

THE COLLECTED VERSE OF
JOHN, LORD HERVEY (1696–1743)

John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743), the confidant of Queen Caroline and antagonist of Alexander Pope, was a government minister, a political pamphleteer and a poet. In his verse writings, collected together for the first time in this edition, he savagely attacks his opponents, including the King and his ministers, as well as Pope, but he also expresses his deepest personal feelings. Hervey was married, with eight children, and his verse conveys his affection for his wife and family members, but his strongest commitment was to his lover, Stephen Fox. Some of his verse is written directly to Fox, but he also explores intense emotional conflicts in Ovidian epistles (which include ‘lesbian’ poems), in a verse tragedy, *Agrippina*; and through his collaborative poetic relationship with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Although his verse was sometimes mocked by contemporaries, he was a fluent and flexible versifier and a master of poetic argument.

Bill Overton (1946–2012) was Professor of Literature at Loughborough University. Publicly defining himself as a ‘generalist’, he published on nineteenth-century European novels, on Shakespeare and (increasingly after 1995) on eighteenth-century poetry. This edition of John, Lord Hervey’s verse is his final work.

Elaine Hobby is Professor of Seventeenth-Century Studies at Loughborough University. She has edited midwifery manuals, life-writings and religio-political pamphlets, and is currently working on an edition of the writings of Aphra Behn for Cambridge University Press. She was Bill Overton’s colleague from 1988, and was also his wife.

James McLaverty is Emeritus Professor of Textual Criticism at Keele University. Much of his work has focused on Hervey’s great antagonist, Alexander Pope, and he is the co-editor, with Paddy Bullard, of *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2013). He currently serves as one of the General Editors of The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift.

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John, Lord Hervey, Edited by Bill Overton, With Elaine Hobby, James McLaverty
Frontmatter

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Portrait of John, Lord Hervey, by Enoch Seeman. Private collection.

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PREFACE

In 2006, when working on *The Eighteenth-Century British Verse Epistle*, Bill Overton decided that John, Lord Hervey, was a much better poet than had been recognised, and that his own next project would be to produce a scholarly edition of Hervey's verse. This book is the product of that recognition and resolution.

As 2012 dawned, with almost all of the necessary research completed and the editing under way, Bill learned that he had a terminal illness. In the months that followed, interwoven with that knowledge, was the delight and fascination of Hervey's verse. At the time of his death in September 2012, most of the poems had been edited to a fairly final state, but Bill had left till last the longest – 'Telemachus' and 'Agrippina'; those he had transcribed and begun to think about, but not edited.

The edition was completed by Jim McLaverty and Elaine Hobby, with the former editing 'Telemachus', 'Agrippina' and the 'Verse in Latin and in French', while the latter (with Jim McLaverty's guidance) rechecked all the transcriptions and produced the Lists of Emendations and Historical Collations. Jim McLaverty also wrote most of the introductory materials, drawing where possible on articles previously completed by Bill Overton.

Throughout, all three were supported by Linda Bree and her colleagues at Cambridge University Press, and by the wider community of eighteenth-century scholars. A little more detail of those involved can be found in the Acknowledgements.

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* here indicates works of uncertain attribution

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2. Page in autograph manuscript of 'Telemachus', showing revisions of book 1 lines 23–49 in various stages. Suffolk Record Office 941/47/17. Image reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Record Office. 353
3. Letter to Stephen Fox 28 December 1727, in Hervey's letter-book, with autograph corrections to show correct lineation for embedded verse for Poem 67, 'But learn wise Youth thy Happyness to know'. Suffolk Record Office 941/47/4. Image reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Record Office. 520

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1696 born 15 October, Jermyn Street, London
- 1712 entered Westminster School, January; ‘earliest surviving literary composition’ written at Westminster, paraphrase of Horatian ode, dialogue with Lydia, Poem 58 (Halsband, p. 12; SRO 941/46/5)
- 1713 entered Clare College, Cambridge, 20 November
- 1714 ‘Ad Regem’, 18-line Latin poem to commemorate accession of George I (Poem 100), printed in *Mæstissimæ ac Lætissimæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensiſ Carmina Funebria et Triumphalia*; father became Earl of Bristol
- 1715 graduated MA, leaving at Christmas
- 1716 left England in early June with tutor, Daniel Jouneau, first for Paris (where he met the Abbé Jean Terrasson among others, and from where he wrote to his father probably, Halsband suggests, via Charles Churchill, though Anne Oldfield delivered the letter), then to Hanover, where he met Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (though probably not for first time), and also Prince Frederick; returned January 1717, having not been allowed to visit Italy because of mother’s anxiety
- 1718 friction between King and Prince of Wales led, in effect, to establishment of two courts; Lady Bristol became Lady of Bedchamber to Princess Caroline
- 1719 in mid-June, ‘Hervey exploited his literary talent with a “ludicrous composition of his own” (his father writes) “supposed to be an amorous epistle from Clack to Squire on their separation”’ (Halsband, p. 36; Clack[stone] being the ‘gallant’ of a woman servant at Ickworth, and their separation a satirical parallel to that of the Bristols; epistle was in prose, but ‘By now Hervey had shown an alarming zest for writing verse’, p. 37); first recorded meeting with Mary Lepell, 28 October 1719 (at Lady Grizel Baillie’s)
- 1720 married Mary Lepell, 21 April; in autumn, Hervey cleared £20,000 from South Sea shares before Bubble burst; marriage announced 25 October, married life beginning in Bond Street; breach between King and Prince of Wales healed
- 1721 first child, George William, born 3 August
- 1722 Hervey tried to cheer his ailing brother up by passing on two ribald epitaphs about Duke of Bolton (SRO 941/47/2), and some verse by Montagu; when mother had to go into waiting in summer, ‘he tried to cheer his disconsolate father by showing (in his father’s opinion) “all the

CHRONOLOGY

- treasures of his compositions in verse and prose” (Halsband, p. 47; *Letter-Books*, II, 220)
- 1723 first daughter, Lepell, born 15 April; poem ‘The Statue speaks to my Lord’ (Poem 48) improvised in summer (Halsband, p. 50; SRO 941/53/1); half-brother Carr died, 14 November, passing on courtesy title of Baron Hervey of Ickworth
- 1724 ‘doggerel verse’ by Lady Mary in April ‘contains the gossip that “Lady Hervey [is] with child, and her Husband is dying”’ (Halsband, p. 52; *Montagu Letters*, II, 41); second son, Augustus John, born 19 May; further signs of breach between Lady Bristol and Herveys
- 1725 elected MP for Bury St Edmunds, 2 April; on advice of Cheyne, Hervey adopted vegetarian diet; bought lease of house in Great Burlington Street in October; satirical ballad on Mary Lepell by Pulteney and Chesterfield (*New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, 1784, VI, 224–8)
- 1726 wrote *Monimia to Philocles* (Poem 1), according to Halsband (p. 61), probably in summer at Bath, printed in Dublin; in the autumn friendship begun at Bath with Henry Fox, plus subsequent correspondence; wrote to Fox 3 December about seeing Mary Toft (who claimed to have given birth to rabbits)
- 1727 second daughter, Mary, born; met Stephen Fox, end of January; *An Answer to the Occasional Writer No. II*, Hervey’s ‘first identified political pamphlet’ (Halsband, p. 66), published anonymously in February; took part for first time in parliamentary business, 14 March, and published *The Occasional Writer, No. IV. To His Imperial Majesty*; 14 June, Walpole informs Prince of Wales that his father has died and he is now King; Hervey supported Walpole on accession of George II, alone except for Charles Churchill, advising him in an anonymous letter given in *Some Materials* (Sedgwick, I, 32–3); 18 August re-elected MP for Bury; death of favourite sister Elizabeth affected him greatly; Montagu described Coronation (took place 11 October 1727) to him in letter (II, 85–7); disappointment over not being given a post
- 1728 moved Address of Thanks to royal speech on opening of Parliament, 27 January; seriously ill in March, with SF in close attendance, ‘yet in mid-April he was seen riding with Mrs. Oldfield, the actress, in her coach’ (Halsband, p. 76; Delany, *Autobiography* I, 160, 168, 171); ‘some time before the summer’, awarded pension of £1,000 (Halsband, p. 68); left England with Stephen Fox, 12 July (see Halsband, pp. 77–8, for possible motives), initially for the spa at Ostend, then, after six weeks, to Paris, finally leaving for Italy in October, arriving on 4 November in Turin, then by early December in Rome; left for Naples 29 December o.s.
- 1729 left Naples 9 April for Rome, Rome for Florence beginning of June; operation while in Florence, probably by Dr Antonio Cocchi, to remove protuberance under chin; in August left for Pisa, then Genoa and Turin on way back to England, departing from Lyons for Paris 11 October; saw Voltaire

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- (whom he had first met in 1726) and showed him his letter from Italy (Poem 16); visited court at Versailles; arrived back in England 25 October; to Ickworth 2 November (his son Frederick born ‘exactly nine months later’ (Halsband, p. 87); left London 9 December to join SF at Bath
- 1730 February, *A Summary Account of the State of Dunkirk*, anonymously defending Walpole; 3 March, attended third performance of *Sophonisba*, for which he wrote an epilogue for Anne Oldfield (Poem 35), ‘but another’s epilogue was spoken, and by Mrs. Cibber’ (Halsband, p. 103); end of April, appointed Vice-Chamberlain to King’s household and so member of Privy Council; re-elected MP 16 May; 23 October Anne Oldfield died, Hervey acting as pall-bearer at funeral and as one of three executors; assigned lease of London house to SF 14 November; anonymous *Observations on the Writings of the Craftsman*, late November, followed by *Sequel of a Pamphlet Intituled Observations on the Writings of the Craftsman* and *Further Observations on the Writings of the Craftsman*, all before 17 December when he left London to join SF in country
- 1731 returned to London 2 January; ‘Dedication’ to William Yonge’s *Sedition and Defamation Display’d*; 8 January had first (probable) epileptic seizure; Pulteney published *A Proper Reply to a Late Scurrilous Libel*, responding to Yonge’s pamphlet on assumption it was all by Hervey (though also mentioning previous ones by Hervey); challenged Pulteney to duel fought 25 January; published further pamphlet, *A Letter to Caleb D’Anvers*; duel got much satirical coverage; possible composition of *Journalists Displayed* (Poem 26); joined SF in country after few weeks of summer at Ickworth, and took him to Houghton Hall for a week; to London in August; there writes (according to Halsband, p. 123) ‘From Hampton-Court’ (Poem 7); autumn, affair with Anne Vane led to jealousy of Prince of Wales when the Prince started affair with her, especially when he felt supplanted as Prince’s adviser by Dodington
- 1732 *The Modish Couple*, a Restoration-type comedy that he and Prince ‘sponsored and perhaps helped to write’ (Halsband, p. 130), though Capt. Charles Boden/s was nominal author, opened 10 January but had to close after three nights; possible author of *The Public Virtue of Former Times, and the Present Age Compared*, mid-February; alienated Prince in April by trying to blackmail Anne Vane into repairing his relationship with him; son born to Anne Vane 5 June and claimed by Hervey, Prince and Lord Harrington; Hervey’s legitimate son William had been born on 13 May; *Some Remarks on the Minute Philosopher*, response to Berkeley’s *Alciphron*, published in autumn (copy later presented to Voltaire)
- 1733 read Voltaire’s *Zaire* and sent copy to Henry Fox; publication on 8 March of the attack on Pope *To the Imitator of the Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (Poem 22), after he had been increasingly angered in succession by Pope’s epistles to *Burlington*, *Bathurst* and first *Imitation of Horace*; *Reply of a Member of Parliament to the Mayor of his Corporation* published March

CHRONOLOGY

- in defence of Walpole's Excise Bill; defended the Bill in debate 16 March (it was later quietly withdrawn); elevated to House of Lords as Baron Hervey 12 June; to Ickworth for brother Thomas's election in his place as MP for Bury 29 June; began compiling *Some Materials* (Halsband, p. 130), or in 1734 (Halsband, pp. 151–2, perhaps spurred on by Burnet), going back in broad outline to accession of George II in 1727 (first published, incompletely, 1848); formed friendship with Conyers Middleton; *Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity* (Poem 18) published 10 November, probably not intended for publication, and leading to a lot of trouble including various lampoons; hoax robbery of Lady Hervey, SF and others on way to Goodwood, as joke against William Sherwin (late July?); Voltaire wrote September to ask his opinion of *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (see Halsband, pp. 159–60 for relations with Voltaire and Montesquieu); *A Letter to the Craftsman on the Game of Chess*, c. 22 September; 'To Stephen Poyntz' (Poem 17) published in *Daily Advertiser* 15 November (repr. *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1733, 602)
- 1734 first speech in Lords, 17 January, to move Address of Thanks; Emily Caroline Nassau born end of January (described derogatively by Hervey); stage-managed marriage of Anne, Princess Royal, to William, Prince of Orange, 14 March; *The Conduct of the Opposition and the Tendency of Modern Patriotism*, 3 April; active in getting his friend Benjamin Hoadly appointed Bishop of Winchester, August; *Ancient and Modern Liberty Stated and Compared*, October; Lady Hervey suffered miscarriage 6 October
- 1735 *An Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, 2 January; revival of affair with Anne Vane ('based on love, jealousy, and politics', Halsband, p. 183), as result of which he ghost-wrote letters for her to stop the Prince, who wanted to get rid of her, from treating her unfairly (she was to die March 1736); illness in December; fitted with 'Egyptian pebble teeth' around then (Halsband, p. 188)
- 1736 eighth and last child, Caroline, born February; SF married to Elizabeth Strangways-Horner 15 March in secret because of her father's opposition; met Francesco Algarotti, bearing letter of introduction from Voltaire, end of March; *Quaker's Reply to the Country Parson's Plea*, 6 April; Prince of Wales's marriage, 27 April; wrote 'The Death of Lord Hervey' to amuse Queen Caroline (text in *Some Materials*; repr. by Moore, Appendix 1); wrote tribute to Algarotti's *Il Newtonianismo per le dame* (Poem 79) in letter of 16 August (published in enlarged edition with Lady Mary's tribute, 1739); Algarotti left England early September
- 1737 *A Letter to the Author of Common-Sense*, 26 April; 'An Examination of the Facts & Reasonings contain'd in a Pamphlet intitled a Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country' drafted (not published,

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- but a few copies apparently printed with 1739 on title page) (Halsband, pp. 209–10); stayed with father at Ickworth, 5–30 June, because of latter's illness but probably also to avoid speaking on Scotch Bill to which he was opposed; birth of a daughter to Prince of Wales 31 July; Queen Caroline fell ill 9 November, died 20 November; funeral 14 December; wrote epitaphs in Latin and English (Poems 32, 107); ended memoirs 'abruptly' (Halsband, p. 231, adding: 'Sometimes his memoirs seem to be materials for the reign of Queen Caroline'); Halsband, p. 279: 'By 1737 Hervey had somehow become reconciled with Pulteney'
- 1738 arrival of King's mistress, 12 June; annual visit to Houghton, July; commissioned Hogarth's conversation piece including himself, Fox brothers, Winnington and Duke of Marlborough; began advising Middleton on MS of *Life of Cicero*, 27 August
- 1739 speeches in Lords supporting ministry on various measures including peace with Spain; promoted subscription of Middleton's *Life of Cicero*; return of Algarotti, March, only to sail for Russia with Lord Baltimore, 21 May; Lady Mary left for Italy, July; Algarotti back from Russia early October; war declared on Spain, 19 October; Parliament quiet, so spent time with Algarotti
- 1740 appointed Lord Privy Seal, 1 May, vacating apartment at St James's Palace, rented house in Grosvenor Street, moving there 9 June; Voltaire congratulated him on appointment; Algarotti left in haste for Berlin, 6 June, after summons from Frederick the Great, whose father had died; to Goodwood and Houghton for short visits in summer, Ickworth briefly in between (Halsband, pp. 261–2 on Hervey giving his daughters scientific education); further speeches for ministry in Lords in November and December
- 1741 Middleton's *History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* published 2 February, its fulsome Dedication provoking much satire; spoke against attempt to remove Walpole from office, 13 February; Lady Bristol died early May; SF created Lord Ilchester, largely thanks to Hervey's efforts, same month; to Bath, 2 September; serious illness on return to London, October
- 1742 Walpole resigned, 11 February, followed on 12 July by Hervey as Lord Privy Seal (only kept in office by King, out of respect for late Queen), after negotiations with King; defended Walpole (now Lord Orford) in Lords, 25 May; *A Letter to Mr. C—b—r, On his Letter to Mr. P*, 19 August; *The Difference between Verbal and Practical Virtue* (Poem 24), 24 August; expressed resentment of King in *The Patriots are Come* (Poem 27, first in manuscript, apparently first printed as *A New C—t Ballad*); friendship with SF ended as a result of his insistence that SF join opposition and latter's refusal (letter of 20 November; according to Halsband, pp. 292–3, Hervey had fallen out with Henry Fox not long before); *Miscellaneous Thoughts on the Present Posture both of our Foreign*

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- and Domestic Affairs*, 1 December, defence of Walpole ministry and attack on its successor
- 1743 *The Question Stated, with Regard to Our Army in Flanders*, 22 January; several further speeches in Lords till end of February; executor for Duchess of Buckingham, whose will left him her mansion in St James's Park; last letter to Lady Mary, 18 June; drew up own will 'A week later' (Halsband, p. 304); died at Ickworth, 5 August

ABBREVIATIONS

- BL British Library
- Bodleian Bodleian Library, Oxford
- Chesterfield Bibliography* Sidney L. Gulick, *Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800*, 2nd edn (Charlottesville, VA: for the Bibliographical Society of America by the University of Virginia, 1979; 1st edn 1935)
- Chesterfield, *Wit and Wisdom* *The Wit and Wisdom of the Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. by W. Ernst-Browning (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1875)
- Complete Peerage* *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new edn, ed. by G. E. C[okayne], with Vicary Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden, 13 vols. in 14 (1910–59)
- Croker, *Memoirs* John Wilson Croker, *Some Materials: Memoirs of the Reign of George II, from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline, by John, Lord Hervey*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1848)
- Delany, *Autobiography* *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. by Lady Llanover [Augusta Waddington Hall], 6 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1861–2)
- Dodsley Dodsley, Robert (comp.), *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez, SJ, 6 vols. (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1997)
- Dryden, *Poems* *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins, 5 vols. (London and New York: Longman, 1995–2005)
- Dryden, *Works* *Plays: All for Love, Oedipus, Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by George R. Guffey, Maximillian E. Novak and Alan

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Roper, vol. XIII (1984), in *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956–2002)
- Essays & Poems* Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Essays and Poems and 'Simplicity', a Comedy*, ed. by Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; 1st edn 1977)
- Foxon D. F. Foxon, *English Verse 1701–1750*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975)
- Gage, *History and Antiquities* John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Suffolk. Thingoe Hundred* (Bury St Edmunds: John Deck; London: Samuel Bentley, 1838)
- Grundy Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Grundy, 'New Verse' Isobel Grundy, "New" Verse by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Bodleian Library Record*, 10 (1981), 237–49
- Grundy, 'Verse of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu' Isobel Grundy, 'Verse of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: A Critical Edition' (unpub. PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1971)
- Halsband Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
- Halsband, *Life of Montagu* Robert Halsband, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956)
- Harrowby Harrowby Manuscripts Trust, Sandon Hall, Stafford
- Ickworth Parish Registers* *Ickworth Parish Registers. Baptisms, Marriages & Burials: 1566–1890*, ed. by S[ydenham] H[enry] A[ugustus] H[ervey] (Wells: Ernest Jackson, 1894)
- Ilchester *Lord Hervey and his Friends: Based on Letters from Holland House, Melbury, and Ickworth*, ed. by the Earl of Ilchester (London: John Murray, 1950)
- Ilchester and Langford-Brooke Earl of Ilchester and Elizabeth Langford-Brooke, *The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams: Poet, Wit and Diplomatist* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1929)
- JMA John Murray Archive, London
- Letter-Books* *Letter-Books of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol, with Sir Thomas Hervey's Letters during Courtship and Poems during Widowhood, 1651–1750*, 3 vols. (Wells: Ernest Jackson, 1894)

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- Lindsay, *Index* Alexander Lindsay (comp.), *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (London: Mansell, 1986–1997), III, 1700–1800, Part 4: *Sterne to Young* (1997)
- Loeb The Loeb Classical Library. The following editions (published at various times by London: Heinemann, and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) have been used:
- Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. by Francis Warre Cornish, J. P. Postgate and J. W. Mackail respectively, 2nd edn, rev. G. P. Goold (1988; repr. with corrections 1995)
- Cicero, *Brutus*, trans. by G. L. Hendrickson (1939)
- Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols. (1942)
- Cicero, *Post Reditum ad Quirites*, in *Orations, XI: Pro Archia, Post Reditum in Senatu, Post Reditum ad Quirites, De Domo Sua, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Plancio*, trans. by N. H. Watts (1923)
- Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. by Earnest Cary, 9 vols. (1925)
- Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, trans. by C. E. Bennett (1914)
- Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. by Niall Rudd (2004)
- Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (1916)
- Livy, *The History of Rome, XI*, trans. by Evan T. Sage (1936)
- Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, trans. by W. H. D. Rouse, ed. by Martin Ferguson Smith, 2nd edn rev. (1992)
- Martial, *Epigrams*, ed. and trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols. (1993)
- Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. by Sir James George Frazer, 2nd edn rev. G. P. Goold (1989)
- Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, 2nd edn, trans. by Grant Showerman, rev. G. P. Goold (1977)
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Frank Justus Miller, 2nd edn rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols. (1984)
- Plutarch's Lives*, trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols. (1914–26)
- Seneca, *Epistles 66–72*, trans. by Richard M. Gummere (1920; repr. 2006)
- Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. by John W. Basore, 3 vols. (1958). Vol. I contains 'De Clementia'
- Seneca, [*Tragedies*], ed. and trans. by John G. Finch (2004)
- Suetonius, [*Lives of the Caesars*], trans. by J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols. (1939)
- Tacitus, [*Histories and Annals*], trans. by John Jackson, 5 vols. (1937)
- Terence, *The Eunuch*, in *Terence: The Lady of Andros, The Self-Tormentor, The Eunuch*, trans. by John Sargeant (1918)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Terence, [*Plays*], I, trans. by John Barsby (2002)
 Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, trans. by Frederick W. Shipley (1924)
 Virgil, *Eclagues, Georgics, Aeneid*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. edn, 2 vols. (1965)
- London Stage* *The London Stage 1660–1800*, ed. by Arthur H. Scouten, Part 3: 1729–1747 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961)
- Milton, *Poetical Works* *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952)
- Montagu Letters* *Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. by Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–7)
- Moore Lucy Moore, *Amphibious Thing: The Life of Lord Hervey* (London: Viking, 2000)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition: www.oxforddnb.com)
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (online edition: www.oed.com)
- Overton, ‘Death and Futurity’ Bill Overton, ‘Lord Hervey: Death and Futurity’, in Mascha Hansen and Jürgen Klein (eds.), *Great Expectations: Futurity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 141–60
- Overton, ‘Embedded Verse’ Bill Overton, ‘Embedded Extempore Verse in the Intimate Letters of John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743)’, *MLR*, 110 (2015), 379–98
- Overton, ‘Poetic Voice and Gender’ Bill Overton, ‘Lord Hervey, Poetic Voice and Gender’, *Review of English Studies*, 62 (2011), 594–617
- Overton, *Vers Epistle* Bill Overton, *The Eighteenth-Century British Verse Epistle* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
- Percival *Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, ed. by Milton Percival (Oxford: Clarendon 1916) (available at <https://archive.org/details/politicalballads00percival>)
- Percival, *Diary* *Diary of Viscount Percival, Afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1920–3)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Pope, *Correspondence* *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. by George Sherburn, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956)
- Pope, *Prose* *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope, II: The Major Works, 1725–1744*, ed. by Rosemary Cowler (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1986)
- Pope, *Twickenham* *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. by John Butt *et al.*, 11 vols. in 12 (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939–69). The following volumes have been used:
- I *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, ed. by E. Audra and Aubrey Williams (1961)
- II *The Rape of the Lock, and Other Poems*, ed. by Geoffrey Tillotson, 3rd edn (1962; 1st edn 1940)
- III. ii *Epistles to several Persons (Moral Essays)*, ed. by F. W. Bateson, 2nd edn (1961; 1st edn 1951)
- IV *Imitations of Horace*, ed. by John Butt, 2nd edn (1953; 1st edn 1939)
- VI *Minor Poems*, ed. by Norman Ault and John Butt (1964)
- VII–VIII *The Iliad of Homer*, ed. by Maynard Mack *et al.* (1967)
- IX–X *The Odyssey*, ed. by Maynard Mack *et al.* (1967)
- Sedgwick *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II, by John, Lord Hervey*, ed. by Romney Sedgwick, 3 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1931)
- SF Stephen Fox
- Shakespeare Works* *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005; 1st edn 1986)
- SRO West Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds
- Urstad Tone Sundt Urstad, *Sir Robert Walpole's Poets: The Use of Literature as Pro-Government Propaganda 1721–1724* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1999)
- Urstad, 'Hanbury Williams' Tone Dagny Sundt Urstad, 'Works of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1987)

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- Walpole, *Correspondence* *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. by W[ilmarth] S[heldon] Lewis *et al.*, 48 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937–83)
- Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors* Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of their Works*, 2 vols. ([Twickenham]: Strawberry-Hill, 1758)
- Walpole, *Works* (1798) *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford*, ed. by Mary Berry, 5 vols. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798)

INTRODUCTION

This introduction was written by James McLaverty, drawing on Bill Overton's headnotes and incorporating material from his four essays on Hervey.¹ Those pioneering essays treat central aspects of Hervey's writing and initiate the task of re-evaluating his verse.

Hervey's life

John Hervey, second Baron Hervey of Ickworth (1696–1743), was born into a family committed to Whig politics and literary culture. He pursued both interests, serving as a loyal supporter of the Walpole administration from 1729 until 1742 when it finally fell, and demonstrating his writing skills not only in some of the most cogent political pamphlets of the period but also in verse, in memoirs, in letters (especially to Stephen and Henry Fox and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) and even in drama. His father, the Earl of Bristol, was a country Whig, critical of his son's support for Walpole and the court, but he remained on affectionate terms with him throughout his life. When Hervey's half-brother, Carr Hervey, died on 14 November 1723, Hervey became heir to the earldom, with the courtesy title Lord Hervey. He became MP for Bury St Edmunds on 2 April 1725, took oaths as Vice-Chamberlain of the royal household on 7 May 1730, and, when Walpole felt the need for support in the House of Lords, he was given a seat through his father's barony on 12 June 1733. On 1 May 1740 he was promoted to Lord Privy Seal, but Walpole left office in early 1742 and Hervey had to give up his post on 12 July of that year. There followed a period of political opposition during which he satirised the King and quarrelled with his closest friend, Stephen Fox. Hervey had suffered

1. 'Lord Hervey, Poetic Voice and Gender', *Review of English Studies*, 62 (2011), 594–617; 'Lord Hervey: Death and Futurity', in Mascha Hansen and Jürgen Klein (eds.), *Great Expectations: Futurity in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 141–60; 'Embedded Extempore Verse in the Intimate Letters of John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743)', *MLR*, 110 (2015), 379–98; 'John, Lord Hervey', in Jack Lynch and Gary Day (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of British Literature 1660–1789*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), s.n.

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from ill health, including some form of epilepsy, throughout his life, and he died on 5 August 1743, predeceasing his father.

Hervey's private life was complex. Although he married his wife, Mary Lepell, for love (21 April 1720), although they had eight children and although, as was not unusual at the time, he had several mistresses, the closest relationship of his life was with a man, Stephen Fox. That relationship probably extended to physical sex, which Hervey may also have enjoyed with other men, including Frederick, Prince of Wales.² The fact that Hervey enjoyed intimate relationships with men may bring to mind the famous remark attributed to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, that the world consisted of 'men, women and Herveys', though it is important to know that, as Isobel Grundy observes, it 'may glance at other members of his family beside himself, and other eccentricities besides the sexual'.³ In 1731 William Pulteney, a leader of the opposition Whigs, responding to a pamphlet attack he thought was by Hervey, described him as 'such a delicate Hermaphrodite, such a pretty, little, Master-Miss'. He went on to compare political corruption with a prevailing sexual 'Vice':

It is well known that there must be *two Parties* in this Crime; the *Pathick* and the *Agent*; both equally guilty. I need not explain These any farther. The Proof of the Crime hath been generally made by the *Pathick*; but I believe that Evidence will not be obtained quite so easily in the Case of *Corruption*, when a Man enjoys every Moment the Fruits of his Guilt.⁴

The attack implicated Stephen Fox and cast Hervey in a passive but culpable role in political and sexual corruption. He responded by challenging Pulteney to a duel in which they both suffered minor injuries. The thrust of Pulteney's charges became notorious through Pope's caricature of Hervey as Sporus in his *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* (1735).⁵ Pope's caricature has distorted most accounts of Hervey because, as Linda Zionkowski has argued, they 'have echoed Pope's assumptions about the effect of sexual

2. For an investigation of the relationship, see Hannah Smith and Stephen Taylor, 'Hephaestion and Alexander: Lord Hervey, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Royal Favourite in the 1730s', *English Historical Review*, 124, no. 507 (2009), 283–312 (289).

3. Grundy, p. 336, citing Walpole, *Correspondence*, XVII, 274, n. 31; Montagu, *Essays & Poems*, pp. 39, 41; and a letter dated 6 February 1725 from Claude Amyand to James Jurin.

4. *A Proper Reply to a Late Scurrilous Libel* (London, 1731), pp. 5, 11; quoted in part by Halsband, pp. 109–11. The pamphlet *A Proper Reply to a Late Scurrilous Libel* was reprinted with an introduction by H. T. Dickinson (New York: AMS Press, 1998).

5. *An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, lines 305–33, in Pope, *Twickenham*, IV, 117–20; Sporus was a youth Nero castrated and married.

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“deviance” on a writer’s moral and literary capacity’.⁶ While Pope’s satire has made it difficult to take Hervey seriously as a writer, a significant proportion of his writing has not been available for evaluation. Some has been long out of print, some survives only in manuscript and some is unattributed or has been ascribed to other writers.

The year 1729 marked a clear watershed in Hervey’s life. It was then that he returned from Italy, where he had spent over a year with Stephen Fox to recover his health, committed himself to politics and began to devote much less time to imaginative writing, turning instead to political satire, pamphletting, the record of court and political life and familiar correspondence. While some of his verse before 1729 is of a social and complimentary nature, it includes four ‘Epistles in the Manner of Ovid’, an imitation of one of Persius’ satires, two Horatian odes to Stephen Fox, an elegy on his sister Elizabeth and probably a verse adaptation of the first three books of Fénelon’s *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. These poems contain attacks on the code of aristocratic male promiscuity and on the double standard of sexual morality for men and women. The same viewpoint is reflected in other poems by Hervey from this period, including ‘The Countess of — to Miss —’, a lesbian amatory epistle, and an elegy for Lady Abergavenny, who died shortly after her husband cast her out and sued for divorce on grounds of adultery. Although some of these poems found their way into print, others, including ‘The Countess of — to Miss —’ (Poem 8) and at least one other lesbian love poem (Poem 9), exist until now only in manuscript.

After 1729 Hervey began to take himself less seriously as a writer, except for political, historical or satirical purposes. From this period date *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, unpublished till long after his death; *To the Imitator of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (Poem 22), the poem attacking Pope that he co-wrote with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and that neither may have meant to be published; and other works written for entertainment that he certainly did not intend for print. The most important of the latter are *An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity* (Poem 18, ‘To Dr Sherwin in Answer to a Latin Letter in Verse’), a humorous poem that contains a further attack on Pope, got into print and caused a furore; ‘Agrippina’ (Poem 66), a verse drama that parallels relationships within the royal family to those within that of the Emperor

6. *Men’s Work: Gender, Class, and the Professionalization of Poetry, 1660–1784* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 235.

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Nero; ‘To the Queen’ (Poem 19), a long verse epistle that, in its witty account of various personages at court, works as a kind of humorous apologia; and a succession of epitaphs, including one in Latin on Queen Caroline (Poem 32) and one on himself (Poem 34). But his memoir, *Some Materials*, is his most significant contribution to posterity – a work that is still both an entertaining read and an important resource for historians. The memoirs end in 1737, when the Queen’s death had a powerful effect on Hervey. He wrote little verse, except for important fragments embedded in letters to Montagu and to Francesco Algarotti, the charming Italian he and Montagu both courted, until after his dismissal from government in 1742. Then his writing career revived briefly, with two further political pamphlets, the bitter satirical epigram ‘On Health’ (Poem 46) and another poem attacking Pope, *The Difference between Verbal and Practical Virtue* (Poem 24).

The character of Hervey’s verse

Hervey wrote verse all his life. He came from a family where verse played an important role: his father and mother both wrote verse occasionally; his father was fond of quoting the verse of others in his letters; and Hervey’s own verse was preserved at Ickworth, the family home.⁷ Although Montagu said writing verse in court circles was almost as common as taking snuff (*Montagu Letters*, II, 24), Hervey’s output was regarded as quite exceptional. Pope alludes dismissively to his prolific versifying at the start of their quarrel, when writing about attacks on his own verse:

The Lines are weak, another’s pleas’d to say,
 Lord *Fanny* spins a thousand such a Day.
 (*First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*,
Twickenham, IV, 5, lines 5–6)

Not everyone thought Hervey’s devotion to poetry was compatible with his role as an aristocrat and leading courtier. George II reportedly told him, ‘You ought not to write verses; ’tis beneath your rank: leave such work to little Mr. Pope.’⁸ But Hervey was not to be dissuaded: this collection ranges from verse written at school and university to material he was working on in the summer of 1743, the year of his death.

7. See Descriptions of Manuscript Sources (pp. 605–14).

8. *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, ed. by A. T. Thomson, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), II, 224 (cited by Halsband, p. 144).