

The REIGN of  
WILLIAM the SECOND,  
surnamed RUFUS

Commentary

p. 1

WILLIAM the SECOND, SURNAMED RUFUS] See the gloss on p. 15, ll. 3-5.

p. 1, l. 14 AT the time of the Conqueror's death] William I "died in or about the seventy second Year of his Age, and the Year of our Lord 1087" (Sir William Temple, *Introduction to the History of England* [London: Richard Simpson and Ralph Simpson, 1695], p. 295 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 1, ll. 14-16 his eldest son *Robert*, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in *France*] According to Samuel Daniel's *Life and Reign of William II*, "Duke *Robert* was in *Germany* when his Father dy'd, and by his absence gave his Brother *William* time to settle himself in the Throne of *England*" (Milton, *A Complete History of England*, 3 vols [London: For Brab. Aylmer, et al., 1706], I, 113, note d [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555), ed. Dana F. Sutton, The Philological Museum, 2010 [<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/>], X, ii). Sir William Temple, in his *Introduction to the History of England*, states, more precisely, that Robert at the time was making "a Visit to the King of *France* then at *Constance*" (p. 285 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). We found no evidence for Deane Swift's claim that Robert "was then at *Abbeville* in *Picardy*" (In what follows, Deane Swift's notes refer to *The Works of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 19 vols, 8vo [Dublin: George Faulkner, 1768], XIX, 283-313 [TEERINK AND SCOUTEN 47]).

his eldest son *Robert*] "*William* the Conqueror had by his Wife *Matild* ... four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*." Of these, three survived their Father, the most promising son Richard, "a Prince of the greatest Hopes," having been killed in a hunting accident (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 272 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Sir William may have drawn on any of the medieval chroniclers, such as Joannes Brompton, Henry Knighton, or Matthew of Westminster (*Chronicon*, and *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed.

Twysden, cols 977-78, 2354; *Flores Historiarum* [London: Thomas Marsh, 1570], p. 10 [sig. 3A5v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76, 1213-15]).

upon some discontent with his father] A euphemism with which Swift summarized no less than three ‘defections’ of Robert, elaborated at some length in Temple’s *Introduction* (pp. 274-89 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 1, ll. 16-22 *William*, the second son, made use of this juncture, and without attending his father’s funeral, hastened to *England*, where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince, the nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*, were prevailed with to admit him king, partly by his promises to abate the rigor of the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished] The chroniclers are agreed that William left Normandy with undue haste: “antequam paterno funeri iusta solvisset confestim omnium opinione celerius ex Normania venit in Angliam” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, i); endorsed by Daniel: “*WILLIAM* the II<sup>d</sup>, Son to the Conqueror, being with his Father at *Rouen* at his Death, had his desires so fix’d upon the Crown of *England*, that neglecting his Father’s Funeral, he hasten’d with all speed thither, and by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*, and his own large Bounty and Promises, obtain’d it, according to his Father’s Will, whom by his dutiful Behaviour he had much endear’d to himself, especially after the Abdication of his eldest Son *Robert*” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 113 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). See also MORÉRI (s.v. William II).

pursuant to the will of the deceased prince] In his testament, the Conqueror left “the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, the Kingdom of *England* to *William* his second Son, and all his Treasures, which were very great, to *Henry* his third” (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 294-95 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]); information also available from Brompton, Matthew of Westminster, and Polydore Vergil, among others (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 980; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 10 [sigs 3A5v-6r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76; II, 1213-15]; *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, i). According to Deane Swift, the Conqueror had no confidence in Robert, being convinced “that any people whom *Robert* was to govern, would be miserable.” Instead, he “ordered letters to be expedited to Archbishop *Lanfranc*, for facilitating *William*’s accession and establishment there” (p. 283).

the nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*] “Tota enim fere nobilitas *Angliæ Robertum* Ducem *Normannæ* fratrem Regis *Willielmi* seniore in regem erigere voluerat,” pointed out by Brompton and reiterated almost verbatim by Knighton (*Chronicon*, respectively *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ*

*Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 984, 2359 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, i).

his promises to abate the rigor of the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished] “Truth is, he went the right way to gain the Love of his People, by abolishing the severe Laws made by his Father, and easing them of his heavy Taxes” (MORÉRI, s.v. William II); a view already adumbrated by Daniel in *The Life and Reign of William II*: “The *English* were to be secured by nothing so much as the Grant of their ancient *Liberties*” (Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 113 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 1, l. 22- p. 2, l. 2 but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of *Lanfranc* for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection for his person] Lanfranc, c.1010-89, who was descended from an Italian family and renowned for his “great Wisdom and Temper, as well as Learning,” became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. He was an able administrator and served as a royal councillor: “[William the Conqueror] ever advised with him in all the weighty Affairs of his Reign, allowed his Liberty and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wise and good, but faithful to his Interests, and affectionate to his Person” (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 204-5, 208, 234-35, 304 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]). Sir William is likely to have taken the essentials of this information from Daniel (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 111 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; alternatively, from Brompton, Knighton, and Polydore Vergil (*Chronicon*, respectively *Chronica*, both in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 968, 2345 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]; *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, i and v; XI, vi), or Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 4, 11-12 [sigs 3A2v, 3A6r-v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 2

p. 2, ll. 2-3 At *Winchester* he took possession of his father’s treasure] “Coming to the Crown not by Succession, and Right of Primogeniture, but by his Father’s Will only ... he found it absolutely necessary to hold the Possession of it by the good-will of his Subjects, which he knew no better way to purchase than by large Promises of Favours and Kindness, and large Gifts to those that were more likely to be wrought upon to disturb it. His Subjects consisted of two sorts of People, *Normans* and *English*: The *Normans* were to be engag’d to him chiefly by Money; and therefore to gain them he went presently after his Coronation to *Winchester*, where his Father’s Treasure lay, and emptied it out all to them”

(Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 113 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). An accompanying footnote claims that “’tis said, the Treasure consisted of sixty thousand Pounds in Money (a prodigious Sum in those Days) besides Jewels, Gold and Plate” (I, 113 note c), clearly a translation from Brompton’s *Chronicon*: “Deinde Wyntoniam adiens, thesaurum patris sui secundum ejus imperium divisit. Erant autem in thesauro illo lx. millia libræ argenti, excepto auro, gemmis, palleis & vasis” (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 983 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1275-76]).

p. 2, ll. 3-6 in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners] Swift here follows Polydore Vergil closely: “Sic Rufus regnum adeptus, et iam optatis fortunam respondisse suis gaudens, ut populo gratificaretur Vintoniam profectus est, ubi ingenti thesauro invento magnas fecit largitiones, captivos omnes vinculis pariter atque custodia liberavit” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, i). By contrast, Daniel, in his *Life and Reign of William II*, states that William’s liberality was profuse and indiscriminate, “his Fund being not large enough to content all” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 113 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 2, ll. 7-10 *Robert* returned to *Normandy*, took possession of that duchy, with great applause and content of his people, and spighted at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother] “*Robert* Duke of Normandy being settled in his Dutchy, which was the height of his Ambition in his Father’s Life-time, was not contented with that only after his Death, but grudg’d to see himself a small Prince, and his younger Brother a potent King” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 113 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

with great applause and content of his people] “In Normaniam continuo rediit, estque ab omnibus principibus, summo cum populi gaudio, dux salutatus” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ii).

p. 2, ll. 10-11 prepared a great fleet and army to invade *England*] This claim was contested by some medieval chroniclers. According to Matthew of Westminster, it was King William Rufus who first took military steps against his brother Robert: “Rex Gulihelmus contra fratrem suum Robertum bella mouet” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 14 [sig. 3B1v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 2, ll. 13-14 the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature] “But [Robert] staying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and strengthen himself by the assistance of the *English*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 2, ll. 15-18 *Odo*, bishop of *Baieux*, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being restored to his liberty and possessions in *England*] *Odo*, c.1030-97, a half-brother of William the Conqueror, who gave him the See of Bayeux and made him Earl of Kent (ODCC, s.v.). *Odo* was a trusted minister of the King until he fell into disgrace and was kept in prison until William’s death: “[The King was] naturally very kind to his half Brother *Odon* Bishop of Bayeux, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him great Revenues, entrusted him in his Absence with the Government of the Realm, yet finding him a Man of incurable Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, Oppression, and Prophaneness, he at length wholly disgraced him, and kept him in Prison during all the rest of his Reign” (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 307, 233, 258-59 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

p. 2, ll. 18-20 grew into envy and discontent, upon seing *Lanfranc* preferred before him by the new king in his favour and ministry] “But [Bishop *Odo*] disappointed his Intention, and became the Instrument of many Dissentions among his Children, partly in Revenge for what he had suffer’d from their Father, and partly out of Envy to *Lanfranc*, whose Counsel in his greatest Affairs the King chiefly used; and therefore meerly to oppose him he took the contrary courses to him, and sided with Duke *Robert* his Nephew” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William I*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 111; see also I, 113-14 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Earlier, Polydore Vergil had emphasized *Odo*’s dissatisfaction (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ii).

p. 2, ll. 20-22 formed a conspiracy with several nobles of *Norman* birth to depose the king, and sent an invitation to *Robert* to hasten over] “To this end he enter’d into a Plot with as many *Norman* Lords as he found inclineable to a Change, to set up *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and sent for him to come over with speed with all the Power he could bring out of *Normandy*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). A marginal note laconically states: “*Odo stirs up a Rebellion against William.*” Fuller reports are in Radulphus de Diceto,

*Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, Brompton, *Chronicon*, Knighton, *Chronica* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X, ed. Twysden, cols 488-89, 984-86, 2359 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and, last but not least, Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ii and iii).

p. 2, ll. 22-25 Meantime the conspirators, in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of *England* at once; *Bristol*, *Norwich*, *Leicester*, *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bath*, and *Durham*, were secured by several noblemen] “In the mean time these Conspirators, to distract the King's Forces, and so leave *Robert* an easie entrance into the Kingdom, began in divers parts of the Nation to revolt from their Allegiance. *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, fortify'd *Bristol*, and took in the Country round about; *Robert de Bigod* made a strong Party in *Norfolk*; *Hugh de Grandemenill* gather'd Forces about *Leicester*; *Robert de Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, had a considerable Body of *Welshmen* ... and *William* Bishop of *Durham* ... took *Worcester*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). By contrast, Deane Swift, following Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, iii), points out that “*Worcester* however at this time suffered only a blockade” (p. 285).

p. 2, ll. 25-26 *Odo* himself seized *Rochester*, reduced the coasts of *Kent*] Realizing that speed was conducive to military success, *Odo* moved fast: “*Odo* interim, qui non ignorabat magna esse in celeritate rerum momenta, in agrum *Rocestrensem* profectus coniurationis socios” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, iii). Daniel specifies: “*Odo* himself fortify'd the Castle of *Rochester*, and made good all the Coasts of *Kent*” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 2, l. 28 - p. 3, l. 3 The king, alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it his best course to begin his defence by securing the good will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence, which however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect] “But [*Robert*] staying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and strengthen himself by the assistance of the *English*, to whom having granted a release from their former Tribute, eased them of their Grievances, and

restored them to their ancient Freedom, in hunting in all his Woods and Forrests; he made them so entirely his, and so ready to serve him, that he soon became powerful enough to vanquish all the Conspirators” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence] “Et [rex *Willielmus*] convocatis *Anglicis* animos eorum contra *Normannos* mulcebat, seditionem eorum eis ostendens, Rogansque ut ipsum quem de voluntate patris in regem sibi creaverant ... promittens eis quod silvas eorum venaticas liberas dimitteret, & meliores leges quas sibi vellent eligere, sanciret” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 984 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

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p. 3, ll. 4-6 he raised great forces both by land and sea, marched into *Kent*, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered *Tunbridge* and *Pevensey*] “The King coming with his Army against them, first attack’d the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and took it; then *Pemsey*, where *Odo* was; who was forc’d to yield it to the King, and promised that the like should be done at *Rochester*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); confirmed in Brompton’s *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 996 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, iv).

p. 3, ll. 7-14 *Odo* himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the king to *Rochester*. This city refusing to surrender at the king’s summons, *Odo* undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or seeming force; however, the king provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure *England*, sent him into *Normandy*] “But when [Odo] was brought thither to effect it, the Besieged taking him in, detain’d him, and held out stoutly against the King’s Forces ... but at last were forced to resign, and retire into *France*, and *Odo* was compelled to abjure the Kingdom” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; see also the elaborate narration by Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*

X, ed. Twysden, cols 985-86 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and the survey of psychological motives impelling Odo in Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, iv).

forcing him for ever to abjure *England*] “[The] oath to forsake the realm for ever was called *abjuration*” (JOHNSON, I, s.v. *abjuration*); or, in more fanciful Latin: “*Odo episcopus sine reditu de ultra mare in exilium positus Normanniam adiit*” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 985-86 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 3, ll. 15-21 By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke *Robert* were wholly disappointed, himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other’s dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to *Normandy*] “*Samuel Daniel*, a very judicious epitomizer of our ancient history, places the conclusion of this treaty in 1087, soon after the establishment of *Rufus* on the *English* throne, who might well think such an expedient necessary at that time, for the reconciling and elder brother to the most mortifying of disappointments. If the treaty was the made *Robert’s* infraction of it by an embarkation of troops in the very next year to succour the *English* rebels, was a plausible call for revenge, and accounts for the king’s invasion of *Normandy* in 1090. *Speed*, whom Dr. *Swift* follows here, has been so far misled by *Knighton*, as to represent *Robert* making an actual descent on the *English* coast, landing at *Southampton*, amused there by humble messages from *Rufus*, cajoled into a resignation of his claim, and induced to go back a pensioner instead of a king. But there is no trace of such transactions in the purer narratives of more ancient historians. And if we follow those of *Normandy*, who ought to have the best information of *Robert’s* motions, the duke neither embarked with nor after his troops: he promised indeed to follow them with a greater force; but *indolence* got the better of his ambition,” Deane Swift comments (pp. 286-87). We have been unable to authenticate the claim that Robert lost his fleet. Indeed, Swift’s sources are remarkably silent on Robert’s fleet; instead, they emphasize William’s naval superiority throughout: “*Alii scribunt Robertum ... praemisisse partem exercitus, et illam a classe regia profligatam fuisse*” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, iv).

p. 3, ll. 22-27 About this time died archbishop *Lanfranc*; by whose death the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then he had suppressed and disguised,

falling into those acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous] Polydore Vergil emphasizes Lanfranc's beneficial, civilizing influence on the King's naturally ferocious character: "Coercuit feram Rufi naturam, rabiem, furorem, uti postea clarius patuit, eiusque iuventutem ratione, consilio, praeceptis diligentissime rexit" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, v and vi). In the conclusion to *The Life and Reign of William II*, Daniel shows himself equally convinced that Rufus, "for the first two Years of his Reign," following "the wise Counsel of *Lanfranc*, behav'd himself as one of the best of Princes," only to make "himself and his People miserable" by seeking "absolute Government of all his Subjects" after his advisor's death (Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). See also the note on p. 1, l. 22-p. 2, l. 2.

p. 3, l. 27 He kept the see of *Canterbury* four years vacant] "After the Death of *Lanfranc*, he kept the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury* vacant four Years" (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), echoing Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vi).

p. 3, ll. 28-29 converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishopricks and abbies] "The King ... became so arbitrary a Possessor of Church-Livings and Preferments, that he held in his hands at one time, beside the See of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Sarum*, and eleven Abbies, of which he had all the Incomes" (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116-17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); anticipated by William of Malmesbury: "Ecclesiasticos honores diu antequam daret deliberabat ... utpote qui, eo die quo excessit, tres episcopatus et duodecim abbatias desolatas pastoribus in manu sua teneret" (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols [New York: Kraus, 1964], II, 380). Recalling his reading of Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vi), Deane Swift sees the King's conduct as "the result and expected consequence of the feudal establishment made by his father. For when the Conqueror had reduced episcopal and abbatial manours to military and baronial tenure, the care and profits of them, between the demise of each tenant and the entry or installation of his successor, by necessity of the tenure, devolved on the crown. But *Rufus* is deservedly censured for keeping the prelacies vacant longer than was necessary, merely with an avaricious view" (p. 288).

p. 3, ll. 29-30 disposed all church preferments to the highest bidder] “What he disposed of to others, fell usually to their Shares who would give most money for them” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 and note a [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), again, following Polydore Vergil: “vectigalia grandi pecunia plus offerenti locarit” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vi).

p. 3, l. 30 - p. 4, l. 2 Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws and entertained informers to observe mens actions and bring him intelligence] “Besides the Taxes which he impos’d upon the Laity, he set Informers to take notice of any small Irregularities committed by them, and inflicted severe Penalties upon them” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 and note a [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

Informers] Informers were *bêtes noires* much loved by Swift throughout his career. In *A Letter from Dr Swift to Mr Pope* of 1721, for example, the Dean denounced the “whole Tribe of Informers” as “the most accursed, and prostitute, and abandoned race, that God ever permitted to plague mankind” (*Prose Works*, IX, 32-33; *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 361), and in the penal system of Lilliput, in line with ancient Roman practice as well as that of the early Christian Church (Joseph Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ: or, The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, 10 vols [London: R. Knaplock, 1710-1722], VII, 544-45 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 233-34]), informers are “immediately put to an ignominious Death” if they are unable to validate their accusations (*Prose Works*, XI, 58 [I, vi, 4]). There may have been a personal animus in Swift’s attitude towards informers (Louis Landa, “Introduction to the Sermons,” *Prose Works*, IX, 117), but the Lilliputian practice points to a fact which it is easy to overlook: until the nineteenth century, in England, law enforcement, “the pursuit and apprehension of suspects, the gathering of evidence, and the preparation of cases ... were left largely to the private initiative of the victim” (J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], p. 35). The upshot of this practice was that, since the middle of the sixteenth century, all efforts at meting out justice had to rely on a system of paid ‘professional’ informers “in a wide range of circumstances.” In the autumn of 1714 when “the Whigs initiated a phase of judicial revenge,” as well as in the wake of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, informing opened up “a lucrative new information market,” ushering in evils like head-hunting, extortion of money and confiscation of goods, perjury and fraudulent evidence, all of which resulted in an enormous strain on

social relations (Jeanne Clegg, “Reforming Informing in the Long Eighteenth Century,” *Textus*, 17 [2004], 337-56; and the same author’s “Swift on False Witness,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 44 [2004], 461-85). Not coincidentally, Gulliver is relieved to find that the society of the Houyhnhnms does not know informers “to watch [his] Words and Actions, or forge Accusations against [him] for Hire” (*Prose Works*, XI, 276 [IV, x, 1]).

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p. 4, ll. 3-10 these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first the successors of this king, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbies, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishopricks belong at this day to the crown] One of the learned men to whose authority Swift here bows is Polydore Vergil: “Etenim reges qui successerunt, Ruffi institutum secuti, consueverunt tam episcopatum vacantium quam coenobiorum ... vectigal unius anni capere ... Estque eiusmodi consuetudo ita deinde rata habita ut etiam nunc regibus fas sit vectigal quoddam capere ex coenobiis vacantibus” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vi and ix).

p. 4, ll. 11-13 Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king’s informers, and other instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries]

to avoid the persecutions of the king’s informers] See the note on “Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws and entertained informers to observe mens actions and bring him intelligence.”

effects] “Goods; moveables” (JOHNSON, I, s.v.), as in Addison, *The Spectator*; no 499 of 2 October 1712 (*The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], IV, 269).

p. 4, ll. 13-16 upon which the king issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence from whence, in the judgment of the same authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning] “*Proclamation* ... is a Notice publicly given of any Thing, whereof the King thinks fit to advertise his Subjects [7 Richard II, c. 6]. And in this Sense, none make any *Proclamation* without the King’s Authority.” In this particular case, “*Ne exeat Regnum* is a Writ to restrain a

Person from going out of the Kingdom without the King's Licence" (Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary: Containing the Interpretation and Definition of Words and Terms Used in the Law* [London: by E. and R. Nutt, and R. Gosling for J. and J. Knapton, *et al.*, 1729], s.v. *Proclamation* and *Ne exeat Regnum*). Once again, Polydore Vergil was Swift's source: "Hinc sunt qui suspicentur ortum esse eum morem seu legem interdicendi cuius exitu regni qui mos lexve dicitur ne *exeat de regno*" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix).

p. 4, ll. 17-18 By these and the like arbitrary methods having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in *Normandy*] "*William*, to keep his Brother employ'd [in *Normandy*], and discourage him from all future attempts upon the Kingdom of *England*, transports an Army into *Normandy* to waste and disturb his Brother's Dominions" (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); anticipated by Polydore Vergil: "Rufus, sacra pecunia locupletatus atque per id multo audacior effectus ... fratri bellum inferendum constituit" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 4, ll. 19-20 upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact] According to Polydore Vergil, Rufus' motive was a vague desire for revenge: "ad ulciscendas iniurias" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 4, ll. 20-22 whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, That old oppressions are best justified by new] This sounds proverbial, but we have failed to identify a source.

p. 4, ll. 22-25 whether having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentments of duke *Robert*, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries than to revenge them] A variation on the proverbial "Prevention is better than cure" (TILLEY, P569).

p. 4, ll. 25-26 In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother] Enumerated in detail by Daniel (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), already reported by Brompton (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 986 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 4, ll. 26-28 if *Robert* had not desired and obtained the assistance of *Philip* king of *France*, who came with an army to his relief] “*Robert* in this distress seeks for aid from *Philip* King of *France*, and was promis’d it” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 4, ll. 28-33 King *William* not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftner, or with greater success, and that was, to buy off the *French* king with a sum of money] “Ingenio tamen & pecunia regis *Willielmi*, rex *Francorum* est reversus, & totus exercitus evanuit pecuniæ tenebris obumbratus” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 991 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), adopted by Daniel: “But as he was marching towards *Normandy* with his Army, King *William* by Money so prevail’d with him to stand Neuter in the Quarrel, that he return’d without doing *Robert* any good” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 4, l. 33 – p. 5, l. 2 This had its effect; for that prince not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately withdrew himself and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace] “By which means he was forced to clap up a dishonourable Peace ... concluded between them at *Cane* in *Normandy*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 5

p. 5, ll. 3-4 This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of king *William* for he kept all the towns he had taken] “Concordiam inijt rex *Gulihelmus* cum fratre suo *Roberto* .. eo tamen pacto, vt castra illa, quę rex à fratre adquisierat, regi remanerent” (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 14 [sig. 3B1v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]); information adopted almost verbatim from Brompton’s *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 986 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), or, alternatively, from Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii). See also the note on p. 4, ll. 25-26.

p. 5, ll. 4-5 obliged his brother to banish *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*] “This Agreement King *William* farther’d, that he might draw as much Treasure from *Robert* as he could, whom by this Voyage he had not only impoverish’d, but possess’d himself of a safe and continual Landing-place in part of his Dutchy, and caused to banish him out of *Normandy Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* kept in his Court to awe his Brother” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

*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]). Sir William was anticipated in this judgement by Matthew of Westminster: “Eadgarus Aetheling, de regno Anglorum hæres legitimus” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 2 [sig. 3A1v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). MORÉRI made the genealogical relationship even 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).

p. 5, ll. 5-8 and, for a further security, brought over with him to *England* the duke himself to attend him in his expedition against *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, who during his absence had invaded the borders] “Besides, he so prevail’d with *Robert*, either by Promises of Money, or otherways, that he brought him with him into *England*, and carry’d him along with him in his Expedition against *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, who had invaded his Dominions in his absence” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 114; Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 989-90 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76], Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 14-15 [sigs 3B1v-2r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; 1213-15]).

*Malcolm* king of *Scotland*; who during his absence had invaded the borders] Malcolm III, King of Scots (d. 1093), who was married to Lady Margaret, “eldest Sister of *Edgar*,” the Saxon claimant to the English throne, “and thereby ... newly engaged in the Interests and Family” of Malcolm, invaded the North of England on two occasions, thinking “it was better carrying a War into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*” (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 192-96; see also pp. 213-14, 219-20, 242-43 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1805]). Daniel particularly emphasized Malcolm’s devastations (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]),

as did Brompton (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 987 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 5, ll. 8-12 The king having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person to repel the inroads of the *Scots*: but the enterprise was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine] “Quidam enim aliter sentiunt ... tradentes Rufum simul terra, simul mari, ingentes copias in Scotum parasse, sed ... oborta repente tempestate, omnes fere naves submersas fuisse, exercitum quoque terrestri itinere Scotiam petentem multis incommodis affectum pedem retulisse” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 5, ll. 13-16 a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of *England* agreed to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manours) in *England* which *Malcolm* had held under *William the Conqueror*] “[Quidam tradunt] pacem composuisse, ac nonnulla loca ex ea pactione Scoto restituta, quae ille rege primo Gulielmo in Anglia possedisset” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).

p. 5, ll. 16-17 together with a pension of twelve thousand marks] Deane Swift wonders “whether the *Normanic* or *Saxonic* mark of silver be understood,” reasoning: “The former was a weight of eight ounces, the latter but an ounce and a half. If we compute by the mark of the *Normans*, the annuity stipulated for *Malcolm* was equivalent to about 186,000*l.* of modern currency; a pension scarce reconcilable with the state of our exchequer in those days. If the smaller or *Saxonic* mark be meant here (which had not yet fallen into disuse, as appears by the calculations by it in the laws of king *Henry I.*) the pension is more reasonable, being equivalent to about 35,000*l.* of our present money. This at least is rather to be admitted than the account of the greater part of our historians, who let down the provision made for the *Scottish* king at *twelve marks of gold per annum*, which amounts but to 72 *lb. Norman*, of 1700*l.* in modern money; a pension unworthy the magnificence of *Rufus*, and too mean for any reigning prince in accept” (pp. 290-91).

p. 5, ll. 18-21 At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and duke *Robert*, who soliciting the king to perform some covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to *Normandy*] “Eisdem temporis Robertus, qui aliquot menses apud Gulielmum fratrem specie

simulati magis quam veri amoris manserat, in Normaniam revertitur” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, X, ix).

were sown the seeds of another quarrel] Proverbial, of scriptural origin (TILLEY, S210, S687)

p. 5, ll. 22-26 King *William*, in his return from *Scotland*, fell dangerously sick at *Glocester*, where, moved by the seasonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church] Polydore Vergil set the tone for this judgement: “Igitur morbo afflictatus, ubi sensit medicos nihil opitulari, vota facere, opem divinam implorare, ac promittere cunctis palam se vitam melius instituturum coepit” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix), with Daniel following suit: “But that falling sick of a dangerous Distemper at *Glocester*, the Clergy in his Sickness convinc’d him so much of the Sinfulness of the Fact, that he vow’d that he would fill up all Vacancies if he recover’d, which indeed he did, but with some Unwillingness” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Matthew of Westminster, by contrast, was stricter in his verdict: “Sed cum sanus factus est, poenituit hoc promississe, & grauius solito ecclesiam, & regnū oppressit” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 15 [sig. 3B2r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]), possibly echoing Brompton’s *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 988 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 5, ll. 26-29 To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anselm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning] “Coenobiis nonnullis quae diu vacaverat rectores dandos curavit” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix)

giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anselm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning] St Anselm, c.1033-1109, like Lanfranc a native of Italy and at the time of his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093 Prior of the monastic school at Bec in Normandy (ODCC, s.v.): “*Anselm*, an *Italian* born, but bred up in *Normandy*, was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 11; Radulphus de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 493-94 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1875-76]). The sanctity of Anselm’s life and his learning were legendary and widely praised: “Illustravit planè Anglicanam Ecclesiam doctrina,” Cardinal Baronius enthused in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, “illustravit & sanctitate, ceteris sanctissimis Patribus

Christi Confessoribus, quos Ecclesia veneratur, minimè impar,” concluding: “Claruit miraculis viuens adque defunctus, lucidum sidus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, multiplici fulgore coruscans omnibus intuentibus in tanta noctis obscuræ caligine” ([Antwerp: Plantin, 1629], XII, 67 C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]). Polydore Vergil was to agree (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix, xv; XI, vi). See also the precis in MORÉRI (s.v. Anselm).

p. 5, ll. 29-30 [the disposition of men who derive their vices from their complexions] A reference to the habit of classical and Renaissance physiognomists according to whom “the face is an index of the mind,” metaphorically, as Lady Macbeth tells her husband, “a Booke, where men / May reade strange matters” (SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth* I, v, 354-55), visible facial qualities, that is, which lend themselves to the decoding of a person’s character (see Sibylle Baumbach, *Let me behold thy face: Physiognomik und Gesichtslektüren in Shakespeares Tragödien* [Heidelberg: Winter, 2007], pp. 73-141, 158-77, and *passim*). Swift utilized the satirical potential of the topos in an early poem, “Verses Wrote in a Lady’s Ivory Table-Book,” inverting ‘the face as book’ into ‘the book as face,’ which turns the table-book into the chronicle of a mind ridden with trivialities (Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, “Swift’s *Verses Wrote in a Lady’s Ivory Table-Book*,” *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 9 [1986], 165-67). See also the note on p. 16, ll. 8-11

p. 5, l. 31 – p. 6, l. 3 [so it fared with this prince, who upon recovery of his health soon forgot the vows he had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression, whereof *Anselm*, the new archbishop, felt the first effects] “But what through his own Stubbornness and the King’s firm Adherence to his Regal Prerogative, he never enjoyed it quietly. For between them began the Controversy about Investitures of Bishops, and other Privileges of the Church ... and *Anselm* not yielding to the King’s Will, or rather Right, was forced to leave the Nation” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

[upon recovery of his health soon forgot the vows] “Namque statim ut febre liberatus est belleque se habere coepit, immemor divini beneficii efficitur, ac ad solitam conciliandae pecuniae curam rapitur” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix).

p. 6

p. 6, ll. 3-6 This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the king a sum of money by way of present; but took care it should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration of his late preferment] According to Radulphus de Diceto, the opposite was the case, with William II asking the new Archbishop for money in recognition of the King's assent to Anselm's elevation to the See of Canterbury: "Causam allegans ut sibi videbatur justissimam, quoniam gratis in promotione sua promptum præbuisset assensum." This Anselm declined, offering the King the sum of 50 pounds only, by which he incurred William's wrath: "Elegit potius regis indignationem incurrere quam dispendium famæ" (Radulphus de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, and Knighton, *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 494, 2379 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Deane Swift's rambling account of the controversy between King William Rufus and Anselm does not seem pertinent (p. 292-94).

p. 6, ll. 6-8 The king rejected it with scorn; and as he used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more] The original request was a thousand pounds in silver money: "M. libras argenteorum ... ab archiepiscopo petebat instantius" (Radulphus de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 494 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 6, ll. 8-9 *Anselm* would not comply; and the king enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy] Elaborated at length in Brompton's *Chronicon* (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 995-96 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Polydore Vergil, too, emphasizes the King's impatience with, and anger at, Anselm's exhortations: "Verum tantum abfuit ut Rufus voluerit monitorem officii pati, ut in Anselmum omnem stomachum eruperit" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv).

p. 6, ll. 10-13 the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the king's licence for a journey to *Rome*; and upon a refusal, went without it] "A rege licentiam petiit adeundi papam *Urbanum* pro pallio. Rex ad *Urbani* nomen statim vehementer incanduit ... tractus in causam ob eam causam archiespiscopus læsæ majestatis reus arguitur!" (Radulphus de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 494 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 6, ll. 13-15 As soon as he was withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converting them to his own use] “Ad quam magnam faciendam pecuniam rursus animum intendit” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv), endorsed by Daniel: “After this [the King] became ... arbitrary a Possessor of Church-Livings and Preferments” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 6, ll. 15-16 and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign] “Sanctus Anselmus ... extorris ab Ecclesia sua Cantuariensi in Gallia exul degebat: eidem redeundi facultas ab eius successore Henrico data est” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiasticæ*, XII, 13 E; see also Radulphus de Diceto, *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 495 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162; III, 1875-76]).

p. 6, ll. 17-20 The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbishop are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief collection, being of little use to posterity, and of less entertainment] A historiographical practice illustrated by the very title of Valerius Maximus’ collection of memorable deeds and sayings, *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX* ([Amsterdam: Jan Jansson, 1647], p. 258 [VI, i, ext. 3]), of which Swift owned no less than three editions and of which he annotated one with care (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-89). Polydore Vergil also made use of the formula (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vi and vii). See the note on “not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgment, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events” (*To the Count de Gyllenborg*, ed. Hermann J. Real, with the assistance of Kirsten Juhas, Dirk F. Passmann, Eva Schaten, and Sandra Simon (Online.Swift/Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies, Münster, March 2013, p. 1, ll. 7-8).

p. 6, ll. 20-22 neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages] “History is philosophy teaching by examples,” as Bolingbroke, among many, described the commonplace function of history, and historiography, in his *Letters on the Study and Use of History* (James William Johnson, *The Formation of English Neo-Classical Thought* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967], pp. 31-68 [33]).

p. 6, ll. 23-28 Not only this king’s father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severely taxed for violating the

rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally churchmen] “From the Church [William the Conqueror] gat considerable Sums, but by Extortion rather than Justice, the Kingly Power never before extending so far ... He made all the Bishopricks, and Monasteries also, that held Baronies (which before had been exempted from all secular Services) to contribute to his Wars, and other Necessities of State, which may be the reason that in all the Histories of those Times, which were written by Church-men interested in them, he bears the Name of an Oppressor and cruel Exactor, with other Marks of Infamy” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William I*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 110 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). William Rufus, likewise, “gather’d great Sums of Money” by extorting the clergy (I, 117).

cotemporary] Swift seems to have used contemporary and cotemporary indistinguishably (*Prose Works*, I, 22; *Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 7, l. 26; 311, l. 22).

p. 6, ll. 28-31 and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the church and court of *Rome* were in those ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independant state]

p. 6, ll. 31-32 the inferior clergy, both secular and regular] Secular clergy is used of priests ‘living in the world,’ to distinguish them from ‘regular’ clergy, members of religious orders bound by monastic rules (ODCC, s.v. “Secular Clergy”). Sir William Temple referred to the distinction in “An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”: eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Martin Kämper [Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995], p. 21).

p. 6, l. 32 - p. 7, l. 1 insisting upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power] Exemption from trial by a secular court was accorded to the clergy on being charged with felony, known as benefit of clergy (ODCC, s.v.).

p. 7

p. 7, ll. 1-3 the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to *Rome*] “During the Middle Ages appeal to the Papal Curia from the English ecclesiastical courts occasioned intermittent friction between Church and State” (ODCC, s.v. “Appeals”). What this meant in practical terms may be seen from the “Privilegia Apost[olicae] Sedis et Romani Pontificis,” a complete catalogue of

rights and privileges claimed by the Papal See in the eleventh century (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 479 C-E [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]). The matter of appeals became a contested issue at the Council of Trent: “In *Appeals*, the Custom was to pass by the intermediate Superiours, and not, at the first, to leap to the highest; which was taken away, because the Governors of Provinces and Countries, were become Tyrants over the Church; and for a Remedy all businesses were carried to *Rome*” (Pietro Soave [Sarpi], *The History of the Council of Trent* [London: John Macock for Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1676], p. 315 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 7, ll. 3-4 for they reduced the matter to this short issue, That God was to be obeyed rather than men] According to the biblical command, “We ought to obey God rather than men” (Acts 5:29). In papal interpretation, obedience later came to be regarded as “the sinew of ecclesiastical discipline” (Soave, *The History of the Council of Trent*, p. 10 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]).

p. 7, ll. 4-5 and consequently the bishop of *Rome*, who is Christ’s representative, rather than an earthly prince] In his survey of arguments ostensibly justifying the Pope’s authority, Isaac Barrow mentions the doctrine, “notorious” from an Anglican point of view, according to which “all the Power of *Christ (the Lord of Lords and King of Kings)*, to whom all Power in Heaven and earth doth appertain) is imparted to the Pope, as to his Vicegerent” (*A Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy* [London: by Miles Flesher for Brabazon Aylmer, 1680], p. 4 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 162-63]).

p. 7, ll. 6-8 Neither doth it seem improbable that all *Christendom* would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the *Roman* see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies] In the satirical allegory of *A Tale of a Tub*, Martin and Jack, “long weary of [Peter’s] ill Usage, resolved at last to leave him,” not before having taken “a Copy of their Father’s *Will*,” however (*Prose Works*, I, 75).

vassalage ... to the *Roman* see] The state “of servitude, slavery, dependance” (JOHNSON, II, s.v.). In Spenser’s *Fairie Queene*, Arviragus, Cymbeline’s brother, “renounc’t the vassalage / Of *Rome*” (*The Works of That Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser* [London: by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, 1679], p. 100 [II, x, 52] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]).

p. 7, ll. 9-11 opened the eyes even of those princes and states who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of that Church] Chiefly, the Holy Roman Emperor as well the kings of France, Spain and Portugal.

p. 7, ll. 12-15 While the king continued at *Glocester*, *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them] “Die vero sancti *Bartholomei* Apostoli venit rex *Malcolmus* regi *Willielmo* usque ad *Gloverniam*, ut ... firma pax inter eos & stabilis amicitia firmaretur” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 989 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 7, ll. 14-16 a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which *Malcolm* was to pay] “Sed rex *Willielmus* nec eum alloqui voluit nec videre, quin & in superbiam erectus eum parvipendendo despexit. Insuper voluit ut *Malcolmus* in curia sua ubicumque fuerit secundum iudicium Baronum rectitudinem subiret. Sed *Malcolmus* id facere recusavit” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 989 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

homage] “Service paid and fealty professed to a sovereign or superior lord” (JOHNSON, I, s.v.), as in Matthew of Westminster: “Rex Scotorum *Malcolmus* fecit homagium regi *Gulihelmo*” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 14 [sig. 3B1v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 7, ll. 16-19 in the managing whereof king *William* discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the *Scottish* prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation] Swift is again closely following Polydore Vergil: “Ut inhumanus, non modo Scotum amicum alloqui noluit, sed ne videre quidem, quin etiam vehementer despexit. Ferens id iniquo animo, ut par erat, *Malcolmus* in Scotiam reversus exercitum coegit” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, x).

discovered] “To disclose or expose to view ... to reveal, show. Now *rare*.” (OED). For William Rufus’ customary arrogance and pride, see the note on p. 17, ll. 6-8.

returned home with indignation] “Sic impacatus *Malcolmus* abscessit” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 989 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 7, ll. 19-21 but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering *Northumberland* with fire and sword, laid all waste before him] Similarly, Daniel

had argued that Malcolm, “incensed at the Disdain which William had shewed to him ... as well now as before, went home; and raising a great Army enter’d *Northumberland*, resolving to destroy that Country and go farther” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); anticipated by Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, x) and Brompton: “Mox autem cum dictus *Malcolmus* rex *Scottorum* regnum suum ingressus esset, immensum exercitum congregavit, et erumpens cum *Edwardo* primogenito suo partes boriales *Angliæ* hostiliter invasit, & eas usque ad *Alnewyk* prædavit & incendio devastavit” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 989 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 7, ll. 21-25 But as all enterprizes have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event] In his *Essayes*, Bacon discredited “private revenge” as “a kinde of Wilde Justice,” to be weeded out by the law at all costs (*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985], pp. 16-17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-27]). Other seventeenth-century moralists, such as Pierre Charron, whose *Of Wisdom* Swift owned in the translation of George Stanhope, and Jeremy Collier in his *Essays* continued in this vein, emphasizing the animal-like irrationality and injustice of this passion (*Of Wisdom Three Books: Made English by George Stanhope* [London: M. Gillyflower, *et al.*, 1697], pp. 217-21 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-397]; Jeremy Collier, *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects* [London: by W.B. for H. Rhodes and T. Newborough, 1705], pp. 28-41).

p. 7, ll. 25-29 *Robert Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, to prevent the destruction of his own country, where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the *Scots*] “*Robert de Mowbray*, Earl of that County, seeing his Territories so miserably harass’d and depopulated, and being a stout and valiant Soldier, raised what Force he could to oppose him without the King’s Order” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 7, ll. 29-30 set down before *Alhwick* castle] “This fight was near *Alhwick* in *Northumberland*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A*

*Complete History of England*, I, 115, note b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

*Alnwick* castle] “Alnwick, a Market Town in the East parts of *Northumberland* ... once defended with a great Castle” (MORÉRI, s.v.), confirmed by Philippus Ferrarius (*Novum lexicon geographicum*, 2 vols [Eisenach: Johann Peter Schmidt, 1677], I, s.v. “Alnevicum” [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 615]).

p. 7, ll. 30-32 by an ambush, *Malcolm* and his eldest son *Edward* were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated] “But not being strong enough to enter a pitch Battel with him, lay in ambush for him where he was to pass; and fell upon him so fiercely and boldly, that he slew *Malcolm* himself and his eldest Son *Edward*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); again, anticipated by Polydore Vergil (*Historia Anglica*, ed. Sutton, X, x) and Brompton: “[Malcolm] à *Roberto de Moubray* Consule *Northumbriæ* ... cum *Edwardo* filio suo occisus est, multis aliis peremptis & aliis in fugam conversis” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 989-90 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 7, l. 32 - p. 8, l. 2 This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of queen *Margaret*, who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief] “Regina vero *Scottorum Margareta* audita morte mariti sui in infirmitatem decidit, & ... vitam hujus seculi, ut ipsa deum rogaverat ne diutius viveret, post triduum feliciter terminavit” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 990 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]); echoed by Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 15 [sig. 3B2v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]) and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, x), as well as Daniel (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 8

p. 8, ll. 2-5 Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of *Malcolm*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, was restored to this crown by the assistance of king *William*] “King *William*, to bring the Kingdom into their Legal Succession, and have a King which might be beholding to his Power, assisted *Edgar* the second Son to *Malcolm* ... to obtain the Crown due to him as Heir by Succession to it” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND

VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), following Brompton's *Chronicon (Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 990, 995 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]) and Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, x).

p. 8, ll. 6-8 hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried but not extinguished in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions] “And *Robert* not long after went into *Normandy* again, much dissatisfy'd at his Disappointment by his Brother” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Unlike Daniel, Swift resorts to the metaphor of war as a destructive fire, thus anticipating imagery from his historical tracts and *Gulliver's Travels* (Irvin Ehrenpreis, *The Personality of Jonathan Swift* [London: Methuen, 1958], pp. 87-91).

p. 8, ll. 8-11 duke *Robert* had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress, which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury] Polydore Vergil is the source Swift here follows most closely: “*Robertus dux Normaniae, laborans continenter de regio honore sibi praerepto, per legatos fratrem de periurio criminatur, quod non servasset conditiones pacis*” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi), with Daniel coming second: “[Robert] enveighs against [William], as false and perfidious to him, and they became more bitter Enemies than they had ever been before” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), a close rendering of the account in Brompton's *Chronicon (Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 990 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

perjury] “Perjury is the most extreme violation of verbal trust ... in that it involves either breaking or abusing a formal oath in a matter of great personal or even national importance” (Geoffrey Hughes, *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* [Armonk, New York, and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2006], p. 342).

p. 8, ll. 12-13 no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them] Reminiscent of the Sermon of the Mount: “And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?” (Matthew 7:3). See also the note on *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), p. 32, ll. 1-3.

p. 8, ll. 13-15 the king, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded *Normandy* a second time] “Rufus vehementer ob eam rem indignatus in Normanium cum magnis copiis extemplo navigavit,” Polydore Vergil claims (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi), echoed by Daniel: “*William* being incens’d at this, pass’d over into *Normandy* with a great Army” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 8, ll. 15-16 resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints] “Habens animo ita fortunam belli adversus fratrem tentare, ut potius semel subiret periculum quam aut caveret semper aut tali molestia perpetuo vexaretur” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

p. 8, ll. 16-19 He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending intirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immediately raised in *England*] “Tum rex, videns opus esse maioribus viribus, ad bellum quod supra caput erat mature conficiendum, primo quoque tempore circiter viginti millia armatorum in Anglia conscribi ad seque duci iussit” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

several strong holds] Enumerated in Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

p. 8, ll. 15-23 The duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the king of *France*, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts] “Robertus regis Philippi praesidio auctus aggreditur ea loca quae Rufus in Normannia ex foedere ... possidebat” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

p. 8, ll. 23-27 beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preserving his neighbouring state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of *England*; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain]

p. 8, ll. 28-32 king *William*, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from *Wales*, sent offers to his army, just ready to embark for *Normandy*, that upon payment of ten shillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes] Elaborated by Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi) and essentially endorsed by Daniel:

“*William* order’d that his Army which he had sent for out of *England*, and was come to the Sea-side ready to embark, should be disbanded, and upon the Payment of ten Shillings a Man dismissed to their homes” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). In an accompanying footnote, Daniel explains this statement to mean that as many of the drafted soldiers who “wou’d pay ten Shillings shou’d be discharg’d,” with the consequence that the money thus raised was paid into the Treasurer’s coffers (I, 115, note a). By contrast, Matthew of Westminster claims that the payment requested by the King was not ten but twenty shillings: “iussit redire, & mittere regi pecuniam, quā deferebant, scilicet vnusquisque. xx. solidos” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 17 [sig. 3B3r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

ten shillings] According to William Fleetwood’s *Chronicon Preciosum*, the first major attempt to survey the historical development of prices, wages, and incomes, “there was never ... any Piece of Silver of that Denomination [shilling] coined in *England* till the Year 1504.” The “*Coins of Silver*” available from the reign of William the Conqueror to that of Edward II, Fleetwood claims, “were only Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings” (*Chronicon Preciosum: or, An Account of English Money* [London: Charles Harper, 1707], p. 40, sig. A4r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 631]). Swift translated from Latin *solidus*, originally a Roman gold coin, as Polydore Vergil makes clear: “Significavit ... ut singuli denos solidos solverent” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

p.8, l. 32 – p. 9, l. 1 the money was paid to the king of *France*] “Ingenio tamen & pecunia regis *Willielmi*, rex *Francorum* est reversus, & totus exercitus evanuit pecuniae tenebris obumbratus” (Brompton, *Chronicon* in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 991 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Daniel dryly noted that William’s strategy enabled him to “fee the *French King*” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Before him, Polydore Vergil likewise claimed that Philip once he had been paid off did not render his assistance and that all lusting for war waned in him (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xi).

p. 9

p. 9, ll. 2-3 king *William*, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before] “*Robert* ... was forced to accept of a Peace at home upon any terms” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in

Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 9, ll. 4-6 some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners] Differences such as “the inequality of the soil and the inclemency of the sky” (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, II, 365), which result in a ‘variety of manners’. The formula is frequent in seventeenth and early eighteenth century contributions to climate theory (Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, *Die Klimatheorie in der Englischen Literatur und Literaturkritik* [Wien und Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1977], particularly pp. 231-58, and *passim*).

p. 9, ll. 14-15 a sum of money, equal to at least twelve times as much in our times] It is unclear how Swift arrived at this calculation. The only source computing the comparative value and purchasing power of money between 1100 and 1700, which was based on the price of corn and other commodities and which would have been available to him among the books he owned, Fleetwood’s *Chronicon Preciosum* of 1707, estimated the difference at five or six times as much (pp. 166-81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 631]). Conversely, drawing on an unidentified “synoptical table of the variations in the standard of *English* coin,” Deane Swift claims that “ten shillings of *Rufus*’s” was equivalent to at least twelve pounds sterl. of present currency.” At the same time, Deane Swift invokes the authority of Sir Henry Spelman (1563/4-1641), who had argued that the sum of ten shillings was identical with “the money which the country had allowed [the soldiers] for their subsistence, so that if each man paid ten shillings, it might not be from his own purse” (pp. 299-300).

p. 9, ll. 18-23 when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service] *In capite* “(from *Caput*, *i.e.* *Rex*, *unde tenere in Capite, est Tenere de Rege, omnium terrarum Capite*)” signifies “an antient Tenure, whereby a Man held Lands of the King immediately as of his Crown, whether by Knights Service, or Socage” (Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary*, s.v.). Swift is referring to “the principle of tenure in return for service,” including “services of a military character,” with military tenure, that is, “tenure by knight-service,” becoming of “universal and paramount importance” after the Conquest and finally imposing “knight-service on bishoprics and abbeys,” too (F. M. Stenton,

*Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947], pp. 672-73, 626-27).

p. 9, ll. 25-28 neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property] It is unclear whether Swift is referring to any specific event in the sequence of confiscations which so much mar sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Irish 'settlement' policy. No matter whether one calls it Cromwellian, Restoration, or Williamite, and irrespective of their changeable legal bases, the underlying pattern is invariably the same: the struggle between Catholic and Protestant landowners for the land of the country, with Catholic proprietors, more often than not, being deprived of their property to be settled with English or Scottish grantees. In the Cromwellian Act of Settlement (1652), "the most drastic" of the three settlements between 1641 to 1703 (J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690-1703* [London: Faber and Faber, 1956], pp. 13-29, 45-54, and *passim*), which Swift perhaps had particular reason to remember, "the whole territory of Ireland was treated as confiscated property" (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 8-20 [13]). More revealingly, it is estimated that about 12,000 Cromwellian soldiers actually settled the confiscated land, which had been distributed among them by lot. As a result, the former proprietors turned into tenants to work the land, while the landless labourers continued to live in wretched conditions in the towns (Patrick J. Corish, "The Cromwellian Regime, 1650-60," *A New History of Ireland, III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 353-86 [pp. 358, 361, 370-75]).

p. 9, l. 29 - p. 10, l. 4 The king, upon his return from *Normandy*, made an unsuccessful expedition against the *Welsh*, who upon the advantages of his absence had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Hereford*. Upon the king's approach they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose] This is a precis of a lengthy account in Brompton: "Adhuc insuper dum rex *Willielmus* in *Normannia* extitit, *Wallenses* servitutis iugo quo diu premebantur excusso, cervice erecta libertatem sibi pristinam vendicabant ... castella frangentes quae in *Westwallia* fuerant sumptuose fermata & constructa. Insuper in comitatibus *Cestriae*, *Salopiae*, & *Harfordiae* frequentes praedas agebant, & villas comburebant, ac ... multos *Anglos* & *Normannos* perimebant, aetati nec sexui parcentes ... Adhuc audito quod *Wallenses* ... multa mala ferro & igne fecerant, rex impiger ... cum immenso

exercitu in *VWalliam* properavit, ubi omnes fines *VWalliæ* pertransiens, cum in diversoriis montium, & silvarum eos prosequi non posset ... multis hominibus & equis perditis, iterum ut prius non sine ignominia reversus est” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 991-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

according to their usual custom] “more suo praedabundi” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

cruel inroads] Again, given his audience, Swift is seen mitigating the catalogue of Welsh atrocities which he would have come across in Polydore Vergil, for example (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

the adjoining counties of *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Hereford*] Chester, recte Cheshire, “the chiefest [Town of which] is the City of *Chester*,” Shrewsbury, recte Shropshire, “the Shire Town [being] *Shrewsbury*,” and *sc.* Herefordshire, “most noted [for] the City of *Hereford*, the Shire Town” (CHAMBERLAYNE [1707], pp. 11, 26, 17).

Upon the king’s approach they fled into the fastnesses among the mountains] “But the *Welsh* flying ... into Mountains ... avoided his Fury” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

fastnesses] “A strong place; a place not easily forced” (JOHNSON, I, s.v.), more precisely, the “mountainous territory and impenetrable forests [locorum angustiis & densis nemoribus]” (Knighton, *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 2366 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1875-76]), echoed by Polydore Vergil: “Walli contra aut montes aut sylvas frequentabant” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

as well as the loss of great numbers of his men] “[Walli] in regium exercitum prorumpentes bene multos mortales vel vulnerabant vel occidebant” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

to no purpose] “parum vel nihil proficiens” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 991-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 10

p. 10, ll. 4-14 From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for *Robert* earl of *Northumberland*, overrating his late services against the *Scots*, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the king, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal

accusation. The earl having disobeyed the king's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king *William*, and set up *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle*, son of a sister to *William the Conqueror*] “Interea ... Comes *Northumbrensis Robertus de Moubray*, pro eo quod regem *Scottorum Malcolmum*, ut dictum est straverat, in superbiam elatus, curiam regis adire recusavit, quia ipse & multi alii in depositionem regis sui *Willielmi*, si forte eum vita privare, & *Stephanum* de *Albamarla* filium amitæ suæ in regem statuere posseat, proditorialiter conjurati sunt & conati; sed frustra” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 991-92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]); reiterated almost verbatim by Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 16 [sig. 3B2v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]), and summarized in his own words by Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

p. 10, ll. 15-16 this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed] “This Plot was greater Trouble than Danger to the King; for by his speedy advance against them, and onset upon them with the greatest Strength of the Kingdom ... he quash'd their Design” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

this active prince] Presumably intended to be a translation of “impiger rex [Gulihelmus]” (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 17 [sig. 3B3r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings] Reminiscent of an advice in Bacon's “Of Seditions and Troubles” (*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, p. 50 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-27]).

p. 10, ll. 17-18 and surprised the rebels at *Newcastle*, took the castles of *Tinmouth* and *Bamburg*] “Nam detecta & cognita eorum fraude, rex cum exercitu magno *Northumbriam* adiit, ubi cito in quadam firmitate quæ *Novum castrum* vocatur ... Inde vero quodam alio castello conquisito [Tinmouth] ... apud *Bamburgh* ... post hæc obsedit” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 992 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

*Tinmouth*] Tinmouth, or Tynemouth, “a considerable Sea-Port and Castle in the Borders of Northumberland ... In the Reign of *William II Robert Mobray* Earl of *Northumberland* trusting too much to the Strength of the Castle of *Tinmouth*, was taken Prisoner by that Prince after a sharp Siege” (MORÉRI, s.v.). According to Matthew of Westminster, Tynemouth was built by Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror: “Rex Angliæ ... misit Robertum filium

suum cum exercitui in Scotiam qui infecto negotio rediens super flumen Tinę nouum castellum fabricauit” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 7 [sig. 3A4r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

*Bamburg*] In modern spelling Bamburgh (Castle): “Redditum est regi castellum de Bamburg” (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 16 [sig. 3B2v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). Other chroniclers claim that the King only laid siege to Bamburgh Castle but never managed to conquer it: “Et quoniam locus natura et opere munitissimus armis videbatur inexpugnabilis” (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

p. 10, ll. 19-20 to commit cruelties upon their persons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities] William punished the conspirators in his power “with a Severity equal, if not beyond the Crime.” Daniel, in the wake of Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii), illustrated this claim with a catalogue of the most glaring atrocities (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). By contrast, Matthew of Westminster laconically noted: “Omnes fautores Comitum male tractati sunt” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 16 [sig. 3B2v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

other the like inhumanities] “Præcepit rex oculos Comites in conspectu suorum erui” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 992 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

p. 10, ll. 21-23 The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life] “Et Comes *Robertus* usque *Wyndesore* ducitur carceri mancipandus” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 992 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), followed by Polydore Vergil in all essential details: “Robertus ad Vindesorium castrum ductus in carcerem coniiicitur” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xii).

p. 10, ll. 24-25 About this time began the Holy War for recovering of *Palestine*] According to Daniel, the First Crusade began in 1096 (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 10, ll. 26-28 wherein most in *Christendom* had a share, it cannot be silently passed over in the history of any nation] For the initiative to call for a crusade and its impact on European nations, see the note on p. 10, ll. 29-30.

p. 10, ll. 29-30 Pope *Urban* the second, in a council at *Clermont*, made a pathetick exhortation] “Pope *Urban* being sensible of the lamentable Distraction of *Christendom*, thought it the best Expedient to end [the Factions and Schisms in the Kingdoms of *Europe*], to draw their Thoughts and Designs another way, and to that end called a Council at *Clermont* in *Avergne*; where having propounded to the Princes and Bishops assembled, the miserable Condition of the Christians at *Jerusalem* under the *Turks*, he earnestly exhorted them to joyn their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Infidels” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); followed in all essentials by Brompton: “*Urbanus* secundus papa ... Synodo convocata, & apud *Clarum* montem ... celebrata ... hortans Christicolos universos, ut Christi imitators effecti, in terram sanctam quam ipse Christus proprio sanguine consecravit, ad ipsius sanguinis effusionem vindicandam, & ipsam terram de manibus inimicorum suorum eripiendam, celeriter properarent” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 992 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 17 [sig. 3B3r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). An even more elaborate account of the Council of Clermont and its proceedings, among them, Pope Urban’s initiative to call for the First Crusade, was available to Swift in Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiii) and Cardinal Baronius’ *Annales Ecclesiastici*, in which the various sections are highlighted by salient marginal glosses, such as “Vrbanvs Papa indicit expeditionem in terram sanctam” and “Deplorat Urbanus Papa calamitates terrae sanctae” (XI, 648-52 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

pathetick] “Passionate, moving” (JOHNSON, II, s.v.), as in Addison, *The Spectator*, no 571 (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, IV, 549). A notable specimen of the Pope’s oratory is his “Synodalis Concio” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 650 A-B [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

p. 10, l. 30 - p. 11, l. 3 shewing with what danger and indignity to *Christendom* the *Turks* and *Saracens* had, for some ages, not only overrun all *Asia* and *Africa*, where *Christendom* had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into *Europe*, where they had entirely subdued *Spain*, and some other parts] “From [the time of *Mahomet*, the *Saracens*] began to be Powerful, and under the Conduct of their Kings made Irruptions into *Africa*, *Asia* and *Europe*, where they were Masters of part of *Sicily*, and subdued *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Persia*.” Predictably, “the Christian Princes had Wars with them, for a long time” (MORÉRI, s.v.

Saracens). For a brief history of the Turkish Empire and a detailed list of its conquests since the beginning, see also MORÉRI (s.v. Turks).

p. 11

p. 11, ll. 3-6 that *Jerusalem*, the holy city, where our Saviour did so many miracles, and where his sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of Infidels] “Having propounded to the Princes and Bishops assembled, the miserable Condition of the Christians at *Jerusalem* under the *Turks*, [Pope Urban] earnestly exhorted them to joyn their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of the hands of the Infidels” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Similarly, Baronius had complained in *Annales Ecclesiastici*: “Sarracenorum enim gens impia ... loca sancta, in quibus steterunt pedes Domini, iam à multis retrò temporibus violenter praemit tyrannide” (XI, 649 C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]), anticipated by Polydore Vergil, according to whom Pope Urban’s speech was inspired by the recollection of the Holy Land’s “slavery” under Islamic rule: “Memor quam miserabili servitio Hierosolymorum urbs, quae Terra Sancta dicitur, a Saracenis premeretur” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiii).

where our Saviour did so many miracles] “Humani generis Reparator ... crebra simul miraculorum exhibitione reddidit specialiter insignem” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 648-49 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

p. 11, ll. 9-10 that this should be reckoned an ample satisfaction for all their past sins] “Concessa est à papa, cui concessa est potestas à domino, vice beati Petri, ligandi, atque soluēdi super terram, generalis indulgentia peccatorum” (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 19 [sig. 3B4r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 11, ll. 10-11 that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to heaven] Because they would be granted the rank of martyr: “Martyres ... certantibus pro Ecclesia cælites præsto [sunt]” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 542 D [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

p. 11, ll. 11-12 and the survivors would be blessed with the sight of our Lord’s sepulchre] See p. 11, ll. 3-6.

p. 11, ll. 14-15 several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the Cross] Both in a literal and a metaphorical sense: “Ad huius autem rei euidens indicium, communi consilio signum sanctæ Crucis super scapulam dexteram impressere vestibus” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 653 A [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

p. 11, ll. 15-16 this high fit of zeal] Mirrored several times in Pope Urban’s speech, as, for example: “Armamini zelo Dei ... si quis zelum legis Dei habet, adiungat se nobis” (Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 650 A [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162]).

p. 11, ll. 17-18 in most parts of *Europe* some great prince or lord became a votary for *The Holy Land*] “Many great Princes passed away their whole Estates, and left their Kingdoms to engage in this noble Action; and all sorts of People flocked so fast to this Service, that in a little time they made up an Army of three hundred thousand, or, as some say, seven hundred thousand Men” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Significantly, Polydore Vergil made a point of emphasizing that William Rufus was not among these European princes: “Porro ille non movebatur exemplo aliorum principum” (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiii). See also the gloss on p. 12, ll. 10-12.

votary] “One devoted, as by a vow, to any particular service, worship, study, or state of life” (JOHNSON, II, s.v.).

p. 11, ll. 18-19 *Hugh the Great*, brother to the king of *France*] Hugh of Vermandois (1057-1101), also known as Hugo Magnus: “Their Example invited *Hugh le Grand*, Count de Vermandois, Brother to *Philip* King of *France*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116; Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 669 D, 663 C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1749-50]).

p. 11, l. 19 *Godfrey* duke of *Lorrain*] Godfrey of Bouillon, c.1060-1100, “Nephew and Heir to the Duke of *Lorrain*, a generous Prince ... was the first that offer’d himself to undertake this famous Voyage” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; MORÉRI, s.v.).

p. 11, ll. 19-20 *Reimond* count of *Toulouse*] “Raimond ... raised an Army for the recovering of the *Holy-Land*” (MORÉRI, s.v. Raimond I).

p. 11, l. 20 *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, and many others] For lengthy, almost identical lists of the leading participants, see Brompton, *Chronicon (Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 993 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II* (Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*, pp. 17-18 [sig. 3B3r-v] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]), Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiii), Baronius (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 663 B-C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1749-50]), and MORÉRI (s.v. Croisade).

p. 11, ll. 21-24 that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprize] “Most of these Princes and Noble Persons sold or engaged their Dominions and Possessions to furnish themselves out for this brave attempt ... thus did the Pope weaken not only the Empire ... but also mightily enriched the Ecclesiastical Persons, who purchased most of the Temporalities, which the Undertakers left, and so became much greater than they had been before” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 11, ll. 24-27 a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves] See also the gloss on p. 12, ll. 18-21.

p. 11, l. 29 - p. 12, l. 2 a certain *French* priest, commonly called *Peter the Hermit*; who being at *Jerusalem* upon pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war] “Seeing the Christians deplorable Condition” on a visit to Jerusalem, Peter the Hermit, of Amiens (c.1050-1115), “spoke with the Patriarch *Simeon*, and offer’d to carry Letters to all the Western Princes to perswade them to a Croisade” (MORÉRI, s.v. Hermit, Peter; Croisade).

p. 12

p. 12, ll. 4-8 all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him such credit with the pope, and several princes of *Christendom*, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the Infidels, and was very instrumental

for engaging many others in the same design] “[Peter the Hermit] visited the Pope and most of the Princes of *Europe*, particularly *Godfrey of Bouillon*, the Chief of those that undertook the Holy War. This Prince seeing *Peter* followed by a great multitude of ordinary People, made him their Commander, and sent him before at the head of about 40000 foot, besides Cavalry” (MORÉRI, s.v. Hermit, Peter).

p. 12, ll. 10-12 the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims; who, at the siege of *Nice*, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse] Swift adopted the figures given by Stephen of Byzantium in a note on Jerusalem: “Deinde Christiani Argonautæ, duce Godefrido Bilioneo Lotharingiæ principe sexcenta peditum millia, equitum centum millia secum ferentes eam ceperunt” (*De Urbibus* [Amsterdam: J. de Jonge, 1678], pp. 322-23n41 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1749-50]).

*Nice*] The English spelling of Nicaea, “a City of *Bithynia* in *Asia minor*” (MORÉRI, s.v.).

p. 12, ll. 16-18 they took *Nice*, *Antioch*, and at last *Jerusalem*, where duke *Godfrey* was chosen king without competition] After the siege of Nicaea, which lasted several weeks, “the Christian Princes led their Victorious Army through *Asia Minor*, enter’d *Syria*, and took *Antioch*. *Jerusalem* was taken in 1099, and *Godefroy of Bouillon* chosen King” (MORÉRI, s.v. Croisade, Godfrey of Bouillon, Nice; Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XI, 669 D, 676 C; Stephen, of Byzantium, *De Urbibus*, p. 323n41; Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 19-21 [sigs 3B4r-5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 152-162; III, 1749-50; II, 1213-15]; Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, XI, ii).

p. 12, ll. 18-21 But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprises, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel] “The Zeal of these Christian Princes was admirable, but did little or no good” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 12, ll. 23-24 faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies] Although Swift never tired of denouncing ‘faction’ and ‘envy’ individually, or in combination with other vices, such as ‘self-love’ and ‘ambition’, ‘folly’ and ‘pride’ (see, for example, *Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 555, l. 41, 570, l. 433), they do not seem to occur in tandem. What combines them here is the destructive character detrimental to any sort of allegiance, alliance, and community. “Envy,” Swift

assured Bolingbroke in 1719, he took to be an “incessant” force, “wherewith the common rate of mankind pursues all superior natures to their own” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 316); a thought reminiscent of the “Discours contre l’envie” incorporated into the annotations of Blaise Vigenère’s translation of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*: “[L’envie] est vn vice qui en cachette retient vne tres-grande domination sur la terre, & qui la destruit, & met en ruine: son proper effect est de persecuter les bons, & ceux qui à cause de leurs vertus & industrie sont en credit & reputation” (*De la vie d’Apollonivs*, II, 262 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422]). Analogously, “the Rage of Factions,” the Dean told Thomas Tickell a few years later, tended to fly in the face of political commonsense, obliging “Princes themselves ... to act against their Judgment” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 599-600; see also IV, 440).

p. 12, ll. 26-29 the *Holy Land* became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to shew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home] We have been unable to identify a parallel or analogue.

p. 12, l. 30 – p. 13, l. 1 The Christians held possession of *Jerusalem* above eighty years, and continued their expeditions to the *Holy Land* almost as many more] Various kings of Jerusalem followed Godfrey of Bouillon, “the first Monarch,” until Saladin, King of Syria and Egypt, after “several Victories over the *Christians*, at length took *Jerusalem* from them ... and all the *Holy Land*” in 1187, “so that, after 88 Years standing, the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* came to a Period” (MORÉRI, s.v. Jerusalem), confirmed by Baronius, albeit with a negligible variant: “Et est sciendum, quòd à tempore illo, quo Ierosolyma erepta fuit de manibus Paganorum per prædictos expugnatores, vsque ad tempus illud, quo Rex Guido eam perdidit, interlapsi fuerunt quater viginti & septem anni” (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, XII, 783 C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1749-50]).

p. 13

p. 13, ll. 1-3 after they were entirely driven out of *Asia*, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new crusades] According to MORÉRI, there were eight crusades in all, lasting till 1291 when the Christians lost Syria: “There has been no Croisade since that time though the Popes have often endeavoured and pressed the Christians for that end” (s.v. Croisade).

p. 13, ll. 3-7 neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine men for uniting *Christendom* against the *Turk*, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain] “Even to this [Swift’s own] day” may be an exaggeration, but it is certainly true that Christian endeavours, both in the Catholic and Protestant camps, to forge alliances against the Islamic Turks continued unabated after the last crusade at the end of the thirteenth century. Renaissance Popes and Christian princes alike viewed the fall of Constantinople in 1453 with alarm, leading Cardinal Bessarion to issue a call for a new crusade, which was subsequently taken up by Popes Nicholas V and Pius II (see 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. 122-25]).

p. 13, ll. 8-12 *Robert*, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his dutchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold; which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, towards the church and laity, as very much encreased the discontents of both against the prince] This story was told with minor variants by Simeon of Durham: “Post hæc Comes *Normannorum Rodbertus* cum Jerusalem proficisci ... proponeret ... germanum suum regem *Willielmum* petiit, ut inter se pace reintegrata illi [mille] marcas argenti præstaret, & ab eo *Normanniam* in vadimonium acciperet” (*Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X, ed. Twysden, col. 222; see also Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 17-18 [sig. 3B3r-v], Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiii), and Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 116 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15; 1247-48; III, 1875-76]). Deane Swift deems this “equal to 1,400,000 *l.*” as money passed then (p. 305).

p. 13, ll. 13-19 I shall record one act of this king’s, which being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of history. As he was hunting one day in the *New Forest*, a messenger express from *Normandy*, brought him intelligence, that *Helie*, count *de la Fleche*, had laid close siege to *Mans*, and expected to carry the town in a few days] “As he was one day a hunting, a Messenger came in all haste out of *Normandy*, and told him how the City of *Mans* was surpriz’d and taken by *Heli*, Count *de la Flesche* ... but the Castle held out valiantly for him; yet, if it were not timely relieved, must surrender” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

*New Forest*] A large, uninhabited extent of land in Hampshire, “which *William the Conqueror* so delighted to hunt in, that to make it compleat and intire, he caused many Towns and Villages ... to be pull’d down and levell’d with the Ground” (MORÉRI, s.v.) and “called the *new Forrest*, which Name after so long a Course of Ages, it still retains” (Temple, *Introduction*, p. 181 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).

*Heli*, count *de la Fleche*] Elias I de la Flèche (d. 1110).

p. 13, ll. 19-24 the king leaving his chace, commanded some about him to point whereabouts *Mans* lay; and so rode strait on without reflection, until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned; “They that love me, will follow me.”] “And presently having inquir’d which way *Mans* lay of a *Norman* that stood by, [the King] rid directly towards the Sea-Coasts. His Attendants, tho’ they admir’d his Resolution, yet advis’d him to stay a while to provide things necessary for the Journey, and a Force answerable to his design: But he reply’d, *They that love me will follow me*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 13, ll. 24-28 He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned] “Being arriv’d at *Dartmouth*, and desirous to go on Board a Ship ready to carry him over, the Master told him, That the Weather was so bad, and Sea so rough, his Passage would be very dangerous: But he said, *Tush, set forward; I never yet hear’d of a King that was drowned*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]); anticipated in both Brompton’s *Chronicon* and Knighton’s *Chronica (Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 995, 2369-70 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1875-76]) as well as Polydore Vergil (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv).

p. 13, l. 28 - p. 14, l. 2 In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himself prisoner, who raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed, “That this blow was from Fortune; but Valour would make reprisals, as he should shew, if ever he regained his liberty.” This being told the king, he sent for the count, let him understand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worst]

Swift here condenses Daniel's more elaborate account: "Count *de la Flesche*, after his coming, was not able to hold out the Siege, but after some Skirmishes released the City, and was himself taken by a Stratagem, and brought a Prisoner to *Rouen*." On the King's teasing his prisoner, the Count said, "*That he was made a Prisoner more by Chance than Force; and that, were he at liberty again, he would leave the King but little Land on that side of the Sea.*" The King hearing these words, instantly set him at liberty, and giving him a good Horse, *bid him go and do his worst*" (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; see also Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv). Deane Swift identifies the source of this story in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (p. 306), who was not in Swift's library, however.

p. 14

p. 14, ll. 8-9 I have met with nothing else in this king's reign that deserved to be remembred] See the note on p. 6, ll. 17-20.

p. 14, ll. 9-10 an unsuccessful expedition or two against *Wales*, either by himself or his generals] "The State of *Scotland* being settled according to his Mind, he next turned his Arms upon *Wales* ... He went himself in Person upon this Expedition ... which was so troublesome to him." According to Daniel, the generals the King sent were "*Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh Earl of Chester*." Daniel follows this account up with a narration of the atrocities committed by the two generals. As on earlier occasions, these were left out by Swift in consideration of his youthful audience (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117; see also Brompton, *Chronicon*, and Simeon of Durham, *Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X, ed. Twysden, cols 994, 222 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1875-76] and Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xiv).

p. 14, ll. 14-22 His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in the *New Forest* in *Hampshire*, a large stag crossed the way before him, the king hot on his game, cryed out in haste to *Walter Tyrrel*, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; *Tyrrel* immediately let fly his arrow, which glancing against a tree, struck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word] The circumstances of this accident vary in some details in the

chroniclers' accounts. All are agreed, however, that the King was accidentally killed by a member of his retinue, Walter Tirel (or Tyrrell), during a hunt in the New Forest: "Cumque rex *Willielmus* ... ad novam regiam forestam ... venatum ivit, ubi quidam miles *Francus Walterus* cognomine *Tyrell* sagittam cervo incaute dirigens, regem casu infortuito non voluntarie ad mortem percussit" (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 996; endorsed by Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 and note f; see also Knighton, *Chronica*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 2372 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76], and Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 21 [sig. 3B5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76; II, 1247-48; II, 1213-15]).

*Walter Tyrrel*, a knight of his attendants] Several chroniclers emphasize Tirel's Norman origins, "a quodam Franco milite nomine Gualtero, cui cognomen fuit Tyrello" (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv; Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 and note e [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 14, ll. 25-28 causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to *Winchester*, where it was buried the next day without any solemnity, and which is worse, without grief] Swift substantially followed either Brompton's *Chronicon* or, alternatively, Knighton's *Chronica*: "Cujus cadaver in reda caballaria positum, & *Wintoniam* multorum procerum conventu, paucorum vero planctu delatum, in crastino perditionis suæ in ecclesia sancti *Petri* traditur sepulturæ" (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 997, 2372 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

without grief] "Cognita morte Rufi, gaudium ingens est ubique ortum" (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xvi).

p. 14, l. 29 - p. 15, l. 1 a description and character of his body and mind, impartially from the collections I have made] Signposted in Daniel's *Life and Reign of William II* by the marginal gloss "*His Person and Courage*" (Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 15

p. 15, ll. 3-5 He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied, but he was well and strong knit. His hair was yellow or sandy; his face red, which got him the name of *Rufus*] The most complete description of all the facets of

William's stature and physiognomy is supplied by Polydore Vergil: "Statura corporis paulo minus iusta fuisse traditur, capillo rufo, id est rubro, unde cognomen invenit" (*Anglica Historia*, Book X, xvi), echoed by Daniel: "He was of an indifferent Stature of Body, and well set. His Complexion was ruddy and Hair inclining to yellow, whence he had his Name *Rufus*" (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), and anticipated in all essential details by William of Malmesbury: "si quis vero desiderat scire corporis ejus qualitatem, noverit eum fuisse corpore quadrato, colore rufo, crine subflavo ... quamquam non magnæ staturæ" (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, II, 374). While the King's hair is usually described as yellow, his cognomen Rufus was variously attributed to his red face.

and big-bellied] "Ventre paulo proiectiore" (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, X, xvi), copied presumably from William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, II, 374).

p. 15, ll. 5-10 his forehead flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health] Again, Swift is remarkably close to Polydore Vergil: "Oculos habuit quibusdam maculis aspersos, linguam nequaquam expeditam, quae haesitaret praesertim intumescente ira, corpus ad omnia incommoda toleranda valentissimum" (*Anglica Historia*, Book X, xvi), anticipated by William of Malmesbury: "Fronte fenestrata, oculo vario, quibusdam intermicantibus guttis distincto; præcipuo robore ... Eloquentiæ nullæ. sed titubantia linguæ notabilis, maxime cum ira succresceret" (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, II, 374).

p. 15, ll. 9-10 and the frequent exercise of hunting] See the note on p. 14, ll. 14-22.

p. 15, l. 10 in his dress he affected gayety and expence] "Vestium suarum pretium in immensum extolli volebat, dedignans si quis allevasset" (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, II, 368). In what follows, William of Malmesbury describes in detail the effect the King's 'effeminacy' had on the conduct of his subjects (II, 369-70).

p. 15, ll. 19-21 He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise] "Yet he was sometimes guilty of breach of his faith in his treaties," Deane Swift noted dryly, continuing: "But, he is not the only

prince who in different characters had different measures of right and wrong: a public and a private conscience” (p. 309).

p. 15, ll. 21-22 he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances] “He was of a ... very courageous Spirit; of which we have this convincing Proof” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 15, ll. 30-32 There were several tenets in the *Romish* church he could not digest; particularly that of the saints’ intercession] The practice of invoking the Saints, who were believed to be close to God and accessible to Man, was upheld by the early Church, but it came under heavy fire during the Reformation, both as a Catholic corruption of Scripture and an example of medieval superstition (ODCC, s.v.). Consequently, it was repudiated in the Church-of-England’s *Thirty-Nine Articles* as “a fond thing, vainly invented” (Gilbert Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, 2nd ed. [London: by R. Roberts for Richard Chiswell, 1700], p. 217 [Article 22]), also ridiculed by Swift in *A Tale of a Tub* (*Prose Works*, I, 54). William Rufus’ criticism of the Saints’ intercession may be regarded less as a peculiarly selective attitude than as the expression of a general hostility towards the Church (see p. 15, l. 32 – p. 16, l. 1). “If what is said of him be true, that he should openly declare, He *believ’d no Saint cou’d profit any one in the Lord’s sight*; and that *neither he nor any wise Man would make Intercession either to Peter, or any other for help*” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117, note b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 15, l. 32 – p. 16, l. 1 living in an age overrun with superstition, he went so far into the other extrem, as to be censured for an Atheist] Swift’s sources emphasize not so much William II’s ‘atheism’ as his hostility to his Creator and the Church: “He was ... austere to the Churchmen” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]), or, in Brompton’s description, “Deo indevotus, ecclesiae ...gravis” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, cols 985-86 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

Atheist] A term which not necessarily means what it suggests, “one that denies the existence of God” (JOHNSON, I, s.v.), but a word commonly used to brand unbelievers of any provenance (George T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932], pp. 8-64; Ernest A.

Strathmann, "Elizabethan Meanings of 'Atheism,'" *Sir Walter Raleigh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1951], pp. 61-97; G. E. Aylmer, "Unbelief in Seventeenth-Century England," *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill*, eds Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978], pp. 22-46; Michael Hunter, "The Problem of 'Atheism' in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 35 [1985], 135-57).

p. 16

p. 16, ll. 2-5 a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forebode him some misfortune, the king being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, The man was a Monk, and dreamt like a Monk, for lucre sake] The terrors of this dream were told at some length by Matthew of Westminster, but the King's reaction differs there (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 21 [sig. 3B5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 16, ll. 5-6 therefore commanded *Fitzhamon* to give him an hundred shillings] *Fitzhamon*] Robert, son of Hamon, presumably a courtier, to whom the monk had related the dream and who in turn told it to the King: "Monachus quidam retulit Roberto, filio Hamonis, somnium, quod eadem nocte viderat de rege ... Hoc somnium Robertus non negligendum arbitratus, regi confestim retulit" (Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 21 [sig. 3B5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 16, ll. 8-11 His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences] In diagrams of humour outlining 'the system of correspondences,' the King's sanguinity, visible in his red face, correlated "with health and mental balance, serenity, sensuousness and optimism" (Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* [New York: HarperCollins, 2007], pp. 9-14). There were many expositions of the system in Swift's library, ranging from Galen to Melanchthon as well as from Fernel to Cardano (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46, 611-12, 657-63; II, 1223-28). The most exhaustive is that of Jean Baptiste Morin, French royal physician and professor of mathematics at Paris (*Astrologia Gallica* [The Hague: Adrian Vlacq, 1661], pp. 301-11, particularly p. 304 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91]). Irrespective

of the question where William Rufus' "vices" originated, Matthew of Westminster summarized these in one devastating verdict: "Whatever displeased God and those who love Him pleased him [Quicquid deo deum diligentibus displicebat sibi placebat]" (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 21 [sig. 3B5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]). His lavish spending habits were emphasized by Daniel, possibly following Henry Knighton's *Chronica* (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117; *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptorum X*, ed. Twysden, cols 2379 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48; III, 1875-76]). According to Deane Swift, these were rooted in William's "vanity, study of magnificence, buildings, affectations of generosity, and profuseness in rewarding the bravery of his soldiers" (p. 310).

p. 16, ll. 13-18 that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent than the other, which put the king and his evil instruments (among whom *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression] "Besides the Taxes which he impos'd upon the Laity, he set Informers to take notice of any small Irregularities committed by them, and inflicted severe Penalties upon them. And tho' these Actings were very odious and tyrannical, yet he wanted not some of great Name and Station to countenance them, as *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, and some other Bishops, who suffer'd themselves to be corrupted, contrary to their Profession" (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

avarice] One of "the most antient and natural Grounds of Quarrels," Swift posited in *The Battle of the Books*, was "Avarice," a deeply held conviction which he emphatically reiterated some years later in *The Examiner's* attack on John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough: "THERE is no Vice which Mankind carries to such wild Extreams as that of *Avarice* ... The Extreams of this Passion are certainly more frequent than of any other, and often to a Degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their Frequency, they could hardly obtain Belief" (*Prose Works*, III, 80-81). According to Polydore Vergil, the King was ever more goaded on by avarice from day to day, so that "he appeared harsher to his own people than to his enemies [Atque sic princeps in dies magis magis avaritia flagrans suis acerbior multo quam hostibus erat]" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, ix; xvi).

Informers] See the gloss on p. 3, l. 30 - p. 4, l. 2

*Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, is of special infamy] Ranulph was the mastermind behind William II's "evil habits and unjust taxes," which his successor Henry I

abolished after ascending the throne, and in the wake of which the bishop was thrown into prison: “Omnes malas consuetudines & injustas exactiones quibus *Anglia* opprimebatur de medio abstulit, ac earundem inventorem *Ranulphum Dunolmensem* episcopum incarceravit” (Brompton, *Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 997 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]). Polydore Vergil described Ranulphus "as a man who was ready for any kind of misdeed [hominem ad quodcunque flagitium promptum]" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, XI, i); echoed by Daniel in all essentials (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 119 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

p. 16, ll. 23-26 men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflexions that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance]

p. 16, l. 28 - p. 17, l. 1 When two Monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance, who said never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer; the Monk said, he was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich; the king replied, Then you are the fittest person to have it, and immediately gave it him] A story slightly varied from Daniel: “Yet that he approv’d not the Simoniacal Buyers of Church-Promotions, though his Necessities put him upon such sinister means and ways of raising Money, appears from this Instance: That the King having the Presidency of an Abby in his hands, which he resolv’d to dispose of, two Monks came to him, and bid him large Sums for it, striving to outvy each other in purchasing it; a third stood by, as an Attendant of him that should be preferr’d, the King asked him, What he wou’d give? To whom the Monk answer’d, *Nothing, because I have vowed Poverty*. This Answer pleas’d the King so well, that he presently gave it him; shewing, that tho’ he let them have Promotions who bought them, yet he thought those deserv’d them best that would not purchase them” (*The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117, note a [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]).

in canting the price of an abbey] “To enhance by competitive bidding” (OED, s.v. cant, v.4).

p. 17

p. 17, ll. 6-8 He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, most unbefitting a prince: This was a proud, disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture] Brompton describes William II as “swollen with the most inordinate pride [inmanissimæ superbiæ turgidus]” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 996 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]), and Matthew of Westminster characterizes his manner on entering a church as “arrogant, as was his wont, and looking down on bystanders [in quādam ecclesiam rex venerat superbo gestu, vt solebat, circumstantes despiciens]” (*Flores Historiarum*, p. 21 [sig. 3B5r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1213-15]).

p. 17, ll. 13-14 He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex] Laconically summarized in Brompton’s *Chronicon*: “nuptiarum consortia spernens, & passim lasciviens” (*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 996 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]; see also Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xvi).

p. 17, ll. 15-16 He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of *Christ 1100, August 2*] “And so he immediately dy’d, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]; Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xvi).

p. 17, ll. 17-21 in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of *England* before or since, among which *Westminster-Hall*, *Windsor-Castle*, the *Tower of London*, and the whole city of *Carlisle*, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence] “By these ill means he gather’d great Sums of Money, which he as lavishly expended, either in his Buildings (which were the Castle upon *Tine*, the City of *Carlisle*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the Walls of the Tower of *London*)” (Daniel, *The Life and Reign of William II*, in Milton, *A Complete History of England*, I, 117 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247-48]). Brompton, by contrast, is more critical in drawing attention to William’s habit of ‘vexing’ his country with ever higher taxes to allow for all these activities: “Nunquam cessans, provincias in tributis intollerabiliter vexabat” (*Chronicon*, in *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, ed. Twysden, col. 995 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1875-76]).

*Westminster-Hall*] Westminster Hall is the old hall of the official seat of the Kings of England, Westminster Palace, “a Building not to be equalled by any *Hall* in Christendom” (MIEGE [1716], p. 120). Built in 1097 by William Rufus (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv), and known as late as 1728

as “Rufus’ roaring hall” (Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, ed. James Sutherland, 3rd ed. [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963], p. 130 [II, 253]), it was intended as the first part of a new palace to replace that of Edward the Confessor. The Law Courts of England – the Court of Chancery, the Court of the Queen’s Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer – were held there until the opening of the New Law Courts in 1882 (Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Paul Hyland, 4th ed. [East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993], pp. 75, 143-48; WEINREB AND HIBBERT, p. 950). As a result, the name Westminster Hall was often used as a metonymy for the law and its bawling lawyers (Tom Brown, *The Works*, ed. James Drake, 8th ed., 4 vols [London: Henry Lintot and Charles Hitch, 1744], III, 39-43; WHEATLEY AND CUNNINGHAM III, 483-86).

*Windsor-Castle*] In a contemporary description, Windsor Castle, “both a Palace and a Fortress” situated upon the Thames some twenty miles from London, was praised for its location and the purity of its air (MIEGE [1716], p. 111). Swift knew it well from numerous visits during his time as *chef de propagande* of the Harley administration (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 322, 329, 349; *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 432 and n2, 436, 440, and *passim*).



the *Tower of London*] The medieval fortress begun by William I c.1078 (Temple, *Introduction*, pp. 251-52 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]) and possibly finished by William Rufus (Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, xv), in its chequered history, has served as a palace, prison, and place of execution as well as a royal arsenal and treasury, “eminent above all others” among the “divers Fortresses” for the “Security and Defence of [the] famous City [of London]” (CHAMBERLAYNE [1707], pp. 370-71; MIEGE [1716], pp. 112-15; WHEATLEY AND CUNNINGHAM III, 391-400). How the Tower presented itself to visitors in the 1690s may be seen from the engraving in Henri Misson de Valbourg, *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre* ([The Hague: Henri van Bulderen, 1698], facing p. 402).

the whole city of *Carlisle*] A Roman foundation under the name of *Luguvallum*, most noted for its proximity to “the *Picts’* Wall ... made to defend [England’s northern] Borders from the *Picts*,” Carlisle was repeatedly devastated during the Pict and Danish inroads following the Roman retreat from Britain: “[William II] raised *Carlisle* from Ruins, which had been laid in Ashes about 200 Years before by the *Danes*” (MORÉRI, s.v. William II; Carlisle). Philippus

Ferrarius, too, emphasized Carlisle's character as a fortress, "estque satis munita, cum castro" (*Novum lexicon geographicum*, I, 435, s.v. "Luguvallum" [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 615]). Both lexicographers may have drawn on Polydore Vergil: "Quibus rebus peractis, rex redeundo Carlioli aliquot dies substitit, qui oblectatus situ loci decrevit illud oppidum, ducentis fere ante annis a Dacis dirutum, instaurare" (*Anglica Historia*, ed. Sutton, X, vii).