An Abstract
of the
History of England

Commentary

p. 1

p. 1, l. 4 THE most antient account we have of Britain] This is presumably the geographical description of Britain in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (*Caius Ivlii Cæsaris Commentarii* [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1570], pp. 110-31 [VI, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 318-23]).

p. 1, ll. 4-5 the island was full of inhabitants] "All that we find related of [Britain] ... before the *Romans* entred, is, That the whole Country was filled with infinite numbers of People" (Sir William Temple, *An Introduction to the History of England* [London: Richard Simpson and Ralph Simpson, 1695], p. 6 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 1, ll. 5-7 divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first] "Their Government was ... of several small Nations under several petty Princes; which seem the Original Governments of the World" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 1, ll. 7-8 The bodies of the Britons were painted with a sky-coloured blue] "The Strangers who came over into this Island upon the score of Traffick ... called the Inhabitants by one common Name of *Briths*, given them from the Custom among them of painting their naked Bodies and small Shields with an azure Blew, which by them was called *Brith*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), echoed in all essentials by MORÉRI (s.v. 𝕭𝖗𝖎𝖙𝖆𝖎𝖓).

p. 1, ll. 8-9 either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies] "What was naked, was painted with Blew. This was universal among them, whether esteemed an Adornment, or of Terror to their Adversaries" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 1, ll. 9-10 In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews] According to Elias, an interpolated sentence not found in any of Swift's sources and an example of the lamented simplicity and naivety of his *Abstract*: "Apart from the very young and the very simple, how many people would find the observation worth recording for themselves, or deem it a valuable addition to their fellows' understanding?" (*Swift at Moor Park*, p. 319)

p. 2, l. 1 Their priests were called Druids] "In their Religion and their Laws they were wholly governed by their *Druids*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Swift would have found the same information in Diodorus Siculus (*The Library of History*, V, 31, 2), who was among the writers he read, and excerpted, during his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8 (*The Battle of the Books*, ed. Real, p. 128), as well as in various other writers in his library (among them, Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Marcus Meibomius, 2 vols [Amsterdam: H. Wetstein, 1692], I, i; Strabo, *Rervm geographicarvm libri XVII*, ed. Isaac Casaubon [Paris: Typis Regiis, 1620], p. 197 C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26; III, 1754-56]).

p. 2, l. 1 These lived in hollow trees] "Their Lives were simple and innocent, in Woods, Caves, and hollow Trees" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 12 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Elias calls this "an absurd compression of Temple's rather romanticized portrait" of the Druids, whom Sir William had celebrated earlier for "their astronomical sophistication," "their high moral standards and their temperate lives" (*Swift at Moor Park*, p. 319). While several of Swift's sources affirmed that the Druids "dwelled in deep forests with sequestered groves [nemora alta remotis / incolitis lucis" (*Pharsalia*, I, 453-54 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II,]), his claim that they also lived "in hollow trees" may be due to a misunderstanding, or misremembering, of Pliny the Elder, who in his *Natural History* had maintained that for the Druids nothing "was more sacred than *the tree in which they were born* [nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant Magos) ... arbore in qua gignantur ... sacratius" (*C. Plinii Secvndi Historiæ naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. Johannes de Laet, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 190 [XVI, xliv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459-60]).

p. 2, ll. 2-3 and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition] As pointed out by Elias (*Swift at Moor Park*, p. 319), this claim was copied verbatim from Samuel Daniel (*The Collection of the History of England* [London: Simon Waterson, 1626], p. 3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I,

493]), and echoed by Temple: "[Their learning] was derived by long Tradition among them" (*Introduction*, p. 12 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Swift's knowledge of the Druids may also have been based on the famous geographical description of Britain in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (*Caius Ivlii Cæsaris Commentarii*, p. 117 [VI, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 318-23]). The verbal resemblances between Swift and Col. Martin Bladen's translation seem rather arresting: "For they never commit [their verses] to Writings" (*Commentaries of his War in Gaul*, 3rd ed. [London: J. Knapton, *et al.*, 1719], p. 115). In *Britannia*, whose first edition came out in 1586, Camden supplied a generous summary of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* ([Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1970], pp. 9-10 [references are to the 1607 edition]). An echo of this notion occurs in Gulliver's description of Houyhnhnm culture: "THE *Houyhnhnms* have no Letters, and consequently, their Knowledge is all traditional" (*Prose Works*, XI, 273 [IV, ix, 5]).

p. 2, l. 4   The Britons had wives in common] "Every Man married a single Woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his Wife: But it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more ... as they could agree, to have all their Wives in common" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 14 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 2, l. 5   and the children were in Common to that society] "Every Womans Children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a share in the Care and Defence of the whole Society, since no Man knew which were his own" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 14 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Again, a thought that seems to have fobbed off onto Houyhnhnm attitude towards their "Colts or Foles": "I observed my Master to shew the same affection to his Neighbour's Issue that he had for his own" (*Prose Works*, XI, 268 [IV, viii, 10]).

p. 2, ll. 6-7   Julius Cæsar, the first Roman Emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain] "This famous *Roman* Leader then Governour of *Gaul*, after having subdued all that Province ... was the first we read of with any certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with Foreign Arms" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 16-17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). A more detailed description of Caesar's conquests of Gaul and Germany followed by an account of the invasion of Britain is provided by Laurence Eachard's *Roman History, from the Building of the City to the Perfect Settlement of the Empire* (London: by T. Hodgkin for M. Gillyflower, *et. al.*, 1699 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 552]), pp. 300-4, 306-10. This edition was not in Swift's library at the time of writing the *Abstract* but came back to Swift after Stella's death. There is evidence to assume, however, that Swift

had bought, and probably annotated, it for the ladies on their removal to Dublin in 1703 (Hermann J. Real, "Stella's Books," *Swift Studies*, 11 [1996], 70-83 [pp. 77, 80-81]).

the first Roman Emperor] Augustus (63 BC–AD 14), born Gaius Octavius, was the first of the Roman Emperors. But then, Emperor was also "the rendering of Latin imperator in its republican sense (now replaced by the Latin word)" (OED). Accordingly, LITTLETON defines "Imperator" as "the General of an Army" (s.v.), as in SHAKESPEARE, *Anthony and Cleopatra* (IV, xv, 2438). More precisely, it was a title given to a victorious general. After Caesar's victories in the Civil War, the senate bestowed the title of *Imperator* upon him, "not in that sense as Generals were wont to have it given 'em by their Soldiers after some worthy Exploit; but as it signify'd the greatest Authority in the Commonwealth" (Eachard, *Roman History*, p. 365 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 552]).

p. 2, ll. 7-8 rather to increase his glory than conquests] "This affinity made [the Britons] frequently assist the *Gauls* upon the Coasts, in their Wars against the *Romans*, and gave the first Occasion of *Cesars* invading *Britain* for Revenge and Safety, as well as Conquest and Glory" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). In Eachard's *Roman History* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 552), Caesar was motivated to undertake the first expedition into Britain "by the greatness of his Courage, and his desire of Glory" (pp. 306-7); ambition to "[enlarge] the *Roman* Dominions" and to "[encrease] his own Reputation" made him resolve upon a second expedition the following spring (p. 308).

p. 2, ll. 8-9 having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned] "Yet in two Expeditions he made into this Island, he rather encreased the Glory than the Dominion of *Rome*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). According to Eachard's *Roman History*, Caesar defeated the natives in three battles and "finding the Season far advanc'd, he again put to Sea, and return'd to *Gaul*" (pp. 307-8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 552]).

p. 2, ll. 10-12 The next invasion of Britain by the Romans (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the Emperor Claudius] "The second Expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 34). Claudius, with full name Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, was Roman emperor from AD 41–54. "Wishing to prove that he was a benefactor to the State, [he] sought to make war everywhere and to gain victories on every hand. So he made an expedition to Britain," though not entirely successfully, according to

Bede: "He received the surrender of the greater part of the island" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds Colgrave and Mynors, p. 23 [I, iii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-174]; see also Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum* [London: Thomas Marsh, 1570], pp. 93-94 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). See also p. 2, l. 12.

(then masters of most of the known world)] "That mighty Republick ... had before subdued and reduced into Provinces so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe, Asia* and *Africa*" (Temple, *Introduction,* p. 17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Daniel describes Rome as "that all-incompassing State" (*Collection of the History of England,* p. 3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 2, l. 12 but it was not wholly subdued till that of Nero] "[Gaius Julius Cæsar] onely subdued the South parts" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England,* p. 2 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). Nero, originally Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who assumed on his adoption the name of Nero, was Roman Emperor from AD 54-68. "Yet one strong Endeavour more was made for their Liberty, in the time of *Nero* ... [when] not only the *British* Liberties, but their very Hopes, too, [ended] ... ever to recover them" (Temple, *Introduction,* pp. 35-36 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). An explanation for the British rising may have been that the non-belligerent Nero "undertook no military campaigns of any kind," as Bede reports (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds Colgrave and Mynors, p. 25 [I, iii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]).

p. 2, ll. 12-15 It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from Rome, as Ireland is now by deputies from England; and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years] "LIEUTENANT [of *lieu,* F. a Place, and *tenens, L.* holding, or q. *locum tenens, L.*] one who supplies the Place of another; a Deputy or Officer who holds the Place of a Superior, and does his Office when absent" (BAILEY [1730], s.v.). Again, Daniel explains: "During the Domination of the *Romans,* [the State of *Brittaine*] was gouerned by their Præfects" (*Collection of the History of England,* p. 3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

as Ireland is now by deputies from England] The English perception of Ireland as a colony to be governed by English Lord Lieutenants dates back to the reign of Edward III and was consolidated since the 1530s (Sabine Baltes, *The Pamphlet Controversy about Wood's Halfpence [1722-25] and the Tradition of Irish Constitutional Nationalism* [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2003], pp. 28-29; MOODY, pp. 39-44). According to MORÉRI, Henry VIII was the first to take "the Title of K. of *Ireland* in 1541" (s.v.). While the title of Lord Lieutenant for

the monarch's representative in Ireland "was conferred only upon senior peers" and became more common after 1660, Chief Governor, Viceroy, and (the inferior) Lord Deputy were also variously used. These titles were "not always synonymous," and although some "sensitivity over titles" was to be noted, in Swift's time, "the chief governors of Ireland were … in possession of extensive prerogative powers and expected to be the active agents of Crown policy in political, judicial and (when required) military affairs" (Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue, "Introduction," *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy, c.1541-1922*, eds Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue [Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 2012], pp. 1-14 [7]). The same collection also contains valuable essays on the issue by Ciaran Brady ("Viceroys? The Irish Chief Governors, 1541-1641," pp. 15-42 [16]), Charles Ivar McGrath ("Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Governance and the Viceroyalty," pp. 43-65), and James Kelly ("Residential and Non-Residential Lord Lieutenant – The Viceroyalty, 1703-1790," pp. 66-96).

p. 2, ll. 15-18   till that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recal their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the Britons, for their assistance against those Barbarians] "Upon the mighty Inundations of those barbarous Northern Nations, which under the Names of *Goths* and *Vandals* invaded the *Roman* Empire with infinite Numbers, Fury, and Danger to *Rome* it self, all the *Roman* Legions were at last drawn out of *Britain*, with most of the *Britains* that were fit for Military Service, to relieve the Emperor" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 42 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Bede more laconically states that after the conquest of Rome by the Goths, "the Romans ceased to rule in Britain [ex quo tempore Romani in Brittannia regnare cesserunt]" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 40-41 [I, xi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-174]). In this, he was followed by Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 2, 19-21 The Roman conquests in this island reached no further northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glasgow are seated] "*Julius Agricola* first discovered it to be an Island … and extended and pacified the Bounds of his Province to the Neck of Land between the two Fryths about *Sterling* and *Glasco*" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 36-37 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). See also the gloss on p. 2, ll. 24-25.

p. 2, l. 21 The region beyond was held not worth the conquering] "The Northern side of that Country … the *Romans* esteemed not worth the Conquering"

(Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 38-39). According to Camden's *Britannia* the northern parts were not attractive to the Romans because of "their inclement climate, frozen places, inundations, and swamps [quæ coeli inclementia rigent, confragosis locis horrent, & Oceani alluuionibus paludibùsque stagnant]" (p. 82).

p. 2, l. 22 It was inhabited by a barbarous people] "It seems probable, that vast numbers of a savage People, called *Scyths*, at some certain time, began and atchieved the Conquest of the *Northern* Parts ... of *Britain* ... and by an easie Change of the word, were called *Scots*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 22 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). For his etymological speculations on 'Scots,' Sir William was presumably indebted to Camden's *Britannia*: "Anglos non alio vocant nomine, quàm *Sassons,* quòd a Saxonibus originem ducamus; velim vt Scoti primùm perpendant, num sic dicti fuerint à vicinis quasi Scythæ. Quemadmodum enim Germani inferiores *Scythas* & Scotos vno nomine *Scutten* appellant; sic Britannos nostros vtròsque *Y-Scot* dixisse è Britannis scriptoribus obseruatum est" (Camden, *Britannia* [1607], p. 86). The derivation subsequently became so common that it was referred to in the Chamberlaynes' *Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia* as general knowledge: "It is most probable, that *Scot* and *Scythian* are derivable from the same Root" (*Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia: or, The Present State of Great-Britain,* 24th ed. [London: Timothy Goodwin, *et. al.,* 1716], p. 309).

p. 2, l. 22 called Caledonians] "The North-East part of *Scotland* was by the Natives called *Cal Dun,* which signifies a Hill of Hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Caledonia*" (Temple, *Introduction,* pp. 5, 38 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). "Caledonia, the Antient Name of *Scotland,* whence the People were named *Caledones,* or *Caledonii,* and the Footsteps of this Antient Name are yet to be found in the word *Dunkelden,* which signifies an Hill full of Hasel Trees, wherewith that Country abounds" (MORÉRI, s.v.). For the information that the 'Caledones' were indeed natives, Temple may again have relied on Camden (*Britannia* [1607], p. 83), who in turn drew on Tacitus' *Agricola,* a monograph in praise of the eponymous Roman general and governor of Britain.

p. 2, l. 23 and Picts] "These native *Britains* were by them called *Picts,* from the Custom they still retained of Painting their Bodies and their Shields" (Temple, *Introduction,* p. 21 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). See the gloss on p. 1, l. 7.

p. 2, ll. 23-24 who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the British borders]
"[They] continued long to infest the Frontier Parts of the *Roman* Colonies in
Britain, with great fierceness, and many various Events" (Temple, *Introduction*,
pp. 30, 40 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), again largely drawn from Daniel:
"The *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State,
and much afflicted the *Britaines*" (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 5
[PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 2, ll. 24-25 Therefore the Emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to
Glasgow, to prevent the invasions of the Picts] It is difficult to say why Swift chose
to credit the Emperor L. Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) with building this
Roman wall. As Temple was aware, the whole issue was already controversial
among his contemporaries: "Nor is it indeed agreed by Authors which ... began or
finish'd it." For reasons only known to himself, Temple opted for Cn. Iulius
Agricola, whose distinguished governorship of Britain (AD *c.*77-84) his son-in-law,
Tacitus, had extolled in his eponymous biography (AD 98). Drawing presumably
on Tacitus' Chapter 23 (see Tacitus, *Das Leben des Iulius Agricola*, ed. Rudolf
Till [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961], pp. 36, 70
[PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1787-88]), Temple claimed that "*Agricola* began,
and in some manner finished, a Wall or Vallum, upon that narrow space of Land
that lies between the two Fryths or Bayes of the Eastern and Western Seas; upon
which *Glasco* and *Sterling* are seated." Agricola fortified this pass between the two
points, Temple continued, "with Towers and Ramparts, to make it defensible
against those barbarous Nations," concluding on the assertion: "This was
afterwards repaired and stronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*" (*Introduction*,
pp. 38-39 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).
    Both Temple and Swift seem ignorant of the *three* fortifications built across
northern England and Scotland during the Roman Empire. The first of these, the
southernmost wall, was begun by Agricola, the second, the middle one, by the
Emperor Hadrian, and the third, known as the Antonine Wall, or Severan Wall,
the northernmost, during the reign of Antoninus Pius about AD 142. As Swift
might have remembered from his reading of Aelius Spartianus' *Life of Hadrian*
contributed to the *Historia Augusta*, a collection of biographies of the Roman
emperors from Hadrian to Carinus and Numerian modelled on Suetonius' better-
known *Lives of the Caesars*, which he owned and annotated (Hermann J. Real,
"Swift and Flavius Vopiscus," *Swift Studies*, 24 [2009], 171-74), Hadrian, on the
occasion of his visit to Britain in AD 122, "corrected many abuses and was the *first*
to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians
from the Romans [in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum

primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret]" (*The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. and trans. David Magie, 3 vols [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1967-68], I, 34-35 and n2 [XI, 2]). In his *Life of Antoninus Pius*, also contributed to the *Historia Augusta*, Julius Capitolinus describes the origin of the Antonine Wall in probably AD 142: "Lollius Urbicus, [Antoninus'] legate, overcame the Britons and built a second wall, one of turf, after driving back the barbarians [nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto]" (*The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. and trans. Magie, I, 110-11 [V, 3]). This wall was partly destroyed and abandoned during the risings of the northern tribes under the Emperor Commodus, but repaired in a lengthy process lasting from AD 197 to 208 by Septimius Severus, hence the Severan Wall (see also MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔄𝔫𝔱𝔬𝔫𝔦𝔫𝔲𝔰, 𝔓𝔦𝔲𝔰: "[He] by the Conduct of *Lollius Urbicus* quieted the *Britains*, and rais'd a Wall to defend them from the *Scots* and *Picts*," and s.v. Severus, Septimius: "Afterwards he quelled the *Britains* rebelling against him, and built the Wall that bears his Name, the Ruins whereof are still to be seen to this day"; Beda Venerabilis, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 25-27 [I, v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]; Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 2, l. 25-26 It is commonly called the Picts Wall] "Lat. *Vallum Hadriani, Murus Picticus*, a famous wall in *Northumberland* which reach'd from *New-Castle* upon *Tine* to *Carlisle* in *Cumberland*, the space of 80 miles, so that it extended almost from Sea to Sea ... This Wall was built by the *Romans*, when possessed of this part of *Britain*, to defend it from the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, from whom it took the denomination of *Picts Wall*" (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔓𝔦𝔠𝔱𝔰 𝔚𝔞𝔩𝔩). MORÉRI may have translated from Philippus Ferrarius, whose *Novum lexicon geographicum* was also in Swift's library: "Vallum, the *Pictsvval* adhuc dictum, murus Albionis, quem Hadrianus Imperator inter Britanniam I, hoc est, Angliam, et Britanniam II. Scoti[a]m, ad reprimendas barbarorum incursiones, ædificavit" (2 vols [Eisenach: Johann Peter Schmidt, 1677], s.v.; see also "Murus Picticus" [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 615]). Camden's account of "Vallvm siue Murus Picticvs" is even more detailed (*Britannia* [1607], pp. 648-53). The fact was common knowledge even though this may not have been based on personal observation. In a jocular letter of 30 June 1730, his 'Brother' Lord Bathurst told Swift that "there are Yahoos in Neighbourhood, but having read in History that the southern part of Britain was long defended ag[ain]st the Picts by a wall, I have fortified my territories all round" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 316).

p. 2, ll. 27-29   These Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infest and invade the Britons by sea and land] "As the *Roman* Forces decreased in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* still more boldly infested the Northern Parts, crossing the Fryths, and hovering about the Coasts in little Boats of Wicker ... filled all ... with Spoil and Slaughter" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 41, 42-44 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Similarities in style and content suggest that Sir William drew on Matthew of Westminster's more elaborate account (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 146-47, 153 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 2, ll. 29-31   The Britons chuse Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons (a fierce northern people) to assist him against those Barbarians] "These fierce People were called *Saxons* ... To these *Vortigern*, chosen King by the deserted and afflicted *Britains*, made Address for Aid against the *Picts* and *Scots*" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 47 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). The same information was available from Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 6 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]), and Richard Verstegan: "The *Britains* ... elected *Vortigern* to be their King, who having lost ... twenty thousand men ... in a battle against the *Scots* and *Picts* ... was resolved to have fled into *Cambria*, but being by his Council and Nobility disswaded, he with their advice did send over for succour into *Germany* unto the *Saxons*, then the most renowned and warlike people of all the *Germans*" (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation* [London: Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1673], p. 126), as well as Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 153 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]) and Beda Venerabilis (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 48-49 [I, xiv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]). While Daniel describes the Saxon possessions in the North of Germany in some detail (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 6-7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]), MORÉRI provides a precis of the events (s.v. 𝕍𝕠𝕣𝕥𝕚𝕘𝕖𝕣𝕟; 𝕊𝕒𝕩𝕠𝕟𝕤).

p. 2, ll. 31-32 The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in several battles] "Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem uenerant, uictoriam sumsere Saxones [First they fought against the enemy who attacked from the north and the Saxons won the victory]" (Beda Venerabilis, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 50-51 [I, xv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]). Temple followed suit: "[The *Saxons*] marched against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in Conjunction with the *British* Arms, overthrew their Forces, in several Battels or Encounters with those cruel Ravagers, and beat them

back into the most Northern Parts of the Province" (*Introduction*, p. 48 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Like Matthew of Westminster, MORÉRI summarized these events in one sentence: "Thus the *Britains* under King *Vortigern* rid themselves of the *Picts*, by the help of the *Saxons*" (s.v. 𝕭𝖔𝖗𝖙𝖎𝖌𝖊𝖗𝖓; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 155 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 2, ll. 32-33 at last, pick quarrels with the Britons themselves] "The Province, now delivered and secured from their ancient Foes, Dissentions began to arise between the *Britains* and their new Allies" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 49, 60 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Temple may here have drawn on Beda: "In socios arma uertere incipiunt" [The Saxons] began to turn their weapons against their allies" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 52-53 [I, xv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]), or again MORÉRI: "[The *Saxons*] having now a Footing in so rich and fruitful an Island, pick'd Quarrels with the *Britains*" (s.v. 𝕭𝖔𝖗𝖙𝖎𝖌𝖊𝖗𝖓).

p. 2, ll. 33- 34 and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall] The story of this warring, ending with King Vortigern retiring to a castle in Wales, "wherein he afterward came to a miserable end," is told at length by Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 139-44). Temple, too, condensed a long account, presumably that of Daniel: "[The *Saxons*] had expelled the *Britains* out of the fairest and best of their ancient Possessions, and driven their greatest numbers, who escaped the Conqueror's Fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, Countries mountainous and barren" (*Introduction*, p. 56; Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805; I, 493]). In this assumption, Sir William was anticipated by Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 198-99 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

pp. 2-3, ll. 34-2 and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in Britain (by them now called England). These seven kingdoms are usually stiled the Saxon Heptarchy] Again, enumerated in detail by Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 144-45), who referred to these seven Saxon kingdoms as "Heptarchy" in his Index. MORÉRI accompanied his definition with a table comprising kingdoms and counties as well as first and last kings (s.v. 𝕳𝖊𝖕𝖙𝖆𝖗𝖈𝖍𝖞), possibly culled from Camden's *Britannia* ([1607], p. 113). Even so, Swift is closer to Temple: "They ... establish'd in it seven several Kingdoms, which were by the Writers of those Times, stiled the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*" (*Introduction*, pp. 55-56 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

(by them now called England)] According to Verstegan, it was "by the Ordinance of Noble King *Egbert*," King of the West Saxons, who "brought [the seven petty Kingdoms] into one Monarchy," that the country, "about the year of our Lord 800," was called "*Engaland*, and by abbreviation *England*" (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 161-62). In this assumption, he agreed with Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

Saxon Heptarchy] "This is a Word of a Greek Original, and is commonly used to signifie the South Part of *Britain* (since called *England*), which was divided among the *Saxons*" (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝕳𝖊𝖕𝖙𝖆𝖗𝖈𝖍𝖞).

p. 3

p. 3, ll. 3-4 About this time lived King Arthur (if the whole story be not a fable) who was so famous for beating the Saxons in several battles] "*Arthur*, so famous in the Traditions, or rather in the Romances of succeeding Ages, who is said to have gained twelve Battels over the *Saxons*" and whose "Reign or Atchievements ... must have been between the Years 460 and 500" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 51 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Although Temple is unlikely to have extracted this information from MORÉRI for reasons of chronology, his entry on Arthur is essentially identical with MORÉRI's, possibly because they relied on a common source. This may have been either the *Chronicon* of John Brompton, Abbot of Jervaux (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Roger Twysden [London: by James Flesher for Cornelius Bee, 1652], cols 1151-52 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), or the *Flores Historiarum* of Matthew of Westminster (pp. 186-87 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]), not to forget Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

if the whole story be not a fable] Not according to Matthew of Westminster, who 'authenticated' Arthur's life, reign, and military exploits, even if he admitted that historical evidence on the certainty of Arthur's death and grave was not forthcoming (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 185-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). Daniel joined Matthew in the conviction that King Arthur, "the noblest of *Brittaines*, a man in force and courage aboue man," was a historical figure (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 3, ll. 5-6 The Britons received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves] "The *Britains* began early to receive the Christian Faith; and as is reported from some of the Disciples themselves" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 66 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), modified by

Chamberlayne: "Christianity was very early planted in *England*; but when, or by whom, is very uncertain: probably in the latter end of the first, or the beginning of the second Century. In *Tertullian*'s [*c*.AD 160-c.225] Time, even that Part of *Britain* which did not own the *Roman* Yoke, submitted to the Name of Christ" (*Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia*, p. 32), a story confirmed by Camden (*Britannia* [1607], p. 47).

some of the disciples] Two disciples we have been able to identify are St Joseph of Arimathaea, who reportedly came to England with the Holy Grail and built the first church at Glastonbury, and the apostle St Simon, "the Less," who after Asian and African peregrinations is said to have come to Britain, where he was killed and buried (Camden, *Britannia* [1607], p. 47). However, Britain may be a misunderstanding for Britanny (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔖t. 𝔖imon).

p. 3, ll. 6-7   So that, when the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Christians] "When the *Romans* left the Province, [the *Britains*] were generally Christians" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 66 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 3, ll. 7-8 But the Saxons were Heathens] "The *Saxons* were a sort of Idolatrous Pagans" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 66 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), echoed by MORÉRI: "As to their Religion they were Idolaters" (s.v. 𝔖axons).

p. 3, ll. 8-9   till Pope Gregory the Great sent over hither Austin the Monk] Detailed accounts are in Beda (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 69-71 [xxiii], 133-35 [II, i] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]), and Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 155-62). In Temple's *Introduction*, it is Pope Boniface who sent "*Austin* the Monk to Preach the Gospel in *England* to the Heathen *Saxons*" (p. 67 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). In fact, it was Pope Gregory the Great who dispatched Augustine, soon to become the first Archbishop of Canterbury, to refound the Church of England. This story was told several times by

The manner of the first bringing and Preaching of the Christian Faith unto Ethelbert King of Kent.

various medieval chroniclers collected in Sir Roger Twysden's anthology. John Brompton, for one, writes in his *Chronicon*: "Anno gratiæ quingentesimo octogesimo octavo ... misit servus Dei *Gregorius Augustinum, et al*ios plures cum

eum monachos prædicaturos in *Angliam*" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 728; see also 435, and 1758-59 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Precis were available in Matthew of Westminster and MORÉRI (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 202 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]; s.v. 𝔈𝔫𝔤𝔩𝔞𝔫𝔡).

p. 3, ll. 9-10 by whom Ethelbert king of the South-Saxons, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity] Swift condenses Temple's account (*Introduction*, pp. 67-68 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). The same story was told by Beda (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 73-79 [xxv and xxvi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]), Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]), and the medieval chronicler Radulphus, Archbishop of Canterbury: "*Augustinus* à *Gregorio* papa transmissus in *Angliam Ædelbertum Cantiæ* regem ad fidem Christi convertit" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 435 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). An engraving of the event, "*The manner of the first bringing and Preaching of the Christian Faith unto* Ethelbert *King of* Kent" is in Verstegan (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 155-59), which may have been based on Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 202-3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

　　Ethelbert king of the South-Saxons] Æthelberht I, King of Kent (d.*c*.616).

p. 3, ll. 10-11 and the whole island soon followed the example] "whose example gave easie way for introducing the Christian Faith into his whole Kingdom" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 68 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]); again, echoed in MORÉRI (s.v. 𝔈𝔫𝔤𝔩𝔞𝔫𝔡).

p. 3, ll. 12-13 After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the Saxons] "The *Saxon* Heptarchy [was] extinguish'd by long and various Revolutions" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 69 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 3, ll. 13-14 Egbert, descended from the West-Saxon kings, became sole monarch of England] Unlike Swift who pleads for AD 819 (*Prose Works*, V, 4), Temple claims that "about the Year 830 ... *Ecbert* descended from the *West-Saxon* Kings ... became the first sole King or Monarch of *England*" (*Introduction*, pp. 61-62, 69), anticipated by Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]) and endorsed by MORÉRI: "[The *Heptarchy* of *England*] ... were reduced all into one by that most potent *West-Saxon* King, *Egbert*, who first laid the Foundation of the *English* Monarchy" (s.v. 𝔥𝔢𝔭𝔱𝔞𝔯𝔠𝔥𝔶; 𝔈𝔤𝔟𝔢𝔯𝔱). Various medieval chroniclers in Sir Roger Twysden's anthology

(*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 118, 449, 801-2, 2238 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and Matthew of Westminster chime in (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 282 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

Egbert] Ecgberht (d.839), King of the West Saxons since 802, annexed Kent, Surrey, Essex, and Sussex in the 820s.

p. 3, ll. 15-16 The language in Britain was British (now called Welch) or Latin] "The Language now of us called *Welsh,* is properly the ancient *British* Tongue" (Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, sig. A1r). The knowledge of Latin is attested by Bede and MORÉRI (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, p. 16 [I, i] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74]; s.v. 𝕰𝖓𝖌𝖑𝖆𝖓𝖉).

p. 3, l. 16 but, with the Saxons, English came in] "The Language which was either Latin or British, was now grown wholly Saxon or English" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 64 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 3, ll. 16-17 (although extremely different from what it is now)] Elias describes this parenthesis as an example of Swift's "solemn notes, seemingly [his] own interpolations" (*Swift at Moor Park*, p. 319).

p. 3, ll. 17-18 The present names of towns, shires, *&c.* were given by them] "The Land that was before divided into *Roman* Colonies or Governments, was so now into Shires, with Names given to them by the Saxons" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 64 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). MORÉRI agrees: "In the Reign of the *Saxon* King, *Alfred ... England* was first divided into Shires, or Counties, which are now 40 in number ... most of which take their Name from the respective Chief Towns," information possibly culled from Brompton's *Chronicon,* the *Flores Historiarum* of Matthew of Westminster (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝕰𝖓𝖌𝖑𝖆𝖓𝖉; *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 956-57; *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 185-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1875-76; III, 1213-15]) or Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 3, ll. 18-19 and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles] Unlike Verstegan, Temple refers to the immigration of vast numbers of Angles from Denmark as the reason for the name of England: "They gave a new Name at length to this Province, which from them was called *Angle-land,* and for easier sound *England*" (*Introduction*, pp. 55, 63-64 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). This view was commonplace. Matthew of Westminster, for one, could not

have been more succinct: "communiter statuerunt [reges Britanniae] quatenus insula ... ab Anglis An[g]lia vocaretur" (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 200 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]); MORÉRI, for another, followed suit: "*Egbert*, the 1st sole Monarch of the *Saxons* ... caus'd the Kingdom to be call'd *England*, *quasi Anglesland*, from whence came the name of *English*" (s.v. 𝕬𝖓𝖌𝖑𝖊𝖘). Both Beda and Brompton narrate the story of Pope Gregory's instructing the monk Augustine when setting out to England to convert the heathen Angles into *angeli*, angels (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, p. 134-35 [II, i]; *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 726, 779 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 171-74; III, 1875-76]).

p. 3, l. 19 who were a branch of the Saxons] "𝕬𝖓𝖌𝖑𝖊𝖘 ... came over with the *Saxons*" (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝕬𝖓𝖌𝖑𝖊𝖘).

p. 3, ll. 19-20 As soon as the Saxons were settled, the Danes began to trouble and invade them] Again, Swift condenses Temple's report, concluding on the Danes' "furious Invasions upon the Coasts of *England*" (*Introduction*, pp. 70-72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Both Matthew of Westminster and MORÉRI are in line with this account: "The Danes were formerly very powerful, having subdued *England*, and frequently invaded *Scotland*" (s.v. 𝕯𝖆𝖓𝖊𝖒𝖆𝖗𝖐; *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 300-1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 3, l. 21 as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons] "[The English had] grown as unequal a Match now for the *Danes*, as the *British* had been for the *Saxons* before" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 73 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), probably culled again from Daniel: "so that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Britaines*, and drew to setling of a Monarchy; the *Danes* ... began to assault them with the like afflictions" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 10 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 3, ll. 22-23 These Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway, a rough warlike people] Swift condenses Daniel's lengthier description of Danish origins and territory (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 10 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). Temple's description of them as a "fierce and barbarous People" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]) had already been suggested by Matthew of Westminster, who had denigrated the Danes as "a people unsurpassed in treachery and deceit [nulla gens proditione vel fraude eis consimilis]." Neither, Matthew continues, were piety, justice, and

honour virtues known to them (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 302 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> II, 1213-15]).

p. 3, ll. 23-24   little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours] "The *Danes* were ... next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 10 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> I, 493]).

p. 3, l. 25   After many invasions from the Danes] Elaborated by Temple, following Daniel (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 72-74; *Collection of the History of England*, p. 11 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> III, 1805; I, 493]); M<small>ORÉRI</small> provided a precis (s.v. 𝕬𝖑𝖋𝖗𝖊𝖉).

p. 3, ll. 25-26   Edgar king of England sets forth the first navy] Swift wrongly attributes to Edgar what in fact belongs to Alfred the Great (Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, p. 318). Following Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 12 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> I, 493]), Sir William Temple had correctly pointed out: "*Alfred*, to prevent the danger of New Invasions, began to Build Ships for the Defence of his Coasts, and *Edgar* a Prince of great Wisdom and Felicity in his Reign, applying all his thoughts to the encrease and greatness of his Naval Forces, as the true strength and safety of his Kingdom, raised them to that height both of Numbers and Force ... as proved ... sufficient to secure his own Coasts from any new Invasions" (*Introduction*, p. 75 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> III, 1805]), anticipated in the *Historia de gestis regum Anglorum* by Simeon of Durham and Matthew of Westminster (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 151; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 328 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> III, 1875-76; II, 1213-15]) and by M<small>ORÉRI</small>, who puts the figure at 4,500 ships (s.v. 𝕰𝖉𝖌𝖆𝖗).
     Edgar king of England] Edgar (943/4–975), also called Edgar Pacificus.

p. 3, ll. 26-27   He was entitled King of all Albion (an old name of this island)] "[Edgar] was intituled King of all *Albion*" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, pp. 12-13 [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> I, 493]).
     Albion (an old name of this island)] Although Verstegan devotes his whole Chapter IV to "*the Isle of* Albion," "the most famous and best Isle of whole *Europe*" (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, pp. 96-122), the parenthesis reads more like a translation of Beda's very first sentence: "Brittannia Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 14-15 [I, i] [P<small>ASSMANN AND</small> V<small>IENKEN</small> I, 171-74]), of 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]), or of Matthew of Westminster: "Erat tunc nomen insulæ Albion" (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 17 [Passmann and Vienken II, 1213-15]). For this, Temple provided a fanciful etymological explanation: "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" (*Introduction*, p. 2 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1805]). Similarly, Moréri reduced "the Ancient name of the Isle of *Great Britain*" to Latin "*Album*, White, by reason of the white Chalky Clifts on the Sea Coasts" (s.v.). Moréri may have remembered 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 I, 475]).

p. 3, l. 27 and was the first absolute monarch] "Hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this land"(Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 13 [Passmann and Vienken I, 493]).

Swift presumably used "absolute" in the sense of *legibus absolutus*, "free from any law, not subject to any restraint; unlimited." In Hobbesian terms, an absolute monarch is the sovereign whose "*Power cannot be forfeited*," whose "*Actions cannot be justly accused by the Subject*," and who, as a result, "*is unpunishable by the Subject*" (*Leviathan: or The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill* [London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], pp. 88-94 [89-90]). Hobbes was preceded, and supported, in these views by the adherents of the Divine Right of Kings, who propagated that God's Lieutenant on earth was above law. This doctrine was itself rooted in medieval sources (Glenn Burgess, "The Divine Right of Kings Reconsidered," *The English Historical Review*, 107 [1992], 837-61 [p. 838]).

p. 3, ll. 27-29 He made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the English] "Hee hauing first of all other made peace with the *Danes* and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 13 [Passmann and Vienken I, 493]). Again, John Brompton had summarized the facts in his *Chronicon*: "Hoc anno [873] *Anglii* cum *Daniis* pacem fecerunt eo pacto, ut *Danii* ab eis recederent. Quod & fecerunt, jurantes insuper, quod nunquam bellum seu guerram contra eum in terra sua iterum moverunt" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 810 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76]).

p. 3, ll. 30-31 In this Prince's time there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country] "And fiue Kings of *Wales* did [him homage] for their country" (Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 13 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). Likewise, MORÉRI speaks of five princes of Wales who "paid to the Crown of *England* a yearly Tribute" (s.v. 𝔚𝔞𝔩𝔢𝔰).

     homage] "Service paid and fealty professed to a sovereign or superior lord" (JOHNSON I, s.v.).

p. 3, ll. 32-33 These Danes began first to make their invasions here about the year 800] "About this time, a mighty Swarm of the Old Northern Hive ... began, under the names of *Danes* ... to infest at first the Sea, and at length the Lands of the ... *British* Shores, filling where they came, with Slaughters, Spoils, and Devastations" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 70-71 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 3, ll. 33-34 which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed] According to Temple, as many as "twelve Battels" were fought between the British and Danish forces in one year: "The *English* sometimes repulsed these Invasions" (*Introduction*, pp. 73-74 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

pp. 3-4, ll. 34-2 They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Winchester, &c.] "The *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invasions upon the Coasts of *England*, with mighty numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People ... Landing where-ever they found the Shores unguarded, filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, Spoil, and Devastations of the Country" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Simeon of Durham had prepared the ground for this view in his *Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*, in which he not only enumerated the names of the Danish leaders but also emphasized the burning and ravaging which accompanied their invasions – "Angliam occupant, cunctamque pervagantes incendio, rapinis, & strage devastant" – as well as the ignominious defeats they suffered in their encounters with their English opponents: "diutissime pugnaverunt *Angli* cum *Danis*, fortiter repugnantes quia viderunt atrociter regem bellare ipsorum, ideo fortiores hostibus facti sunt in bello. Cumque diutissime decertarent, & acerrime animoseque ex utraque parte pugnatum esset, maxima pars paganæ multitudines funditus deleter atque occisa est" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 13-14, 120 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). In his *Actus pontificum Cantuarensis*, Gervase of Canterbury repeated this version in all its literal and

metaphorical starkness: "Omnia rapinis & incendiis tradita sunt, civitates et oppida destructa sunt, & monasteria passim vacua vix remanserunt" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 1643 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). The only chronicler to name Winchester as a plundered city is William of Malmesbury, who, however, was not in Swift's library (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols [New York: Kraus, 1964], I, 122).

p. 4

p. 4, ll. 2-3 Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in England] For example, at Nottingham and Tetford, Lincolnshire, or on the Isle of Thanet, Kent (Brompton, *Chronicon* in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 807; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 311 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15; III, 1875-76]).

p. 4, ll. 3-4 fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the Saxon kings] "At length, [the Danes] fortified Posts and Passages, built Castles for defence of Borders" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 74 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 4, ll. 5-6 In process of time they mixed with the English (as was said before) and lived under the Saxon government] "The *Danes* encreasing still, by new Supplies of Numbers and Force, began to mingle among the Inhabitants of those parts they had subdued," living "peaceably throughout the Realm" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 74, 76 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), once more adopting Daniel's view (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 13 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 4, ll. 6-8 But Ethelred, then king of England, weary of the Danish insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the Danes are massacred in one day all over England] "[Ethelred] laid a design for the general Massacre of the *Danes* ... which was carried on with that secrecy and concurrence of all the *English*, that it was executed upon one day, and the whole Nation of the *Danes* massacred in *England* about the year 1002" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 76; endorsing Daniel's *Collection of the History of England*, pp. 14-15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805; I, 493]). The closeness of the wording suggests that Swift was here following Matthew of Westminster rather than Temple: "[Videns Danorum insolentiam], rex [Aethelredus], non mediocriter commotus ... misit literas in omnes regni fines, mandans nationibus singulis & vniversis, vt sub vna die ... omnes Dani per

Angliam constituti, furtiuo impetu morti traderentur, vt simul, & semel ab oppressione Danica omne genus liberaretur Anglorum" (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 391 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). MORÉRI, in his account of the King, emphasized that Ethelred's whole reign was overshadowed by invasions of the Danes, "who made great Progress in his Reign" (s.v. 𝔈𝔱𝔥𝔢𝔩𝔯𝔢𝔡).

Ethelred, then king of England] Ethelred II (*c*.966/8–1016), nicknamed the Unready, a younger son of King Edgar.

p. 4, ll. 9-10 Four years after, Sweyn, king of Denmark, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades England] "*Swane* King of *Denmark*, exasperated by the Slaughter of his Nation here, and among them of his own Sister, and animated by the Successes of so many private Expeditions; soon after landed with great Forces" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 77 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Temple seems to be following Matthew of Westminster: "[Principes Danici] omnes, quasi vno ore conclamantes, decreuerunt propinquorum & amicorum sanguinem fore vlciscendum. Auxit præetereà huius persecutionis rabiem, mors Gunnildis, sororis Suani regis, quæ nuper in Anglia fuit interfecta, in hunc modum" (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 391-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). In recounting the atrocities of the massacre, Daniel concluded dramatically: "Wrong had made [Swaine] a right, who had none before" (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

Sweyn, king of Denmark] Swein Haraldsson (d.1014), also known as Swein Forkbeard.

p. 4, ll. 10-12 and, after battles fought and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy] "[Swane] filled all with Spoil and Slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for Relief into Normandy" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 77 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Many of Swift's sources emphasized the congenital cruelty of King Swein, "a ruler prone to bloodshed and revenge [ad sanguinis effusionem pronus, ad vindictam animatus]" as well as a tyrant (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 392, 394 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). His expedition to, and subsequent conquest of, England was narrated in some detail by Radulphus of Canterbury and Matthew of Westminster, among others: "Rex *Danorum Suenus* ... iterum reversus ingenti classe ad *Sandicum* portum est appulsus ... totam *Angliam* in brevi sibi subjecit ... Quod videns rex *Egelredus*, præmissa sua regina *Emma* ... ad fratrem reginæ secundum *Ricardum Normannorum* Ducem, ipse subsecutus *Normanniam* venit" (*Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 465 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]; *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 392-94

[PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]); see also Brompton, *Chronicon* in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X,* col. 892). A marginal note in Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum* tersely summarized Ethelred's flight to Normandy and its accompanying circumstances: "Rex Aethelredus ad Normanniam fugit" (*Flores Historiarum,* p. 394 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 4, l. 13 Sweyn dying, his son Canutus succeeds in the kingdom] "Swane died … but left his Son *Canute* in a course of prosperous Fortunes," Temple recorded, in line with his probable sources, Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum* and Daniel (*Introduction,* p. 7; *Flores Historiarum,* pp. 394-95; *Collection of the History of England,* p. 15 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805; II, 1213-15; I, 493]). There is also a lengthy account of Canute's life and deeds in MORÉRI (s.v.).
    his son Canute] Cnut (d.1035), King of England, Denmark, and Norway.

p. 4, ll. 13-15 but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for succour] Swift basically followed Matthew of Westminster's factual account, even if he chose to omit Canute's more atrocious conduct towards English hostages on his enforced return to Denmark (*Flores Historiarum,* p. 395 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).
    succour] "Aid; assistance; relief of any kind" (JOHNSON I, s.v.).

p. 4, ll. 16 Ethelred dies, and his son Edmond Ironside succeeds] "Edmund, sirnamed *Ironside* for his great Strength, was King *Ethelred*'s Third Son, but the Eldest at the time of his Death, and succeeded him" (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔈𝔡𝔪𝔲𝔫𝔡), an explanation also offered by Brompton in his *Chronicon*: "Iste *Edmundus* tanti vigoris & probitatis extitit, ut 𝕴𝖗𝖊𝖓𝖊𝖘𝖎𝖉𝖊, i. *ferreum latus* diceretur, quia nullus in bello fortior eo fuit" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X,* col. 903 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and almost reiterated verbatim by Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum,* p. 396 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).
    Edmond Ironside] Edmund II (d.1016), son of Ethelred II, known as Ironside for his bravery.

p. 4, ll. 16-18 but, Canutus returning with fresh forces from Denmark, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both] "Coming out of *Denmark* with new Forces in two hundred Ships, [Canute] reduced *Edmund* Son of *Ethelred* … to a Division of the whole Kingdom between them" (Temple, *Introduction,* p. 78 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Sir William supplies a

much compressed account of Matthew of Westminster, in whose elaborate and colourful narration battles are given pride of place. In due course, and after an indecisive encounter in single combat between Canute and Edmund, the fury of warring ceded to the tranquillity of peace, with the result that the kingdom was divided between the rulers: "Diuiditur inter duos regnum" (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 396-400, 401 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]), taken over by Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 16 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 4, l. 18 Edmond dying] Temple calls Edmund's dying an "untimely Death" (*Introduction*, p. 78 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), presumably because Edmund after having successfully liberated parts of England from Danish oppression died by a traitor's hand (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 401; Daniel, *Collection of the History of England*, p. 16 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15; I, 493]). Once more, Swift toned down the cruelties and bloodshed of warfare in his source.

p. 4, l. 19 his sons are sent beyond sea by Canutus] Having been "acknowledged and received for King of *England*," Canute "cuts off some of the Royal Line, and forced others into Exile" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 78 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Sir William's euphemism veils the fact that Canute sent Edmond's sons to Sweden to have them killed there, a charge confirmed by the majority of sources: "parvo elapso tempore ad regem *Suavorum* occidendos misit (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 176 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]; see also, among others, Radulphus of Canterbury, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* and Brompton, *Chronicon*, both in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 466, 907 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), as well as Matthew of Westminster and Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 16-17; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 402; [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15; I, 493]).

p. 4, l. 20 who now is sole king of England] "Cnuto rex totum Angliæ regnum inuadens" (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 401 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). In a marginal gloss of Daniel's *Collection*, Cnut is described as "the most absolute Monarch of this Kingdome, of any that was before him" (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 18 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

p. 4, l. 21 Hardicanute, the last Danish king, dying without issue] "But *Hardecnute*, last of the *Danish* Kings [died] suddenly" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 79 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Various medieval chroniclers are agreed

that Hardicanute died unexpectedly from a stroke suffered during a drinking bout without having regained consciousness: "repente inter bibendum miserabili casu in terram corruit, & sic mutus permanens ... expiravit" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 474, 179 [*recte* 181], 934 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). This was confirmed by Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, pp. 18-19 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

Hardicanute, the last Danish king] Harthacnut (*c*.1018-42), King of England and Denmark, son of Cnut and Emma of Normandy, "Hardecnutum filium Cnutonis ex Emma regina" (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 409; Temple, *Introduction*, p. 148[PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15; III, 1805]).

p. 4, ll. 22 -23 Edward, son of Ethelred, is chosen king. For his great holiness, he was sirnamed the Confessor, and sainted after his death] "*Edward* surnamed the Confessor, and Grandson to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy* ... found an easie accession to the Crown" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 79 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), endorsed by St Aeldred, Abbot of Rievaulx, in his hagiography *De vita et miraculis Edwardi Confessoris* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 375-76 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), as well as by Daniel and MORÉRI in detailed and instructive reports (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 19 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]; MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔈𝔡𝔴𝔞𝔯𝔡). In the Middle Ages, the term 'Confessor' "was applied loosely to markedly holy men" (ODCC, s.v.).

Edward, son of Ethelred] Edward (1003/5–66), seventh son of Ethelred II and Emma of Normandy.

p. 4, ll. 23-25 He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching] "He was the First who pretended to the Power of curing the *King's-Evil*, which he had, as 'tis pretended, for his Sanctity" (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝔈𝔡𝔴𝔞𝔯𝔡). However, Swift's modifier "our princes" implies that scrofula, more often than not, a tubercular infection of the lymph nodes and glands of the neck and widely referred to as the royal disease, or *morbus regius*, which was supposedly curable by the monarch's touch, had had a long history and that the practice was not limited to England. Historians are usually agreed that in England it began with Edward the Confessor: "Ex isto rege *Edwardo* quasi jure hæreditario reges *Angliæ* dicuntur habere, ut ipsi quoddam genus morbi quem ... modo morbum regium vulgariter dicunt, solo tactu curent; hanc gratiam illum *Edwardum* primo dicitur habuisse" (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 950 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). It was widely practised throughout the Middle Ages, "by English and French kings, both good and bad, both legitimate and *de facto*," and that it continued to the death of Queen Anne (Frank Barlow,

"The King's Evil," *English Historical Review*, 95 [1980], 3-27 [15, 17]). In a letter to his wife, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, admitted that it was "the kings evill" that troubled one of their sons, who was about to come to London "to bee touch't" (*The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980], p. 83 and n). Charles II regularly embarked on "a vigorous programme of healing ceremonies" for the King's Evil, touching as many as six hundred in a single month (Simon Werrett, "Healing the Nation's Wounds: Royal Ritual and Experimental Philosophy in Restoration England," *History of Science*, 38 [2000], 377-99 [382]). On Good Friday 1684, for example, as John Evelyn recorded in his diary, "there was so greate & eager a concourse of people with their children, to be touch'd of the *Evil*, that 6 or 7; were crush'd to *death* by pressing at the *Chirurgions* doore for Tickets" (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], IV, 374). A late case is recorded for 1712 when Samuel Johnson was taken to London by his mother to be touched for scrofula by Queen Anne. The Queen's touching for the evil was unusual because, as its name suggests, the "royal gift" was widely regarded as residing in the male line alone (J. C. D. Clark, *Samuel Johnson: Literature, Religion, and English Cultural Politics from the Restoration to Romanticism* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], pp. 109-11).

p. 4, l. 25 He first introduced what is now called the Common Law] "*Edward* the Confessor Reigned long, reduced the Laws of *Edward, Alfred,* and *Edgar*'s Reign into more Form and Order, and governed by them" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 80), confirmed by Brompton's *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 956 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and MORÉRI: "His Laws which he Collected ... are yet extant, and approved as good and wholsome Laws grounded upon Justice" (s.v. 𝕰𝖉𝖜𝖆𝖗𝖉). In his *New Law-Dictionary*, Giles Jacob subsumed under Common Law (*Lex Communis*) "such Laws as were generally holden before any Statute was enacted in Parliament to alter them." It is grounded, he continued, "upon the general Customs of the Realm; and includes in it, the Law of Nature, or of Reason, the Law of God, and the Principles and Maxims of the Law," and it is "said to be the Perfection of *Reason*, acquired by long Study, Observation and Experience, and refined by Learned Men in all Ages." In a subsequent paragraph dealing with the historical origins of the Common Law, Jacob subscribes to law historians' view of Edward the Confessor as *Anglicarum Legum Restitutor*, who "out of former Laws compos'd a Body of the *Common Law*" (*A New Law-Dictionary: Containing the Interpretation and Definition of Words and Terms Used in the Law* [London: Printed by E. and R. Nutt, and R. Gosling for J. and J. Knapton, *et al.*, 1729], s.v.).

p. 4, ll. 26-27 In his time began the mode and humour among the English gentry, of using the French tongue and fashions] Temple is less specific in his *Introduction*. According to him it was Edward's inviting "many of his *Norman* Friends into *England* [and his employing] them in his greatest Offices either of Church or State" that was indicative of "too much partiality to the *Normans*" (p. 81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), and that by implication was conducive to the Frenchification of the English gentry. MORÉRI is more detailed: "Yet the *English* were so infatuated [by Edward's inviting his Norman friends] as to lay aside their own ancient Customs, and apishly to imitate *French* Manners," so much so in fact that "the greatest Persons of Quality began to slight their Mother Tongue, and ... to speak *French* in their Houses, and to write their Letters in *French*," which was taken to be a sign of their later subjection to a people "whose Fashions and Language they were so affected with" (s.v. 𝔈𝔡𝔴𝔞𝔯𝔡).

humour] "Caprice; whim; predominent inclination" (JOHNSON, s.v.), "one of the varieties of humour" in eighteenth-century terminology. The humourist of this type "is not a man with a violent or virtually ineradicable impulse" but a person with an unstable, fanciful, or 'toyish' temperament (Edward N. Hooker, "Humour in the Age of Pope," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 11 [1948], 361-85 [p. 363]).

p. 4, ll. 27-28 in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in Normandy] See the gloss on p. 4, ll. 22 -23.

p. 4, ll. 29-30 The Danish government in England lasted but twenty-six years, under three kings] While twenty-six years is historically correct, the number of Danish kings is four, if Swein is included. Swift's source was Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 19 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493).

p. 4, ll. 31-32 Edward the Confessor married the daughter of Earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power, but of Danish extraction] "Being a Prince of a soft and easie Nature, [Edward] gave way to the growing Power and Arrogance of Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons, who had been the chief Instruments of advancing him to the Throne, upon the Condition of Marrying Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 80-81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). According to MORÉRI, "the Potent Earl *Godwin* ... had a Mind to raise his Family by making his Daughter Queen" (s.v. 𝔈𝔡𝔴𝔞𝔯𝔡).

Earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power, but of Danish extraction] Godwine, Earl of Essex (d.1053), whose eldest daughter Edith (d.1075),

"commended much for Beauty, Modesty, and (beyond what is requisite in a Woman) Learning," married Edward the Confessor (MORÉRI, s.v. 𝕰𝖉𝖜𝖆𝖗𝖉).

pp. 4-5, ll. 32-1 but, wanting issue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandson to his brother, to succeed him and Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince] "*Edward* had no Children; and though he seemed desirous to leave the Crown to his Nephew [also named Edward], yet distrusting his weakness to defend it against so powerful a Rival [Harold], it does not appear, or is not agreed among Authors, whether he made any disposition of it at his Death or no" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 82; see also pp. 147-48, 188-89 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), possibly echoing Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester (*Chronica* in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 2338-39 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), or Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 21 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]).

wanting issue] Edward the Confessor had no children because, on marrying Edith, he allegedly agreed with her on a contract that the marriage was not to be consummated and that the partners would continue to live chastely: "Convenientibus igitur in unum, rex & regina de castitate servanda paciscuntur ... Fit illa conjux mente, non carne; ille nomine maritus, non opere" (Aeldred, *De vita et miraculis Edwardi Confessoris*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 378; see also col. 938 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Matthew of Westminster succeeded in finding an even more florid metaphor for the 'marriage': "Hanc quoque rex, vt conjugem, tali arte tractauit, quòd nec thoro remouit, nec eam virili more cognouit" (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 433 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

Edgar Atheling] Edgar Ætheling (b. *c.*1052, d. in or after 1125), grandson of Edmund II, brother of Edward the Confessor. According to Temple, "the apparent Right was in *Edgar Atheling*, [who was] descended from the true *Saxon* Race, and from a Brother of *Edward* the Confessor" (*Introduction*, p. 84 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). MORÉRI is more specific, emphasizing that Edward the Confessor's nephew Edward died shortly after arrival in England, "leaving behind him one Son, called *Edgar Atheling*" (s.v. 𝕰𝖉𝖜𝖆𝖗𝖉).

Harold, son of Earl Godwin] Harold II (1022/3–66), second son of Godwine.

p. 5

p. 5, ll. 1-2 But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and usurped the crown for himself] "*Harald* alledged, that he was appointed by

Edward the Confessor to succeed him, was believed by some, and allowed by more, who followed his Power rather than his Right, and was immediately after the King's Death, elected or admitted to the Crown," Temple reports (*Introduction*, pp. 82-83 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), following Daniel, who also left the contested issue of Harold's usurpation undecided (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 21 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). Harold's tyrannical conduct on having secured the Crown for himself was emphasized by Canon Knighton (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 2339 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 434 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 5, ll. 3-6 Edward, while he was in Normandy, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that Duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him] As Temple explains, this promise was the pretext "that *Edward* had by Testament left [William Duke of Normandy] Successor of the Crown." During Edward's Norman exile, Sir William continues, he "promised Duke *Robert* [William the Conqueror's father] that in case he recovered the Kingdom of *England*, and died without Issue, He would leave him the Crown" (*Introduction*, pp. 100-1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Again, he seems to have relied on Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 21 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). At the same time, Harold, on the occasion of a visit to Normandy, "likewise assured [William] of his Assistance to advance him to the Kingdom upon the Death of the King" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 84, 103-4 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Temple may also have drawn on Simeon of Durham's *Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*, Brompton's *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 196, 947 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) or Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum* (p. 426 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 5, ll. 6-8 Edward dying, William Duke of Normandy sends to Harold to claim the crown but Harold, now in possession, resolves to keep it] "And the Duke therefore sent to put [Harold] in mind of that Engagement. But *Harald* was in possession, and admitted neither of these claims" (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 84, 104 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Radulphus is harsh in his verdict on the "perjurious" Harold: "*Haroldus* autem juravit *Willelmo* se ... *Angliam* post mortem *Edwardi* ad opus ejus servaturum; sed cum reversus fuisset in *Angliam*, perjurii crimen elegit" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 478 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). By contrast, Matthew of Westminster coolly noted

Harold's prevarications (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 434 [Passmann and Vienken II, 1213-15]).

William Duke of Normandy] William I (1027/8–87), known as William the Conqueror.

p. 5, ll. 8-10 Upon which Duke William, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Hastings, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning] "For *William* Duke of *Normandy* surnamed the Conqueror, was landed at *Hastings* with a mighty Army of stout *Norman* Soldiers" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 83 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1805]). Somewhat later, Temple reports that the landing at Hastings occurred "about the beginning of *October*" (*Introduction*, p. 112 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1805]), with Daniel specifying the date as 14 October 1066 and the number of William's ships as 896 (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 30 [Passmann and Vienken I, 493]). Abbot Aeldred and Radulphus, too, stressed the superiority of William's forces (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, cols 366-67, 479 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76]).

p. 5, ll. 10-13 To Harold he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: But Harold returned him this answer, That, unless he departed his land, he would make him sensible of his just displeasure] According to Canon Knighton, the medieval chronicler, Duke William's messenger was a monk ("dux *Willielmus* misit quendam monachum"), who was instructed either to demand allegiance from Harold under the future king William ("vel sub eo regnaturus tributarius de eo regnum teneret" [*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 2341-42 {Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76}]) or to let single combat between them decide (see the gloss on p. 5, ll. 15-18).

p. 5, ll. 13-15 So Harold advanced his forces into Sussex, within seven miles of his enemy] Having defeated Norwegian invaders in the North of England and having received the news of Duke William's landing, Harold, "in great haste, marches to *London*, and thence into *Sussex*" (Moréri, s.v. Harold). This aspect was emphasized by several medieval chroniclers, such as Radulphus, Simeon of Durham, and Brompton (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 479, 194, 958-59 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76]).

seven miles] It is unclear where Swift came across this information. The only one of his sources to specify the distance is Radulphus, who speaks of nine miles in his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*: "in *Suthsaxonia* suis hostibus occurrere non formidavit, & novem miliariis ad *Hastinga* ... cum eis prælium commisit"

(*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 479 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76]). In case he relied on (his customary) English sources, the English mile measured 1.638 m in the seventeenth century; in case he was thinking of the Irish mile, which measured 2.048 m, the distance between Harold's and William's troops would have been moderately larger (see *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 429 and n5; III, 355 and n5; IV, 100n4, 155 and n3). But then, if one assumes that Swift reduced Radulphus' nine English miles (14.742 km) to seven Irish ones (14.336 km), the distance between William's and Harold's armies is almost the same.

p. 5, l. 15-18 The Norman Duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to Harold; either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat. To this Harold did not agree] "'Tis said the Duke before the Battel, sent an Offer to *Harald* to decide the Quarrel between them by single Combat, and thereby spare their Subjects Blood: Which *Harald* refused" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 114), confirmed in all essential details by Moréri (s.v. 𝔥𝔞𝔯𝔬𝔩𝔡). Conversely, Henry Knighton, Augustinian canon of Leicester and medieval chronicler, like Matthew of Westminster, mentions "three proposals [tria ei proponens]," one of which Temple omitted because it was already mentioned earlier (see p. 5, ll. 10-11): "Primo quod cederet regno, & *Willielmo* redderet [resign the kingdom to him] ... vel spectante utroque exercitu rem inter se mutuo gladio ventularent [or in view of both armies to decide the matter between them by the sword], salva utriusque exercitus sanguinis effusione [to spare both armies the effusion of blood]." At the same time, Harold showered contempt on William's delegate: "*Haroldus* sprevit monachi legationem" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 2341-42; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 436 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1875-76; II, 1213-15]).

p. 5, l. 19 Then the battle joined] A most laconic summary of an account which occupies several pages in Temple (*Introduction*, pp. 115-20 [Passmann and Vienken III, 1805]) as well as Temple's (and Swift's) sources, possibly because the envisaged child-reader was to be spared the cruelties of the bloodshed, described in gory detail by Matthew of Westminster: "Et ecce clamore resumpto, animis reparatis, in acies conglomerantur, choruscat armorum collidentium tinnitus, hinnitus equorum, fragor hastarum, vmbonum repercussio, gemitus vulneratorum, clamores morientium, aëra vsq[ue] ad nubes repleuerunt" (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 436 [Passmann and Vienken II, 1213-15]).

p. 5, ll. 19-21   The Normans had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day] The Norman stratagem was the deployment of bowmen, whose "thick Showers of Arrows [cruelly gauled the English]." The longbow "was a weapon then unused in *England*, and thereby the more surprising by Wounds coming from Enemies so far out of reach, and not suddenly to be revenged" (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]), confirmed by Sir William's source, Daniel (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 22 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493]). Radulphus is here more precise than Temple. At a crucial moment of the battle, he points out, Duke William "commanded his archers to simulate flight [Willielmus jubet suos fugam simulare]" only to order them to reattack all of a sudden out of the ditch in which they had ostensibly taken refuge, showering the English pursuers with a barrage of arrows: "Quod *Anglis* magno fuit detrimento" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 480; see also col. 2342; Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 438 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76; II, 1213-15]).

p. 5, ll. 21-23   In this engagement Harold was killed, and William Duke of Normandy became king of England, under the name of William the Conqueror] Temple agreed with Canon Knighton and other medieval chroniclers that "*Harald* was shot quite through the Head, and fell to the Ground," leaving "the Field with the Kingdom, to this brave Norman Conqueror" (*Introduction*, pp. 117-19; see also p. 85 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]; Knighton, *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, col. 2342; see also col. 480 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Matthew of Westminster is remarkable in his *ekphrasis* of the king's death: "Haraldus ictu vnius sagittarum, quarum multitudo ad instar hybernæ grandinis volando perstrepuit, cerebro perforato occubuit, & effusa medulla capitali, expirauit" (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 438 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). MORÉRI introduced the entry on William with the sentence: "The first *Norman* King of *England* had the Surname of *Conqueror* from his Victory over King *Harold*" (s.v. 𝔚𝔦𝔩𝔩𝔦𝔞𝔪). Daniel points out that "the stile of *Conqueror*" was awarded to William "by the flattery of the time," but that the king in his governance "assumed it not," ostensibly being at pains to avoid "the invidious Name of Conqueror" (*Collection of the History of England*, p. 31; Temple, *Introduction*, p. 144 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 493; III, 1805]).