

Additions to A Tale of a Tub

Commentary

p.1

Abstract of what follows after Sect. IX. in the Manuscript] Although this has been thought to be “a mistake for ‘X’” (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 302n1), there are good reasons to believe that “Sect. IX” is correct (see Textual and Historical Introduction, p. 7).

The History of Martin] ‘Martin’ naturally evokes the *spiritus rector* of the Reformation (see the footnote appended to the *Tale*’s fifth edition of 1710 [*Prose Works*, I, 84]), Martin Luther (1483-1546), whose controversial and contentious life looms particularly large in two ecclesiastical histories which Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130): the first by Johannes Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi* ([Frankfurt: Johannes Theodor Schönwetter, 1610], pp. 1-74), and the second by Pietro Soave, better known as Father Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent* (trans. Sir Nathanael Brent [London: by John Macock for Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1676], pp. 5-15, 70-72, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]); ‘Martin’ also represents the Church of England (see the gloss on “to drop the former *Martin*, & to substitute in his place Lady *Besses* Institution, which is to pass under the name of *Martin* in the sequel of this true History” [p. 5, ll. 18-20]).

Irritatingly, however, Martin seems to be the ‘weakest’ and the least outstanding of the three brothers in the *Tale*; a fact that has led to the extraordinary conclusion that “Swift would have accomplished his aim best by leaving Martin out” (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 188-89). Rather, the very opposite is the case. Swift made Martin’s character weak because he wanted Martin a role to play in the satiric programme he had set out to write in the *Tale*. Given that Martin would have been expected to personify, or imply, “a virtue which [Swift] desired to recommend” (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 188), he is a failure: he does not represent any virtue. But that is the whole point. Not only did “that great and famous * *Rupture*” (*Prose Works*, I, 74) in the

history of the Christian church, the Reformation, not initiate a reform in the post-Reformation history of the various national churches represented by Peter and Jack, it had had no effect on the Established Church, either, the Church of England not embodying the, or any, norm, for that matter. At best, while it may no longer have possessed “the original doctrinal purity,” its “authority in tradition and in reason” would have offered “for Swift the most acceptable means to the ideal” (Raymond A. Anselment, *“Betwixt Jest and Earnest”: Marprelate, Milton, Marvell, Swift & the Decorum of Religious Ridicule* [Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1979], p. 155).

In the Apology, first published at the beginning of the *Tale’s* fifth edition of 1710, Swift famously asserted that the *Tale* “*Celebrates the Church of England as the most perfect of all others in Discipline and Doctrine*” (*Prose Works*, I, 2). What he had in mind in propounding this argument had been adumbrated shortly before by William Chillingworth, whose *The Religion of Protestants a Safeway to Salvation* Swift owned, and who is likely to have represented the majority within the Anglican church: “Though Protestants have some Errors, yet ... they are neither so great as [those of the Catholic Church], nor impos’d with such tyranny, nor maintained with such obstinacy” (*The Religion of Protestants a Safeway to Salvation ... Together with the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*, 5th ed. [London: M[ary] C[lark], 1684], p. 216 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 401-2]).

By contrast, in the two fragments bearing the title of “*The History of Martin*” left out of the final version of *A Tale of a Tub*, Martin is a more central character. If Swift *was* the author of these fragments, his decision to omit them and concentrate on the Dissenters instead, more than anything else reflects his difficulty to portray the institution to which he belonged himself.

p. 1, l. 1 How *Jack & Martin* being parted, set up each for himself] See the gloss on “here began a mortal Breach between these two” (*A Tale of a Tub*, Online.Swift, forthcoming). Most probably, an allusion to the Swiss reformer Huldrych (or Ulderick, Ulrich) Zwingli (1484-1532), who, “at *Zurich*, began a Reformation somewhat varying from that of *Luther*,” as Swift

learnt from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* ([London: by E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649], p. 175), and Father Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* (trans. Brent, pp. 8, 45-46, 56), both of which he read and annotated at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30; III, 1704-5). Peter Heylyn, in his *Aërius redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians*, which Swift also owned and annotated, was even more explicit in his criticism: "Holding no intelligence with one another, [Luther and Zwingli] travelled divers ways in pursuance of [the Reformation]; which first produced some Animosities between themselves, not to be reconciled by a Personal Conference ... but afterwards occasioned far more obstinate ruptures between the followers of the Parties in their several stations" (2nd ed. [London: by Robert Battersby for Christopher Wilkinson, *et al.*, 1672], pp. 1-2 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53]). Heylyn substantiated this criticism with detailed registers of the differences between the two Reformers in doctrine, discipline, and worship (pp. 2, 17-18, 116-17). However, see also the note on "Jack."

Jack] In *A Tale of a Tub*, Jack primarily stands for the radical French-born Swiss reformer and theologian Johannes Calvin (1509-64), as a footnote added to the *Tale's* fifth edition of 1710 explains (*Prose Works*, I, 84). In addition, he represents the various national sects more or less loosely affiliated with, or descended from, Calvinism (Heylyn, *Aërius redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians*, sig. A1r, pp. 5, 9, 32 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53]), such as the (Dutch and German) Anabaptists, the French Huguenots, and the radical Presbyterians of Scotland (see also *A Tale of a Tub*, Online.Swift, forthcoming).

p. 1, l.2 How they travel'd over hills & dales] Proverbial (TILLEY H467).

p. 1, ll. 2-3 suffered much for the good cause] Possibly reminiscent of a passage in the *Tale* - "He would return home extremely comforted, and full of terrible Accounts of what he had undergone for the *Publick Good*" (*Prose Works*, I, 126) - but more probably the phrase with which the soldiers of Cromwell's New Model Army underscored their political affiliation in their struggle for republicanism, liberty, and toleration (Gerald R. Cragg, "The

Collapse of Militant Puritanism,” *Essays in Modern English Church History: In Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966], pp. 76-103 [79-80, 86-88]; Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England* [London and New York: Routledge, 1990], p. 222). An anonymous ballad of 1689, entitled “The Ballad of the Cloak: or, The Cloak’s Knavery,” is accompanied by an illustration showing a tub-preacher shouting at his congregation, “Remember the good old Cause” (*The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads*, ed. John Holloway [Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1971], p. 19 [no 14]; see also Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs*, 2 vols [Vevay {London}, 1698], II, 849 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]). Swift used the term jeeringly in his 1714 ridicule of Steele, “The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras’d”: “*DICK*, thour’t resolv’d, as I am told, / Some strange *Arcana* to unfold, / And with the help of *Buckley’s* Pen / To vamp the *good Old Cause* again” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 180, ll. 1-4).

p. 1, ll. 3-4 & struggled with difficultys & wants, not having where to lay their head] An ironical echo of Jesus’ complaint, “The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air *have* nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay *his* head” (St Matthew 8:20; St Luke 9:58), by which Jack and his sectaries cast themselves as followers of the Lord.

p. 1, ll. 4-5 by all which they afterwards proved themselves to be right Father’s Sons, & *Peter* to be spurious] A conviction held by Swift throughout his life, perhaps expressed nowhere as vigorously as in *The Presbyterians Plea of Merit*, where he voiced his scorn at “*Popery* in general, which for a thousand Years past hath been introducing and multiplying Corruptions both in Doctrine and Discipline.” Swift took Catholicism “to be the most absurd System of Christianity professed by any Nation” (*Prose Works*, XII, 272-73).

p. 1, ll. 6-7 Finding no shelter near *Peter’s* habitation, *Martin* travel’d northwards] See p. 2, ll. 12-13.

p. 2:

pp. 1-2, ll. 7-1 & finding the *Thuringians* & neighbouring people disposed to change, he set up his Stage first among them] In many ways, Thuringia may be regarded as the seedbed of the Reformation. A native of Saxony, Martin Luther was educated in Thuringia, not only studying philosophy at its capital, Erfurt, but also entering the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits there in 1505. Later, after he had been put under the ban of the Empire, Luther fled to the Wartburg near Eisenach, where he spent the next eight months and started his famous translation of the Bible into German (ODCC, p. 847).

Besides Luther, his fierce and eloquent opponent, the Anabaptist Thomas Müntzer (c.1490-1525), proselytized in Mühlhausen, Thuringia, calling for even more radical religious and social reforms and joining the Peasants' Revolt in 1525 (Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Origin of Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism: Another Look," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 53 [1962], 152-80). After the peasants' defeat, he was captured and executed (MORÉRI S.V. "Muncer"; ODCC, p. 949). Swift learnt about Müntzer either from Sleidanus, whose *Commentariorum de statu religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi* (pp. 108-15) he "abstracted" at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130), or from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, which he also studied and annotated at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30): "One *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, opposite enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things ... fain'd hee had power from God to depose Princes, and substitute others, and that, againe, Hee taught, All goods should be Common, and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, He was followed by huge multitudes" (pp. 175-76).

p. 2, ll. 1-3 where making it his business to cry down *Peter's* pouders, plaisters, salves, & drugs] Luther was the first to preach publicly against the "Pardon-mongers" (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 5-6 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]), the Catholic practice of selling indulgences, according to which "the remission of all sins and an eternal life

was promised after the payment of money [omnium delictorum expiationem ac salutem æternam pollicebatur, interuentu pecuniæ]” (Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statu religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, pp. 1-2; both “abstracted” by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-30]), affixing his 95 theses against them to the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg on 31 October 1517. Throughout the *Tale*, Peter is being compared to a mountebank (Phillip Harth, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism: The Religious Background of “A Tale of a Tub”* [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1961], p. 57), who either sells a “Sovereign Remedy for the *Worms*” (*Prose Works*, I, 66), or contrives “a *Pickle* proper for Houses, Gardens, Towns, Men, Women, Children, and Cattle; wherein he could preserve them as Sound as Insects in Amber,” adding “a certain Quantity of his *Powder Pimperlim-pimp*, after which it never failed of Success” (*Prose Works*, I, 68). However, it later becomes clear in “*The History of Martin*” that the “pouders, plaisters, salves & drugs” seem to refer more generally to the differing hermeneutics and religious practices of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists (see the gloss on “but finding no possibility of reconciling all the three Brothers, because each would be Master & allow no other salves pouders or plaisters to be used but his own,” [p. 4, ll. 9-12]).

plaisters] Swift’s preferred spelling of “plaster.” In “A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed,” for example, the pox-ridden young girl applies “a Plaister” to “her Shankers, Issues, running Sores” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 582, ll. 30-32), presumably little patches of leather or cloth onto which an ointment was spread (Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, “‘Those Odious Common Whores of which this Town is Full’: Swift’s *A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed*,” *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 6 [1981], 241-59 [p. 245]).

salves] “An Unguent or medicinal Composition for Plaisters” (BAILEY [1730], s.v.).

p. 2, ll. 3-5 which he had sold a long time at a dear rate, allowing *Martin* none of the profit, tho he had been often employed in recommending & putting them off] An allusion to ecclesiastical taxes such as the *Annates*, “or first fruits of Bishopricks, paid usually to the See of *Rome*,” which, as Lord

Herbert explained, had been conducive to the impoverishment of England (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 330, 371-72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]). According to an “Act for restraining the payment of *Annates* to [the Court of *Rome*],” these levies “were founded on no Law” (Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, 2nd ed., 2 vols [London: Richard Chiswell, 1681-83], I, 117), and they were consequently rejected, at least in England (Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, p. 81; “abstracted” by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 130]). It was in line with this parliamentary decision that another ecclesiastical tax paid by England to the Pope, the Peter’s Pence, was finally abolished in 1534 by Henry VIII (Sarpi, *The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 63 [recte 65]).

p. 1, ll. 5-6 the good people willing to save their pence began to hearken to *Martin’s* speeches] “All the persons concurring with *Luther* in great part, gave him that courage, that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitency (or Pennance), the Office or duty of Charity, and Indulgences and Pardons, he began now to question the Popes Authority, Images in Churches, the *Cælibate* of Priests, and some other points tending herunto” (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 102-3; see also p. 210 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]); information afterwards echoed by Bishop Burnet, whom Swift is also known to have read at Moor Park in 1697/8: “These things did spread much in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Netherlands*, so their Books came over into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions the *Lollards* which had been now in *England* since the days of *Wickliff*, for about 150 years” (*The History of the Reformation*, I, 31; REAL [1978], pp. 129-31).

p. 1, ll. 6-8 How several great Lords took the hint & on the same account declared for *Martin*] “Many things yet were dislik’d herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunemburg*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and divers others. Therefore they protested against it ... they all

joyn'd so together, that, the name of Protestants tooke thence its originall” (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 211-12; see also pp. 316-18 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]); anticipated by Sleidanus, whose *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130): “Huic principum protestationi ... primi nominis ciuitates aliquot sese coniungunt ... et hæc quidem est origo nominis Protestantium, quod non solum in Germania, sed apud exterâs quoque gentes peruulgatum est atque celebre” (pp. 160), and subsequently endorsed by Sarpi (*History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 46 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 2, ll. 8-9 particularly one, who not having enough of one Wife, wanted to marry a second] Again, Swift is likely to have learned most of these details from Father Sarpi’s *History of the Council of Trent* (trans. Brent, pp. 64-65 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]), Burnet’s *History of the Reformation* (I, 35), both of which he read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31), and Lord Herbert’s *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, which he extensively annotated there in the same year (pp. 7-8, 215-59, 331-58 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]). More particularly, Henry VIII’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had previously been married to his brother Arthur, had to be legitimized by a papal bull of 26 December 1509, allowing Henry to marry the widow of his late brother on the grounds of “*preserving the Peace between the Crowns of England and Spain*” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 35). Since the only child to survive was their daughter Mary, Henry became convinced that this marriage had been unlawful from the start and insisted on the nullification of the bull in 1527; in fact, his frequently invoked infatuation with Anne Boleyn (SCOTT XI, 202nH) seems to have been an additional motive at best. However, the Pope refused to declare his predecessor’s bull null and void, “for Popes,” as Burnet noted, “like other Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative disputed, or defined” (p. 40). This refusal became the final bone of contention between Rome and Henry VIII, causing the “great and famous *Rupture*” within Christianity (see gloss on *The History of Martin* [p. 1]).

p. 2, ll. 9-10 & knowing *Peter* used not to grant such licenses but at a swinging price] Not only an insinuation inferable from a letter written by the Pope in May 1430 to Henry Chichele, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Pope reprimanded the Archbishop for having said “*that the Popes zeal in this matter was only, that he might raise much Money out of England*” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 110; see also the appended “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” pp. 95-98), but also confirmed by Father Sarpi, according to whom “the Popes have gained much by matrimonial dispensations” (*The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 68n).

swinging] From swinge, great, huge, as in “good *swinging* sum” (JOHNSON II, s.v.).

p. 2, ll. 10- 12 he struck up a bargain with *Martin* whom he found more tractable, & who assured him he had the same power to allow such things] As early as the birth of the Princess Mary in February 1516, Lord Herbert maintains, “*Luther* and others, controverted the Authority, and extent of the Papall Jurisdiction, so in this Kingdome, the Dispensation of *Julius* the second for the aforesaid Marriage, being, privately, question’d, many of our learned Men concluded it void” (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 215 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]). In 1531, Henry VIII called upon the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, “the most learned Universities in Christendome,” to resolve the question of his marriage and divorce. Predictably, the many Lutherans there were “all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawful” (p. 324). For the judgement of the universities on the King’s marriage, see also Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 85-87, and the appended “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” pp. 91-94. According to both Herbert and Burnet, Thomas Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who was celebrated as “the great Light of the Church in those Times of Darkeness” (MORÉRI s.v., echoing Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, p. 523), advocated a solution independent of the Pope (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 347-50 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II,

824-30], and *The History of the Reformation*, I, 79-80; for Cranmer's sentence on the divorce, see also "Collection of Records and Original Papers," pp. 120-21).

p. 2, ll. 12-14 How most of the other Northern Lords, for their own private ends, withdrew themselves & their Dependants from *Peters* authority & closed in with *Martin*] The Princes of Germany, later called "the Protestant Princes" (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 159, 175, 362, 556), more especially, the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse as well as the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Duke of Holstein (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 45-46, 79), explicitly referred to as the "Northern Kings" by Heylyn (*Aërius redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians*, pp. 75-76 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5; II, 852-53]). See also p. 1, ll. 4-5.

p. 2, ll. 14-16 How *Peter*, enraged at the loss of such large Territorys, & consequently of so much revenue] See the gloss on *A Tale of a Tub*, Online.Swift, forthcoming.

p. 2, ll. 16-17 thunder'd against *Martin*, & sent out the strongest & most terrible of his *Bulls* to devour him] "*Henry* was Proof against the Thunderbolts of *Rome*" (MORÉRI S.V. "Henry VIII"). The Pope's Bull against Henry VIII, about which Swift would have gathered all the information he needed in Lord Herbert, Father Sarpi, and Bishop Burnet, all read and annotated by him with care at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30; III, 1704-5; REAL [1978], pp. 128-31): "Such a Bull (saith the Writer of the *Council of Trent*) as neither his Predecessours left him example for, or his Successours ever imitated. But the Pope gained little hereby" (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 438; *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 81-82; *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, I, 245-48).

Bulls] As a footnote quoted almost verbatim from Wotton's *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning* (p. 527) and added to the *Tale's* fifth edition of 1710 explains, "*The Papal Bulls are ridicul'd by Name*" (*Prose*

Works, I, 68n[†]; see also Curll, *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*, p. 12). “Bull,” a literalizing pun on Latin *bullā*, “seal,” signifying a written mandate of the Pope which was sealed with the Pope’s signet-ring until the 6th century when either seal-boxes of lead or signets stamped in wax were used (ODCC, p. 208). Bulls were often issued as a more general means of coercion. For example, Cardinal Wolsey obtained a Bull from Rome “for Reforming the Clergy,” authorizing him “to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull.” Burnet comments: “The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive” (I, 19). Another papal bull from Julius II which licensed Henry VIII to marry his first wife Catherine of Aragon, his brother’s widow, and which “caused huge scandall, both in the Clergie and people of *England*,” is printed in full both in Lord Herbert of Cherbury’s *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (pp. 235-38), annotated by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30), and in Burnet’s “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” *The History of the Reformation* (I, 9-10), which he is also known to have studied at that time (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31).

p. 2, ll. 17-18b but this having no effect, & *Martin* defending himself boldly & dexterously] The church historians whom Swift is known to have studied at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31) list several instances of Luther’s courage. The most renowned, perhaps, is his “[refusal] to retract anything” at the Diet of Worms (1521), which he attended “against the opinion of all his Friends,” and after a papal bull of the previous year had pre-empted his case by condemning “42 Articles of *Luthers Doctrine*,” among them, the teachings on original sin, transubstantiation, indulgences, papal supremacy, free will, and purgatory, as “heretical, scandalous, false, offensive to pious ears, deceitful to godly minds, and contrary to the Catholick truth” (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 10-13 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]; see also Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, pp. 52-55, “abstracted” by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 130]). When the Pope ordered Luther’s books to be burnt, the Reformer responded by burning the papal bull: “Eo cognito Lutherus,

conuocata omni multitudine scholastica, Wittenbergæ, & magna doctorum hominum comitante turba, ius pontificium, & nuper euulgatum pontificis decretum, palam incendit” (Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, p. 50).

p. 2, ll. 18-20 *Peter* at last put forth Proclamations, declaring *Martin* & all his Adherents, Rebels & Traytors] “The Pope resolving to proceed against our King, begins to Minute terrible Bulls, whereof ... there were five severall formes” (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 394 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]).

p. 2, ll. 20-22 ordaining & requiring all his loving Subjects to take up Arms, & to kill burn & destroy all & every one of them, promising large rewards &c.] An allusion to the text of the Pope’s bull against Henry VIII of 1538, as rendered both by Lord Herbert and Gilbert Burnet: “[The Pope] warnes the King, to reforme these faults ... which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, subjects the whole Kingdome to the Interdict; declares the Issue by *Anne*, illegitimate, forbids Allegiance to his subjects, Commerce with other States; dissolves all Leagues of Princes with him; Commands the Clergie to depart of England, the Nobility to take Armes against him, &c.” At the same time, “intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declared hee would give away his Kingdome to some Roman Catholique Prince of [*Germany*]” (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 294-95 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]); echoed by Burnet: “And Charges all Noble-men and others in his Dominions, under the same pains, to rise up in Arms against him, and to drive him out of his Kingdom ... and requires all Princes and Military persons, in the virtue of Holy Obedience, to make War upon him, and to force him to return to the Obedience of the Apostolick See” (*The History of the Reformation*, I, 246; see also the appended “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” pp. 168-69; Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 81-82 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 2, ll. 22-23 upon which ensued bloody wars & Desolations] Such as the

Schmalkaldic War (1546-47) in the Holy Roman Empire, the Eighty Years' War in the Low Countries (1568-1648), and the eight French Wars of Religion (1562-98), ending only with the Edict of Nantes signed by Henry IV. Swift would have come across précis of the military histories in MORÉRI (s.v. "Charles V," "Religions of Europe," "Smalcalda").

p. 2, l. 24 How *Harry Huff* Lord of Albion] An allusion to King Henry VIII of England (1491-1547), who was called "*Old Harry*" in James Howell's commendatory poem preceding Lord Herbert's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (see also *Prose Works*, IV, 72); at the same time, a telling name, "a Bullying Fellow" (B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, p. 92), "*Huff*" signifying "to swell with anger or irritation; to get out of temper, take offence" (OED), also "to bluster; to storm; to bounce; to swell with indignation or pride" (JOHNSON I, s.v.), and thus touching on Henry's irritable temper and notorious cruelty: "The King was naturally impetuous and could not bear provocation" (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 351). In his annotations on Lord Herbert, Swift lambasted "this monster's cruelty," alternately calling him "profligate Dog," "hellish Tyrant," and "brute" (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 825-30; Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, "That 'Hellish Dog of a King': Jonathan Swift and Henry VIII," *Henry VIII in History, Historiography, and Literature*, ed. Uwe Baumann [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1992], pp. 241-79). In addition, the blustering "*Huff*" links Henry VIII semantically with "THE Learned *Æolists*, [who] maintain the Original Cause of all Things to be *Wind*" (*Prose Works*, I, 95).

Albion] "An old name of this island," Swift explained in his "Abstract of the History of England" (Online.Swift, forthcoming), echoing, among others, Pliny's "Albion ipsi nomen fuit" (*Historiæ naturalis libri XXXVII*, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 235 [IV, xvi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459-61]), Bede's "Brittania Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], pp. 14-15 [I, i] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-72]), and Richard Verstegan [Richard Rowlands], who devoted the whole of Chapter IV to Albion, "the most famous and best Isle

of whole *Europe*” in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation* ([London: Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1673], pp. 96-122), an edition of which Swift may be assumed to have read (*Prose Works*, IV, 231). In the seventeenth century and beyond, the name was thought to derive from the white cliffs of Dover: “*Album*, White, by reason of the white Chalky Clifts on the Sea Coasts,” MORÉRI explained (s.v.). Moréri had been anticipated by Cowley’s poem “The Injoyment”: “Thou like fair *Albion*, to the Sailors Sight, / Spreading her beauteous Bosom all in *White*” (*The Mistress*, in *Poems* [London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656], p. 46 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1288-89; I, 475]). Swift adhered to this mythical appellation of England throughout “*The History of Martin*” (see also *Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 38).

By contrast, in his *Introduction to the History of England*, which Swift transcribed (Historical Introduction to Swift’s *History of England*, Online.Swift, forthcoming), Sir William Temple provided an etymological explanation which is as fanciful as it is unlikely: “It was anciently called *Albion*, which seems to have been softned from *Alpion*, the word *Alp* in some of the Original Western Languages, signifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as this Isle appears to those who approach it from the Continent” (p. 2).

p. 2, ll. 24-25 one of the greatest Bullys of those days] While William Camden’s judgement is still somewhat guarded – “Princeps, in cujus maximo ingenio inerant confuso quodam temperamento virtutes magnæ & vitia non minora [A magnanimous Prince he was, in whose great Mind were confusedly mixed many eminent Vertues with no less notorious Vices]” (*Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1639], p. viii [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, 4th ed. [London: by M. Flesher for R. Bentley, 1688], sig. B1r) – that of Moréri is cutting: “At last he began to make his Will a Law; and Luxury and Cruelty so possessed his Mind, that they obscured his Vertues, and stained his former Glory” (MORÉRI s.v. “Henry VIII”). Swift’s deep-rooted hostility towards Henry developed early, as becomes manifest in his 1697/8 annotations on Lord

Herbert's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30), and lasted throughout his life. In an unfinished paper, "Concerning that Universal Hatred, which Prevails against the Clergy" of 1736, he wrote: "Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world there was never so infernal a beast as Henry the VIII. in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: But cruelty, lust, rapine, and atheism, were his peculiar talents" (*Prose Works*, XIII, 123).

Bullys] In one of his contributions to *The Tatler*, no 230, Swift called "Bully" one of "the modern Terms of Art" (ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987], II, 177). Originally "a term of endearment and familiarity," applicable "to either sex: sweetheart, darling," at Swift's time, the word was mostly used in the sense of "blustering 'gallant'" and "swash-buckler," and, more specifically, as referring to "the 'gallant' or protector of a prostitute" (OED; GORDON WILLIAMS I, 169-70; and Frederik N. Smith, *Language and Reality in Swift's "A Tale of a Tub"* [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979], p. 149). In addition to being social exhibitionists parading fake flamboyance and flashiness, bullies were most frequently pictured as drunken and quarrelsome, if cowardly braggarts, always in the mood to make a nuisance of themselves, "awkward, roaring, blustering Rascals" that they were (*The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, ed. Montague Summers, 5 vols [London: The Fortune Press, 1927], V, 87 [I, i]). "Bullies," Ned Ward followed suit, were "like dunghill cocks [that] will strut and crow, / But few or none dare stand a sparring blow" (*The London Spy*, ed. Paul Hyland [East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993], p. 102); and for Jeremy Collier, whose *Essays* Swift was reading at the time he was engaged with the *Tale* and its companion pieces (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130), their "Lunacy" was beyond words: "As for the Courage of *Bullys* and *Town-Sparks*, who are so hardy as to risque Body and Soul, upon a point of pretended Honour, There is no Language can reach their Extravagance" (*Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*, 3rd ed. [London: R. Sare and H. Hindmarsh, 1698], Part II, 34).

p. 2, ll. 25-26 sent a Cartel to *Martin* to fight him on a stage, at Cudgels, Quarterstaff, Back-sword &c.] Henry VIII "in the first 18 years of [his] reign

... was a most faithful Son of the See of Rome” and even wrote against Luther in defence of the Seven Sacraments (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 18, 19, 31; Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 104, and Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30; III, 1704-5]).

Cartel] “A written challenge” (OED); “a challenge to a duel” (BAILEY [1730], s.v.), as in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour* (Ben Jonson, eds C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], III, 321 [I, v, 111]).

to fight him on a stage] In the early eighteenth century, trials of skill in all these games were part and parcel of daily life, often trying to attract a crowd by advertisements in newspapers and the distribution of handbills: “Like modern prize fights, they drew together all the scum and riff-raff, as well as the gentry who were fond of so-called *sport*. They were disreputable affairs, and were decried by every class of contemporary” (John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, Taken from Original Sources* [London: Chatto and Windus, 1925], pp. 237-48 [237-38]).

Cudgels] “A short thick stick used as a weapon; a club” (OED); “A stick to strike with, lighter than a club, shorter than a pole” (JOHNSON I, s.v.; see also BAILEY [1730], s.v.). Cudgelling was a form of duelling which seems to have been particularly popular in the provinces (Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973], pp. 43-44). It appears in a list of “Recreations” in John Chamberlayne’s *Angliæ Notitia: or, The Present State of England* (for example, 22nd ed. [London: S. Smith, *et al.*, 1707], p. 313) and is decried, together with backsword (p. 2, l. 26), as reflecting “on the vanity & folly of the present age” not only “at most of the noted towns but also at country wakes & revels ... notwithstanding the great number of poor in every parish” (*The Chronicles of John Cannon, Excise Officer and Writing Master*, ed. John Money, 2 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], II, 348). For his musical performances at the Brobdingnagian court, Gulliver “prepared two round Sticks about the bigness of common Cudgels” (*Prose Works*, XI, 126 [II, vi, 4]).

Quarterstaff] “A stout pole, from six to eight feet (approx. 2 to 2.5

metres) long and tipped with iron, used as a weapon esp. formerly in rural England” (OED).

Back-sword] Either “a sword with one sharp edge” (JOHNSON I, s.v.; OED), or “a stick with a basket-hilt used instead of a sword in fencing, a single-stick; *hence* ... fencing exercise with it” (OED), likewise listed among “Recreations” in Chamberlayne’s *Angliæ Notitia* (p. 313); see also Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850*, p. 43.

p. 2, ll. 26-28 Hence the origine of that genteel custom of *Prize-fighting*, so well known & practised to this day among those polite Islanders, tho’ unknown every where else]

Prize-fighting] In the course of the eighteenth century, pugilism, or prizefighting, became “an acknowledged and organized recreation,” with “formal rules” being developed and “championship matches” arranged, often cutting across class lines (Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850*, pp. 42-43; Jack Lindsay, *The Monster City: Defoe’s London, 1688-1730* [London and New York: Granada, 1978], pp. 54-55; Liza Picard, *Dr Johnson’s London: Life in London, 1740-1770* [London: Phoenix, 2001], p. 208). Steele provided a notable reportage of a prizefight in *The Spectator*, no 436, in which he complained that the fighters retained “the Barbarity, but lost the Gallantry of the old Combatants” (ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], IV, 30-35 [p. 32]). A few years later, the Francophone Swiss traveller, Cesar de Saussure, thought the English habit of falling to fisticuffs so distinctive as to include an account of a street fight in his letters to his family (*A Foreign View of England in 1725-1729*, trans. and ed. Madame van Muyden [London: Caliban Books, 1995], p. 112).

p. 3

p. 3, l. 1-3 How *Martin* being a bold blustering fellow, accepted the Challenge; how they met & fought, to the great diversion of the Spectators] “But *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it, that so great a King had entred the lists with him, and answered his Book.

And he replied, not without a large mixture of Acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great respect, that is due to the Persons of Sovereign Princes” (Burnet, *The History of the Church of England*, I, 31; see also Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]). Sleidanus’ account of the dispute between Henry and Luther varies only in minor details (*Commentariorum de statu religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, pp. 133-35; “abstracted” by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 130]). Modern historians have confirmed that “the whole tone of Luther’s diatribe against the King of England would serve to arouse any reader’s doubts as to the German reformer’s respect for secular authority” (*The Complete Works of St Thomas More, V: Responsio ad Lutherum*, Pt ii, ed. John M. Headley [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969], 863).

a bold blustering fellow] According to Father Sarpi, in all his dealings with “the Court of *Rome*,” Luther proved “vehement and fierce” (*History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 71 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]). See also the gloss on p. 2, l. 24-25.

p. 3, ll. 3-4 & after giving one another broken heads & many bloody wounds & bruises, how they both drew off victorious] For both war parties ‘to draw off victorious’ after an encounter seems to have been a habit not only recorded several times in the seventeenth-century (Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols [Oxford: At the Theatre, 1707], II, 46, 248; Pierre Joseph d’Orléans, *Histoire des revolutions d’Angleterre*, 3 vols [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1695], III, 455 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 940-55, 1344]) but also ridiculed in Butler’s *Hudibras*: “Quoth *Hudibras*, I understand / What Fights thou mean’st at Sea, and Land / And who those were that run away, / And yet gave out th’ had won the day” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 287, 443 [III, iii, 307-10]). See the gloss on “A laudable and antient Custom, happily revived of late, in the Art of War” (*The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011 [http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/

battleofthebooks/], p. 35, l. 24).

p. 3, ll. 4-6 in which their Exemple has been frequently imitated by great Clerks & others since that time] One of these “great Clerks” was Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (1457-1532), Bishop of Constance, who wrote “particularly [against] the Person and Doctrine of *Zuinglius* and his Adherents” in Zurich (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 16 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 3, ll.- 6-7 How *Martin's* friends applauded his victory] “This Kingly Title being entred into the Controversie, made men more curious, and, as it happeneth in combats, that the lookers on are always ready to favour the weaker, and to extol his actions, though they be but mean, so here it stirred up a general inclination towards *Luther*” (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 3, ll. 7-8 & how Lord *Harrys* friends complimented him on the same score] One of these friends was Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), Henry's Lord Chancellor, who, in *Responsio ad Lutherum* (1523), took sides with his King (*The Complete Works of St Thomas More, V: Responsio ad Lutherum*, Pt ii, ed. Headley, 732-74). This did not stop Henry to sentence Sir Thomas to death, allegedly for treason, later in 1535 (see also the gloss on “as he did also those that adhered to *Peter*” [p. 3, ll. 14-15]).

p. 3, ll. 8-10 & particularly Lord *Peter*, who sent him a fine Feather for his Cap, to be worn by him & his Successors, as a perpetual mark of his bold defense of Lord *Peter's* Cause] “The King, before he fell from the Pope, had writ a Book against *Luther* ... for which Pope *Leo* honoured him with the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, since made Hereditary to the Kings of *England* by Act of Parliament” (MORÉRI s.v. “Henry VIII”; Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]). Swift saw the transcript of Pope Leo's bull, with which Henry VIII was awarded the title of “*Fidei Defensor*” in 1521 and which was signed by twenty-four Cardinals, in Lord Herbert's *The Life and Raigne of King Henry*

the Eighth (pp. 105-8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]; see also Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 19, 31). The award was also mentioned in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (III, 230-31 [XII, 27]; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 940-55).

a fine Feather for his Cap] Proverbial (TILLEY F157; ODEP, p. 251)

p. 3, ll. 10-12 How *Harry* flushed with his pretended victory over *Martin*, began to huff *Peter* also] This may allude to Henry's refusal to continue paying taxes, such as the *Annates* or the Peter's Pence, to the See of Rome, as stipulated by an act of 1532: "This Act being pas'd, our King made use thereof, to terrifie the Pope, which also tooke effect" (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 331; see also pp. 371-72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]; Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 117; and the appended "Collection of Records and Original Papers," pp. 102-7).

p. 3, l. 12 & at last down right quarrelled with him about a Wench] In his annotations on Lord Herbert's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, Swift replaced "Mistris" by "whore" in Herbert's account of Anne Boleyn, who "had rather be that Lords wife than a Kings Mistris" (p. 258 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 826]); and in his unfinished paper of 1736, "Concerning that Universal Hatred, which Prevails against the Clergy," Swift voiced a widespread opinion: "That detestable Tyrant Henry VIII. although he abolished the Pope's power in England, as universal bishop, yet what he did in that article, however just it were in itself, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himself from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterwards beheaded" (*Prose Works*, XIII, 123). See also the gloss on "particularly one, who not having enough of one Wife, wanted to marry a second" (p. 2, ll. 8-9).

p. 3, ll. 12-14 How some of Lord *Harry's* Tennants, ever fond of changes, began to talk kindly of *Martin*, for which he mauld 'em soundly] A prominent example was the Protestant writer and martyr Anne Askew, who after having been tortured was burnt at stake at Smithfield in 1546 because she refused to recant (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the*

Eighth, p. 560 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]; Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 341-42). Even Henry VIII's last wife, Catherine Parr, barely escaped prosecution on the grounds of religion (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 560-61; *The History of the Reformation*, I, 344-45). Of course, the most comprehensive and detailed martyrology of the Christian church, more particularly of the Protestant martyrs of Queen Mary's reign, is John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, of which Swift owned an edition (2 vols [London: Company of Stationers, 1610] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 642-43]). Further examples of the persecution of Protestants under Henry VIII have been recorded by Burnet (*The History of the Reformation*, I, 295-99). "HENRY VIII. had no Manner of Intention to change Religion in his kingdom," Swift agreed a few years later in *A Preface to the B—p of S-r-m's Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation*, "he continued to persecute and burn Protestants after he had cast off the *Pope's* Supremacy" (*Prose Works*, IV, 72; see also XIII, 125).

mauld] "To strike (a person or animal) with a maul or other heavy weapon; to knock *down*. *Obs.*" (OED); it earlier occurred in The Bookseller's Advertisement to *Miscellaneous Works, Comical and Diverting*, p. iv.

p. 3, ll. 14-15 as he did also those that adhered to *Peter*] "[Henry VIII's] Reign became ... cruel both to rigid Papists and Anti-Papists" (MORÉRI S.V. "Henry VIII"); a statement anticipated by Lord Herbert: "If hee proceeded thus rigorously against the Opposers of his Supremacy, he did no lesse punish the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the Roman Catholique Religion" (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 391). Swift's comment seems apropos: "Barbarous dog!" (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 826; see also *Prose Works*, XIII, 126). Examples of the persecution of Catholics under Henry VIII are again provided by Burnet (*The History of the Reformation*, I, 351-62). At the same time, there was an "increasing sense of persecution" among English Catholics in print, which climaxed under Henry's daughter, Elizabeth (Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* [London:

The Scholar Press, 1978], pp. 65-73 [65]). Among those sentenced to death for denying the Royal Supremacy was Sir Thomas More, despite his defence of Henry VIII against Luther in 1523: “That detestable Tyrant Henry VIII. ... cut off the head of Sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owing him to be head of the church” (*Prose Works*, XIII, 123; see also the gloss on “& how Lord *Harrys* friends complimented him on the same score” [p. 3, ll. 7-8]).

p. 3, ll. 15-16 how he turn'd some out of house & hold] A reference to the dissolution of the monasteries (Herbert, *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, pp. 396-99; Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, I, 189-90, 222; and the appended “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” pp. 131-54); reiterated by Swift in his unfinished paper of 1736, “Concerning that Universal Hatred, which Prevails against the Clergy”: “That Monster and Tyrant, Henry VIII. who took away from them, against law, reason, and justice, at least two thirds of their legal possessions” (*Prose Works*, XIII, 123).

p. 3, ll. 16 others he hanged or burnt &c.] “*Adeo ut uno eodemque loco & tempore in Pontificios laqueo & dilaniatione, & in Protestantibus vivicomburio sæviretur* [Insomuch as at one and the same time and place he raged against the Papists by Hanging, drawing and quartering, and against the Protestants by Burning them alive]” (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. vii [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, sig. A2v); again, echoed in MORÉRI’S précis: “A boisterous Prince, that neither spared Papists nor Protestants; hanging the first, and burning the last” (s.v. “Henry VIII”).

p. 3, ll. 17-18 How *Harry Huff* after a deal of blustering, wenching, & bullying, died] Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547. When the news reached Trento, where the dignitaries of the Catholic Church were assembled for the Council, they “gave thanks to *God*,” and went at once to the Bishop of Worcester, “congratulating that himself and the Kingdom were

... delivered from the Tyranny of a cruel Persecutor” (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 243 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]). “I wish he had been Flead, his skin stuffed and hanged on a Gibbet, His bulky guts and Flesh left to be devoured by Birds and Beasts for a warning to his Successors for ever. Amen” was Swift’s unrelenting comment on the last page of Lord Herbert’s *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (p. 575 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 830]), and in his *Preface to the B—p of S-r-m’s Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation*, Swift made clear once more that “the Reformation owed nothing to the good Intentions of King *Henry*: He was only an Instrument of it (as the Logicians speak) by Accident; nor doth he appear throughout his whole Reign, to have had any other Views, than those of gratifying his insatiable Love of Power, Cruelty, Oppression, and other irregular Appetites” (*Prose Works*, IV, 73; see also XIII, 123).

after a deal of blustering, wenching, & bullying] Reflecting upon Henry VIII’s six marriages, MORÉRI concluded that “no Prince perhaps was ever fonder of a Conjugal Life, but none more greedy of Change” (s.v. “Henry VIII”). Commenting on Lord Herbert’s phrase “the different perfections of the King” (*The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 371), Swift voiced his anger about Henry’s “Avarice & Prodigalit[y] / Lust and Reveng[e] / Sacrilege & Murde[r]” (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 827). By contrast, Bishop Burnet, at the end of *The History of the Reformation*, passed a milder judgement: “I do not deny that he is to be numbred among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worst*” (I, 362).

p. 3, l. 18 & was succeeded by a good natured Boy] Edward VI (1537-1553), the only son of Henry VIII by his third wife, Jane Seymour, became King of England at the age of nine and died at 16 (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 243 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]). Being talented and learned, he was generally “counted the wonder of his time,” according to Bishop Burnet (*The History of the Reformation*, II, 224). Burnet also strongly objected to the prejudice “*that the Persons who governed the Affairs at Court, were weak or ill Men: that the King being under Age, things were carried by those who had him in their Power*” (*The*

History of the Reformation, II, [sig. b2r]). On the other hand, Camden, perhaps routinely, lamented the precarious state of the realm under an infant king (*Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. viii-ix [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]).

p. 3, ll. 18-20 who giving way to the general bent of his Tennants, allowed *Martin's* notions to spread every where & take deep root in Albion] “The best Transaction of this Reign, was the great Progress made in the Reformation begun by *Henry VIII*, and now brought to good Perfection by the indefatigable Zeal of Bishop *Cranmer* and the powerful Assistance of the Protector [Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset]” (MORÉRI S.V. “Edward VI”); a view anticipated by Father Sarpi (*History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 277-78 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]) and subscribed to by Bishop Burnet: “Now they that were weary of the Popish Superstitions observing that Arch-bishop *Cranmer* had so great a share of the young Kings affection, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion” (*The History of the Reformation*, II, 9).

p. 3, ll. 20-22 How after his death the Farm fell into the hands of a Lady, who was violently in love with Lord *Peter*] Mary I of England (1516-1558), daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Mary became Queen in 1553, and being “much disposed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church ... since it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 242; see also Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 359-62 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]), she started to restore Catholicism, not shrinking from the most violent means: “In the space of 18 Months, she exploded the Reformation, and restored Popery with a vengeance; so that for some Years, the Kingdom blazed every where with burnt Sacrifices” (MORÉRI S.V. “Mary, Queen of *England*”; for a more detailed account of her radical changes in ecclesiastical legislation, see Sleidanus, *Commentariorum de statv religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi*, pp. 754-55, which Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 130]). The most prominent victims of Mary’s

bloodthirsty pursuit of ‘heretics’ were the Anglican reformers Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, and Thomas Cranmer, who were all burnt at the stake. It is estimated that about three hundred other people were executed for the same reason during her reign. “The whole Nation stood amazed at these Proceedings, and the burning of such Men, only for their Consciences,” Burnet reported in *The History of the Reformation* (II, 304).

p. 3, ll. 20-24 How she purged the whole Country with fire & Sword, resolved not to leave the name or remembrance of *Martin*] While “fire” refers to the punishment for heresy, the burning at stake, through which hundreds of ‘heretics’ were put to death during the reign of Queen Mary (for details on the sufferers, see Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, sig. d2r, 300-8, 312-20, 328, 331-38, 346-51, 363-65, 369), “Sword” is presumably intended to point to the beheading of her political enemies, such as Lady Jane Grey, who was Queen of England before her.

pp. 3-4, ll. 24-1 How *Peter* triumphed, & set up shops again for selling his own pouders plaisters & salves, which were now called the only true ones, *Martins* being all declared counterfeit] This alludes to the restoration of the Catholic faith and its practices in England, supervised by Cardinal Reginald Pole, papal legate and later Archbishop of Canterbury (1500-58). “[Pole] presently absolved the Clergy and People from the Guilt of Schism; a solemn Mass was celebrated at Rome by Pope Julius the Third himself for Joy, Processions were decreed, a Jubilee appointed, and plenary Indulgence granted to every one which should give God Thanks for the Re-uniting of the Kingdom of England [*Hinc ille statim Clerum populumque schismatis crimine absolvit, Romæ præ gaudio solennis Missa ab ipso IVLIO III. Pont. Celebrata, supplicationes decretæ, Iubilæum indictum, & plenaria concessa indulgentia singulis qui pro unione Regni Angliæ Deo gratias egerint*]” (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. xiii [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, sig. C1r; an account almost identical with that of Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, pp. 361-62 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

pouderers] See the gloss on “*Powder Pimperlim pimp*” (*A Tale of a Tub*, Online.Swift, forthcoming).

plaisters & salves] See the gloss on p. 2, l. 2.

p. 4

p. 4, ll. 1-2 How great numbers of *Martin’s* friends left the Country] “Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at Geneva” (*Prose Works*, IX, 220). See Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 250, 339, 351.

p. 4, ll. 2-4 & traveling up & down in foreign parts, grew acquainted with many of *Jack’s* followers, & took a liking to many of their notions & ways] “These that fled beyond Sea went at first for the most part to *France*, where, though they were well used, in opposition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exercise of their Religion granted them: so they retired to *Geneva*, and *Zurick*, and *Arraw*, in *Switzerland*; and to *Strasburg*, and *Frankfort*, in the upper *Germany*; and to *Emden* in the lower ... in stead of the *English* Liturgy, they used one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms ... certainly they began the Breach, who departed from that way of Worship, which they acknowledged was both lawful and good: but there followed too much animosity on both sides, which were the Seeds of all those differences that have since distracted this Church” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 339; see also *Prose Works*, IX, 220-21). In fact, the Marian exiles split into two parties: a more moderate one that accepted the Edwardian Prayer Book, and a radical one that took to Calvin’s Geneva Bible (Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 17).

p. 4, ll. 4-6 which they afterwards brought back into Albion, now under another Landlady more moderate & more cunning than the former] “When the Protestant faith was restored by Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest home to England, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all

possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state” (*Prose Works*, IX, 220-21).

Albion] See l. G.

another Landlady] Elizabeth I (1533-1603), daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn, who became Queen of England in 1558. It is safe to assume that Swift would have culled most of his information about Elizabeth and her reign from Camden’s *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37). MORÉRI praised her as “the most Glorious Queen of England” (s.v.).

more moderate] “Moderate,” an epithet used by Burnet: “More moderate Courses were thought on” (*The History of the Reformation*, II, 376).

& more cunning] Here in the obsolete sense, “possessing knowledge or learning, learned; versed *in* (†*of*) a subject” (OED). Elizabeth I’s learning was legendary: “She was a Queen whose incomparable Wisdom will ever be admir’d by future Ages as the Wonder of her Time, and a Pattern to Princes of the Nobler Sex ... She could speak five or six Languages, and translated several Treatises both out of *Greek* and *French* into *English*. Mathematicks, Geography and History, she delighted and had great skill in; which added much to her Fame” (MORÉRI s.v. “Elizabeth”). According to Camden, Elizabeth, at the age of seventeen, was already regarded as “a kind of Miracle for her Learning amongst the Princes of her Time [*ad miraculum usque fuerit inter sui seculi Principes erudita*]” (*Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. x [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, sigs B1v-B2r).

p. 4, ll. 6-8 How she endeavoured to keep friendship both with *Peter* & *Martin* & trimm’d for some time between the two] “In England,” as one historian has summarized the situation, “the chief opposition to reform came from a monarch who was governor of a church which was neither Protestant

nor Catholic, but something in between” (Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 15), a dilemma also reflected in Elizabeth’s biography and temperament: “The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation ... in her own Nature she loved State, and some Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing else: She thought that in her Brothers Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all Parties might be comprehended by them.” In due course, this design led to the endeavour “to unite the Nation in one Faith” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 376, 392; see also Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. 6-11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]).

trimm’d] “To modify one’s attitude in order to stand well with opposite parties; to move cautiously, or ‘balance’ between two alternative interests, positions, opinions, etc.; also, to accommodate oneself to the mood of the times” (OED). In like manner, B. E., in his *New Dictionary of the Canting Crew* of 1699, had defined “to trim,” as “to hold fair with both sides” (p. 184). This definition tallies perfectly with that by George Savile, first Marquess of Halifax, in his essay on “The Character of a Trimmer,” whose third edition was bought by Sir William Temple in 1698 (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 287), and according to which a Trimmer has “its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams” (*The Complete Works of George Savile*, ed. Walter Raleigh [Oxford: Clarendon Press 1912], pp. 47-103 [103]).

p. 4, ll. 8-9 not without countenancing & assisting at the same time many of *Jack’s* followers] “Incredibile tamen est, quantum consecranei, qui invidioso *Puritanorum* nomine statim innotescere coeperunt, obstinata quadam pervicacia, Episcoporum vecordia, & occulto quorundam nobilium Ecclesiae opibus inhiantium favore, ubique succreverint [Incredible it is how much the Followers of this Sect increased every where, through a certain obstinate wilfulness in them, Indiscretion of the Bishops, and secret Favour of certain Noblemen who gaped after the Wealth of the Church: which Sect began presently to be known by the odious name of *Puritans*]” (Camden, *Rerum*

Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha, p. 131 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, p. 107).

countenancing] “To support; to patronise” (JOHNSON I, s.v.).

p. 4, ll. 9-12 but finding no possibility of reconciling all the three Brothers, because each would be Master & allow no other salves pouders or plaisters to be used but his own] According to Burnet, a conference between Catholics and Protestants in 1559 broke up because the Catholic party was inflexible, declaring the doctrine of the Catholic Church “not to be disputed” (*The History of the Reformation*, II, 391; and the appended “Collection of Records and Original Papers,” pp. 345-48); see also Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. 12-13 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37).

salves pouders or plaisters] See the gloss on p. 2, l. 2.

p. 4, ll. 12-14 she discarded all three, & set up a shop for those of her own Farm, well furnished with pouders plaisters salves & all other drugs necessary, all right & true] “Ex hac religionis mutatione ... Anglia facta est omnium regnorum in orbe Christiano liberrima, sceptro ab externa Pontificis Rom. servitute quasi manumisso [By means of this Alteration of Religion, England ... became of all the Kingdoms of Christendom the most free, the Sceptre as it were manumitted from the foreign Servitude of the Bishop of Rome]” (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. 26-27 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, p. 31).

pouders plaisters salves] See the gloss on p. 2, l. 2.

p. 4, ll. 14-15 composed according to receipts made up by Physicians & Apothecarys of her own creating] “In Episcoporum demortuorum & profugorum loca, suffecti fuerunt Protestantes qui reperiri poterant doctissimi [In the rooms of the dead and fugitive Bishops were substituted the learnedest Protestants that could be found]” (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. 24 [PASSMANN

AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, p. 29).

p. 4, ll. 16-17 which they extracted out of *Peter's & Martin's & Jack's* Receipt-books] The Edwardian liturgy was reviewed and changed; the most important variation was made about the Communion Book, which was considered to be too Calvinistic, denying the belief in the Corporeal Presence (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 392).

Receipt-books] “a book containing medical or cooking receipts” (OED), a definition which matches that of Johnson for “pharmacopoeia” (I, s.v.). Swift owned the fourth edition of Thomas Fuller’s *Pharmacopoeia extemporanea* (London: B. Walford, 1708 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 655-56]).

p. 4, ll. 17-18 & of this medly or hodgpodge made up a Dispensatory of their own] “In the 1559 prayer-book there was what political realists would have called ‘compromise’ and what theologians, Catholic or Reformed, would have considered only confused thinking. The most notable liturgical example was the juxtaposition of a Catholic sentence (implying Christ’s corporeal presence in the Eucharist) with another (implying a doctrine of Memorialism) in the words of Administration” (Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Baxter and Fox, 1534-1690*, 2 vols [Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1996 {1970-75}], I, 221; see also I, 211).

Dispensatory] Justus van Effen, the first translator of the *Tale* and its Additions into French (*Le Conte du Tonneau* [The Hague: Henri Scheurleer, 1721] [TEERINK AND SCOUTEN 263]) took this metaphor as proof that “*The History of Martin*” was artistically inferior to the *Tale*: “[L’Auteur] dépeint le corps de Doctrine de chacun des Freres sous l’emblème d’une boutique d’Apothicaire, mais cet emblème est trop borné” (I, 251).

p. 4, ll. 18 strictly forbidding any other to be used] “Every minister declining to use the Prayer Book or using other forms of worship was subject to an

ascending series of punishments, ending, for the third offense, in deprivation and life imprisonment” (Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, I, 219-20).

p. 4, ll. 18-20 & particularly *Peter's* from which the greatest part of this new Dispensatory was stolen] “The Church of England, whose doctrines are compounded from those of the Reformed Churches, while her hierarchy resembles that of Rome” (SCOTT XI, 203nH). According to the new and severe laws against the Catholics of 1582, those “who shall say Mass are fined in 200 Marks, and Imprisonment for a Year, or longer, till they have payed the Money: they who shall wittingly and willingly be present at Mass are fined in 100 Marks, and Imprisonment likewise for a Year: and they who refuse to frequent Divine Service in their Parish-Churches are fined in 20 Pounds a month [*Qui Missam celebrabunt, ducentis Marcis, & incarceratione per annum, & amplius donec persolverint, mulctantur: qui Missæ sponte intererunt, centum Marcis & incarceratione itidem per annum: quique sacra in suis Parochiis adire recusabunt, viginti libris in singulos menses*]” (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. 349 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]; *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, p. 272; see also ODNB, s.v. “Elizabeth I”).

p. 4, ll. 20-22 How the Lady further to confirm this change, wisely imitating her Father, degraded *Peter* from the rank he pretended as eldest Brother] Shortly after her coronation, Elizabeth I became the head of the Anglican Church by Act of Parliament (Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. 10; Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, p. 385 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37; III, 1704-5]). “The change and alteration of Religion upon the instant of Her accession (the smoak and fire of Her Sisters Martyrdomes, scarcely quenched),” Sir Robert Naunton (1563-1635) ruled in his valuable report of Elizabeth’s reign, which Swift is likely to have known (*Prose Works*, II, 177), “was none of Her least remarkable accounts” (*Fragmenta Regalia: or, Observations on the Late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favorites* [1641], pp. 3-13 [5]). In the

following years, she neither yielded to papal attempts at a rapprochement nor married a Catholic. As a result, “she was, by a Bull of Pope *Pius V*, deprived of her Kingdoms; her Subjects absolv’d from Subjection to her; and all that yielded to her, accursed” (MORÉRI s.v. “Elizabeth”). The papal bull, superscribed by Camden “Sententia ... contra Elizabetham prætensam Angliæ Reginam, & ei adhærentes hæreticos,” was printed in full by Camden (*Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. 183-85 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]).

p. 4, ll. 22 & set up her self in his place as head of the Family] “The Title of *Supream Head* was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Opposition of the Popish Party; but besides, the Queen her self had a scruple about it” (Burnet, *The History of the Reformation*, II, 386). However, in 1559, Parliament passed a new Act of Supremacy, describing “the queen as supreme governor rather than supreme head of the Church of England” (ODNB, s.v. “Elizabeth I”).

p. 4, ll. 23-24 & ever after wore her Fathers old Cap with the fine feather he had got from *Peter* for standing his friend] See p.3, ll. 8-9.

p. 4, ll. 24-26 which has likewise been worn, with no small ostentation to this day, by all her Successors, tho declared Ennemys to *Peter*] “Claimed the title of Head of the Church, and retained that of Defender of the Faith” (SCOTT XI, 204n*). In John Guillim’s *Display of Heraldry*, an early edition of which Swift saw in February 1712 (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, II, 497 and n8), the effigy of the monarch reigning in 1724, George II, is accompanied by the legend: “Defender of the Faith” (6th ed. [London: by T. W. for R. and J. Bonwicke, *et al.*, 1724], between sigs K3-K4). See also the various editions of Chamberlayne’s *Angliæ Notitia: or, The Present State of Great Britain*, whose frontispieces display engravings of the reigning monarch with the legend “Fidei Defensor” or “Defender of the Faith.”

p. 4, ll. 26-28 How Lady Bess & her Physicians being told of many defects & imperfections in their new medley Dispensatory] While the majority of the

English people “greatly admired the mettle of Elizabeth,” others were dissatisfied with the impersonality and artificiality of the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer (Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, I, 220-23).

Lady Bess] Elizabeth’s nickname was “Bess”: “A Tudor a Tudor! wee’ve had Stuarts enough; / None ever Reign’d like old Besse in the Ruffe” (*The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Herschel M. Margoliouth, 3rd ed., 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], I, 212). Like many others before him, Tom Brown invoked “the days of Good Queen Bess” (*Amusements Serious and Comical and Other Works*, ed. Arthur L. Hayward [London: George Routledge, 1927], p. 93). See also *Poems on Affairs of State*, VII, ed. Ellis, p. 516; V, ed. Cameron, p. 413.

pp. 4-5, ll. 28-1 resolve on a further alteration, & to purge it from a great deal of *Peter’s* trash that still remained in it; but were prevented by her death] One candidate intended here may be the Anglican reformer John Whitgift (c.1530-1604), whom Elizabeth nominated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583 and who stood for a strong and unified Church of England, “impervious alike to Papal and extreme Puritan influence” (ODCC, s.v.).

by her death] Elizabeth died 24 March 1603.

p. 5

p. 5, ll. 1-2 How she was succeeded by a North Country Farmer] James VI and I of Scotland, England, and Ireland (1566-1625), the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots, became King of Scotland at the age of thirteen months, on 24 July 1567, after his mother’s resignation. “He was, without all question, the learnedest Prince of his time, and perhaps, that ever sate upon the *English Throne*” (MORÉRI s.v. “James VI”; see also the more guarded assessment by Robert Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, ed. and rev. Thomas Thomson, 5 vols [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971 {1870}], II, 370-80). Swift referred to him as “a certain KING of *Great Britain* who spoke broad *Scotch*, and being himself a Man of Wit, loved both to hear and speak Things that were humorous”

(*Prose Works*, X, 155).

North Country Farmer] with undertones of provincialism and cultural backwardness. See also the gloss on “who pretended great skill in managing of Farms” (p. 5, l. 2).

p. 5, ll. 2-4 who pretended great skill in managing of Farms, tho’ he cou’d never govern his own poor litle old Farm, nor yet this large new one after he got it] “When that King came to the Crown of England he discovered his hatred to the *Scotish* Kirk on many occasions, in which he gratified his resentment without consulting his interests. He ought to have put his utmost strength to the finishing what he but faintly begun for the union of both Kingdoms, which was lost by his unreasonable partiality in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be considered in this union as the third part of the Isle of *Great Britain*, if not more,” Gilbert Burnet noted of James I in his *History of his Own Time*, adding shortly after: “The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in Queen *Elizabeth’s* time, who had rendred her self the arbiter of Christendom, and was the wonder of the age, was so much eclipsed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King *James* was become the scorn of the age” (*History of his Own Time*, I, 9, 17).

The agricultural metaphor may be embedded in “the Christian concept of the ruler not as master but as steward,” which made princes the farmers of their land, with agriculture being exalted to the “Foremost Concern [*Prima cura agricolationis*]” (*The Complete Works of St Thomas More, IV: Utopia*, eds Edward Surtz, SJ, and J. H. Hexter [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979], 388-89, 114-15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]). The topic was to preoccupy Swift in the coming years. In Gulliver’s conversations with the philosopher-king of Brobdingnag, for example, the King gives it “for his Opinion; that whoever could make two Ears of Corn ... to grow upon a Spot of Ground where only one grew before; would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country, than the whole Race of Politicians put together” (*Prose Works*, XI, 135-36 [II, vii, 5]; see also *Prose Works*, X, 141). See also p. 5, l. 2.

p. 5, ll. 4-6 How this new Landlord, to shew his valour & dexterity, fought

against Enchanters, Weeds, Giants, & Windmills]

Enchanters] A reference to the *Dæmonologie* of James I, who, in his Preface to the Reader, justified “the fearefull abounding at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaues of the Deuill, the Witches or enchaunters” ([London: John Lane, and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924 {1597}], p. xi).

Weeds] Reminiscent of St Matthew’s Parable of the Sower (13:26), which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century annotators of the Bible like Franciscus Junius, whose complete Latin commentary was in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 204-5), interpreted as Christ’s warning against future corruptions in the history of the Church: “Christus alio enigmatè mali seminis cum bono permixti, docet numquam fore penitens liberam Ecclesiam ab offendiculis, tum in doctrina, tum in moribus” (sig.[C]2v).

Giants] The author again evokes the adventures of the three brothers in the *Tale*, who after time of peace “travelled thro’ several Countries, encountred a reasonable Quantity of Gyants and slew certain Dragons” (*Prose Works*, I 44-45). As has recently been pointed out (Ian Higgins, “Dryden and Swift”, *John Dryden, 1631-1700: His Politics, his Plays, and his Poets*, eds Claude Rawson and Aaron Santesso [Newark: University of Delaware Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2004], pp. 217-34 [229]), Swift here rewrites “central Roman Catholic claims” according to which it is “the undivided Catholic Church alone [that] defeats heresy.” In Dryden’s *The Hind and the Panther*, for example, “th’ insulting rage / Of Hereticks” is compared to a “Gyant-brood” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], II, 498, ll. 533-35).

Windmills] While allusion to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *The History of the Valorous and Witty Knight Errant, Don-Quixote, of the Mancha*, first published in two volumes in 1605 and 1615, seems certain, its metaphorical or symbolical potential is far less determinate. Swift owned no less than three translations of Cervantes’s masterpiece, and he has been shown to have been thoroughly familiar with it and its characters, “being thought to be lineally descended from Miguel de Cervantes,” as Lord Bathurst joked in 1735 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, IV, 183; PASSMANN

AND VIENKEN I, 380-83). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift referred to *Don Quixote* twice (*Prose Works*, I, 17, 124), and as late as 1733, he agreed to write the Preface to a new trade edition of the work printed by and for Sarah Hyde and associates (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 611n5, 667n4; A. C. Elias, Jr, "Swift's *Don Quixote*, Dunkin's *Virgil Travesty*, and Other New Intelligence: John Lyon's 'Materials for a Life of Dr. Swift,' 1765," *Swift Studies*, 13 [1998], 27-104 [pp. 44-67, 68, 100-4]).

p. 5, ll. 6-7 & claimed great Honnour for his victorys, tho' he oftimes beshit himself when there was no danger] At first sight, a common enough schoolboy joke, also happily cracked by seventeenth-century balladeers (*Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broad-sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins [New York: The New York University Press, 1923], p. 151 [stanza 2]), but there is more than meets the eye. According to SCOTT, it refers to "the absurd publications of James, respecting *Dæmonologie*, &c." (XI, 204nI). The *Dæmonologie* was preceded by the King's *Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian, a Notable Sorcerer* (London: William Wright, 1591), which describes a witch trial in which James I took part and in which the accused Agnes Sampson was condemned to death after confessing to several failed attempts on the King's life "by the Diuels perswasion" (p. 15).

p. 5, ll. 7-9 How his Successor, no wiser than he, occasion'd great disorders by the new methods he took to manage his Farms] Charles I (1600-1649), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625. "He had brought himself into great distress, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 30).

Farms] See p. 5, l. 2.

p. 5, ll. 9-12 How he attempted to establish in his northern Farm the same Dispensatory used in the southern, but miscarried, because *Jack's* pouders, pills, salves, & plaisters, were there in great vogue] The introduction of a new

High Anglican prayer book in 1637, with which Charles I intended to promote the unity of the Church, first led to street riots in Edinburgh and then developed into a Scottish rebellion (MORÉRI s.v. “Charles I”; Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 77; see also Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952], pp. 85-86). “The unaccountable part of the King’s proceedings was, that all this while, when he was ... going to change the whole constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raised no force to maintain what he was about to do, but trusted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people saw the weakness of the government, at the same time that they complained of its rigour” (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 26). Andrew Marvell was equally explicit if less judgemental on the “dangerous Experiment” to impose “the Book of the *English Liturgy*” in Scotland and its consequences: “What followed thereupon, is yet within the compass of most Mens memories. And how the War broke out, and then to be sure Hell’s broke loose” (*The Rehearsal Transpros’d*, ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], pp. 134-35, 359 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9]). See also Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 6-10 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35).

p. 5, ll. 13-26 How the Author finds himself embarassed ... great affection for *Peter*] In this new paragraph, the authorial voice comments on two important structural aspects of “*The History of Martin*”: the introduction of the Presbyterians and the attempt to clarify the use of Martin. The whole passage has been judged to differ radically from Swift’s satire on religion in *A Tale of the Tub*, proving, it has been argued, that “*The History of Martin*” was written by “an imitator of Swift who was hostile to the Church of England” (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. lxii).

p. 5, ll. 13-15 for having introduced into his History a new Sect, different from the three he had undertaken to treat of] Although seventeenth-century ecclesiastical historians tended to associate Presbyterianism, “in all the Principles, Practices, and most remarkable Proceedings” with Calvin, “commonly pretended for the Founder of it,” they were also agreed that “the *Genevian* Principles were first reduced into use and practice” in mid-

sixteenth-century Scotland (Heylyn, *Aërius redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians*, pp. 121-60 [sigs A1r, A3r]; see also Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, p. 539 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53; I, 336-37]); a view endorsed by Swift: “Soon after the Rebellion broke out, the Term *Puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *Presbyterian* succeeded; which Sect was, in two or three Years, established in all its Forms” (*Prose Works*, XII, 265; see also Christopher Fox, “Swift’s Scotophobia,” *Bullán: An Irish Studies Journal*, 6, no 2 [2002], 43-65).

In case he wanted, or needed, information about Presbyterian theology, Swift would have availed himself of *The Confession of Faith* agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly, which was largely based on Calvinist doctrines and of which he owned a copy (2nd ed. [London: by E. M. for the Company of Stationers, 1658] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 450-51]). “The new model of the Presbytery in Scotland,” as outlined by Bishop Burnet’s *History of his Own Time* (I, 33-35), appeared, however, too late in order to be utilized by the author for *Fragments*.

Swift had no doubt that this historical development, anti-monarchical and anti-religious as it was, posed serious threats to the status quo of Church and State, both in the long and short run: “I think the Presbyterians, and their Clans of other *Fanaticks* of *Free-thinkers* and *Atheists*, that dangle after them,” he noted in his *Preface to the B–p of S–r–m’s Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation* of 1713, “are as well inclined to pull down the present Establishment of Monarchy and Religion, as any Sett of Papists in Christendom; and therefore that our Danger, as Things now stand, is infinitely greater from our Protestant Enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing” (*Prose Works*, IV, 78).

the three he had undertaken to treat of] The three were Catholicism, Puritanism, and Anglicanism, the fourth was Presbyterianism.

p. 5, ll. 15-16 & how his inviolable respect to the sacred number *three*] The number three plays an important role throughout the *Tale*: there are three brothers, “three wooden machines, for the Use of those Orators who desire

to talk much without Interruption” (*Prose Works*, I, 34); and, not to forget, the three works *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Battle of the Books*, and *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* which, published in one volume, immediately established Swift’s early fame.

Like “its two great Rivals *SEVEN* and *NINE*” (*Prose Works*, I, 35), three usually has “a philosophical or theological significance” (CURTIUS, p. 505; see also Ad de Vries, *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery* [Amsterdam and London: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1974], pp. 463-64). More particularly, ‘three’ stands for the Trinity (see, among many others, Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robin Robbins, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], I, 335), and Swift has therefore been thought to refer to the Trinitarian controversy of 1690-96 (ELLIS [2006], p. 171n20.24), a tone first set by William Wotton: “The number of these Sons born thus at one Birth, looks asquint at the TRINITY, and one of the Books in our Author’s Catalogue in the Off-page over-against the Title, is a Panegyric upon the Number THREE, which Word is the only one that is put in Capitals in that whole Page” (*Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning ... With Observations upon the Tale of a Tub*, 3rd ed. [London: Tim. Goodwin, 1705], p. 521). By suggesting that the author of the *Tale* was “[looking] asquint at the TRINITY,” Wotton insinuated that Swift was not, or no longer, a Church of England man. “Faith in the Holy Trinity” was the first Article in the *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*: “There is but one living and true God ... and in the unity of this godhead there be three persons of one substance, power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost” (quoted from the second edition of Bishop Gilbert Burnet’s edition [London: by R. Roberts for Ri. Chiswell, 1700], pp. 17-42 [17]).

Although he granted that “the Doctrine of the *Trinity* [was] still a great *Mystery*, and ... incomprehensible by Human Reason,” the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson, whose sermons and theological discourses were in Swift’s library, showed himself convinced “that there are good Arguments for the belief ... in the Doctrine of the *Trinity*” before enlarging on “The Unity of the Divine Nature and the B. Trinity” in one long s-ermon (*The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson*, 3rd ed. [London: B.

Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1701], pp. 572, 316, 567-80 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1858-60]). However, in the 1690s, Trinitarianism came under attack from Socinian and Mahometan Unitarians, who rejected the Divinity of Christ in favour of the unipersonality of God (Dirk F. Passmann, “The Dean and the Turk: Jonathan Swift, ‘Mahometanism,’ and Religious Controversy before the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*,” *Swift Studies*, 22 [2007], 113-45 [pp. 129-32]). Given the orthodoxy of Swift’s views on the Trinity (Louis A. Landa, “Swift, the Mysteries, and Deism” (1945), *Essays in Eighteenth-Century English Literature* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980], pp. 89-106), Swift was presumably stung by Wotton’s devious comment (*Apology for the Tale*, Online.Swift, forthcoming).

p. 5, ll. 16-17 obliges him to reduce these four, as he intends to doe all other things, to that number] Conversely, in the *Apology to A Tale of a Tub*, published for the first time at the beginning of the *Tale*’s fifth edition of 1710, Swift claims to have intended four “wooden machines” for the use of orators instead of three, the number four “*being much more Cabalistic*” (*Apology for the Tale*, Online.Swift, forthcoming).

p. 5, ll. 17-20 & for that end to drop the former *Martin*, & to substitute in his place Lady *Besses* Institution, which is to pass under the name of *Martin* in the sequel of this true History] Martin is an oscillating character, who not only evokes the most influential figure of the Reformation, Martin Luther, but who has also been taken for the representative of the Church of England in *A Tale of a Tub* (Online.Swift, forthcoming). In “*The History of Martin*,” the situation is more complicated, the references to Martin Luther being more numerous and more specific than in the *Tale*, so that “the author is forced, somewhat awkwardly, to introduce *two* Martins instead of *one*” when he refers to the Church of England (SCOTT XI, 200n*). Further problems arise from the fact that “Martin” stands for (the pseudo-Catholic) Henry VIII at times (p. 2, ll. 24-25), although Henry himself is also represented by the character of “*Harry Huff* of Albion” (p. 2, l24). At the end of “*The History of Martin*,” Martin even personifies (the Catholic) James II (p. 7, l. 28 – p. 8, l. 1). As a result, the author’s intention “to drop the former *Martin*, & to

substitute in his place Lady *Besses* Institution” causes more confusion than clarification, his intervention disrupting the indeterminacy of the allegorical characters, one of the outstanding features of the *Tale*.

Lady *Besses* Institution] “Lady *Besses* Institution” proffered itself, standing as it does for the Anglican *Via Media*, or Elizabethan Settlement, initiated by Elizabeth I (p. 4, ll. 26-29) and subsequently confirmed in important respects under James I at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, the celebrated “midway between Roman Catholicism and extreme Protestantism,” which by avoiding “the extremes of Popery and Presbytery” proved to be moderate and rational, well-ordered and Scriptural, “neither sacerdotally authoritarian nor popularly indiscriminate” (Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 329-33 [329]; Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660*, pp. 67-69).

p. 5, ll. 20-22 This weighty point being clear’d, the Author goes on & describes mighty quarrels & squables between *Jack* & *Martin*] A reference to the English Civil Wars, “that unnatural Rebellion against King *Charles* I” (*Prose Works*, VI, 9), the first of which lasted from 1642 to 1646, the second from 1648 to 1649, and the third from 1649 to 1651 (Burnet, *History of his Own Time* I, 27-89). Swift is likely to have gathered most of his knowledge on the Civil Wars from Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641*, which he ostensibly read four times and annotated with care (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 940-55).

p. 5, ll. 22-23 how sometimes the one had the better & sometimes the other, to the great desolation of both Farms]

Farms] See the note on p. 5, l. 2.

p. 5, ll. 23-25 till at last both sides concur to hang up the Landlord, who pretended to die a Martyr for *Martin*] Charles I was beheaded on a scaffold erected in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall on 30 January 1649 (WHEATLEY AND CUNNINGHAM III, 511; see also Henri Misson de Valbourg, *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre* [The Hague: Henri van Bulderen, 1698], pp. 417-18; Antonia Fraser, *King*

Charles II [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979], pp. 77-78). Swift would have been familiar with the detailed accounts of Charles I's trial and execution in Ludlow's *Memoirs* (I, 273-84 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]) and Heneage Finch's *Exact and Most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgment ... of Twenty-Nine Regicides* ([London: R. Scot, *et al.*, 1679], pp. 55, 141, 263, 270, 273-76 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 621-22]). Besides, he may have seen one, or several, of the various broadsides and ballads on the execution "intended to make [the Puritan] attitude more popular" (*Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broadsides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660*, ed. Rollins, pp. 227-31; see also the loyalist's rejoinder pp. 232-35). Swift slyly referred to the traumatic event in *A Tale of a Tub*: "IN all Revolutions of Government, [Jack] would make his Court for the Office of *Hangman General*" (*Prose Works*, I, 125).

During the reign of his son Charles II, Charles I was canonized by the Church of England as the Royal Martyr, and from 1662 to 1859, a special service for 30 January, the day of his death, was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], III, 269 and n1; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 184; ODCC, p. 269). Many clergymen, both English and Irish, seized the opportunity to voice their political opinions in these sermons (J. P. Kenyon, "King Charles's Head: The Cult of Divine Right Monarchy," *Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party, 1689-1720* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], pp. 61-82; S. J. Connolly, "The Church of Ireland and the Royal Martyr: Regicide and Revolution in Anglican Political Thought, c.1660-c.1745," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 [2003], 484-506), and Swift was no exception to the rule, taking, however, "a mid-path between the extremes" (Howard D. Weinbrot, "Swift's Thirtieth of January Sermon: Politics, the Pulpit, and the Choice of Strife," *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 225-44 [225]; see also E. W. Rosenheim, Jr, "Swift and the Martyred Monarch," *Philological Quarterly*, 54 [1975], 178-94). In "A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I, Preached at St. Patrick's Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6," Swift proved an 'anti-abolitionist,' pleading for "keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and

blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him” (*Prose Works*, IX, 219; see also IX, 223, 224). Swift owned a portrait of Charles I by Van Dyck (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 619 and n1, IV, 611n).

p. 5, ll. 25-26 tho he had been true to neither side, & was suspected by many to have a great affection for *Peter*] The fact that his wife, the former Princess Henrietta Maria of France (1609-69), was a Roman Catholic, who was not shy about reproaching Anglican believers publicly for “their want of zeale, & Religion” (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. de Beer, III, 45, 635) and who became odious to the people as early as 1641 because of her active support for the monarchy (Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, I, 326-27), had been viewed as the strongest sign of Charles’s Catholic leanings. According to the (admittedly biased) *Memoirs* of the regicide Edmund Ludlow, which Swift characterized as “written in the Spirit of Rage, Prejudice and Vanity” (*Prose Works*, V, 121), Henrietta Maria “was not wanting on her part to press [the King], upon all occasions, to pursue the Design of enlarging his Power, not omitting to sollicite him also to mould the Church of *England* to a nearer Compliance with the See of *Rome*” (I, 2 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]). Before he married her, he agreed on 24 Articles, “allowing the *Infanta* not only a Chapel in her Palace, but a Large and Capacious Church near whatever place she should reside in, for the Administration of Worship, according to the Custom of the Holy Roman Church, and that her Children should be brought up in her Company till ten Years Old, and if they happen’d to be Papists should not be Excluded from the Succession” (MORÉRI S.V. “Charles I”). However, it is correct to assume that “at a future period of his life, Swift would hardly have written thus of Charles I, the martyr of the Church of England” (SCOTT XI, 205nI).

p. 6

p. 6, ll. 1-2 *A Digression on the nature usefulness & necessity of Wars & Quarels*] Syntactically, reminiscent of the *Tale’s* Section IX: “*A Digression*

concerning the Original, the Use and Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth” (*Prose Works*, I, 102), thematically evocative of Swift’s persistent criticism of war and warmongering (see p. 6, ll. 6-7).

Digression] Swift makes the Hack praise Digressions as a “great Modern Improvement” (*Prose Works*, I, 90). Factually, this is not correct, digressions, or episodes, being constitutive, and approved, elements in the ‘architecture’ of classical epics, for example, as Swift well knew (See the Historical Introduction to *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011] [<http://www.uni-muenster.de/EnglishDepartment/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>], pp. 21-22). In neoclassical theories of the genre, episodes are “those incidents by which the poet extends the action of his poem,” making sure all the while that the episodes “bear a close relation to the main action,” indeed being “a part of it, even as the limbs are parts of the body” (H. T. Swedenberg, Jr, *The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944], pp. 19-20, and *passim*; see also Howard D. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005], p. 172). In *Timber: or, Discoveries*, Jonson illustrated the relationship between plot and episode by an architectural metaphor: “For the *Episodes*, and digressions in a Fable, are the same that household stufte, and other furniture are in a house ... For as a house, consisting of diverse materialls, becomes one structure, and one dwelling; so an Action, compos’d of diverse parts, may become one *Fable Epicke*” (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 647-48). To that extent, the *Tale*’s digressions may be intended to highlight its Teller’s ‘originality’: their boasts notwithstanding the Moderns are Ancients revived.

But then, digressiveness also marks the predominance of “Fancy,” which “without the help of Judgement, is not commended as a Vertue” Hobbes, in alliance with numerous seventeenth-century faculty psychologists, ruled in *Leviathan*. Lacking purposiveness, “Direction to some End,” Hobbes continued, “Fancy is one kind of Madnesse” apt to burst into

rambling discourse, “into so many, and so long digressions, and Parentheses, that they may utterly lose themselves” ([London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], p. 33 [I, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]). This view sufficiently accounts for the *Tale’s* digressions, suggesting “the spasms of a disordered mind,” and indicating “departures which underscore the fragmentation and incoherence of [the Hack’s] thinking” (Michael V. DePorte, *Nightmares and Hobbyhorses: Swift, Sterne, and Augustan Ideas of Madness* [San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1974], pp. 73-75).

For Swift, teleology of narration was important. In his “Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto [judgement on Herodotus, reread after a long time],” he criticized the Father of History for “the countless digressions,” with which he “breaks off the thread of the narrative to the point of tedium, and from which arise his readers’ confusion and subsequent obliviousness [Cæterum diverticulis abundans ... filum narrationis ad tædium abruptit. unde oritur ... legentibus confusio, et exinde oblivio]” (*Prose Works*, V, 243).

the nature usefulness & necessity of Wars

p. 6, ll. 4-6 [This being a matter of great consequence the Author intends to treat it methodically & at large in a Treatise apart, & here to give only some hints of what his large Treatise contains] Swift here anticipates Gulliver who, whenever it suits his narrative purposes, leaves his descriptions to “a particular Treatise,” reserving them “for a greater Work” and gratifying “the curious Reader with some general Ideas” (*Prose Works*, XI, 57, 47 [I, vi, 1; I, iv, 3]).

p. 6, ll. 6-7 [The State of War natural to all Creatures] The meaning here hinges on the meaning of ‘natural’ as either “existing or present by nature” or ‘customary,’ that is, “normal, expected ... conforming to a usual character” (OED).

The first meaning is familiar from Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, in which the natural state of mankind is described as one of constant war as long as humans have not agreed on a sovereign: “During the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man” (p. 62

[I, xiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]). Swift's attitude to Hobbes was ambiguous, and it is dangerous to assume that "for [him] any reference to Hobbes must be censorious." In fact, there is convincing evidence that "far from having contempt for Hobbes, Swift respected him and quoted or alluded to him in support of serious arguments," even using Hobbes's "peculiar concepts as authoritative" at times (Irvin Ehrenpreis, "The Doctrine of *A Tale of a Tub*," *Reading Swift* [1985], pp. 68-69; endorsed by F. P. Lock, *The Politics of "Gulliver's Travels"* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 9-11). More particularly, Swift seems to have shared Hobbes's most basic assumption that Mankind's natural state is one of constant and universal war, as he explicated by a series of illustrative examples in his 1733 poem *On Poetry: A Rapsody* (*Jonathan Swift's "On Poetry: A Rapsody": A Critical Edition with a Historical Introduction and Commentary*, ed. Melanie Maria Just [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2003], p. 182).

The second meaning is implicit in the proverbial notion (TILLEY C932) that "Custom, from being a second Nature proceed[s] to be a First," to which Swift alluded in the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* and of which he would have encountered many manifestations in authors known to have been on his shelves (Online.Swift, forthcoming). In this meaning, war becomes natural through Mankind's regular routine.

p. 6, ll. 7-8 War is an attempt to take by violence from others a part of what they have & we want] Again, an echo of Hobbes, who defined war as "the Will to contend by Battell" - "So the nature of War, consisteth not in actual fighting; but in the known disposition thereto" - the psychological prerequisite for the willingness to take violent action being the "equality of hope in the attaining of our Ends": "If any two men desire the same thing, which neverthelesse they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their End ... endeavour to destroy, or subdue one an other" (*Leviathan*, pp. 62, 61 [I, xiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]). Swift was to reiterate this thought in *Gulliver's Travels*: "Sometimes our Neighbours *want* the *Things* which we *have*, or *have* the *Things* which we *want*" (*Prose Works*, XI, 246 [IV, v, 4]). Analogously, Cicero, in *De officiis*, saw in the desire to obtain what men want the source of all injury: "Maximam autem

partem ad iniuriam faciendam aggrediuntur, ut adipiscantur ea, quae concupiverunt; in quo vitio latissime patet avaritia” (I, 7-8, 24 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 405-18]).

p. 6, ll. 8-11 Every man fully sensible of his own merit, & finding it not duly regarded by others, has a natural right to take from them all that he thinks due to himself] A corollary following from the condition of overall war in which the stronger derives the ‘natural’ right to everything, as the Commonwealthman Henry Nevile, subscribing to Hobbes’s assumption (*Leviathan*, p. 64 [I, xiv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]), explained in *Plato Redivivus*, of which Swift also owned a copy: “For every man by the first Law of Nature (which is common to us and brutes) had, like Beasts in a Pasture, right to every thing, and there being no Property, each Individual, if he were the stronger, might seize whatever any other had possessed himself of before, which made a State of perpetual War.” This situation could only be remedied, Nevile proposed in an argument for a shared legal sovereignty, by debarring every man “of that Universal Right to all things,” (*Plato Redivivus: or, A Dialogue concerning Government* [London: for S. I., 1681], p. 29 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1312; II, 870]). See also *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon (Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011 [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>]), p. 33, l. 21 – p. 34, l. 3.

p. 6, ll. 11-13 & every creature finding its own wants more than those of others has the same right to take every thing its nature requires] This thought, which Swift later elaborated at some length in his 1733 poem *On Poetry: A Rapsody* (*Jonathan Swift’s “On Poetry: A Rapsody”: A Critical Edition with a Historical Introduction and Commentary*, ed. Just, pp. 24-25, 182 [*ad* 335-54]), is rooted in the fact that in the war-ravaged natural condition of Mankind ideas of right and wrong do not apply: “The notions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice have there no place,” there being no law “where there is no common Power” (*Leviathan*, p. 63 [I, xiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

p. 6, ll. 13-14 Brutes [are] much more modest in their pretensions this way than men] A conviction Swift held throughout his life. In his 1732 poem *The Beasts' Confession to the Priest*, he makes an imperious interlocutor reject the preceding explanation of the fable's moral by Aesop, replacing it with an epimyth of his own: "I OWN, the Moral not exact; / Besides, the Tale is false in Fact; / And, so absurd, that could I raise up / From Fields *Elyzian*, fabling *Esop*; / I would accuse him to his Face / For libelling the *Four-foot Race*. / Creatures of ev'ry Kind but ours / Well comprehend their nat'ral Powers; / While We, whom *Reason* ought to sway, / Mistake our Talents ev'ry Day" (*Poems*, ed. William, II, 607, ll. 197-206; see also II, 601).

p. 6, l. 14 & mean men more than great ones] Because they cannot afford to act otherwise; implicit in Hobbes's argumentation in Chapters XIII and XIV of his *Leviathan* (pp. 60-71 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

p. 6, ll. 14-16 The higher one raises his pretensions this way, the more bustle he makes about them, & the more success he has, the greater Hero] This continues the "violent treatment of heroes," a prominent theme in the *Tale's* "Digression concerning Madness" (Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994], pp. 67-71).

p. 6, ll. 16-18 Thus greater Souls in proportion to their superior merit claim a greater right to take every thing from meaner folks] Illustrated in the catalogue of examples in *On Poetry: A Rhapsody* (ed. Just, p. 24, ll. 337-50).

p. 6, ll. 18-19 This the true foundation of Grandeur & Heroism, & of the distinction of degrees among men] See p. 6, ll. 21-22.

p. 6, ll. 20-21 War therfor necessary to establish subordination, & to found Cities, States, Kingdoms, &c.] A thought common in the humanist criticism of war-orientated rulers since the Renaissance: "Primum enim principes ipsi plerique omnes militaribus studijs ... libentius occupantur, quam bonis pacis

artibus, maiusque multo studium est, quibus modis per fas ac nefas noua sibi regna pariant, quam uti parta bene administrant [Almost all monarchs prefer to occupy themselves in the pursuits of war ... rather than in the honorable activities of peace, and they care much more how, by hook or by crook, they may win fresh kingdoms than how they may administer well what they have got]” (More, *Utopia*, eds Surtz and Hexter, pp. 56-57, 311-12 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]). A prominent paradigm discussed by Swift is Alexander the Great: “Historians give this Character of *Alexander*, that he was Handsom, Prompt, and Vigilant, Couragious, Generous, but insatiably desirous of glory, insomuch, that being but a Child, he wept when he heard of his Fathers Conquests, thinking that nothing would be left for him to do” (MORÉRI S.V.). See also the gloss on “*Alexander* Wept because he had no more Worlds to Conquer,” (*A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, ed. Hermann 1. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, November 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/triticalessay/>], p. 3, ll. 16-17). More generally, Swift returned to the topic in Gulliver’s conversations with the Houyhnhnm master (*Prose Works*, XI, 245-46 [IV, v, 2-4]).

p. 6, ll. 21-22 as also to purge Bodys politick of gross humours] This commonplace is perhaps best known from Ulysses’ speech on “degree” in SHAKESPEARE’S *Troilus and Cressida* (I, iii, 509-72). Swift reanimated the cliché on a number of occasions: “All Writers and Reasoners have agreed,” he has Gulliver declare, “that there is a strict universal Resemblance between the natural and the political Body” (*Prose Works*, XI, 187 [III, vi, 2]), elaborated earlier at some length in *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* (*Prose Works*, I, 193-97) and *A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind* (see the gloss on “the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick,” *A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, ed. Hermann 1. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, November 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/triticalessay/>], p. 3, l. 3). For the analogy of the body

politic as damaged and in need of therapy, see Sarah Covington, *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2009), pp. 19-53.

p. 6, ll. 22-23 Wise Princes find it necessary to have wars abroad to keep peace at home] One of the motives listed among “*the Causes of War among the Princes of Europe*” in Gulliver’s conversations with his Houyhnhnm master: “Sometimes the Corruption of Ministers, who engage their Master in a War in order to stifle or divert the Clamour of the Subjects against their evil Administration” (*Prose Works*, XI, 245-46 [IV, v, 3]).

p. 6, ll. 23-24 War, Famine, & Pestilence the usual cures for corruptions in Bodys politick] Events, or factors, that ‘kill,’ paradoxically, ‘remedy’ conditions: “Death is a remedy for all ills,” the proverb has it (ODEP, p. 173). Swift was to return to the ‘killing’ effects of the triad of war, famine, and pestilence in Gulliver’s conversations with his Houyhnhnm master (*Prose Works*, XI, 246 [IV, v, 4]).

p. 6, l. 24 A comparaisn of these three] A French spelling not recorded by the OED, possibly reflecting a foreign compositor.

p. 6, l. 25 The Author is to write a Panegyrick on each of them] As an avowed satirist, Swift did not like panegyric, and he expressed his dislike on several occasions, declaring that “the Materials of Panegyrick,” which were “very few in Number, [had] been long since exhausted” (*Prose Works*, I, 30), and emphasizing its benumbing as well as stupefying ingredient: “All Panegyricks are mingled with an Infusion of Poppy” (*Prose Works*, IV, 252; see also Charles Peake, *Jonathan Swift and the Art of Raillery* [Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1986], pp. 8-9).

p. 6, ll. 25-26 The greatest part of Mankind loves War more than peace] Another variation of Hobbes: “I put for a generall inclination of all mankind, a perpetuall and restlesse desire of Power after power, that ceaseth onely in Death ... and from hence it is, that Kings, whose power is greatest, turn their endeavours to the assuring it at home by Lawes, or abroad by Wars”

(*Leviathan*, p. 47 [I, xi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

p. 6, ll. 26-27 They are but few & mean spirited that live in peace with all men] In the condition of overall war, “where every man is Enemy to every man,” Hobbes argued in Chapters XIII and XIV of his *Leviathan*, the stronger always derives the ‘natural’ right to everything, with the result that “continuall feare, and danger of violent death” rule supreme. Conversely, it is this “Feare of Death,” ‘naturally’ more pronounced in the “mean spirited,” which “enclines men to Peace” (pp. 62-63 [I, xiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

pp. 6-7, ll. 27-1 The modest & meek of all kinds always a prey to those of more noble or stronger apeties] “The Greater for the Smaller watch; / But meddle seldom with their Match ... So, Nat’ralists observe, a Flea / Has smaller Fleas that on him prey, / And these have smaller yet to bite ’em, / And so proceed *ad infinitum*” (*On Poetry: A Rhapsody*, ed. Just, pp. 24-25, ll. 335-36, 351-54).

p. 7

p. 7, ll. 1-2 The inclination to war universal: those that cannot or dare not make war in person, employ others to doe it for them] “There is likewise a Kind of beggarly Princes in *Europe*, not able to make War by themselves, who hire out their Troops to richer Nations, for so much a Day to each Man,” Swift makes Gulliver explain to the Houyhnhnm master (*Prose Works*, XI, 247 [IV, v, 5]). More particularly, the Dean may have been thinking of Thomas More’s Utopians who use money for the single purpose of hiring “foreign mercenaries (whom they would jeopardize rather than their own citizens) [Potissimum quo milites externos (quos libentius quam suos ciues objiciunt discrimini) immodico stipendio conducant]” (*Utopia*, eds Surtz and Hexter, pp. 148-50 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]). More generally, this criticism has to be seen in the wider context of Swift’s condemnation of mercenary (standing) armies in “Of Publick Absurdities in England,” miscellaneous observations on customs and beliefs in English

political life never published in any edition of Swift's works during his lifetime, and elsewhere (see the note on "in all Fifty Thousand, consisting chiefly of *light Horse*, *heavy-armed Foot*, and *Mercenaries*," *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon (Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011) [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks>], p. 37, ll. 30-31).

p. 7, ll. 2-3 This maintains Bullys, Bravos, Cutthroats, Lawyers, Soldiers, &c] Bullys] See p. 2, l. 24.

Bravos] "A daring villain, a hired soldier or assassin; 'a man who murders for hire' (Johnson); a reckless desperado" (OED). B. E., in his *New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, goes even further: "a Mercenary Murderer, that will Kill any Body" (p. 22).

Cutthroats] "One who cuts throats; a ruffian who murders or does deeds of violence; a murderer or assassin by profession" (OED).

Lawyers] The Dean was to enlarge on his view of lawyers as a pack of loud and violent as well as aggressive and mercenary criminals primarily bent on destroying their fellow creatures in *Gulliver's Travels* (*Prose Works*, XI, 132, 248-50 [II, vi, 18; IV, v, 10-17]), and also in his 1732 poem *The Beasts' Confession to the Priest* (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 603-4, ll. 79-92). Somewhat earlier, the Drapier, too, had come "to see the Law as a conspiracy against justice," denouncing lawyers and solicitors as experts "dedicated to the cultivation of multiple meanings" and the "distortion of evidence," as "proponents of false reason" and "obscure legal jargon designed to bewilder rather than enlighten" (Joseph McMinn, "The Prosecution of Power: Swift's Defence of Ireland," *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 365-73 [368-71]; William Pencak, "Swift Justice: *Gulliver's Travels* as a Critique of Legal Institutions," *Law and Literature Perspectives*, ed. Bruce L. Rockwood [New York: Peter Lang, 1998], pp. 255-67).

&c.] In Swift, this sign is hardly ever innocent, being generally shorthand for unpleasant attributes, both sexual and other (GORDON WILLIAMS I, 448-49), as well as Swift's secret code used in communications with his publisher (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 283n2; III, 526 and

n11; *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 47 and n50), but here, “&c.” simply indicates a (discontinued) catalogue, a device habitual with Swift (see *Resolutions 1699* and Headnote on An Apology For the, &c., Online.Swift, forthcoming). He also used an ampersand in hurried composition or transcription, as may be seen in the surviving manuscripts of the *Journal to Stella* and in making notes (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 5, 11, 12, 13, and *passim*; *Prose Works*, XIV, 13-14).

p. 7, ll. 3-4 Most Professions would be useless if all were peaceable| Obviously referring to “Bullys, Bravos, Cutthroats, Lawyers, Soldiers, &c.” (p. 7, l. 3). In the *Battle’s* persona-historian’s variation, the thought becomes “the whole State is ever in the profoundest Peace, after a full Meal” (*The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>], p. 33, ll. 15-16).

p. 7, ll. 4-6 Hence Brutes want neither Smiths nor Lawyers, Magistrats nor Joyners, Soldiers nor Surgeons] Again, perfectly demonstrated by the peaceful community of the Houyhnhnms, who are unfamiliar with the “Arts and Sciences” of war and law (*Prose Works*, XI, 245-50 [IV, v]) and who, consequently, have no need of soldiers, judges, and lawyers nor of makers of weapons like smiths, and manufacturers of scaffolds and gallows like joiners (see Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 391 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]) nor of surgeons to deal with the injured and mutilated.

p. 7, ll. 6-8 Brutes having but narrow appetites are incapable of carrying on or perpetuating war against their own species, or of being led out in troops & multitudes to destroy one another] In his conversations with the Houyhnhnm master, Gulliver defines a soldier as a Yahoo “hired to kill in cold Blood as many of his own Species ... as possibly he can” (*Prose Works*, XI, 246-47 [IV, v, 4]), perhaps harking back to the critique of Mankind’s inhuman conduct put forward by the annotator of Blaise Vigenère’s translation of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*: “Depuis que

l'homme a perdu l'usage de la raison, il est tellement priué d'humanité, que les bestes bruttes vivent bien avec plus de douceur entre elles qu'il ne fait pas avec son semblable: mais voyez quelle rage de vouloir prendre plaisir à voir massacrer des homes innocens & de sang froid" (*De la vie d'Apollonivs*, 2 vols [Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1611], I, 801 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422]).

p. 7, ll. 8-9 These prerogatives proper to Man alone] "Bellum utpote rem plane beluinam, nec ulli tamen beluarum forme in tam assiduo, atque homini est uso, summopere abominantur [War, as an activity fit only for beasts and yet practiced by no kind of beast so constantly as by man, [the Utopians] regard with utter loathing]" (More, *Utopia*, eds Surtz and Hexter, pp. 198-99 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]).

p. 7, ll. 9-11 The excellency of human nature demonstrated by the vast train of appetites, passions, wants, &c. that attend it] Again, Swift may have been reminded of Hobbes who, in Chapter VI of *Leviathan*, compiled an extensive catalogue of passions, appetites, and desires, good and evil (pp. 23-30 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

p. 7, ll. 11-12 This matter to be more fully treated in the Author's Panegyrick on Mankind] "*A Panegyrick upon the World*" appears in the list of mock-treatises advertised at the beginning of *A Tale of a Tub* (*Prose Works*, I, facing p. 1). See also p. 7, ll. 11-12.

p. 7, l. 14 *The History of Martin*]

p. 7, ll. 16-17 How *Jack* having got rid of the old Landlord & set up another to his mind] Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Ireland, and Scotland, variously decried by Swift in his notes on Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* as "a cursed Hell-Hound" and a "cursed Dog" (*Prose Works*, V, 313, 314; see also XII, 294). In *The Examiner*, no 40 (3 May 1711), commenting on the historical origins of Cromwell's government, and perhaps prompted by many matching

derogatory remarks on Cromwell in Ludlow's *Memoirs* (II, 447-48, 471-72, 484, 508, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]), Swift accentuated its tyrannical character, always anathema to him (see the note on "ARBITRARY Power," Aphorism 56, *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, November 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/varioussubjects/>], p. 4, ll. 1-2): "It is manifest, that the *Fanaticks* made *Cromwell* the most absolute Power in *Christendom*: The *Rump* abolished the *House of Lords*; the *Army* abolished the *Rump*; and by this Army of *Saints* he governed" (*Prose Works*, III, 145-46). Contemporary historians were agreed on Cromwell's 'Puritan' orientation: "The enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his deportment," Bishop Burnet noted, "that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 79).

This assessment has been largely confirmed by modern scholars. Not only was Cromwell's "theology that of a Calvinist whose experiences convinced him that he was a chosen instrument of God," he was even "accused by Presbyterians and conservative Puritans of packing the army with wild sectaries." This is not to ignore Cromwell's intention "that the Presbyterian clergy should share the ministry of the established church with other Calvinists" (Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp. 107, 109, 151-52).

p. 7, l. 17 quarrel'd with *Martin* & turn'd him out of doors] According to one of Bishop Burnet's witnesses, Cromwell, at one stage, was planning to outmanoeuvre the Established Church with a ploy reminiscent of Roman Catholic tactics: the establishment of a "Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda fide* at *Rome* [Sacred Congregation of Propaganda]" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 77), which was "concerned with missions to heathen countries and the administration of territories where there is no properly established hierarchy" (ODCC, p. 1131).

p. 7, ll. 17-18 How he pillaged all his shops, & abolished the whole

Dispensatory] This refers to Puritan endeavours to abolish the Book of Common Prayer, which was declared illegal by a decree of the Long Parliament in January 1645 and replaced by the *Directory of Public Worship*, on which the Westminster Assembly had agreed as the national formulary in worship (Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660*, 190-92; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 344-52, 405-21). See also the gloss on p. 4, ll. 16-17.

p. 7, ll. 18-20 How the new Landlord laid about him, maul'd *Peter*, worry'd *Martin*, & made the whole neighborhood tremble] The new atmosphere was pithily summarized by Bishop Burnet: "All the world was afraid of [Cromwell]" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 81). More concretely, it meant that, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Roman Catholics were severely fined for non-attendance at Protestant services, and that, as John Evelyn's *Diary* records, Anglicans found it increasingly difficult to gather for worship under the Protectorate (Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 462-66, 352-55).

maul'd] See p. 3, l. 14.

p. 7, ll. 20-21 How *Jack's* friends fell out among themselves, split into a thousand partys] In *The Examiner* of 12 April 1711, Swift commented on the ever proliferating schisms among the Presbyterians, including "the Sects of *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and others," noting the self-destructive conduct of sectaries who had originally projected themselves as 'Puritan' reformers and saints: "This Sect, in order to make it self National, having gone so far as to raise a Rebellion, murder their King, destroy Monarchy and the Church; was afterwards broken in Pieces by its own Divisions" (*Prose Works*, III, 127). He was to repeat this thought, with a different emphasis, in "A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I, Preached at St. Patrick's Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6": "Those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who

subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand” (*Prose Works*, IX, 226).

p. 7, ll. 21-22 turn’d all things topsy turvy, till every body grew weary of them] The (proverbial) image of man as a ‘topsy-turvy creature’ elaborates, and reshapes, the topos of the *mundus inversus*, “the world upside down” (TILLEY T165). A striking example occurs in Dryden’s *An Evening’s Love*: “Let the order of all things be turn’d topsy-turvy; let the Goose devour the Fox; let the Infants preach to their Great-Grandsires; let the tender Lamb pursue the Woolfe, and the Sick prescribe to the Physician. Let Fishes live upon dry-land, and the Beasts of the Earth inhabit in the Water” (*The Works of John Dryden, X: Plays*, ed. Maximillian E. Novak [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1970], p. 260 [III, i, 375-79]). Swift also utilized its potential in *A Meditation upon a Broomstick* (ed. Kirsten Juhas, with the assistance of Dirk F. Passmann, Hermann J. Real, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, November 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/meditations/>], p. 4, l. 18).

It is unknown whether Swift ever came across a pamphlet by John Taylor entitled *Mad Fashions, Od Fashions, All out of Fashions: The Emblems of these Distracted Times* (London: by John Hammond for Thomas Banks, 1642), which lamented the state of England during the Civil Wars: “To *Brittaine* back againe my Muse repaires: / Where I perceive a Metamorphosis, / Is most preposterous, as the Picture is, / The world’s turn’d upside downe, from bad to worse” (*Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet* [New York: Burt Franklin, 1967 {1870}], p. 5). A drawing inserted into the title page shows, among other things, a man wearing breeches on his shoulders and gloves upon his feet, the church overturned and a candlestick on its head, a rabbit hunting a dog and a rat hunting a cat, a horse whipping the cart, and a wheelbarrow driving a man. In a reprint four years later, the title was changed into *The World Turn’d Upside Down: or, A Briefe Description of the Ridiculous Fashions of these Distracted Times* (London: John Smith, 1647). In its depiction of prevailing contemporary norms and mores, the pamphlet seems particularly germane to the *Tale’s mundus*

inversus (as illustrated by the facsimiles in John Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century* [New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1966 {1882}], pp. 265-72).

p. 7, ll. 22-23 & at last the blustering Landlord dying] Oliver Cromwell died on 3 September 1658 (see also *Prose Works*, XII, 267).

p. 7, ll. 23-24 *Jack* was kick'd out of doors, a new Landlord brought in, & *Martin* reestablished] Charles II (1630-85), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Sir William Temple referred to "His Majesty's happy Restoration" several times (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* [London: Ric. Chiswell, 1692], sig. A3v; *Miscellanea: The Third Part* [London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701], p. 48); and Swift followed suit in his Preface to Temple's *Letters* (p. Q). Having been happily restored, Charles "took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles I*, to be repealed" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 160).

p. 7, ll. 24-26 How this new Landlord let *Martin* doe what he pleased, & *Martin* agreed to every thing his pious Landlord desired, provided *Jack* might be kept low] Most importantly, the Act of Uniformity, to which Charles II assented on 19 May 1662 (*English Historical Documents, 1660-1714*, ed. Andrew Browning [London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966], pp. 377-82), not only imposed a revised Prayer Book (Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 363-86), but also obliged all clergymen and schoolmasters to sign a declaration which made the liturgy of the Church of England compulsory (David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2nd ed., 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], I, 201; Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp. 218-19). According to Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, the Act of Uniformity was rigorously executed (I, 191-92). Some two years later, the attempts to stamp out Nonconformity were reinforced by the Conventicle Act (*English Historical Documents*, ed. Browning, pp. 384-86; Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990], pp. 129-34), which forced Nonconformists into worshipping "in barns, forests, fields,

simple houses in the back alleys of towns, and anywhere except in churches,” and “at the dead of night [and] in the open air” (Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 444-55).

In addition, Charles II agreed to three test acts:

the Corporation Act of 1661, which requested all officials to swear loyalty to the King and to receive the Lord’s Supper according to the rites of the Church of England within one year after their election (Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 223);

the Test Act of 1673, forcing all persons filling any office, civil or military, to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the King, to subscribe to a declaration against transubstantiation, and to receive the sacrament (*English Historical Documents*, ed. Browning, pp. 389-91);

the Test Act of 1678, obliging all members of both Houses of Parliament to declare against transubstantiation and other ‘popish’ beliefs (*English Historical Documents*, ed. Browning, pp. 391-94; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, I, 368-69; II, 516-17). In *The Examiner*, no 36, Swift defended the political practice to watch Nonconformists, and to restrain them by penal laws, during Charles’s reign (*Prose Works*, III, 127; see also Ian Higgins, “A Preface to Swift’s Test Act Tracts,” *Reading Swift* [2013], pp. 223-41).

his pious Landlord] An ironical epithet, since Charles II was frequently suspected of being a pseudo-Catholic during his lifetime, although he admitted to his faith only on his deathbed when the last rites were performed by a Catholic Priest: “He disguised his Popery to the last,” was Burnet’s pertinent comment (*History of his Own Time*, I, 93; see also pp. 603-4, 607-8, 614-15; MORÉRI s.v. “Charles II”).

p. 7, l. 27 Of several efforts *Jack* made to raise up his head, but all in vain| In the aftermath of the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, several armed rebellions in the southern parts of the country were crushed by government troops: in 1666, some 900 rebels were defeated, and in 1679, after an initial series of smaller victories, the Scots lost the final Battle of Bothwell Bridge against the Duke of Monmouth (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 234-36, 471-73; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 412, 417).

pp. 7-8, ll. 27-1 till at last the Landlord died & was succeeded by one who was a great friend to *Peter*] James II and VII (1633-1701), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, whose well-known Catholicism occasioned nationwide fears (William Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* [Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009], particularly pp. 34-36, 47-72, and *passim*) long before he ascended the throne: “If e’re he be King I know Brittain’s Doome; / Wee must all to the Stake or be Converts to Rome,” Marvell prophesied gloomily (*The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Margoliouth, I, 212). In a letter to the Wrexham merchant, Thomas Beach, of 12 April 1735, Swift recalled James II as “a weak Bigotted Papist, desirous like all Kings of absolute Power, but not properly a Tyrant” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, IV, 88; see also *Prose Works*, IX, 224). In his account of James’s conversion to Catholicism, Bishop Burnet referred to a letter which the future king had written to the Princess of Orange and in which he outlined some of the attractions the Catholic faith held for him: “The first thing that raised scruples in him was, the great devotion that he had observed among Catholics: He saw they had great helps for it: They had their Churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever seen among Protestants ... He saw clearly, that Christ had left an infallibility in his Church, against which *the gates of Hell cannot prevail* ... Now the *Roman* Church was the only Church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it” (*History of his Own Time*, I, 720-21, and *passim*).

p. 8

p. 8, l. 1 who to humble *Martin* gave *Jack* some liberty] On 14 April 1687, James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which granted full freedom of worship in public as well as in private, and which was republished, with some additional matter, on 7 May 1688 (*English Historical Documents*, ed. Browning, pp. 395-400). The Declaration suspended the Test Acts and thus “appeared to offer the Nonconformists a breathing-space from persecution, and to promise the removal of their civic disabilities, while it was actually

aimed at giving the Roman Catholic fellow-believers with the King a more favoured position” (Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 393). These events are echoed in a footnote added to the *Tale*’s fifth edition of 1710: “*In the Reign of King James the Second, the Presbyterians by the King’s Invitation, joined with the Papists, against the Church of England, and Addrest him for Repeal of the Penal-Laws and Test. The King by his Dispensing Power, gave Liberty of Conscience, which both Papists and Presbyterians made use of*” (*Prose Works*, I, 131n*).

James’s Declaration met with stiff resistance from seven bishops, who refused to read it in their churches and who were subsequently put on trial for sending a petition to the King, which was printed and circulated (Sir George Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], pp. 125-26; Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, pp. 180-81, 198-99; Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops*, pp. 64-68, 78-83, 85-105, 114-38; *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and its Aftermath, 1689-1750*, ed. W. A. Maguire [Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1990], pp. 33-34; Paul Kléber Monod, *Imperial Island: A History of Britain and Its Empire, 1660-1837* [Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009], pp. 68-77; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 714-15, 736-44; *Prose Works*, XII, 270). In retrospect, Swift concurred with the bishops’ criticism of the King’s politics of indulgence: “What is more notorious than that Prince’s applying himself first to the Church of *England*; and upon their Refusal to fall in with his Measures, making the like Advances to the Dissenters of all Kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with him” (*Prose Works*, II, 9; see also III, 146).

p. 8, ll. 2-3 How *Martin* grew enraged at this, called in a Foreigner & turn’d out the Landlord] The Prince of Orange became King of England, Scotland, and Ireland as William III (1650-1702) in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. After John Tutchin’s poem *The Foreigners* of August 1700, which Defoe denounced as “a vile abhor’d Pamphlet” and to which he responded a few weeks later with his own *The True-Born Englishman*, William became widely known as the “FOREIGNER” (*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis,

224-26, 230-46, 259-309). The initiative to call him in was taken by “many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, [who] with others of Quality, sent an Invitation to the P. of *Orange*, as next Heir in Right to his Princess, wherein they exhibited the Causes of their Jealousies, and desired him, to take some effectual Course to secure his own Right, and theirs” (MORÉRI s.v. “James II”; for the signatories of the invitation, see Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, pp. 133-34). When the Prince followed the Lords’ request and invaded England in November 1688, James II fled to France, leaving the English throne to William and his wife, Mary (Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops*, pp. 159-75). Their coronation took place on 11 April 1689 (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 796-826; *Kings in Conflict*, ed. Maguire, p. 27). Swift passed his final verdict on James II in his “Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I, Preached at St. Patrick’s Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6”: “The late Revolution under the Prince of Orange was occasioned by ... the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, King James II did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on” (*Prose Works*, IX, 229-30; see also II, 20-22; and *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 360).

p. 8, l. 3 in which *Jack* concurred with *Martin*] “The great body of [Protestant Nonconformists] had joined with the Anglicans in opposing James” (Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, pp. 153-54; see also *Prose Works*, XII, 271).

p. 8, ll. 3-5 because this Landlord was entirely devoted to *Peter*, into whose arms he threw himself, & left his Country] From the beginning of his reign, James II had been on friendly terms with his cousin, Louis XIV of France. When he left England in December 1688, Louis provided refuge to James and his family at St Germain-en-Laye, near Versailles (Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, pp. 141-42, 220; Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, “Jacobites in Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye,” *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, eds Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp

[London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1995], pp. 15-38, and frontispiece). James's flight triggered an intense political debate between the two Houses of Parliament on whether the throne had become vacant due to the King's desertion or to his abdication (*The Debate at Large between the House of Lords and House of Commons at the Free Conference ... Anno 1688 ... relating to the Word Abdicated* [London: J. Wickins, 1695] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 510]).

p. 8, ll. 5-6 How the new Landlord secured *Martin* in the full possession of his former rights] One of William III's first moves was to appoint new Anglican bishops, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, and John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, among them (Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, p. 234; G. V. Bennett, "King William III and the Episcopate," *Essays in Modern English Church History: In Memory of Norman Sykes*, eds Bennett and Walsh, pp. 104-31; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 8, 75-76). Swift himself entertained hopes of receiving a prebend of Canterbury, as he was to reveal in a letter to Viscount Palmerston of 29 January 1726: "I own my self indebted to S^r William Temple, for recommending me to the late King although without Success" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 632 and n3; Hermann J. Real, "Swift's Answer to Lord Palmerston, 29 January 1725/26: The Autograph Draft Recovered," *Swift Studies*, 12 [1997], 45-55; see also *Prose Works*, V, 195).

p. 8, ll. 6-7 but would not allow him to destroy *Jack* who had always been his friend] "The new King having been originally bred a *Calvinist*, was desirous enough to make [the *Presbyterians*] easy (if that would do it) by a legal Toleration; although in his Heart he never bore much Affection for that Sect" (*Prose Works*, XII, 271; see also, for Swift's criticism of the political implications, III, 128). In 1689, the Act of Toleration "excused Dissenters from all penalties, for their not coming to Church, and for going to their separate Meetings" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 10).

p. 8, ll. 7-9 How *Jack* got up his head in the North & put himself in

possession of a whole Canton] The Dutch Calvinist William III decided to abolish episcopacy in Scotland in 1689 and to re-establish Presbyterianism (Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, pp. 270-71; Christopher Fox, “Swift and the Rabble Reformation: A *Tale of a Tub* and State of the Church in the 1690s,” *Swift as Priest and Satirist*, ed. Todd C. Parker [Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009], pp. 102-22 [103-5]; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 23; George Lockhart, *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne’s Accession to the Throne to the Commencement of the Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England* [London: J. Baker, 1714], pp. 3-4). However, the Scots, “That Discontented Brood,” as Swift was to describe them (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 8, ll. 82-83), did not submit easily to his rule (Murray G. H. Pittock, “Jacobite Ideology in Scotland and at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,” *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, eds Cruickshanks and Corp, pp. 113-23) and, in April 1689, triggered a major Jacobite uprising, mainly carried out by Highlanders. After some initial success, they were eventually defeated in two battles in August 1689 and, again heavily, in May 1690 (Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, pp. 264-66, 269-70; Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, pp. 267-68, 274-76; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* [London: Methuen, 1980], pp. 28-50).

Canton] Generally, “a subdivision of a country; a small district” (OED), as in Ludlow, *Memoirs*, II, 519 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35); here, more particularly, “one of the divisions of the Country of *Helvetia* or *Switzerland*” (PHILLIPS, s.v.; BLOUNT, s.v.). Swift may have been led to use Canton by his reading of *Aërius redivivus* in which Heylyn traced “the first institution of *Presbyterie*” back to Calvin’s Geneva: “We must follow *Calvin* into *Scotland*, where he imployed *John Knox* as his Vicar-General” (pp. 1-40 [29] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53]).

p. 8, ll. 9-12 to the great discontent of *Martin*, who finding also that some of *Jack’s* friends were allowed to live & get their bread in the south parts of the country, grew highly discontent of the new Landlord he had called in to his assistance] Probably, an allusion to the Nonjurors, among them, the seven bishops who had petitioned James II against the Declaration of Indulgence,

all told about four hundred members of the Anglican clergy (David P. French, “Swift, the Non-Jurors, and Jacobitism,” *Modern Language Notes*, 72 [1957], 258-64 [p. 260]), who had refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary (Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, pp. 233-34; Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, p. 156; Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, 393-94; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 6-10, 71; see also the gloss on p. 8, l. 1). The most eminent of these was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr William Sancroft, who was suspended in August 1689 and finally deprived of his see in February 1690 (Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops*, especially pp. 21-23, 34-38, 44-46, 85-90, and *passim*). In his “Ode to Dr William Sancroft,” allegedly written at the request of another Nonjuror, Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely (Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr, “Swift’s ‘Ode to Sancroft’: Another Look,” *Modern Philology*, 73 [1976], S24-S39), Swift celebrated the Archbishop as “the brightest pattern Earth can shew / Of heav’n born Truth below” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 36, ll. 52-53; see also F. P. Lock, *Swift’s Tory Politics* [London: Duckworth, 1983], pp. 75-93; Higgins, *Swift’s Politics: A Study in Disaffection*, pp. 53-57).

p. 8, ll. 12-14 How this Landlord kept *Martin* in order, upon which he fell into a raging fever, & swore he would hang himself or joyn in with *Peter*] What made the Nonjurors Jacobites was their unflinching adherence to divine right, the conviction “that the authority of kings derived from God, and that they were consequently not to be resisted” even though “Jacobite propaganda drew a clear distinction between absolute and arbitrary monarchy” (Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], pp. 17-23 [17-18]).

Whether Swift himself is justly suspected of having nursed Jacobite sympathies, as his contemporaries did, is still a contested issue (Higgins, *Swift’s Politics: A Study in Disaffection*, pp. ix-x). Swift repeatedly denied the charge (see Lock, *Swift’s Tory Politics*, pp. 71-72; J. A. Downie, “Swift and Jacobitism,” *English Literary History*, 64 [1997], 887-901).

p. 8, ll. 14-15 unless *Jack’s* children were all turn’d out to starve] “Clamour

that the church was in danger from the dissenters” (SCOTT XI, 208n ~).

p. 8, ll. 15-17 Of several attempts made to cure *Martin* & make peace between him & *Jack*, that they might unite against *Peter*] Detailed at length in Section VI of the *Tale*, at the end of which “began a mortal Breach between these two,” Martin and Jack (*Prose Works*, I, 88).

p. 8, ll. 17-19 but all made ineffectual by the great adress of a number of *Peter’s* friends, that herded among *Martin’s*, & appeared the most zealous for his interest] The Jacobites, who supported the exiled James II and his descendants either for philosophical or for religious reasons (see the glosses on p. 8, ll. 19-20, 20-22, 22-24).

p. 8, ll. 19-20 How *Martin* getting abroad in this mad fit] Most Jacobite activity was carried on from France, where the exiled James II and his family and court had fled. In the crash course on the country’s political and religious history, to which Gulliver is treated in Lilliput, Reldresal remembers the “civil Commotions ... constantly fomented by the Monarchs of *Blefuscu* [France],” to which “the Exiles always fled for Refuge” after they had been suppressed (*Prose Works*, XI, 49 [I, iv, 5]; D. Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-14* [Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1984], pp. 1-33).

p. 8, ll. 20-22 look’d so like *Peter* in his air & dress, & talk’d so like him, that many of the Neighbours could not distinguish the one from the other] Although Jacobitism in England was made up by elements basically hostile to each other, English and Scottish nationalism, High Toryism and Roman Catholicism, their “common ground, of substance, was the cause of the exiled Stuarts” (Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics*, p. 14). In “An Account of the Present State of Ireland,” for example, Father Sylvester Lloyd told Daniel O’Brien, a Colonel in the French Army, in 1726 that “even among the English and Old Protestants, the King’s [the Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart] interest is at this day equal, if not superior, to the Usurper’s [George II]. The North of Ireland ... is indeed mostly inhabited by Scotch,

and those the most rigid Presbyterians, yet I am assured that the better half of them are the King's friends." Even though admittedly biased, Father Lloyd concluded: "The Roman Catholic religion is still, notwithstanding all the pains to abolish it, that which is most universally professed" (*Ireland in the Stuart Papers*, ed. Patrick Fagan, 2 vols [Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press 1995], I, 67-68; see also I, 70-71, and *passim*).

p. 8, ll. 22-24 especially when *Martin* went up & down strutting in *Peter's* Armour, which he had borrowed to fight *Jack*] An allusion to James II's abortive attempt to renew his claim to the English throne in March 1689, when he landed in Ireland and was proclaimed King again by the Irish: "An analysis of the Irish Jacobite community on the outbreak of the war in 1689 shows that the clergy and the dispossessed aristocracy and gentry aided the ideological and military mobilisation of the Catholic populace in the 1690s" (Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766* [Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004], pp. 52-86 [85]; see also, for the variety of reasons, Thomas Doyle, "Jacobitism, Catholicism and the Irish Protestant Elite, 1700-1710," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 12 [1997], 28-59).

p. 8, ll. 24-25 What remedies were used to cure *Martin's* distemper, &c.] James II's Franco-Irish army was defeated by William's troops at the Battle of the Boyne on 1 July 1690, and he had to return to France (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 51-52; J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969], pp. 120-57; and J. G. Simms, "The War of the Two Kings, 1685-91," *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, eds T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 478-508 [pp. 497-99]; Harman Murtagh, "The War in Ireland, 1689-91," *Kings in Conflict*, ed. Maguire, pp. 61-91). Swift's earliest published poem, the pindaric *Ode. To the King* (written between 1 July 1690 and September), celebrated William III's victory at the Battle of the Boyne, paying tribute to his personal courage: "The Battel almost by *Great William's* single Valour gain'd" (James Woolley, "Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*," *Reading Swift* [2003], pp. 265-83 [276, 270]).

pp. 8-9, ll. 27-2 NB. Some things that follow after this are not in the MS. but seem to have been written since to fill up the place of what was not thought convenient then to print] See the Textual and Historical Introduction, p. 8.

p. 9

p. 9, l. 5 A P R O J E C T]

p. 9, l. 7 *For the universal benefit of Mankind*] A formulaic phrase, which echoes the Tale's subtitle, "Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind," and which offers a variety of meanings:

first, Swift satirizes the high-flown pretensions of the advocates of the New Science and their obsession with the idea of progress, the New Science having emphasized this 'universal' *telos* from the start, scientifically as well as geographically. As early as 1605, Bacon assigned to *prisca philosophia*, the "Parent, or common Auncestor to all knowledge," the goal to investigate the interrelatedness of all knowledge, "the common principles and Axiomes which are promiscuous and indifferent to seuerall Sciences" (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], p. 82 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]). And in the late 1640s, Samuel Hartlib's Office of Address for Communications became increasingly known as the "Correspondencie and Agencie for the Advancement of *Universal Learning*" (Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660* [London: Duckworth, 1975], pp. 67-77, and *passim*; Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], pp. 67-77, and *passim*).

Second, Swift, an avowed detractor of "the Roguery of Alchemy" (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 27, l. 25), attacks one of the basic alchemical practices as described in Louis Moréri's *Great Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary*, Swift's most important source on alchemy and the mystics (Brean Hammond, "Swift's Reading," *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, ed. Christopher Fox [Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 2003], p. 79). According to Moréri, “this so difficult and conceal’d a Work may be accomplished” in two ways, “wherof the one is called *The Universal*, and the other the *Particular way*; the Universal consists in the preparation of a certain matter which is to be found every where throughout the World, and in all places, which costs nothing, and is common to poor and rich, which we have all before our Eyes, and which very few know how to choose. This matter, by due preparation, without the addition of any other thing produceth an *Universal Medicine* which is agreeable ... to the three Reigns of Nature” (MORÉRI s.v. “Philosopher’s Stone”), a view which has been endorsed by Swift scholars: “There is something of the con-artist about the narrator of the *Tale* ... who promises much but fails to deliver, and who manipulates the reader as the practical alchemist claims to manipulate matter” (Gregory Lynall, “An Author *bonæ notæ*, and an *adeptus*’: Swift’s Alchemical Satire and Satiric Alchemy in *A Tale of a Tub*,” *Swift Studies*, 24 [2009], 27-45 [p. 31]).

Third, as annotators have noted, Swift may also be ridiculing the Rosicrucian idea of a “General Reformation of the whole wide World” by their Brotherhood, based on the German translation of Advertisement no LXXVII of Boccacini’s *Ragguali di Parnaso* (*Allgemeine und general Reformation der gantzen weiten Welt*), which was printed together with the first Rosicrucian manifesto, *Fama Fraternitatis*, in 1614 (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 352; see also Mark Haeffner, *Dictionary of Alchemy: From Maria Prophetissa to Isaac Newton* [London and San Francisco, California: Aquarian, 1994 {1991}], p. 196).

p. 9, ll. 9-10 The Author having laboured so long & done so much to serve & instruct the Publick, without any advantage to himself] A pointer to one of the three “satiric commandments” ruling the *Tale*: “Let there be no memory” (Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 133-41). Remarkably, the author’s memory stumbles as early as the following line when he boasts of having thought of a project which will “produce a handsom Revenue to the Author.” See also the note on “to procure Patents & Privileges for securing the whole benefit [of his publications] to himself” (p. 10, ll. 18-19). The authorial claim to have laboured tirelessly in the

service of an addressee, either individual or general, is a topos which Swift is likely to have remembered from Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (I, 136-45), which he read no less than three times in one year (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130).

p. 9, ll. 10-12 has at last thought of a project which will tend to the great benefit of all Mankind] See the gloss on "*For the universal benefit of Mankind*" (p. 9, l. 7).

p. 9, ll. 12-13 He intends to print by Subscription in 96. large volumes in folio] This plan anticipates the mock mode of another subscription venture outlined in the Advertisement for "The Author's Critical History of his own Times," first published in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* (18-21 March 1731/2): "*It is intended to be printed by Subscription, in a large Octavo; each Volume to contain 500 Facts, and to be sold for a British Crown ... the whole Work ... will be contained in eighteen Volumes*" (*Prose Works*, V, 346-47).

to print by Subscription] The *Tale-teller* announces the forthcoming publication of his "*Analytical Discourse upon Zeal, Histori-theo-physiologically considered ... in three large Volumes in Folio,*" which he designs "very shortly to publish by the *Modern way of Subscription*" (*Prose Works*, I, 86). As his annotators have pointed out, "Swift's description of the method as 'modern' is explained by its vogue in his day" (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, pp. 137-38n2). In fact, the practice had originated early in the seventeenth century and became widespread in the eighteenth (Sarah L. C. Clapp, "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, 29 [1931], 199-224; W. A. Speck, "Politicians, Peers, and Publication by Subscription, 1700-50," *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers [Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982], pp. 47-68; Brean S. Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670-1740: "Hackney for Bread"* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], pp. 69-71; see also Hermann J. Real, "Zensur zur Zeit Jonathan Swifts und Möglichkeiten ihrer Verhinderung," *Inquisition und Buchzensur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Hubert Wolf [Paderborn, München, Wien: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011], pp. 145-67 [153-54]).

96. large volumes] Two points may be made here: first, seven numerals occur in the first two paragraphs (p. 9, l. 9 - p. 10, l. 14), which are not transliterated and presumably reproduce the manuscript. Swift's holograph correspondence shows that he usually employed Arabic numerals for brevity, where formality would prescribe the words (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 110, 111, 130, 131, 137, 332, and *passim*; see also the holograph of *A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland upon Chusing a New Speaker*, Forster Collection, National Art Reference Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, catalogued as F.).

Second, 'ninety-six' may be nothing but a numerical hyperbole, just as 85 or 132 would be, to signal the preoccupation with quantity rather than quality, the (re)production of mass and the proliferation of matter, which Swift associated with the advent of the printed book and which he took to be a characteristic of Modern writing (Hermann J. Real, "A Taste of Composition Rare: The *Tale's* Matter and Void," *Reading Swift* [1998], pp. 73-90 [84-88]; see also the gloss on "by the greatness of their Number," *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>] p. 35, ll. 10-11). It is difficult to attach any symbolic significance to 'ninety-six.'

in *folio*] Most certainly, an allusion to Dryden's lavishly printed folio *Works of Virgil in English* of 1697, which were adorned with numerous engravings and dedicated to equally numerous members of the aristocracy (Hugh Macdonald, *John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* [London: Dawson, 1966], pp. 56-58; *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, III, 1003-1427; IV, 2030-32; Nicolas Barker, "The Morphology of the Page," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*, eds Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 248-67 [pp. 248-49]). In the *Tale*, Swift poked fun at "a certain Poet called *John Dryden*, whose Translation of *Virgil* was lately printed in a large Folio, well bound" (*Prose Works*, I, 22).

p. 9, ll. 13-14 an exact Description of *Terra Australis incognita*] One of the mock-titles preceding *A Tale of a Tub*: "A Voyage into England, by a Person

of Quality in Terra Australis incognita, translated from the Original. “*Terra Australis incognita*” signified “the unknown southern land [near Australia]” (ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 202); “And to speak my Thoughts freely, I believe ’tis owing to the neglect of this easie way that all that vast Tract of *Terra Australis* which bounds the *South-Sea* is yet undiscovered,” noted the famous English navigator and buccaneer William Dampier, who was in Swift’s library and to whom Swift was indebted for many aspects of *Gulliver’s Travels (A New Voyage round the World)*, introd. by Sir Albert Gray, and new introd. by Percy G. Adams [New York: Dover, 1968], p. 240 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 489-90]). In his *Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* (1690), Sir William Temple deprecated “the Defect or Negligence” of modern geographers by underscoring their ignorance about this *Terra Australis incognita* (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 27, 195 [ad 27.976-80], with maps). New Holland, so called by the Dutch seafarer Abel Tasman, was thought to be part of the large unknown continent of Australia and appears as the home of “*the Academy of the Beaux Esprits*” in the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (Online.Swift, forthcoming). See also, for the history of the discovery of Australia, with maps, Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia*, trans. Olaf Richter (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976).

In the *Tale’s* religious allegory, *Terra Australis incognita* signifies purgatory, a subtle touch of irony considering the fact that nothing was known about purgatory, either, and that even its very existence was contested (*Prose Works*, I, 66n*).

p. 9, ll. 14-16 collected with great care & pains from 999. learned & pious Authors of undoubted veracity]

with great care & pains] A formulaic phrase in *A Tale of a Tub* (KWIC, s.v.).

999. learned & pious Authors] If 999 is not an accidental but a symbolic number, the sheer multiplicity as well as variety of possible interpretations occludes a determinate significance. A dabbler in number symbolism, the

Tale-teller darkly refers to a “Panegyric Essay” of his on “the profound Number *THREE*” and “its two great Rivals *SEVEN* and *NINE*” (*Prose Works*, I, 35). But then, “nine is perfect, and the more perfect, since it is made of the multiplication of the perfect triad by itself” (Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970], pp. 34, 37; see also CURTIUS, pp. 501-14). If this is sound, it seems possible to regard 999 as a parodic multiplication of 333. Alternatively, 999 may be read as ‘three times nine,’ resulting in ‘twenty-seven’ and thus playfully uniting the three great rivals in one number, at least in the subtext. At the same time, Swift is always likely to have sent his readers on a wild-goose chase here, quietly laughing up his sleeve at the meaning-seekers.

p. 9, ll. 16-17 The whole Work, illustrated with Maps & Cuts agreeable to the subject, & done by the best Masters] See the note on “in *folio*” (p. 9, l. 13).

p. 9, ll. 17-19 will cost but a Guiney each volume to Subscribers, one guinea to be paid in advance, & afterwards a guinea on receiving each volume, except the last] The common practice in publishing by subscription (Clapp, “The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century,” pp. 203-4; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* [London: HarperCollins, 1997], pp. 164-66).

p. 9, ll. 19-23 This Work will be of great use for all men, & necessary for all families, because it contains exact accounts of all the Provinces, Colonys & Mansions of that spacious Country, where by a general Doom all transgressors of the law are to be transported] Although Parliament had established transportation to the American colonies “as a regular punishment for non capital offenses” as early as 1718, transportation to Australia was only considered and recommended at the end of the 1770s after “the usual destinations had been closed” (J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], pp. 470-83 [470], 592-94 [593], 599-601; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], pp. 16-18).

p. 9, ll. 23-25 & every one having this work may chuse out the fittest & best place for himself, there being enough for all so as every one shall be fully satisfied] This description of life in an eighteenth-century prison is less fanciful than it appears to be (even though the information about it is unlikely to have come from books given the high degree of contemporary illiteracy [see the gloss on p. 10, ll. 5-6). As has recently been pointed out, the majority of eighteenth-century prisons were “domestically organized,” with debtors forming the largest fraction of inmates, and keepers offering lodging that ranged downward to their private quarters, always provided that the price was right: “The keeper ran a monopolistic utility, a business whose captive clients were forced ... to subject themselves to bare survival on charity or to pay piecemeal charges for specific services or privileges: room, board, bedding, beverages, booking of admission, putting on chains, delivery of legal papers, removal of chains, recording of dismissal, and so forth.” As a result, “a typical prisoner,” in an eighteenth-century prison, “enjoyed a wide range of freedoms and pleasures,” the gravity of the prevailing “disease, drunkenness, and promiscuity” notwithstanding (John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987], pp. 11-40 [13, 18, 29]).

pp. 9-10, ll. 26-2 The Author supposes that one Copy of this Work will be bought at the publick Charge, or out of the Parish rates, for every Parish Church in the three Kingdoms, & in all the Dominions thereunto belonging] A reference to the scheme initiated by Thomas Bray, the Church of England clergyman, who in the 1690s “felt that one way to encourage clergymen to settle in the remote parishes would be to provide libraries for their use” (“Introductory Note,” *An Essay towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, both Divine and Human, in all the Parts of His Majesty’s Dominions*, ed. Lewis M. Stark [London: by E. Holt for Robert Clavel, 1697]), particularly in the poorer areas of England and Wales: “Taking the matter up with great vigour, he propounded, in a series of pamphlets, schemes for clerical lending libraries for the clergy of each deanery, smaller

fixed libraries for the rural clergy, and lay libraries for the use of parishioners” (Thomas Kelly, *Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* [London: The Library Association, 1966], pp. 21-23 [21]; for further details, see J. Trapman, “Thomas Bray, 1658-1730: Founder of Libraries in Great Britain and America, and his Edition of Erasmus’ *Ecclesiastes* [1730],” *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans R. Guggisberg*, eds Michael Erbe et al. [Mannheim: Palatium, 1996], pp. 393-404).

p. 10

p. 10, ll. 2-4 And that every family that can command ten pounds *per annum*, even tho’ retrenched from less necessary expences, will also subscribe for one] A manifestation of shameless self-assertion and hubris: no individual, let alone a family, would have been able to survive on an annual income of ten pounds. Around the turn of the century, the average English farmer, whose “standard of living was lower than that of tradesmen, shopkeepers, [and] artisans,” is estimated to have earned between £45 to £80 a year (Lindsay, *The Monster City: Defoe’s London, 1688-1730*, pp. 123-28). According to Gregory King’s “Scheme of the Income & Expence of the Several Families of England” calculated for the year 1688, clergymen and officers would have made approximately the same (Liza Picard, *Restoration London* [London: Phoenix, 1998], pp. 247-50). A budget of £45 to £80 “would have given pause for thought” even to anyone considering to become a patron of circulating libraries, for which he might be charged a relatively modest “three shillings a quarter” (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 177-78). Of course, the prices which members of the public were expected to pay for books would vary in accordance with the prices the undertaker had to pay his printers and stationers as well as for the quality of the paper, print, and binding (*The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements, 1686-1719*, eds Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Blagden [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956], pp. 70-74; James Raven, “The Book as a Commodity,” *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*,

eds Suarez and Hunter, 96-100), but whatever they were, no family with an annual income of ten pounds would have been able to afford a single book, no matter how inexpensive. See also the index of prices and pay indicating how far money would take an eighteenth-century Londoner in Picard, *Dr Johnson's London: Life in London, 1740-1770*, pp. 293-98.

p. 10, ll. 4-5 He does not think of giving out above 9 volumes yearly] See the gloss on p. 10, ll. 5-6.

p. 10, ll. 5-6 & considering the number requisite, he intends to print at least 100000. for the first Edition] Another wildly extravagant claim suggestive of pompous self-promotion given the fact that the population of London at the beginning of the eighteenth century had probably not exceeded 600,000, and that of the country as a whole not six millions (Lindsay, *The Monster City: Defoe's London, 1688-1730*, pp. 122-23; Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* [Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1996], p. 98; Picard, *Dr Johnson's London: Life in London, 1740-1770*, pp. 3, 299). Even at the end of the century, the reading public was estimated at only 80,000 (Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962], pp. 35-36), with male literacy at presumably sixty per cent and female literacy at forty per cent by the mid-eighteenth century and before, in the aggregate, "more than half of the population" being illiterate (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 167-97 [167-68]; David Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730," *The Historical Journal*, 20 [1977], 1-23 [p. 8]; see also Michael F. Suarez, SJ, "Introduction," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, eds Suarez and Turner, V, 1-35 [pp. 8-12]). The highest sales recorded for the beginning of the eighteenth century were political pamphlets, such as Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies*, of which, Swift told Stella in January 1712, 11,000 had been sold, "a most prodigious run," as he rightly noted (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, II, 474). By contrast, booksellers' trade sales averaged between 500 and 1,500 copies for 'normal' publications throughout the eighteenth-century (Karl Tilman Winkler, *Wörterkrieg: politische*

Debattenkultur in England, 1689-1750 [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998], pp. 128-34).

p. 10, ll. 6-8 He's to print Proposals against next Term, with a Specimen, & a curious Map of the Capital City]

to print Proposals] Originally, the function of subscription ventures consisted in facilitating, or even enabling, the production of multivolume editions, collaborative compendia, and reference works which were time-consuming to compile and which may also have been beyond the financial means of individual printing houses. To solicit subscriptions for these projects, it was necessary to print proposals advertising the ventures with an invitation to subscribe (Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 164-66; Raven, "The Book as a Commodity," *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*, eds Suarez and Hunter, 85-117 [pp. 108-10]). A prominent case in point was Brian Walton's *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, which came out in six massive folios between 1653 and 1657 and for which the London printer Thomas Roycroft raised the staggering sum of £8,000 (Clapp, "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century," pp. 218-21), after having printed proposals in 1652 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 209-12). Another (admittedly later) example is the seven-volume edition of the history of his own times by the French historian and collector, Jacques Auguste de Thou, *Jac. Augusti Thuani historiarum sui temporibus* (1733), for which Samuel Buckley, who succeeded Charles Ford as Gazetteer, published proposals in 1728 and for which Lord Lieutenant Carteret, as Swift complained in letters to Gay in 1729 and 1730 forced the Dean "against [his] will to pay nine Guineas," "monstrous" and "unreasonable" as it was (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 268 and n5, 6; 291 and n3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1845-47]). Of course, the most famous of all proposals are Faulkner's Advertisements for his 1735 edition of the Dean's *Works*, the earliest of which came out as early as 1733 (*Prose Works*, XIV, 42-43, 46; *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 693 and n4, 748 and n7; IV, 17n4, and *passim*). Earlier in October 1712, Swift's dear friend Dr Arbuthnot had published *Proposals for Printing ... A Treatise of the Art of Political Lying* (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II,

6n6).

against next Term] Between 1668 and 1711, the London book trade would circulate catalogues called *Term Catalogues* usually four times a year, in February, May, June, and November. Listing books actually published and generally priced, these were subdivided into headings, such as Divinity, Physic, Mathematics, History, Law, etc. (Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928], pp. 138-39).

& a curious Map of the Capital City] Following perhaps the lead of Misson de Valbourg, *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre*, which was adorned with several ‘curious’ cuts of London sights.

p. 10, ll. 8-9 with its 12 Gates, from a known Author who took an exact survey of it in a dream] A self-enactment in the manner of St John’s vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (SCOTT XI, 210n*): “The holy Jerusalem ... had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels ... And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls” (Revelation 21:10-21). Unlike what the immediately preceding context suggests, it is not a reference to the number of London gates, some nine or ten of which can be identified in the early eighteenth century: Aldersgate, Aldgate, Billingsgate, Bishop’s Gate, Cripplegate, Ludgate, Moorgate, Newgate, and Middle Temple Gate. Contemporary Baedekers such as Chamberlayne’s *Angliæ Notitia* (pp. 427-28) and Guy Miège’s *Present State of Great Britain and Ireland* describe the gates as in “pretty good Repair” and as “adorned with *Statues*, in Niches, of some of [the British] Kings and Queens” (3rd ed. [London: by J. H. for J. Nicholson, *et al.*, 1716], p. 108).

p. 10, ll. 9-10 Considering the great care & pains of the Author] See p. 9, ll. 9-10.

p. 10, l. 10 & the usefulness of the Work] A typical pose of the Moderns who echoing their *spiritus rector*, Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, were in the habit of proclaiming an operational, utilitarian *telos* as the manifesto, and the guiding principle, of the New Science (*The Advancement of Learning*,

ed. Kiernan, p. 32 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]; see also J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth* [New York: Dover, 1960 {1932}], pp. 50-63; Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2nd ed. [St Louis: Washington University Press, 1961], pp. 59-60, 95-96, 150-55, and *passim*; Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660*, pp. 335-40, and *passim*). As one of the New Science's chief propagators, Joseph Glanvill, was to point out later in the century, the investigation of Nature was not for its own sake but for the purpose of "being *used* in the Services of Humane Life" (Glanvill, "Modern Improvements of Useful Knowledge," *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* [1676] [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979], pp. 1-56 [36]).

p. 10, ll. 10-13 he hopes every one will be ready, for their own good as well as his, to contribute chearfully to it, & not grudge him the profit he may have by it] See the gloss on p. 10, ll. 5-6.

p. 10, ll. 13-14 especially if it comes to a 3. or 4. Edition, as he expects it will very soon] As in the case of *A Tale of a Tub* and its companion pieces, in which the first four editions rapidly followed one another (see Textual Introduction to *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011] [<http://www.anglistik.uni-muenster.de/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>], pp. 1-3).

p. 10, ll. 15-17 He doubts not but it will be translated into foreign languages by most Nations of Europe as well as of Asia & Africa, being of as great use to all those Nations as to his own] An echo of *A Tale of a Tub*: "I hope, when this Treatise of mine shall be translated into Foreign Languages (as I may without Vanity affirm, That the Labor of collecting, the Faithfulness in recounting, and the great Usefulness of the Matter to the Publick, will amply deserve that Justice) that the worthy Members of the several *Academies*

abroad, especially those of *France* and *Italy*, will favourably accept these humble Offers, for the Advancement of Universal Knowledge” (*Prose Works*, I, 65). Like the virtuoso-persona of the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, the author of the Additions to the *Tale* shows himself aware of the fact that the adherents of the New Science from the start strove for the establishment of an international network for the advancement of learning (see the note on “I have not had a Line from the *Litterati* of *Tobinambou*,” Online.Swift, forthcoming).

p. 10, ll. 17-21 for this reason he designs to procure Patents & Privileges for securing the whole benefit to himself, from all those different Princes & States, & hopes to see many millions of this great Work printed in those different Countrys & languages before his death] The author (whoever he is) here casts himself not only in the role of chief propagator of learning but also, shamelessly, as sole profiteer (p. 10, ll. 9-14). This self-projection reads like an oblique criticism of the practice, common in the eighteenth-century book trade, that “many bookseller-publishers continued to prosper under the protection of jealously guarded reproduction monopolies” (Raven, “The Book as a Commodity,” *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*, eds Suarez and Hunter, 85, 106-8). Such “protected reprinting rights” were assigned to the King’s Printer in London, for example, for the production of the Authorized (or King James) Version of the Bible as well as the Book of Common Prayer. Likewise, the Stationers’ Company claimed “its exclusive right to print and publish almanacks in perpetuity.” Similarly, Swift’s friend John Barber was authorized by the Speaker’s imprimatur to print the *Votes of the House of Commons*, which “could only be printed by order of the House” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 646 and n4), as were later William Bowyer, father and son (see B. J. McMullin, “The Bible Trade,” Robin Myers, “The Stationers’ Company and the Almanack Trade,” and Keith Maslen, “A Year’s Work in the London Printing House of the Bowyers,” all in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, V: 1695-1830*, eds Suarez and Hunter, pp. 601-3, 723-26, 227-28).

to see many millions of this great Work printed in those different Countrys & languages before his death] Perhaps an example of self-parody in

as much as Swift himself displayed some concern with the translation of his writings into foreign languages, a concern which found vivid expression in his letter to the Abbé Desfontaines, the translator of the second French version of *Gulliver's Travels* (David Woolley, "Swift's Letter to Desfontaines, 1727: The Autograph First Draft," *Swift Studies*, 2 [1987], 107-13; *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 111-13; Paul-Gabriel Boucé, "Gulliver's Frenchified Travels to Blefuscu: The First Two Translations," *Reading Swift* [2003], pp. 379-86). In 1736, Swift agreed with Dr William King, Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford, to prevail on Dr Andrew Ramsay to translate *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* into French (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, IV, 346 and n3; TEERINK AND SCOUTEN 814).

p. 10, ll. 22-26 After this business is pretty well establisht, he has promised to put a Friend on another Project almost as good as this; by establishing Insurance-Offices every where for securing people from shipwreck & several other accidents in their Voyage to this Country] Reminiscent of the "*Office of Ensurance*, for Tobacco-Pipes, Martyrs of the Modern Zeal, Volumes of Poetry, Shadows, - - - - - and Rivers" with which Swift ridiculed the Catholic practice of selling indulgences (*Prose Works*, I, 67n*).

p. 10, ll. 26-28 & these Offices shall furnish, at a certain rate, Pilots well versed in the Route, & that know all the Rocks, shelves, quicksands &c. that such Pilgrims & Travelers may be exposed to] JOHNSON finds this metaphorical sequence recorded in Boyle (II, s.v. shelf), although it is likely to have been commonplace at the time (*Publii Virgiliti Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis* [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1701], p. 560 [X, 693-96] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; SHAKESPEARE, *The Third Part of Henry VI*, V, iv, 2613-19).

shelves] "A sandbank in the sea or river rendering the water shallow and dangerous" (OED).

p. 10, ll. 29-31 but the whole Scheme of this matter he's to draw up at large & communicate to his Friend] See p. 10, ll. 15-17.

p. 10, ll. 33-34 *Here ends the Manuscript, there being nothing of the following piece in it* “The following piece” may be taken to refer to *The Battle of the Books* (see the Historical Introduction, p. 8; see also the Historical Introduction to *The Battle of the Books*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, and Sandra Simon [Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, October 2011] [<http://www.uni-muenster.de/EnglishDepartment/Swift/online.swift/works/battleofthebooks/>], p. 22).

p. 11

[*A Description of the Kingdom of Absurdities*] One of the mock-titles preceding *A Tale of a Tub* promises “*A Description of the Kingdom of Absurdities*.” While on the evidence of two usually reliable sources, John Nichols and John Lyon, both of whom would have been sufficiently familiar with Swift’s writing, “some sketches” of this existed in Swift’s own hand (espoused by Charles Henry Wilson in his edition of *Swiftiana*, 2 vols [London: Richard Phillips, 1804], II, 171), nothing is known about their provenance, ownership, and whereabouts (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 351; see also the Textual and Historical Introduction, p. 17-19). But Swift was genuinely preoccupied with the subject of political, religious, and moral ‘absurdity,’ as may be seen from a longer, equally unfinished piece surviving in manuscript entitled “Of Publick Absurdities in England” (*Prose Works*, V, 79-82). Of all the “remote Nations” which Gulliver visits, Laputa, including the Grand Academy of Lagado, is perhaps the best illustrative example (LAMOINE, p. 94n2).

Absurdities] Given the overall significance of Hobbes for the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, and these Fragments, too (see the gloss on “*For T. H. Esquire*,” Online.Swift, forthcoming), it may not be amiss to note that the philosopher of Malmesbury, in the *Leviathan*, discourses at some length on “Absurdity” and its causes, declaring “Absurdity” a privilege “to which no living creature is subject, but man

onely” (p. 20 [I, v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]): the ‘mechanical’ philosopher is here taken at his word by his namesake.

p. 11, l. 5 The houses of gun-powder] “From the beginning some advocates of modernity had, at the least, an awareness that gunpowder was a dubious friend” (Roy S. Wolper, “The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress,” *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 [1970], 589-98 [pp. 593-97]). For Swift, it was more than that: the invention of gunpowder was a profoundly misanthropic act, as hostile and destructive as it was inhuman, barbaric, and cruel. In *Gulliver’s Travels*, he made the philosopher-king of Brobdingnag tell the visitor: “Some evil Genius, Enemy to Mankind, must have been the first Contriver [of gunpowder and its destructive Machines]” (II, vii, 2-4). In this condemnation, Swift followed the humanist criticism of war as elaborated by, among others, Spenser and Daniel, Ariosto, and Milton, who had denounced the cannon as “a devilish engine,” “wrought / In deepest Hell, and fam’d by *Furies* skill,” and as an instrument “to plague the sons of men / For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent” (*Fairy Queen*, in *The Works* [London: by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, 1679], p. 28 [I, vii, 13]; *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler [London and New York: Longman, 1971], pp. 191, 333-34 [IV, 17; VI, 498-505 and nn] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1559-63; 1720-22]), not to mention Erasmus and Rabelais (J. R. Hale, “Gunpowder and the Renaissance: An Essay in the History of Ideas,” *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. Charles H. Carter [London: Jonathan Cape, 1966], pp. 113-44; Ian Simpson Ross, “Satire on Warmongers in *Gulliver’s Travels*, Books One and Two,” *The Perennial Satirist: Essays in Honour of Bernfried Nugel*, eds Peter E. Firchow and Hermann J. Real [Münster: LIT, 2005], pp. 49-65).

p. 11, ll. 5-7 and as they are apt to get drunk, they leave candles lighting, so that they have fires very frequently] “Urban authorities across the country periodically reminded citizens of their obligation to reduce the risk of fire” (Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise & Stench in England, 1600-1770* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007], pp. 134-35). See

also the gloss on “a short Advice of their Father’s in the Will, to take Care of *Fire*, and put out their *Candles* before they went to Sleep” (*Prose Works*, I, 52).

p. 11, ll. 7 The children always die there before their parents] An idea which resurfaces in *Gulliver’s Travels*: “The Children of the *Struldbruggs* ... were equally mortal with the rest of the People” (*Prose Works*, XI, 207 [III, x, 2]).

p. 11, ll. 8-10 There is a sort of flying insect in their jakes, which has cruel teeth, and is fond of human testicles, so that when a man goes there upon his occasions, it is forty to one but he comes away without them] Presumably, a reference to *phthirus pubis*, crab louse or pubic louse, causing *phthiriasis*, usually a sexually transmitted infection in which lice multiply excessively and cause extreme irritation; “Infestation with lice; (in later use) *spec.* infestation with pubic (crab) lice (*Phthirus pubis*)” (OED). As the father of microscopy, Robert Hooke, admitted in his *Micrographia* of 1665, the louse was part and parcel of everyday life, “a Creature so officious, that [it would be] known to every one at one time or other,” but if Swift did see a copy of *Micrographia*, of which admittedly there is no evidence, he could not have failed to notice the most minute engraving of a louse’s anatomy and its accompanying accurate description (*Micrographia: or, Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses*, ed. R. T. Gunther [New York: Dover Publications, 1961], pp. 211-13).

Remarkably, if not surprisingly given the correlation between *semen*, the male generative principle, and its formation in the head, or brain, it is not only the brain that is crowded with “little Animals” whose “Teeth and Claws [are] extremely sharp” (see the gloss on “Spirit,” *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, Online.Swift, forthcoming) but also its ‘opposite number.’

upon his occasions] “Something that a person needs to do” (OED); a euphemism for what Gulliver calls the “Necessities of Nature” (*Prose Works*, XI, 29 [I, ii, 2]). “It was not only the reading part [of *Aristotle’s Masterpiece*],” the excise officer John Cannon confessed to the voyeuristic itches of his adolescence, “[which] gave me occasion of many temptations to

watch the servant-maid when nature directed her to do her occasions at any place but more especially at the necessary house, which [to] further curiosity I made holes through the boards near the seat, & so planting myself at a small distance in an adjoining lunny house, I could plainly see the parts my lustful thought provoked & stirred me up unto” (*The Chronicles of John Cannon, Excise Officer and Writing Master*, ed. John Money, 2 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], I, 35-36).

p. 11, ll. 11-13 Nothing is so easy as to destroy those animals; and yet ask the reason, why they do it not? they say, It was their ancestors custom of old] In the early eighteenth-century, the easiest method would have been shaving since the lice die when removed from the human body.