# AN ANSWER TO A SCURRILOUS PAMPHLET

## Running Commentary

The displayed title of Temple's *Memoirs of What Happened in Christendom* on [A1v], facing the title page, follows the wording of the original except that "happened" replaces "past" and "in the Year" precedes "1672." Naturally, Taylor's pamphlet lacked the imprint of Temple's 1692 publisher, Richard Chiswell. The chief purpose of this unusual advertisement would have been to point readers towards the authentic account of the embroilment. By contrast, the sixth edition of Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, published in the same year, carried a displayed advertisement, facing the title page, which marketed Temple's *Miscellanea* of 1693, in this case for the same publishers, Jacob Tonson and Awnsham Churchill.

p. 3 *title page* AN / ANSWER / TO A / Scurrilous Pamphlet, / LATELY PRINTED, / Intituled, A Letter from Mon- / sieur *de Cros*, to the Lord —] Title page; An Answer to a late scurrillous Pamphlet, Intituled, *A Letter from Monsieur* de Cros, *&c.* dropped-head title. This formula echoes one common in seventeenth-century polemics (David Woolley, "The Authorship of *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," *Reading Swift* [1985], p. 332), and as late as 1733, Swift used a similar title, *An Answer to a Scandalous Poem*, his response to Sheridan's *A New Simile for the Ladies*, with which it was printed together (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 616-28).

to the Lord — ] The English peer to whom Du Cros addressed his defence was William Cavendish (1640-1707), Lord Steward of the Royal Household, by 1692 fourth Earl of Devonshire and the builder of Chatsworth (Woolley's Introduction to *Swift, Temple, and the Du Cros Affair, Part I: "An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet" (1693) and "Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros, à Mylord ***** (1693)*, The Augustan Reprint Society, nos 239-240 [Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1986], pp. vi and ixn9). Although Cavendish's name was suppressed in the title, evidence in Leibniz's correspondence shows that Du Cros freely let on about his dedicatee's identity in private (Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, ed. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften [Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1923-], I, viii, 255, 281 [nos 151, 163] [cited as AA by series, volume, and page]; on the relationship between Du Cros and the German philosopher, see Kirsten Juhas, "Du

Cros, Leibniz, and *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*: New Light on Sir William Temple's French Adversary," *Swift Studies*, 25 [2010], 7-55).

p. 3 *title page* *Il n' point de plus courte vie que celle d'un mauvais livre. Mr.* Vaugelas] "N'eust-il pas fait voir que les plus belles pensées & les plus grandes actions des hommes mourroient avec eux, si les Escrivains ne les rendoient immortelles; mais que ce divin pouvoir n'est donné qu'à ceux qui écrivent excellemment, puis qu'il se faut sçavoir immortaliser soy-mesme pour immortaliser les autres, & qu'il n'est point de plus courte vie, que celle d'un mauvais Livre?" (Claude Favre de Vaugelas, "Preface," *Remarques sur la langue françoise*, 2 vols [Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1690], I, ***4r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 602-3]).

p. 5 *dropped-head title* scurrillous] Spelling variant of scurrilous, "coarse, indecent language, especially in jesting and invective" (OED). "Forewarne him, that he vse no scurrilous words in's tunes," Perdita asks Clown in SHAKESPEARE's *The Winter's Tale* (p. 1286 [IV, iv, 1820-21]), and in *Leviathan*, Hobbes records that the Athenians sometimes banished "scurrilous Jesters" ([London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], p. 110 [II, xxi]). In a letter to Lord Oxford of September 1728, Swift speaks with contempt of his "share in the Scurrilityes that the Dunciad hath occasioned" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 197).

p. 5, l. 1 THE Author of the *Memoirs*] Sir William Temple.

p. 5, ll. 3-4 had it not been for the repeated Instances of some Friends] "THE Author having not concerned himself in the publication of these Papers" ("The Printer to the Reader," *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* [London: Sa. Gellibrand, 1673], sig. A8v); "None ever should see them, unless I happen'd to dye before my return" ("The Author's Letter to the Stationer," *Miscellanea* [London: Edward Gellibrand, 1680], sig. A2r]; "THE First Edition of these Essays having been Published without the Author's taking any further notice of them, than giving his Consent to a Friend who desired it" ("The Printer to the Reader," *Miscellanea*: *The Second Part*, 3rd ed. [London: Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1692], sig. πr); "The Author ... intended they should not be publick during his Life" ("The Publisher to the Reader," *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* [London: Ric. Chiswell, 1692], sig. A2r); "This Publication is without the Author's Knowledge" ("The Bookseller to the Reader," *A Tale of a Tub*, p. □).

p. 5, ll. 6-8 To their Importunities, and not to his own Inclinations is the Reader obliged for the following *Remarks*] "Readings (which, perhaps, the World may one day see, if I can prevail on any Friend to steal a Copy, or on certain Gentlemen of my Admirers, to be very Importunate)" (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. □□); "I could never, tho' much Importuned, prevail on my self to Publish them" ("The Publisher to the Reader," *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* [London: John Morphew, 1711], sig. A2r). For a survey of further sources, all of them known to have been in Swift's library, see pp. □□.

p. 5, ll. 12-13 Though we may safely allow it to be some sort of Mortification for any one to see himself lie under the lash of a Man of Wit] "Now, the great Part of those who have no Share or Tast of Wit and Humor ... lay themselves bare to the Lashes of Both" (Apology, p. ); "[Sir *Lionel*] lay under the lash of Secretary *Williamson*" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 281).

p. 5, ll. 13-15 'tis infinitely more supportable than to be assaulted by a Malice altogether made up of Phlegm and Dulness] In a comparable situation, Swift told Arbuthnot about Lord Treasurer Harley in 1714: "I hear he has shewn it to every living Soul, & I believe has done so in *Malice* as the French understand that word" (*Correspondence*, II, 27 and n5). BOYER defines malice as "*knavery, roguery, a roguish trick*" (s.v.). In the Preface to *A Tale of a Tub*, the Hack laments "the universal spreading of that pestilent Disease, the Lethargy in this Island [of Britain]" (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □).

p. 5, ll. 15-17 *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis*, was said by way of Consolation to young *Lausus* as he fell by the hands of that celebrated Heroe] Lausus was the son of the expelled Etruscan tyrant Mezentius, who fought with his father against Aeneas and his Trojans in Italy. When Mezentius is wounded by Aeneas, Lausus steps in between them, but Aeneas kills them both. Stricken by remorse, he gives vent to his grief, offering this consolation: "[There to thy fellow Ghosts with Glory tell,] / 'Tis by the great *Æneas* hand I fell" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], III, 1351, ll. 1179-80). The Latin quotation is identical in substantives and accidentals with the text in Daniel Heinsius' edition of *P. Virgilii Maronis opera* ([Leiden: Elzevir, 1636], p. 320 [X, 830]) and that of the Cambridge 1701 edition (*Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Æneis*

[Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1701], p. 567), both of which were in Swift's library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17).

p. 5, ll. 18-21 'tis some Comfort to be engaged with Bravery and Honour ... but to be forced to enter the Lists with a feeble, inglorious and despicable Adversary, is somewhat afflicting] Swift was presumably thinking of the Fable of the Old Lion, "who, after having his Person outraged by the Bull, the Elephant, the Horse, and the Bear, took nothing so much to Heart, as to find himself at last insulted by the Spurn of an Ass," to which he referred in his *Remarks* upon Tindal's *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* (*Prose Works*, II, 72): "[The Lion] was a Miserable Creature to all Intents and Purposes; but Nothing went so near the Heart of him in his Distress, as to find himself Batter'd by the Heel of an *Asse*" (Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables of Æsop, and Other Eminent Mythologists: With Morals and Reflections*, 4th ed. [London: R. Sare, *et al.*, 1704], pp. 14-15 [XIV]), echoed later in *The Examiner*, no 23 (*Prose Works*, III, 63). The source of the fable is Phaedrus (*Phædri liberti fabularum Æsopiarum libri V*, ed. David van Hoogstraten [Amsterdam: F. Halma, 1701], p. 25 [I, xxi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1417]).

p. 6, ll. 3-5 so below the mighty Character of its Author who so often takes care to instruct us that *a great Prince and a King did not disdain to employ him as a Counsellor of State*] Du Cros is alluding to Temple's pride in being equally valued by William of Orange and Charles II: "Qu'un grand Prince & un Roi n'ont pas dédaigné, d'avoir pour Conseiller d'Etat" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 19-20). "[Pensioner *Fagel*, an ardent supporter of the Prince of Orange, who replaced De Witt as grand pensionary of Holland] said, he should be glad, I would always be their Councellor, how they ought to comport themselves to his Majesty upon all Occasions" (To Mr Secretary Coventry, 17 July 1674 [N.S.], *Letters to the King*, p. 27). Temple's official function was that of plenipotentiary (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 7; *Letters to the King*, p. 8).

p. 6, ll. 8-10 to use his own magnificent Expression ... that *the only Heroe of his Piece shall be Truth*] "Le seul Heros de mon ouvrage sera la verité" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 9). An ironic version of a celebrated Aristotelian maxim. Referring to a saying of Socrates' in Plato (*Phaedo* 91 C and *Republic* X, 595 C), Aristotle, in *The Nicomachean Ethics*, posits that "indeed it would seem to be obligatory, especially for a philosopher, to sacrifice even one's closest personal ties in

defence of the truth" (*Opera omnia quæ extant, Græce et Latine*, 2 vols [Paris, 1629], II, 6 [I, iv, 1] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 85-87]). This principle is perhaps best known in its Latin form, *Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*, but also occurs in several variations (John Stobaeus, *Sententiae*, ed. Conrad Gesner [Basle: Christopher Froschauer, 1549], p. 136, and *passim*; Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Marcus Meibomius, 2 vols [Amsterdam: H. Wetstein, 1692], I, 187 [III, 39]; Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, 3rd ed. [London: W. Battersby, *et al.*, 1701], p. 229 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 977-78; I, 525-26]).

p. 6, ll. 14-16 a certain person of the Long Robe who a little after the Restauration, when writing of Plays was more in fashion than it is at present, must needs threaten the Stage with a Play] Since the phrase "a person of the Long Robe," also "learned Robe" (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 604, l. 87), points to a lawyer, the reference may be to the Restauration playwright John Banks (1652/3-1706), who after having been trained in the law turned his attention to the stage in the 1670s, producing numerous heroic plays and historical tragedies. The majority of Banks's heroic plays were unsuccessful and are said to have impoverished him: "[His] Genius to *Poetry* led him to make several Attempts on the Stage, with different success," Gerard Langbaine put it in *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* ([Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968 {1691}], p. 7; see also ODNB, s.v.).

p. 6, ll. 16-20 as a Hero is a very necessary Ingredient in all or at least most Compositions of that Nature, he designed to furnish himself with a Hero that should work Miracles, defeat Armies, charm the Ladies, and make as considerable a Figure as any Hero that had visited the World for many Ages] This anticipates "A Receipt to Make an Epic Poem": "TAKE out of any old Poem, History-book, Romance, or Legend ... those Parts of Story which afford most Scope for *long Descriptions*: Put these Pieces together, and throw all the Adventures you fancy into *one Tale*. Then take a Hero, whom you may chuse for the Sound of his Name, and put him into the midst of these Adventures: There let him *work* ... at the end of which you may take him out, ready prepared to *conquer* or to *marry*" (Alexander Pope, *The Art of Sinking in Poetry: A Critical Edition*, ed. Edna Leake Steeves [New York: Russell and Russell, 1968], p. 81).

p. 6, ll. 20-30  After he had amused himself some Months with this painful Undertaking, a Friend of his happens to interrogate him upon this Article, and asks him what Progress he had made in his Play, and how his Hero fared. To which the poor Gentleman replied, that a certain Misfortune had befallen him which had put a stop to the Affair. In short, after a tedious Enquiry, he informs him that he had unluckily killed his Hero in the first Act, and so cou'd not for the heart of him tell how to advance any farther. This was fairly and civilly done in our Gentleman. He had cut out so much Work for his Hero in the first Act, that he had left him nothing to do in any of the rest; and therefore was obliged to dispatch him in his own defence] We have failed to track this amusing anecdote down to any 'source' and have come to the conclusion that it is of Swift's own invention.

p. 6, l. 33  as invisible as a Fairy Treasure] Given the fact that Swift would have been familiar with the fairy tales, both oral and written, of his native Ireland from an early age (Margaret R. Grennan, "Lilliput and Leprecan: Gulliver and the Irish Tradition," *ELH*, 12 [1945], 188-202), this may be an allusion to the Leprechauns of Ireland, who are said to protect a hidden treasure, usually described as a pot of gold. Alternatively, the line could draw on a superstition referred to by Samuel Butler: "[The Alms] are such as the *Fairies* are said to drop in Men's Shoes, and when they are discovered to give them over and confer no more; for when his Gifts are discovered they vanish, and come to nothing" (*Characters*, ed. Charles W. Daves [Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970], pp. 127-28).

p. 6, ll. 33-35  his Hero has no more to do throughout the whole piece, than one of the *Mutæ Personæ* in the ancient *Drama*] Latin *persona*, first, "*a mask*, especially that used by players ... and [that] varied according to the different characters to be represented," and, second, "a character ... represented by an actor" in a play (LEWIS AND SHORT, p. 1355). *Mutae personae* are silent characters in a play.

p. 6, ll. 36-37  to address his Letter to a certain Noble Lord in *Nubibus*] In *Nubibus*, "in the clouds; hence undefined, uncertain, vague"; a recurrent image in Swift: "Epistles, addressed to ... *a Person of Quality in the Clouds*" (*Mechanical Operation*, pp. □□); and also taken up in *An Answer to Bickerstaff*: "Although I am no astrologer, may venture to prophesy that Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; is now dead, and

died just at the time his Predictions were ready for the press: That he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago" (*Prose Works*, II, 199).

p. 7, ll. 1-7 Sir *W. T.* no where pretends in his Memoirs that he knew the bottom of all the Court-Intrigues ... though from several remarkable Circumstances he has all the Reason imaginable to suspect that some things were not so fairly meant as was openly pretended] On being interrogated by William of Orange about the reasons for the sudden change in English peace policy and the circumstances of Du Cros's intervention, so contrary to the original design of the Treaty of Nijmegen, Temple admitted that he had been kept in the dark by his own Government: "I told him very truly, That I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no guess at the motions of it" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 366). Especially with regard to Du Cros's wheelings and dealings, Temple felt that the King and his closest councillors had left him in the dark on purpose: "By these Lights I suppose," he told Sir Joseph Williamson in a letter of 9 August 1678 (N.S.), "you will be able to unriddle better than I can do here; what hath been the true Bottom of all this Intrigue" (*Letters to the King*, p. 422).

p. 7, ll. 15-19 *I had Reason to doubt whether these Memoirs were not principally designed to be a Panegyrick upon himself, and to blacken the Reputation of several Persons of eminent Quality and Merit, because*, adds he, *I was particularly acquainted with the Pride of Sir* W. T. *who fansies himself to be the wisest and ablest Politician of his Age*] In his inordinate pride, Du Cros insinuates, Sir William Temple habitually aggrandizes himself and belittles the achievements of his peers: "Je me serois bien douté, que les Memoires n'auroient éte que son propre panegyrique, à la diminution de la gloire de plusieurs personnes de qualité, & d'un merite distingué, de qui Mr. Temple a toùjours si fort envié la reputation & la fortune, Car je connois particulierement l'orgueil de Mr. Temple; il s'estime le plus éclairé, le plus sage, le plus habile Politique de son temps" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 4-5). Contemporaries hostile to Sir William helped disseminate this rumour of Temple's pride, whether justified or not is difficult to ascertain at this distance: "[M. Temple] est singulier en ses manieres & en ses sentimens. Il a passé pour partial dans la fonction de la Mediation. Beaucoup de personnes on crû reconnoître de la vanité & de l'inégalité dans son humeur" (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue* [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1680], p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1077]), an assessment echoed by Gilbert Burnet some forty years

later: "*Temple* was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in his own conceit, which he shewed too indecently on all occasions" (*History of his Own Time*, 2 vols [London: Thomas Ward, and Joseph Downing and Henry Woodfall, 1724-34], I, 378). Admittedly, there are traces of self-confidence throughout Temple's *Memoirs* and correspondence, at times lapsing into self-praise, whenever he congratulates himself on his diplomatic competence: "That [the French ambassadors, Monsieur D'Avaux and Marechal D'Estrades] knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince ... And that if I would espouse this Affair, besides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Christendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my self from the bounty and generosity of the King their Master" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 168-69); "I cannot end this Trouble without my humble Acknowledgments for that particular Confidence wherewith your Majesty hath been pleased to honour me, in my late Attendances upon your Majesty in *England*; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any Titles or Advantages that are the common Objects of other Mens Pursuit and Ambition" (To the King, 13 August 1675 [N.S.], *Letters to the King*, p. 119).

p. 7, ll. 32-34 he recommends to his Perusal *the Memoirs of* Villeroy, *the Negotiations of* Jeanin, *and the Letters of Cardinal* Dossat, *in all which there reigns a Spirit of Sincerity and Modesty*] "Cela est sans doute bien éloigné de la sincerité & de la modestie, qui regne par tout dans les memoires de Villeroy, dans les Negotiations de Jeanin, dans les Lettres du Cardinal Dossat, personnages veritablement grands & illustres, estimés tels par les plus grands Princes de leur temps, & encore aujourdhui par les plus habiles politiques" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 5).

Nicolas de Neufville, Seigneur de Villeroy (1542-1617), served as secretary of state to several French kings. His *Mémoires d'Estat* came out in four volumes in Paris from 1622 to 1626, and were reprinted in 1665.

Pierre Jeannin (1540-1623), French statesman and lawyer, was Extraordinary Envoy of Henri IV in the Netherlands. He left *Les Négociations de Monsieur le Président Jeannin*, published in two editions (Paris, 1656, and [Amsterdam], 1659).

Cardinal Arnaud D'Ossat (1537-1604), Bishop of Rennes and later of Bayeux, who although of "mean Parentage" "rais'd himself by his Worth, and did great Services in the Reign of *Henry* the IIId. and IVth. of *France*, to that Kingdom" (MORÉRI, s.v.). Abraham van Wicquefort, whose *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics* were in Swift's library, praised the Cardinal's

diplomatic prowess: "*Le Cardinal Dossat*, sans doute le plus habille de tous les Ministres" ([Cologne: Pierre du Marteau, 1676], p. 29 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1965-66]). Swift owned a Paris 1627 edition of D'Ossat's *Lettres* in two volumes (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1352-53).

p. 7, l. 38-p. 8, l. 2 It was not Sir *W. T*'s Bookseller that called him *One of the greatest Men of this Age*, as Monsieur *de Cros* falsely insinuates, *p.* 5. but a reverend Prelate of our Church, who published the *Memoirs* without the Author's Consent or Privity; and who, in his Advertisement to the Reader, does not stile him *Un des Grands Hommes de ce Siecle*, as Monsieur *du Cros* maliciously has printed it, but only *an Ornament to Learning and to his Country*] This is one out of several cases of misunderstanding, which arose from the fact that Du Cros read the French translation of Temple's *Memoirs*, published only a few months after the English edition at The Hague in 1692 by the Dutch printer and librarian Adrian Moetjens. (Swift owned the works of Clément Marot printed by Moetjens in 1700 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1199].) In his dedication to "Monsieur Rosenboom, Conseiller de la Cour de Justice d'Hollande, &c.," which preceded the French translation of Temple's *Memoirs*, Moetjens not only states that he translated the *Memoirs* himself, he also praised Temple most profusely: "Mon bonheur a voulu à la fin qu'il me foit tombé entre les mains un Ouvrage d'un des grands Hommes de ce siecle, illustre par les grands Emplois qu'il a exercez, & par l'estime qu'ont fait de lui plusieurs grands Princes de l'Europe" (*Memoires de ce qui s'est passé dans la chretienté, depuis le commencement de la guerre en 1672, jusqu'à la paix concluë en 1679* [La Haye: Adrian Moetjens, 1692], sig. *2v). In Du Cros's letter, this quotation from Moetjens's dedication was spitefully capitalized: "UN DES GRANDS HOMMES DE CE SIECLE" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 5). The "reverend Prelate of our Church," who published the English edition of the *Memoirs* "without the Author's Consent or Privity," remains unidentified. The phrase itself is stereotypical (for example, Dryden, "Preface" to *Religio Laici*, in *The Poems*, ed. Kinsley, I, 307). Swift's claim that Du Cros did not quote correctly is justified, since the anonymous editor of Temple's *Memoirs* concludes "The Publisher to the Reader" on this sentence: "I ... heartily Pray to God to give him Good Health, and a Long Life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, an Ornament to Learning, and to his Countrey" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, sig. A2v).

p. 8, ll. 11-14 *The Negotiations which I had managed at the* Hague, *at* Brussels, *and at* Aix la Chappelle, *and saved* Flanders *out of the hands of* France *in* 1668. *made them believe that I had some Credit amongst the* Spaniards, *as well as in* Holland] A detailed description of the incidents which passed in the years 1665-1672 may be found in Temple's two-volume edition of his *Letters*. From Brussels, Temple negotiated a treaty between Charles II and the Bishop of Münster, who was induced by promises of English subsidies to support England against the Dutch during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67). When the French had invaded Flanders in 1667, Temple, the Grand Pensionary of the United Provinces, and the Swedish representative at The Hague formed the Triple Alliance against the French. It was signed on 23 January 1668 (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, pp. 103, 149) and was intended to stop the expansionist policies of Louis XIV, forcing him into completing the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with Spain. Shortly before he was commissioned back to London in 1670, Temple proposed a quadruple league to Charles II, which would have included Spain as an ally against the French. Temple's diplomatic endeavours were undercut by Charles II, who had secretly agreed to join the French in a war against the Dutch in the Treaty of Dover in 1670. See also Preface to Temple's *Letters* (pp. □□).

p. 8, ll. 16-19 with this wrong Scent Monsieur *de Cros* runs along very furiously, talks of erecting Statues, of the Ingratitude of *Spain* and *Holland*, with abundance of other bitter things, with which his Indignation plentifully furnishes him at all times] "Etrange ingratitude des Hollandois & de l'Espagne, aussi bien que de sa patrie, si fort interessée à la conservation des Païs-Bas, de ne lui avoir pas fait eriger encore *la statue*, qu'il dit ailleurs, que Mr. Godolphin lui avoit promise ... Mais Mr. Temple à crû, qu'il ne sçauroit, y avoir de meilleur artisan de sa gloire, que lui-même, & il s'est flaté, qu'il s'érigeroit autant de statuës, qu'il y a d'endroits dans ses Memoires, remplis d'une insuportable & ridicule vanité" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 6-7). Du Cros was referring to a passage in Temple's *Memoirs*, in which Sir William reported a statement by William Godolphin, the English ambassador to Madrid, concerning the prospect of finally concluding a general peace on the basis of Holland's terms: "Mr. *Godolphin* ... told me, That if I brought the States to the Treaty His Majesty propos'd upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statue set up; the Success whereof may deserve a further Remark in its due place" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 330; *Letters to the King*, p. 391).

p. 8, ll. 20-31 this Passage is nothing near so criminal and arrogant in the Original as our Letter-monger would have it; and therefore it may not be *mal à propos* to cite it fairly ... In the first Citation it looks as if Sir *W. T*'s Management of the Treaty had wholly occasioned the Preservation of *Flanders*, whereas in the latter, if it meets with a true Construction, nothing more is meant, but that the Negotiations at the abovementioned Places, in which Sir *W. T.* had his share amongst the other Ministers that acted there, retrieved *Flanders* from ruin] In the first quotation, Du Cros conflates two sentences from *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, both beginning: "This, I suppose" (pp. 5 and 29-30), thus creating an unjust impression of Temple's vanity.

p. 8, ll. 32-35 *that all the Merit and Glory of the Peace as well as of the Triple League, ought in justice to be ascribed to the generous Resolution and Constancy of the States-General, who employ'd, upon this Occasion, a Minister who far surpassed Sir* W. T. *in Prudence, in Experience and all Abilities*] "La verité est, qu'on donna avec beaucoup de justice, tout le merite & toute la gloire de la Paix, & de la triple Alliance, à la genereuse resolution, & à la fermeté de Messieurs les Etats. Ils se servirent en cette occasion d'un Ministre, qui à surpassé de bien loin Mr. Temple, en prudence, en experience, en capacité" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 8) The States-General (*Staaten-Generaal*), the parliament of the Netherlands, replaced the king as supreme authority in 1581. From 1653 to 1672, it was headed by Johan De Witt, the Grand Pensionary. Among De Witt's most important achievements for his country were the negotiations leading to the Treaties of Westminster in 1654, of Breda in 1667, and of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. As the many letters exchanged between De Witt and Sir William Temple show, the Triple Alliance was the joint endeavour of the Grand Pensionary and the British ambassador (text reprinted in Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple, Bart.*, 2 vols [London: Longman, *et al.*, 1836], II, 440-45). Since emphatic praise of Temple's contribution to the alliance is recorded twice (*Letters*, I, 145, 457), Du Cros's critique of Temple's share in the events of 1667 and 1668 sounds shallow and unfair.

p. 9, ll. 1-4 that the Ministers of so powerful a Crown should be passed over in Silence without any Mention or Acknowledgement, as if they had been reckoned abroad for so many Cyphers] Cypher, "a person who fills a place, but is of no importance or worth, a nonentity, a 'mere nothing'" (OED); used by Temple in this

sense in "Essays Written in his Youth": "When wee cannot discover the cause of any effect, either because the way is darke or wee are purblind, tis but beleeving there is none, and then comes fortune in, like a cypher that signifies nothing" (*The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple Bt*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930], p. 156).

p. 9. ll. 9-10 *he fairly promises him a Volume of Remarks, at least as big as Sir* W. T'*s Book*] "Je vous promets un volume de remarques, pour le moins, aussi gros, que son livre" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 8). Du Cros also boasted about this project in a letter to Leibniz: "Je vas travailler à une plus ample réponse que je fairai imprimer tout aussitost et je donnerai aussi au public des remarques sur les memoires de M[r] Temple, qui fairont un volume aussi gros que son livre, et que tout ce qu'il y a eu de ministres employés dans les affaires publiques trouveront tres assurement écrites avec plus de fondement que ne le sont ces *Mémoires*" (Joseph Auguste Du Cros to Leibniz, 14/24 May 1692, AA, I, viii, 255 [no 151]; also published, with a facsimile and transcription, in Juhas, "Du Cros, Leibniz, and *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," pp. 13-16). In fact, nothing came of this 'promise,' although throughout all the years of their acquaintance, Leibniz showed himself eager to see Du Cros's *Memoirs* published. In the postscript to a letter of 5 October 1704, he even reminded Du Cros of his plan: "Je vous fais souvenir, Monsieur, de vos memoires" (transcript for the unpublished 24 volume of Leibniz's general political and historical correspondence, p. 6 [no 4] [http://www.gwlb.de/Leibniz/Leibnizarchiv/Veroeffentlichungen/TranskriptionenI24A.pdf, accessed on 29 April 2011]). Without specifying his sources, the nineteenth-century historian Harry Breßlau asserts that Du Cros came close to realizing the project of his *Memoirs* in 1715, when he asked permission for their publication in Brunswik (*Joseph August du Cros: ein diplomatischer Abenteurer aus dem Zeitalter Ludwig's XIV* [s.l. {before 1921}], pp. 49-59). However, since Du Cros's papers are lost, the truth is difficult to ascertain.

p. 9, ll. 10-12 Those Persons that are never so little vers'd in the true Character of Monsieur *de Cros*, need not be inform'd that he promises mighty things, and performs just nothing at all] A thought best known in its metaphorical articulation, as in Horace, *De arte poetica*: "Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus" (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, ed. Daniel Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1629], p. 230 [l. 139] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]), presumably based on a Greek proverb which is

retrievable from an Aesopean fable, "The Mountain in Labour," and which ends on this moral: "Hoc scriptum est tibi, / Qui, magna quum minaris, extricas nihil [This is written for you who threaten to do great things but fail to get anything done]" (*Phædri liberti fabularum Æsopiarum libri V*, ed. van Hoogstraten, p. 122 [IV, xxii]). The proverb was also quoted by Lucian in *How to Write History* 23 (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Johannes Benedictus, 2 vols [Amsterdam: P. and I. Blaeu, 1687], I, 617-18 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-16]).

p. 9, ll. 12-14 This unlucky shifting off his Resentments ... to unload himself of them] "He will immediately please ... to lighten me of the Burthen" (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □).

p. 9, ll. 16-22 In common Prudence he ought to have acquitted one part of the Debt now, and then the World would have been so civil as to have taken his Word for the Payment of the rest. However let this terrible Day come as soon as it will, Sir *W. T.* is under no Agonies at the thought of it: For let our Monsieur scribble a Cart-load of Books if he pleases, 'tis a sad but undeniable Truth, that 'tis in his Power to injure no man breathing by them but only his Bookseller] The resemblance of this passage to a point that Andrew Marvell makes about one of Samuel Parker's publishers in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* has been taken to prove not only Swift's authorship of *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet* but also that Swift had read Marvell as early as 1692-93: "Were you but to refund to your Book-seller, for all those books that you were fain to give away to disperse them ... which you were not asham'd ... to pillage him of before he could pay his Printer: I doubt ... 'twould go very hard and aukwardly with you" (Andrew Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd and The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*, ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 321 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9]; see Philmus, "Andrew Marvell, Samuel Parker, and *A Tale of a Tub*," pp. 95, 97). However, Swift only owned the first part of *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, not the second. See also the gloss on "if his Memoirs are no more regarded in *England*" (p. 16, ll. 37-39).

p. 9, ll. 23-34 *Had I the Vanity like him*, says the modest, self-denying Monsieur *de Cros ... If I had the Vanity* ... But once more, *If I had the Vanity like him*, meaning Sir *W. T.*] "When an Author makes his own Elogy, he uses a certain Form to declare and insist upon his Title, which is commonly in these or the like Words, *I speak without Vanity*; which I think plainly shews it to be a Matter of Right and

Justice. Now, I do here once for all declare, that in every Encounter of this Nature, thro' the following Treatise, the Form aforesaid is imply'd; which I mention, to save the Trouble of repeating it on so many Occasions" (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. □□).

p. 9, ll. 30-33 do but consult a certain thing called a Looking-Glass every Morning, and thou mayst with a safe Conscience say *good morrow* to one of the compleatest Pieces of Vanity in the Universe] "He's a kind of speculum wherein you may behold the passions of mankind and the vanity of human life" (Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Paul Hyland [East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993], p. 298).

p. 9, ll. 35-41 had he consulted either the Reverend Publisher's Epistle to the Reader, or Sir *W. T*'s to his Son, or lastly maintained any manner of Correspondence with his old Acquaintance in *England,* it had been impossible for him to make so gross, so unpardonable a Mistake. All or any of these must certainly have convinced him that Sir *W. T.* knew no more of the publishing of the Memoirs than his ungenerous Adversary Monsieur *de Cros*] "*'Tis but too plain by the Epistle, that he intended they should not be publick during his Life; but tho' I have as great Respect for him, as any man, yet I could not be of his mind in this*" ("The Publisher to the Reader," *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, sig. A2r). Temple's letter to his son of April 1683 was published alongside "The Publisher to the Reader." In this letter, Temple declares that he does not want to see his *Memoirs* published during his lifetime: "As I intend [the Recollections] for Your Use, so I desire no Other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither They nor You will be any more in my care; and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your disposal" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, sig. A4r-v). Whereas the English edition was published anonymously, Adrian Moetjens, the editor of the French translation which Du Cros read, decided to reveal the author's name on the title page, on the grounds that Temple had not disowned the *Memoirs* in public: "Il paroisse par l'Avertissement du Libraire Anglois que ce Livre n'a pas été publié en Anglois de l'aveu de l'Auteur, cependant comme il ne la pas desavoué, & qu'il paroît par tout le contenu, qu'il ne peut être que de cet habile Ministre, j'ay jugé qu'il étoit de mon dévoir d'y mettre son nom" (*Memoires de ce qui s'est passé dans la chretienté,* sig. *4r).

p. 10, ll. 18-20 *Whenever I put Pen to Paper*, says Monsieur *de Cros*, p. 9. *I will write without Complaisance, without Flattery, without Passion*] These three motives

belong to a passage of Du Cros's *Lettre* in which he claims to have been better informed about the King's intentions than Temple: "En plusieurs endroits, [Temple] raporte faussément des choses, dont je suis mieux informé. Le seul Heros de mon ouvrage sera la verité; sans complaisance, sans flaterie, sans passion" (p. 9).

p. 10, ll. 38-40 the Court might employ Sir *W. T.* in some Affairs, without acquainting him with the true Grounds and Motives] See the gloss on "just as Sir *W. T.* run through several Negotiations for K. *Charles*, without knowing the Reasons and Grounds of them" (p. 11, ll. 19-20).

p. 11, ll. 3-4 *I came not by this Intelligence*, says Monsieur *de Cros*, p. 9. *by being a Counsellor of State to King* Charles *the II*] "Ce n'est pas aussi, que j'aye été du conseil du Roi son Maître" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 9). Although he was not a Councillor of State, Du Cros jeeringly boasts of information denied to Temple, who did value himself upon being a Councillor of State.

p. 11, ll. 5-8 *But by having had the Happiness for several years to possess no small room in the confidence of a certain Minister, who has on several occasions of the last Importance been as it were the* Primum Mobile *of that Conduct, which has surprized all* Europe] "Mais, j'ai eu le bonheur, pendant plusieurs années, d'avoir quelque part à la confiance d'un Ministre qui a été en plusieurs occasions tres importantes, comme le premier mobile d'une conduite, qui a surpris toute l'Europe" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 9-10). *Primum Mobile*, in the Ptolemaic geocentric model of the universe, the prime mover, or outermost moving sphere, as in *A Tale of a Tub* ("the Stars are *invested* by the *Primum Mobile*" [p. □]), here the "initial or original cause of activity ... a driving force" (OED).

*on several occasions*] Copy text has "in several occasions," not recorded by the OED.

p. 11, ll. 8-13 'Tis a scurvy Complement, this to the Memory of K. *Charles* ... to tell the World that Monsieur *Barillon* ... an Ambassador of a foreign Prince, and one engaged in Interests visibly opposite to those of *England*, knew more of his Affairs than any of his own Subjects and Privy-Counsellors] Paul Barillon (Barrillon), Seigneur d'Amoncourt, Marquis de Branges (1631-91), was French ambassador to London from May 1677 until his expulsion in January 1689, "a learned & crafty Advocate," as Evelyn and the Countess of Sunderland described him (*The Diary of*

*John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], IV, 493, 128n5; see also 508 and n3, 510-11 and n1; Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. R. W. Blencowe, 2 vols [London: Henry Colburn, 1843], I, 221). Barillon's mission was to keep Charles II away from a Dutch alliance. This fact alone was sufficient to make him suspicious to Temple, who also had reason to believe that Du Cros was one of Barillon's "Confident[s]" (p. 11, l. 30).

Barillon did know more than Charles II's Ministers since the King signed a secret treaty with him on 17 May 1678, "whereby the English king undertook to maintain absolute neutrality during the continuance of the war ... In return, Barrillon undertook to pay six million livres, the first half payable two months after signature of the secret treaty, the remainder by quarterly instalments thereafter" (David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2nd ed., 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], II, 556; see also Leibniz, "Sur les informations de M. Du Cros," [spring 1692], AA, IV, vi, 795 [no 133]).

p. 11, ll. 13-16 The whole Nation is indeed satisfied that our Court was at that juncture too much influenced by *French* Councils; but few will be brought to believe that the *French* knew more of our own Affairs than we our selves did] In one case, the French did severely manipulate the English government, a fact which was accidentally revealed when the Earl of Danby was impeached for high treason in 1678. As Gilbert Burnet reports, Danby had been instructed to negotiate with the King of France for £300,000 p. a. for three years provided that Charles did not call a Parliament during that time: "We had now a long interval, of above a year, between this session in winter 1675, and the next session of Parliament, which was not till the spring in 1677. The *French* were much set on procuring a peace. And they, seeing how much the Parliament was set on engaging the King in the Alliance, prevailed with him to discontinue the session" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 389, 440 and 442).

p. 11, ll. 16-18 By their Bribes and constant Application to the Ministry then reigning we grant they might know as much as we, but hardly more] In the *History of his Own Time*, Burnet specifies the French practice of bribing English Ministers: "[The Duke of *Buckingham*] said, he was offered 40000 *l.* if he could persuade the King to yield to [the *French* fleet's coming into our seas and harbours] ... He therefore concluded, since, after all the uneasiness shewed at first, the King had yielded to it, that Lord *Arlington* had the money" (I, 303).

p. 11, ll. 19-20  just as Sir *W. T.* run through several Negotiations for K. *Charles*, without knowing the Reasons and Grounds of them] Although Sir William Temple took great pains to convince Grand Pensionary De Witt, the *de facto* Dutch Prime Minister, of Charles II's commitment to the Anglo-Dutch alliance, in which he himself firmly believed (*Letters*, II, 11-14, 67-68), he fell victim to the King's duplicity and venality. During the very negotiations resulting in the Triple Alliance between the United Provinces, England, and Sweden, Charles II told his sister Henrietta in their private correspondence that none of his engagements stood in the way of a close understanding with France (Sir George Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], pp. 76-77). Soon after the Triple Alliance had been signed, Temple began to notice in Lord Arlington an insistence on disputes with the Dutch. In a letter of 2 October 1668 (N.S.), Temple voiced his confusion, urging Arlington in no uncertain terms: "I must be furnish'd with Arguments to maintain the Points against [De Witt], if they must be insisted on; for I confess I can find none of my own" (*Letters*, II, 31). In another letter to the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Temple relays De Witt's conviction "that *England* would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the Course of all those Councils they had taken with *Holland* and *Sueden*, though ... the Secret was yet, in very few Hands, either in the *French* or the *English* Court" (To the Lord Keeper, 24 April 1669 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 65). All of Temple's and De Witt's diplomatic endeavours were effectively undercut on 1 June 1670, when the Kings of England and France signed the secret Treaty of Dover, which made England a pensioner of France (see also Preface to Temple's *Letters*, p. □).

In 1678, when the King's duplicity reached a peak of "unparalleled complexity," Temple was aware of only one set of Charles II's negotiations. In the set in which he was involved, it was "intended to group England in a triple or even quadruple alliance against France," and in the other, "to secure French money for English neutrality" (Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 553). On the four secret subsidy agreements with Louis XIV, see Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, pp. 86-87, 90. After reconstructing the secret negotiations between France and England in the 1670s, the historian Sir John Dalrymple called Charles II "the deepest dissembler that ever sat on the English throne" (*Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland: From the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II until the Sea-Battle off La Hogue*, 2nd ed., 3 vols [London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, and Edinburgh: A. Kincaid, *et al.*, 1771], I, 38).

p. 11, l. 22 *trés grossiérement*] "Coarsely, grosly, in a coarse or gross manner" (BOYER, s.v.).

p. 11, ll. 25-28 we are told, *p.* 29. that this Ambassador came not to *London* till several years after his Arrival there, and that then he never maintain'd any Commerce with him *au prejudice de son devoir*, i. e. to the prejudice of his Duty] "Monsieur de Barillon n'étoit point à Londres, lorsque j'y fus envoyé; il n'y vint; que longtemps après ... Je ne me devoüai jamais à cet Ambassadeur. & je n'eus jamais de liaisons avec lui, au préjudice de mon devoir" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 28-29).

p. 12, ll. 2-3 First of all he promises, *p.* 8. to print a Book of Remarks upon Sir *W. T*'s Memoirs] See the note on "*he fairly promises him a Volume of Remarks*" (p. 9, ll. 9-10).

p. 12, ll. 4-8 In the second place, *p.* 9. he promises to visit the World with a Book of his own Memoirs, in which (to see how strangely Children and Books do sometimes degenerate from their Parents) there is to be neither one Word of Complaisance, nor Flattery, nor the least grain of Passion] Childbirth as a metaphor for poetic composition is commonplace in seventeenth-century poetry. Well-known examples occur in Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*: "Thus great with child to speake, and helplesse in my throwes" (*The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], p. 165, l. 12); "And cannot choose but put out what I write, / While those poor babes their death in birth do find" (p. 190, ll. 10-11); and Margaret Cavendish, "An Excuse for so Much Writ upon My Verses" (*Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th-Century Women's Verse*, eds Germaine Greer, *et al.* [London: Virago Press, 1988], p. 167). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift describes "Books" as "the Children of the Brain" (p. □), a phrase he adopted *literatim* from Temple's "Essays Written in his Youth," where it had been used to describe the substance and form of thoughts (*The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple Bt*, ed. Moore Smith, pp. 151-52). In his letter to his cousin Thomas of 3 May 1692, Swift also described his *Ode to Dr William Sancroft* as his "own ofspring" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 110). See also Carol H. Barnett, "The 'Children of the Brain' and 'All Devouring' Time: Swift on Books," *CLA Journal*, 32 (1989), 494-512 (pp. 502-8).

p. 12, l. 9  it shall unlock the Cabinets of Princes] "The private room in which the confidential advisers of the sovereign or chief ministers of a country meet" (OED), as in Dryden's Dedication to *Fables Ancient and Modern*: "You began in the Cabinet what you afterwards practis'd in the Camp" (*The Poems*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1441).

p. 12, ll. 9-10  it shall turn *Whitehall* and *Versailles* inside out] According to Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia: or, The Present State of England* (1707), Whitehall "hath been the most constant Place of Residence of the Kings and Queens of *England* since *Hen.* VIII's time" ([London: S. Smith, *et al.*, 1707], p. 383). The old palace was damaged by fire in 1691, shortly after the new rulers, William and Mary, had transferred the royal residence to Kensington Palace.

The "sumptuous Palace" of Versailles, whose "general aim was to impress," was designed and built by Louis XIV. It started as a summer palace before becoming the permanent residence and centre of government from 1682 onwards, "with a great Court [t]here." In fact, the huge royal entourage explains its vast architectural dimensions (MORÉRI, s.v.; Tony Spawforth, *Versailles: A Biography of a Palace* [New York: St Martin's Press, 2008], particularly pp. 4, 44-68, 87-102).

p. 12, ll. 14-21  Can it be imagined that a Man of Monsieur *de Cros*'s Christian Temper and Complexion will ever be accessary to any Man's Ruine, but especially to that of a great Minister of State, *who can be reproached with nothing in the World*, p. 12. *but only a blind Obedience to the Will of the King his Master*? No, no, he is far from pursuing the Destruction of any one, tho' never so great an Enemy to him; and therefore since his Memoirs will most *infallibly* ('tis his own Expression, *ibid.*) produce so tragical an effect, there's no Question but he may be easily prevailed with to suppress them] "Vous eûtes la generosité, de ne vous en point prevaloir à la ruine, qu'on croyoit, qui auroit été infaillible, d'un Ministre, que vous estimiés le plus grand de vos ennemis: mais à qui dans cette occasion, on ne pouvoit reprocher, qu'une aveugle obeissance à la volonté du Roi, son Maître" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 11-12). Swift is poking fun at Du Cros's allusion to papal infallibility, certainly a loaded term since Isaac Barrow's rejection of it in *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, published at the height of the Exclusion Crisis (London: by Miles Flesher for Brabazon Aylmer, 1680) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 162-63). At the same time, he mocks Du Cros's "Christian Temper and Complexion." In *Letters to the King*, Temple rejected infallibility ("I have very little Belief of Infallibility, and

less of no Man's than my own" [p. 94]), and Swift exploded it in *A Tale of a Tub* ("It is certain, that *Lord Peter*, even in his lucid Intervals ... would at any time rather argue to the Death, than allow himself to be once in an Error" [p. □]).

p. 12, ll. 22-25 he solemnly professes, *p.* 12. *that he still preserves a profound respect for the Memory of the late King, and that he has a great regard for several Persons of Quality who even at this time of day are deeply interested that he should hold his Tongue*] "Je conserve un profond respect pour la Memoire du feu Roi, & de fort grands égards encore, pour des personnes, qui même aujourdhui ont tant d'interêt, que je garde le silence" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 12). However, when talking to his friend Leibniz, Du Cros did not scruple to defame Charles II: "[Le Roy d'Angleterre] avoit une grande aversion pour les affaires, et quand il falloit aller au Conseil, c'estoit comme si on le tiroit par les cheveux. Il n'aimoit pas naturellement de faire plaisir aux gens et quand il le faisoit c'estoit de mauvaise grace. Ainsi il n'avoit gueres d'amis, on ne le conservoit gueres bien. Estant mal avec son peuple, il n'attendoit de l'argent et de l'appuy de la France, et par consequent il se soucioit peu des Alliés" ("Sur J. A. Du Cros," [1692], AA, IV, iv, 502 [no 89]).

p. 12, ll. 25-30 Now from hence I gather that as 'tis impossible for him to write his Memoirs without being somewhat familiar with the Reputation of King *Charles* the II. (and if so, why does he quarrel with Sir *W. T. p.* 38. for *prostituting that Prince's Reputation*, since by this passage 'tis apparent that a Man cannot avoid the doing of it, provided he designs to write sincerely)] "Monsieur Temple est accoûtumé de ménager si peu, la reputation du Roi, qu'il n'a pas craint, de la prostituer en cette occasion, d'une étrange maniere" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 38). The harsh accusation of having 'prostituted' the King's reputation is not confirmed by *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*.

p. 13, ll. 4-5 the grossest and most absurd *Solæcism* in the World] Solecism, "an impropriety or irregularity in speech or diction; a violation of the rules of grammar or syntax; properly, a faulty concord" (OED), a meaning referred to by Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*: "All these are gross Soloecisms, *the last part of the sentence not agreeing nor answering to the first*; which is the proper definition of a Soloecism" ([London: by J. H. for Henry Mortlock and John Hartley, 1699], p. 320). Swift's usage emphasizes the breach of *social* decorum: "Pray tell her Grace ... that I will rob Neptune of his Trident rather than commit such Solecism in

good breeding again" (Swift to Gay, 20 November 1729, *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 269).

p. 13, ll. 20-21 *I have the means in my hands to revenge my self abundantly for the Injuries he has done me*] "*Abundantly*" is missing in the *Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*: "J'ai des moyens, de me venger de l'outrage, qu'il m'a fait" (p. 13).

p. 13, ll. 21-23 To return a full Answer to this last period, we need only put him in mind of the Proverb, *Canes timidi vehementiùs latrant quam mordent*, and much good may it do him] Literally, "Timid dogs bark more fiercely than they bite"; proverbially, "Cowardly Dogs bark much" (TILLEY D528). This may be rooted in a story told by Curtius Rufus, whose *Historia Alexandri Magni* was in Swift's library, with pencil markings by the Dean: "Adjicit deinde quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant, *Canem timidum vehementius latrare, quam mordere*" ([Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1660], p. 196 [VII, iv, 13] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 484-85]).

p. 13, ll. 24-27 he complains that Sir *W. T.* set upon him first, that he writes with a Spirit of Vengeance, that he suffers himself to be transported with ungovernable Heats like a Man who fansies he is touch'd to the Quick] In his letter to Leibniz of May 1692, Du Cros described Temple as "full of malice" and as a long-time enemy: "Mons. Temple est plein de malice. il est mon ennemi depuis longtemps" (AA, I, viii, 255 [no 151]; Juhas, "Du Cros, Leibniz, and *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," p. 16).

p. 13, ll. 27-29 But now mind what follows, *As for my self* p. 13. *I protest to you My Lord, that I write* de Sang Froid *in cold Blood*] "Pour moi, je vous écris, Mylord, je vous le jure de sang froid" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 13). References to the hot-headedness of the French are legion, as Samuel Butler pointed out in his *Prose Observations*: "When French Men would say the greatest thing of any great Person of their own Nation, they use to admire him for Having Le Sense Froide, because it is the greatest Rarity among them; who are generally so hot Headed, that very few are capable of arriveing at so great an height of sober understanding, as to be Dull, for so it signify's with all other People" (ed. Hugh de Quehen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], p. 14).

p. 13, ll. 32-33  our *Letter-writer* had all the Meekness of a Primitive Saint] One of the many 'modesty formulas' which achieved wide dissemination in late antiquity, both pagan and Christian (Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask [London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979], pp. 83-89).

p. 13, ll. 33-36  and carried no such thing as a Gall about him; when 'tis plain, we may say the same thing of his Gall, what some Physicians have observed of the Liver in a vitiated Constitution, *crescente Liene decrescit reliquum Corpus*; and that his has increased at the Expence of the rest of his Body] In *The Battle of the Books*, the Goddess Criticism's "Diet was the overflowing of her own Gall," her "*Spleen* [being] so large, as to stand prominent like a Dug of the first Rate, nor [wanting] Excrescencies in form of Teats, at which a Crew of ugly Monsters were greedily sucking; and, what is wonderful to conceive, the bulk of Spleen encreased faster than the Sucking could diminish it" (p. 43, ll. 32-37).

p. 13, l. 38-p. 14, l. 3  *'Tis true*, says Monsieur *du Cros*, p. 14. *that Sir* W. T. *has glittered for some time, but then he borrowed all his Lustre principally from the Protection of a certain Noble-Man whom at last he betray'd, and of whom he makes insolent mention in his Memoirs, and that with the blackest Ingratitude that may be.* This is a very severe Charge, if it could be made out: But neither did Sir *W. T.* derive all his Lustre from my Lord *A——n*, nor does he treat him insolently any where in his Memoirs] "Monsieur Temple à brillé quelque temps, il est vray, mais il a emprunté tout son lustre, premierement de la protection d'un Seigneur, qu'il a enfin trahi; & de qui il parle dans ses memoires tres insolemment, & avec une extrême ingratitude" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 14).

The relationship between Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and Sir William was complicated and ambivalent at best. During his first embassy at The Hague, Temple professed unconditional confidence in the influential Secretary of State: "I have likewise reflected upon the kind Hint your Lordship gave me some time since, of my Lord *Arlington*'s not being *the same* to me which he had formerly been, and constantly since our first Acquaintance: Which made me, I confess, then doubt rather some Mistake in your Lordship's Observation, than any Change in his Friendship or Dispositions" (To my Lord Keeper, September 1670 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 283). In the *Memoirs*, however, Temple showed himself increasingly irritated at Arlington's interfering in his negotiations with the Prince of Orange: "Tho'

[Arlington] profess'd great friendship to me, yet he represented me as unlikely to be treated with such a confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this Affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur *De Witt* in my former Ambassy" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 74-75). In like manner, Temple did not keep the Prince's reactions to Arlington's overtures to himself: "The Prince ... told me with what arrogance and insolence my Lord *Arlington* had entred upon all his Expostulations with him ... as if he pretended to deal with a Child ... That all he said was so artificial, and giving such false colours to things every body knew, that he, that was a plain man, could not bear it" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 81-82); "[The Prince of Orange] fell into the greatest rage that ever I saw him, against my Lord *Arlington*, calling this proceeding malicious, and insolent" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 95, *Letters to the King*, pp. 101-3). Temple also described Arlington's ire at his successful match-making between William of Orange and Lady Mary of York about which Arlington was kept in the dark (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 296-97). In the *History of his Own Time*, Burnet sums up Arlington's character as "all cunning and artifice," having earlier portrayed him as "a proud man," who "had the art of observing the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time" (I, 265, 99). New evidence reveals that Du Cros's partiality for Arlington resulted from an interview, in which his Lordship bitterly complained about Temple's disloyalty: "Je n'ai rien oublié de tout ce que feu Milord Arlington m'a dit autrefois de Mons: Temple; à peine son nom etoit connu, il rampoit encore dans la poussiere, lorsque Milord Arlington l'en tira pour le pousser dans les affaires. Cet ingrat trahit et abandonna son bienfaiteur, et son Maitre pour courir après les apparences d'une meilleure fortune; il voulut perdre Milord Arlington par des voyes infames, j'en sçai des particularités, qui font horreur" (manuscript draft of Du Cros's printed *Lettre* [Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek/Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, MS XXX Bl. 68-73, fol. 5r]; for a facsimile, transcription, and commentary on this passage, see Juhas, "Du Cros, Leibniz, and *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," p. 26, ll. 100- 5, pp. 53-54).

p. 14, ll. 3-6 As soon as that Lord forsook his Master's and the Kingdom's real Interests to cultivate the growing Power of a Neighbouring Nation, Sir *W. T.* thought it high time to leave him; but it never enter'd so much as into his Thoughts to betray him] See the note on "*that the King, a little after the Peace of* Nimeguen" (p. 15, ll. 29-35).

p. 14, ll. 6-12 *he advanced himself by the Patronage of some other Persons, to whose Service he intirely devoted himself, to the Prejudice of his Duty; and so well did he insinuate himself into their Confidence and good Graces, the Post he was in giving him the Privilege to have a frequent Access to their Persons, that he was in a Capacity to have rendred very considerable Services both to the King his Master and to his Country if he had made the best Use of that Advantage*] "Il s'est avancé par la protection encore, de quelques autres personnes, a qui il s'étoit devoué, au prejudice de son devoir. *Il s'étoit si bien insinué*, pour me servir des termes, qu'il employe sur mon sujet, dans les bonnes graces, & dans la confidence de ceux, auprés de qui il lui étoit necessaire d'avoir accés, qu'il auroit pû rendre des services considerables au Roi son Maître, & à sa Patrie, s'il avoit mieux usé de cet avantage" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 14).

p. 14, ll. 16-17 (Monsieur *de Cros* must here mean the P. of *O.*)] The Prince of Orange, the later William III.

p. 14, ll. 18-21 this will notoriously appear by several Passages in the Memoirs, but particularly p. 153. where Sir *W. T.* gives a large Account of a long Conversation between the P. of *O.* and himself in the Garden at *Hounslerdyke*] In June 1676, Temple had a very personal two-hour conversation with the Prince of Orange at Hounslerdyke upon William's marriage: "[The Prince] was resolv'd to have my Opinion ... but yet would not ask it, unless I promis'd to answer him as a Friend, or at least an indifferent Person, and not as the King's Ambassador" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 151). William quizzed Temple about the character of Princess Mary, his first cousin and eldest daughter of James, Duke of York, the future King James II of England. Having also considered dynastic alliances with France or Germany, the Prince revealed to Temple that he was determined not to marry for political reasons only: "He would tell me, without any sort of affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest would engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions" (p. 152). As a result of the interview, the Prince asked Temple's wife, Lady Dorothy, who had always spoken "with all the advantage" of the Princess (p. 154), to carry two letters to England, one for the King and one for the Duke of York. When William finally journeyed to England himself in October 1677 (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, pp. 92-93), he was "resolved to see the Young Princess before he entred into that Affair" (p. 293). With the assistance of the

Earl of Danby, Temple finally concluded the match, mediating between Charles II and William of Orange (pp. 293-97; *Letters to the King*, 23 April 1676 [N.S.], pp. 196-99, 199-200, 216, 223-25, 238). William's engagement to Mary was announced on 22 October 1677, to be followed by the marriage on 17 November of the same year (Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, p. 88). Charles II consented to the match hoping that the alliance would remove English suspicions that his friendship with France would entail a change of religion (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 408-11; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 546-47).

As John Oldham's poem "Upon the Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary" shows, the majority of the English shared with Temple the hope for a lasting peace and a firm English-Dutch alliance, which they saw symbolically confirmed by the marriage vow of William and Mary: "Hail happy Pair! kind Heav'ns great Hostages! / Sure Pledges of a firm and lasting Peace! / Call't not a Match ... A League it must be said / Where Countries thus Espouse, and Nations Wed: / Our Thanks, propitious Destinie! / Never did yet thy Pow'r dispence / A more Plenipotentiary Influence, / Nor Heav'n more sure a Treaty ratify" (*The Poems of John Oldham*, eds Harold F. Brooks and Raman Selden [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987], p. 279, ll. 24-33).

p. 14, ll. 21-26 The Prince had been telling him before, that the Dispositions and Designs of the Court were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the Point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done] An almost verbatim repetition of *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* (p. 152).

p. 14, ll. 26-34 To which Sir *W. T.* answered *That his Friends (as they pretended) in* England *must see farther than he did to believe the King in any such Dangers and Difficulties as they imagined. That the Crown of* England *stood upon surer Foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had passed in the late Reign; and that he believed the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himself believ'd them. That it was however in his Power to be as well with them as he pleased, and to make as short Turns to such an End; if not, yet with the help of a little good Husbandry he might pass his Reign in Peace, tho not perhaps with so much Ease at home or Glory abroad as if he fell into the Vein of his People*] "That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they

must see much further than I did, to believe the King in any such dangers or difficulties as they imagin'd. That the Crown of *England* stood upon surer foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had pass'd in the last Reign; and that I believ'd the people would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himself believ'd them. That it was however in his power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as short turns to such an end; if not, yet with the help of a little good husbandry, he might pass his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with so much ease at home, or glory abroad, as if he fell into the vein of his people" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 153-54).

p. 14, ll. 39-41 But our furious Counsellor of State is still inveighing against Sir *W. T. for being often deficient in an exact Fidelity, which every Minister is obliged to preserve inviolably even in Matters of the least Consequence*] "Il à manqué souvent à une aussi exacte fidelité, qu'un Ministre est obligé d'avoir inviolablement, jusques dans les moindres choses" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 15). Temple's partiality for the United Provinces was well known in France, and, as a consequence, he was accused of double-dealing: "Ainsi il arriva que M. Temple n'avoit jamais dit plus vray que lors qu'il avoit protesté, il y avoit déja quelque temps, qu'il ne signeroit point la Paix, tant que les affaires de la France seroient en estat de la faire conclure avantageusement pour cette Couronne" (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, p. 245).

p. 14, l. 41-p. 15, l. 5 Sir *W. T.* to his great Comfort is not the first Minister that has sometimes made bold to disobey or suspend his Masters Orders, by the same Token that there are the Names of several upon Record, who after they have transgress'd upon this Point, instead of Frowns or Punishments, have received Rewards from their respective Princes as soon as they came to be better inform'd] When he was ordered to leave The Hague for Nijmegen due to the scheming of Barillon and Du Cros (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, p. 181), Temple decided to disobey the King's instructions and to wait for three days, while attempting on his own to avoid a separate peace between France and the United Provinces: "I told [Du Cros], he knew his own Times and Motions; and that I should govern my self in mine, by my Orders and his Majesty's Intentions, as far as I understood them." At the same time, he confessed to being "in the greatest Trouble in the World whether to obey my Instructions, or first acquaint the King with the

Consequence of them here" (To the Duke of Ormond, 30 August 1678 [N.S.], *Letters to the King*, p. 466; see also the letter to the Lord Treasurer, p. 480).

p. 15, ll. 6-8 After all an implicite blind Obedience may do well in *France*, or under a despotick Climate; but all the Application in the World will never bring it to Perfection in *England*] The contrast between France as the land of slavery and England as the land of liberty had grown into a national stereotype by the end of the seventeenth century. In his "Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders; with their Relation to England in the Year 1671," Temple characterized warmongering France: "It may perhaps be necessary for *France* ... to have some War or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, Hard and uneasie to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court" (*Miscellanea* [London: by A. M. and R. R. for Edward Gellibrand, 1680], p. 36). Gilbert Burnet, who spent "the greatest part of the year 1664" in France, writes in the *History of his Own Time*: "From [*England*], where every thing was free, I went to *France*, where nothing was free" (I, 207), an assessment confirmed by modern historians: "Louis's Catholicism, absolutism, and quest for *gloire* were inseparable as causes of slavery and loss of liberty in France" (Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], p. 93; see also Silke Meyer, *Die Ikonographie der Nation: Nationalstereotype in der englischen Druckgraphik des 18. Jahrhunderts* [Münster, New York, München: Waxmann, 2003], pp. 210-15).

p. 15, ll. 9-12 says Monsieur *de Cros*, p. 15. *the late King of* England *found him out at last, and was so sensible of it, that tho he dispatch'd him with a Commission into* Holland, *he did it only out of a Consideration of the Acquaintance he had there*] "Le feu Roi d'Angleterre s'en aperçeut enfin, & en étoit si convaincu, qu'il ne s'est servi de lui, dans les dernieres Commissions, dont il le chargea auprés de Messieurs les Etats, que par la consideration des habitudes, qu'il y avoit" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 15).

p. 15, ll. 21-24 'Tis true indeed, that Sir *W. T.* frequently takes notice in his Memoirs of the many Marches and Counter-Marches of our Court, as he had just Reason to do, and as all *Europe* observed as well as he] Temple regularly lamented the inconsistency of English policies in his *Memoirs*: "There was little question but

His Majesty would declare himself upon the Terms of a General Peace to both Parties, which I knew very well would be refus'd by neither, if he were positive in it ... But our Councils at Court were so in Balance, between the desires of living at least fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much Displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent Sessions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like cross Purposes, which no man at Home or Abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the House of Commons, till the thing was wrested out of our hands" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 233-34), and, perhaps even more prominently, somewhat later: "Our Councels and Conduct were like those of a floating Island, driven one way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides" (p. 351). In a letter to his brother Sir John of 27 March 1674, Temple referred to De Witt's condemnation of the "perpetual fluctuation in the conduct of England [*Fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d'Angleterre*]" (*Letters to the King*, p. 20). Only a few years later, William of Orange, confronted with the same dilemma, is reported to have exclaimed in despair: "Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this Court of yours?" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 365). In the *History of his Own Time*, Burnet likewise commented on Charles's pretending to declare war on France in 1678 while secretly receiving large sums from the French: "Such underhand dealing was mean and dishonourable ... This gave a new wound to the King's credit abroad, or rather it opened the old one: For indeed after our breaking both the treaty of *Breda*, and the Tripple Alliance, we had not much credit to lose abroad" (I, 442).

p. 15, ll. 29-35 *that the King, a little after the Peace of* Nimeguen *neglected him ...'Tis not as Sir* W. T. *would make the World believe, the Love of Retirement, and his Indisposition of Body, that made him throw up his Employs; for never Man more passionately desir'd to have his Share in the Publick Administrations than he*] Temple retired from public business for the first time shortly before England declared war on the United Provinces on 28 March 1672 (O.S.), a move by which all his diplomatic efforts were rendered futile: "For since his Majesty has thought fit to change the Course of his Councils, in the pursuit whereof I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the Repose of *Christendom*, and to the Good of both our Nations; I have had no share at all in Publick Affairs; but on the contrary, am wholly sunk in my Gardening, and the Quiet of a private Life; which, I thank God, agrees with me as well as the Splendor of the World, and gives me a great deal more Quiet and Satisfaction than I should have

found by pursuing my Fortunes in it" (To Monsieur Wickfort, London, 10 October 1672, *Letters*, II, 314-15; *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, sig. A3v, pp. 5-6). While still at Nijmegen in May 1677, he resolved on his second retirement: "And I pretend no more than to do a plain Duty while I am in these Employments, and pass a private easy Life after this is ended" (*Letters to the King*, p. 331). On his return to England in 1679, he retired to Sheen and later to Moor Park, passing the remainder of his days in the country (*Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, xcii, 176-77 and n1, 183, 186; Homer E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple: The Man and his Work* [New York: The Modern Language Association of America, and London: Oxford University Press, 1940], pp. 204-5).

p. 15, ll. 30-31 If making Offers to him of a Secretary's Place immediately after his Arrival, be the Sign of Neglect] Temple was offered the position of Secretary of State twice in his career, in 1678 and in 1688 (R. W. Blencowe, "Introduction," *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, xc and xciv). In his *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, he writes about the first offer: "About the middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treasurer to signify His Majesty's pleasure, that I should come over and enter upon the Secretary of States Office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offered His Majesty to lay down upon the payment of ten thousand pounds; That the King would pay half the Money, and I must lay down the rest at present" (p. 271). Temple declined in a letter to Lord Treasurer Danby: "The Distinction his Majesty is pleased to make between me and other Men, both in esteeming me fit for the discharge of so great a Trust, and in offering to be himself at the charge of Mr. *Secretary Coventry*'s retiring out of it, is what I am sure, I shall never live to forget; tho' I can never hope to deserve ... But the sensible Decays I feel of late in my self, and which must increase every Day with my Age and ill Health, make me absolutely despair of acquitting my self as I ought, and, would be necessary for his Majesty's Service in a Post that requires not only great Abilities, but good Health, and all the Application that can be; neither of which I can any ways promise either his Majesty or my self" (24 January 1679 [N.S.], *Letters to the King*, pp. 533-34; see also Temple's letter to Sidney, 2 March 1680, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, 295).

p. 16, ll. 8-9 a Dispatch which our *Letter-writer* left with him at the *Hague*, as he was going to *Nimeguen* by his Majesty's Order, to conclude a Peace] "Charles R. / IN the interim of the great crisis drawing on, or of the final declaration of the mind of

France by the 1st of August, with relation to the evacuating or not evacuating of the places upon which is to depend the peace or the war, it hath happened that an intimation hath been given us, and though but by a third hand, yet accompanied with great assurances of success, and in a manner undertaken for by an absolute certainty by him that proposed it, viz. The Sieur du Cros, Envoyé from the Duke of Holstein, that in case we will promise to be *garant* of the peace now to be made between Spain and Holland and France, on the terms proposed by the French at Nimeguen, so as that if Spain or Holland shall, contrary to that treaty, directly or indirectly assist the enemies of Sweden, we will in that case assist the Crown of Sweden ... you shall immediately repair to Nimeguen; and there meeting with the Swedes Ambassadors, you shall acquaint them with the aforesaid insinuation which has been made us, with the resolutions we have taken upon it" ("Additional Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Temple, Baronet, our Ambassador Extraordinary to the States-General of the United Netherlands, and one of the Plenipotentiaries for the treaty of peace at Nimeguen, Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 23d day of July, 1678," reprinted in Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple*, II, 422-23).

p. 16, ll. 10-12 *My Lord, that I should here acquaint you with the true Cause of so extraordinary a Resolution, which according to Sir* W. T. *entirely changed the Fate of Christendom*] "This one Incident changed the whole Fate of Christendom" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 337).

p. 16, ll. 12-14 *I should do him too great a Pleasure if I should reveal so important a Secret, and several other Intrigues, in which some Persons, both of the late and this Reign in* England, *are nearly concerned*] "Je lui fairois un trop grand plaisir, si je voulois revêler un secret si important, & plusieurs autres intrigues, à quoy des Personnes du Regne passé & de celuy-ci en Angleterre ont eu part" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 18).

p. 16, ll. 16-17 now the Weather-Glass is alter'd with him] A weather glass is a type of barometer used to measure atmospheric pressure, in particular decreasing atmospheric pressure predicting stormy weather. In *The London Spy*, Ward describes a virtuoso who is "a member of the Royal Society and [who] had as great a hand, for many years together, in bringing the weather-glass to perfection" (ed. Hyland, p. 18; see also p. 298), and Tom Brown jeers: "Great discoveries for the

publick advantage of mankind! Without giving ourselves the trouble to make use of our senses, we need but only cast our eyes upon a weather-glass, to know if 'tis hot or cold, if it rains, or is fair weather" (*The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown, Serious and Comical*, ed. James Drake, 8th ed., 4 vols [London: Henry Lintot and Charles Hitch, 1744], III, 86). Although, in seventeenth-century weather glasses, water was usually used, there also seem to have been weather glasses in operation which measured atmospheric pressure with mercury: "Wise Thinking and good Humour, unless People look to it, are precarious Advantages; a Cloud is enough to over-cast them; they rise and fall with the *Mercury* in the *Weather-glass*," Jeremy Collier, whom Swift read in 1697/8 at Moor Park (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30), notes in his description of the splenetic (*Essays upon Several Moral Subjects*, 3rd ed., 2 vols [in one], [London: R. Sare and H. Hindmarsh, 1698], II, 36). See also *Tale of a Tub* ("He knows to a Tittle, what Subjects will best go off in a *dry Year*, and which it is proper to expose foremost, when the Weather-glass is fallen to *much Rain*," p. □).

p. 16, ll. 19-20 why he is by no means for opening his Raree-show at present] "Raree-show" here signifies a "show, or spectacle of any kind, *esp.* one regarded as lurid, vulgar, or populist" (OED): "Our guide ... had given a caution to the smutty interpreter of this raree-show to tell us ... the names of his glittering troop of superficial heroes" (Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Hyland, p. 238). Given Du Cros's Catholic history, the satirical meaning familiar from *A Tale of a Tub* ("*Lord Peter* was also held the Original Author of *Puppets* and *Raree-Shows*" [p. □ and n*]) – liturgical splendour and magnificence associated with Catholic worship in general and "Papists' Processions" in particular – is not to be excluded, however. In a 1694 letter to his Uncle Deane Swift, "a merchant at Lisbon" at the time, a somewhat self-complacent young Jonathan voiced his irritation at "so much Superstition" prevalent in Catholic Portugal: "Not that I utterly dislike your Processions for Rain or fair Weather, which as trifling as they are, yet have good Effects to quiet common Heads, and infuse a gaping Devotion among the Rabble" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 120 and n2). See also the gloss on "*Raree-Show*" in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. □).

p. 16, ll. 24-29 *I would not at this critical Conjuncture, when K.* William *labours with so much Zeal and Glory to procure the Repose of Christendom, and the Happiness of his own Subjects, revive those Animosities and Quarrels which have already occasioned but too many Convulsions in* England, *and might be a great obstacle to that Union, which is so necessary towards the happy Execution of the*

*Designs of this great Monarch*] "Pour moi, je ne veux point dans ces conjonctures, ou le Roi Guillaume travaille avec tant de zele, & avec tant de gloire, au repos de la Chrêtienté, & à la felicité des Anglois, reveiller l'envie & la haine, qui n'ont déja trop éclaté en Angleterre, & qui pourroient être un grand obstacle à cette union, si necessaire pour l'heureuse execution des entreprises de ce grand Monarque" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 18-19). William III at first met with considerable opposition in Scotland and Ireland. Supported by the French, James II incited the Scots "to make all possible opposition in the Convention," and the Scottish Jacobites were victorious in the Battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689 (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 18, 26-27). In order to fight off the Irish rebels, William crossed over to Ireland and defeated James in the Battle of the Boyne on 12 July 1690 (J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969], pp. 58-157; MOODY, III, 478-508). Following that defeat, James abandoned his troops and fled back to France (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 47-57).

p- 16, l. 29 Most Authors have their *le Fort* and *le Foible*] In January 1677, Temple had a long interview with Pensioner Fagel, "the person that the Prince [of Orange] relied on chiefly" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 327), upon the peace negotiations, and a separate peace with France in particular, seeking his advice not "as an Ambassador but a Friend": "[Pensioner *Fagel*] told me freely, *Leur fort & leur foible*, and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do upon all these Circumstances," translated in a marginal gloss: "Their strength and their weakness" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 217; *Letters to the King*, p. 254). At almost the same time, Swift confessed in a letter of 3 May 1692 to his cousin Thomas: "I have a sort of vanity, or Foibless, I do not know what to call it ... that I am overfond of my own writings" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 110).

p. 16, ll. 33-36 Monsieur *de Cros* may safely print his Book, and yet for all that K. *William* with his Confederates may reconquer *Flanders*, the Parliament supply the King with Money, and not so much as one single Courtier be sent to Grass] In the European coalition known as the Grand Alliance, William III led England into the Nine Years' War against France from 1689 to 1698 (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, II, 12). Applied to persons, "to be sent to grass" means "dismissed from one's position or 'rusticated'" (OED). Examples occur in John Eachard's *Vindication of the Clergy* ([London: by Andrew Clark for Hen. Brome, 1672], sig. A6v) and

Congreve's *The Way of the World* (*The Complete Plays*, ed. Herbert Davis [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967], p. 444 [III, i, 708-9]).

p. 16, ll. 37-39 if his Memoirs are no more regarded in *England* than his Letter has been, he can injure no man living by them, but (as we have already told him) *himself* and his *Bookseller*] A man who writes himself out of reputation poses a danger both to his own person and the purse of his bookseller: "Warburton tells an anecdote upon the authority Dr. S[malbroke, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry] ... who meeting Bentley at this period, and telling him not to be discouraged at the run made against him, was answered, 'Indeed I am in no pain about the matter, for it is a maxim with me that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself'" (James Henry Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D. D.* [London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, and Cambridge: J. and J. J. Deighton, 1830], pp. 89-90 and n22). An alternative tradition has it that 'Dr S.' was Bishop Thomas Sherlock (*The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, VIII: The Letters, Pt 2, 1765-1768*, eds Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009], 691n4).

p. 17, ll. 5-6 from his Pride, his Opiniatreté, or any crime of that Nature] "Not to be positive or opiniatre," is one among *Resolutions 1699* (*Resolutions 1699*, p. □).

p. 17, ll. 9-21 *At this time*, says our incensed Statesman, p. 19. *there arrived from* England *one* de Cros, *as Sir* W. T. *has express'd it, I shall not, my Lord, make any stop at this term of Contempt, One de Cross*; tho to his great Commendation be it spoken, he has almost spent a whole Page about it before he has done, *'tis in Relation to my self an Expression of the blackest Malice*. From thence he takes the Hint to be speak himself to his Reader, telling him that the late King of *England* did him the Honour to treat him with more Respect and Civility, both in his Pass-ports, his Letters, and the Commissions he entrusted him with. He says 'twas *fort Cavalierement*, in plain English, impudently done to speak after that saucy manner, of a Man that was born of a tolerable good Family, that had been honour'd near twenty years with several Employments, and whom a great Prince and a King did not disdain to take for a Counsellor of State] Swift here mocks Du Cros's theatrical anger at Temple's portrait of him ("Then arrived from *England* one *De Cros*" [*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 335]): "*Il arriva*, dit Monsieur Temple *pour lors d'Angleterre un nommé du Cros*; je ne m'arrêterai point Mylord, à ce terme de

mépris; *un nommé*, c'est sur mon sujet l'expression d'une noire malice. Le feu Roi d'Angleterre lui-même me faisoit l'honneur de me traiter avec plus de civilité dans ses passeports, dans ses Lettres, dans les Commissions, dont il m'a chargé. C'est parler fort Cavalierement & même tres impudemment, d'un homme d'assez bonne maison; qui a été honoré pendant pres de vingt ans de plusieurs employs, & qu'un grand Prince & un Roi n'ont pas dédaigné, d'avoir pour Conseiller d'Etat" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 19-20). Du Cros is quoting verbatim from the French translation of Temple's *Memoirs* by Moetjens (p. 382).

p. 17, ll. 21-27 There is a certain Figure in Rhetorick (I have forgot the Name of it) which the Grammarians tell us we are guilty of committing, when we pretend to pass over those very things which we design to enumerate; and this I find has been very serviceable all along to Monsieur *de Cros*; *he won't make any stop at those words, no, not he; he won't rake into the Particulars of Sir* William*'s Life, no not he*, but all the while does it] The rhetorical figure passing over the very things one intends to name is that of *praeteritio* (LAUSBERG §§ 882-886). A famous example occurs in Cicero's speeches against Catiline: "Prætermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendêre tibi proximis Idibus senties" (*Opera*, 4 vols [in two] [Paris: Charles Estienne, 1555], II, 320 [I, 6, 14] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-10]); another is Swift's own ending of *A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed* in which the speaker professes aphasia after having enumerated all "the scatter'd Parts" (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 583, ll. 67-70).

p. 17, ll. 33-36 The Author of the Memoirs, *p.* 325. giving a short account of Monsieur *de Cros* and his Character, was so ill advised as to throw out these Words: *He had formerly been a* French *Monk, and some time since had left his Frock for a Petticoat*] "One *De Cros*, formerly a *French* Monk, who some time since had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and insinuated himself so far in the *Suedish* Court, as to procure a Commission (or Credence at least) for a certain petty Agency in *England*" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 335, not p. 325). In the French translation by Moetjens, this passage occurs on page 382: "Un nommé du Cros: c'étoit un Moine François qui depuis quelque tems avoit quitté son Froc pour une juppe, & s'étoit si bien insinué dans la Cour de Suede, qu'il en avoit obtenu une commission pour être une espéce d'Agent en Angleterre." A Dominican monk in France until the age of sixteen, Du Cros was converted to Protestantism. To be fair, however, his marriage with Clara Urry, or Urrie (1650-1703), was not the occasion of

his leaving the order but took place several years later in England (J. A. Downie, *Swift, Temple, and the Du Cros Affair, Part II: "A Letter from Monsieur de Cros" (1683) and "Reflections upon Two Pamphlets" (1693)*, Augustan Reprint Society, nos 241-42 [Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1987], p. iv).

p. 17, ll. 37-41 *This is a fine reproach*, says he, *p.* 20. *to come out of the Mouth of a Protestant Ambassador, one that belonged to a Monarch who stiles himself Defender of the Faith; and in short, one that so loudly declared at* Nimeguen *that he'd have nothing to do with the Pope's Nuncio*] "Voilà un reproche, qui siéd fort bien à l'Ambassadeur d'un Monarqué Defenseur de la foi, & de la Religion Protestante; à un homme, qui déclara si hautement à Nimegue, *qu'il ne vouloit avoir aucun Commerce avec le Nonce du Pape*" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 20). The French desire to accept the Pope's mediation along with that of Charles II met with stiff resistance from the English side: "By Orders we receiv'd from Court upon occasion of this dispute, we declar'd to all the Parties, That tho' His Majesty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act joyntly with that of the Pope, nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of His that might be employed at *Nimeguen*" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 203; reiterated pp. 247, 266-67). Unlike Temple, who refused to see the Pope's nuncio, Luigi Bevilacqua, his English fellow envoy, Sir Leoline Jenkins (1625-85), reportedly visited him (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, p. 83; see also Paul Otto Höynck, *Frankreich und seine Gegner auf dem Nymwegener Friedenskongress* [Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1960], pp. 24, 42-43).

p. 18, ll. 5-6 But perhaps the Apology that follows may make some amends for the whipp'd Cream above] According to Temple, William of Orange dismissed a letter from Charles II with the remark "that it was in a Style, as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with *Whipt Cream*" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 236, 252). Swift seems to echo this image in the Preface to *The Battle of the Books*: "*Wit, without Knowledge, being a Sort of* Cream, *which gathers in a Night to the Top, and by a skilful Hand, may be soon* whipt *into* Froth" (p. 32, ll. 12-14).

p. 18, ll. 6-8 *I don't know, my Lord, whether it is a scandalous thing to be a Monk, this I am certain of, that it is infinitely less scandalous to have been one*] "Mais je ne

sache pas, Mylord, qu'il soit honteux, d'être moine; & il l'est beaucoup moins, de l'avoir été" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 20).

p. 18, ll. 13-14 and therefore making it a Cloister Quarrel, indicts him upon a *Scandalum Monachorum*] *Scandalum Monachorum*, "the utterance or publication of a malicious report against monks," is a formation on the analogy of *Scandalum Magnatum*, "the utterance or publication of a malicious report against any person holding a position of dignity" (OED, following the definition of Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary* [London: by E. and R. Nutt, *et al.*, for J. and J. Knapton, *et al.*, 1729], s.v.). Like *monachorum*, *magnatum* is the genitive plural of *magnates*, post-classical Latin for "great men." *Scandalum Magnatum* also occurs in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. □).

p. 18, ll. 16-21 *one may find sad wretched Fellows* (Speak softly lest any of the Brothers of the Surcingle hear thee) *of mean, base Parentage* (Prethee for your old Acquaintance-sake, not so loud), *of infamous, irregular Lives* (nay, now you have undone your self with them for ever), *Drones, good for nothing* (I find he'll never have done with this Chapter), *without Honour, Good Manners, or Reputation*] "Il y a veritablement parmi eux, comme parmi le reste des hommes, des miserables, d'une basse naissance, d'une vie déreglée & infame, gens inutiles, sans honneur & sans reputation" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 20). The addendum "drones" does not appear in the French original; in the sense of "lazy idler, sluggard, or parasite," it is frequent in Swift (*The Battle of the Books*, p. 39, l. 35, and *A Tritical Essay*, p. □).

The four bracketed asides interpolated in the quotation from Du Cros are unique in Swift's prose (and rare in any writer's prose, for that matter). They have so far been traced in only one source, Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, the first edition of which Swift owned (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-8). This discovery has led to the view that "here, in the early Swift, we have a demonstration of his respect" for Marvell's book (Woolley, "The Authorship of *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," p. 335), which was singled out for praise in the Apology before the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* (p. □). While this reading is not to be excluded, it has to be pointed out that Swift only owned the first part of *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, not the second, in which the bracketed asides occur (*The Rehearsal Transpros'd and The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*, ed. Smith, p. 160, ll. 16-22).

p. 18, l. 30  he can blow Satyr and Panegyrick with the very same Breath] By Swift's time, the spelling "Satyr" no longer mirrors the correct etymology of 'satire', as disentangled by Isaac Casaubonus in 1605 (*De satyrica Graecorum poesi & Romanorum satira*, ed. Peter E. Medine [Delmar, New York: Scholar's Facsimiles, 1973]). Casaubonus refuted the traditional philological connection with the Greek *satyros*, the satyr-play of the Old Comedy (J. W. Jolliffe, "Satyre: Satura: Satyros: A Study in Confusion," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 18 [1956], 84-95; Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960], pp. 102-4), deriving 'satire' instead from *satura* (*lanx*), "a large dish or platter, full of many different kinds of fruits," sometimes spelled *satira*. Casaubonus later became Dryden's chief source of information in the *Discourse concerning Satire*, which Swift knew (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], II, 621-22; IV, 2010; see also Helmut Castrop, *Die varronische Satire in England, 1660-1690: Studien zu Butler, Marvell und Dryden* [Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1983], pp. 46-74). Although Dryden consistently favoured the spelling *satire*, the old one continued to survive into the early eighteenth century. Swift seems to have used both forms indistinguishably, but *satyr* is the preferred spelling throughout the *Tale*, as it was in Sir William Temple (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry": eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Martin Kämper [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995], pp. 58, 68).

As an avowed satirist, Swift did not like panegyric, and he expressed his dislike on several occasions, and emphasized its benumbing as well as stupefying ingredient: "All Panegyricks are mingled with an Infusion of Poppy" (*Prose Works*, IV, 252; see also Charles Peake, *Jonathan Swift and the Art of Raillery* [Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1986], pp. 8-9).

p. 18, ll. 36-37  As an Historian he was obliged to give a short Account of those persons, whose Actions he there recounts] See the note on Sallust, "The same management has been used by several Historians," (p. 19, ll. 19-21).

p. 19, ll. 1-2  because he reported him to have been of that Profession of Life which has bred so many learned Men] The monastic clergy.

p. 19, l. 2  furnished the Almanack with so many Saints] Swift is referring not to printed almanacs but to clog-almanacs, which were popular among the lower classes until the end of the seventeenth century. Clog-almanacs were square sticks made of some hard wood, usually about eight inches in length, which often had a ring at the top for suspending them in a room. Their chief interest lies in the emblems, or symbols, of the saints carved into the wood (William Andrews, *Old Church Lore* [Hull: The Hull Press, and London: Simpkin, *et al.*, 1891], frontispiece, pp. 240-43).

p. 19, ll. 3-4  Thrones with so many Kings; nay, and the Pontifical Chair with one third of her Popes?] Swift owned the history of the Popes from St Peter to Paul II by Bartholomaeus Sacchi de Platina, librarian of the Vatican library from 1475 until his death in 1481. It was entitled *Historia B. Platinae De vitis pontificvm Romanorvm* (Cologne: G. and P. Cholin, 1611) and embellished by "the true effigies of all pontifices [*omnivm pontificvm verae effigies*]" (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1625-27). "One third" will have to be taken with a pinch of salt.

p. 19, l. 4  never well, full nor fasting] Proverbial (TILLEY W256; ODEP, p. 563). In Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Fables of Æsop*, which Swift is likely to have known, the moral to Fable no 295, is: "Never Well; Full nor Fasting" (p. 265). Variants of the phrase occur in *The Battle of the Books* (p. 37, ll. 18-19), the *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 44, and *Prose Works*, XV, 44.

p. 19, l. 5  Mr. *Dryden*] Given the complimentary character of this judgement, Dryden may not yet have seen any of Swift's early Pindarics at this stage, which elicited some adverse criticism from him. A few years later, Swift encountered his cousin with open resentment. For the complicated relationship, see *A Tale of a Tub* (p.  ) and *The Battle of the Books* (p. 46, l. 29).

p. 19, ll. 6-7  the famous *Johnson*] Swift admired Jonson and was familiar with Jonson's plays, virtually from the beginning of his career (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 983-84).

p. 19, ll. 8-15  *Ben [Jonson]*, says [Mr. *Dryden*], never introduces any Person upon the Stage, but first of all informs his Reader of his Character, and by that means bespeaks his attention. As for instance if a *La-fool* is to be brought in, he makes a Foot-boy tell *True-wit*, that one Monsieur *La-fool* is coming to pay him a Visit; and

before he makes his appearance, *True-wit* lets his Friends know, and consequently, by them, the Audience, what sort of a Gentleman *La-fool* is, and what are his best Qualities. By this ingenious Piece of Conduct the Poet takes care to please his Spectators] In his lengthy critical analysis of Jonson's *Epicoene, or, The Silent Woman* (first produced in 1609 and published in 1616) in *Of Dramatick Poesie* (1668), Dryden makes Neander, his spokesman, praise Jonson's method of introducing new characters in a play: "There is another artifice of the Poet, which I cannot here omit, because by the frequent practice of it in his Comedies, he has left it to us almost as a Rule, that is, when he has any Character or humour wherein he would show a *Coup de Maistre*, or his highest skill; he recommends it to your observation by a pleasant description of it before the person first appears. Thus, in *Bartholomew Fair* he gives you the Pictures of *Numps* and *Cokes*, and in this those of *Daw*, *Lafoole*, *Morose*, and the *Collegiate Ladies*; all which you hear describ'd before you see them" (*The Works of John Dryden: Prose, 1668-1691*, eds Samuel Holt Monk, *et al.* [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971], p. 62). In fact, it is not Truewit who characterizes Sir Amorous La-Foole before he first enters the stage, but Ned Clerimont who apprises his friend Sir Dauphine of this rich old dotard: "Hee is one of the *Braueries*, though he be none o' the *Wits*. He will salute a Iudge vpon the bench, and a Bishop in the pulpit, a Lawyer when hee is pleading at the barre, and a Lady when shee is dauncing in a masque, and put her out. He do's giue playes, and suppers, and inuites his guests to 'hem, aloud, out of his windore, as they ride by in coaches. He has a lodging in the *Strand* for the purpose. Or to watch when ladies are gone to the *China* houses, or the *Exchange*, that hee may meet 'hem by chance, and giue 'hem presents, some two or three hundred pounds-worth of toyes, to be laught at. He is neuer without a spare banquet, or sweet-meats in his chamber, for their women to alight at, and come vp to, for a bait" (*Ben Jonson*, eds C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, V [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], 173-74, ll. 29-41).

p. 19, ll. 19-21 The same management has been used by several Historians (and not to descend into a *detail* of the rest) by *Sallust* himself, a Writer of the first Rank and Quality] Although Swift owned no less than three editions of Caius Sallustius Crispus, all of them school texts, and although he studied at least one of Sallustius' historiographical writings, the *Bellum Catilinae* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1634-37), it is unknown what Swift thought of him, the assessment as "a Writer of the first Rank and Quality" notwithstanding. Conspicuously, Sallustius is not among the

leaders of the Ancients in *The Battle of the Books* (even if the choice of Herodotus and Livy as commanders of their infantry may have been dictated by Sir William Temple's preferences [*The Battle of the Books*, p. 42, l. 26]). Following Martial's judgement of him as "Primus Romana Crispus in historia" (*M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton libri XII* [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1568], p. 370 [XIV] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1203]), MORÉRI describes Sallustius as "deservedly esteemed as the first Author of the *Roman* History" (s.v.). Similarly, in Abraham van Wicquefort's *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics*, also in Swift's library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1965-66), Sallustius belongs to four select Roman historians "who have a genius one does not encounter in any other of this people [un genie, que l'on ne rencontre point dans les autres Historiens de ces deux Peuples]" (pp. 434-35).

Why Swift had reason to think that Sallustius' method of introducing his characters resembled that of Jonson may be seen from his way of preparing readers for the entry of Catiline: "De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam [But before beginning my narrative I must say a few words about the man's character]" (*Bellum Catilinarium ... cum commentariis Johannis Min-Ellii* [The Hague: Arnold Leers, 1685], p. 15 [IV, 5]). Among other historians to have used "the same management" is the biographer Suetonius Tranquillus (*C. Svetonii Tranqvilli XII. Cæsares*, ed. Theodore Pulmann [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1574], p. 230 [19] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1761-62]).

p. 19, ll. 26-28 Indeed as a famous *Grecian* Philosopher is reported thus to have express'd himself in relation to his Thoughts of Humane Life, That it was much better not to have been born than to live at all] A witty inversion of an ancient maxim in which a good life is compared to a bad one: "*Mors fœlicior est quàm uita mala. / Satius est autem non nasci, quàm natum esse.*" Swift seems to have culled it from the grave collection of *Sententiae* by John Stobaeus, who attributed it to Aeschylus, admittedly not a philosopher but a playwright ("Comparatio vitae et mortis," *Sententiae*, ed. Gesner, p. 607 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 977-78]).

p. 19, ll. 35-37 And so much in answer to Monsieur *de Cros*'s *Princes* and *Kings*, *Cardinals* and *Popes*] A formulaic phrase common in *A Tale of a Tub*: "Much may be said in answer to" (p. □); and the Apology: "*And thus much for this*" (p. □).

p. 20, l. 1 a Man of his Kidney] Proverbial (TILLEY K31).

p. 20, l. 2  His Youth excuses the former] A commonplace, also used by Swift in An Apology for *A Tale of a Tub*: "*The Author was then Young*" (p. □), again ironically echoing Du Cros's self-defence: "Je ne dirai pas icy, comment j'y fus engagé dans ma plus tendre jeunesse. Il n'y a rien de plus ordinaire en France, en Italie, en Espagne, ou les bonnes maisons sacrifient dans les Convents une partie de leur Famille" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 21).

p. 20, ll. 2-3  he was certainly at Years of Discretion] Another commonplace: "*He gave a Liberty to his Pen, which might not suit with maturer Years*" (Apology, p. □).

p. 20, ll. 12-15  But as the School-men say, *Quod primum in intentione, ultimum in executione*: And so in the present Case, a Petticoat might be the first thing in Monsieur *de Cros*'s Intention, though it happened to be the last in Execution] "Ad primum ergo dicendum quod finis, etsi sit postremus in executione, est tamen primus in intentione agentis" (St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, ed. Peter Caramello, II, pt ii [Torino and Rome: Marietta, 1952]).

p. 20, ll. 16-17  The Matrimonial Vow is infinitely a greater Curb than the Monastick. A man if he can make Friends with the Pope may get himself absolved from the latter; or in case of Necessity, may turn his own Pope, as Monsieur *de Cros* did: But a Wife is not to be discarded at that easie rate] "For the woman which hath an husband, is bound by the law to *her* husband so long as he liveth" (Romans 7:2; 1 Corinthians 7:39). The *(Westminster) Confession of Faith* made clear that this law applied to either party (2nd ed. [London: by E. M. for the Company of Stationers, 1658], p. 85).

p. 20, ll. 20-21  'Tis not the old Gentleman with the Cross-Keys and Triple-Crown] The iconography traditionally associated with the Papacy (see the glosses on "three old *high-crown'd Hats*" and "Bunch of *Keys*" in *A Tale of a Tub*, pp. □□).

p. 20, ll. 21-22  but with the Scythe and Hour-glass that can free a Man from his Spouse, and set him at liberty] The figure of Death as the Grim Reaper with the scythe and hourglass occurs in numerous emblematic and iconographic representations (Sabine Baltes, "Father Time: The Emblematic and Iconographic

Context of 'The Epistle Dedicatory to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity' in Swift's *Tale*," *Swift Studies*, 20 [2005], 41-50).

p. 20, ll. 29-32 And now as there are abundance of Husbands in the World, who as soon as their Wives happen to be mentioned in Company, cannot forbear to enlarge upon their several Perfections and Vertues] According to an apophthegm attributed to Cleobulus, one of the Seven Sages, and recorded by Demetrius of Phalerum (*c.*354-*c.*283 BC), it is a sign of foolish men both to censure and to praise their wives when others are present: "*Cum uxore neque lites, neque blanditias, præsentibus alijs exercere conuenit*" (Stobaeus, *Sententiae*, ed. Gesner, p. 45 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 977-78]).

p. 20, ll. 33-36 *'Tis a Petticoat*, continues he, *d'une étoffe d'Ecosse, of Scotch Cloth, which has been of far greater Ornament and Service to the Crown of* England, *than even Sir* W. T. himself] "C'est une juppe d'une étoffe d'Ecosse, qui a été de plus grand ornement, & de plus grande utilité à la Couronne d'Angleterre, que Monsieur Temple lui-même" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 22). Sometime before 1675, Du Cros married his first wife, Clara Urry, or Urie, in England. The metaphor of the "*Scotch Cloth*" refers to Clara's father, Sir John Urry [Hurry], who was born in Aberdeenshire and became a professional soldier. After spending several years in Germany, Sir John received the rank of lieutenant colonel in a Scottish regiment. In 1641, he became involved in the plot against the Marquess of Hamilton and the Earls of Argyll and Lanark, known as the 'incident.' At the outbreak of the Civil Wars, he joined the army of the Earl of Essex, and fought in the Battle of Edgehill in 1642. "Finding himself afterwards not so well regarded as he thought he had deserved," he deserted to the Royalists and provided them with military information leading to the Royalist victory in the Battle of Chalgrove Field (Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969 {1888}], III, 55). This story is regarded as "one of the stereotyped pages of the history of England" (William Dunn Macray, "Introduction," *Ruthven Correspondence: Letters and Papers of Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford, and of his Family ... with an Appendix of Papers Relating to Sir John Urry*, ed. William Dunn Macray [London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1868], p. xxx). Urry was knighted for his distinguished service on 18 June 1643: "The prince presented colonel Hurry to the King with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of

his counsel and conduct in the whole ... Upon which, the King honoured him with knighthood and a regiment of horse as soon as it could be raised; and every body magnified and extolled him ... and the more because he was a Scotchman, and professed repentance for having been in rebellion against the King" (Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. Macray, III, 58). After having changed sides several times, Urry finally became Major General in the last desperate campaign of the Scottish Royalists in April 1648. He was wounded, taken prisoner, and beheaded in Edinburgh in May 1650. His five children received a certificate of gentility from Charles II on 31 October 1658 (Edward M. Furgol, "Urry [Hurry], Sir John," ODNB). Both in his *Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros* and in the memorial he wrote for his deceased wife in 1703, Du Cros falsely glorified his father-in-law's Royalist leanings: "Bald nach Ihrer Geburth begab sichs / daß der Baron von Urry Ihr Herr Vater ... in Ihr. Maj. König Carls des ersten / dem der Kopff zu Londen abgeschlagen worden / Dienste sich begabe / bey dessen Armée Er General Major gewesen / und ... deme Er auch mit unaussetzlicher Treue biß an seinen Tod zugethan geblieben" (*Ehren-Gedächtniß der Weyland Hoch-Wohlgebohrnen Frauen Claræ du Cros, gebohrne von Urry, Baronne von Pitfichy* [Wernigerode: Struckische Schriften, {1703}], p. 4; see also pp. 10, 24).

Urry is an example of the professional soldier of fortune changing fronts as the events of war dictated. Two of Swift's comments on Urry are preserved in his marginalia on Clarendon's *History*. In the first, Swift ironically glosses Urry's desertion after the Battle of Edgehill: "A miracle! Colonel Urrie was an honest, valiant, loyal Scot, repenting his mistake." In the second, he remarks on Clarendon's portrait of Urry's ambiguous personality ("But the man was in his nature proud and imperious, and had raised many enemies, and was besides of license" [III, 58]), describing Urry's character as "a mixture of the Scot" (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 945).

Du Cros's wife Clara was also said to be closely related to John Maitland, second Earl and first Duke of Lauderdale, a member of Charles II's Cabal ministry, who was appointed Lord President of the Privy Council of Scotland in 1672, a position he held until 1681. It was probably through him that Du Cros gained access to the King of England ("[M. Du Cros] s'introduisit chez M. le duc de Lauderdale, dont la femme estoit proche parente de la sienne" [Leibniz, "Sur J. A. Du Cros," {1692}, AA, IV, iv, 500-1 {no 89}]). Du Cros himself claimed that he heard about his future wife through the Duke and the Duchess of Lauderdale, who was Clara's

godmother (*Ehren-Gedächtniß der Weyland Hoch-Wohlgebohrnen Frauen Claræ du Cros, gebohrne von Urry*, pp. 4-6).

p. 20, ll. 38-39 I hope there may be some meaning in the bottom] Puns on "bottom" are frequent in *A Tale of a Tub*; see, for example, "He began to entertain a Fancy, that the matter was *deeper* and *darker*, and therefore must needs have a great deal more of Mystery at the Bottom" (p. ).

p. 20, ll. 39-41 *If he does not know so much already*, p. 26. *the History of the last Transactions in* England *and* Scotland *will better inform him*] "S'il ne le sçait pas, l'Histoire d'Angleterre & d'Ecosse de derniere temps, le lui pourra apprendre" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 22, not 26).

p. 20, l. 41-p. 21, l. 1 Here we are referr'd again to a *Hans en Kelder* of a History, which when it will be midwifed into the World the Lord knows] "*Hans en Kelder*," Dutch for "Jack in the Cellar," meaning "a Child in the Belly of the Mother," "child in the womb, or unborn child" (BAILEY, s.v.; B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, p. 85; [Francis] Grose, *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, Buckish Slang, University Wit, and Pickpocket Eloquence* [London: Senate, 1994], s.v.). Restoration playwrights and poets seem to have been fond of referring to *Hans in Kelder*, so that the phrase was 'in the air' (see "A Westminster Wedding," *Poems on Affairs of State*, II, 353, l. 46, and also the impressive survey of sources in WILLIAMS, s.v.). If one wishes to adduce a literary source which Swift is likely to have known, Wycherley's *Love in a Wood* is as good an example as any (*The Plays of William Wycherley*, ed. Arthur Friedman [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 112-13 [V, ii, 40-41] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1978-79]).

p. 21, ll. 3-5 he tells us that the *Dutch* Minister who forwarded the Triple-League, surpassed Sir *W. T.* in Prudence] The Grand Pensionary of Holland, Temple's friend Johan De Witt, undoubtedly had more political power and diplomatic experience than Sir William. Burnet calls him "the ablest Minister [the United Provinces] ever had" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 221). In 1672, after Charles II had negotiated the secret Treaty of Dover, which led to the French and English attack on the United Provinces in the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the supporters of William of Orange seized power by force and had De Witt assassinated by a lynch

mob (David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 8th ed. [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1967], pp. 423-32).

p. 21, ll. 9-18 *to publish the Misfortunes and Disorders of Sir* W. T*'s Family* ... with which Monsieur *de Cros* so brutally refreshes Sir *W. T*'s memory; whereas this blind *Innuendo* leaves open room for the Conjectures and Surmises of all people, who in such Cases generally imagine the worst] "Je n'en dirai point davantage, pour ne me point engager, à publier les malheurs, & les desordres de la famille de Monsieur Temple, ce que je crois, qui ne seroit pas honnête," Du Cros wrote in the printed version of his *Lettre* (p. 22), ignoring the advice Leibniz had given him in July 1692 not to attack Temple's person: "Je n'ay pas manqué de l'encourager, je l'ay pourtant exhorté d'épargner la personne de Mons. Temple le plus qu'il pourroit, aprés avoir satisfait à sa propre justification" (Leibniz to Henri Basnage de Bauval, [first half of August 1692], AA, II, ii, 559 [no 164]). In *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*, the reference to the deaths of Sir William's only daughter from small-pox and his surviving son by suicide (on 14 April 1689) is phrased with sensitive care. According to Lady Giffard, Temple never recovered from these strokes ("The Life of Sir William Temple," *The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple Bt*, ed. Moore Smith, pp. 21, 25, 193-94). Du Cros's innuendo is powerfully rebuked, a defence strategy which is consistent with the composition of *An Answer* at Moor Park in the Temple family circle.

p. 21, ll. 18-19 *I have no Occasion*, says he, *that I know of, to complain either of his Wife, his Son, or his Daughters*] "Je n'ai aucun sujet, que je sache, de me plaindre, ni de sa femme, ni de son fils, ni de ses filles" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 22).

p. 21, ll. 22-27 *But suppose*, says Monsieur *de Cros*, p. 23. *that I had quitted the Frock for the Petticoat, what of all that? 'Tis no more than what an infinite number of Persons of eminent Worth, such as Nuncio's, Bishops, Cardinals, Kings, and Popes have done in their time: Nay, there have been some Princesses in the World that have changed a Veil for a pair of Breeches, whose Posterity I don't question are held in great Veneration by Sir* W. T.] "Au reste, quand même j'aurois quitté le froc, pour une juppe, cela me seroit commun, non seulement, avec un tres grand nombre de gens de merite, mais même avec des Nonces du Pape, avec des Evêques, avec des Cardinaux, avec des Rois, & avec des Princesses aussi, qui ont quité le voile, pour le

haut de chausses, & de qui je ne doute pas, que la posterité ne soit en grande veneration à Mr. Temple" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 22-23).

p. 21, ll. 28-29 how natural it is for your great Persons to excuse themselves by the Example of their great Predecessors] An ironic inversion of the 'authority of antiquity' topos (Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Trask, pp. 550-51) inasmuch as the "great Persons" only invoke the authority of their ancestors, or forefathers, to excuse themselves. For an example of the original topos, see Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, XII, 48: "Quid futurum sit, planè nescio, spes tamen vna est, aliquando populum Rom. maiorum similem fore" (Opera, III, 147 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]).

p. 21, ll. 29-33 And thus the poor Ant in the Epigram that unfortunately tumbled down the Precipice of a Mole-hill, comforted her self with the Precedent of *Phaeton*: *'Tis true*, says she, *I have had a damn'd Fall here; but what then? Sic cecidit Phaeton*, Phaeton *had one before me*] The ant comparing its fall from a molehill to that of Phaeton's fall from the sky remains unidentified. The story of Phaeton, who despite the warnings of his father Helios attempted to drive the sun chariot but proved unequal to the task, so that Zeus had to kill him with a thunderbolt to save the earth from conflagration, was common knowledge. It is told at length by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (II, 19-328; see Sonja Fielitz, *Wit, Passion and Tenderness: Ovids "Metamorphosen" im Wandel der Diskurse in England zwischen 1660 und 1800* [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000], pp. 64-65, and *passim*) and referred to frequently both by ancient and modern poets and writers (see, in addition to Horace, *Carmina*, in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, ed. Heinsius, p. 94 [IV, xi, 25-26], Lucian, *Opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 235-36, 852-53, and Guido Panciroli, *Rervm memorabilium iam olim deperditarum*, ed. H. Salmuth [Amberg: Michael Forster, 1599], p. 231 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905, 114-16, 1372-73], the survey of sources in *A Variorum Commentary on The Poems of John Milton*, eds Douglas Bush, *et al.* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970], I, 106 and 220-21). Indeed, by the time Swift came to write *Gulliver's Travels*, the "Comparison of *Phaeton* was so obvious" that Gulliver "did not much admire the Conceit" on Captain Wilcocks's applying it to his own fall from the eagle's bill at the end of his Voyage to Brobdingnag (*Prose Works*, XI, 148 [II, viii, 13]). Perhaps, Gulliver had seen *A Poem, Occasioned by the Hangings in the Castle of Dublin, in which the Story of Phaeton is Express'd* [Dublin, 1701] (FOXON **P557**). See also *Prose Works*, II, 197:

"But *sic cecidit Phaeton*; and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the same fate."

p. 21, ll. 34-36 *If I had been a sort of an Agent for* Sweden, says Monsieur *de Cros*, p. 24. *as Sir* W. T. *has represented me, I should not have defended my self upon that score; I should have taken it for a great Honour to be employed by so mighty a King*] "Si j'avois été une espece d'Agent de Suede, je ne m'en defendrois pas, je l'aurois tenu à beaucoup d'honneur, puis qu'il ne pouvoit étre que glorieux, dans des conjonctures si importantes, d'être chargé des affaires d'un si grand Roi" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 24-25). Du Cros came into contact with the Swedes as early as March 1676 when Charles II sent him on a mission to Copenhagen in order to convince the Swedes to break their trade agreement with the Dutch (Breßlau, *Joseph August du Cros*, pp. 8-9). Leibniz confirms that Du Cros was sent to Sweden in the service of the King of England at the time of the Danish siege of Wismar at the end of 1675: "Le Roy d'Angleterre l'envoya en Suede et en Dannemarc environ du temps du siege de Wismar, pour tacher d'accommoder les deux couronnes du Nord, en faveur de la France" ("Sur J. A. Du Cros," [1692], IV, iv, 501 [no 89]). While Du Cros's precise diplomatic status may be unclear, it is certain that he was involved in the negotiations between Sweden, France, and England in the summer of 1678. This is apparent from Temple's letter to the Secretary of State, Sir Joseph Williamson, of 5 August 1678 [N.S.]: "Soon after *Monsieur du Cros* himself came to me, and told me the whole Story of his Proposition. He enlarged upon his Majesty's great Bounty to the Crown of *Sweden* by yielding to every one of the Points which he had proposed to his Majesty in his Memorial; and concluded with the Joy he should have in seeing me so soon at *Nimeguen*, to second the Assurances he was to give the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this Occasion" (*Letters to the King*, pp. 412-13).

p. 21, ll. 38-41 *But at that time I was at the Court of* England *in Quality of Envoy-Extraordinary from the Duke of* Gottorp, *whom Sir* W. T. *never so much as mentions in his Memoirs, although he had two Ministers at the Congress, and* France *stipulated for his re-establishment in the second Article of the Peace*] This is a précis of a longer and more detailed text (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 25-26). Temple does mention the Duke of Gottorp briefly in letters to the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Danby, and the Duke of Ormond: "Both the *Swedish* Ambassadors told me ... that [*de Cros*] had the Impudence to write to his Master the Duke of *Holstein*, that he had made the Peace" (*Letters to the King*, pp. 440, 465). The two Ministers of the

Duke, Ulkens and Wetterkop, are listed in Limojon de St Didier's "Table des Mediateurs, Ambassadeurs Plenipotentiaires, & Envoyez" (*Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, sig. *10r; see also p. 41).

*Duke of* Gottorp] Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp (1641-95), son of Duke Friedrich III of Holstein-Gottorp and his wife, Princess Marie Elisabeth of Saxony, Prince Bishop of Lübeck from 1655-66, succeeded his father as Duke in 1659. When in December 1676 the Danish King Kristian V occupied part of the Gottorp territory, Christian Albrecht was forced into exile in Hamburg. Although this exile strengthened Holstein-Gottorp's traditional alliance with Sweden, it also led to its being pulled into Sweden's conflicts in the European theatre of war. During the protracted and complicated negotiations at Nimeguen, Sweden, allied with Louis XIV, finally signed a peace treaty with the Emperor, by which Holstein-Gottorp gained the Empire's protection, and Denmark with Louis XIV, in which "France *stipulated for* [Christian Albrecht's] *re-establishment*" (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* [Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1876], IV, 188-91; *Biographisches Lexikon für Schleswig-Holstein und Lübeck*, XII [Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2006], s.v. "Christian Albrecht"). In his *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, St Didier comments on this re-establishment of the Duke and the diplomatic difficulties the French insistence entailed: "Comme le rétablissement du Duc de Sleswick Holstein-Gottorp, avoit esté une des conditions que le Roy avoit mises à cette Paix; elle avoit fait aussi une des plus grandes difficultez qu'il y ait eu dans la conclusion du Traité. Ce Prince n'avoit esté dépouillé de ses Estats par le Roy de Danemarck, que parce que qu'il est Allié de la Suede: il falloit donc qu'il fust entierement rétabli; c'est pourquoy le Roy de Danemarck, pour donner des preuves du desir qu'il avoit de finir au plutost la guerre, a consenti, à la requisition & à la consideration particuliere du Roy, que le Duc de Sleswick Holstein Gottorp fust rétabli dans ses Terres, Provinces, Villes, & Places, en l'estat qu'elles se sont trouvées dans le temps de la signature du Traité, & dans toute la Souveraineté qui luy appartient en vertu des Traitez de Roschilde, de Copenhague & de Westphalie" (pp. 321-22). Du Cros celebrated the event shortly afterwards with a public 'display' in London. As the Puritan clergyman Roger Morrice, tenacious chronicler of events and voracious gatherer of news, recorded in his *Entring Book* under the date of 5 February 1679/80: "[In] Leicester feilds that evening ... Mons*ieu*r De-croc: made a most pompous and magnificent Bonefire for the restauration of the D*u*ke of Hollstein to his Dominions" (*The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, eds Mark Goldie, *et al.*, 7 vols [Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007-9], II, 220).

p. 22, ll. 4-6 *Heaven be praised Sir* W. T. *is not the Dispenser of Glory and Immortality*. And Heaven be likewise praised, say I, Monsieur *de Cros* is not the Dispenser of Scandal and Ignominy] "Graces au Ciel, Mr. Temple n'est pas le dispensateur de la gloire, ni de l'immortalité" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 26).

p. 22, ll. 7-10 Sir *W. T.* in his Memoirs, *p.* 335. speaking of Monsieur *de Cros*, happen'd to let fall this short particular. *At* London *he had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur* Barillon, *the* French *Ambassador, though pretending to pursue the Interests of* Sweden] "At *London* he had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador, tho' pretending to pursue the Interests of *Sueden*. About a week after I had sent a Secretary into *England* with the Treaty Signed, This Man brought me a Packet from Court, Commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen*, and there to endeavour all I could (and from His Majesty) to persuade the *Suedish* Ambassadors to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the good of *Christendom*, consent, and even desire the King of *France* no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and consequently the Peace upon the sole regard and interest of the Crown of *Sueden*" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 335)

p. 22, ll. 13-19 whereas Sir *W. T.* barely says, that he devoted himself to the Service of the *French* Ambassador at *London*, without specifying any time at all, Monsieur *de Cros* has translated it, *Des qu'il avoit été à Londres*, that is, *ever since he came to* London; and thereupon informs his Reader that Monsieur *Barillon* was not at *London* when he was sent thither, but the Marquis *de Ruvigny*, who was afterwards succeeded by Monsieur *de Courtin*] This misunderstanding, again, arose from Moetjens's French translation which Du Cros read: "Dés qu'il avoit été à Londres, il s'étoit entierement devoüé à M. Barillon Ambassadeur de France sous pretexte d'agir pour les Interêts de la Suede" (*Memoires de ce qui s'est passé dans la chretienté*, p. 382).

Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny (1648-1720) and first Earl of Galway, was the son of a distinguished French diplomat. Born in Paris, he served in the French army in the 1670s and went to England in 1678. He entered William III's army in 1690, becoming commander-in-chief and later Lord Justice of Ireland. Burnet describes him as "a man of great practice in business, and in all intrigues. He

was still a firm Protestant, but in all other respects a very dextrous Courtier, and one of the greatest Statesmen in *Europe*" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 366).

In 1676, Honoré Courtin succeeded Ruvigny as the French Minister in London (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 391; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 537). As a French diplomat and councillor of state, Courtin (1616-1703) had been involved in the negotiations leading to the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. In August 1677, Jean-Paul Barillon d'Amoncourt, Marquis de Branges (1631-91), followed Courtin as ambassador to England (see the note on Barillon, p. 11, ll. 8-13). Joining forces with Barillon in January 1678, Ruvigny ensured that French influence "was now directed from a double front – [Barillon] to control the Court, [Ruvigny] to control the Commons" (Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 551).

p. 22, l. 19 By this piece of *Fourberie*, to give it no worse a Name] "I have ... very plainly said to the *Dutch* Ambassadors ... that it was a downright *fourberie* of *de Cros*," Temple told Lord Treasurer Danby on 16 August 1678 (N.S.). In the same letter, Temple quoted the thoughts of Gaspar Fagel, the Dutch Grand Pensionary, about Du Cros's intervention: "*C'est un fourbe des fourbes*" (*Letters to the King*, p. 441). "Fourberie," from French "Fourbe, ou Fourberie, a Cheat, or cheating Trick, an Imposture" (BOYER, s.v.), naturalized into English as "a piece of deception; a fraud, trick, imposture" (OED).

p. 22, ll. 35-38 It may very pertinently be demanded what Monsieur *de Cros* means by these Words, *to the prejudice of his Duty*: For a man that pays so small a regard to Truth, as he seems to do, perhaps, may think nothing in the World an Infringement of his Duty] "Je ne me devoüai jamais à cet Ambassadeur. & je n'eus jamais de liaisons avec lui, au préjudice de mon devoir" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 29).

p. 22, ll. 39-41 *when he*, meaning Monsieur *Barillon, employ'd himself for the Interests of my Master, and of* Sweden, *I became intirely devoted to him*] The quotation is not quite complete: "Mais j'avouë, que lors qu'il s'employoit pour les interêts de mon Maître, & de la Suede, je lui étois entiérement devouë" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 30).

p. 23, ll. 4-6 for how perfidiously the Ministers of that Crown have all along dealt with their Allies, let *Candy* and *Messina* proclaim to the World] Candy, or Candia,

better known as Crete, which, as Sir William Temple had pointed out in "Of Heroick Virtue," in "a very long War" resisted the attempts of the Turkish Empire (*Miscellanea: The Second Part* [London: by T. M. for Ri. And Ra. Simpson, 1690], p. 124). The geographical dictionaries in Swift's library concur, describing the Turkish siege of Candia as well as the endeavours of Venetian and French forces to lift it: "La Candie autrefois nommée Créte ... Candie est la Capitale, & a donné son nom à cette Isle ... Il y a plus de vingt-ans que les Venitiens à qui elle appartient, la défendent contre les Turcs qui la leur veulent ôter" (Jean Martiny, *Nouvelle géographie* [Amsterdam: la veuve Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1693], p. 98 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207]). MORÉRI presents the most detailed account, which is also surprisingly forthright on the ignominious withdrawal of the French: "Pope *Clement* IX. imployed himself to get help to rescue [*Candie*] from the endeavours of those Barbarians [the *Turks*]. The *French* upon his request cross'd the Seas, to shew their Zeal for their Religion, and their concern ... against the common Enemy of Christendom: But after a very desperate War of 24 years, *Candie* was forced to yield to the Turks" (s.v. "Candia"). See also Philippus Ferrarius, *Novum lexicon geographicum*, ed. Michel Antoine Baudrand, 2 vols (in one) (Eisenach: J. P. Schmidt, 1677), s.v. "Candia," "Creta"; William Lithgow's account of his journey to the Middle East (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 4 vols [London: by W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone, 1625], II, 1837 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 615; II, 1546-48]), and, for a contemporary map by Frederic de Wit (Amsterdam, *c.*1680), R. A. Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th Centuries* (London: Spring Books, 1952), Plate 71.

What Swift presumably did not know was that Du Cros was better informed than others at that time about the role the French played in the Cretan War (1645-69). Only a few years after he had left the Dominican order, he accompanied a French nobleman, a Lieutenant General of the Infantry, to Crete. Du Cros published his war experiences in 1669 under the title of *Histoire des voyages de Monsieur Marquis le Ville en Levant, et du siege de Candie* (Lyon: la Véve de Guill. Barbier & François Barbier, 1669). In it, Du Cros aggrandized the small victories gained by the Venetian army and its allies, more or less ignoring or belittling the superiority of the Turkish forces, which eventually won what may have been the longest siege in military history. This early piece of writing already shows Du Cros's lifelong tactic of currying favour with influential people and of viewing himself right at the centre of important historical events.

Messina, Sicily, was one of the largest cities in seventeenth-century Europe. In 1674, supported by Louis XIV, it rebelled against the Spanish garrison. During the preparations for the congress at Nijmegen, "there pass'd a Fight between the *French*, and *Dutch*, and *Spanish* Ships near *Messina*, wherein [the famous admiral Michiel Adriaenszoon] *De Ruyter* was shot in the Heel by a Cannon-bullet, of which he died within [a] few days after, and determined the greatest loss to have certainly happen'd on that side, by that of the ablest Sea Captain of his Age, and the best Servant that any Prince or State could have" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 143-44; *La Vie et les actions memorables du S. Michel de Ruyter*, 2 vols [in one] [Rouen: Jacques Lucas, 1678], II, 178-85 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1620-21]). After the conclusion of the Peace of Nijmegen in 1678, Messina was reconquered by the Spaniards: "About this time, *France* by a Conduct very surprizing ... ordered all their Forces to abandon that Island, with whom many *Messineses* returned, fearing the Vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now exposed" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 323).

p. 23, ll. 12-15 *The Account I met with at Court ... these Orders were agreed and dispatched one morning in an hours time, and in the Dutchess of* Portsmouth'*s Chamber by the intervention and pursuit of Monsieur* Barillon] Repeated verbatim from Temple's *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* (pp. 336-37). The Duchess of Portsmouth was Louise-Renée de Penancoët de Kéroualle (1649-1734), Charles II's Catholic mistress since 1671. The King fell in love with her when Louise-Renée, a "famed beauty" (Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. de Beer, III, 564), accompanied his sister, Henrietta Anne, the Duchess of Orléans, who was involved in the negotiations leading to the secret Treaty of Dover (Preface to Temple's *Letters*, p. □). When Henrietta died only two weeks after her return to Paris, Charles appointed Louise one of the ladies-in-waiting to his own queen, Catherine of Braganza. Burnet writes: "[The King] was so entirely possessed by the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and so engaged by her in the *French* interest, that this threw him into great difficulties, and exposed him to much contempt and distrust" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 338), a verdict endorsed by Sir William Temple's friend Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney: "She hath more power over [the King] than can be imagined" (*Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, 15). In a letter of 8 January 1679 to Romney, the Duchess of Sunderland, notwithstanding the fact that her husband made use of Louise-Renée, revealed her deep aversion to her, at the same time commenting on the secret dealings surrounding the peace of Nijmegen: "To give you an account of

the last fine pranks of *the French Ambassador* upon your letter *of what he had writ of the King* into *Holland*, it has been all pursued with great warmth, and the King has hitherto done just as he should; but truly I fear there will be some scurvy patching, for the *Duchess of Portsmouth is so d—d a Jade*, that for my part I think it is but a folly to *hope*; for *she* will certainly *sell us* whenever she can for £500" (*Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, 226; see also I, 232). The Duchess of Portsmouth thought herself "so absolutely the mistress of the King's spirit" that she trusted Charles to be "prevailed on to declare her son [the Duke of Richmond] his successor" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 487). However, on his deathbed, Charles merely agreed to bless this illegitimate son (I, 608).

During her lifetime, the Duchess of Portsmouth was subject to a great deal of abuse, all the more so since she was suspected of working in the French and Catholic interests. "Portsmouth, that pocky bitch, / A damn'd Papistical drab," one satire ran, "An ugly deform'd witch, / Eaten up with the mange and scab. / This French hag's pocky bum / So powerful is of late, / Although it's both blind and dumb, / It rules both Church and State" (*Poems on Affairs of State*, II, 291, ll. 17-24). At the height of the Popish Plot in 1679, she was even accused of plotting to murder the King: "With the silly French strumpet, double pox on her honor, / Who might yet do the feat whilst the King lies upon her" ("On Plotters," *Poems on Affairs of State*, II, 348, ll. 11-12). The Duchess was involved in the events of 1678, although the French ambassador, Courtin, reported as early as 1676 that she was losing favour at Court and was about to be replaced by a rival, Hortense Mancine, Duchesse de Mazarin (Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979], pp. 341-43). As one historian has noted, "one of the major problems of French diplomacy was the French women at Charles's Court" (Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 537 and n3).

There are several reports that Barillon and the Duchess of Portsmouth collaborated. According to Burnet, Barillon wanted the Duchess to prevent the marriage of William and Mary (*History of his Own Time*, I, 410, 604). Conversely, Du Cros denied that the terms of the separate peace were agreed on in her chamber in 1678, not only in his *Lettre* but also in his correspondence with Leibniz: "[Mons. du Cros] nie que les derniers ordres qu'il porta à Mons. Temple de la part du Roy, et qui changerent la face des choses ayent esté concertées avec Mons. de Barillon, ou chez Mad. de Portsmouth" (Leibniz to Henri Justel, 24 May/3 June 1692, AA, I, viii, 279 [no 162]).

p. 23, ll. 20-24 *'Tis a great deal of pity*, says he, *p.* 35. *that an Ambassador of* England ... *was not only during his absence, when he was negotiating the Publick Affairs at* Nimeguen *and the* Hague, *but even at his return into* England, *so little instructed in what had passed there, and principally in an Affair of this Importance and Consideration*] "Cela fait pitié, qu'un Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, tout le Conseil du Roi son Maître, si on l'en veut croire; qu'un homme, a qui il n'a tenu, qu'à lui d'être plusieurs fois Secretaire d'Etat, ait été, je ne dis pas, pendant son absence, & lors qu'il étoit encore à la Haye, & à Nimegue, mais même despuis son retour en Angleterre, si peu instruit, de ce qui s'y étoit passé, & principalement en cette affaire, qui a plus exercé Monsieur Temple qu'aucune affaire, qu'il ait eu jamais" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 35-36). "It was not easie for any man to be more surprized than I was by this Dispatch; but the Pensioner *Fagel* was stunned, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mentioned it to any man; and that *De Cros* had gone about most industriously to the Deputies of the several Towns, and acquainted them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace were absolutely consented, and agreed, between the two Kings ... How this Dispatch by *De Cros* was gained, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine; but upon my next return for *England*, the Duke told me, That He knew nothing of it, till it was gone, having been a Hunting that morning; My Lord Treasurer said all that could be to excuse himself of it" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 336).

p. 24, ll. 1-2 this Account will not appear so *impertinent* as Monsieur *de Cros* represents it] "Quelle impertinence!" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 38).

p. 24, ll. 3-5 Sir *William Temple ... so little regards the Reputation of his King, that he makes no scruple to prostitute it upon this Occasion after the strangest manner in the World*] "Monsieur Temple est accoûtumé de ménager si peu, la reputation du Roi, qu'il n'a pas craint, de la prostituer en cette occasion, d'une étrange maniere" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 38).

p. 24, ll. 10-14 *sacrificing all* Europe *and his own Dominions to a Power naturally an Enemy to* England: *and this hand over-head, at an hour's warning, without the advice of his Council, lock'd up in a Woman's Apartment, as if he had been sensible that he was going to do an Action, the most unworthy the Majesty of a Prince, and the most opposite to the Happiness of his people*] "[Le Roi d'Angleterre] sacrifie toute l'Europe & son propre Etat à une puissance, naturellement ennemie de l'Angleterre.

Et cela sans façon, en une heure de temps, sans l'avis de son Conseil, & se cache dans l'appartement d'une femme, comme s'il eut senti, qu'il alloit faire l'action, la plus indigne de la Majesté d'un Prince, & la plus contraire à la felicité de ses peuples" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 39).

p. 24, ll. 18-35 *I never saw him in better humour ... inglorious Humour of the King's*] With the exception of "neighbouring Prince" instead of "Neighbour Prince" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, pp. 273-74), the quotation is correct. However, the author of *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet* omits an important passage which would strengthen Du Cros's argumentation that Temple paid too little consideration to Charles II's reputation: "But this softness of temper made [the King] apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change hands, when those he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties; so as nothing looked steddy in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aimed at any certain end" (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 274).

p. 24, ll. 36-38 now he is able to judge for himself, whether of the two holds the Memory of King *Charles* the Second in the greatest Reverence, Sir *W. T.* ... or Monsieur *de Cros*] A postposition of the subject, or subject clause, not uncommon in Swift: "*Whether is the nobler Being of the two, That which ... Or That, which*," the Bee concludes its altercation with the Spider (*The Battle of the Books*, p. 40, ll.-21-25); "I wonder whether is most perplexed, this Author in his Style, or the Writings of our Divines" (Remarks upon Tindal's *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* [*Prose Works*, II, 97]).

p. 25. ll. 3-5 this Passage in Sir *W. T*'s Memoirs, p. 336. *the King indeed told me pleasantly, that the Rogue* de Cros *had out-witted them all*] After his return to England, Temple inquired about the origins and motives of Du Cros's dispatch, which undercut his own diplomatic endeavours to create a general peace. Whereas the Duke of York, the later James II, and the Earl of Danby, the Lord Treasurer, pretended to know nothing, the King gleefully provided the answer (*Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, p. 336).

p. 25, ll. 8-10 these Verses, which he had somewhere read, *Coquin, ce me dit il, d'un arrogance extreme / Va Cherchir les coquins ailleurs, coquin toi-memê*] Listed

as the most famous lines of Pierre Patrix (1585-1672), a minor poet attached to the court of Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII, allegedly composed a few days before his death and transmitted in his *Poésies diverses* (*Dictionnaire universel, historique, critique et bibliographique*, s.v.; C. de Méry, *Histoire générale des proverbes, adages, sentences, apophthegms* [Paris: Delongchamps, 1829], III, 45; J. Fr. Michaud, *Biographie universelle, ancienne et modern* [Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968], XXXII, 262).

p. 25, ll. 14-21 By the Pointedness of the Conceit ... his own dull way of applying them] This whole paragraph reads like a prime piece of Swift's writing. The point is both technical and personal in Swift's happiest area of attack. Du Cros is both stupid and inept. The paragraph moves along two paths, ironical commendation and straight denigration, each movement reinforcing the other, until at the end Du Cros's piece is demolished. The musical cadence of the phrases, as always with Swift, is an important part of the effortless effect.

p. 25, ll. 26-31 since it was so usual a Compliment with him, and he had treated not only the most flourishing Republick in the World, *Holland*, and two Ambassadors of his most Christian Majesty, the Count *d'Avaux* and Monsieur *Barillon*, but even some Members of Parliament who had presented him with an Address, by this familiar Term] In a long digression, Du Cros explained when the King would honour somebody with the sobriquet 'coquin' (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 44-49). The Members of Parliament he mentioned are Danby, the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State till February 1679 (LUTTRELL I, 8-9), not to mention his royal brother, the Duke of York and future James II. Relying on the information provided by Du Cros, Leibniz noted Charles II's hatred of the Dutch: "Que le Roy d'Angleterre hait les Hollandois et les traite de coquins" ("Sur les informations de M. Du Cros," [spring 1692], AA, IV, vi, 794 [no 133]).

Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux (1640-1709), who became one of the earliest members of the French Academy and whose uncle had been extraordinary envoy at Münster. On 17 February 1675, Louis XIV appointed the nephew one of his plenipotentiaries, together with the Duc de Vitry and Monsieur Colbert (Limojon de St Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue*, pp. 3-4). As the French Ambassador at The Hague (LUTTRELL I, 132, 142), de Mesmes was involved in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

p. 26, l. 9  President] A fifteenth- and sixteenth-century spelling variant of "precedent" (OED).

p. 26, ll. 13-15  if he was Author of the abovemention'd dull Distich, he may still comfort himself by the Example of *Tully*, of *Nero*, nay and of *Augustus* himself] "Distich," here in the sense of rhyming lines of verse, or couplet (*The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], I, 184 [no 43]), usually not alexandrines, as in the quotation, but more correctly a combination of a hexameter with a pentameter, forming an elegiac distich.

Although accounted a good poet in his day, Cicero's poems, such as *De consulatu meo*, were later derided by Juvenal (*Decii Jvnii Ivvenalis et Avli Persii Flacci Satyrae omnes*, ed. Joseph Lang [Freiburg: J. M. Helmlin, 1608], p. 82 [X, 122-26] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 999]), and in the *Institutio oratoria*, while professing understanding for the necessity of Cicero's defending himself against his enemies and detractors, Quintilian wishes "that he had shown greater restraint in his poems, which those who love him not are never weary of criticising [In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni]." Quintilian's evidence consists of two lines: "*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae* [Let arms before the peaceful toga yield, / Laurels to eloquence resign the field]" and "*O fortunatam natam me consule Romam* [O happy Rome, born in my consulship!]" (*The Institutio oratoria*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 4 vols [London: William Heinemann, and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958-61], IV, 168-69 [XI, i, 24]).

Nero, Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (AD 37-68), who was originally named Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus and who assumed the name of Nero on adoption into the Claudian family, appears to have been a man of many artistic talents. As Suetonius reports, he not only sang and performed in public accompanying himself to the lyre, but also painted and wrote poetry, "eagerly as well as effortlessly [carmina libenter, ac sine labore composuit]" (*C. Svetonii Tranquilli XII. Cæsares*, ed. Pulmann, p. 251 [52] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1761-62]). However, since none of Nero's verses have survived, it is impossible to say why Swift thought they were dull. But then, Nero went down in history as the emperor "who played the fiddle [that is, the lyre] while Rome burnt [Hoc incendium è turri Mæcenatica prospectans, lætúsque flamæ, vt aiebat, pulcritudine ... decantauit]" (*C. Svetonii Tranqvilli XII. Cæsares*, ed. Pulmann, p. 243 [38]; Panciroli, *Rervm memorabilium iam olim deperditarum*, ed. Salmuth, p. 211; Philostratus, *De la vie*

*d'Apollonivs*, 2 vols [Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1611], I, 868-78 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422]), the condemnation of Nero's poetry may have been part of the general *damnatio memoriae* that befell disgraced Roman emperors after their death. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder went so far as to denounce Nero "as an enemy of Mankind throughout his whole principate [toto principatu suo hostem generis humani]" (*C. Plinii Secvndi Historiæ naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. Johannes de Laet, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 359 [VII, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459-60]). See also Swift's *Contests and Dissensions*, p. .

C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, the later Emperor Augustus, in addition to being a patron of the arts, was an author and a poet. Unlike what is suggested here, Augustus was deemed a good poet: "He was a great admirer of Learning, and wrote good Prose and Verse himself" (MORÉRI, s.v.).

p. 26, ll. 21-23 and were it not that Dullness is the chief Ascendent in his Temper, he has variety enough of *Fable*, to qualify him not for a Writer of Remarks, but a Poet] "*Fable*" here emphasizes not so much the short didactic narrative, usually employing animal characters, as its fictional elements such as emblem, allegory, or symbol, which seventeenth-century apologists of the fable thought it necessary to defend "against scorners who consider it fit only for women and children" (Thomas Noel, *Theories of the Fable in the Eighteenth Century* [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975], pp. 14-24 [15]). Sir Roger L'Estrange, whose *Fables of Æsop* Swift is likely to have known, wrote in the Preface to his collection, for example: "But, what can be said more to the Honour of this *Symbolical* Way of Moralizing upon *Tales* and *Fables*, than that the Wisdom of the Ancients has been still Wrapt up in *Veils* and *Figures*; and their Precepts, Councels and salutary Monitions for the Ordering of our Lives and Manners, Handed down to us from all Antiquity under *Innuendo*'s and *Allusions*" (sig. A2v). The poetic means of the fable are of course in stark contrast to those of serious historiography to which Du Cros pretends.

p. 26, ll. 29-32 *This the most proud and vindicative of all kind, has in his Memoirs assaulted the Reputation even of the greatest Ministers, as the Duke of* Lauderdale, *the most zealous and faithful Servant the King ever had*] "Le moyen d'échapper à un homme, le plus orgueilleux, & le plus vindicatif de tous les hommes, qui dans ses memoires déchire la reputation des plus grands Ministres même; d'un Duc de Lauderdale le plus zelé, & le plus fidele Ministre, que le Roi ait eu jamais" (*Lettre de*

*Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 56). John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale, joined Charles II at Breda in 1660 and was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, later Lord President of the Privy Council of Scotland, a position he held until 1681. According to information Samuel Pepys recorded in his *Diary*, Lauderdale, one of Charles's "serious servants and friends," was "never from the King's eare nor counsel" (*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols [London: G. Bell and Sons, 1970-83], V, 56-57, 73). In his hostile Character of Lauderdale, Burnet, in addition to emphasizing the Duke's haughtiness, insinuates that his "ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King ... gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 101-2). Like Sir William Temple, Lauderdale was kept in the dark about the first secret Treaty of Dover, but he nonetheless supported Charles in the shameful demands for French subsidies.

*vindicative*] Vindictive (OED).

p. 26, ll. 32-34 (by the same Token that a † late Pamphlet has recorded a celebrated Saying of his, *viz.* that he hoped to see the King's Edicts to be Laws and above the Laws)] A marginal note refers readers to † "*Mr.* Johnson'*s Argument*, &c." Presumably, this is one of numerous tracts by Samuel Johnson (1649-1703), a Church of England clergyman and an authority on England's ancient Constitution: *An Argument Proving that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Regal Throne and the Promotion of the Prince of Orange ... to the Throne of the Kingdom in his Stead was according to the Constitution of the English Government* (London: Printed for the Author, 1692). This tract was frequently reprinted, its author hoping that it would become the quintessential interpretation of the events of 1688.

p. 26, ll. 34-35 *My Lord* Arlington *who had brought him out of Dust and Oblivion to place him in Employments*] "Mylord Arlington; que Monsieur Temple devoit respecter, comme son Maître & qui étoit son bien-faiteur, qui l'avoit tiré de l'obscurité & de la poussiere, pour le mettre dans les emplois" (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, p. 56). In his *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom*, Temple narrates the occasion of his second embassy: "The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards ... into the same House of Commons, and answering some parts of the [Duke of *Buckingham*'s] Speech; when he came to that Particular, He told them, he could easily answer that Question of the Duke's, by telling them, That the Author of that Alliance was Sir

*William Temple*. This, I suppose, gave ... His Majesty, and his Ministers, the resolution to send for me out of my private retreat, where I had passed two years (as I intended to do the rest of my Life) and to engage me in going over into *Holland* to make the separate Peace with that State" (pp. 4-5). Arlington himself seems to have denied his share in recalling Temple: "My Lord *Arlington* told me, he would not pretend the merit of having nam'd me upon this occasion, nor could he well tell, whether the King or Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole Committee had joyn'd in it, and concluded, That since the Peace was to be made, there was no other Person to be thought of for it" (pp. 6-7). On the possible reasons for Du Cros's partiality for Arlington, see the note on Arlington (p. 13, l. 38-p. 14, l. 3).

p. 26, ll. 37-38 *The principal Ministers and sagest Magistrates of* Holland, *the present Earl of* Rochester, and *the Marquis of* Carmarthen] In Du Cros's long list of eminent persons whom he charges Temple with having abused in *Memoirs* appear Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and Danby, the Lord Treasurer, among others (*Lettre de Monsieur Du Cros*, pp. 57-61).

Laurence Hyde, first Earl of Rochester (1641-1711) and First Lord of the Treasury from 1679 to 1685, whose sister was the first wife of the Duke of York, the future James II, thus making him an uncle of two queens, Mary and Anne. As plenipotentiary, he negotiated the Anglo-Dutch Alliance in 1678. For a few years, he was principal adviser to Charles II. Having been created Viscount and Baron Hyde in 1681, and Earl of Rochester in 1683, he was made Lord High Treasurer upon the accession of James II (LUTTRELL I, 331; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 602, 621). In 1700, Rochester was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but was dismissed from this employment by Queen Anne. He became reconciled to her through the influence of Harley, who made him President of the Council in 1710 (*Diary of the Times Charles the Second*, ed. Blencowe, I, 71-74n1). Although "thought the smoothest man in the Court," he had the reputation to be "incorrupt," and generally passed "for a sincere man," who had "too much heat to be false" (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 258). In Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, he is "*Hushai* the friend of *David* in distress" (*The Poems*, ed. Kinsley, I, 240, l. 888; IV, 1900-1). In his *Letters to the King*, Temple repeatedly calls Rochester his "friend" (pp. 343, 388).

Thomas Osborne, first Marquess of Carmarthen and first Duke of Leeds (1631-1712), Sir William Temple's rival in courting Dorothy Osborne, is better known by his earlier title, Earl of Danby. Appointed Lord Treasurer in 1673,

Osborne assisted in terminating the war with Holland in 1674. According to Burnet, "he got into the highest degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longest, of all that ever served him" (*History of his Own Time*, I, 351; II, 4). Burnet also confirms the close friendship between Temple and Danby, "who depended much on him: And was directed in all his notions as to foreign affairs by him" (I, 378). Danby recommended Sir William as Secretary of State in 1678. Although Temple declined the office, he thanked Danby for his support: "I wish to God I could deserve half the Honour his Majesty does me by his good Opinion; for I never can the Kindness of your Intention (whatever may happen) tho' no Man can be more sensible than I am of it" (28 February 1678 [N.S.], *Letters to the King*, pp. 549-50). In 1678, Danby was charged with having concealed the Popish plot from Parliament and sentenced to imprisonment in the Tower for five years. He was pardoned in 1684 (Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. de Beer, IV, 160 and n4; 354 and n4; Burnet, *History of his Own Time*, I, 439-43, 453-55, 460, 591-92). In 1688, Danby declared for the Prince of Orange (LUTTRELL I, 478, 521), who subsequently made him his "chiefe Adviser" (Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. de Beer, V, 5 and n2).

An earlier version of Du Cros's letter to William Cavendish, fourth Earl of Devonshire, had been intended for the former Lord Treasurer and current President of the Council, the Marquess of Carmarthen, as Du Cros's draft for the printed *Lettre* as well as two letters by George Stepney reveal. The Marquess of Carmarthen only appears by name in the transcript Leibniz forwarded to his friend Lorenz Hertel on 29 May/8 June 1692 and not in the original draft Du Cros sent to Leibniz two weeks before (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 363 Novi, Nr. 71, fol. 5v; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek/Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover, MS XXX Bl. 68-73, fol. 5v; see the collation of, and accompanying commentary on, Du Cros's draft in Juhas, "Du Cros, Leibniz, and *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*," pp. 26, 41-42; for the Stepney correspondence, see *Swift, Temple, and the Du Cros Affair, Part I*, ed. Woolley, pp. vi, xii-xiii, xvi). Du Cros also boasted to Leibniz that he got along very well with Danby ("le Comte de Danby grand Tresorier, avec lequel M. du Cros estoit aussi tres bien" ["Sur J. A. Du Cros," {1692}, AA, IV, iv, 501 {no 89}]).

p. 27, ll. 2-6 Sir *W. T.* had it never in his Intentions to enter the Lists with an Enemy of so prostitute a Character; he only mention'd him two or three times, *en passant*, and has other Business to employ him, than to engage himself in a War where he can Expect no Triumph] Temple seems to have had no desire to grant Du Cros the

satisfaction of seeing how upset he was, having a distaste for dealing with opponents "far beneath him" (A. C. Elias, Jr, *Swift at Moor Park*: *Problems in Biography and Criticism* [Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982], p. 68). In like manner, he later refused to engage with Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* of 1697. As he told an anonymous correspondent, he had "no mind to Enter the List, with such a Mean, Dull, Unmannerly PEDANT" ([William King], *A Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Justice* [London: Thomas Bennet, 1699], p. 140). See also Preface to Temple's *Miscellanea: The Third Part* (p. ╠□).