general nature of this engraving was first identified by Howard Erskine-Hill, who suggested it was 'heraldically competent, but does not purport to be Pope's own coat of arms'. 51 I am sympathetic to the desire to absolve Pope from the sin of misrepresentation - he was not using it formally or claiming he had approval from the College of Heralds – but I think this must nevertheless be a serious and important claim about his family and its status. Sir Anthony Wagner in his study of the arms of outstanding figures from the history of the United Kingdom names Pope as one of those who were not armigerous, but he also points to Joshua Reynolds and John Locke as among those who used arms 'but without apparent right.'52 Pope used them, I suspect, only in the specific context of this poem, and it may not have mattered to him at all that they were not ratified by a College that served a regime he did not respect. In so advertising his family, Pope may have recollected the introduction by Caleb D'Anvers to his family history in Craftsman 28 (13 March 1727): 'Though it is generally esteem'd an indecent, as well as an invidious Task, for a Man to mention himself, or extol his own Family; yet in some Cases it becomes not only excusable, but even praise-worthy; especially when it is made necessary for our Self-defence'. D'Anvers goes on to associate his family's place in 'Books of Heraldry' with a patriotism 'exposed to 'Obloquy and Reproach'.53

To Arbuthnot clearly responds to the attacks on Pope by Lord Hervey, or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, or both, in Verses Address'd to the Imitator of Horace (March 1733) and by Hervey in An Epistle from a Nobleman to a Doctor of Divinity (November 1733). Pope says as much in the 'Advertisement' prefixed to the first edition; his notes to To Arbuthnot refer to the Verses; and a new edition of the Verses seems to have been printed especially to accompany To Arbuthnot in January 1735. The heraldic image at the end of To Arbuthnot responds to a particular attack on him in the Verses:

none thy crabbed Numbers can endure, Hard as thy Heart, and as thy Birth obscure.⁵⁴

In an 'Advertisement' prefixed to the first edition of An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot which was substantially repeated in the Works Pope says he had no thought of publishing the poem

till it pleas'd some Persons of Rank and Fortune to attack in a very extraordinary manner, not only his *Writings*, but his *Morals*, *Person*, and *Family*: of which he therefore thought himself obliged to give some account. (*Works* II, 212)⁵⁵

51. 'Review of James McLaverty, Pope, Print, and Meaning', Review of English Studies, 220 (2004) 462-5 (465).

53. The Craftsman, 14 vols (London, 1731), 1:166.

54. The Collected Verse of John, Lord Hervey (1696–1743), ed. Bill Overton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 182, lines 16–17.

55. John Butt prints the 'Advertisement' to the first edition in Twickenham, 4:95.

^{52.} Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, 13. I am most grateful to Mr David White, then Somerset Herald, now Garter King of Arms, who in a short correspondence kindly directed me to this reference and also pointed out that the arms in To Arbuthnot were those of a married man. However, Wagner's recording of Jonathan Swift's armigerous uncle Godwin as his brother suggests Wagner's is not an altogether thorough study of literary figures.