Books as Self-Representation: A Comparison of Pope and Swift

James McLaverty

Abstract: This bibliographically informed comparison of Pope's and Swift's representation of themselves through their books draws on Claude Rawson's investigation of Swift's epitaph. Rawson compares the epitaph with Swift's other self-representations and those of Yeats and Pope, valuing Swift's rejection of the lofty style. The analysis of the books in this essay draws on Rawson's evaluations. Pope designs his books directly. His first volume of *Works* (1717) in large formats, quarto and folio, declares him a classic at the age of twenty-nine. The engravings make him both a young gentleman and a son of Apollo. His second volume (1735) presents him as the friend of virtuous aristocrats. He reprints his works in octavo, as though they are Latin classics, but only after they have appeared as imposing volumes. Swift was also a consummate professional in his understanding of print, but always maintained his distance from production. His publications had to be seen to be done to him, rather than for him. He disowned his *Miscellanies* (1711), although he had been prepared to direct its contents, but this collection, an octavo, is an impressive book, generous in its use of space and honouring its author. The same is true of *Gulliver's Travels*. In the 1730s Swift collaborated with George Faulkner on four volumes of *Works*, always expressing his reluctance and disapproval. Their engravings display their author much more heroically than do any of Pope's, even though Faulkner's octavo format falls short of the pomp of Pope's *Works*.

Keywords: Alexander Pope; Jonathan Swift; miscellanies; works; engravings

Author: James McLaverty is Emeritus Professor of Textual Criticism, School of Humanities at Keele University (Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK). He is the author of *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (2001) and the editor, with Paddy Bullard, of *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (2013). He serves as one of the general editors of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift (Email: j.mclaverty@keele.ac.uk).

In his wide-ranging and penetrative essay "Savage indignation revisited: Swift, Yeats, and the 'cry' of liberty," Claude Rawson's starting point is Swift's will and his directions for the tablet that was to be placed in his memory in St Patrick's

Cathedral, Dublin.

Hic depositum est Corpus
IONATHAN SWIFT S.T.D.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
Decani.
Ubi sæva Indignatio
Ulterius
Cor lacerare nequit.
Abi Viator
Et imitare, si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili
Libertatis Vindicatorem.
Obiit 19^{o} Die Mensis Octobris
A.D. 1745. Anno Ætatis 78^{o}.

"Here is laid the body of Jonathan Swift, S.T.D., Dean of this cathedral, where savage indignation can no longer lacerate his heart. Go, traveller, and imitate, if you can, this strong defender, to the utmost of his powers, of liberty. He died on the 19th day of October, at the age of 78" (Rawson 185). Rawson's essay reflects on the words of the tablet, assesses Yeats's version of it ("Swift's Epitaph"), compares Yeats's own epitaph at Drumcliff, and contrasts the anonymous speaker's account of Swift in his "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift" with the verdict of the tablet. Rawson is concerned throughout with the quality of these self-judgements and self-presentations, emphasising Swift's consistent rejection of the lofty style (favoured by both Yeats and Pope) and his general avoidance of any stain of self-inflation or self-exaltation. My focus in this essay is with an off-shoot of these concerns: the nature of Swift's books, compared with Pope's, as a form of self-representation or monument.

In a telling section of his essay that takes us to books, Rawson contrasts Swift's instruction that a black marble tablet be fixed to the wall of the cathedral, "the following Inscription in large Letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded," with Yeats's lines in "Under Ben Bulben":

No marble, no conventional phrase;
On limestone quarried near the spot
By his command these words are cut:

Cast a cold eye
On life, on death.
Horseman, pass by! (*Poems* 451-452)

Rawson notes that Yeats's lines, though aimed at local limestone, here appear in a published poem; they find additional life and longevity in a book. In doing so, Rawson points out, they insert "considerable pomp onto the process of renouncing pomp" (188). The words recording a poet's verdict on him- or herself may appear on a wall-tablet, or a gravestone, or a tomb, but they may also appear, without necessarily being an epitaph, in or as a poem: Swift's "The Author upon Himself," *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, and Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* are examples, though they may also engage strongly with contemporary issues. As an extension of that, a whole book may sometimes serve as an act of self-definition. Any collection or selection of works, especially if it is chronologically ordered, is likely to have that function, but so might the author's masterpiece or autobiographical reflection. The material nature of the book, its layout, type, paper, illustration, and binding, might enhance or diminish the claims being made for the author. In Pope and Swift's case, the publisher and printer will have a significant role in designing the book, but the contribution of the authors may still be remarkable. In Pope's case, it is immediate; in Swift's, nearly always at a skilful remove. In comparing the books of these close contemporaries and friends, I have drawn on two recent rich and rewarding studies: Dustin Griffin's *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* and Valerie Rumbold's *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765.* As Rawson notes, Pope in his writing often embraces the grandiloquence and heroic self-presentation that Swift eschews, and, at least in outline, that is true of their books. Pope loved to design his books, conscious of representing himself through them, whereas Swift was inclined to set off the process of publication and leave it to take its course. But I am drawn to Rawson's important observation on Swift and masks: "Gulliver and the Tale-Teller and Proposer are variously not Swift […] But it is even more important to understand that they also *not* not Swift" (195-196). Less profoundly, Swift's books are *not* not Swift either; his influence is powerful, even though physically he may be absent, while Pope's books, for all his fussing, may sometimes slip away from him and become to some degree not Pope.

For Pope, to inscribe a poem, once it was finished, was to honour it and, by implication, its author. The first full autograph manuscript we have, the booklet of the *Pastorals* (1704), is a good example: a fine italic hand, with roman for contrast;

neat rules and elegant dropheads; running heads and catchwords; and footnotes.[1] This manuscript lacks the permanence of Swift's black marble tablet, but it similarly creates a particular object that honours the artist; in this case it was to be passed round a group of distinguished admirers. In 1716 in a parallel case, Pope made an elaborate manuscript booklet of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Court Eclogs*.[2] In a letter to her he declares its purpose, comparing his activity with the Countess of Tripoly's obsequies for the Provencal poet Jeffrey Rudel: "She made him a Splendid funeral, built him a Tomb of Porphyry, put his Epitaph upon it in Arabic verse, had his Sonnets curiously copied out and illumind with letters of gold, was taken with Melancholy, and turned Nun." Some of the terms pre-echo Swift's instructions for his monument, and Pope claims he has taken similar steps already:

> The letters of Gold, and the curious Illumining of the Sonnets, was not a greater token of respect than what I have paid to your Eclogues: They lie inclosd in a Monument of Red Turkey, written in my fairest hand; the gilded Leaves are opend with no less veneration than the Pages of the Sybils; like them, lockd up & conceald from prophane eyes: None but my own have beheld these sacred Remains of yourself, and I should think it as great a wickedness to divulge them, as to Scatter abroad the Ashes of my Ancestors. (*Correspondence* 1: 441)

The comic hyperbole of this account should not disguise Pope's motive, which was to honour Montagu and in doing so create a symbol of his admiration for her.

Creating a poem in print was not so very different for Pope from creating a beautiful manuscript, though it involved collaboration with members of the book trade. In his early years he worked with the booksellers Jacob Tonson and Bernard Lintot, and with the printers John Watts and William Bowyer (Foxon 38-46), using the designs they had established. Because paper was expensive, octavos (sheets of paper folded three times to give eight leaves) were cheaper to produce than quartos (sheets folded twice to give four leaves) and folios (sheets folded once to give two leaves), and offered less dignity to the works they contained. In London in Pope's early period, single poems by distinguished authors were often marketed as folios, although the quarto format was thought more appropriate for poetical essays like *An*

1 See Alexander Pope, *The Last and Greatest Art: Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope*, transcribed and edited by Maynard Mack, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984, 24-60.

2 It is now in the New York Public Library.

Essay on Criticism (1711) or *An Essay on Man* (1733-1734). Pope's *Windsor-Forest* (1713), for example, although it is only 434 lines long, took up 20 pages and came as a very tall folio pamphlet, 350×222 (all measurements in approx. mm.) at the price of one shilling (*Post Boy*, March 7, 1713). If a purchaser collected and bound together these folio poems, as Pope's friend the Earl of Oxford did, they made an impressive large book.

Pope's role in the typography of these poems is clear from his manuscripts. He planned the space on the printed page; he designed the dropheads in imitation type; he indicated where new sections began; and he was meticulous in indicating capitals and italics, a pioneer in abandoning uniform capitals for nouns (Foxon 162-174). But in the autumn of 1713—he was only twenty-five—he started to plan an even more impressive book, a collection in print. He already sensed that there were two aspects to becoming an author of classic status. The first was to achieve dignity with your contemporaries. The second was to ensure you went on being reprinted. A volume of works, if it was well done, would help satisfy both requirements. On October 5, 1713, Jacob Tonson, Jr., who had just paid for some of Pope's poems to be included in his *Poetical Miscellanies,* signed an agreement with Pope saying that Pope could include these poems in a collection, provided that he allowed Tonson a proportion of the books.[1] The agreement makes Pope, rather than the bookseller, the prime mover in any such collection, and when the *Works* appeared in 1717 (with Tonson getting a quarter of the books), it is clear from a message to the printer John Watts that Pope had taken charge, even of the details:

> I desire, for fear of mistakes, that you will cause the space for the initial letter to the Dedication to the Rape of the Lock to be made of the size of those in Trapp's Prælectiones. Only a small ornament at the top of that leaf, not so large as four lines breadth. The rest as I told you before. (*Correspondence* 1: 394)

Watts was evidently working to a design laid down by Pope.

The detailed instructions over typography supported a general plan for the *Works* to symbolize Pope's achievement of classic status. From at least as early as autumn 1713, he had been translating Homer's *Iliad*, which had been published highly successfully in large formats. The decision was made for the *Works* to parallel the *Iliad* translation. It was published on the same day, June 3, 1717, as volume 3 of the *Iliad*, and it was styled as though it was part of the same series.

1 See Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D* 5 vols, edited by David Woolley et al, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2014, 1: 191-192.

These were large books, with quartos to match the *Iliad* subscribers' copies, large folios for rich trade customers, and small folios for ordinary sale. Even the small folios were not really small: my copy measures 290×180 mms. The large volumes cost a guinea each, unbound; the small folios 12 shillings.[1] Lintot provided Pope with 120 copies of the quartos on fine paper, which were doubtless given to friends and influential figures.

Perhaps the most important element of self-presentation in this luxury book, after its size, was its frontispiece: a very large (370×265 mms), portrait of Alexander Pope as a young gentleman, bewigged but with an open shirt, modelled on portraits of Boileau in his *Works*.[2] The engraving by George Vertue, based on the portrait by Charles Jervas now in the Bodleian Library, had originally been sold as a poster for the translator of Homer (*Daily Courant*, August 20, 1715) and now had to be folded twice in order to fit into the book. The same arrangement had to be made with the engraving of the portrait of Boileau by Hyacinthe Rigaud in the Geneva *Works* of 1716, of which Pope's copy is now at Mapledurham House.[3] The portrait came with the small folios as well as with the larger books. The frontispiece of Boileau in the 1716 Geneva edition has an added verse to which Pope's volume offered a reply:

Boileau sut remplacer Horace,
Seul il sut remplacer et Perse et Juvenal;
Mais de cet auteur sans égal
Qui remplira jamais la place?

Pope, the frontispiece implied, was not only the successor of Horace, Persius, and Boileau, but also of Homer, whose head had occupied a similar place in the first volume of the *Iliad* translation. Apollo, the god of poetry, his face in glory, his lyre, and the trumpets of fame, symbolically pervade the decorative engravings of the volume. Most strikingly Apollo and the Muses are represented in the headpiece used for both the *Ode for Musick* and Pope's Preface. The British Museum has a print (1895, 1031.186) with a similar grouping of Apollo and the Muses and a portrait of Boileau being presented to them. That particular print is too late to have influenced Pope or his engraver, Simon Gribelin, but the idea is the same: Pope, a son of

1 See David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 56.

2 See William Kurtz Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965, 7-26.

3 See Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some of His Contemporaries*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1982, 399.

Apollo, belongs in the company of Apollo and the Muses.

The *Works* proclaim Pope's fame. Even the Contents seems organized to make the point, with the major poems leading to the *Temple of Fame*, while, after the Preface, a group of introductory poems by admirers praise Pope and celebrate his success. But the Preface, rather charmingly, strikes a different note. Pope's stance there is of an author nervously submitting his work to the public: "I publish'd because I was told I might please such as it was a credit to please. To what degree I have done this, I am really ignorant" (*Twickenham* 1: 6). He worries that he might be condemned for aspiring to fame: "a good Poet no sooner communicates his works with the same desire of information, but it is imagin'd he is a vain young creature given up to the ambition of fame; when perhaps the poor man is all the while trembling with the fear of being ridiculous" (1: 5). He sums up his perplexity in a paragraph that might turn the reader's thoughts back to Swift's Will: "In this office of collecting my pieces, I am altogether uncertain, whether to look upon myself as a man building a monument, or burying the dead?" (1: 9) The stakes, then, are high. Although Pope begins the Preface almost dismissively—"I am inclined to think that both the writers of books, and the readers of them, are generally not a little unreasonable in their expectations"—we are concerned with whether the author has "a Genius," whether his poems, imitating the ancients, will have the "highest character for sense and learning," and whether he has the good sense necessary for the good writer and the good man (1: 3, 4, 7, 9). However, in his conclusion, Pope suggests the verdict is really not in doubt. If the volume fails, he boasts, it will show "it avails nothing to have been encourag'd by the great, commended by the eminent, and favour'd by the publick in general" (1: 10). The physical volume, as imperishable as they could make it, is an expression of the favour the author enjoyed and of resistance to potential detractors. Maynard Mack calls it "a monument to vanity" (*Life* 333), a little harshly perhaps, because, although its monumentality is undeniable, it is also through its decorations cheerful and playful. The engravings are celebratory rather than pompous, with luxuriant foliage, natural scenes, and satyrs ready to burst out of its borders. This is a poet who boasts his achievement but not without hesitation and humour.

Pope's *Works* of 1717 represent a high point of self-admiration. When he came to design the second volume of his *Works* in 1735, the youthful aim of glamorous representation had faded. The same formats were used—these were still important books—but the emphasis was now on a social circle rather than on the individual. The point is clear from the pictorial representation of the author. The frontispiece portrait, though Pope would have had many portraits to choose from (Wimsatt 27-

107) is gone; its equivalent is a vignette on the title page. Two putti, representing poetry and painting, embrace above a medallion of Pope's head. One putto holds a lyre, and a sheet of text and a palette lie below the medallion. The paper is marked "W. Kent inv." (Wimsatt 125-126) and William Kent had designed this vignette for the conclusion of Pope's *Odyssey*, to celebrate the collaboration between artist and poet. Pope had used it in the printing of two of his poems, in both cases explaining its significance by adding around the edge of the medallion words from Horace's *First Satire*: "UNI ÆQUUS VIRTUTI ATQUÆ EJUS AMICIS" (line 70), imitated by Pope as "To virtue only and her friends, a friend" (*Twickenham* 4: 17, line 121).

The presence of the engraving of Pope's medallion on the tile page of Pope's *Works* in 1735, showed that, although the volume still centred on Pope, as any works must, its focus was on Pope with his friends. Pope decided that he would decorate the volume with tailpieces from the *Odyssey*, often representing mythological figures, and combine them with headpieces displaying the coats of arms of his friends. Bolingbroke, Cobham, Burlington, and Oxford were represented by their arms, and so was Pope, or at least by his father's. The *Dunciad* at the end of the volume had substitutes for the coats of arms in designs featuring asses and owls in what would otherwise have been positions of dignity. The arms of Burlington (in the large folio only) and Oxford were presented in oblong designs that would best have fitted as headpieces, but they appear at the end of their poems. That was probably because Pope wanted his father's arms, in a similar oblong design, to appear at the end of *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, providing a conclusion to a poem that was unquestionably to serve as something of an apology for the poet's life and a memorial. In his note on the lines,

> Let the *Two Curls* of Town and Court, abuse
> His Father, Mother, Body, Soul, and Muse (*Twickenham* 4: 125; lines 380-381)

he had claimed, mistakenly, that his father came from the family of the Earl of Downe, and, correctly, that his mother was of the Turnor family of York. In the *Works*, he added:

> The following Inscription was placed by their Son on their Monument, in the Parish of Twickenham, in Middlesex,
>
> D. O. M.
> ALEXANDRO POPE, VIRO INNOCUO,
> PROBO, PIO, QUI VIXIT ANNO LXXV, OB, MDCCXVII,

ET EDITHÆ CUNJUGI INCULPABILI, PIENTISSIMÆ,
QUÆ VIXIT ANNOS XCIII, OB. MDCCXXXIII.
PARENTIBUS BENEMERENTIBUS FILIUS FECIT, ET SIBI.

Pope's initial design for the monument was published in the *Gentleman's* Magazine, vol. 53, no. 1, February 1783, p. 99. The addition of the simple "ET SIBI" is a gesture of humility, subordinating himself to his family, but its publication in his *Works*, like Yeats's lines in "Under Ben Bulben," somewhat undermines that effect. The attempt to blend pomp and humility is enhanced by the engraving of his father's arms and their motto, "HEU PIETAS HEU PRISCA FIDES" (Alas for faithfulness to natural ties and duty! Alas for old faith!). The motto is a quotation from *Aeneid*, bk. VI, 878 (*Loeb* 63: 594-595) where Anchises laments the early death of Marcellus, "a youth of wondrous beauty and brilliant in his arms." The engraving unquestionably represents Pope's commitment to his family, its values, and its religion, but it also celebrates Pope as the heir to the family and its culture. Unfortunately, this engraving, and some of the others, arrived too late for some copies of the edition, one of Pope's slips. He played with other possible epitaphs[1], but this one is serious, and it is notable that Warburton retains it in his edition of Pope in 1751, even though he tinkers with much of this poem.

Having established his reputation as a classic through these illustrated large-format *Works*, Pope turned in 1735 to the question of being reprinted as a classic. In an advertisement for the new *Works* II in the *Grubstreet Journal* of April 24, 1735, he and his new collaborators, Lawton Gilliver and Robert Dodsley, launched a series of octavo works with an attack on Bernard Lintot and the miscellanies in which he had reprinted Pope's poems:

> And whereas Bernard Lintot having the property of the former Volume of Poems, would never be induced to publish them compleat, but only a part of them, to which he tack'd and impos'd on the Buyer a whole additional Volume of other Men's Poems. This present Volume will with all convenient Speed be published in Twelves at 5s. that the Buyer may have it at whatever price he prefers, and be enabled to render compleat any Sett he already has, even that imperfect one printed by Lintot. (Griffith 2: 288)

This volume and the subsequent series (nine volumes by the time of Warburton's edition) was actually in octavo, and Pope chose the octavo format for reissues of

1 See Maynard Mack, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 733.

his *Works* from 1735 to 1741. But he never lost the sense that fresh work should be represented by a monumental edition. The *Prose* was issued in quarto in 1737 and 1741; the *New Dunciad* came out in quarto in 1742; and the *Works* that he was planning on his deathbed was to be in quarto, with some volumes published in 1744. Even the octavos were issued like editions of classical texts: in print Pope was usually on his dignity, whereas Swift was not.

In *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (1739), Swift imagines a customer trying to buy some Swift after his death:

> Some Country Squire to *Lintot* goes,
> Enquires for Swift in Verse and Prose:
> Says *Lintot*, "I have heard the Name:
> "He dy'd a Year ago." The same.
> He searcheth all his Shop in vain;
> "Sir you may find them in *Duck-lane:*
> "I sent them with a Load of Books,
> "Last *Monday* to the Pastry-cooks.
> "To fancy they could live a Year!
> "I find you're but a Stranger here. (*Poems* 2: 562-563; lines 253-262)

Swift chooses the name of Pope's early-career bookseller, Bernard Lintot, responsible for the 1717 *Works*, whose son was running the business in 1739. The aim is to represent the respectable London trade, and how better to do so than by naming Pope's bookseller? But the picture he paints is quite false, because by 1739 Swift had already acquired classic status. He had been published in his own collections, and reprinting in small formats was well underway in both Dublin and London. It is true that Swift, by contrast with Pope, avoided the grandeur of large-format books throughout his career. He was, for example, scornful of the whole business of publishing poems in expensive folio, writing to Pope in March 1733: "This day I received the two Poems […] we are not obliged to you; for all your things come over quickly, and are immediately printed, in tolerable wealdable volumes, not your monstrous twelvepenny folio" (Swift, *Correspondence* 3.615). Here, as elsewhere, Swift's practical knowledge of the book trade is striking. He prefers small-format books because they are easier to handle and because they are cheaper; he understands how the London pricing of poems works. Although he lacked Pope's interest in inserting himself into book-trade operations, he thoroughly understood them. The *Journal to Stella* shows him dictating the final page of *A New Journey to Paris* to its printer, John Barber, and judging "it makes a two-

penny pamphlet" (277), arranging for another "two-penny pamphlet" to be written in support of the *Conduct of the Allies*, while copies of the *Conduct* itself were "sent to the great men this night" (331), and having the *Windsor Prophecy* printed in black letter before writing to the printer to try to stop printing before it was seen by the Queen (351-353). Swift knew how to mark up his own poem for publication, as the copy of "The Bubble" he sent to Charles Ford shows (*Correspondence* 2: 354 n. 2), and he gave ironic advice on mark-up to a novice in "On Poetry: A Rapsody," (*Poems* 2: 643; lines 91-100). His professionalism, though he would not have called it that, is evident in his condemnation of Richard Steele as "a Writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a Title-Page with Propriety or common Sense" (*English Political Writings* 247). In his time in London, Swift worked closely with his collaborators, John Barber for his government work, and Benjamin Tooke for his own (Bullard and McLaverty 8-10), but when he started to publish in Ireland, he opened up a distance from the book trade. In a letter to Benjamin Motte, who had become his London bookseller for *Gullliver's Travels*, he explained:

> I believe I have told you, that no Printer or Bookseller hath any sort of property here. I have writ some things that would make people angry[.] I always sent them by unknown hands, the Printer might guess, but he could not accuse me[,] he ran the whole risk, and well deserved the property, if he could carry it to London and print it there, but I am sure I could have no property at all. (*Correspondence* 3: 556)

In these cases, Swift initiated, and usually designed, publication, but took no responsibility for the outcome. He balances responsibility against property. Practically he may have been right, but legally he would have held the property in any of his work until he sold it.

That Swift's collaborations with the book trade, either directly or remotely, resulted in unusual and complex print is evident from Valerie Rumbold's innovative and perceptive study. An example from the London period is the *Elegy on Mr. Patridge* (1708), a broadside in two columns with a mourning compartment depicting death in various forms[1], and an example from the Dublin period is the first of the *Drapier's Letters* (1724), with its packed pages and "noisily emphatic" capitals (Rumbold 162-164). These are cases very like impersonation, though the *Letters* are a case where Swift himself wanted to be noisy and emphatic. They are

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 74-78.

both Swift and not Swift, but in this essay I want to focus on the books that might in some ways be taken to stand for Swift himself. The first of these is the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* of 1711, a book that helped to shape the design of later Swift publications.[1] The *Miscellanies* is not such a grand book as Pope's *Works* of six years later, but it is nevertheless impressive. The Bodleian Library has a large-paper copy (8° Y 24 Jur), which is the one I shall discuss. It is not, Swift must have been relieved to find, unwieldy, but it is approximately 224 mm. high and 135 mm. wide (something like a modern royal octavo). In comparison, the octavos Pope used for publishing his works from 1735 onwards, which are not small books, measure approximately 170×105 mm; Swift's *Miscellanies* is not far from twice their size in area. It was printed by William Bowyer, the best London printer of the period. The type is pica, with only 28 or 29 lines of prose to the page (Pope's characteristically have 30), and the margins are extraordinarily generous, with 42 mm. for the outer margin, 23 mm. at the head, and 49 mm. at the foot. Most strikingly, in width the text (71 mm.) does not extend as far as the headline (83 mm.), as though the printer is leaving room for the reader to construct an individual commentary in the outer margin. Texts with marginal notes generally allow the note to bite into the text; they do not leave a wider margin. The paper is good, holding its colour after 300 years. For contemporaries, the importance of the book would not have been diminished by its title. *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* was appropriate for the collection of an author who was only forty-three at the time and far from the close of his career; the title *Works* was generally reserved for posthumous collections, Pope being an exception.[2] The title page is well designed and modern in appearance, shaped by white space rather than by rules. This is a book of the highest quality, representing an author of significant achievement, even though he remains anonymous.

Swift's correspondence with Benjamin Tooke, his bookseller, suggests a strong interest in this book, which he is trying to conceal: "If you are in such haste, how came you to forget the Miscellanies? I would not have you think of Steele for a publisher [i.e. editor]; he is too busy. I will, one of these days, send you some hints, which I would have in a preface, and you may get some friend to dress them up" (June 29, 1710, *Correspondence* I: 282). This letter shows Swift characteristically directing operations but, where possible, working through other agents. At one time Steele did intend to write the preface to the *Miscellanies*, because he wrote to Swift

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 126-131.

2 See James McLaverty, "'For Who So Fond as Youthful Bards of Fame?': Pope's *Works* of 1717," *The Culture of Collected Editions*, edited by Andrew Nash, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 49-50

on October 8, 1709, "I have not seen Ben Tooke in a Great While but long to Usher You and Yours into the World not that there can be any thing added by me to Y^{r} Fame, but to walk bareheaded before you" (*Correspondence* 1: 266). The passage shows how far the purpose of the *Miscellanies* was to honour Swift. The *Journal to Stella* shows Swift himself working to develop the *Miscellanies* volume and then repudiating it. On October 17, 1710, he is positive:

> Tooke is going on with my *Miscellany*. I'd give a penny the letter to the bishop of Killaloe was in it: 'twould do him honour. Could not you contrive to say you hear they are printing my *Things* together; and that you wish the bookseller had that letter among the rest: but don't say any thing of it as from me. (*Journal* 42)

Note "'twould do him honour," which reveals a genuine feeling about the collection. But by February 28, Swift had forgotten his earlier commitment or was playing up to a conspiracy of ignorance with his addressees:

> Some bookseller has raked up every thing I writ, and published it t'other day in one volume; but I know nothing of it, 'twas without my knowledge or consent: it makes a four shilling book, and is called Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. Tooke pretends he knows nothing of it, but I doubt he is at the bottom […] I'll bring a couple of them over with me for MD, perhaps you may desire to see them. I hear they sell mightily. (*Journal* 152)

The "hints" Swift promised Tooke probably matured into the Preface as we have it. Its chief aim seems to be to suggest that the author had no responsibility for publication, and that is achieved by setting up an argument that, although publication without the author's consent is generally unacceptable, in this case it is well meaning and innocuous. The absence of authorial consent is strongly implied, if not directly claimed "this Publication, tho' without the Author's Consent or Knowledge" (*Prose* 4: 269). The Preface permits itself some recommendation of these collected materials. The publisher has respect for "the supposed Author's Reputation, to whom no Man pays a juster Esteem, or bears a greater Respect than my self" (4: 268), and has delayed publication, even though he knew the world would receive "so agreeable an Entertainment […] from the following Papers" (4: 268). Even defective versions have met with "so much Applause, and so universal a good Reception from all Men of Wit and Taste" (4: 268) as to prompt

the booksellers to look for others in manuscript. Worthy persons have passed on materials to this publisher and the materials are recognizable as the supposed author's by their quality:

> there are in every one of these Pieces some particular Beauties that discover this Author's Vein, who excels too much not to be distinguished, since in all his Writings such a surprizing Mixture of Wit and Learning, true Humour and good Sense, does every-where appear, as sets him almost as far out of the Reach of Imitation, as it does beyond the Power of Censure. (4: 270)

This author, then, is to be celebrated for excelling in modest virtues, though his name is not to be mentioned in the book. Irvin Ehrenpreis has written well about this aspect of Swift and "the strange barriers he set for himself: that his authorship should be ostensibly a secret but covertly told to the world" (3: 317).

The *Miscellanies* were being planned at the same time as the revised *Tale of a Tub*. I cannot claim this book as a form of self-representation, because it was not identified as Swift's until after his death, but it is worth pausing to note what a dignified and accomplished piece of printing it is.[1] To the modern eye, it is a slightly old-fashioned book, with its use of framing rules, sidenotes, and unusual italic capitals. That is to its advantage, the primness of the printing contrasting with the writer's lack of restraint, but that is unlikely to have been at Swift's request. *A Tale of a Tub* was itself something of a miscellany, including "The Battel of the Books" and "A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit." The second of these, the "Battel" is valuable for showing Swift's sensitivity to the make-up of books, without allowing them generally to symbolize their authors. At the end of the "Bookseller to the Reader", we are told to

> beware of applying to Persons what is here meant, only of Books in the most literal Sense. So, when *Virgil* is mentioned, we are not to understand the Person of a famous Poet, call'd by that Name, but only certain Sheets of Paper, bound in Leather, containing in Print, the Works of the said Poet, and so of the rest.[2]

The battle is supposed to be between the books of St. James's Library, but books are

1 See Valerie Rumbold, *Swift in Print: Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691-1765*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 54-65.

2 See Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, edited by Marcus Walsh, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 141.

not equipped to fight and consequently the descriptions are of man-like figures, with the names of authors, fighting an *Iliad*-like battle. Sometimes the action reflects what the authors say in their books, but reflections of their material embodiment are rare. The biggest book in the *Battel* is a heavenly one, the Book of Fate, "three large Volumes in Folio": "The Clasps were of Silver, double Gilt; the Covers, of Celestial Turky-leather, and the Paper such as here on Earth might almost pass for Vellum" (153). No author is granted such a luxurious appearance. Aesop has been defaced by the keeper of the Library, Richard Bentley, "who had tore off his Title-page, sorely defaced one half of his Leaves, and chained him fast among a Shelf of *Moderns*" (151). The goddess Criticism, wanting to visit "W-tt-n," Bentley's ally, transforms herself into a thoroughly unpleasant book and thus becomes indistinguishable from Bentley (155-156). Swift recognizes in this instance the capacity of a material book to symbolize a man and his critical stance, and, though it is rare for him to develop the idea explicitly, it will have informed his attitude to his own books.

If there was any doubt that Swift was at this point valued by the London book trade, it is dispelled by the evidence of the Stationers' Register. On the first day of operation of the first copyright act, April 10, 1710, Benjamin Tooke was the very first bookseller off the mark, entering separately the *Tale of a Tub* and the *Miscellanies*, with the contents specified.[1]

Swift's early years in Ireland, 1714-1725 were a period of remote and disguised publication. It is unlikely he had direct contact with his printers, John Harding and his wife Sarah: "My Custom, therefore, is to dictate to a Prentice who can write in a feigned Hand; and what is written, we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy" (*Prose* 10: 79, italics reversed). But the collection of the *Letters* by George Faulkner in *Fraud Detected: Or, the Hibernian Patriot* (1725) was another matter. Irvin Ehrenpreis suggests Swift may have cooperated with Faulkner, who later made the *Letters* the substance of one of his volumes of Swift's *Works,* and that Faulkner may have benefited from Swift's hints for the Preface (3: 317-318). It begins with praise for the author's disinterestedness. "the Love for his Country, and not a Desire of Fame, or Applause from the Vulgar, induced him to publish them to the World," and continues to admire the Letters' reception: "when *Three Hundred Pounds* Ster. were offered by Proclamation of the Government, to any faithful Subject that would discover the Author, not one single Person was induced by it to inform against him" (i-ii). The sentiment is close to that in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, which includes the reward offered for *Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, as well as for *Drapier's*

1 See Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D* 5 vols, edited by David Woolley et al, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999-2014, 1: 285, n. 5.

Letters:

> "Two Kingdoms, just as Faction led,
> "Had set a Price upon his Head;
> "But, not a Traytor cou'd be found,
> "To sell him for Six Hundred Pound. (*Poems* 2: 566-267; lines 351-354)

The thought is likely to have originated with Swift rather than with Faulkner. Swift's pride in the *Drapier's Letters* is also revealed by a gift. The Bodleian Library's copy of *Fraud Detected* (8^{o} E 150 Linc.) was presented to the Library by Swift himself, with the inscription "Humbly presented to the Bodleyan Library in Oxford by M. B. Drapier (*Correspondence* 2: Plate 16) on the fly-leaf. A small book, it is nevertheless honoured with red morocco binding, extensive gilt tooling on the covers and the spine, and marbled endpapers. Alderman Barber presented the Bodleian with a portrait of Swift to be placed in the gallery of "renowned and distinguished personages" (*Correspondence* 4: 567), but Swift gave them a special copy of his book.

Soon after *Fraud Detected*, Swift came to London, bringing with him the manuscript of *Gulliver's Travels.* Swift could easily have arranged printing in Dublin—a good edition was later prepared by John Hyde—but a major work required the dignity of London publication. The printing and publication was dealt with by the successor of Benjamin Tooke, the son of Benjamin Motte, Sr. (the printer of *Tale of a Tub*). But whereas Swift had dealt openly with Tooke, he dealt indirectly with Motte, arranging publication by letter. Motte, who was sent one of the voyages to examine, agreed to pay Swift's (really Pope's) terms, though, under-capitalized, he asked for more time. Pope, reporting to Swift when he had returned to Ireland, told him he had worried unnecessarily about the work's reception by the powerful, but reassured him anyway that "Motte receiv'd the copy (he tells me) he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach: by computing the time, I found it was after you left England" (*Correspondence* 3: 52). I suspect that Pope had other unattributable briefings with Motte, which explains why Motte was willing to pay £200 for an anonymous work. The bookseller treated *Gulliver's Travels* as an important book. He published it as two volumes, when, as modern editions show, it could easily have been accommodated in one, and he employed four printers (one for each voyage), to speed up printing and to avoid the risk of piracy. The large-paper copies (again, the Bodleian Library holds one, 8^{0} Y 24 Jur) are much the same size as the

Miscellanies in Prose and Verse of 1711 (227×135 mm.), probably intentionally, the work of the same firm. *Gulliver's Travels* is in some ways more old-fashioned in design. It has a frame of double rules round the title page, and, extravagantly, each voyage has a similar title. It has a frontispiece portrait of Gulliver and maps of the various countries visited, as well an illustration of the language machine (I suspect we owe all these to Swift). It does not have the extra space in the outer margin that characterizes the *Miscellanies* but it is otherwise generous with white space. The text is leaded, with the result that, though the dimensions of the type page are the same as in the *Miscellanies*, there are only 25 lines to the page, rather than 28 or 29. The type is again pica and the paper good. It is difficult to see how a prose fiction for popular sale could be presented in a much more luxurious way, though the Ham House copy described by Teerink (252×150 mm.) shows a much larger sheet could be used (194). The ordinary books sold at 8*s*. 6*d*.: a high price, but the production acknowledged a masterpiece. As David Womersley's edition shows, there were to be many corrections and reprints (627-652.)

For a time, Pope tried to maintain the connection with Motte by publishing, with Swift, a series of miscellanies. The first three volumes were published 1727-1728, the fourth in 1732. They were modelled on the 1711 *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*; indeed the first volume was essentially a reprint of that book. They maintained the large outer margins that had characterized the 1711 book, but I am unaware of large-paper copies. Pope had a view of the symbolic qualities of these books, which he expressed in a letter to Swift:

> Our Miscellany is now quite printed. I am prodigiously pleas'd with this joint-volume, in which methinks we look like friends, side by side, serious and merry by turns, conversing interchangeably, and walking down hand in hand to posterity; not in the stiff forms of learned Authors, flattering each other, and setting the rest of mankind at nought: but in a free, un-important, natural, easy manner; diverting others just as we diverted ourselves. ([February 17] 1727; *Correspondence*, 3: 76)

The pieces are hardly conversational (they show very little engagement with one another), but Pope did his best to represent his vision in print by having his Preface signed in a large fount:

> JONATH. SWIFT

ALEX. POPE

Swift may have expected to be recognized as the author of his publications, but he hardly ever signed them, an exception being *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), which, by its inclusion in the first volume of this series, declared his authorship (*Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises* 156). The move that wrecked the joint publication plan and justified Swift's feeling he was carrying the weight of it on his own, was the decision not to print the *Dunciad* in the third volume but independently.

Swift allowed himself to be represented with Pope in this *Miscellanies* collection, but his thoughts were clearly turning to the possibility of the publication of something like a works. A significant letter to Motte of July 15, 1732 shows he had been contemplating his legacy:

> As to my posthumous things I shall intrust them to M^{r} Pope, but with a strong recommendation that you alone may be employd […] I am likewise desirous that some time or other, all that I acknoledge to be mine in prose and verse, which I shall approve of with any little things that shall be thought deserving should be published by themselves by you, during my life (if it contains any reasonable time) provided you are sure it will turn to your advantage. (*Correspondence* 3: 503)

This is an invitation to print a Swift works, and a bookseller with more energy and more capital would have leapt at it. Swift himself understood that a little negotiation would have been needed to capture all the copyrights, but, as there was no copyright in Ireland, that would not have been an exhausting process, mainly involving the material Faulkner had printed and sent to London through Bowyer. Swift was doubtless reflecting on this hint he had given to Motte when he later (after Faulkner's Dublin edition) wrote: "It was the Fault of you and other Booksellers, who printed any Thing supposed to be mine, that you did not agree with each other to print them together, if you thought they would sell to any Advantage" (*Correspondence* 4: 304). Swift repeatedly regrets that his Works were not published in England (*Correspondence* 3: 638, 661, 4: 67). But Motte's passivity made that impossible.

Swift always maintained that the *Works* Faulkner published in Dublin at the end of 1734 and the beginning of 1735 were at the bookseller's initiative. The clearest account is in the letter to Pope of May 1, 1733:

> A Printer came to me to desire he might print my works (as he calld them) in 4 volumes by Subscription. I said I would give him no leave, & should be sorry to see them printed here. He said they could not be printed in London. I answerd, they could if the partners agreed. He said he would be glad of my permission, but as he could print them without it, and was advised that it could do me no harm, & having been assured of numerous subscriptions, he hoped I would not be angry at his persuing his own Interest, &c. without giving me any just offence. (*Correspondence* 3: 638)

The misleading way Swift wrote in the *Journal to Stella* of Tooke's publication of the *Miscellanies* (1711) is a reason for doubting whether this is the whole truth. It is clear from *Fraud Detected* and also from the printing of queries about the Sacramental Test in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* that Swift and Faulkner were already collaborators (Bullard and McLaverty 157-158); Faulkner was not just "A Printer." The reported conversation repeats precisely the concerns that Swift voices to Motte; Swift was the more likely to have introduced the topic. Although it is difficult to accept the literal truth of Faulkner's claim that Swift "corrected every Sheet of the first seven Volumes that were published in his Life Time" (*Prose* 13: 203), I believe that in spirit it is right. This was a joint enterprise: Faulkner worked with Swift and his friends; Swift did not obstruct the subscription (that would have caused problems for Faulkner) even though he could not openly support it; he unquestionably read proof because he told the Earl of Oxford he had ordered "certain Things to be struck out after they were printed" (*Correspondence* 3: 753). But in public, the *Works*, like the *Miscellanies* of 1711, had to be something done to him, not for him.

The *Works* were to be published by subscription in four volumes, at 4*s*. 4*d*. each. The edition was not as grand as that of Pope's second volume of *Works*, which was in press at the same time, as Pope implies in his letter of September 15, 1734:

> I shall collect all the past in one fair quarto this winter, and send it you, where you will find frequent mention of your self. I was glad you suffer'd your writings to be collected more compleatly than hitherto, in the volumes I daily expect from Ireland; I wish'd it had been in more pomp, but that will be done by others: yours are beauties, that can never be too finely drest, for they will ever be young. (*Correspondence* 3: 758)

Pope clearly felt that the edition was with Swift's permission, and in his regret that

it did not have more "pomp" he probably caught Swift's own feeling that it should have been done in London. There are, however, several elements in this edition that would have pleased Swift, even if he was not prepared to say so in public. As Valerie Rumbold, Dustin Griffin, and Robert Mahony have shown, the *Works* celebrated Swift as an artist and patriot. Rumbold perceptively observes, "The four 1735 volumes for which subscribers were now invited to put down their money did much by their bulk, quality and contents to suggest monumentality" (222). Four was itself an impressive number: Pope at this point had only two volumes of *Works*; Tickell's posthumous collection of Addison's *Works* of 1721 had been in four volumes, though those were quartos. That there was a subscription was itself impressive and its success striking. There were 888 subscribers for 1,152 sets (54 subscribers for multiple sets), with nine dukes, six duchesses, nineteen earls, six countesses, eight viscounts, and three viscountesses. The Speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Boyle, subscribed for six sets, and though the Lord Lieutenant in the *Drapier's Letters* period did not subscribe, his wife, Lady Carteret, subscribed for six sets.[1] Swift must have been delighted.

The volumes themselves might have been slightly disappointing in relation to the 1711 *Miscellanies*, but like them they constituted an impressive octavo, with large-paper copies. The sheet was the same size as in 1711, but the whole of the measure (again 83 mm) was used for the text. There are 34 lines of type to the page, as opposed to 28 or 29, but the page is not crowded, because Faulkner has used long primer rather than pica. The type was not new, though new to Faulkner; secondhand from Bowyer. The paper is good (Faulkner says it is Genoa, Bowyer's favoured paper), and Faulkner sold the books "neatly bound in Calves Leather, and lettered on the Back" (Bullard and McLaverty 169, 155). The pricing was shrewd. Non-subscribers in London paid a guinea, the same as for the single volume of Pope's quarto *Works*; subscribers paid 17*s.* 4*d*, a price a little above halfway between Pope's small folio and the quarto.

What proclaimed the edition as a monument to Swift, however, was its title, *The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D.*, and its illustrations. The title is daring: it not only gives his initials; it singles him out by giving his role in Dublin. The initials represent not just the man, but the man with his ecclesiastical authority. For the reader perplexed by the initials, there is a clue in the frontispiece portrait to volume 1, which is labeled "*The Reverend D^r. J: SWIFT D. S^t. P. D.*" The saying-but-not-saying stance could not be taken much further. Rumbold writes well about the illustrations in relation

1 See Bullard, Paddy and James McLaverty, eds, *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 160.

to a change in the order of the volumes. When they were listed in the Proposals[1], the volume on Ireland came first and the prose material from *Miscellanies* 1711 (with adjustments) second, but when the edition was published, the *Miscellanies* material came first and the Irish volume last. Perhaps, as Rumbold implies, Swift insisted that his early career, with his early political and satirical interventions (the pro-ministry material left out) should begin the *Works* and take precedence over his role as Irish patriot. Two of the volumes have engravings that explicitly honour the author in a way even Pope's 1717 *Works* does not. Volume 2, which contains the poetry, shows a winged figure holding a portrait of Swift in glory, attended by two other goddesses, one of whom presents him with a laurel crown. The motto at the foot of the page is "*Quivis speret idem*. Hor." ("Anyone might hope for the same"). The extraordinary modesty of the claim is only slightly modified by the context of Horace's *Ars Poetica,* lines 240-241, where Horace says, "My aim shall be poetry, so moulded from the familiar that anybody may hope for the same success" (*Loeb* 194: 470-471). Swift, for surely he must have been responsible for the motto, could not have supported more firmly Rawson's identification of his rhetorical stance. The frontispiece to volume 4, however, perhaps originally planned to begin the edition, is much more elaborate and shows Swift's encouragement of acknowledgement of his public role. He is depicted as an enthroned figure with St Patrick's Cathedral in the background. The maker of false coins lies at his feet, a mother and her baby pose gratefully to the side, while Swift presents books and papers to the kneeling Hibernia. Putti fly above, about to crown him with a wreath (see Rumbold 226, and Griffin 189, for more detailed discussion). This is an image of Swift as Irish patriot; it is reminiscent of his speech to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen when he was presented with the freedom of Dublin, regretting there was no inscription, and giving the history of his service to Ireland.[2] At the foot of the engraving is the motto "Exegi Monumentum Aere perennius" ("I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze"), also from Horace, *Odes* 3. 30. 1 (*Loeb* 33: 216-217). Although in his Proposals, Faulkner says the engravings of Swift will be by George Vertue, that to volume 2 is by P. Simms, and the designers are unidentified. If this were a Pope book, we would suspect Pope's own hand at work, but I am not proposing that these plates are from Swift's own sketches. It seems impossible, however, that they could have been published without Swift's approval. I suspect they were the result of

1 See Bullard, Paddy and James McLaverty, eds, *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 155.

2 See Jonathan Swift, *Irish Political Writings after 1725*, edited by D. W. Hayton and Adam Rounce, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 184-190.

Faulkner's consultations with Swift. This edition is Swift's monument—one erected by him and George Faulkner in collaboration.

In the 1730s there is a curious correspondence between Swift and Pope on the theme "orna me." On February 16, 1733, Pope wrote to Swift, "I am pleas'd and flatter'd by your expression of *Orna me*. The chief pleasure this work can give me is, that I can in it, with propriety, decency, and justice, insert the name and character of every friend I have, and every man that deserves to be lov'd or adorn'd" (*Correspondence* 3: 595). Oddly, that expression "orna me" is left out of Pope's printing of the letter that he refers to, while the "work" he discusses (his "opus magnum") was never completed, and, as Ashley Marshall has explained, although the *Dunciad Variorum* (1729) had lines dedicating it to Swift ("O thou! Whatever title please thine ear"), the dedication was somewhat hidden, and no subsequent epistle was addressed to Swift. Swift repeats "orna me" in his letters to Pope (*Correspondence* 4: 104, 174, 432). The reference is to Cicero's correspondence with Lucius Lucceius, who was writing a contemporary history, though Cicero does not say "orna me." In Letter 22 (V.12), he says, "I have a burning desire, of a strength you will hardly credit but ought not, I think, to blame, that my name should gain lustre and celebrity through your works." He apologizes first for the burden of work this will involve, and then "deinde etiam ut ornes me postulem. Quid si illa tibi non tanto opera videntur ornanda?" "secondly in asking you to write about me eulogistically. What if the record does not appear to you so eminently deserving of eulogy? (*Loeb* 205: 156-159) This fits Swift's case: he wants Pope's eulogy (Pope is in a position to add lustre to his name) and he does not feel it blameworthy to ask for it. This is a key difference between the two writers. Swift looks to others to praise him; his sense of justice requires it. "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift" stands representative, because it operates by creating an external judge who is needed to speak the eulogy, however complex in character. His books similarly have to be made by others, even though he may have provoked them. Pope was latterly content to speak for himself. His anxiety in the final years of correspondence with Swift was not over "orna me" but over the publication of the correspondence itself. Of course, he published it as a quarto book. There is, however, a final irony in the eighteenth-century afterlife of these collected editions. Warburton's Pope was published in octavo (and not a royal octavo), whereas Hawkesworth's Swift was published in octavo—and quarto.

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