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THE Cowper letters here first printed, one to William Hayley and the other to Samuel Rose, both of June 1792, are contained in an album of manuscripts collected by Frederick Locker-Lampson. As part of the famous Rowfant Library the album doubtless passed to E. Dwight Church in 1905, and from him to Dodd, Mead and Company, who about 1908 sold it to the late Paul M. Warburg, by whom it was left to his son-in-law and daughter, Mr and Mrs S. B. Grimson. Before the recent death of Mr Grimson, they placed it on deposit in the Library of Harvard College and kindly gave permission for the publication of these letters.

The Letter to William Hayley

The letter to Hayley covers three pages, each 7¾ by 9¾ inches. It was written at 'The Lodge,' the house at Weston Underwood, Buckinghamshire, in which Cowper and Mrs Unwin lived from 1786 till the removal to Norfolk in 1795. It is addressed 'To / William Hayley Esqr / at Eartham near / Chichester' and reads as follows:

Weston.
June 14. 1792.

I am sure my Dear Hayley will wish to hear news of our going on at Weston, and being able to send him good, I determine to write though I wrote so lately. Our last letters cross'd each other and our next perhaps may do the same, but what is that between thee and me who write to each other with an alacrity which all but youthful lovers must despair to imitate? Our Mary, I believe I may say, is much amended even since I wrote last, and I doubt not but you will skip for joy when I tell you that she took a walk yesterday afternoon in the orchard. We furnish'd ourselves with two poles which being thrust under the chair-bottom were mann'd by Samuel and Kitch, while Johnny and I supported the two elbows. But first she walk'd into the Kitchen, then turning short on the left, down the passage that opens into the Coach-yard. At the door of that passage she took her seat, and thence we carried her to the walk, where a little on the farther side of the two elms, she quitted her carriage, and proceeded once up the walk and once down again, lightly propp'd on either side. She

then took carriage once more, and was chair'd to the end of the green walk and back to the passage door, whence she walk'd to her chair in the study. Her house-walk is now from her own corner in the study to the remotest corner of the parlour, and this she performs often in the day, going that length twice without resting. Today I intend that she shall wear her shoes, the swelling in the right foot and ancle having entirely subsided. While I write, Nanny brings in her shoes and has shod that foot with great success. By the help of the Paregoric she got two hours sleep this morning after her first waking, six hours sleep in all, and is much the better. She sends you her hearty love and bids me say, she thinks with great pleasure of a journey to Eartham. So much for Mary; but this is not quite all, for she bids me say beside, that the right finger and thumb will be wayward still in spight of all that she can do to them.

Now for Carwardine — He has no doubt from what pass'd between him and the C——r concerning us both, that should he continue to hold the seals we shall fare the better for it. He acknowledg'd, he says, his former friendship and intimacy with me, with warmth, but he found that by some means or other his Lordsh^{p} had taken up a notion that I am rich. That he should do so is strange, if anything could be strange that happens to my starvation. Carwardine's whole letter is extremely kind; should I attempt to tell you how kind, I must even transcribe it. I answer'd it immediately, and because I felt myself free to do so, answer'd it in a stile of familiarity not common in a second letter. But he is your friend, and I consider myself as privileged for that reason to deal with him as if he had been always mine. — Before we set off for your castle I am to tell him by what rout we shall travel; a request that he makes no doubt with a view to meeting us, and how happy shall we be to meet him!

I will take care to do my little Bookseller justice by setting my cousin right respecting the binding of the volumes, when I address her next. After all your consultations with Him and his fraternity concerning the next edition of my Homer, whether it shall be Greekified or not, I must say as the man in Terence after consulting his Lawyers — Incertior sum multo quam dudum — What do you advise yourself, or are you like me, at such an uncertainty as not to know what course to chuse? My pocket trembles at the very mention of *elegant decorations*, lest I should *elegantly decorate* myself so deep in debt as never to get out again. But I will be decided by you, if you can decide for me.

I rejoice that you are safe in your Library again, and that you found your dear little boy so well, present my love to him. I sent the contents of your letter, so far as she was concern'd in them, in a note to M^{rs} Socket, to which she replied by again expressing the joy it gave her to have her son so happily disposed of. She sent her love to him also, and hopes that he will take care to prove himself not unworthy of yours and your son's kindness.

I have been studying medical Electricity in the treatise on it publish'd by Cavallos, with which our apothecary has furnish'd me. This author I

find recommends gentle sparks and the fluid breathed from a wooden point, much rather than smarter sparks or shocks. I have accordingly treated her in this manner these 3 days past, and she thinks herself more benefitted than when I gave her more.

I am happy that your eyes are better. Mine have been sympathizing with yours in slight inflammation and now sympathize with them in recovery. Adieu — my brother!

W. C.

Johnny sends Comps.

In his biography of Cowper, Hayley stated that he withheld many of the poet's letters to him on the ground, presumably, that they were too intimate to be published during his own lifetime.[1] Evidently the letter in question was one of these, but its history between Hayley's death in 1820 and 1878 is not apparent.[2] On May 20 of the latter year a sale of Hayley's correspondence took place at Sotheby's, and the present letter, listed as Lot 57, was bought by Locker-Lampson for ten shillings,[3] who in due course inserted it in the album now on deposit at Harvard.

In the months just preceding the new letters events had occurred that led Cowper to depart sharply from the pattern into which for years past his life had fallen. The quiet routine, outwardly happy, that he had been following so long — the composing of poetry, the translating of Homer, the letter writing, the reading aloud, the daily walks, the gardening in summer, the raising of cucumbers under glass in winter, the keeping of a small menagerie of pets — these and other daily occupations had either ceased or suffered serious interruption. The completion of the Homer project, on 4 March 1791,[4] had been

[1] William Hayley, *The Life, and Posthumous Writings, of William Cowper* (Chichester, 1803–04), II, 4–5 (2nd ed., Chichester, 1806, III, 331–332).

[2] Hayley's library was sold at auction in 1821, three months after his death, but no manuscript letters were included in the sale. See note 36 below.

[3] For the data about purchaser and price I am indebted to Mr Noel F. Sharp, of the British Museum. In an article called 'The Text of Cowper's Letters,' *Modern Language Review*, XXII (January 1927), 22, Kenneth Povey included an account of the sale, listing this letter as one of five no part of which had been published. Both the letter to Hayley and the one to Rose are listed in the first *Rowfant Catalogue* (1886), p. 201.

[4] According to Cowper's own memorandum, quoted in Hayley, *Life of Cowper* (1803–04), II, 282 (2nd ed., 1806, IV, 226), he finished the final revisal (while the work was going through the press) on 4 March 1791. He began his labors on Homer, he said, on 21 November 1784. The translation was published in July of 1791.

followed by a period of uneasiness caused by the lack of regular employment for his pen, and relieved, temporarily, by his agreement with his publisher Joseph Johnson to translate the Latin and Italian poems of Milton and to annotate *Paradise Lost* for a projected new edition of Milton.[5] This not uncongenial task, which he began energetically, was, however, interrupted by Mrs Unwin's first paralytic stroke in December of 1791; and it was further delayed by a painful physical illness that reduced Cowper to his bed for some weeks in the spring of 1792.

More ominous was the state of the poet's mental health. The conviction that he had forfeited the mercy of God and was foredoomed to feel His wrath, here and hereafter — an obsession that had twice in the last twenty years driven him to insanity — was again beginning to force itself upon him, inexorably building up in intensity until, in the winter of 1793–94, it reduced him to the madness that possessed him until his death seven years later.

Now, about the time of our letter, he turned in his distress to the scarcely literate local schoolmaster, Samuel Teedon, accepting Teedon's own belief, probably a sincere one, that to him God stood ready to reveal His will with respect to almost any matter whatever. Cowper consulted him on the question of whether he should enter upon the Milton undertaking, he appealed to him when Mrs Unwin had her first stroke, and indeed maintained almost daily touch with him orally and by notes during 1792. Since Cowper's struggles against fate were not yet completely despairing, it is possible to exaggerate his mental suffering at this juncture. His native gift of comedy, his lightness and gaiety, still showed itself, but it played above an intensely sombre undercurrent: 'My nocturnal experiences are all of the most terrible kind . . . I live a life of terror,'[6] 'my nights not seldom [are spent] under a constant sense of God's contempt and abhorrence,'[7] 'I am hunted by spiritual hounds.'[8] On 5 May 1792, about a month before the date of our letter, Teedon wrote in his diary, 'I . . . never heard more horrible declarations from Mr. C[owper] at no time.'[9]

[5] The edition never appeared, but Cowper's translation of the Latin and Italian poems, together with his unfinished commentary on *Paradise Lost*, was published posthumously in 1808. See note 58 below.

[6] *The Correspondence of William Cowper*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1904), IV, 216–217. (Hereafter this work is referred to as *Correspondence*.)

[7] *Correspondence*, IV, 148.

[8] *Correspondence*, IV, 263.

[9] *The Diary of Samuel Teedon*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1902), p. 23.

Such, in brief, was the situation when in 1792 William Hayley appeared, suddenly and most unexpectedly, upon Cowper's horizon and was admitted with astonishing promptness into intimate friendship.[10] Hayley was preparing a biography of Milton to stand as an introduction to the edition of that poet soon to be published by Boydell, and he was disturbed by a newspaper item to the effect that his project was to be in direct rivalry to Cowper's Miltonic labors. He therefore wrote him a cordial letter, with a complimentary sonnet, assuring him that no such rivalry existed. Cowper replied the same day the letter arrived, 17 March 1792. A brisk and friendly correspondence ensued. Hayley, it would seem, invited Cowper to visit him at Eartham; the invitation was declined; Cowper countered by asking his correspondent to come to Weston; Hayley accepted and arrived at that sequestered hamlet on May 15, remaining until June 1, two weeks before the date of the new letter.[11] The visit generated a warmth of comradeship even greater than the correspondence had foreshadowed, and Cowper considered as literally providential Hayley's presence at

[10] It should be remembered that though Cowper's reputation was by this time firmly established he was less well known than Hayley. *The Triumphs of Temper*, published eleven years before, had gone through so many editions that it made Hayley for some two decades the most popular of living English poets; and upon the death of Thomas Warton in 1790 Pitt offered Hayley the Laureateship. It is worth noting, however, that when Hayley and Cowper first became known to each other the latter, as he confesses in one of his first letters to Hayley (15 April 1792; *Correspondence*, IV, 186), had only a limited knowledge of his new friend's writings. What Cowper so quickly responded to was not Hayley's literary fame but his warmth of heart, generosity, and active kindness. These and various other admirable traits of his were beyond question, a fact of which there is abundant testimony, including his befriending of Blake, Romney, and Cowper, to say nothing of a long list of less notable figures. But to the public his virtues were less obvious than his sentimentality and his odd quixotic traits; and when to these one adds the banality of his poetry and the prolixity of his prose it is not surprising that something like a tradition of ridicule, dating as far back as Byron's lampoon in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, grew up about him and flourished for almost a century and a half. He has been so tempting a target that Southey's balanced, dignified, and just estimate of him in the *Quarterly Review* of March 1825 (XXXI, 263–311) did not suffice to correct the distortion. At present there is some indication of a fresh appraisal. In 1951 the first full-length biography of him appeared in London—Morchard Bishop's *Blake's Hayley*; and another book on him is said to be in preparation in the United States.

[11] A letter of Cowper's dated 12 May 1792 said that Hayley was expected 'on Tuesday' (*Correspondence*, IV, 204); Hayley's arrival on that day is confirmed by Teedon, *Diary*, p. 24 (under date of May 19). Cowper wrote Rose on June 2 that Hayley 'went yesterday' (*Correspondence*, IV, 212).

Weston when on May 22 Mrs Unwin suffered her second stroke, from which she never fully recovered. It is a measure of the strength of the new attachment that Cowper, who had not been 'more than thirteen miles from home these twenty years' [12] and who had invariably declined invitations from friends and relatives to visit at distant places,[13] should now have given Hayley an almost incredible, though tentative, promise to visit him at Eartham, in the Sussex Downs, notwithstanding the distance, which he estimated at a hundred and twenty miles, and in spite of the 'thousand lions, monsters, and giants [that] are in the way.' [14] It is a little surprising, too, that in the course of Hayley's few days at Weston the reticent Cowper should have permitted him to learn the unhappy truth about his financial condition. But it is not at all surprising that Hayley, having learned it, immediately set on foot a plan for relieving his friend's needs, the first step being a journey to London to try to secure, through the influence of the Lord Chancellor, Thurlow, a pension for Cowper from the Crown — an undertaking of which he sent back to Weston in the early days of June such optimistic accounts that Cowper was almost persuaded the attempt would succeed.

From Cowper's own pen we have a vivid summary of his thoughts and feelings, except for the 'spiritual hounds,' at exactly the point of time with which we are dealing. Four days before the date of the new letter to Hayley, he wrote his cousin, Lady Hesketh: 'During the last two months I seem to myself to have been in a dream. It has been a most eventful period, and fruitful to an uncommon degree, both in good and evil. I have been very ill, and suffered excruciating pain. I recovered, and became quite well again. I received within my doors a man, but lately an entire stranger, and who now loves me as his brother, and forgets himself to serve me. Mrs. Unwin has been seized with an illness that for many days threatened to deprive me of her, and to cast a gloom, an impenetrable one, on all my future prospects. She is now granted to me again. A few days since, I should have thought the moon might have descended into my purse as likely as any emolument, and now it seems not impossible.' [15]

The letter to Hayley invites certain comments.

[12] *Correspondence*, IV, 37.
[13] For examples see *Correspondence*, IV, 37, 94–95, 223.
[14] *Correspondence*, IV, 255, 260.
[15] *Correspondence*, IV, 230–231.

In the first paragraph Samuel, Kitch, and Nanny were three of Cowper's servants — a group that caused his cousin, Lady Hesketh, some irritation on the ground that they were too numerous and too generously paid, an opinion to which she was entitled since she furnished part of their wages.[16] Samuel Roberts, 'this factotum of mine,'[17] had served Cowper faithfully ever since 1765 and was to continue to do so almost to the end. According to Thomas Wright he lived till 1832 and was buried at Weston Church.[18] Hayley earmarked 'for the good Samuel Roberts' a copy of his biography of Cowper, 'which he perfectly deserves.'[19] Nanny was Ann Roberts, Samuel's wife. She was Mrs Unwin's maid, and died in 1809.[20] Kitch was William Kitchener, Cowper's gardener, 'as trusty as the day,'[21] but he had other duties, such as meeting the stagecoach and bringing home whatever parcels were addressed to the household,[22] thus playing a modest part in keeping up the old-fashioned country custom of exchanging gifts of food — a practice that is delightfully evident in Cowper's correspondence. On occasion another duty devolved upon Kitch: to meet expected guests on the last leg of their journey and guide them to their destination. In a letter of 12 June 1786, Cowper gives a spirited sketch of him in this capacity.[23]

Johnny, who helped support Mrs Unwin as she walked, was John Johnson of Norfolk, Cowper's 'kinsman beloved, and as a son, by me,'[24] who was an important figure in the poet's later life and did much for his memory afterwards.

In the same paragraph, Cowper's allusion to Mrs Unwin's happiness at the thought of a journey to Eartham suggests a query. Did she, invalid as she now was, really look forward with pleasure to this extraordinary expedition, or did she say so simply because she thought the trip would be good for Cowper? He on his part was for weeks in a

[16] *Letters of Lady Hesketh to the Rev. John Johnson LL.D. concerning Their Kinsman William Cowper*, ed. Catharine Bodham Johnson (London, 1901), pp. 25–26 and note.

[17] *Letters of Lady Hesketh*, p. 29.

[18] *Correspondence*, IV, 256 n.

[19] *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley . . . Written by Himself*, ed. John Johnson (London, 1823), II, 168.

[20] *Correspondence*, IV, 256 n.

[21] *Correspondence*, III, 58.

[22] *Correspondence*, III, 297.

[23] *Correspondence*, III, 58–59.

[24] Cowper's sonnet 'To John Johnson.'

state of wretched vacillation trying to decide whether the journey would be good or bad for *her*, finally appealing to Teedon, who convinced him that the undertaking was in accordance with the will of God. Thereupon the journey was made.

The pension (paragraph two of the letter) was to be secured, Hayley hoped, through the influence of an early friend of Cowper's, Edward Thurlow, now Lord Chancellor, whom Cowper had known in the period of their law study. Thurlow had then promised, however jestingly, to provide for Cowper when he should become Lord Chancellor. Cowper never forgot this promise and seems to have taken it with much seriousness.[25] But the Chancellor's responses to Hayley's repeated solicitations were evasive and ambiguous and progress in other quarters was uncertain. The rebuffs, equivocations, and delays that Hayley encountered for nearly two years would have defeated anyone else. When, in the spring of 1794, the pension finally materialized, small thanks to Thurlow,[26] there was a final irony: Cowper's tragic

[25] See his letter to Lady Hesketh of 11 February 1786 (*Correspondence*, II, 464–465).

[26] Among the manuscripts that Hayley withheld from publication during his own lifetime is one that gives us a detailed account of the affair of the pension. Entitled 'A Singular History in a Series of Letters from a Father to His Son,' it was made the basis of an article by H. R. S. Coldicott that appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, n. s., XXXIV (April 1913), 493–507, under the title 'How Cowper Got His Pension.' A still more 'singular history' was recorded by Hayley in another manuscript for posthumous publication that he called, according to Edward Dowden, '*The Second Memorial of Hayley's endeavours to serve his friend Cowper, containing a minute account of Devices employed to restore his dejected spirits*' ('Cowper and William Hayley,' *Atlantic Monthly*, C, July 1907, 74). Dowden summarized what he considered the important parts of this document, which tells at some length of a fantastically elaborate plan of Hayley's for restoring Cowper's mind (after he had lapsed into his final derangement) by requesting 'persons of eminence' to write him letters praising his poetry. The existence of such a scheme, without the elaborate details, has been known ever since Southey's biography of Cowper appeared (see note 41 below); it is mentioned here because of Thurlow's connection with it. Hayley importuned him to urge the Chief Justice, Lord Kenyon, to send Cowper a letter. Thurlow at length acceded to Hayley's plea and wrote to the Chief Justice saying 'I have been pressed by one mad poet to ask of you for another, a favour, which savours of the malady of both.' And that is apparently as near as Thurlow ever came to rendering a substantial service to the friend of his youth. The high opinion of Thurlow that Cowper held for so many years has not always been shared. Thus J. M. Rigg in his article on him in the *DNB* said that 'in politics he seems to have had no principles beyond a high view of the royal prerogative and an aversion to change,' and that 'his treachery during the king's illness, and subsequent factiousness, deprive him of all title to respect.'

delusion, which in the last two years had been growing more and more insistent, now became a complete obsession, and he was wholly indifferent to the pension.

At the beginning of the quest, Hayley's friend Carwardine had waited upon the Chancellor to prepare him for Hayley's plea. (He had an association of some sort with Thurlow, whom Hayley called Carwardine's 'kind patron,'[27] and he had introduced Hayley to Thurlow in 1788.[28]) The efforts of Carwardine were unavailing; but, as our letter shows, Cowper added him at once to his list of friends, and he seems to have deserved that distinction. Three days before the date of the letter, Cowper wrote of him as 'Carwardine the generous, the disinterested, the friendly.'[29] Until the poet's final eclipse, letters passed between them, the first (28 May 1792) being the one to which Cowper refers. The Reverend Thomas Carwardine was both a clergyman and a man of property, with an estate in Essex called Earl's Coln Priory. He knew Hayley intimately, had accompanied him and Romney (who twice painted him) to Paris in the summer of 1790, and was one of Hayley's many guests at Eartham. On 31 May 1930, *Notes and Queries* printed a previously unpublished letter written to him by Hayley on 19 April 1794 dealing with Cowper's situation. It is accompanied by comments by G. Carwardine Probert, who gives an interesting sketch of him, including his 'taste for letters and the arts' and his early recognition of the greatness of Romney.[30]

In the third paragraph of our letter, the bookseller is Cowper's London publisher, Joseph Johnson; 'my cousin' is Lady Hesketh; and the Latin quotation is from Terence's *Phormio*, Act III, Scene III, line 19. Cowper was already revising his Homer with a view to a second edition. It did not appear till after his death, when John Johnson edited it. The idea of its being 'Greekified' was Hayley's and he held fast to this suggestion for years, repeating it twice in the year of Cowper's death. He urged John Johnson on 1 February 1800 to have the new edition printed 'handsomely in quarto, with the Greek on the opposite page, and Flaxman's admirable designs'; and he returned to the matter six months later.[31] The publisher, however, vetoed the plan, perhaps

[27] Hayley's *Memoirs*, I, 362.
[28] Hayley's *Memoirs*, I, 369–370.
[29] *Correspondence*, IV, 230.
[30] *Notes and Queries*, CLVIII, 381–382.
[31] Hayley's *Memoirs*, II, 102, 113.

because of the expense, and it was abandoned.[32] The 'elegant decorations' of which the letter speaks are obviously Flaxman's drawings to illustrate the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. They never formed an accompaniment to Cowper's Homer, but they did appear, with quotations from Pope's Homer, on 1 March 1805, in a beautiful oblong folio volume under the imprint of a group of four London publishing firms; [33] and they have been frequently utilized since.[34]

Hayley's library (paragraph four of the new letter) was no ordinary collection. When, three months after his death in November 1820, it was disposed of at auction, 'to provide an annuity for his housekeeper,' [35] the catalogue listed 2,649 lots, and the sale took thirteen days.[36] For the adequate housing of his books Hayley added in 1784 a room to his house, Flaxman helping him in the design and decoration of it.[37] When John Johnson first saw it, six weeks after the date of our letter, he wrote his sister Catherine: 'Here is a noble Library — the finest in the country — the room is 30 ft. long and 14 ft. high, [and] . . . about 24 ft. broad.' [38] In it were portrait busts by Flaxman and paintings by Romney.[39] One of the latter, on a subject suggested to Romney by Hayley, hung above the fireplace and is the perfect symbol of Hayley's sentimentalism. Johnson, in the letter just quoted, called it 'a noble full-length painting of the Lady Hamilton . . . in the character of Sensibility, touching the sensitive Plant.' [40]

[32] Hayley's *Memoirs*, II, 119; *Correspondence*, IV, 237.

[33] *The Iliad of Homer Engraved from the Compositions of John Flaxman R. A. Sculptor* (London, 1805). A similar title-page, in the middle of the volume, introduces the designs for the *Odyssey*.

[34] *The Iliad of Homer, a Line for Line Translation in Dactylic Hexameters*, by William Benjamin Smith and Walter Miller (New York, 1944), reproducing thirty-nine of the designs, devotes an introductory page to Flaxman. An advertisement of a re-issue of the Heritage Club edition of 1942 (see *Saturday Review*, New York, 14 January 1956, p. 5) makes the erroneous claim that the Flaxman drawings have 'now in these two volumes . . . been gathered together for the first time.'

[35] Bishop, *Blake's Hayley*, p. 345.

[36] *A Catalogue of the Very Valuable and Extensive Library of the Late William Hayley . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans, at His House, No. 93, Pall-Mall, on Tuesday February 13th, and Twelve Following Days (Sunday's excepted)* (London, 1821).

[37] Hayley's *Memoirs*, I, 320.

[38] *Letters of Lady Hesketh*, p. 19.

[39] Hayley's *Memoirs*, I, 321.

[40] Hayley seems to have prided himself on this conceit; he used it, or a variation of it, in the fifth canto of the *The Triumphs of Temper*, where ten lines and an engraved plate by Stothard are devoted to it (see 11th ed., London, 1801, p. 113).

The small boy to whom Cowper sent his love was Hayley's only child, his natural son Thomas, then twelve years old. There is abundant evidence that Southey was right when he called him 'a boy of extraordinary talents and attainments.'[41] Both Romney and Flaxman took an interest in him and became very fond of him, and the latter made him one of his pupils. Blake engraved one of Thomas' drawings and a medallion of him by Flaxman. At the age of eighteen he was stricken with an illness centering in the spine, and he died on 2 May 1800 at the age of twenty, one week after the death of Cowper. His death was the heaviest blow his father was ever called upon to suffer. To his own *Memoirs*, Hayley added an account of his son covering five hundred and six pages. Flaxman designed the monument for Thomas' grave and wrote the prose part of the epitaph, the last line reading 'John Flaxman, Sculptor, Dedicates this Stone to the Virtues and Talents of his Beloved Scholar.'[42]

The reference in the same paragraph to Mrs Socket and her son involves a characteristic instance of Hayley's impetuous generosity. The Sockets, a family of humble rank, were neighbors and friends of Cowper. The father was a stationer with an inquiring mind but a limited income. When his son Thomas at the age of fifteen met Hayley during the latter's first visit to Cowper he, the son, asked Hayley to aid him in securing employment in London so that he might cease to be a financial burden to his parents. Hayley quickly took a liking to him, discovered that he was a boy of parts, and asked him to return with him to Eartham. The plan was that Thomas Socket would be a companion to Hayley's own Thomas, would teach him mathematics, and would receive from him help in Latin and Greek, all this to be done under the informal guidance of the elder Hayley. Contrary to what the skeptical might have prophesied, the scheme worked well. The two Thomases grew fond of each other and pursued their studies to their mutual profit. Young Socket evidently matured rapidly, for in 1794 Hayley turned him over temporarily to his friend Lord Sheffield to help in the

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Hayley knew Lady Hamilton. Bishop (*Blake's Hayley*, pp. 99–100) quotes a letter from her to Romney, 20 December 1791, in which she said, 'Give my love to Mr. Hayly [sic]. Tell him I am allways [sic] reading his *Triumphs of Temper*. It was *that* [her italics] that made me Lady H.' She could not have got along during the past five years, she said, without 'the good example Serena taught me.'

[41] *The Works of William Cowper . . . with a Life*, ed. Robert Southey (London, 1835–37), III, 152. The *DNB* gives a separate article to Thomas Hayley.

[42] Hayley's *Memoirs*, II, 505–506.

preparation for the press of manuscripts left by Gibbon at his death in January of the same year (the resultant volumes, published in 1796, included Gibbon's *Memoirs of My Life and Writings*). At Hayley's, young Socket was associated with another lad in addition to Thomas Hayley. This was George Wyndham, natural son of the third Earl of Egremont, whose estate of Petworth was near Eartham. From 1795–97 the Wyndham boy lived under Hayley's roof and was tutored by Thomas Socket, then in his late teens, under the supervision of Hayley. In 1806 Socket went up to Exeter College, Oxford, and after Oxford he took orders in the Anglican church and held various livings, of which the chief was Petworth, till his death in 1859 at the age of eighty-two. His one-time pupil George Wyndham, later Baron Leconfield, placed in Petworth church a memorial to him on which he is called, evidently in the words of Wyndham, 'a scholar, a sincere friend, of a most benevolent disposition, and an honest man.' [43]

But this is not quite the whole story of the Sockets' connection with Cowper. When Mrs Unwin's second stroke came upon her on 22 May 1792, Hayley, then at the midpoint of his first visit at Weston, immediately bestirred himself to find an electrical machine for treating her. It happened that Mr Socket had one.[44] Hayley, who had employed such a device for years, promptly put it into service for Mrs Unwin, with help in the using of it from Thomas Socket. For months thereafter the letters of both Cowper and Hayley made reference to this treatment, and they both thought, perhaps rightly, that it did Mrs Unwin good. In the letter the last paragraph but one shows that Cowper tried to inform himself more fully about the therapeutic value of electricity than he could do from the rule-of-thumb procedure of Hayley, and consulted the writings of Tiberius Cavallo (1749–1809),[45] who was one of the best known experimental scientists of his time and still holds an honorable place in the history of science. From his birthplace in Naples, where his father was a physician, he came as a boy to England, and lived there for the rest of his life. At the early age of thirty he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. Like other

[43] Quoted by Bishop, *Blake's Hayley*, p. 352. For most of the data in the foregoing paragraph see the same work, pp. 152, 94–95, 361, and *Works of William Cowper*, ed. Southey, III, 74–75.

[44] *Correspondence*, IV, 207.

[45] The final 's' in Cowper's spelling of Cavallo is, one supposes, simply a slip of the pen.

natural philosophers of the eighteenth century he experimented in widely separated fields, but his reputation rests mainly on his work with electricity. Robert Hunt, a later member of the Royal Society, said of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that he was 'a true philosopher, holding his judgment suspended until he was satisfied by demonstrative evidence of the truth.' Hunt also said of him (though he was not specifically speaking of his apparatus for the medical use of electricity) that 'all his instruments for the measurement of the quantity and force of electricity [were] remarkable for their extreme delicacy and correctness.' The work Cowper studied was Cavallo's *An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Medical Electricity*. It is impossible to be certain which of the various editions he used, but it was probably either the second (1781) or the third (1786), both of which contain passages rather closely paralleling Cowper's words.[46] Cavallo made no extravagant claims for electricity as a curative agent for paralysis; such cases, he said, 'are seldom perfectly cured by means of eletricity . . . but they are generally relieved to a certain degree.'[47]

The Letter to Samuel Rose

The letter to Rose fills three pages, each 7¾ by 9¾ inches. It is dated ten days after the letter to Hayley, and, like the latter, it was written at 'The Lodge,' Weston Underwood. The address reads, 'To / Samuel Rose Esq[r] / Chancery Lane / London.' The letter goes as follows:

The Lodge
June 24. 1792.

My Dear Friend,

I have three unanswer'd letters of yours at this moment before me, and am seldom so much in arrear to any of my Correspondents; but you will have the goodness, I know, to account for my silence by the true cause of it, which has chiefly been, and still continues to be a variety of literary business, thrown also much into arrear by my necessary attention to M[rs] Unwin. She, I thank God, is in a state of recovery, and daily regains[48] in some little degree both her speech and her powers of motion, but still walks between two supporters. Were the season more favorable, it is likely that she would recover faster, for these almost ceaseless rains not only deprive her of many opportunities of exercise, but have undoubtedly their effect also

[46] E. g., 1781 edition, p. 10; 1786 edition, pp. 108–109, 126–127.
[47] 1781 edition, p. 59.
[48] Before 'regains' a word, possibly 'seems,' has been crossed out.

within doors. I even feel them myself, and repine at a summer unaccompanied by any of the comforts of the season; but the amendment of my poor Patient is a comfort that alone may compensate the want of a thousand others.

I was perhaps as much mortified as yourself that you miss'd my brother bard of Eartham. It was the more to be regretted by us both, because opportunities of seeing him occur so seldom, for he is almost as much a hermit as myself and very seldom visits London. You would have found him a man to your mind in all respects, learned without the least ostentation, warm-hearted, interesting in his manners, and humane and friendly to a degree of which there are few examples. He labour'd much, during the few days that he spent in town, to serve me with the Chancellor, and so far succeeded that he seem'd effectually to have revived in his bosom the friendship that he formerly felt for me. I had in short every reason to believe that his Lordship would have exerted himself strenuously to make me independent; but just in the moment when the point was carried, my destiny prevail'd and the only friend I ever had among the great, was stript of all his greatness.

Agnosco Fatum Priami.

I have now Dr Darwin's last publication before me, which, having reviewed the first, I chose to review likewise, inconvenient as it is to me at present to be call'd away from Milton. Johnson left it to my option. You have seen it I conclude or will see it soon, and should any striking remark present itself either to you or to Mrs Rose in the perusal, I shall be happy to have it for the credit that it will reflect upon my own. I seem in truth, whatever I was once, to be now exceeding dull, and to have lost my wits just when I should have them most about me.

I congratulate you heartily on your arrival at the close of your long and dry employment, and as heartily wish that the fruit of your labours may be such as they will well entitle you to. Farewell — with Mrs Unwin's best compts to yourself and Mrs Rose in which I join her most sincerely — I remain yours

Wm Cowper

We are glad that the Contents of our basket proved acceptable. Johnny went to town for a few days last friday and purposed I know to call upon you.

The history of this letter before 1872 is obscure. On June 24 of that year it was sold at a Sotheby auction for two pounds, but the buyer was not Locker-Lampson.[49] When he acquired it is unknown.

Since Samuel Rose (1767–1804) played an important part in the story of Cowper's later years, it is surprising that no biographer or editor of the poet has given us an adequate account of him. Hayley in the editions of his life of Cowper that appeared after Rose's death

[49] For this information I am indebted to Mr Noel F. Sharp, of the British Museum.

did indeed devote to him a section of about twenty pages.[50] Much of this highly sympathetic sketch is too diffuse, too generalized, and too eulogistic to be very illuminating; but it throws some light on Rose's personality, about which something will be said shortly, and it records certain facts about him: his Scottish ancestry, his early education at his father's school near London, his studies at Glasgow University (where 'he obtained every prize, except one, for which he contended'), his first interest in law (in Edinburgh), his acquaintance with Adam Smith and various Scottish professors, his legal studies at Lincoln's Inn, his admission to the bar, his practice of law in Sussex, his revisions of standard volumes of legal reports, his marriage, his fondness for his four sons (one of whom was Cowper's namesake and godson), his love of literature, his intimacy with Cowper, and the circumstances of his early death. Rose was deemed of sufficient consequence to be given a separate article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where W. P. Courtney adds some details not included in Hayley's account: his father's friendship with Dr Johnson; [51] his editing of Goldsmith's miscellaneous works; the fact that his father-in-law, a physician, had been a fellow student of Goldsmith; an item or two about the careers of two of Rose's sons; the statement that Rose 'regularly contributed to the "Monthly Review" '; and the fact that Sir Thomas Lawrence painted a portrait of him.

The treatment accorded Rose by biographers of Cowper later than Hayley has been fragmentary but, for the most part, just. An exception is to be found in Lord David Cecil, whose *The Stricken Deer*, first published in 1929, is probably the most widely read life of Cowper. Aside from half a dozen references to Rose, Lord Cecil de-

[50] This account first appeared in the edition of 1806, III, 439–458.

[51] Dr Charles Burney, the elder, reported a conversation between Dr Johnson and Dr William Rose, Samuel's father, on the subject of the flogging of school boys. Dr Johnson defended the practice and ended the argument by asserting that, if the boys are not flogged, 'what they gain at one end, they lose at the other' (quoted in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1934–50, I, 46 n., and II, 407). In a footnote (IV, 168) on the question of whether anyone ever succeeded in silencing Dr Johnson, Boswell reported an instance that 'has circulated both in conversation and in print' crediting Dr Rose with performing this feat. Dr Johnson, the story goes, had been belittling Scottish writers, whereupon Dr Rose said he could cite 'one Scotch writer, whom Dr. Johnson himself would allow to have written better than any man of the age.' Challenged to name him, Dr Rose replied, 'Lord Bute when he signed the warrant for your pension.' One must reluctantly add that Boswell doubted the authenticity of this exchange.

votes a total of two paragraphs to him: one recording his first meeting with Cowper on 13 January 1787, when Rose was twenty and the poet fifty-six; the other dealing with what became of him after Cowper's death. The first of these paragraphs tells us, correctly, that Rose was shy and, again correctly, that he was a hard worker; but of the latter trait the biographer says: 'His every act was part of a deliberate and considered scheme of self-improvement. He had worked conscientiously at the University, and now . . . he worked conscientiously at the London Bar.' And a few lines later: 'Poor Rose! he turned out to be a very simple-minded young man . . .' [52] In the second of the two paragraphs we are told that he dedicated his last days to religious reading; that, having taken 'a suitable farewell of his family,' he died 'composed to the last'; and that he 'had never swerved from the road of conscientious self-improvement' (the words 'conscientious,' 'conscientiously,' and 'conscientiousness' appear five times in the space of nine lines). [53]

No one will quarrel with the biographer for giving in his treatment of Rose chief emphasis to the matter of personality; this, of course, was what drew the poet to him. But it is impossible to believe that Cowper, who wrote to Rose on 4 October 1789, 'We . . . all love you, down to the very dog,' [54] could have been strongly and lastingly attached to a young man of whom nothing better is to be said than what may be gleaned from Lord Cecil's curiously distorted and oversimplified sketch, colored as it is by Strachеyan condescension, irony, and dubious intuitional touches. Actually it would seem that, far from being the self-centered plodder that Lord Cecil makes him, he had his full share of outgiving qualities, among them a gift for friendship. Not only did the whole household at Weston love him, but the chief friends of the poet's later years were all attached to him — Lady Hesketh, John Johnson, and Hayley.

There was also in Rose's makeup a generosity, a benevolence (to use one of Hayley's favorite words), that prompted him to many acts of kindness later only scantily recognized, though Cowper himself was

[52] Lord David Cecil, *The Stricken Deer; or, The Life of Cowper* (London, 1929), pp. 235–236.

[53] Cecil, *The Stricken Deer*, pp. 300–301.

[54] *Correspondence*, III, 404. The household dog at this time (he deserves a footnote) was the little spaniel named Beau, one of whose feats of intelligence is memorialized in 'The Dog and the Water-lily.' Cowper sent Rose a copy of the poem. See *Correspondence*, III, 303, 314, 403; IV, 263.

fully aware of them. To Rose he wrote on 5 February 1791: 'My letters to you are all either petitionary, or in the style of acknowledgments and thanks, and such nearly in an alternate order. . . . Should we balance the account of obligation (for you lately spoke highly of yours to me), it would be found . . . that I am much your debtor.' [55] These kindnesses were of many sorts and so numerous that they must have been a real drain upon the time, energy, and even the purse of a young man struggling to establish himself in his profession. Sometimes they took the form of gifts — books, candle-snuffers, potables, oysters; or of aid in the transcribing of Homer; or of fulfilling commissions for articles unavailable in the village of Weston — new shoes, toothbrushes, Cheshire cheeses, a cuckoo clock; or of securing subscribers to Cowper's Homer. But as the poet grew increasingly aware of Rose's good judgment and integrity he came to rely upon him for services of much more significance. The young man became, in reality, Cowper's agent with his publisher Joseph Johnson; and this included not merely consultations with the publisher about books to be sent to Weston for review, and questions relating to the Milton project, but the whole management of business negotiations with the publisher in respect to the Homer — the question of copyright, the sum the translator should receive, and even the disposal of the money. 'Direct me in all,' wrote Cowper.[56] It should be noted also that Rose's latest visits to Cowper, in 1796, 1798, and 1800, were certainly not actuated by motives of self-improvement but by a devoted though vain desire to relieve the hopeless melancholy into which the poet had been plunged. This active kindness was offered also to others besides Cowper. Not only did Rose urge Hayley to write a life of the poet, but he gave him substantial aid: furnishing material, chiefly letters, in his own possession; soliciting data from John Newton; and acting as a receiving agent in London, whence from time to time he sent or brought to Hayley what had come to hand. So valuable, indeed, was Rose's help that Hayley looked to him to complete the biography should he himself not live to finish it.[57] The final public act of Rose's life was another instance of his loyal attachment to Hayley. When William Blake in 1803 found himself summoned to court in Chichester to answer a charge of having made

[55] *Correspondence*, IV, 26–27.

[56] *Correspondence*, IV, 93. It should not be forgotten that when a pension from the Crown was finally secured for Cowper in 1794 Rose was made the trustee of it.

[57] Hayley's *Memoirs*, II, 126.

seditious utterances against the King, he sought the aid of Hayley, who in turn asked Rose to appear as Blake's counsel. That he readily acceded to this request says something for the young lawyer, for it was wartime, with patriotic passions running high and with widespread fear of invasion by Napoleon's forces; at such a time it says something likewise both for the soundness of English legal traditions and for the skill with which Rose pleaded the case that Blake was acquitted. During the trial, however, Rose caught a severe cold that weakened the vitality of a not very robust constitution and developed into tuberculosis, from which he died eleven months later at the age of thirty-eight.[58]

The thing that attracted Rose to Cowper in the first place was his admiration for Cowper's poetry, and there are various other indications of his taste in literature. That his knowledge of the Latin and Greek classics was respectable may safely be inferred from his training at school and in the university, and this is to some degree borne out by passages in Cowper's letters dealing with the translation of Homer. Of the packages of books he sent Cowper from time to time only a few titles are specified: Samuel Clarke's annotated edition of Homer;

[58] In the British Museum (Add MS 37,060) is a long and apparently unpublished letter, postmarked 5 May 1804, by Rose to his father-in-law in which he writes, 'I was highly complimented by the Duke of Richmond for my defence of Blake and magnificently renumerated by Hayley.'

Afer Rose's death, Hayley made a number of efforts to help his family, especially his young sons, who were left without adequate provision. One of these projects is set forth by Hayley in his account of Rose in the 1806 edition of his life of Cowper, IV, 439–442. The plan was to establish a fund for the education of William Cowper Rose, the poet's godson; and as a first step Hayley proposed to publish all of Cowper's manuscripts relating to Milton in a 'handsome quarto, at the price of two guineas,' the proceeds to go into the fund. The volume appeared in London in 1808 as *Latin and Italian Poems of Milton Translated into English Verse, and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradise Lost, by the Late William Cowper, Esqr.*, with Joseph Johnson as publisher, a brief appeal in Hayley's preface (pp. viii–ix), and designs by Flaxman. Another attempt of Hayley's to aid the Rose family is related by Bishop in *Blake's Hayley*, p. 315, his source being a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 38,734). Still another effort appears in an unpublished manuscript by Hayley, now in private hands. This was a plea he made in 1806 in a letter to Theodora Cowper asking her to appeal to her friend the Dowager Lady Spencer for aid in securing a desirable benefice for Samuel Rose's brother, 'the Rev^{d} William Rose . . . to reward Him for most generously educating in his little Academy three orphans of Cowper's friend. . . . The Poet^{s} God-child is one of them.' Theodora replied, 'Should any Opportunity offer of mentioning it to Lady Spencer you may be assured I will not neglect it.'

a volume by Cowper's old Westminster schoolmaster, Vincent Bourne, 'the neatest of all men in his versification, . . . the most slovenly in his person' [59] (the work was presumably Bourne's *Poemata*); Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*; a handsome copy of the first edition of Pope's Homer; and the poems of Burns. (Rose's editorial work on Goldsmith has already been mentioned.) The letters to Rose carry enough references to books to show that Cowper had much respect for the younger man's judgment as a reader. Writing to Rose on 13 September 1790, he said that he knew 'no one so intelligent as yourself in books.' [60]

Not the least of the traits that drew the two men together was their fondness of foot travel. Cowper was accustomed to 'walk daily, be the weather what it may'; [61] and Rose made, by himself, 'summer and autumn rambles' so often and of such length that Cowper felt impelled to warn him of the perils of the road and the overtaxing of his strength, 'though you are young, and well made for such exploits.' [62] But what gave the poet delight was that he found Rose an excellent companion on the less ambitious excursions they made together in the neighborhood of Weston, on one of which they searched out Yardley Oak. After one of Rose's visits Cowper wrote to him: 'I have taken, since you went away, many of the walks we have taken together; and none of them, I believe, without thoughts of you. I have, though not a good memory in general, yet a good local memory, and can recollect, by the help of a tree or a stile, what you said on that particular spot.' [63]

In the account of Rose, alluded to above, which Hayley inserted in the later editions of his life of Cowper, the biographer speaks of the young man's 'affectionate gaiety' and 'the native pleasantry of his spirit,' [64] and elsewhere, referring to one of Rose's visits at Eartham, he calls him his 'animated guest.' [65] Since Hayley knew him well, there is no need to question these statements. They are confirmed by Cowper. Writing Rose from Eartham during the memorable visit to Hayley in the late summer of 1792, Cowper wished that Rose were there, a wish he had twice expressed already, and he added, 'You would contribute

[59] *Correspondence*, III, 332.
[60] *Correspondence*, III, 485.
[61] *Correspondence*, III, 249.
[62] *Correspondence*, III, 250, 304.
[63] *Correspondence*, III, 355–356.
[64] Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, 1806, III, 454.
[65] Hayley's *Memoirs*, I, 461.

much to the entertainment of the party.'[66] The best evidence, however, of the truth of Hayley's observation is found in the flavor of Cowper's letters to his young friend. The light and humorous touches in them are so frequent as to leave no doubt that Cowper knew he was writing to a man who would understand and savor them. This was, in fact, one of the reasons why he found Rose such good company. It was one of the important bonds of their friendship.

It remains to note a few passages in the letter to Rose.

In the first paragraph 'a variety of literary business' does not refer primarily to the composition of poetry, of which very little belongs to the summer of 1792. Cowper was, however, as we have seen, revising his translation of Homer, in anticipation of a second edition. More pressing was the work he had undertaken upon Milton at the invitation of his publisher Joseph Johnson, a commitment that gave him so much anxiety after Mrs Unwin's second stroke that he asked for and received an indefinite postponement, although he had completed his translation of the Latin and Italian poems and had begun his annotations of *Paradise Lost*. Pressing also, as we learn from a later paragraph in the letter, was a matter of book reviewing undertaken for Joseph Johnson's *Analytical Review*. What Cowper calls the first of Erasmus Darwin's publications, which he had reviewed in the *Analytical Review* of May 1789,[67] was *The Loves of the Plants*, 1789, one of two parts given the collective title of *The Botanic Garden*, and actually the second part, though the first to be written. What the letter, in the last paragraph but one, calls 'Dr Darwin's last publication,' which Cowper supposes Rose had seen or soon would see, is *The Economy of Vegetation*, that is, the first part of *The Botanic Garden*, though written last and published in 1791. The proposed review of this book raises a question: Did Cowper ever write it, and, if so, was it published? A review of *The Economy of Vegetation* appeared in the *Analytical Review* of March 1793,[68] signed with the same initials, P. P., that Cowper used for his article on *The Loves of the Plants*. It is of a similar length and arrangement, is written in a style not unlike that of the earlier article, and the critical judgments are much the same. Apparently this review has never been ascribed to Cowper, but it seems a natural conclusion that it is his.

[66] *Correspondence*, IV, 285.
[67] IV, 29–36.
[68] XV, 287–293.

It will be remembered that after Hayley's first visit to Cowper, 15 May to 1 June 1792, he proceeded to London and spent the first week of June there trying to interest Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, in a pension for the poet. On June 6 Cowper wrote Rose a letter of introduction to Hayley, who during his few days in town was staying with Romney. It turned out, however, as Cowper feared, that the note reached Rose too late. This explains the first sentence of the second paragraph of the new letter. Rose did not meet Hayley till the autumn of 1793, as is shown by Cowper's letter to Hayley on 18 October of that year: 'Mr Rose will be here likewise, and is happy to have at last found an opportunity to meet you.' [69]

The three words of Latin at the end of the paragraph in question read like a quotation or proverbial saying, but no source for them has been found. Their application is probably to Thurlow's fall from office rather than to Cowper's disappointment with respect to the pension.[70]

In the last paragraph Rose's completion of a 'long and dry employment' is an allusion to his revision, published in 1792, of Sir John Comyns' *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer.* Writing to Rose a little later Cowper referred again to the happy conclusion of this undertaking: 'I do most sincerely rejoice in the success of your publication. . . .' [71] As further indication of Rose's legal learning it may be added that in 1800 there appeared a five-volume revision by him of Comyns' *A Digest of the Laws of England.*[72]

[69] Quoted from the original in the Locker album at Harvard. This and other portions are omitted from the letter as printed (as in *Correspondence*, IV, 458–459).

[70] Thurlow's retirement was decided upon, at the instigation of Pitt, in May of 1792. It took effect and became known to the public on June 15, between the date of the new letter to Hayley and the date of that to Rose — only one day, indeed, after the former. When Cowper wrote the letter to Hayley on June 14 he evidently suspected, as the second paragraph shows, that Thurlow's hold upon the Chancellorship had become insecure.

[71] *Correspondence*, IV, 319. The letter containing this quotation is dated by Wright 9 September 1792. If this date is correct, the letter is printed out of chronological order.

[72] Sir John Comyns (d. 1740) was a judge and baron of the exchequer. His fame rests on the works that Rose revised. J. M. Rigg in the article on Comyns in the *DNB* calls them 'two legal works of great authority.' Rose's edition (the fourth) of the *Digest* appears to have been 'standard' until 1822. It was not merely an annotated reprint but also a continuation 'to the present time.'

Apart from the grace of style that they possess, in common with the rest of Cowper's correspondence, the two letters here printed are of interest for certain rather definite reasons. The letter to Rose shows that Cowper undertook to review Erasmus Darwin's *The Economy of Vegetation* for Joseph Johnson's *Analytical Review* and establishes a strong probability that the appraisal of that volume in the issue of the magazine for March 1793 is from Cowper's pen. The intimate frankness of the same letter, together with data previously available, indicates that Rose is entitled to greater recognition than biographers of the poet have usually given him and leads particularly to the conclusion that the picture of him sketched in *The Stricken Deer* is grossly unfair. In the letter to Hayley the warmth of Cowper's tone and the specific evidence of Hayley's unremitting efforts to serve his friend are valid evidence that he deserves a generous measure of gratitude despite his quixotic personal traits and despite the low estate to which his writings had fallen even before his death. And, finally, the two letters taken together afford us an appealing and vivid glimpse, late in Cowper's story, of the vicissitudes of the Weston household, about to be thrown into confusion by the surprising journey to Eartham and a little later to be permanently broken up as Cowper's mental malady closed in upon him for the last time.

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