n, Esq; Grand-Master of the Right Scoundrel Gaxetteer Legion, at His Chambers in Newgate.

T.Taylor, 1742.

8°.

B.L.1481b.35

Also attributed to Miller by the Cogan trade sale catalogue (see no.17).

16 Sermons on Various Subjects. By the late Reverend Mr. James Miller. Publish'd for the Benefit of the Widow of the deceas'd Author.

J.Watts, 1749.

8°.

B.L.4455e3

Published by subscription.

Translations

27 Select Comedies of M^r. De Moliere. French and English. In Eight Volumes.

John Watts, 1732.

12°.

B.L.2411.28-35

Includes 17 of Moliere's plays. See no.28a.

28a The Works of Moliere, French and English. In Ten Volumes.

John Watts, 1739.
12°.

B.L.11736aaa33

The preface to Select Comedies speaks of "The Translators." The dedication to one play is signed Martin Clare, and another "H.B." David Erskine Baker's Companion to the Play-House in 1764 asserted that Miller was concerned with Henry Baker, the biographer's father, in a complete translation of the comedies of Molière, published by Watts, and Theophilus Cibber's Lives of the Poets had in 1753 stated that Miller was "principally concerned" in it. The essay on Molière's writings prefixed to Select Comedies is reprinted with very slight adjustments in Miller's Miscellaneous Works in 1741. (It also appeared in the 1739 complete Works, but very much abbreviated.) The complete Works uses translations that had already appeared in Select Comedies, adding only the remaining 14 plays.

b --- The Works of Moliere, French and English. In Ten Volumes.

John Watts, 1748.
12°.

B.L.11737b17

A reissue of the first edition, with new title-page.

c --- The Works of Moliere.

Glasgow, John Gilmour, 1751.
5 vols., 12°.

B.L.11737c37

Uses the translation of Miller and Baker, without the French text.

d --- The Works of Moliere, French and English. In Ten Volumes. A New Edition.

D.Browne and A.Miller, 1755.
12°.

B.L.11735b20

Identical with the 1739 and 1748 issues, with new titlepage.

e --- The Works of Moliere. In Six Volumes. A New Translation.

Berwick-on-Tweed, R.Taylor, 1771.
12°.

B.L.12240ee10

In spite of its claim to be a "New Translation," this is a revision of the 1739 text.

f --- Comedies by J.B.Poquelin Molière, ed. Frederick C.Green.

London & Toronto, J.M.Dent & Sons, and New York, E.P.Dutton & Co., "Everyman's Library", 1929.
2 vols., 8°.

B.L.12206p1/626

Contains Miller's and Baker's translation of 20 of the plays.

g --- reissued in 1956.

Manuscripts

- I "The Coffee-house a Dramatic Piece of One Act. Multum in parvo."
No.2 in Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library, by Dougald MacMillan (San Marino, California, 1939).
Application for licence made by Charles Fleetwood on January 12th, 1737/8. The play was produced at Drury Lane on January 26th, and printed (see no.6). The MS differs from the printed text in many places. The handwriting is probably that of a theatre scribe.
- II "Art & Nature a Comedy. Magna est Veritas et prevalebit"
No.3 in MacMillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays.
Application for licence made by Charles Fleetwood on January 12th, 1737/8. Produced at Drury Lane on February 16th, and printed (see no.7). The MS frequently differs from the printed text. The handwriting is the same as that of "The Coffee house" except for Act 3, which is in a different hand.
- III "An Hospital for Fools a Dramatic Fable"
No.15 in MacMillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays.
Application for licence made by Charles Fleetwood on November 1st (?) 1739. Produced at Drury Lane on November 15th, and printed (see no.8). The MS frequently differs from the printed text. Fleetwood apologises for the untidiness of the copy, which is in more than one hand.
- IV "Polite Conversation"
No.21 in MacMillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays.
Application for licence made by Charles Fleetwood on March 28th (or 29th) 1740. Produced at Drury Lane on April 23rd. This adaptation of Swift's dialogues was not printed. "Prologue is by James Miller, who may have made the adaptation". (MacMillan, p.4). The handwriting is that of a scribe, except for the prologue, which is in the same hand as "The Camp Visitants," the epilogue to "Mahomet", and part of "An Hospital for Fools."

V "The Camp Visitants A Comedy of One Act"

No.23 in MacMillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays.

Application for licence was made by Charles Fleetwood on December 11th 1740, but the play was apparently neither performed nor published. MacMillan quotes John Payne Collier's annotated copy of Biographia Dramatica, which declares the play to be "wholly in the hand writing of the Revd. James Miller." (p.5)

VI "Mahomet A Tragedy"

No.46 in MacMillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays.

Application for licence made by Charles Fleetwood on April 16th 1744. Produced at Drury Lane on April 25th, and printed (see no.10). There are very slight differences between the MS and the printed text. The handwriting is that of a scribe.

The epilogue to "Mahomet" is separately indexed in the Larpent Catalogue, under "Unidentified Items" (p.397, no.2429). This is the epilogue printed with the play in 1744. The handwriting is different from that of the play, and similar to that of "The Camp Visitants", the prologue to "Polite Conversation", and part of "An Hospital for Fools".

A Note on Miller's Works

It may be appropriate to specify wherein this account of the canon differs from those in the main catalogues and bibliographies, in the hope of resolving some confusions.

The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature lists under Miller's name all his plays except for the two unpublished Larpent manuscripts - "The Camp Visitants" and "Polite Conversation". The National Union Catalog does admit "The Camp Visitants", however. The CBEL refers to Joseph and his Brethren as a sacred drama which was unacted, whereas it was in fact repeatedly sung, as the libretto to Handel's oratorio. It also includes, on the authority of the DNB, the unacted ballad-opera Vanelia; or the Amours of the Great. The British Library Catalogue also admits Lord Blunder's Confession, as it is "by the Author of Vanelia". J.T.Hillhouse has pointed out that these have been attributed to Miller because of confusion arising from Miller's play of 1735, The Man of Taste, having the same title as a 1733 lampoon on Pope, which was also "by the Author of Vanelia" (see above, pp. 32-33). The NUC includes all three of these scurrilous "ballad-operas" under Miller's name.

The CBEL records all the poetry except for The Great Man's Answer, The Year Forty-One, and H[anove]r Heroes. The B.L.Catalogue enters The Great Man's Answer under Miller's name, but also What of that! and Yes they are, two of the other replies to Are these Things So? which are not by Miller. They are probably only listed here because they have a connexion with Are these Things So? but the result can be misleading. The NUC includes those two under Miller's name, as well as A Supplement and Have at you All, and several more poems which it attributes to Miller on the now discredited evidence of the Wrenn catalogue. Foxon lists all of them as anonymous or belonging to other authors. They include Advice to the Clergy, The Lawyers Disbanded, or, the Temple in an Uproar, A Rap at the Rhapsody, A Touch of the Times, The Woman of Taste, The Late Gallant Exploits of a Famous Balancing Captain, and Robert Morris' An Enquiry after Virtue.

The poetry is recorded fully in D.F.Foxon, English Verse, 1701-1750, with the exception of Verses to the Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Frankland.

The CBEL lists none of the prose; the NUC has only the fast sermon, and the BL Catalogue that and the collected sermons. The Cogan trade sale catalogue adds to our knowledge of the oeuvre The Death of M-L-N, The Character of the Clergy, Dick Poney's Epistle and the elusive Expediency of One Man's Dying.

Powell Stewart's bibliography in his dissertation is incomplete as he is concerned only with Miller as a dramatic writer.

The preceding pages can therefore claim to be the fullest and most accurate bibliography of Miller available at present.

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APPENDIX

- 23rd Oct.1740 Are these Things So? [Miller] pub.T.Cooper.(Opposition)
- 8th Nov.1740 Yes they are [Robert Morris] pub. T.Cooper. (Opposition)
- 15th Nov.1740 What of that! pub. T.Cooper. (Government)
- 2nd Dec.1740 What Things? pub. J.Roberts. (Government)
- 6th Dec.1740 Are these Things So? 2nd edition, pub.T.Cooper.
- Dec.1740 They are Not,pub. J.Roberts. (Government)
- Dec.1740 Have at you All [Robert Morris] pub. T.Cooper
(Opposition)
- Dec.1740 Come on then,by the author of They are not, pub. T.
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- 18th Dec.1740 The Great Man's Answer [Miller] pub. T.Cooper.
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- 20th Dec.1740 A Supplement [Thomas Newcomb] pub. J.Roberts.
(Government)
- Jan.1741 Pro and Con,pub. J.Roberts. (probably Government)