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The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man:
A Study of Swift's Politics

by

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in English Literature
at the University of Warwick

Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies

December 1989

SUMMARY

This contextualist study re-examines the contested critical question of Jonathan Swift's political character. It is concerned with the historical meaning of Swift's texts and attempts to recover their original political impact. Politically-literate contemporaries claimed to read Jacobite Tory politics in Swift's texts. Rather than dismiss the judgement of Swift's contemporaries, this study asks whether there is anything about Swift's political writing in polemical context that could have led contemporaries to construe the politics of his texts as Jacobite Tory. The conclusion this study reaches is that aspects of Swift's political rhetoric are consonant with Tory and Jacobite polemic. While contesting current conceptions of Swift as a Whig, this study offers a partial revision of that scholarship which describes Swift as a non-Jacobite Tory.

The thesis is based on an analysis of Swift's prose, poetry and correspondence and contemporary (mainly printed) sources - books, pamphlets, poems on affairs of state and newspapers. Some new or neglected polemical contexts and analogues for Swift's works are suggested. Chapter 1 considers some of the problems and contested issues in interpretation of Swift's political biography and writing. Chapter 2 witnesses Swift's combination of High Church attitudes with a radical political critique of Whig establishment. Swift is read in juxtaposition with Jacobite Tory authors such as George Granville, Lord Lansdowne. Chapter 3 relocates A Tale of a Tub in historical context to reveal the satire's relation to High Church Tory polemical languages. Chapter 4 discusses the disaffected Tory aspect of Gulliver's Travels. Chapter 5 attempts to register the complexity of the textual evidence of Swift's attitude to Jacobitism. Detailed attention is given to his politically-revealing attitudes to the Dutch. A coda briefly describes Swift's discontent with the Revolution settlement, examines this Church-of-England Man's sentiments on the crucial ideological issue of resistance, and suggests the importance of Hugo Grotius in Swift's political thought.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to my supervisors Professor Claude Rawson and Jenny Mezciems for sharing their knowledge of Swift with me and for their critical suggestions, encouragement, kindness and generosity, and extraordinary patience during the preparation of this study.

A number of other scholars have been kind enough to discuss Swift and the politics of the period with me. I would particularly like to thank Dr Eveline Cruickshanks, Dr Daniel Eilon, Dr Mark Goldie and Professor F. P. Lock.

My original period of study in Britain was made possible by a Commonwealth Scholarship under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan administered by The British Council. A subsequent period of research was made possible by a La Trobe University, School of Humanities, Research Grant. I gratefully acknowledge this support.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that my dissertation entitled 'The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man: A Study of Swift's Politics' is the result of my own work. It contains nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It is not substantially the same as any thesis that I have submitted for a degree or other qualification at this or any other University. All works I am conscious of having used are listed in the endnotes and in the bibliography. My M.A. thesis entitled 'Jonathan Swift and Anglican Politics' (1982), was a contextualist study of Swift's High Church ecclesiastical views and his response to contemporary ecclesiastical-political questions. It examined Swift's views on the relation between Church and State and his writings in relation to the Convocation controversy and to the Socinian controversy. The thesis was primarily focused on his pamphlets on the Church, and did not consider the major satires, A Tale of a Tub and Gulliver's Travels. While that study is germane and complementary to this work and some texts and issues are necessarily referred to in both studies, this thesis is an entirely independent study of Swift's political language and its Tory and ambiguously Jacobite aspect. A paper derived from this thesis was published as 'Swift's Politics: A Preface to Gulliver's Travels', in Monash Swift Papers Number One, ed. by Clive T. Probyn and Bryan Coleborne (Monash University, 1988).

NOTE ON REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following editions of Swift's works are used:

- Complete Poems Jonathan Swift The Complete Poems, ed. by Pat Rogers (Harmondsworth, 1983)
- Corr The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. by Harold Williams, 5 vols (Oxford, 1963-65)
- Discourse A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome, ed. by Frank H. Ellis (Oxford, 1967)
- Exam Swift vs. Mainwaring: 'The Examiner' and 'The Medley', ed. by Frank H. Ellis (Oxford, 1985)
- Poems The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. by Harold Williams, 2nd ed., 3 vols (Oxford, 1958)
- PW The Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift, ed. by Herbert Davis and others, 16 vols (Oxford, 1939-74)
- Tale A Tale of a Tub To which is added The Battle of the Books and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, ed. by A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1958 [1973])
- Other Abbreviations
- Epist. Corr. Atterbury, Francis, The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches and Miscellanies of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester, ed. by J. Nichols, 5 vols (London, 1783-90)
- Le Fanu Le Fanu, T. P., 'Catalogue of Dean Swift's Library in 1715, with an Inventory of his Personal Property in 1742', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37, Section C (1927), 263-75
- Parl. Hist. Cobbett, William, ed., The Parliamentary History of England, 36 vols (London, 1806-20)
- POAS Poems on Affairs of State, ed. by G. deF. Lord and others, 7 vols (New Haven, 1963-75)

- Proceedings Proceedings of The First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. by Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken (München, 1985)
- SC Williams, Harold, Dean Swift's Library. With a Facsimile of the Original Sale Catalogue and Some Account of Two Manuscript Lists of his Books (Cambridge, 1932). Reference is by lot number in the catalogue.
- Somers Tracts A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, ed. by Walter Scott, 2nd ed., 13 vols (London, 1809-15)
- Swift Ehrenpreis, Irvin, Swift: The Man, his Works, and the Age, 3 vols (London, 1962-83)

Dates and Quotations

In all dates the year is taken to begin on 1 January (rather than 25 March). Most contemporary works were published anonymously. Authors have been supplied where known. I have tried to let contemporaries do the talking as much as possible, preferring illustrative quotation to summary and citation in many places. The original spelling, punctuation and italicization have generally been retained in quotations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: SWIFT'S POLITICAL CHARACTER¹

the modern Question is only, Whether he be a Whig or Tory

The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man (1708; published 1711)

But, I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved Country; of our Trade, and Wars by Sea and Land, of our Schisms in Religion, and Parties in the State; the Prejudices of his Education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right Hand, and stroaking me gently with the other; after an hearty Fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a Whig or a Tory.

Gulliver's Travels, II,iii (1726)

If possible, to learn his Story,
And whether he were Whig or Tory? ...
In State-Opinions a-la Mode,
He hated Wh—n like a Toad;
Had giv'n the Faction many a Wound,
And Libell'd all the Junta round

Part of the Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated (1713)

Swift's politics is a large, complex and controversial subject upon which there is a considerable corpus of commentary. This chapter considers briefly some of the contested issues in interpretation of Swift's political biography and writing.

The exegesis of Swift's political principles and party-political allegiance is a matter of continuing disagreement in modern Swift studies. Essentially there are three basic and contradictory accounts of Swift's politics. One position is that Swift is a post-Revolution Tory who was temporarily allied by circumstance to the Whigs. The case for Swift as a Tory in politics and ecclesiology has been advanced principally and recently

in the work of F. P. Lock.² A second position in Swift studies tends to see Swift as a paradoxical, idiosyncratic political figure whose political attitudes include elements from Tory and Whig extremes of contemporary political argument; that there are conservative Tory and reactionary and radical Whig and libertarian strands in his political ideology. This second position argues that it is probably a futile exercise to try to site Swift in the terrain of post-Revolution party politics or that both 'Whig' and 'Tory' descriptions of Swift are appropriate.³ A third view is that Swift is essentially a Whig in state politics and remained so despite his 'conversion' to the predominantly Tory administration of 1710-14. This view, which can be found stated or expounded in the work of many distinguished Swiftians, would appear to be the present scholarly orthodoxy although the critical shorthand 'Tory satirists' applied to Swift and the Scriblerian circle still has currency.⁴ The Whig case for Swift squares with a literal reading of Swift's repeated profession that he was 'a Whig in politics' although a 'High-churchman' in religion; that he was 'of the old Whig principles, without the modern articles and refinements' (PW,VIII,120; Corr,IV,100). Swift's hostility to 'modern whiggery' and particularly to the Walpolean regime is not contested but it is argued that his opposition to the modern Whig party leadership reflects his fundamental Whig principles rather than disaffected Tory politics. Irvin Ehrenpreis's widely acclaimed, modern biography of Swift represents him as an 'old Whig' in politics. At one point Ehrenpreis

implies that Swift's politics in the last four years of Anne's reign were an aberration from a Whig humanism. Swift 'defends a Lockean view of the limits of good government. When his friends stood on top, he forgot this view. One benign effect of defeat, for Swift, was that it recalled him to humanity'. It is observed during an exposition of the Drapier's third letter that 'Swift has in effect accepted his new rulers, the Hanoverian Whigs, and seems to urge them to judge their Irish conduct by their English ideals'.⁵ A forceful expression of the case for Swift as a true Whig opposed to Tory ideology and Hanoverian Court Whiggism can be read in a recent essay by J. A. Downie. He sees a continuity in Swift's political writings from A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome (1701) defending Whig lords through his tracts of 1710-14, to his alliance with the Whig Archbishop King in Ireland during the affair of Wood's halfpence, The Drapier's Letters and Gulliver's Travels. J. A. Downie concludes that in Gulliver's Travels Swift

refers to the way in which old Whig ideals have been allowed to become corrupted since the Revolution by men like Walpole. Swift, in Gulliver's conversations with the King of Brobdingnag (and elsewhere), compares Modern Whig government with Old Whig political ideology ... In this, his greatest statement on politics, Swift, through implication, outlines his ideal political system. And this turns out to be not Tory in inspiration, but Whig.⁶

Readers of Swift are familiar with the problems involved in negotiating his radically ironic style and disorientating rhetorical strategies. But it is, I think, a measure of the complex nature of the issues involved in historical criticism of Swift's political writings and the effect

on Swift criticism of current historiographical controversy about the nature of party politics and ideology after the Revolution, and especially in the early Hanoverian period, that two authoritative scholars working on Swift's politics who appear to share a Hirschian critical methodology, who rehearse much the same evidence in their historical criticism of Swift's texts, and who are in agreement about the 'Country' critique informing Swift's political satire in Gulliver's Travels, should have arrived at such spectacularly opposed verdicts on Swift's politics. For F. P. Lock, Swift is a natural Tory. For J. A. Downie, Swift is an unreconstructed Revolution Whig.

There is at least nominal inconsistency and contradiction in Swift's party-political alignment. In the early 1690s he wrote pindaric odes to both King William III and the deprived Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft. Swift's first political tract, A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome (1701), was published in a specific Court Whig political cause, although Swift's Tory answerers were able to demonstrate unwhiggish tenets in the work.⁷ A Tale of a Tub (1704) is dedicated to the Junto Whig Lord Somers, but hostile contemporaries remarked that the ironic and parodic 'Bookseller's Dedication' to Somers was disrespectful.⁸ The Dedication remained in the fifth edition of 1710. A Tale of a Tub was identified with the productions of heterodox radical Whigs such as John Toland and regarded as profane and irreligious by many.⁹ Yet, as pointed out in chapter three, Swift clearly thought

that authorship of the Tale made him welcome to the Church party, the book was admired by the High Church Tory, Francis Atterbury, and was regarded as the work of a 'violent Tory' by William King. Swift's opposition to Whig ecclesiastical policy is well-documented and well-known and in 1710 for principled and personal reasons Swift began to write for what he later described as 'the immortal Tory Ministry' (PW,V,265) of the last four years of Queen Anne's reign. He emphatically wrote of the Whigs on 13 October 1710: 'I have done with them, and they have, I hope, done with this kingdom for our time' (PW,XV,55). By the end of Anne's reign Swift was a famous Tory party publicist and a suspected Jacobite. In May 1715 the Tory printer, John Barber, wrote to Swift: 'We have 20 frightfull Accounts of your being sent for up, and your papers seized, for you are the reputed Author of every good thing that comes out on our side' (Corr,II,168).

Swift's own statements about his political principles and party allegiance in the first age of party might seem to illustrate a Swiftian 'Thought': 'How inconsistent is Man with himself!' (PW,IV,245).¹⁰ Regularly charged in the Whig press after 1710 with venal political apostasy, and clearly sensitive to charges that he had deserted the Whigs for the Tories in 1710, Swift frequently claimed personal political consistency, representing himself as that idiosyncratic figure, a High Church Whig, and as a consistent if anachronistic 'old Whig'. Sometimes Swift averred that there was no real difference between

the essential principles of Whig and Tory and that he was moderate and bipartisan. In a letter to the Earl of Peterborough in 1711, for instance, Swift wrote:

This dispute [about the principle of passive obedience] would soon be ended, if the dunces who write on each side, would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country. For, I dare swear, nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the Prince alone: And I hardly ever saw a Whig and a Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves.

(Corr, I, 212)¹¹

It was only circumstantial and personal reasons, Swift claimed in The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man (probably written in 1708 but published in 1711), that had associated him with one party (the Whigs) more than another:

I converse in full Freedom with many considerable Men of both Parties; and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Ministry than another.

Swift's rhetoric in the Sentiments is deceptively moderate, for persuasive purposes he qualifies himself as 'a Moderator', but he admits 'it seems every Man's Duty to chuse one of the two Sides', the course of 'the latter Cato'. 'But before Things proceed to open Violence, the truest Service a private Man may hope to do his Country, is by unbiassing his Mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the Rival Powers' (PW, II, 2). The party politics in Church and State of the 'Church-of-England Man' in this tract are Tory. The passages quoted here from the Sentiments almost sound like an oblique response to the 'Supplement' (dated 25 March 1703) of Charles Leslie's The New Association. Part II,

a celebrated and extremist High Church work in which Swift would have found his own nominally Whig Discourse of 1701 singled out for hostile attention. In the 'Supplement' Leslie looked with some charity on those good men who find themselves listed among the Whigs: 'Allowances must be made for the Prejudices of Education, of Acquaintance and Friendship contracted, which have Byass'd many Well-meaning and Good Disposed Men on the side of this, as of other Wicked Parties'. But the time has come for those good men to 'Examine the Truth'. Leslie wrote The New Association 'not upon any Personal Pique or Prejudice (for I have a Real Esteem and Value for several of the Dissenters, and of some of the Whigs too; and no Personal Quarrel with any of them)' but from thorough conviction of the 'Perniciousness' of the Whig party 'which I do believe many Engag'd among them do not Know, but are carry'd away with their Popular Clamour and Fair Pretences. Let such shew themselves Men, to Examine Impartially; And then Judge as they find'.¹² Swift accepts in the Sentiments that it was 'every Man's Duty' to unbias his mind but to choose sides, in effect to align with the Tories.

In his Memoirs, Relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710 (written in 1714 although not printed until 1765) Swift states that in 1702 'I first began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory'. The formulation of his position is careful:

I talked often upon this subject with Lord Sommers; told

him, that, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend or submit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confessed myself to be an High-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise.

(PW,VIII,120)

Despite the strong inclination he expressed to Somers to be a Whig in politics, and thus to make his adherence to the Revolution settlement unquestionable, the High Churchman attempts to vindicate himself in the Memoirs from the charge 'by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party'. He instances several tracts written (although not all 'published' as Swift misleadingly claims) in opposition to the Whigs 'during the highest dominion of that faction' - 'A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of Berkeley; The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man; an Argument against abolishing Christianity; and, lastly, a Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland' (PW,VIII,122). A Tory government propagandist between 1710 and 1714 Swift had credit and acquaintance with a remarkable number of important and prominent Jacobite Tories. His friends included men and women who were either committed or sometime Jacobites, among others, Francis Atterbury, John Barber, Lord Bathurst, Viscount Bolingbroke, Charles and Mary Caesar, Sir John Hynde Cotton, Lord Lansdowne, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Orrery and the second Earl of Oxford.¹³ As Swift wrote to Alexander Pope in 1723: 'I have often made the

same remark with you of my Infelicity in being so Strongly attached to Traytors (as they call them) and Exiles, and State Criminalls' (Corr, II, 464; a passage omitted in Pope's own texts of the correspondence). During the Hanoverian period Swift was a bitter, public critic of Whig political measures, especially of the government's Irish and ecclesiastical policies. Yet in his post-1710 correspondence he professed to have always been a member of the Whig party in politics.¹⁴ The inquest into his party-political identity imagined in The Life and Genuine Character of Doctor Swift is in disagreement about him:

He was an honest man I'll swear ---:
 Why Sir, I differ from you there,
 For, I have heard another Story,
 He was a most confounded Tory ---!

(Poems, II, 547)

Historical criticism of Swift's writings seeks to disclose the meanings of a particular text at the moment of its composition and reception, and needs to register the full complexity of contemporary polemical and ideological contexts within which Swift's texts and statements are to be situated and their meanings determined. It is my contention that the current received views of Swift as a Whig or at least an Old Whig (an identity Swift liked to project from time to time) and as a non-Jacobite Tory are oversimplifications of a complex and extremist political writer. Despite the Whig associations and influences of his period in the household of Sir William Temple,

his early political career and intellectual inheritance, Swift may be recognized as, ontologically, a 'naturalized' Tory of the Queen Anne and Hanoverian period. The consonance of Swift's political and ecclesiastical attitudes with identifiable Tory party political positions can be noted in his attack on dissent and occasional conformity in A Tale of a Tub (1704); in his hostility to the Union with Scotland expressed, for example, in his 'Verses Said To Be Written on the Union' (1707); in his support for the Lower House of Convocation; in his commitment to an exclusive Anglican monopoly of public office and resistance to any extension of religious toleration; in his hostility to Protestant immigration and the Naturalization Act; in his support for a non-interventionist foreign policy; and revealingly, in his animus against the Dutch. Despite his recorded opposition to a Popish Successor to the crown of England, Swift can be legitimately understood in various places to be saying what some Jacobite political writers were saying. This does not make Swift a Jacobite, of course, but it does reveal him to be a more unsettling, less domesticated political animal than the conservative old Whig represented in much modern Swiftian biography and criticism. When read in polemical context, the paradox often observed in Swift's political writings of authoritarian and conservative Tory elements coexisting with radical libertarian strands of argument may be evidence of a Jacobite Tory political stance. As we shall see, conservative High Church Tories adopted a radical, 'whiggish' idiom of revolution principles

in their polemic against post-Revolution polity. Before he had decided to enter the post-Revolution Church of England (and thus to take the oaths to the Revolution monarchs) and in his disaffection from the Hanoverian regime after 1714, Swift writes in the political language of the dispossessed and proscribed - the language of a radical, ambiguously Jacobite, Toryism. Passive obedience and non-resistance but also assassination, regicide and revolutionism engage Swift the political writer.

Critical disagreement about Swift's political character derives in part from disagreement about the 'background' of party politics and ideology against which Swift's political writing is interpreted, specifically whether or not a Tory party retained an organizational, political and ideological identity during the Hanoverian period and if so, whether or not the Tory party became a Jacobite one. And whether or not a Whig-Tory political polarity was replaced by a Court-Country configuration, with Tories and dissident Whigs merging in a patriot, Country opposition to the Court.¹⁵ W. A. Speck, a prominent historian, who believes a Whig-Tory division was substantially replaced by a Court-Country opposition in Hanoverian Britain, is also a leading authority on Swift's politics and exponent of the case for Swift as neither strictly Whig nor Tory, but a State Whig and Church Tory, a 'Country' rather than 'Tory' writer. Speck, however, has now conceded some necessary modification of his view that 'the Tory and Whig parties of Anne's reign became less dominant under the first two Georges, while court-country alignments

became more prominent than they had previously been'.

Speck admits:

I would now accept, for instance, in the light of examining religious controversies of the 1730s in more detail, and of Linda Colley's excellent study In Defiance of Oligarchy ... that the Tory party survived the trauma of the Hanoverian succession longer than I previously thought. But I have still to be convinced by the evidence that most Tories were Jacobite. If that could be documented more adequately than it has so far been, I would accept the case of those who claim that Jacobitism was a significant phenomenon.¹⁶

The nature of the case, however, precludes the kind of definitive documentary evidence of Tory Jacobitism scholars would like to see. Eveline Cruickshanks, the historian who argues most forcefully for the view that the Tory party retained its political identity in the Hanoverian period but had become a Jacobite party, observes: 'One of the great and abiding problems of studying Jacobitism in Britain, especially in England, is the problem of identification, to discover who was a Jacobite. Because of the penal laws against Jacobites - these statutes should be prescribed reading for historians of Jacobitism - discretion had to be the better part of valour'. Very few could have had access to Jacobite ciphers and messenger services to the exiled Stuart court. 'And it would be even more naive, of course, for the historian to expect to find hard evidence of Jacobitism in a man's private papers: would someone whose personal effects were liable to be searched at any time be likely to leave proofs of treason? Jacobites did not, no more had the Whigs in the 1680s'. Cruickshanks comments that with 'an almost total lack of Tory papers for the post-1715 period, it is impossible to prove or disprove whether the party's

rank and file were Jacobites. What one can prove is that the leaders of the party were Jacobites and answered for the party. Historians who declare the contrary are in fact seeking to know better than contemporaries: better than Oxford, Gower, Bathurst, Atterbury, Orrery, Cornbury, Cotton, Watkin Williams Wynn and Beaufort and better than Walpole.'¹⁷

J. A. Downie argues that in the absence of definite evidence of Jacobitism in Swift's correspondence, printed and manuscript remains which would contradict Swift's publicly stated support for the Hanoverian succession, 'we have no alternative but to accept his own protestations that, however much he found to criticize under the Hanoverians, he was a "true loyal Whig". Otherwise we must be prepared to contradict Swift's statements on the succession and allow conjecture to take their place'.¹⁸

It is difficult to see how the Hanoverian Whig writer represented by Downie and many others could be regarded as 'extremist' or could have been under suspicion of Jacobitism by Whig governments or occasioned so much alarm in the Whig press and the accusation of Jacobitism. There is little attempt in 'Whig' readings of Swift to ask whether there is textual evidence of shifting or equivocal loyalties or any disturbance or qualification in statements professing allegiance to Revolution governments or whether we should be sceptical of Swift's (and Pope's) public presentation of themselves as loyal Whigs. Some comments made by the historian Christopher Hill on censorship and seventeenth-century English literature, seem to me

apposite and especially applicable to Swift. Hill has remarked:

Those who believe we should study only the words on the page, only texts, do not ask themselves whether there were certain words, or certain ideas, which could not be printed; and others which of conventional necessity had to be. The constraints shaping 'the text' might be social and economic (patronage, the market) or political (the censorship in all its forms ...).

He also observes that 'it is always rash to be wiser than a contemporary' and that literary historians 'do not always bear sufficiently in mind the subterfuges which writers necessarily had to adopt in order not to expose themselves to danger'.¹⁹ Denis Donoghue states a view with which I would certainly agree when he writes: 'Ehrenpreis hasn't convinced me that Swift was fully disclosed in his published works, his correspondence, and the little we know of his intimate relations. There is a remainder still hidden; he didn't coincide with any of the forms in which we see him'.²⁰

The case for Swift as a conservative, 'Country' or 'old Whig' presented by Ehrenpreis, Speck and Downie seems to me to give a selective and over-simplified representation of the party-political and ideological 'background' to Swift's political writing. For instance, the variegated character of Tory and Jacobite ideology is not sufficiently registered. It is quite possible for Swift to be understood as a Tory even though he did not subscribe to a Tory ideology of indefeasible divine, hereditary right monarchy. The 'Whig' case for Swift would appear to depend on premises and arguments that can be empirically challenged - particularly the views

that Whig-Tory party differences lost ideological and political significance and were substantially replaced by a Court-Country dichotomy and that Swift's political principles can be understood separately from his High Anglicanism, that his religious views have little significance in determining his political identity. Downie in his political biography directs readers to the scholarship on neo-Harringtonian, classical republican, 'Country' and radical Whig political languages and sees Swift as belonging to an independent Old Whig tradition, an adherent of True, pre-Revolution and Revolutionary Whiggism. Swift is identified with the 'Country' party of the 1690s and 1720s and 1730s and located in a political world characterized by Court-Country rather than Whig-Tory division after 1715. I believe this distorts Swift's actual political character and the polemical significance of his writings.

As Swift described graphically in a letter to William Tisdall on the second introduction of the Tory bill against Occasional Conformity in 1703 and later in his violent sermon 'On Brotherly Love' (preached in 1717), 'Party' division profoundly pervaded his society (Corr, I, 38-39; PW, IX, 176-77). Swift's correspondence in the reigns of Queen Anne and the first two Georges attests to the continuing vitality of a Whig-Tory party-political vocabulary and of the contemporary perception of Whig and Tory as the primary polarity in parliamentary politics and in political life generally. Writing to Pope on 20 September 1723, Swift comments on Pope's posture of

'retirement' and philosophical disengagement from party:

Your happiness is greater than your Merit in chusing your Favorites so Indifferently among either party, this you owe partly to your Education and partly to your Genius, employing you in an Art where Faction has nothing to do. For I suppose Virgil, and Horace are equally read by Whigs and Toryes you have no more to do with the Constitution of Church and State than a Christian at Constantinople, and you are so much the wiser, and the happier because both partyes will approve your Poetry as long as you are known to be of neither. But I who am sunk under the prejudices of another Education, and am every day perswading my self that a Dagger is at my Throat, a halter about my Neck, or Chains at my Feet, all prepared by those in Power, can never arrive at the Security of Mind you possess.

(Corr, II, 465)

Swift, from time to time, professed to be disengaged from or disinterested in party politics. Such disavowals of party politics during the Hanoverian period are not evidence that Whig-Tory political division had ceased to be relevant or central to his own political experience after 1714 or that Swift was no longer engaged or committed in political disputes. Such professions of disinterest or disengagement are properly understood as the routine prudential epistolary and public manoeuvres of a politically suspect man during the rage of party. An instance is in 'A Letter From Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope' where Swift, having been accused of Jacobite sedition, parades his ignorance of party politics and his disinterest in the ruling Hanoverian royal family after 1714, having lived 'in the greatest privacy, and utter ignorance of those events which are most commonly talked of in the world; I neither know the names nor number of the Family which now reigns, further than the Prayer-book informs me' (PW, IX, 25-26; Corr, II, 367). Remarkably, Swift shows his political 'disengagement' by specifically disowning

'a Treatise called a Dedication upon Dedications'. It is 'impossible for me to have been Author of a Treatise, wherein there are several pages containing a Panegyrick on King George, of whose character and person I am utterly ignorant, nor ever had once the curiosity to enquire into either'. The work has been attributed to the loyal Old Whig Thomas Gordon (PW,IX,28; Corr,II,368-69). In the 1720s and 1730s when Tories and Opposition Whigs attempted to collaborate against the Whig government on specific 'Country' platforms Swift's famous satiric ridicule of party distinction (through the King of Brobdingnag's speech in Part II of Gulliver's Travels, PW,XI,106-07) is appropriately understood as party-political polemical strategy. Though an 'exile' in Ireland, Swift remained a combatant in the party-political paper wars. As Swift put it in An Epistle to a Lady, Who desired the Author to make Verses on Her, in the Heroick Stile (1733):

If I laugh at Whig and Tory;
I conclude a Fortiori,
All your Eloquence will scarce
Drive me from my fav'rite Farce.

(ll.193-96; Poems,II,636)

Swift's political writing, however much it might affect to be aloof from party and faction and whatever its more 'general' or 'universal' value and interest, has a deeply occasional provenance and aspect. And Swift's conclusions on contemporary political controversies can be identified most often as 'for Tory'.

Contemporaries regarded Swift, after 1710, as a Tory High Churchman. Swift acknowledged the party of the High Church Tory Bishop of Rochester, Francis Atterbury, as

'my party' in a letter to Atterbury of 1717 thanking the Bishop for defending him from the imputation that he was apostate from the Tories, and 'wholly gone over to other principles more in fashion' (Corr,II,278-80). The Tory party leader and friend of Swift, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, declared in a letter to Sir William Wyndham that the Tory party, proscribed from the centre of power under the Hanoverian Whig regime, became a Jacobite party: 'If milder measures had been pursued, certain it is that the Tories had never universally embraced Jacobitism. The violence of the Whigs forced them into the arms of the Pretender'.²¹ Atterbury was in the service of the Pretender from 1716 and was involved in financing the preparations for the projected Swedish-Jacobite expedition in 1716-17.²² Swift may or may not have suspected his friend Atterbury to have been a Jacobite, but it is indicative of his actual party-political sympathies that it is the High Church Tory Bishop of Rochester, the parliamentary leader of the Tory peers who were outvoted but defiant in their opposition to the passage of the Whig Septennial Bill in 1716, to whom Swift looks to preserve the nation from slavery in 1716. Swift wrote to Atterbury on 18 April: 'God Almighty preserve your Lordship ... it is a great deal your fault if you suffer us all to be undone; for God never gave such talents without expecting they should be used to preserve a nation' (Corr,II,198-99). Independent or Old Whigs such as Lord Molesworth and Walter Moyle supported the establishment Whig Septennial Bill. Swift also profoundly admired

George I's great enemy, Charles XII of Sweden and designed to register publicly his respect for this enemy of the Hanoverian king and the Jacobite hero and hope (see Corr, II, 311). At the end of George I's reign the sympathies of the author of Gulliver's Travels were perhaps Jacobitical. Swift made a private marginal annotation in 1727 against a passage in a copy of Joseph Addison's Freeholder that suggests his disaffection from the Hanoverian monarch and the ambiguity of his own allegiance at this time. The conservative Hanoverian Whig had written in The Freeholder of 9 January 1716:

And tho' I should be unwilling to pronounce the Man who is indolent, or indifferent in the Cause of his Prince, to be absolutely perjured; I may venture to affirm, that he falls very short of that Allegiance to which he is obliged by Oath.

Swift commented:

Suppose a King grows a Beast, or a Tyrant, after I have taken an Oath; a 'prentice takes an Oath; but if his Master useth him barbarously, the lad may be excused if he wishes for a Better.

(PW, V, 252)

Swift's pro-Tory marginalia in Addison's Freeholder represent the Hanoverian Whig regime as a tyranny. The criticism is directed against the monarch as well as the ministry. It is not loyal criticism of the government (PW, V, 251-55).

Whether or not Bolingbroke's claim that the Tories were Jacobite is accurate is still debated among historians, but there is evidence that Swift believed that the Tory part of the political nation after 1715 had become Jacobite in sympathy (see PW, VIII, 165, 173) and that identification as a 'Tory' meant to be suspected of Jacobitism. The conditions under which Swift and his Tory friends wrote

and corresponded should be constantly recalled by literary critics interpreting political meaning in Swift's writings. The Whigs 'call the Tories all Jacobites' Swift writes to Knightley Chetwode in August 1715 and notes that the 'suspending the Habeas Corpus Act has frightened our friends in England' (Corr,II,183-84). Swift had been warned to hide his papers in early 1715 (Corr,II,156). He wrote that 'When I was leaving England, upon the Queen's death, I burnt all the letters I could find, that I had received from ministers for several years before' (Corr,IV,344). Letters to Swift from the Duke of Ormonde and John Barber had been intercepted by the government and Swift was understood by his English Tory friends (and the government) to be saying that his friends should not endanger themselves and him by writing and remarking on affairs of state (Corr,II,166-69; V,230-33). On 2 September 1718 Swift is transparently telling the indiscreet Jacobite Tory Knightley Chetwode not to write or involve him in politics: 'I am the only man in this kingdom who is not a politician, and therefore I only keep such company as will suffer me to suspend their politics ... I am quite a stranger to all schemes and have almost forgot the difference between Whig and Tory' (Corr,II,294). As Swift wrote to the second Earl of Oxford: 'Your Lordship judgeth rightly, that in some Cases it is a Happyness not to hear, and in this Country where Faction hath been so outrageous above anything in England, a wise or quiet man would gladly have his Ears stopt much longer than open' (Corr,III,85). Swift understood himself to be

in great danger as a suspected Jacobite Tory. Indeed on 10 September 1718 Swift's Tory friend Peter Ludlow writes:

I send you the inclosed pamphlet by a private hand, not daring to venture it by the common post; for it is a melancholy circumstance we are now in, that friends are afraid to carry on even a bare correspondence, much more to write news, or send papers of consequence (as I take the inclosed to be) that way. But I suppose I need make no apology for not sending it by post, for you must know, and own too, that my fears are by no means groundless. For your friend, Mr. Manley, has been guilty of opening letters that were not directed to him.

(Corr,II,294-95)

Swift knew that his own correspondence and that of his friends suspected of disaffection were always subject to perustration. John Gay tells Swift on 4 July 1730: 'I am determin'd to write to you, though those dirty fellows at the Post Office do read my Letters, for since I saw you I am grown of that consequence to be Obnoxious to the man I despise; so that it is very probable in their hearts they think me an honest man ... If you will not write, come' (Corr,III,403). And in 1732 Gay writes: 'If I don't write intelligibly to you ['tis] because I wou'd not have the Clerkes of the Post Office know every thing I am doing' (Corr,IV,63). Swift believed there was always the possibility that his papers might be seized by the Whig government (see Corr,III,53). There is a lacuna of over seventeen years in the correspondence between Swift and his friend the printer John Barber, Lord Mayor of London in 1732-33 and a convinced Tory and acknowledged Jacobite. When their extant correspondence resumes in 1732 their friendship is as warm as ever and they express shared political sympathies and shared

commitment to 'honest principles'.²³ Indeed Swift daringly praises (and hopes for the return of) the Duke of Ormonde and execrates Hanoverian tyranny in a letter to Barber in 1738: 'That glorious exil hath suffered more for his Virtues than ever the greatest Vilain did from the cruellest Tyrant ..' (Corr,V,103). In a subsequent letter to Barber, Swift expresses his gladness at hearing (from Barber) that the Irish nonjuror and Jacobite plotter the Reverend George Kelly is Ormonde's chaplain - 'so valuable a companion' (Corr,V,117, see V,115).

Swift never seems to have called himself a Tory, and modern scholarship refers to 'Swift's form of Irish Whiggery' and represents him as subscribing to Lockean Whig contract principles legitimizing the Williamite settlement in Ireland.²⁴ But it can be observed that Swift in his writings seemed unwilling to admit that Jacobites and Tories existed at all in Ireland (see, for example, PW,X,132-33). An attack on occasional conformity (a cause célèbre of Tories and High Churchmen) in A Letter From a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland To a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test is put this way:

the Parties among us are made up, on one side, of moderate Whigs, and, on the other, of Presbyterians and their Abettors; by which last I mean, such who can equally go to a Church, or a Conventicle; or such who are indifferent to all Religion in general, or, lastly, such who affect to bear a personal Rancor towards the Clergy.

(PW,II,118)

Swift's political expression on party issues and dynastic questions in England and descriptions of his politics are refracted through his Irish experience as an Anglican

clergyman in a country overwhelmingly Roman Catholic but with a militant Presbyterian minority.²⁵ Swift saw himself on active combat duty: 'I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can' (PW, IX, 262). The Anglican establishment to which he belonged ultimately owed its hegemony to a Williamite army at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690 and depended on the security of English military support. The question of the succession and the potential ramifications of a Roman Catholic Stuart succession and the question of the place of Protestant Dissent in the state would have been intensely immediate to Swift. Swift's Irish experience must have contributed to the High Churchman's inclination to perceive politics in terms of Anglicanism versus Popery and Dissent.

Swift was part of the strident High Church, Lower House in the revived Irish Convocation. He was elected as proctor to represent St. Patrick's Cathedral and served for three months in 1707 during which time the Lower House agitated for action from the Upper House in securing remission from the Crown of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts - financial imposts on the clergy - and engaged in factional controversy. Louis A. Landa remarks of Swift's part in the Convocational controversy of 1707: 'it reveals him early in two roles he assumed with frequency in later years: as a guardian of the rights of churchmen, sensitive to encroachments by laymen, and as a lower clergyman in set opposition to the higher clergy'.²⁶ Swift intensely

opposed Whig projects between 1707 and 1709 to repeal the Sacramental Test imposed in Ireland in 1704. His experience as a representative of the Irish Church soliciting for the remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts, an embassy thwarted by the Whigs but forwarded under the Tory ministry in England, undoubtedly has significance in Swift's political biography in confirming him in a Tory alignment and party 'conversion' in 1710. Swift clearly sided with the Tory party in Ireland, and remained a supporter of the Tory M.P. Samuel Dopping, the High Tory, crypto-Jacobite Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland between 1710 and 1714, and the Duke of Ormonde (see Corr, I, 83; II, 7-8, 258, 375). Tory proscription from political and ecclesiastical patronage and the exile of Ormonde deprived the 'High Church and Ormonde' party in Ireland of effective leadership and direction in the Hanoverian period. The silencing of Convocation removed a recognizable High Church platform to challenge Whig domination. Swift's Irish pamphleteering against the Hanoverian Whig, English government, especially during the controversy over Wood's Halfpence in 1723-25, was in a bipartisan Irish cause. As he told the Earl of Oxford in 1725, 'Faction' in Ireland exceeded anything in England but 'a silly Accident of Brass Money hath more united them than it ever could have been imagined' (Corr, III, 85). He was the ally of prominent Irish Whigs in resisting English government measures. Although Swift's Irish patriot political discourse was careful to invoke pristine Whig principles of 1688 and canonical Whig authorities and

disavowed 'party', the Whig English government and its supporters claimed to see a Jacobitical implication in his apparent radical natural rights case for Irish legislative independence. So, for example, in an electoral broadsheet of 1733 Advice to the Free-Men of the City of Dublin in the Choice of a Member to Represent them in Parliament Swift conducts his campaign on behalf of the Mayor of Dublin, Humphrey French (a man approved by John Barber, Corr, IV, 190) by stating that Ireland consists 'of two Parties, I do not mean Popish and Protestant, High and Low Church, Episcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of these English who happen to be born in this Kingdom, (whose Ancestors reduced the whole Nation under the Obedience of the English Crown,) and the Gentlemen sent from the other Side to possess most of the chief Employments here' (PW, XIII, 80). Despite its loyal patriot mode the paper sails close to the wind. Swift, for instance, has this anecdote:

I remember a Person of Distinction some Days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixt Company, and of both Parties. That the Gentry from England who now enjoy OUR highest Employments of all kinds, can never be possibly Losers of one Farthing by the greatest Calamities that can befall this Kingdom, except a Plague that would sweep away a Million of our Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water: Or an Invasion that would fright our Grandees out of the Kingdom.

(PW, XIII, 81)

The statement in a paper hostile to the Whig government, that (apart from the depopulation of the kingdom) only an Invasion (perhaps led by that glorious exile, the Duke of Ormonde?) could dislodge the oppressive English Whig establishment, is arresting. Swift prudently distances himself from the statement: it was made by 'a Person of

Distinction', but understandably, there 'were rumours that Swift's paper had been suppressed' (see PW,XIII,xxv). Swift's defence of the Church in his pamphleteering implicitly has a Tory party-political character, but Whig ecclesiastical policy largely prevented High Churchmen, like Swift, reviving a co-ordinated Tory 'Church in danger' campaign by depriving them of issues and political power and opportunities. While Anglo-Irish political opposition to the government was conducted in a loyal 'patriot' discourse rather than on Whig-Tory party lines or programmes, Swift's political character need not be presumed to have changed - he was for 'High Church and Ormonde' and not a true Whig.

There are cogent reasons why Swift did not call himself a Tory. 'Tory' in Ireland implied Jacobite. On 11 September 1725 Swift wrote to Thomas Sheridan (who had preached a sermon on the anniversary of the accession of the House of Hanover from the text 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof') that:

It is safer for a Man's Interest to blaspheme God, than to be of a Party out of Power, or even to be thought so ... I tell you there is hardly a Whig in Ireland who would allow a Potato and Butter-milk to a reputed Tory.
(Corr,III,93-94) ²⁷

Swift seems to have understood 'Whig' and 'Tory' generally in terms of acceptance or rejection of the Revolution. This is clear, for instance, in the well-known (and necessarily self-exculpating) statement he made in response to the Whig Archbishop King's hostile account of the nonjuring schism and imputation of Jacobitism on Swift (see Corr,II,225-28). Swift declares that the 'System

of the new Zealots which your Grace hath extracted, must be very suitable to my Principles who was always a Whig in Politicks' (Corr,II,236). Swift says he thought that only on a 'Whig' principle could one 'defend or submit to the Revolution' (PW,VIII,120). Of course, High Church Tories and later Jacobites such as Atterbury and the Duke of Ormonde (who supported the Revolution and fought in William III's campaigns) and indeed any Tory who, to use Swift's phrase, could 'defend or submit to the Revolution' would presumably be listed as 'Whigs' in Swift's acceptation of the political label. When Pope asks Swift in a letter sent through the post in 1730 to help get subscriptions for a Commentary on Job by the Reverend Samuel Wesley, a High Church Tory suspected of Jacobitism, he cautiously puts his request for the 'honest man' in this way: 'Lord Bolingbroke is a favourer of it, and allows you to do your best to serve an old Tory, and a sufferer for the Church of England, tho' you are a Whig, as I am' (Corr,III,377-78). The Earl of Oxford recommends the 'worthy honest Man' and hopes Swift will take the 'Honest, Poor, worthy Clergyman' under 'your Protection' (Corr,III,378-79). In a political atmosphere where 'Tory' signified Jacobite, Swift and Pope, periodically accused of Jacobitism, called themselves Whigs, yet Swift was expected to be sympathetic to a reputed Jacobite.²⁸ Swift stated publicly in 1735 that he professed to be of the Whig party in politics.²⁹ But to Lord Bathurst in 1737 Swift remains 'a disaffected person, such y^u will be reputed as long as y^u live, after

y^r death perhaps y^u may stand Rectus in Curia' (Corr,V,79).

To call Swift a Whig in politics at least after 1710 is otiose. Indeed it obfuscates the actual political character of the man and his writings in political and religious context. It has been argued that Swift is 'uncompromisingly Whig' in politics because he 'believed in the Whig principles current at the time of the Revolution', opposed 'Corruption' and 'the threat posed by an encroaching executive', insisted on the separation of the executive and the legislature, agreed with the Declaration of Rights of 1689, opposed Septennial bills, approved annual parliaments and detested standing armies.³⁰ But historical criticism of Swift also needs to note contemporary Tory polemical languages. A few examples must suffice. The Tory M.P. Archibald Hutcheson, for instance, in his speech against the Septennial Bill in 1716 approves annual parliaments (confirmed in the ancient constitution) and the Triennial Act, sees the liberties of a people threatened by the executive and 'corruption', detests Henry VIII's tyrannical invasion of 'the liberties of his people' and traces the encroachments of the crown's prerogative to his reign. Hutcheson also argues that the Act of Habeas Corpus is 'essential to the being of a free people', reminds the parliament 'of the prerogatives claimed and exercised by king James the 2d, to dispense with the laws ... recited by the Claim of Rights' from which the Revolution rescued the nation, reflects on 'how wanting we were to ourselves upon that turn, in not retrieving and securing for ever, by the Claim of

Rights, our ancient constitution of frequent new parliaments', and so on.³¹ The Jacobite Tory, William Shippen, in the same debate said:

I think you ought not to repeal the Triennial Act, except in the last extremity, and in the most imminent danger of the State. This law was one of the fruits of the Revolution: This law restored the freedom and frequency of parliaments, so far as was consistent with the circumstances of that reign, which was involved in a war, and had occasion for constant and heavy taxes.³²

Bolingbroke's Craftsman extols 'that Act, which is call'd the Declaration of Rights; by which, we hope, an End is put to the dangerous Claims and Practices of some former Reigns; such as That of a Power in the Crown to dispense with the Execution of the Laws; as also That of keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament; and some other Particulars, which are contained in that Act'.³³ The Jacobite Fog's Weekly Journal supports annual parliaments, the separation of the legislative and executive parts of the government, and contractual resistance, for example.³⁴ And Robert Walpole stated:

No man of common prudence will profess himself openly a jacobite ... Your right Jacobite, Sir, disguises his true sentiments; he roars out for revolution principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our antient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers who every day endeavour to sow discontents among the people, by persuading them that the constitution is in danger, and that they are unnecessarily loaded with many and heavy taxes.³⁵

It now seems too undisturbed a reading to state that 'Pope and Swift are still occasionally accused of Jacobitism, despite the fact that, in reality, they are predominantly influenced by "Country" or "Old Whig" principles, though one was a Roman Catholic and the other vehemently High

Church'.³⁶ The Country opposition and the 'Country' political critique of excessive power in the executive, corruption, placemen and pensioners, high taxation and standing armies became increasingly Tory after the early 1690s.³⁷ 'Country' principles are a significant strand in Jacobite ideology and polemical argument.³⁸ Attention to the possible polemical provenance and resonance of some of Swift's political statements allows us to understand how a contemporary might have construed aspects of Swift's political discourse as Tory and disaffected speech acts. It is a hermeneutic injunction, but both the conceptual meaning of words on the page and their functional meaning in a polemical moment need to be recognized in interpretation of Swift's political texts. Certainly this was a reading procedure of politically literate contemporaries. Daniel Defoe, for example, in his Review in 1705 considered the 'Reception to my Exhortation to Peace' in one of his previous papers and found that 'it seem'd absolutely necessary for me to Enquire, What is meant by this Peace? And not only what Peace it self means, but what every particular sort of People mean by it, and why they all pretend to it, and yet so few pursue it'.³⁹

In 'A Letter from Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope' (1722) Swift declared:

I ever abominated that scheme of politicks, (now about thirty years old) of setting up a monied Interest in opposition to the landed. For, I conceived, there could not be a truer maxim in our government than this, That the possessors of the soil are the best judges of what is for the advantage of the kingdom: If others had thought the same way, Funds of Credit and South-sea Projects would neither have been felt nor heard of.

(PW, IX, 32)

The 'neo-Harringtonian', 'Country' opposition to the City 'monied Interest' expressed here, and represented as a consequence of the Revolution settlement by the parenthetical observation, also had party-political significance as Swift was well aware. In a private letter to the Tory leader Bolingbroke in September 1714 Swift had written:

if I see the old Whig-measures taken in the next elections, and that the court, the bank, East-India, and South-sea, act strenuously, and procure a majority, I shall lie down and beg of Jupiter to heave the cart out of the dirt.

(Corr, II, 129)

The Tory political character of Swift's support for a 'Country' measure such as a Triennial bill is revealed in the following comment on William III's veto of the Triennial Bill in 1693 in his autobiographical fragment (dated between 1738 and 1739): 'The Consequence of this wrong Step in His Majesty was very unhappy; For it put that Prince under a necessity of introducing those People called Whigs into power and Employments, in order to pacify them' (PW, V, 194). Swift wrote to Lady Elizabeth Germain in 1733: 'I know you have been always a zealous Whig, and so am I to this day ... I am of the old Whig principles, without the modern articles and refinements' and he drew Francis Grant's attention in the election year of 1734 to 'Standing armies in times of peace; projects of excise, and bribing elections ... not forgetting septennial Parliaments, directly against the old Whig principles, which always have been mine' (Corr, IV, 100, 230). But in October 1733 the Craftsman noted: 'the Body of

the present Tories have adopted the Spirit of the old Whigs'.⁴⁰ Swift knew well enough that to advance 'certain old whiggish principles' was to pass 'for a disaffected person' (PW,IX,33).

In a letter to Charles Ford of 15 April 1721, in which Swift says he is at work on Gulliver's Travels, he refers to 'The letter of Brutus to Cicero', one of the classic Old Whig Cato's Letters (1 April 1721) which Swift feels 'should have been better translated'. He then remarks that the English 'Ministry seems to me to want Credit in suffering so many Libells published against them; and here there is a worse Matter; for many of the violent Whigs profess themselves perfect Jacobites, and plead for it the Miseryes and Contempt they suffer by the Treatment of England' (Corr,II,380). In fact, however, the defence of Brutus in Trenchard and Gordon's Cato's Letters was carefully disassociated by Thomas Gordon from Jacobite Tory polemic which also celebrated Brutus and approved assassination.⁴¹ Cato's Letters are strongly pro-Hanoverian and critical of establishment Whig governments for not proscribing and punishing the crypto-Jacobite High Church Tories for their crimes against the Revolution state. Queen Anne's Tory ministers (and presumably their propagandist, Swift) are capital criminals in the eyes of true Old Whigs:

Lenity to great crimes is an invitation to greater; whereas despair of pardon, for the most part, makes pardon useless. If no mercy were shewn to the enemies of the state, no state would be overturned; and if small or no punishment be inflicted upon them, no state can be safe. Happy, happy had it been for this unhappy people, if these important and essential maxims of government had been duly regarded

by our legislators at the revolution; (and I wish too, that the sincere and hearty endeavours of our present legislators to punish the betrayers of the late unfortunate queen had met the desired success:) for I doubt that all our misfortunes have flowed from⁴² these sources, and are owing to these disappointments.

' "What was the end of our killing the tyrant, but to be free from tyranny?" ', translates 'Cato' in the 'letter from Brutus to Cicero' referred to by Swift in his letter to Ford.⁴³ But the Old Whig publication targets the High Church Tory Jacobite sympathisers and supporters of Anglican hegemony and uniformity through persecutory statutes, not just corrupt modern Whig ministries. King George I in speeches to the parliament in 1716 and 1717 (after the Jacobite Rising of 1715) referred to 'the numerous instances of mercy which I have shown' and his 'clemency'.⁴⁴ Old Whigs such as Trenchard and Gordon deplored such 'Lenity'. Establishment Whigs such as Joseph Addison commended George I's mercy and grace. But Swift execrated George I's treatment of the rebels in sardonic comments on the Hanoverian king's 'clemency' (PW,V,254-55). George I is one monarch whose face appears in Swift's satiric 'Glass' in the description of the Emperor of Lilliput's 'Mercy' and 'Lenity' in Part One, Chapter VII of Gulliver's Travels.

As Swift indicates in his letter to Ford, some radical Whigs did embrace Jacobitism in the 1720s. Philip, Duke of Wharton, son of the Junto Whig, was one and Swift was acquainted with him and indeed appears to have offered him political advice (see, for example, Corr,II,285; III,10). Swift forged political links with radical Whigs in the 1720s as did Tory M.P.s such as Archibald Hutcheson

and Sir Thomas Hanmer.⁴⁵ In parliamentary debates on the Mutiny Bill in 1718 Tory M.P.s could highly commend Lord Molesworth's original Whig anti-army writing.⁴⁶ Swift said of his fellow nationalist Lord Molesworth in 1723, 'excepting in what relates to the Church, there are few Persons with whose Opinions I am better pleased to agree', though Swift is antagonized by the Old Whig's political attack on clerical 'Liberty and Property' (PW, IX, 58-60). The 'Drapier' dedicated a Letter to Molesworth and voiced the language of Old Whig radicalism in attacking the English Whig government. Readers of Swift need to realize the Tory and Jacobite appropriation of Old Whig principles and rhetoric from the 1690s when reading the political signs in his work.

Despite the contingency and nominalism of political argument in contemporary pamphlet and periodical literature some real differences between 'Old Whig' and 'Tory' political positions can be registered. Considering some of the differences, it is evident that Swift's politics are 'Tory'. Historians and literary critics who deny the existence of a 'Tory party' political position in the Hanoverian period and believe the basic alignment to be between a Court Administration and a Country Opposition⁴⁷ obscure crucial differences in the political attitudes of 'Opposition' figures which has enabled a misleading conflation of Swift's political attitudes with pro-Hanoverian Old Whig writers committed to a rapport with Dissent.

An essential element of Old Whig or Country Whig

ideology is its religious heterodoxy and anticlericalism - its opposition to 'priestcraft'.⁴⁸ A principal object of Old Whig animus is Anglican clericalist hegemony in the civil, religious and educational establishment. A continuity in radical whiggism is its commitment to liberty of conscience, toleration, and the ultimate removal of statutes imposing Anglican uniformity in public life. True Whigs such as the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Andrew Fletcher, Robert Molesworth, John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, John Toland, Matthew Tindal and others were never really able to identify with a Tory party hostile to religious dissent and toleration even though the Tories became the party synonymous with Country (traditionally exclusionist Whig) political ideology. Swift, however, a High Church Anglican in religion had no trouble identifying with the modern 'Church party'. Conformity to the established religion is a positive in Gulliver's Travels (PW, XI, 50, 60, 131). Old Whigs were committed to the succession in the Protestant House of Hanover (as they were to William III) because these Protestant monarchs would preserve the nation from prelatical tyranny whether Papist or High Church Anglican. Old Whig criticism of corruption and illiberal measures in post-Revolution government is characteristically loyal criticism. Old Whigs criticized Williamite government for losing the radical opportunity the Revolution afforded and for the mistake of employing Tories. Swift, however, blamed William III for introducing Whigs into the government and for discarding Tories. For Swift, the Revolution had activated a radical protestant

revolutionism countenanced by Whig politicians. As historian, Swift wrote of the Junto Whig John Somers, 'reputed the Head and Oracle of that Party':

the old Republican Spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other Lessons: That, since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical Commonwealth, we must likewise admitt new Maxims in Religion and Government: But, since the Nobility and Gentry would probably adhere to the Established Church, and to the Rights of Monarchy as delivered down from their Ancestors; it was the Practice of these Politicians to introduce such Men, as were perfectly indifferent to any or no Religion; and, who were not likely to inherit much Loyalty from those to whom they owed their Birth. Of this Number was the Person I am now describing.

(PW,VII,5)

The author of A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. In a Letter to a Friend. A Fragment remarked:

I do not remember any other Temper of Body, or Quality of Mind, wherein all Nations and Ages of the World have so unanimously agreed, as That of a Fanatick Strain, or Tincture of Enthusiasm; which improved by certain Persons or Societies of Men, and by them practised upon the rest, has been able to produce Revolutions of the greatest Figure in History.

(Tale,p.266)

In A Tale of a Tub and the Fragment the voices of radical sectarian whiggism are satirically impersonated and the Tale is dedicated by the 'Bookseller' to Somers. In the Williamite polity Swift bitterly observed 'Jack' was received in 'Court and City' (see Tale,p.204).

Attention to such organs of true Whiggism in the Hanoverian period as the celebrated Cato's Letters reveals that the Independent Whig publicists John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon are actually closer to the Establishment Whigs than they are to men like Swift.⁴⁹ In Cato's Letters the Tory Peace of Utrecht is regarded as a national shame. The Old Whigs completely endorse the Whig government in prosecuting Jacobite conspirators and indeed call

on the government to show no mercy to Jacobite plotters. Atterbury and High Church Tories are vilified in six particularly virulent issues (20 April-25 May 1723). They attack the Tory press and such publicists as Nathaniel Mist. They are hostile to Charles I and Laud and criticize High Church preaching on 30 January, the anniversary of Charles I's execution. They complain of Anglican clerical control over education and call for the regulation of the universities. 'Cato' is spontaneous in affirmation of 'our present great and glorious sovereign, king George'. Swift, of course, celebrated and defended the Peace of Utrecht, satirized the Whig prosecution of Atterbury, admired and supported Mist who praised and publicized him, Swift defended the keeping of the 30 January anniversary and deplored Whig attempts to regulate Anglican pulpits and educational establishment. Swift publicly said he had no interest in the ruling royal family. In his writings he depicted the Hanoverians as tyrants.

John Toland in 'A Memorial Presented to a Minister of State, Soon after his Majesty King George's accession to the Crown' gave this summary of contemporary Whigs:

The Whigs (I mean those who practise what they profess) are virtuous, wise, and industrious Church of England men; yet brotherly indulgent towards other Protestants, and all for a general Naturalization. To these ought to be added the Sectaries, who heartily join with them on one common bottom, against Popery and Slavery either in Church or State.

All Whigs, in principle, support civil and religious liberty, trade, and Hanoverian European policy. So far are the Whigs from being against Kingship (as their enemies foolishly

calumniate them) that they are to a man most zealous for the Act of Succession, particularly faithful to King GEORGE (whom they admire almost to adoration) absolutely determin'd to support his progeny, and such, in short, as may be depended upon in all the particulars aforesaid.⁵⁰

Robert Molesworth complained in his 'Principles of a Real Whig' that 'there has been such chopping and changing both of Names and Principles, that we scarce know who is who'. But his ideal is a cosmopolitan, tolerant polity and he notes that a 'Genuine Whig is for promoting a general Naturalization'.⁵¹ Swift was not a genuine Whig (PW, VII, 94-95). Swift's complete and unqualified opposition to mercenary standing armies in times of peace and war⁵² and his opposition to the Septennial Act are 'Tory' and, in polemical context, crypto-Jacobite rather than 'Old Whig'. Molesworth wrote:

A Whig is against the raising or keeping up a Standing Army in Time of Peace; but with this Distinction, that if at any time an Army (though even in Time of Peace) should be necessary to the Support of this very Maxim, a Whig is not for being too hasty to destroy That, which is to be the Defender of his Liberty.

There is a clear rapprochement between Old and Establishment Whigs on the question of standing armies and Septennial bills when a threat to the Protestant Whig establishment in Church and State is perceived from Jacobite High Churchmen and Tories, as was the case in the early Hanoverian period.

Molesworth continues:

I desire to be well understood. Suppose then, that Persons, whose known Principle and Practice it has been (during the Attempts for arbitrary Government) to plead for, and promote such an Army in Time of Peace, as would be subservient to the Will of a Tyrant, and contribute towards the enslaving the Nation; should, under a legal Government (yet before the Ferment of the People was appeased) cry down a Standing Army in Time of Peace: I should shrewdly suspect, that the Principles of such Persons are not changed, but that either they like not the Hands that

Army is in, or the Cause which it espouses; and look upon it as an Obstruction to another Sort of Army, which they should like even in Time of Peace. I say then, that although the Maxim in general be certainly true, yet a Whig (without the just Imputation of having deserted his Principles) may be for the keeping up such a Standing Army even in Time of Peace, till the Nation have recovered its Wits again, and chuses Representatives who are against Tyranny in any Hands whatsoever; till the Enemies of our Liberties want the Power of raising another Army of quite different Sentiments; for till that time, a Whiggish Army is the Guardian of our Liberties, and secures to us the Power of disbanding its self, and prevents the raising of another of a different Kidney. As soon as this is done effectually; by my Consent, no such Thing as a mercenary Soldier should subsist in England.⁵³

Molesworth, of course, became a placeman after the accession of George I and supported a standing army.⁵⁴ Cato's Letters approved a standing army, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the repeal of the Triennial Act as necessary after the accession of the House of Hanover to prevent Jacobite counter-revolution and to rectify previous Tory abuses. 'Cato', in fact, publicly qualified his well-known, principled opposition to standing armies acknowledging the necessity of the Government policy in dealing with Jacobite conspiracy.⁵⁵ Cato bitterly reflected on Jacobite Tory appropriation of Old Whig languages in the issue of 20 April 1723 on 'The spirit of the conspirators, accomplices with Dr. Atterbury': 'They exclaim against armies and taxes, and are the cause of both, and rail at grievances of their own creating'. Conspirators against the establishment make armies and taxes necessary.⁵⁶

The 'Old Whig' Thomas Gordon, in fact, held a government sinecure in the Walpole ministry. Opposition Whigs (and Walpole when in opposition) tended to argue for only a reduction in the size of the standing army.⁵⁷ Walpole is perhaps in Swift's mind when an acute Gulliver reports

that one of the 'Methods by which a Man may rise to be Chief Minister' is 'by a furious Zeal in publick Assemblies against the Corruptions of the Court. But a wise Prince would rather chuse to employ those who practise the last of these Methods; because such Zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the Will and Passions of their Master' (PW,XI,255). It was Jacobites and Tories who consistently denounced and voted against standing armies and septennial parliaments.

Swift's description of himself as a Whig in politics but a 'High Churchman' in religion is obviously problematic at a time when ecclesiastical and political issues, and Tory and High Church clerical causes are interconnected. It is suggestive of this interconnection of religion and politics that Swift instinctively compares Ireland's slavery under the English parliament with the erastian bondage of Anglican Convocations (Corr,II,342). And that one of his most dramatically libertarian declarations - 'I have lived, and by the grace of God will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds' - was actually occasioned by a matter of clerical privileges (Swift is responding to Archbishop King's provocative demand that the Dean of St. Patrick's supply a proxy for the Archbishop's visitation) (Corr,III,210). There is a demonstrable distinctiveness in religious ideology between Whigs (radical and establishment) and Tories (whose ideology was informed by an exclusivist High Church Anglicanism) in parliamentary and press debate in the first age of party.⁵⁸ The Test Act in particular was regarded as a

'Party Puncto' and while Old and New Whigs were in principle sympathetic to Dissent both could agree in regarding the repeal of the Test Act in the Hanoverian period as impracticable and sought to undermine Tory party partisanship by removing religious issues as much as possible from the political agenda.⁵⁹ However, opposition Whigs, and radical, anticlerical Whig publications such as The Old Whig: or, The Consistent Protestant, still called for relief from persecution by statute and for the repeal of the Test Act.⁶⁰ For High Churchmen and Tories defence of the Test was almost an act of faith. Swift's polemic against Whig attempts to repeal the Test, projected tithe legislation, parliamentary and lay encroachment on the Church's rights and temporalities, legislative concessions to Dissent, and the perceived growth of heresy and irreligion is consonant with 'Tory' political attitudes in the Hanoverian period. There is in fact only one piece of evidence that Swift ever wrote in support of Whig ecclesiastical policy and that is in a letter of 3 February 1704 when he told his correspondent, William Tisdall, that he 'wrote against the bill that was against Occasional Conformity' (Corr, I, 44). This work was never published and is not extant among Swift's manuscript remains. It may well have been just an epistolary 'bite' (a 'lie' told 'in a serious manner' as a bantering deception) on the Tory Tisdall (see Corr, I, 40, 41). Swift's actual hatred of Dissenters was lifelong. 'Pox on the Dissenters and Independents!', he writes to Tisdall in 1704, 'I would as soon trouble my head to write against a louse

or a flea' (Corr, I, 43-44). A principal pamphleteer in the paper war over a Whig attempt to repeal the Test in Ireland between 1731 and 1733, Swift declaimed violently against the dissenting Protestant 'Lice' in his poem On the Words - Brother Protestants, and Fellow Christians, so familiarly used by the Advocates for the Repeal of the Test Act in Ireland, 1733:

And thus Fanatic Saints, tho' neither in
 Doctrine, or Discipline our Brethren,
 Are Brother Protestants and Christians,
 As much as Hebrews and Philistines:
 But in no other Sense, than Nature
 Has made a Rat our Fellow-Creature.
 Lice from your Body suck their Food;
 But is a Louse your Flesh and Blood?
 Tho' born of human Filth and Sweat, it
 May well be said Man did beget it.
 But Maggots in your Nose and Chin,
 As well may claim you for their Kin.

YET Criticks may object, why not?
 Since Lice are Brethren to a S—:
 Which made our Swarm of Sects determine
 Employments for their Brother Vermin.
 But be they English, Irish, Scottish,
 What Protestant can be so sottish,
 While o'er the Church these Clouds are gathering,
 To call a Swarm of Lice his Brethren?
 (ll. 29-48, Poems, III, 812-13)

Despite calling himself an old Whig, Swift traduces men who certainly were Old or radical Whigs, such as John Locke (PW, II, 80, 85, 97), Robert Molesworth (PW, II, 99), Andrew Fletcher (PW, V, 262), the astrologer John Partridge (The Partridge Papers, PW, II, 139-70), Anthony Collins, John Toland and Matthew Tindal. Swift's perception of the events leading to the Revolution, apologia for it, and criticism of post-Revolution polity are demonstrably those of a contemporary High Church Tory cleric, not of a radical, anti-clerical Revolution Whig disenchanted by the Whig party's rapid abandonment of primitive Whig

principle. Swift's attitude to foreign policy certainly renders him 'Tory as much as Country'.⁶¹ His animus against the Dutch has Tory party-political significance. This antipathy found memorable expression in the satire of Gulliver's Travels, for instance, when Gulliver in Japan petitions to be excused the ceremony 'of trampling upon the Crucifix' performed by the Dutch, a scruple which led the Japanese Emperor 'to doubt whether I were a real Hollander or no; but rather suspected I must be a CHRISTIAN' (PW, XI, 216). Swift's satiric stroke has echoes in Jacobite polemical literature. Charles Leslie observed: 'The test in Japan for a Christian, is the trampling upon the cross. This is thought a sufficient indication, that he who does it is no Christian. By this the Dutch secure that trade to themselves'.⁶² The consonance of Swift's texts with Jacobite and Tory literature is not always heard in modern Swift studies, though it was by contemporaries.

CHAPTER TWO

REMARKS ON THE REVOLUTION, JACOBITE TORY LITERATURE AND SWIFT

The corpus of Tory literature in print and manuscript in the first Age of Party is massive and heterogeneous. Scholarly studies exist on many well-known Tory political writers, including, for example, John Arbuthnot, Mary Astell, Francis Atterbury, Tom Brown, Jeremy Collier, the newsletter-writer John Dyer, George Granville, Charles Leslie, Roger L'Estrange, Delarivière Manley, William Oldisworth, William Pittis and Ned Ward. There is a substantial secondary literature exploring the Jacobite dimension in the later poetry, translations, prose and dramatic writing of John Dryden, who dominates the literature of the 1690s, and in the work of Alexander Pope and Samuel Johnson in the eighteenth century.¹

This chapter explores aspects of what might be called the radical idiom of Jacobite Tory literary response to the Revolution of 1688-89 and the Williamite, Queen Anne and Hanoverian establishment. I suggest that we witness in Swift a post-Revolution Toryism which combined High Church attitudes with a radical political critique of Whig establishment. Swift's imaginative texts are not without Jacobite implication and velleity.

A 'Tory' text might express certain characteristic commitments and hostilities: engagement for the rights, powers and privileges of the Church of England, support for the proscription of Dissent from public life, repudiation of latitudinarian politics, subscription to the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance

(however modified), detestation of anti-monarchical principles identified with Whiggism, and animus against the naturalization of foreign protestants and against the Dutch. A 'Tory' text after 1689 might apotheosize royalty in the absent or hidden hereditary king in exile, in the Stuart Queen Anne, or in Charles XII of Sweden, the enemy of George I and Protestant hero of the Jacobites. A 'Tory' text might reflect a royalist pietas in its attitude to 'Charles the Martyr'. It might offer a violent 'Country' critique of the Williamite court and executive, as in such poems as A Panegyric (1697) attributed to 'Jack' Howe and The Mourners (1702) attributed to the Jacobite Bevil Higgons,² or of the Hanoverian Whig regime.

Whig and Tory writers have different emphases in their accounts of the Revolution. What might be called the Whig Authorized Version of the events leading to the Revolution of 1688-89, enshrined in Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, essentially describes a general Protestant consensus against a despotic Roman Catholic king using an arbitrary prerogative to impose popery.³ High Church Tory writers disseminated a different construction of the political crisis of 1687-88. In their interpretation, the Church of England was assaulted by Papists and Dissenters colluding in latitudinarian politics and radical protestant Whig principles legitimating popular and military resistance to an arbitrary monarch (used to justify the Revolution in the 1689 allegiance controversy and later) were impugned as Papist in provenance. The claim of a collusion in political purpose and doctrine

between popery and protestant nonconformity had a long pedigree in Anglican polemical literature and anti-Puritan graphic and literary satire. The imputation of a league between Dissenters and Papists to destroy the Church and Crown, as John Miller remarks, 'became a Tory cliché'.⁴ With sufficient corroborative evidence of Whig and Dissenting 'collaboration' in James II's prerogative toleration and projected repeal of the Test Acts,⁵ Tory writers were able to reanimate the cliché into a parti pris version of the events of 1687-89. Dissenters were seen to have collaborated with James II's arbitrary attempt to disestablish Anglicanism through the dispensing power. After the Church party had borne the heat and burden of the day against arbitrary power and popery, the Dissenters, deserting their royal Roman Catholic benefactor upon the Revolution, benefitted in the new dispensation under William III. The dissenting Whig enemies to Church establishment were still at large after the Revolution under the auspices of 'An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws' (the so-called Toleration Act of 1689) contriving to ruin Anglican orthodoxy and the constitution in Church and State with political and ecclesiastical principles purloined from popery. This High Church Tory topos is well illustrated in the polemical writings of the Jacobite High Churchman Charles Leslie.⁶ This remarkable Jacobite outlaw and pamphleteer conducted a newssheet campaign against the Whig press (particularly John Tutchin's

Observator and Daniel Defoe's Review) and radical whiggism in Church and State between 1704 and 1709 in The Rehearsal. In the first issue of The Rehearsal (5 August 1704)

'Countryman' points out to 'Observator' that High Churchmen say the dissenters write against popery ... by calling the pope a whore, and such like names of brazen-front, impudence, &c. But that they still retain the very jesuitical mischievous points of the deposing-doctrine, the dispensing with oaths, lying for God, taking arms and rebelling for religion. From them they learned the arguments they use against the divine right of episcopacy, and of kings. And that it was their emissaries, as Heath, Cuming, &c. who in the reign of Q. Eliz. began the sect of the puritans, and set up the extempore way against liturgies, and the pretended impulses of the spirit against outward ordination by men, &c. Thereby to break and divide the church of England, the substantial enemy and bulwark against popery.

In a later Rehearsal paper, 'Countryman' enlightens 'Observator' during their dialogue:

O. Now thou mazes me. What! Do'st think, that either whigs or dissenters will bring in popery?
 C. I do not believe the generality of them intend it. But they may be gull'd, as they were before: and made tools of, as before, to pull down the church of England. And when that is gone, the bulwark against popery is gone ... The popish emissaries will come and preach among them, and blow into their heads all the old exploded HERESIES, which they will suck in as it were inspiration. This was the case of forty-one times, when there were above threescore different religions at one time in England, whose names you may see in Heresiography and Gangrena, wrote in those times.

Leslie describes the papist project by which dissenters are raised against the Church-of-England establishment:

It is well known that the cardinals Richlieu and Mazareen fomented the rebellion against King Charles I. sent into Scotland the solemn league and covenant, drawn exactly after the model of the holy league in France: and assisted these dissenters all they cou'd against the church of England; and by them, at last, broke it to pieces: And that these good protestant whigs and dissenters crav'd aid of the French king against king Charles I.

After the restoration king Charles II. set up the dissenters in the year 1672. And we all know now with what design.

This was the ruin of his unfortunate brother, king James II. what favours he shew'd to the papists, and

Magdalen college, were but handles taken up against him afterwards. But when he began to play the dissenters against the church, his enemies against his friends; and in the fourth year of his reign, made an alteration in the lieutenancies, and commissions of the peace, and put in whigs and dissenters, THEN he lost the hearts of the church of England...

The dissenters were made the cats-foot then, and always will be, when there is any design against the church of England.

After the death of Charles II, wrote Leslie in The New Association (1702), 'his Unfortunate Brother K. James the Second let the Faction loose again, by a New Toleration: For which they Hosanna'd him, even to Blasphemy'. In William III's reign 'the Toleration granted by King James, (and for which, the most of any one thing, he was Abdicated) has Enlarg'd'.⁹

This Tory topos is present in Swift's imaginative and polemical texts. The satiric conjunction of Jack (Dissent) and Peter (Popery) in Section XI of A Tale of a Tub (1704) activates the contemporary High Church Tory charge (see Tale, pp.198-200). In this section of the Tale there is an acerbic epitome of events from James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 to the triumph of occasional conformity in Sir Humphrey Edwin's Lord-Mayoralty in 1697 in the allegorical account of the adventures of the three brothers Peter, Jack and Martin (Anglicanism):

how Peter got a Protection out of the King's-Bench; and of a Reconcilement between Jack and Him, upon a Design they had in a certain rainy Night, to trepan Brother Martin into a Spunging-house, and there strip him to the Skin. How Martin, with much ado, shew'd them both a fair pair of Heels. How a new Warrant came out against Peter: upon which, how Jack left him in the lurch, stole his Protection, and made use of it himself. How Jack's Tatters came into Fashion in Court and City;

How he got upon a great Horse, and eat Custard.
 (Tale, pp.204-05)

The Dissenters received an 'Indulgence against Law' under James II and 'an Indulgence by Law' under William III, Swift wrote in the Examiner of 12 April 1711 (Exam, p.358). It is often supposed in Swift studies that Swift's opposition to James II derives from a basic Whig ideology. In fact, however, Swift's view of events leading to the Revolution is that represented in High Church Tory polemical literature. It is 'liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation', wrote Swift in one of his 'Thoughts on Religion' which 'produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state' (PW, IX, 263). Swift perceives the events of 1687-89 in religious terms. He sees a design by Peter and Jack to dispossess Martin. Here is the account of the Revolution in Examiner, no.37 (12 April 1711):

the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England Hands, they hoped one good Consequence of it would be the relieving us from the Incroachments of Dissenters, as well as those of Papists, since both had equally Confederated towards our Ruin; and therefore, when the Crown was new settled, it was hoped at least that the rest of the Constitution would be restored. But this Affair took a very different Turn; the Dissenters had just made a shift to save a Tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their Protector King James. And observing a Party, then forming against the old Principles in Church and State, under the Name of Whigs and Low-Churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continu'd.

(Exam, pp.358-59)

The Dissenters had 'boldly enter'd into a League with Papists and a Popish Prince, to destroy' the Church of England (Exam, p.360). Swift repeatedly argues that it was the Church of England clergy who principally

opposed James II's use of the dispensing power and illegal proceedings before the Revolution and he repeatedly witnesses the compliance of the Dissenters with James II's policy of prerogative toleration or implementation of liberty of conscience by royal edict (James's Declarations of Indulgence of April 1687 and April 1688 suspended the Test Acts which required all public office holders to conform to the Church of England).¹⁰

At the Revolution the Whig publisher Richard Baldwin printed A Treatise of Monarchy: Containing Two Parts.

I. Concerning Monarchy in General. II. Concerning this Particular Monarchy (1689) in which it is remarked that

there is an art full of Venom, when a truth cannot be beaten down by just reasoning, then to make it odious by hateful comparisons; so in this case Aspersion is cast, as if the Patrons of Resistance did borrow the Popish and Jesuitical Grounds, and their Positions as dangerous to Kings, as the Jesuits Hell-bred and bloody Principles: whereas it appears by all this Discourse ... that there is no Congruity at all betwixt their¹¹ Doctrines, no more than betwixt Light and Darkness.

After a comparison of Whig and Dissenting revolutionism with popery, Leslie commented sardonically: 'But comparisons are odious. Let us defend our selves against them both'.¹²

Leslie and Swift were masters of the invective 'art full of Venom' imputing congruity and collaboration between 'Jack' and 'Peter'.

Swift has been situated within a secularist Whig Commonwealth intellectual tradition in a recent political biography.¹³ Yet Swift subjected Matthew Tindal's The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted Against the Romish, and All Other Priests Who Claim an Independent Power Over It. With a Preface Concerning the Government of the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd. Part

I, a sensational text of radical Whig anti-priestcraft politics and ecclesiology first published in 1706, to hostile forensic analysis, disparaging some canonical authors of true Whiggism such as John Locke and Robert Molesworth in the process. Swift's 'Remarks upon a Book, intituled The Rights of the Christian Church' (c. 1707) exposes the anti-clerical Whig ideologist (referred to by Swift in Examiner no. 20, 14 December 1710 as 'their Apostle Tindal', Exam, p.102) as a quondam Papist and the book itself as crypto-papist.¹⁴ Discovering 'Jack' doing 'Peter's' work in Tindal's pages, Swift effects a familiar Tory polemical strategy and one deployed by Leslie in his answer to 'The Rights of the Christian Church, the labour'd work of the whole party, and now so celebrated by them' in the pages of the Rehearsal in 1706.¹⁵

Leslie anathematized the radical Whig text as 'popery at the bottom':

And no emissary of Rome could set up a topick more beneficial to popery in England at this day than what is advanc'd in this book of the Rights. And it is the more suspicious, that the reputed author (and who I hear does not much deny it) turned papist and went to mass in K. James's time, but returned since with the fashion...

To give you the main of this book, in one word, it is this That the church has no authority but from the state, nor the state but from the people. This is the whole scope and drift of this book.

Swift writes that The Rights of the Christian Church is the production 'of one, who, in Hopes of Preferment was reconciled to the Popish Religion'. At 'the latter end of King James's Reign he had almost finished a learned Discourse in Defence of the Church

of Rome, and to justify his Conversion: All which, upon the Revolution, was quite out of Season ... by an easy Turn, the same Arguments he had made Use of to advance Popery, were full as properly levelled by him against Christianity itself ... And, therefore every Reader will observe, that the Arguments for Popery are much the strongest of any in his Book' (PW,II,68,70-71; see also An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity, PW,II,37). Like Leslie, Swift identifies the principal erastian project of the book 'making Religion, Church, Christianity, with all their Concomitants, a perfect Contrivance of the Civil Power' (PW,II,70). 'One would think him an Emissary', Swift writes, observing Tindal's promotion of 'Schism' and 'Arguments for Popery' (PW,II,94). Tindal's 'Design is either to run down Christianity, or set up Popery; and the latter is more charitable to think, and, from his past Life, highly probable' (PW,II,106). Swift, again like Leslie, distinguishes the Church's divine and apostolical authority as a spiritual corporation from its legal establishment. Leslie explains in the Rehearsal that Tindal

confounds the constitution of the church, and her establishment by law. The establishment by law may be altered, or taken away, as of episcopacy in Scotland, but the constitution of the church she must receive¹⁷ from her founder, and is the same in all churches.

Swift wrote that the legislature

may do any Thing within the Compass of human Power ... the same Law, which deprived the Church, not only of Lands, misapplied to superstitious Uses, but even the Tythes and Glebes, (the antient and necessary Support of Parish Priests) may take away all the rest.

(PW,II,74-75)

A distinction is to be made between the Church's 'Being' and 'Establishment' which Tindal confounds. Swift writes:

But the Church of England is no Creature of the Civil Power, either as to its Polity or Doctrines. The Fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his Apostles, and the Instructions of the purest and earliest Ages, and were received as such by those Princes or States who embraced Christianity, whatever prudential Additions have been made to the former by human Laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.
(PW, II, 78, 79)

At one point in his 'Remarks' Swift comments that 'Mr. Lesly may carry Things too far, as it is natural, because the other Extreme is so great. But what he says of the King's Losses, since the Church Lands were given away, is too great a Truth, &c.' (PW, II, 87). There is sympathy for the High Church politics of the Jacobite pamphleteer here. In Swift's early poetry and A Tale of a Tub written in the 1690s, and in his prose and poetry written after the Hanoverian succession, Swift can be read as saying what some Jacobite militants were saying on affairs of state. This does not make him a committed Jacobite, of course, but it does remind us that Swift is an unsettling, extremist political writer who may have had, from time to time, conditional Jacobite sympathies, who perhaps would have gone over to the Jacobite side if circumstances had been right. At any rate, a writer who was a long way from the Revolution Whig or the moderate conservative described in much modern Swift scholarship. In the remainder of this chapter I wish to remark aspects of this congruence between Swift's writing and Jacobite literature, a congruence hitherto largely neglected in literary criticism on Swift.

Two of Swift's early pindaric odes, 'Ode to the King. On his Irish Expedition. And The Success of his Arms in general' (1691; Poems, I, 4-10) and 'Ode to Dr. William Sancroft, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury' (1692; Poems, I, 33-42) are interesting political texts and important biographical sources for Swift's political views in the early 1690s. Literary criticism has arrived at a number of judgements about the early pindaric odes as a group. They have been dismissed as failures in, for Swift, the uncongenial form of Cowleyean pindaric; as uncomfortable performances in a fashionable panegyric form before Swift was able to find his natural poetic voice. The poems have been found to contain anticipations of Swift's later satiric manner and themes. They have been studied as repositories of some of Swift's lifelong sentiments and as the poet's exploration of the human condition. They have been read as examples of a minor seventeenth-century tradition, that of satiric pindarics.¹⁸ There are extended discussions of the 'Ode to Sancroft' in historical context by Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr. and F. P. Lock.¹⁹ Yet a specific controversial context for Swift's early poems - that of Jacobite literary response to the Revolution and Williamite settlement and Jacobite polemic rhetoric of the 1690s - has been neglected. The difficulty and obscurity of the highflying pindaric style offered Swift a protective carapace for oblique political commentary on the Revolution and Williamite

regime. Swift's early odes are alive with the rhetoric of Jacobite literature on affairs of state.

The anti-Williamite verse satire generated by the Revolution is, as modern scholarship has witnessed, overwhelmingly Jacobite. That is, it either explicitly supports a Stuart restoration, or would seem to do so implicitly in the violence of its attack on the king and government.²⁰ In Jacobite satire the Revolution is imaged as illegal, impious and unnatural. William III is, for Jacobite writers, the inglorious, sodomitical, stranger king: a political rapist, parricide, perjured usurper and tyrant; a physically grotesque Tarquin who defecated during his coronation and who sleeps on the throne. The vocabulary and motifs of Jacobite political satire are well illustrated in the vitriolic prose political allegory An Historical Romance of the Wars Between the Mighty Giant Gallieno, and the Great Knight Nasonius, and His Associates (1694) which narrates William's career of flagitious ambition, rape, usurpation and robbery with demotic, derisive humour.²¹ The persons, principles and conditions of Revolution government in Church and State anathematized by Jacobite High Churchmen in the 1690s can be consulted in A Catalogue of Books of the Newest Fashion, to be Sold by Auction at the Whiggs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes in Prating-Alley, near the Deanry of St. Paul's (1694), a sardonic and sometimes very funny satiric mock-book auction catalogue, attributed to Charles Leslie. Ideologists of the new settlement in Church and State such as the erastian

Humphrey Hody and the apostate nonjuror William Sherlock are pilloried on page one. Leslie's Jacobite vilification of an illegitimate regime incorporates 'Country' complaints about war, taxes and pensioners and excoriates latitudinarianism, religious heterodoxy, naturalization of foreigners, and the Dutch.²²

Jacobite writers observed how Williamite Whig panegyric represented the prince as the Providential Protestant saviour of the nation's religion and liberties. William's 'rapines and robberies' were being hallowed. 'The panegyrics upon him, on this account, of your Tillotsons, Tenisons, Patricks, and Burnets, &c. are more frontless and fulsome than what your Shadwells, Settles or any of your Grub-street poets' produce.²³ Jacobites bitterly mocked William by portraying him as a romance 'Hero'.²⁴ In Swift's violent, anti-Hanoverian satire 'Directions for a Birth-day Song', written perhaps in 1729 but unpublished in his life-time, this advice is offered to Whig poets writing an encomium on their royal Caesar or Alexander:

One Compliment I had forgot,
 But Songsters must omit it not.
 (I freely grant the Thought is old)
 Why then, your Hero must be told,
 In him such Virtues lye inherent,
 To qualify him God's Vicegerent,
 That with no Title to inherit,
 He must have been a King by Merit.
 Yet be the Fancy old or new,
 'Tis partly false, and partly true,
 And take it right, it means no more
 Than George and William claim'd before.

(Poems, II, 464)

To praise a king for his inherent goodness is presented as a fancy of Whig poets, the artifice by which kings without hereditary title claim legitimacy. The titles

of William III, George I and George II are brought into question. In the light of this later satiric judgement about kings who claim to rule on merit and of contemporary Jacobite derision of William as a Romance 'Hero', it is extremely interesting to re-read Swift's 'Ode to the King'. The ode was composed between 1 July 1690 and August 1691 (that is, between the Battle of the Boyne and when Swift left Ireland) but was first published in 1735 although two stanzas were quoted by John Dunton in 1699. The poem is routinely read in Swift studies as an encomium on William III.²⁵ Yet there may be covert disturbance of the ostensible praise of William in the 'Ode to the King'. The poet insists that 'Doing Good' is 'the best Gemm in Royalty, / The Great Distinguisher of Blood' (ll.19,22-23). A panegyric sentiment that, as Swift later wrote, is 'partly false, and partly true'. One effect of the lines perhaps is to remind readers that William lacks a direct hereditary title to the crown. Through a combination of devices - extravagant hyperbole (although this is conventional in the highflying pindaric form), artificial simile, intrusive, parenthetical qualifying remarks by the poet, and opaque or ambivalent allusion - Swift establishes implicit distance between the subject of the 'Ode' and the poet and reader. Through such distancing Swift creates the enabling conditions of satire and sets up the possibility of detached critical reflection. The conquering Hero William is said to be 'like a Bold Romantick Knight' rescuing Fame 'from the Giant's Fort' (ll.37-38) and the poet sees William's

triumph at the Battle of the Boyne in this way:

And what I us'd to laugh at in Romance,
 And thought too great ev'n for effects of Chance,
 The Battel almost by Great William's single Valour gain'd.
 (11.62-64)

Of course, such lines might only reflect Swift's early uneasiness and self-consciousness with the 'lofty Stile' (Poems, II, 634). Ostensibly he is flattering William for having actually achieved what would usually be dismissed as an incredible fiction. Yet, as in the Dedication to Somers in A Tale of a Tub, the effect of the praise is not straightforward or the irony stable. The possibility of a trace of contempt in this depiction of a bold romantic knight performing what Swift would laugh at in a romance should not be discounted, especially when read in the context of the sardonic humour of such Jacobite polemic rhetoric as that which presented the 'Romance' of the wars between 'the Mighty GIANT GALLIENO' and 'the Great KNIGHT NASONIUS'.

Swift was capable of traducing William's rule and even deriding the King indirectly in his poetry of the 1690s. In an unfinished poem, 'On the Burning of Whitehall in 1698', probably written in 1698 and now accepted as canonical (see Complete Poems, pp. 80-81, 618-20), Swift, while officially professing admiration and loyalty for King William, nevertheless registers profound disaffection with the Williamite Revolution regime. The following passage alludes to the period between James's flight in 1688 and the fire that destroyed much of the palace of Whitehall on 4/5 January 1698 and attacks the continuation of James II's toleration of Dissent under

William, Dutch financial influence, bribery, placemen,
corruption and vice:

He gone, the rank infection still remains,
Which to repel requires eternal pains.
No force to cleanse it can a river draw,
Nor Hercules could do it, nor great Nassau.
Most greedy financiers, and lavish too,
Swarm in, in spite of all that prince could do,
Projectors, peculates the palace hold,
Patriots exchanging liberty for gold,
Monsters unknown to this blessed land of old.
Heaven takes the cure in hand, celestial ire
Applies the oft-tried remedy of fire;
The purging flames were better far employed,
Than when old Sodom was, or Troynovant destroyed.
The nest obscene of every pampered vice,
Sinks down of this infernal paradise.

(ll.30-44; Complete Poems, pp.80-81)²⁶

The association of William with Hercules in this poem
is not necessarily complimentary. Indeed, it might imply
a covert hostility as in A Tale of a Tub, also written
in the 1690s, where the case of 'Hercules' is considered
and that hero's destruction endorsed as most fitting:

But Heroick Virtue it self hath not been exempt from
the Obloquy of Evil Tongues. For it hath been objected,
that those Antient Heroes, famous for their Combating
so many Giants, and Dragons, and Robbers, were in their
own Persons a greater Nuisance to Mankind, than any
of those Monsters they subdued; and therefore, to render
their Obligations more Compleat, when all other Vermin
were destroy'd, should in Conscience have concluded
with the same Justice upon themselves: as Hercules most
generously did.

(Tale, p.94)

Also, the Jacobite calumny that William 'burst forth
backwards' and 'beshit his Coronation'²⁷ is present
in Swift's 'The Problem' (1699) a scatological satire
on Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney. Romney's master is
referred to obliquely in lines 19-20:

We read of Kings, who in a Fright,
Tho' on a Throne, wou'd fall to sh__.

(Poems, I, 66)

Another ambivalent aspect of Swift's royal panegyric

is that it does not just compliment the king on the success of his arms but appears to represent his claim to the crown as founded not in law or social compact but in successful conquest. William III denounced the idea that his rule was based on conquest which would have implied he was merely a successful usurper like Cromwell. Swift later rejected the idea that successful conquest conferred legitimacy (see PW,V,293). The argument that William was a conqueror and that the nation was experiencing corruption and oppression was commonplace among Jacobite writers. In Swift's poetry of the 1690s the nation is observed to be in a chronic state of corruption. In the 'Ode to the King' William is the 'Victor' who 'carves out his Bays' (ll.11,32). William 'trampled on this Haughty Bajazet [James II], / Made him his Footstool in the War, / And a Grim Slave to wait on his Triumphal Car' (ll.42-44). William is associated with 'a Destroying Angel' (stanza IV). Like Cromwell in Marvell's 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland' who conquered Ireland ('And now the Irish are asham'd / To see themselves in one Year tam'd') and who will over-power Scotland,²⁸ Swift's William 'controuls' the Scots and is victorious in Ireland: 'Thus has our Prince compleated every Victory, / And glad Iërne now may see / Her Sister Isles are Conquered too as well as She' (stanza V).

The 'Ode to the King' is unwhiggish in its animus against the people who are described as the 'Giddy Brittish Populace' (l.72; compare 'Ode to Sancroft', ll.73-83,117: 'The giddy turns of pop'lar rage', 162: 'Mistaken Ideots!

see how giddily they run'). This language is more characteristic of Charles Leslie who declaimed against 'a giddy People' difficult to govern and easily misled.²⁹ Significantly, in stanza five, Swift looks to William to 'controul' the 'Chronical Disease' of popular Scots Presbyterian revolutionism as he has quieted the 'Giddy British Populace'. An allusion to William as 'Mercury' lulling the people ('Argus') into ease and sleep in the beginning of the stanza has an ambivalent effect:

The Giddy Brittish Populace,
 That Tyrant-Guard on Peace,
 Who watch Her like a Prey,
 And keep Her for a Sacrifice,
 And must be sung, like Argus, into ease
 Before this Milk-white Heifer can be stole away,
 Our Prince has charm'd its many hundred Eyes;
 Has lull'd the Monster in a Deep
 And (I hope) an Eternal Sleep.

(11.72-80)

'Peace' in this passage changes from 'a Prey' to 'a Sacrifice' to the 'Milk-white Heifer' that 'can be stole away'. In the classical story from Ovid's Metamorphoses (I,601-721) to which Swift alludes, Mercury charms Argus to sleep then kills him. There may be an anti-Williamite implication in Swift's allusion to William (Mercury) lulling the people (Argus) into an eternal sleep but stealing away their peace. That is, a view of King William is implied here that is consonant with a remark Coleridge attributed to Swift: 'Yet Swift was rare. Can anything beat his remark on King William's motto, Receptit, non rapuit, "That the receiver was as bad as the thief"?'.³⁰ Certainly the Jacobite press depicted William as a Conqueror charming and lulling the people into ease and stealing away their peace, liberty and property. As one explicitly

Jacobite tract put it in 1692:

few people did suspect that the prince did really design what he so seriously and solemnly declared against; and every man was struck into state lethargy by the suddenness of the prince's attempt, the wonderful success it met with in the beginning, and the charming wheedle of securing liberty and property, which we are sadly and severely roused from at last by unspeakable oppressions, by the expiring groans of liberty and property, and by the dreadful view of those miseries, which threaten us from all hands and in all events.³¹

The High Church poet of 'Ode to the King' has no sympathy for James II. He is William's 'fond Enemy' who tried 'Upon a rubbish Heap of broken Laws / To climb at Victory' and who is now in mourning and misery. The poem concludes with a combat between kings. The bastard Tyrant Louis XIV receives a wound from William who is imagined, very suggestively in the light of Jacobite depiction of William as a rapist warrior prince and sodomite, as Paris, and Louis falls victim to a 'Fistula in Ano':

Our Prince has hit Him, like Achilles, in the Heel,
 The poys'nous Darts has made him reel,
 Giddy he grows, and down is hurl'd,
 And as a Mortal to his Vile Disease,
 Falls sick in the Posteriors of the World.

(11.142-46)

Williamite Whig panegyric praised William as the hero of a Protestant Providence delivering the nation from arbitrary power and popery which had been sustained by the now discredited non-resistance principles of Tory High Churchmen. William is celebrated as the asserter of religious freedom.³² Swift in the 'Ode to the King' expresses hostility toward the people and Dissent and looks to William to assert Anglican hegemony. Unlike Whig poets, he does not satirically reflect on Tory

non-resistance principles in his poetic depiction of a combat between kings.

Another early Swift poem, 'Ode to Dr. William Sancroft, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury', on which Swift was working in 1692, can be interpreted as an affirmation of the passive obedience of a Churchman who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Revolution settlement. Sancroft was the subject of a Jacobite hagiography in 1694 in which he is represented as the 'glorious confessor' for passive obedience, 'making a safe passage through storms and tempests', adhering to truth and virtue. After his deprivation he lived in 'just and honourable retirement' and escaped 'a spreading contagion'. In his last hour Sancroft petitioned God to 'preserve this poor suffering church, which, by this revolution, is almost destroyed' and to restore the Stuarts.³³ Swift's praise of Sancroft in 1692 is an act with political implication. In a letter to Thomas Swift on 3 May 1692 Swift wrote: 'I have had an ode in hand these 5 months inscribed to my late L^d of Canterbury D^r Sancroft, a gentleman I admire at a degree more than I can express, putt into me partly by some experience of him, but more by an unhappy reverend Gentleman my L^d the Bishop of Ely with whom I usd to converse about 2 or 3 years ago, and very often upon that Subject' (Corr, I, 8-9). The letter discloses that Swift was in contact with the Jacobite Tory Bishop of Ely soon after the Revolution. Turner, like Sancroft, was deprived in February 1690. The letter affords one of the few glimpses we have of Swift moving in nonjuring

circles (see also, for example, PW,II,21). By 1692 the deprived Bishop was a Jacobite outlaw. Swift imagines himself publishing the ode and entering the lists on the nonjuring side in the political and ecclesiastical battle of the books. Swift tells Thomas of the public gesture he intends with his ode: 'I would send it to my Bookseller and make him print it with my name and all, to show my respect and Gratitude to that excellent person, and to perform half a Promise I made His L^dship of Ely upon it' (Corr,I,9). The criticism of the times and the polemic rhetoric in the 'Ode to Sancroft' elides with Jacobite languages of disaffection.

In the first stanza of the 'Ode', Swift alludes to the political controversy over allegiance to the Revolution regime. Swift searches for 'TRUTH' and is not convinced by Williamite conquest theory:

How shall we find Thee then in dark disputes?
 How shall we search Thee in a battle gain'd,
 Or a weak argument by force maintain'd?

The 'dagger-contests, and th' artillery of words' cannot 'satisfy the doubt'. In stanza three the nonjuror Sancroft in 'the divin'ty of retreat' is 'the brightest pattern Earth can shew / Of heav'n-born Truth below'. The poem reflects the widespread Anglican angst of the period, but it seems in places only ambiguously within the pale of the Revolution. The poet asks in stanza five which of all the nation's sins 'Has given thee up a dwelling-place to fiends? / Sin and the plague ever abound / In governments too easy, and too fruitful ground'. William is 'a too gentle king' in a time of flourishing evils. Pointedly,

the 'British soil' now 'breeds'

Among the noblest flow'rs a thousand pois'nous weeds,
 And ev'ry stinking weed so lofty grows,
 As if 'twould overshadow the Royal Rose,
 The Royal Rose the glory of our morn,
 But, ah, too much without a thorn.

The poem professes loyalty to the monarch, yet dwells on the sin, pollution and poison in the nation. Stanza nine refers to 'our mighty Prince' and 'his happy influence' yet describes the erastian ruin of the Church, implies that Heaven's permission of William has not cancelled the sins of subjects, and affirms the wisdom of Sancroft. Stanza ten expresses the hope that the events of 1687-88, the Church-destroying revolutionary 'storms' that Sancroft long has borne, will not be repeated:

Ah, may no unkind earthquake of the State,
 Nor hurricano from the Crown,
 Disturb the present Mitre, as that fearful storm of late,
 Which in its dusky march along the plain,
 Swept up whole churches as it list,
 Wrapp'd in a whirlwind and a mist;
 Like that prophetic tempest in the virgin reign,
 And swallow'd them at last, or flung them down.
 Such were the storms good SANCROFT long has borne.
(11.190-98)

Swift's implicit comparison of the Dutch and Spanish invasions of 1688 and 1588 respectively and his allusion to the events of 1688 as a 'storm' were commonplace in contemporary correspondence.³⁴ There was an earthquake in London in 1692 which Swift metaphorically applies to the events of 1688.³⁵ This gloomy metaphoric depiction of the events of 1688 became very much a Tory (and Swiftian) idiom on the Revolution. This idiom (and the identification it implies between the 'Protestant' east wind which conveyed William of Orange and a destructive storm) was well parodied by the Whig wit and sometime friend of Swift,

Anthony Henley, in a letter printed in The Medley of
7 May 1711:

And I wou'd ask any impartial Man, what else but the
Revolution cou'd possibly have been the Cause of the
great Wind which happen'd some years ago? Can we impute
to any other thing the Loss of so many Trees, Houses
and Church-Steeple, which were then blown down?

(Exam, p.410)

In the last stanza (XII) of the 'Ode to Sancroft'
as we have it, there is an apotheosis of the nonjuring
Archbishop and an outspoken satiric attack on the Low
Church, comprehension party:

Since, happy Saint, since it has been of late
Either our blindness or our fate,
To lose the providence of thy cares,
Pity a miserable Church's tears,
That begs the pow'rful blessing of thy pray'rs.
Some angel say, what were the nation's crimes,
That sent these wild reformers to our times.

(ll.240-46)

Swift does not say what the national crime was that
has led to the ruin of religion but his rhetoric elides
with Jacobite High Church satire. In Suum Cuique (1689)
attributed to Arthur Mainwaring, William 'labors to
assail' the Church and 'keeps fit tools to break the
sacred pale'. Gilbert Burnet, John Tillotson, William
Lloyd and Henry Compton 'are the leaders in apostasy, /
The wild reformers of the liturgy, / And the blind guides
of poor elective majesty'.³⁶ For the young Jonathan
Swift, Sancroft is an exemplar and witness to that doctrine
of passive obedience from which the people are apostate,
his 'daz'ling glory dimms their prostituted sight, /
No deflower'd eye can face the naked light' (ll.221-22).
Jacobites used a rhetoric of rape and violation in their
polemical representation of William's invasion and

usurpation of the throne. It was 'an outrageous rape' and 'an open deflowering of the chastity which [the English] church had hitherto preserved in point of allegiance to lawful and rightful monarchs'.³⁷ But for the Jacobite William Shippen, Sancroft preserved his purity: 'Sancroft's unblemish'd Life, divinely Pure, / In its own heav'nly Innocence Secure, / The teeth of Time, the blasts of Envy shall endure'.³⁸ Swift in the 'Ode to Sancroft' represents the nation as deflowered and prostitute. The nonjuror Sancroft represents inviolate truth, an 'arch-prelate' who will be translated to the heavenly Church of England as 'arch-angel' (see ll. 230-39). Swift's profound respect for Sancroft and his conduct at the Revolution never altered and he defends him against the Whig Bishop Gilbert Burnet's detraction (see PW, V, 277, 285, 291).

Swift never published this poem, although in a private letter he imagined himself boldly appearing in print on the nonjuror's side. Writing odes to William III and Archbishop Sancroft may seem politically inconsistent. The inconsistency I believe is only nominal. The ambivalence of the presentation of conquering William in the 'Ode to the King' and his praise for the passive obedience of Sancroft, who refused an active part in the Convention and who refused to acknowledge the Revolution monarchs, reflect a consistent Swiftian attitude, that of a High Churchman in the 1690s, opposed to James II's latitudinarian politics, disturbed by the effects of the Revolution, and ambiguous in his attitude to the new King. Swift's literary texts display a strident, anti-court political

stance. This is usually understood in Swift studies as a reflection of his 'Old Whig', 'Country' ideology. However, I believe, we are reading in Swift not loyal whiggism as modern scholars suppose but what contemporaries recognized as the polemic rhetoric of Jacobite Tory High Churchmen.

SWIFT AND GRANVILLE

The transition of Toryism from Court ideology to a stance independent of the Crown is ascribed by historians to various catalysts - the influence of the Robert Harley-Paul Foley Country Whigs on the Tory party in the 1690s, 'the long clericalist tradition of the Church's corporate rights' informing the High Church response to monarchy, and the influence of Jacobitism.³⁹

Traditional Tory legitimist sentiment is married to a radical, anti-court stance in the poetry of George Granville, later first Baron Lansdowne, written when the poet lived in retirement in the country during the reign of William III. Samuel Johnson's account of Granville's 'regulated loyalty' in 1688 could perhaps also be applied to a majority of Tories in the crisis conditions of 1688 and afterwards:

However faithful Granville might have been to the King ... he has left no reason for supposing that he approved either the artifices or the violence with which the King's religion was insinuated or obtruded. He endeavoured to be true at once to the King and to the Church.

Johnson quotes a letter written by Granville before the Dutch invasion in 1688 in which the young royalist writes: 'The King has been misled; let those who have

misled him be answerable for it. Nobody can deny but he is sacred in his own person, and it is every honest man's duty to defend it ... By what I can hear every body wishes well to the King; but they would be glad his ministers were hanged'.⁴⁰ Granville was a High Church Tory and Jacobite, a politician, poet and patron, mentor of Alexander Pope and dedicatee of Windsor-Forest, friend of Jonathan Swift and, like Swift in the last years of Anne's reign, a friend of St. John and follower of Harley.⁴¹ A Jacobite activist in the conspiracies of the early Hanoverian period, Granville's 1722 election tract, A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England is a thinly-veiled call for a parliament or an armed rising to restore the Stuarts. It appropriates Cato for the proscribed party, exhorts Englishmen to 'take a Roman Resolution to save their Country', and admires the example of the republican patriot and tyrannicide Marcus Brutus.⁴² The startling Jacobite appropriation of Catonic and republican languages familiar to historians of Jacobitism and dated from 1716⁴³ can be witnessed in Granville's early poems and in other writing by High Churchmen and Jacobite Tories soon after the Revolution.

Johnson's judgement on the youthful effusion of Granville's high-flying, Waller-like muse apostrophizing James the Just and Mary d'Este of Modena as earthly god and goddess is not sympathetic:

At the accession of king James ... he again exerted his poetical powers, and addressed the new monarch in three short pieces, of which the first is profane,

and the ⁴⁴two others such as a boy might be expected to produce.

But there is interest for historical critics of Swift and of later Tory and Jacobite political writing in the early association of James II and royalism with the iconic heroes of virtuous Roman republicanism in Granville's poems. In 'To The King' we read:

O! cou'd the Ghosts of mighty Heroes dead
Return on Earth, and quit th' Elizian Shade,
Brutus to James wou'd trust the Peoples Cause,
Thy Justice is a stronger Guard than Laws:
Marius and Sylla wou'd resign to thee,
Nor Caesar, and Great Pompey, Rivals be,
Or Rivals only who shou'd best obey,
And Cato gives his Voice for Regal Sway.⁴⁵

Soon after the Revolution the idealized stoic Roman republicans are back in opposition in Granville's verse. In response to the 'Syren Song' of verses from his cousin Elizabeth Higgons entreating him to leave his country retirement and return to public life, the young Granville pens in 1690 a Jacobite jeremiad against the corruption of this mad time of usurpation. He remarkably enlists Cato for the 'Honest' cause.⁴⁶ The poet examines political power and discovers usurpation and illegitimacy behind

'Greatness':

Survey the World, and with impartial Eyes
Consider, and examine, all who rise,
Weigh well their Actions, and their treacherous Ends,
How Greatness grows, and by what Steps ascends,
What Murders, Treasons, Perjuries, Deceit,
How many fall, to make one Monster great.

The poet becomes slightly more specific:

Wou'd you command? Have Fortune in your Pow'r?
Hug whom you stab, and smile when you devour:
Be bloody, false, flatter, forswear, and lie,
Turn Pander, Pathick, Parasite, or Spy,
Such thriving Arts may your wish'd Purpose bring,
At least a General be, perhaps a King.

The 'honest Man' shuns any base embrace with prostitute 'Fortune'.⁴⁷ Cato is the type of the 'honest Man' whose conduct is an exemplum Granville considers at length.

The polemical use of the ancient Roman republican in his Jacobite propaganda Letter of 1722 is clearly presaged in this poem of 1690:

Had Cato bent beneath the conquering Cause,
 He might have liv'd to give new Senates Laws;
 But on vile Terms disdaining to be great,
 He perish'd by his Choice, and not his Fate:
 Honours and Life th' Usurper bids, and all
 That vain mistaken Men good Fortune call,
 Virtue forbids, and sets before his Eyes
 An honest Death, which he accepts, and dies.
 O glorious Resolution! Noble Pride!
 More honour'd than the Tyrant liv'd, he dy'd,
 More prais'd, more lov'd, more envy'd in his Doom,
 Than Caesar trampling on the Rights of Rome.⁴⁸

The mood and rhetoric of such a passage might be compared with Swift's 'Ode to Sancroft', where 'Heaven and Cato both are pleas'd' with 'Saint' Sancroft, high above 'Caesar's court', and in an apotheosized 'retreat' (Poems, I, 33-42).

Granville's poem represents the court of King William III as a grotesque and vicious inversion of a natural order. The world of the God-like King 'Just James' and his 'beauteous Queen', the 'Jove and Juno' of Granville's celebratory loyalist verses,⁴⁹ has been desecrated with 'endless Noise', 'Blood and Horror', 'unnatural Joys', and a pygmy parody of sacred monarchy. Let others 'cringe in Courts, depending on the Nods / Of strutting Pygmies, who wou'd pass for Gods'.⁵⁰ Deploying the topos of the honest happy man in pastoral retirement, Granville's poem concludes in affirmation of quietist retreat from impiety.⁵¹ Granville's poem (and particularly such lines

as those comparing the new monarchs to 'strutting Pygmies') is an early instance of a Tory anti-court rhetoric that attained fine asperity in Swift's satire - in the sneering diminution of the Augustan pretensions of the Hanoverian Whig court to Lilliputian proportions in Part 1 of Gulliver's Travels, in the satiric anthropology of Part IV of the Travels where the degenerate rudiments of corrupt modern polity are discovered in the antics of the noisome anthropoid Yahoos, and in the violent anti-Hanoverian satire of such a passage as this from Swift's An Epistle to a Lady:

All the Vices of a Court,
Do but serve to make me Sport.
Shou'd a Monkey wear a Crown,
Must I tremble at his Frown?
Could I not, thro' all his Ermin,
Spy the strutting chatt'ring Vermin?
Safely write a smart Lampoon,
To expose the brisk Baboon?⁵²

It is interesting in the light of Granville's Jacobite Tory appropriation of Cato to read in his important poem An Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry (1701) the criticism of Lucan's famous and controversial line (from Pharsalia, I, 128) Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.⁵³ Granville condemns the 'Roman Wit, who impiously divides / His Heroe and his Gods to different sides' but acknowledges that the 'admiring World still stands in his defence'. And indeed, the critic reflects, 'How o'ft, Alas! the best of men in vain / Contend for blessings that the worst obtain!'⁵⁴ Granville's literary criticism contains covert contemporary political implication. Should not Cato, the devout 'honest Man', accept the cause sanctioned by the Will of God? Did

not William III rule with providential approval? The argument that the Revolution was a work of Providence had perhaps persuaded many Tories to transfer allegiance to the Revolution government. The apostate nonjuror William Sherlock had argued, in his sensational best-seller The Case of the Allegiance Due to Sovereign Powers (1691 [1690]), that God's authority was with the monarch in actual, settled possession of the crown.⁵⁵ Granville's particular resolution of the apparent difficulty that the Gods are on the side of victorious Caesar's (ie. the Williamite or Revolution) cause and not virtuous Cato's (ie. the Jacobite) cause, looks forward to the assassination of 'Caesar'. In the text of the Essay it is explained that 'The Gods, permitting Traitors to succeed, / Become not Parties in an impious deed'. Ultimately Cato and the Gods were found to be on the same side against Caesar: 'And, by the Tyrants Murder, we may find / That Cato and the Gods were of a mind'.⁵⁶ Granville's note to this part of the Essay concerning Lucan's line, in the 'Explanatory Annotations' appended to the poem, implies divine approval of the assassination of usurping tyrants:

Victrix Causa deis placuit, sed Victa Catoni. The consent of so many Ages having establish'd the reputation of this Line, the Author perhaps may be judg'd too presuming in this attack. But he cou'd not suppose that Cato, who is describ'd to have been a Man of strict devotion, and more resembling the Gods than men, would choose any party in opposition to the Gods ... Besides, success implies permission, and not approbation; to place the Gods always on the thriving side is to make 'em partakers in all successful wickedness. They judge before the conclusion of the Action: The Catastrophe will best determine on which side is Providence: And the Violent death of Caesar acquits the Gods from being Companions of his Usurpation.

Elizabeth Handasyde in her excellent biography of Granville notes that his cousins George, Thomas, and Bevil Higgons were involved in the Jacobite plots of William's reign, although she remarks of Granville that the 'imitator of Cato was not likely to scheme for the assassination of even so fiercely hated an enemy as William'.⁵⁸ But it may be inferred from the evidence produced here that Granville entertained the idea. And he was not alone. The great Jacobite Tory master, John Dryden, anticipates Granville in political approval of the tyrannicide, Marcus Brutus:

Marcus Brutus, who preferred the freedom of his country to the obligations which he had to Julius Caesar, so prized Polybius, that he made a compendium of his works; and read him not only for his instruction, but for the diversion of his grief, when his noble enterprize for the restoration of the commonwealth had not found the success which it deserved.⁵⁹

Jonathan Swift, reflecting a strand of revolutionism in his Grotian intellectual inheritance in Gulliver's Travels, vicariously entertains the idea of justified rebellion and the regicide of usurpers and tyrants. Gulliver's account in Part III of the Lindalinian rebellion against the court of the flying island Laputa (an ambiguous allegory of Irish resistance to the recent English Court Whig attempt to impose Wood's halfpence, a passage not in any edition of Gulliver's Travels in Swift's lifetime) is remarkable. The rebellion of the Lindalinians 'had like to have put a Period to the Fate of that Monarchy, at least as it is now instituted'. The final sentence of the passage reads:

I was assured by a great Minister, that if the Island

had descended so near the Town, as not to be able to raise it self, the Citizens were determined to fix it for ever, to kill the King and all his Servants, and entirely change the Government.

(PW, XI, 309-10)

The omission of this passage from printed editions in Swift's lifetime reflects a cautious castration of the political attack on the established monarchy. These radical political sentiments, conveyed here in the carapace of a fictional, mock travel book, were usually only openly expressed after 1689 in the anonymous extremist Jacobite press (where it was judged to be not unlawful for the body politic to rise against an illegitimate king or usurper) or by Jacobites condemned to the scaffold. For example, Robert Charnock's 'Letter to a Friend, Written Shortly Before His Execution' is an open expression of extreme Jacobite views by a man condemned for his part in the Assassination Plot of 1696. Charnock asks in his 'Letter':

shall this Perkin Warbeck of a King be held sacred in his Person, not to be touched, but suffered with impunity to massacre and destroy all the honest part of mankind? Others may judge of this as they please; for my owne part I am convinced that, as Tertulliam says, In hostes publicos omnis homo est miles, and that t'is the duty of every loyall subject that has the courage and the opportunity to do it, to rid the world of a Publick Enemy, who has kindled a War all over Europe, and sacrificed more lives of men to his insatiable ambition and usurpation, then all your Marius and Syllas, Cesars and Pompys putt together.⁶⁰

After considering William III as 'an Enemy', Charnock then considers him 'in his particular character of an Usurper'. William is 'an unjust ravisher' and 'what ever may lawfully be attempted against the worst of Theeves and Robbers, not only may, but ought to, be attempted against him'.⁶¹ Charnock's 'Letter' provides

a classic formulation of the militant Jacobite libertarian language that the disaffected Swift would echo, not in propria persona of course, but through a putative speaker, in Gulliver's Travels. Charnock justifies the Jacobite attempt against the Revolution government of William III:

And what can a common Usurper expect, when Julius Cesar himself for usurping upon the freedom of the Roman Commonwealth could not scape the poniards of Brutus and Cassius, and others the best men of that time, and some them (by him reputed) his intimat freinds?

'To this may be added the authority of the learned Grotius an Author equally famous for erudition and moderation, and therfor received by all Partys, who in his book de Jure Belli tells us that when any one by an unjust war contrary to the law of nations shall usurp the Supreme Power, he may be lawfully killd: jure potest occidi, are his words, a quolibet privato, by every private person that owes allegiance to him who has the Right.⁶²

Swift had appropriated Cato and Brutus for the Tory party cause against that modern Caesar, the Duke of Marlborough, in Some Reasons to Prove, That no Person is obliged by his Principles, as a Whig, to Oppose Her Majesty or Her Present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig-Lord (1712). Those icons of Roman virtue, Cato and Brutus, the Whig Lord learns, 'joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the Laws and Constitution, against the Usurpations of a victorious General, whose Ambition was bent to overthrow them' (PW,VI,134).⁶³

But the most famous of Swift's references to Brutus occurs in Part III of Gulliver's Travels when Gulliver is in Glubbudribb, the island of sorcerers or magicians. When antiquity is summoned into Gulliver's presence by the island's governor, Gulliver is afforded the prospect of imminent Civil War battle and there is a remarkable

celebration of the uncorrupted Senate of Rome, Brutus, and tyrannicide:

I SAW Caesar and Pompey at the Head of their Troops just ready to engage. I saw the former in his last great Triumph. I desired that the Senate of Rome might appear before me in one large Chamber, and a modern Representative, in Counterview, in another. The first seemed to be an Assembly of Heroes and Demy-Gods; the other a Knot of Pedlars, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen and Bullies.

The Governor at my Request gave the Sign for Caesar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound Veneration at the Sight of Brutus; and could easily discover the most consummate Virtue, the greatest Intrepidity, and Firmness of Mind, the truest Love of his Country, and general Benevolence for Mankind in every Lineament of his Countenance. I observed with much Pleasure, that these two Persons were in good Intelligence with each other; and Caesar freely confessed to me, that the greatest Actions of his own Life were not equal by many Degrees to the Glory of taking it away.

(PW, XI, 195-96)

Swift's vicarious entertainment of tyrannicide in this passage and in his account of the Lindalinian rebellion have startling analogues in Jacobite polemical literature of the 1720s. For example, in defending the Bishop of Rochester (convicted of Jacobite conspiracy) The True Briton found this analogue for Atterbury's public spirit in a time of Whig tyranny:

The Great Brutus who stabb'd Caesar, is a Noble Mark of Publick Spirit. Caesar was his Friend, and had served him in many Instances; yet, when he trampled on the Laws, the general Good was preferr'd to his private Inclinations; and when he imbrued his Hands in⁶⁴ his Blood, it was the Tyrant, not the Friend, he struck.

Granville in A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England exhorts 'good English-men' to 'take a Roman Resolution to save their Country, or perish with it':

Brutus was a sworn Enemy to Pompey, the Murderer of his Father; but when it happened that Rome must perish, or Pompey be supported, Brutus became Pompey's Friend.

Brutus took an Oath to Caesar, but Brutus never swore to be an Enemy to his Country. Brutus owed much to Caesar, but Brutus thought private Benefits as well as private Injuries were to be sacrificed to the Publick Safety. And Brutus was an honourable Man.⁶⁵

The Jacobite Tory journalist Nathaniel Mist, who industriously publicized Swift's Irish writings against the Hanoverian Whig government in England,⁶⁶ printed this explanation of the significance of Cato and Brutus. It is worth quoting at some length, to illustrate how Swift's sortie into Roman history and his invocation of a patriotic Roman assassin had topical polemical resonance and militant innuendo and application:

Some late Circumstances in the World have put me upon the Subject of looking back into History ... And, I find, that most of these adventurous Heroes, who have launched thus voluntarily into Eternity, did it rather because they were sick of the Times, than of themselves: Rather because they could not survive the Loss of Liberty, or Oppression of their Country ... The two most eminent Instances in Roman History, of such as thus desperately made an End of themselves, are those of Cato Uticensis, and Marcus Brutus: The first died because he could not get the better of Tyranny; and the latter, because, when he had struck to root out one Oppressor, he was pursued by more dangerous Tyrants than him whom his Love to Rome only moved him to destroy. Cato was zealous for the Laws and Liberty of the Commonwealth: And Brutus loved Caesar, even when he struck him: But when Caesar trampled on the Rights of Rome, then Brutus could forget⁶⁷ his Affection to the Man, to put an End to the Tyrant.

Bolingbroke, in exile, compares himself with Brutus in a letter to Swift in 1724 (Corr, III, 29).⁶⁸ It is my view that Roman republican, regicidal radicalism in Swift's Gulliver's Travels, consonant as it is with an understood Jacobite political language,⁶⁹ has the effect of suggesting not an anachronistic Old or True Whig political stance as is supposed in Swift studies, but the Jacobite velleities of a disaffected High Churchman

whose loyalty to the settlement founded upon the Revolution could be radically ambiguous.

It should be said immediately that as a High Church Anglican priest, Swift excoriated the regicide of lawful kings, anathematized the 'murderous Puritan-parliament' and the 'horrid rebellion', venerated 'the excellent King and blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him', and proscribed the principles whose ultimate provenance was Geneva which 'carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold' ('A Sermon Upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I', PW, IX, 219-31). He believed with a number of post-Revolution Tory ideologists that the subject's duty was passive obedience and non-resistance to the legislature - allegiance was due to the king in settled possession with consent of the Lords and Commons. There is no clear extant evidence to my knowledge that Swift was a Jacobite - that he acted on revolution principles to restore the Roman Catholic Stuart claimant - though many of his friends were active Jacobites and he was regarded as a Jacobite High Churchman by many contemporaries. The exiguity of the Anglican establishment in Ireland no doubt heightened M. B. (perhaps Marcus Brutus) Drapier's sense of the frightening risks of a Catholic accession. He states in 'A Letter From Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope' that he opposes 'a Popish Successor to the Crown' and only regards the 'right line' when established by law and supported by the people. Although

he notes that 'necessity may abolish any Law' and that hereditary right is 'perhaps the most popular of all topicks'. His 'Revolution-principle', as I will discuss later, could possibly justify a Stuart expedition in extremis:

As to what is called a Revolution-principle, my opinion was this; That, whenever those evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, were not in probability so pernicious as the grievances we suffer under a present power, then the publick good will justify such a Revolution; and this I took to have been the Case in the Prince of Orange's expedition, although in the consequences it produced some very bad effects, which are likely to stick long enough by us.

(PW, IX, 31)

In a letter of 1735 Swift described James II as 'a weak bigoted Papist, desirous like all Kings of absolute power, but not properly a tyrant'.⁷⁰ But the Hanoverians were the real thing. Writing to his Jacobite friend John Barber in September 1735 he says that 'without some unexpected assistance from Heaven, many thousand now alive will see [England] governed by an absolute [Mon]arch' (Corr, IV, 381). Also, in a letter to William Pulteney of 12 May 1735 Swift wishes 'princes had capacity to read the history of the Roman emperors; how many of them were murdered by their own army, and the same may be said of the Ottomans by their janissaries; and many other examples are easy to be found' (Corr, IV, 337). Swift though an ideological conservative is an imaginative extremist. There is a flirtation with proscribed, extremist political ideas in his literary work. It is not only in Gulliver's Travels that the idea of king-killing is entertained.

'A Digression concerning the Original, the Use and

Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth' in Section IX of Swift's A Tale of a Tub (largely written, according to Swift's statements in the text, in 1696 and 1697)⁷¹ contains an account of the assassination of Henri IV of France. The putative author, the Grub Street modernist, tells us that 'the greatest Actions that have been performed in the World, under the Influence of Single Men; which are, The Establishment of New Empires by Conquest: The Advance and Progress of New Schemes in Philosophy; and the contriving, as well as the propagating of New Religions' are the products of mad persons. The two examples of the madness of military conquest, violently satirized by Swift, are 'A certain Great Prince' (a note informs us that 'Harry the Great of France' is meant) and 'the Present French King' Louis XIV. The account of 'Henri IV' begins:

A certain Great Prince raised a mighty Army, filled his Coffers with infinite Treasures, provided an invincible Fleet, and all this, without giving the least Part of his Design to his greatest Ministers, or his nearest Favourites. Immediately the whole World was alarmed; the neighbouring Crowns, in trembling Expectation, towards what Point the Storm would burst; the small Politicians, every where forming profound Conjectures. Some believed he had laid a Scheme for Universal Monarchy: Others, after much Insight, determined the Matter to be a Project for pulling down the Pope, and setting up the Reformed Religion, which had once been his own.

The disease of restless military ambition was cured. For in 'the midst of all these Projects and Preparations; a certain State-Surgeon' (a note refers to 'Ravillac, who stabb'd Henry the Great in his Coach') 'attempted the Cure, at one Blow performed the Operation, broke the Bag, and out flew the Vapour; nor did any thing want to render it a compleat Remedy, only, that the

Prince unfortunately happened to Die in the Performance'. The putative author goes on to explain for the curious, mystified reader that the Prince's military 'Projects and Preparations' had a bathetic, circumstantial concupiscent motive - Henri IV's unsatisfied sexual desire for the princess of Condé - concluding:

The very same Principle that influences a Bully to break the Windows of a Whore, who has jilted him, naturally stirs up a Great Prince to raise mighty Armies, and dream of nothing but Sieges, Battles, and Victories.

The ironies in this famous section of A Tale of a Tub are unstable, but the fact that Swift could choose to write a cold-blooded satire of a militaristic great prince cured by an assassin when the Assassination Plot of 1696 was the sensational topic of public discourse is interesting. The account may have had a frisson of topical political resonance for some readers. The restless but impotent military ambition of William III and his ruinously expensive projects and preparations were a frequent subject of sardonic Jacobite Tory political satire in poems and prose fiction on affairs of state. Chapter XIII of An Historical Romance of the Wars, Between the Mighty Giant Gallieno, and the Great Knight Nasonius and His Associates (1694), for example, is a satiric burlesque of William's 'vast attempt' to overthrow Louis XIV and secure 'Immortal Glory':

Long, very long had this mighty Project amused all Europe; huge preparations of Cannons, Mortars, Bombs, and other formidable Military Engines had marched with great Solemnity ... and were Embarqu'd. Many hundreds of Transport Ships, and Well-boats were taken up, and made ready ... The Nasonian Courtiers were all turn'd Astrologers, and prognosticated the miserable Downfall of King Gallieno ... the Grounds of it so firmly and

wisely laid by the unerring Politicks of Nasonius ...

The most searching Wits of Utopia were too shallow to sound the dark bottom of it, and were at a deadly plunge how to frame the least Conjecture where this iresistable Thunderbolt would light ...

It all comes to nothing however: 'In a word, this grand design, as it was conceived and born in a Mystery, so it died as Mysteriously too. The reason of its miscarriage being so carefully hush'd up, that to this day few know certainly the occasion of it. Some undertake to clear Nasonius's Credit, and Conduct, by alledging that he never meant or designed any thing in his Life but to March to and fro with a great Army at his Heels, to shew his Greatness' and to take English money.⁷³

William III was sometimes associated by contemporaries with Henri IV.⁷⁴ Henri IV was not the only 'Great Prince' a contemporary would have thought of in juxtaposition with Louis XIV. According to Paul Monod, the Reverend William Cox of Quinton, Gloucestershire was the last case of a cleric prosecuted for overt Jacobitism in William III's reign. *At the time* the Assassination Plot of 1695-96 was discovered he was alleged to have said: "I see there is a plott & that he (meaning ...his Majesty King William) has narrowly escaped the hand of justice but vengeance will overtake him he will die the death of a Tyrant, there will a Raveillac arise"⁷⁵ The Jacobite Charlwood Lawton in 1693 hoped for a restoration of James II without bloodshed. 'They are state-quacks who only understand phlebotomy', he wrote. 'A good physician [James II] will sweeten and compose the mass of humours, and by proper lenitives quiet all our boiling spirits,

and correct the temperament of the state into obedience, without creating faintnesses, or destroying our vitals'.⁷⁶

A Tale of a Tub imagines more radical surgery for one kind of disease in the body politic.

It might be assumed that Swift who, for instance, loyally dedicated Sir William Temple's Letters 'To His Most Sacred Majesty William III' in 1699, naturally would have abhorred the Jacobite Assassination Plot of 1695-96, and that this tentative suggestion of a hostile political implication in the satire of Henri IV in the anonymous Tale is an example of a meaning the Author never imagined and for which critics who discover such unintended meanings are satirized in the 'Apology' Swift affixed to the fifth edition of the Tale (1710). Yet there is some slight evidence in Swift's case, as perhaps in his friend Alexander Pope's,⁷⁷ of an ambiguous attitude to the Assassination Plot. In the Examiner of 15 March 1711 Swift tries to find an historical parallel for the assassination attempt on Robert Harley by Antoine de Guiscard. He refers to the assassinations of Caesar, Henri III and Henri IV. 'In our own Country we have, I think, but one Instance of this sort, which has made any Noise', John Felton's stabbing of the first Duke of Buckingham. It seems to be Swift's view in the Examiner that a patriotic and principled motive admits some extenuation of an assassin's crime. But Guiscard's attempt 'seems to have outdone them all in every heightning Circumstance, except the difference of Persons between a King and a great Minister' (Exam, pp. 298-99). The glaring omission in Swift's history

of assassination is duly observed in the Whig Medley of 19 March 1711 (and Mainwaring and Oldmixon were perhaps closer to Swift's real attitudes than they knew):

'Twas very odd in him, when he was reckoning up all the Assassination-Plots, not to mention that against King William; but no doubt he can tell why 'twas omitted. The Tories don't love to hear of it, and indeed I can't discommend them: For Charnock and Parkins, I won't say Friend, were as much Assassins as Clement and Ravillac, tho they did not accomplish their execrable Design. I was surpriz'd to see him so very civil to Felton, who butcher'd the Duke of Buckingham; that Act, says he, will admit of some Extenuation: For at that rate Ravillac and Clement are much more entitled to his good Word. Felton said, he did it for the good of the State; and the French Assassins, for the good of the Church. There's no Comparison. The Extenuation certainly lies all on the side of the Fryars: And let my Friend himself be Judg, I am sure he will be of that mind upon second Thoughts.

(Exam, pp.310-11)

In Swift's satiric ridicule of the Whig prosecution of Francis Atterbury in 'Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin the B_ _ _ of R_____ 's French Dog', a 'perjur'd Dog' denotes Thomas Pendergrass (who revealed the plot to assassinate William III) and George Porter (who turned King's evidence) (Poems, I, 298). Elsewhere Swift assassinates the character and family of Pendergrass. The man who acted with conscience and honour in revealing the existence of a plot against the King's life and who was rewarded by William, is vilified by Swift as an 'Informer' (see Poems, III, 826; PW, V, 264).

That Swift was 'no Jacobite' has long been axiomatic in Swift criticism and biography. If he in fact was a Jacobite, he did not, to the best of my knowledge, commit explicit incriminating evidence to paper. Claude

Rawson describes a 'temperamental defensiveness which built a restless indirection into Swift's most casual utterances and made his writing bristle with aggressive mystifications and the concealments of ironic obliquity'.⁷⁸

This observation is especially applicable to Swift the political writer commenting on the Revolution and the Williamite, Queen Anne and Hanoverian establishment under conditions of censorship. To defame William III or to question the motives of the Revolution could lead to prosecution for sedition. Tories and Jacobites generally practised prudence in print, preferring strategies of obliquity and ambiguity to plain political statement. The Jacobite Tory writer Bevil Higgons in his Historical and Critical Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of His own Time frankly explained a Tory remarker's predicament when commenting on the Whig bishop's account of James II's reign. The critical enterprise requires studied caution, indeed heroism:

WE are now come to a Reign, in which, for some Reasons, I shall be very reserved and laconick. The Author here is safe in his Trenches, and cannot be attacked without manifest Danger. To battle him now is a kind of Tryal ordeal; we must shut our Eyes,⁷⁹ and to come at him pass over burning Plow-shears.

In his published oppositionist political writing Swift typically claims loyalty to the establishment he contrives to radically criticize. A Tale of a Tub (1704), with its violent satire on religious dissent and pointed reflection on the notorious occasional conformity of Sir Humphrey Edwin, is dedicated (not without ambiguity) to the Junto Whig Lord Somers. Swift's Irish pamphleteering against the English Court Whig government draws arguments

from the Whig enemy's own ideological canon. In Swift's case however, we are afforded a measure of insight into his private views on the Revolution and William III in marginal annotations he made in copies of John Macky's Memoirs, William Howell's Medulla Historiae Anglicanae, and Burnet's History of His Own Time.⁸⁰ Although well-known and often cited, several of Swift's marginal annotations must, it seems to me, disturb readings of Swift as a Whig or loyal opposition figure.

In the marginal remarks on Macky, Swift expresses contempt for the Earl of Romney, who for Macky is 'the great Wheel on which the Revolution rolled'. Swift remarks William's 'very infamous Pleasures' with his companion the Earl of Albermarle. Of the Earl of Middleton, the prominent Protestant Jacobite 'Compounder', Swift writes: 'Sr Wm Temple told me he was a very valuable man, and a good Scholar I once saw him' (PW,V,258,259,262). Swift's marginal comments in Howell's Medulla Historiae Anglicanae are hostile to William and he queries whether William was a king of the 'Dutch or English' (PW,V,264). As Francis Manley has concluded of the overall effect of Swift's marginalia in Howell, 'almost all his notes in Howell lament that the Glorious Revolution and ultimately the Hanoverian accession had not been averted'. He wishes the Exclusion Bill had passed; it was a pity that Charles, James's son, died; he laments the death of Anne's last surviving child, William, Duke of Gloucester, which was, Swift writes, the 'Ruin of the English Interest and Politicks'.⁸¹

The representation of William III in Swift's marginalia in Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time strongly implies Jacobite sympathies. William is said to have contrived the murder of De Witt. William is observed as an inglorious, perjured invader and covert usurper. The warming-pan myth of Williamite propaganda is rejected. There are hostile aspersions on the characters of those involved in inviting over the Prince of Orange (PW, V, 275, 277, 285, 287, 288). Jacobitism was born, Burnet believed, when James II, prevented from escaping by some fishermen of Feversham, was brought back to London:

Yet all the strugglings which that party have made ever since that time to this day, which from him were called afterwards the Jacobites, did rise out of this: For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: All would have agreed, that here was a desertion, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liberty to secure it self. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to say, that he was forced away, and driven out.⁸²

Swift wrote: 'So he certainly was, both now and afterwards' (PW, V, 289). The arrest of the Earl of Feversham was 'Base and villanous'. For Swift it was 'certainly true' that the person and government of King James were struck at and that William had effected a disguised usurpation. King William is blamed for the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland. The Jacobite hero, Viscount Dundee, is described by Swift as 'the best man in Scotland' (PW, V, 290).⁸³ Elsewhere in these annotations Swift sides with Sancroft, Hickes, Atterbury and Ormonde.⁸⁴

In his militant A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England of 1722, the Jacobite George Granville wrote:

In those Times of Distraction, so like our own, when the Will of a Triumvirate, supported by a Majority of bribed Senators, and an Army at Command was the sole Law; when Cato and Cicero were in Danger of being torn to Pieces in the Street; when to be honest was to be pro[scri]bed; what Course could good Men take over-power'd by Numbers, and despairing of the Commonwealth, but to retire to Athens, or some remote Corner.

Swift wrote in 1728 of the private satisfaction and pleasure of political satire for persons proscribed from the centre of power:

If I ridicule the Follies and Corruptions of a Court, a Ministry, or a Senate, are they not amply paid by Pensions, Titles, and Power; while I expect, and desire no other Reward, than that of laughing with a few Friends in a Corner?

(PW, XII, 34)

CHAPTER THREE

THE POLITICS OF A TALE OF A TUB

A Tale of a Tub To which is added The Battle of the Books and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit is a baroque, miscellany book in a tradition of ridicule of religious enthusiasm which can be traced back through seventeenth-century, Elizabethan, Reformation and Renaissance humanist religious polemic, and patristic writings against heresy, to classical antiquity and such works as Apuleius's The Golden Ass. In particular, the great Restoration satire of the Commonwealth period, Samuel Butler's Hudibras, with which Swift was said to be entirely familiar, has been recognized in Swift scholarship as a significant antecedent text not only to Swift's favourite rhymed colloquial octosyllabic couplet style in poetry but also to the satire on Nonconformity in the Tale.¹ Butler, like Swift, satirizes hubris, Nonconformity, religious fanaticism (analyzed as a psychopathology), pedantry and dullness. Both satirists impute a nexus between Popery and Protestant Nonconformity, connect occult learning, astrology and religious enthusiasm as fanatical imposture, and pillory sectarian preaching, predestinarian doctrine, Quakerism, and sectarian claims of divine revelation and inspiration such as the Quaker doctrine of the 'Inner Light'.

The religious satire of A Tale of a Tub and A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, situated principally in an earlier seventeenth-century tradition

of Anglican apologetic and invective, has generally been regarded by modern scholars as old-fashioned and somewhat recondite both in content and polemical vision at the time of its composition (c.1696-97)² and publication (1704). The work is most often seen as being divorced from any immediate polemical purpose, although, especially in its satire on Dissent, informed by Swift's experience as an Anglican priest at Kilroot near Belfast in 1695-96, a parish comprised largely of Presbyterians. In his study of the Tale's religious background Phillip Harth argues that:

The religious satire of A Tale of a Tub ... was already somewhat old-fashioned when Swift wrote it. It ridiculed Catholicism and Puritanism at a time when neither was any longer a serious threat to the Establishment, and it used conventions for attacking the former which had been popular before the Revolution and conventions for attacking the latter which had been devised during the Commonwealth period in the midst of a situation of ecclesiastical affairs which was just the opposite of that which obtained in Swift's own day. Again, it attacked atheism under forms which no longer posed any serious threat to religion ... And the attack was based, finally, upon premises which were no longer current at the time Swift was writing.

Harth concludes that Swift 'had been flogging many a dead horse in his first venture into satire'.³ Richard I. Cook in his study of Swift as polemicist argues that it was after 1710 that Swift saw his role as a writer in polemical terms. A Tale of a Tub is to be considered by itself and not as the product of a polemical spirit.

Cook argues:

The audience toward which the Tale of a Tub was directed has been identified for us by Swift in his statement that at the time the work was composed, its author was " a young Gentleman much in the World, and wrote to the Tast [sic] of those who were like himself" (I,I). Equally revealing of Swift's intent are the frequent references throughout the work to the men of wit and taste, the

select few, who alone can savor what he has written. Such references, whether seriously intended (as in the "Apology") or ironically (as in the Tale itself, when the persona is speaking), help explain something of the special quality of the work. The young Swift, consciously writing for "those who were like himself", seems to have intended his book, at least on a superficial level, as a sort of family joke - the family in question consisting of that comparatively small circle of sophisticates who by education, social background, and personal inclination were capable of fully appreciating the bewildering wealth of esoteric allusion, parody, and digression which Swift offered.⁴

Cook posits that if the Tale is seen in a contemporary polemical context then it can be regarded as Whig in political sympathy:

The Tale of a Tub, though in no way a partisan Whig tract, was dedicated to Lord Somers, and the ridicule which the book directed at certain Tories helped make its author more welcome in Whig circles. The book's reception by Queen Anne was less successful. Her widely-shared opinion that the book was blasphemous was reputedly instrumental in Swift's later difficulties in his search for advancement within the Church.⁵

Kathleen Williams, while observing that the political aspect of the Tale and Gulliver's Travels filled the minds of Swift's contemporary readers and that religion in the earlier eighteenth century was a political issue, believes nevertheless that the Tale 'an old-fashioned work when it was published, emerged into a world not altogether suited to it'.⁶ J. A. Downie writes in his political biography of Swift that 'Even A Tale of a Tub is political, in that it refers back to a coherent picture of an ideal society. True, it's not party political' but it depicts a society deviating from an Old Whig ideal.⁷

The views of the Tale as a work informed by an earlier seventeenth-century tradition of Anglican apologetics and invective satire largely independent of any immediate polemical purpose or party-political aspect⁸ and that

it is a work of a private rather than public character remain dominant interpretations in Swift studies.⁹ However, the immediate polemical significance of the religious satire has been recognized in Swift scholarship. Ronald Paulson examines to what extent the Tale belongs to the area of polemics and sees its techniques, vocabulary, and quarrels in the context of Restoration controversial writing, especially in the polemic of Eachard, Marvell and Parker.¹⁰ However, referring to important studies by George Every and John R. Maybee, Paulson points out that the Tale was written at a time when the High Church clergy felt the Church was in imminent danger from tolerated Dissenters, from Scots and Dutchmen, and from radical Protestantism, and at a time of deep Tory hostility to the concessionary attitudes of latitudinarian bishops. Paulson suggests 'that the Hack's casuistry, his willingness to accommodate all, would have linked him with the Latitudinarian, who was, to many Anglicans, the fool to the dissenter's knave'.¹¹ Citing Swift's satire on Jack's obsessive and perverse use of Scripture (Tale, pp.190-91), Ehrenpreis suggests, without developing the point, that To digest such a satire without suspecting possible sneers at one's own beliefs, one would have had to be not only Protestant but Anglican, and not only Anglican, but a high-churchman, and not only a high-churchman but a very special distruster of other Protestant sects.¹² He also observes acutely of contemporary reactions to the Tale, that the '"lower" the religious principles of the reader, the deeper ran the horror'.¹³ Robert M. Adams has stressed the polemical spirit and immediacy

of Swift's religious satire.¹⁴ The Tale 'is more a crisis book than a compromise book', writes Adams 'and the closer we get to the immediate circumstances, the exact details surrounding the book's creation, the better our chances to see and evaluate the precise contours of the book itself'.¹⁵ It will be shown in this chapter that the materials, violence and exaggeration of Swift's satiric attack on Dissent in A Tale of a Tub reflect the influence of the contemporary pamphleteering tradition and poems on affairs of state.¹⁶

John Traugott is right to stress the unique intensity of Swift's radical imagination in the Tale's religious satire, which makes a satire concerned with 'quarrels so antique that they have faded beyond our ability to recall them without scholarly paraphernalia' as telling today as it ever was.¹⁷ But reading Swift in his historical background and in a print culture of pamphleteers and political paper wars need not be an academic domestication of the satirist. Indeed, an historical-critical approach to Swift can show the reader that these 'antique' quarrels not only inform a reading of the satirist, highlighting his intentions and targets, but can reveal surprising relationships and shared strategies, a remarkable 'intertextuality' between Swift and contemporary Anglican polemicists. This contextualism may affect both critical and biographical interpretation of the man and his writings and alter those judgements derived from the study of Swift's texts divorced from their controversial and generic situations. Swift's satire on Jack and his sect of Aeolists, for example, is a brilliant,

complex artistic heightening of the language and ideas of contemporary pamphleteers of religious and political hatred. To adapt and alter W. B. Yeats's lines, Swift made out of the quarrel with others not just polemic rhetoric but lasting literary art.

The concerns of Swift's religious satire are not as anachronistic as they have been made to appear by scholars exercising historical hindsight. Traugott asserts that

Even as he wrote the Tale (1696-97), Swift must have known that events had passed him by. So quickly had the Williamite toleration evolved, so utterly had men abandoned in a few months' time allegiances they thought the condition of their honor and faith, that neither Jack nor Peter could have been considered a threat when the Tale appeared in 1704. Defoe the dissenter, only a few years Swift's senior, remembered as a child copying out the Pentateuch with his family the whole night through against the dawn when King Charles would burn all the Bibles; Anglicans had not forgotten the Puritan's holy text of fire and sword and desolation. But in 1704 such passions were spent, and when Swift appended his¹⁸ "Apology" to the fifth edition (1710), nearly forgotten.

This was not how contemporaries viewed the ecclesiastical political issues arising out of the Reformation and the Revolution of 1688-89. Swift could ridicule Gilbert Burnet's fear of Popery and High Church Tory designs ('He hath been poring so long upon Fox's Book of Martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the Reign of Queen Mary' (PW, IV, 80)), but for Swift the threat from Dissent and Whig ecclesiastical policies was immediate and radical. In The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, Swift extenuates the mistake of the clergy in Charles II's reign 'who, under the Terms of Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, are said to have preached up the unlimited Power of the Prince':

BESIDES, it is to be considered, that when these Doctrines began to be preached among us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that horrid Rebellion, under the Consequences of which it had groaned almost twenty Years.
(PW, II, 16, 17)

There is sarcasm here directed at Whig divines and politicians who endorse resistance theory and are sympathetic to the aspirations of Dissenters.. Swift did not forget or forgive. His 'Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I' begins with the classic High Church and Tory defence of the 30 January commemoration:

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and blessed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derived their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed.
(PW, IX, 219)

Using the favourite Tory metaphor for the events of 1687-88 as a 'storm'¹⁹ Swift tells his congregation:

as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt, without some change in the foundation, so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sate much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold.
(PW, IX, 224; see also Exam, pp. 127-28)

The 'successors of those Puritans' are 'our present dissenters' (PW, IX, 226).

The Anglican establishment in the post-Revolution polity was sharply divided on religious issues. A militant High Church movement asserting the episcopal Church's jurisdictional authority in matters of church government,

schism, and heresy challenged the moderate, latitudinarian ecclesiology espoused by a majority on the Bishop's bench and endorsed by Whig ministries. The Church's corporate rights became a cause célèbre of Tory politics. The nature and extent of the Toleration, for instance, was a topic of violent political partisanship. It was in the religious sphere that the Revolution settlement with its apparent political recognition of religious pluralism in an erastian State could be respectably challenged by non-Jacobite High Tories, nonjurors, and Jacobites. Between 1702 and 1704 the ecclesiastical and political controversy over occasional conformity seriously disrupted all other public business in parliament, and to Whigs and Dissenters at least, the bill to outlaw the practice seemed to challenge the very basis of the Toleration of 1689. In 1704, the attempted tack of the third Occasional Conformity Bill to the Land Tax (a money) Bill by the High Church Tories threatened the financing of the entire English war effort on the continent. The 'Church in Danger' was a leitmotif of Tory electoral politics. The representation in A Tale of a Tub of the fanatical excesses of Jack and the implication that moderate Martin's appeasement strategy with Jack only encourages his extremist aspiration (see Tale, pp.140-41) is a High Church Tory political parable. The polemical character of the Tale suggests one possible reason why Swift, whose Discourse of 1701 made him welcome to the Whig political leaders, never received preferment from them.

Contemporary readers reacted to what they saw as

the profanity, impiety and skepticism in A Tale of a Tub but also to its polemical implications and meaning.²⁰

Swift certainly attempted to counter criticism of the Tale as irreligious in his 'Apology' prefixed to the work in 1710 and by modifying the more profane strokes of the 1704 text in the fifth edition of 1710.²¹ He carefully preserved the official anonymity of the Tale and ensured no formal evidence of his authorship could be produced. Swift could presume that the disorientation within the text itself - mystifications about authorial responsibility for the volume as printed and the formal use of impersonation, parody, irony and putative speakers - would provide further protection from inquisitorial readers. But Swift became known as the author of the notorious volume. It is fairly clear that Swift thought his dangerous and controversial satiric book had advanced his prospects with the Tories. On the 7 October 1710, almost certainly alluding to A Tale of a Tub, he writes to his intimate friend Esther Johnson that: 'They may talk of the you know what; but, gad, if it had not been for that, I should never have been able to get the access I have had; and if that helps me to succeed, then that same thing will be serviceable to the church' (PW,XV,47 and note). The context of the passage suggests 'access' to Harley and the Tories. Swift was nick-named 'Dr. Martin' by Harley 'because Martin is a sort of swallow, and so is a Swift' (PW,XVI,381) but also most probably in allusion to the Anglican Brother in A Tale of a Tub (see also, Exam,p.xxvi, n.). In his Memoirs, Relating to that Change which happened

in the Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710 (written 1714),

Swift gives an account of his recruitment as Tory ministerial publicist and apologist in 1710:

Mr. Harley told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and, that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now an entirely new scene: That the Queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new ministers.

(PW,VIII,123)

Swift's only published works of plain anti-Whig bias before 1710 were A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test (published December 1708) and A Project for the Advancement of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners (published April 1709), both of which appeared anonymously. There was also A Tale of a Tub, never acknowledged in print by Swift although he was widely reputed to be the author. The fifth edition with the 'Apology' and notes was published in 1710 presumably just before Swift's arrival in London in September (Corr, I, 166-67; Exam, p.xliv, n.4). There is the possibility that the Tale was one of the 'useful things' written against Whig principles and, if we may credit Swift's retrospective assertion, one of Swift's writings in which Harley and the Tories perceived the presence of an able 'Church party' polemicist.

Despite the Tale's notoriety Swift was not being unreasonable in feeling the work would ingratiate him with the Tories and serve 'the church'. Eighteenth-century

readers seem to have recognized High Church partisanship in the work, which in the divisive period between 1696 and 1710 was implicitly Tory. There is evidence that in Tory circles the Tale was regarded as revealing a 'useful' talent. In 1704 Francis Atterbury, the leader of the High Church party among the lower clergy, was recommending A Tale of a Tub to the Tory Bishop of Exeter, Jonathan Trelawny. Atterbury undoubtedly appreciated this sensational satire which champions the 'Ancient' position of Sir William Temple and Atterbury's former pupil Charles Boyle against Richard Bentley and William Wotton and awards the victory in the Phalaris controversy to the cause of Atterbury and the High Church Tory Christ Church wits. Atterbury may have appreciated, what I will suggest is, Swift's witty allusion in the Tale to a 1687-88 controversy at Oxford over the spirit of Martin Luther in which Atterbury had written a celebrated treatise. He would have been deeply sympathetic in principle to the Tale's extreme attack on Popery and Dissent. Atterbury wrote to Trelawny on 15 June:

I beg your Lordship (if the book is come down to Exon) to read the "Tale of a Tub". For, bating the profaneness of it in some places, it is a book to be valued, being an original in it's kind, full of wit, humour, good sense, and learning. It comes from Christ Church; and a good part of it is written in defence of Mr. Boyle against Wotton and Bentley. The town is wonderfully pleased with it.

His remark to Trelawny on 29 June about the 'authors of "A Tale of a Tub"' is suggestive: 'I wish their pens were employed in the way your Lordship mentions; they would be able to do service'. And on 1 July Atterbury writes:

The author of "A Tale of a Tub" will not as yet be known; and if it be the man I guess, he hath reason to conceal himself, because of the prophane strokes in that piece, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than the wit can do him good. I think your Lordship hath found out a very proper employment for his pen, which he would execute very happily. Nothing can please more than that book doth here at London.²²

The Tory satirist and Christ Church man William King was alarmed when the profane Tale was attributed to him and he publicly dissociated himself from the book by writing against it. Swift was friendly with King and secured him the post of Gazetteer in 1711.²³ In the 'Apology' Swift remarked that King 'writ against the Conviction of his Talent' when he composed Some Remarks on The Tale of a Tub (1704) (Tale,p.11). King makes some interesting points about the political character of the Tale which have been neglected in Swift scholarship. King interprets the Bookseller's Dedication to Somers as disrespectful. He also assumes that the Tale is recognized as the work of a 'violent Tory'.²⁴ Dr. Johnson's famous anecdote in his Life of Swift that the High Church extremist Henry Sacheverell tried to flatter the Tory George Smalridge by seeming to think the wild work was his reflects a contemporary view that A Tale of a Tub was High Church Tory in provenance. Whigs and Low Churchmen were hostile to the work. William Wotton placed the book explicitly within a contemporary polemical context. Grieved by the alleged irreligion of the Tale, Wotton writes: 'This 'tis which makes the difference between the sharp and virulent Books written in this Age against any Sect of Christians, and those which were written about the beginning of the Reformation between the several contending Parties

then in Europe'. The miscellany volume 'is one of the Prophanest Banter upon the Religion of Jesus Christ, as such, that ever yet appeared. In the Tale, in the Digressions, in the Fragment, the same Spirit runs through, but rather most in the Fragment, in which all extraordinary Inspirations are the Subjects of his Scorn and Mockery, whilst the Protestant Dissenters are, to outward appearance, the most directly levelled at'.²⁵ Whigs read the book as irreligious and as an attack on principles of 'Moderation'.²⁶

Swift's eighteenth-century biographer Thomas Sheridan regarded the publication of the Tale as a political act. Swift waited 'for a favourable season to produce it, when it might answer some more important purpose'. When 'the opposition from the Tories grew daily more feeble, as the power of the Whigs increased; and as a firm establishment of the Whig interest seemed to threaten, upon their principles, an entire disregard to, and neglect of all religion; Swift thought this a proper juncture to revive the topic of religion'. For Sheridan, clearly, the publication of the Tale in the spring of 1704 was Swift's Tory party-political intervention at a time when the Whigs were perceived by Swift to have gained an ascendancy after the defeat of the second Occasional Conformity Bill (Corr, I, 44, Swift to William Tisdall, 3 February 1704):

The bulk of mankind were therefore in a fit disposition to fall in with the principle of moderation held out by the Whigs; but as it was easy to see from some of their political measures, that moderation was not the point at which they intended to stop; but that an indifference with regard to any form of religion was likely to ensue, in consequence of some of their tenets;

Swift thought it high time that the attention of the people towards the security of the established Church should be roused, that they might be guarded against the undermining artifices of its enemies,²⁷ secretly carried on under covert of her pretended friends.

Swift, of course, still moved in Whig circles until 1710.

The Tale with its violent satire of Nonconformity and pillorying of Sir Humphrey Edwin's occasional conformity was published anonymously. It appeared in May during the parliamentary recess and as the Tory extremists agitated for the 'Tack' of the Occasional Conformity Bill to the Land Tax Bill. The text draws attention to its 'moment' of publication - the 'Production' of 'a long Prorogation of Parliament'; it 'will serve for an Interim'; 'No Man hath more nicely observed our Climate, than the Bookseller who bought the Copy of this Work' (Tale, pp.30,41,206).

Writing in the Examiner of 16 November 1710 Swift provocatively affirmed his support for the Tory 'Church in danger' campaign of 1705 mounted after the defeat of the highflyers' third Occasional Conformity Bill in December 1704:

I have heard it often objected as a great piece of Insolence in the Clergy and others, to say or hint that the Church was in danger, when it was Voted otherwise in Parliament some Years ago: And the Queen Her self in Her last Speech, did openly condemn all such Insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still believe, the Church has, since that Vote, been in very imminent Danger; and I think I might then have said so, without the least Offence to her Majesty, or either of the two Houses ... Neither do I see any Crime further than ill Manners, to differ in Opinion from a Majority of either or both Houses; and that ill Manners, I must confess I have been often guilty of for some Years past, tho' I hope I never shall again.

(Exam, pp.38,39)

Sheridan recognized that Swift had said that the 'Church was in danger', noting the incendiary party-political aspect of the great satire of 1704.

HERETICS AND HIGH CHURCH POLITICS

A Tale of a Tub is a 'Modernist' raree-show put on by a censorious satiric show-man. Ironically, the 'modernism' Swift satirized in the Tale - the antinomian, individualistic, relativistic and hedonistic tendencies he saw in the contemporary print and sectarian cultures - prefigure actual modern modes.²⁸ But the immediate polemical character of Swift's satiric exhibits, and especially the High Church Tory political implication of the satire on Dissent, have not been sufficiently emphasized in modern editorial and critical scholarship on the volume. J. R. Crider's excellent and important study of the 'History of Fanaticism' in the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit (see Tale, pp. 283-89) concludes, for instance, that

As for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sectarians cited in the "History", since all of them stood near the farthest extreme of individualism and, by reputation at least, antinomianism, the view that the Mechanical Operation is a satire on Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers is imprecise. All these groups, in fact, repudiated the antinomianism of Swift's fanatics. It is true that Swift names the Quakers, but even here the reference is to the Quakers when they "first appeared".²⁹

But the project of contemporary High Church and Tory polemic was to collocate modern Dissent with antinomian fanaticism. Swift certainly effects such a satiric collocation in the Tale and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. He does not scruple in the Tale to conflate the different sects of Protestant Dissent - English and Scottish Presbyterianism, continental Calvinism, Quakerism, German communist Anabaptism and 'Enthusiasm'. Separating from Martin, Jack is recognized by several denominations: AND now the little Boys in the Streets began to salute

him with several Names. Sometimes they would call Him, Jack the Bald; sometimes, Jack with a Lanthorn; sometimes, Dutch Jack; sometimes, French Hugh; sometimes, Tom the Beggar; and sometimes, Knocking Jack of the North. And it was under one, or some, or all of these Appellations (which I leave the Learned Reader to determine) that he hath given Rise to the most Illustrious and Epidemick Sect of Aeolists, who with honourable Commemoration, do still acknowledge the Renowned JACK for their Author and Founder.

(Tale, pp.141-42)

Provocatively, the religious and intellectual aberrations from the satire's implied norms of Established Anglicanism in religion and the 'Ancients' in learning are exposed in the Tale as atavistic. Just as flagitious modern Criticism is of disreputable antiquity (see Sect. III. 'A Digression concerning Criticks', Tale, pp.92-104), so modern Dissent is connected with ancient heresy, especially the early Gnostic sects anathematized by the early Church Fathers. Irenaeus's Adversus Haereses is recognized as 'one of the major models of Swift's own attack on religious individualism in the Tale'.³⁰ The satirized putative author of the Tale is made analogous to a Gnostic heretic - what we formally hear in the Tale is the voice of heretical, Enthusiastical Whig Dissent (see the quotation from Irenaeus on the Title page and Tale, pp.30,54,187). Such works as Irenaeus's Adversus Haereses, Sleidan's 'Commentaries' and Thomas Edwards's seventeenth-century heresiology Gangraena, with which Swift was familiar,³¹ were much mined and cited by Anglican controversialists in the paper wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Andrew Marvell in The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part (1673) observed that his Anglican antagonist Samuel Parker in attacking religious toleration for

Dissenters adduced a provocative parallel between the ancient Gnostic heretics and the Nonconformists: 'There is one thing more in your discussion of Christian Liberty concerning the Gnosticks, whom you very frequently parallel to the Non-conformists; which, would I seek for new matter of mirth or stir up fresh controversies, does administer me abundant occasion. But I shall defer that till your Diagnosticks be better'.³² But the Anglican 'Diagnosticks' of Dissent remained an offensive polemical manoeuvre in the paper wars over passive obedience, religious toleration, liberty of conscience and schism. The Anglican ideologist of absolute non-resistance William Falkner, for instance, explicitly linked the heretical doctrines and 'unclean practises' of Simon Magus and the Gnostics confuted by Irenaeus with contemporary political revolutionism, specifically the theory of legitimate forcible resistance to the sovereign power in the State identified with Romanist and Presbyterian political doctrine. The papal doctrine of popular resistance, deposition and regicide asserted now by men of 'a Fanatick strain' is damnable heresy.³³

Swift's 'History of Fanaticism' proceeds from the 'early Traces we meet with, of Fanaticks, in antient Story' (Tale, pp. 283-85) to 'the numerous Sects of Hereticks appearing in the five first Centuries of the Christian Aera, from Simon Magus and his Followers, to those of Eutyches. I have collected their Systems from infinite Reading, and comparing them with those of their Successors in the several Ages since', the 'Historian' finds they

all agree in 'one fundamental Point', that of a 'Community of Women'. He then describes the 'last Fanaticks of Note ... which started up in Germany, a little after the Reformation of Luther ... Such were John of Leyden [the radical Dutch Anabaptist who ruled the Anabaptist communist Münster in 1534-35], David George [or Joris, a Dutch Anabaptist who influenced Hendrik Niclaes the founder of the antinomian sect of Anabaptism called the Family of Love or Familists], Adam Neuster [a German Socinian], and many others; whose Visions and Revelations, always terminated in leading about half a dozen Sisters, apiece, and making That Practice a fundamental Part of their System'. The 'brief Survey of some Principal Sects, among the Fanaticks, in all Ages (having omitted the Mahometans and others, who might also help to confirm the Argument I am about)' concludes with the addition of 'several among our selves, such as the Family of Love, Sweet Singers of Israel, and the like' mentioning 'the Quakers' by name and satirizing as libidinous the 'Spiritual exercise' of 'the Saints'. Religious Enthusiasm and Quaker practices are satirically travestied and reduced in the 'History', as elsewhere in the Mechanical Operation, to a manifestation of carnal lust (Tale, pp.285-89 and see the scurrilous satire of a Quaker assembly, Tale, pp.271-73).

What is not always recognized by modern readers of Swift's sardonic 'History of Fanaticism' is that Irenaeus's arraignment of Simon Magus and the Gnostics and 'histories' of heretics were High Church polemical idioms in the contemporary offensive against Socinianism, Deism, Quakerism,

Enthusiasm and, covertly, the legitimacy of Dissent conferred in effect by the Toleration Act of 1689. The immediate polemical character of Swift's satire is illuminated if the literary text is juxtaposed with non-literary texts of the 1696-1704 period. Germane to a reading of Swift's religious satire is the pamphleteering of the Jacobite Tory controversialist Charles Leslie, one of the ablest High Church polemicists. Swift was aware of his work (Corr, I, 43). At the time of the Tale's composition and publication Leslie was exposing the heretical antiquity of that Socinianism and Quakerism he felt were indulged in the latitudinarian Williamite polity. In The History of Sin and Heresie (1698) Leslie points out that

Simon Magus was first in Commission among those falsely call'd Unitarians; after him the Ebionites said that Christ was God, but not from Everlasting: the Nestorians that He became God by Merit, but was not the Son of God before the Incarnation; the Macedonians, that He was not of one Substance with the Father ... that His whole Passion is to be understood Allegorically, and not according to the Letter, which is maintain'd by the Family of Love, who likewise make an Allegory of His Incarnation ... And these Ancient and Pestilent Heresies are still kept alive amongst us, they are Gather'd together, and Improv'd by the Quakers, who Deny the Humanity of Christ, and the Divinity of Jesus. They will not allow the Incarnation of Christ, that is, that He took the Nature of Man into His own Person, only (as the Socinians speak) that He Dwelt in or did Inspire the Person of that Man Jesus ... They allow that the Body of Jesus was that Prepared Body in which Christ (or the Light within, as they call Him) did, for a time, Reside.

Swift's satire of hubris and self-sufficiency in learning and religion, connection of modern Dissent with Gnosticism and specific animus against Quakers and the doctrine of the Inner Light have their polemical analogue in Leslie's text:

The Gnosticks gave themselves that Gaudy Name, from

their suppos'd Knowledg Exceeding that of other Christians.

And all the way down from them to ... the Quakers, All the Heresi-Archs set up upon Pride, and High value for themselves; with as great Contempt of other Men.

Our Pharisees got the Name of Puritans, from the High Purity to which they Pretended.

And all our Sects have arisen from those who call'd themselves Gifted-Men, and Boasted in their wonderful Attainments, sufficient (as they gave out) to Supersede all Establish'd Constitutions, tho', at first Instituted by God Himself.³⁵

Leslie's A Parallel Between the Faith and Doctrine of the Present Quakers, And that of the Chief Hereticks in all Ages of The Church. And also A Parallel between Quakerism and Popery (1700) illuminates the polemical dimension of Swift's satiric strategy in the Tale and Mechanical Operation. Leslie explains in his 'Preface' that:

Though Enthusiasm hath heretofore appeared in the World under several shapes, and disguised in divers Dresses, and in all of them been productive of Error, Schism and Heresie; yet did it never arrive at that height, nor was ever so plentiful in its production of those ill Effects, as it hath been in this last Age; in which it hath produced that vile and abominable, that cursed blasphemous Sect of Quakers; who have not only equall'd but far out-done, not only embrac'd, but greatly improv'd all those Errors and Heresies, which have been broached by any, or all the Enthusiasts of former Ages.

Swift's description of Jack's destruction of his Coat (that is, Christian faith and doctrine): 'he rent the main Body of his Coat from Top to Bottom' (Tale, p.138); the satiric emphasis on Jack's contempt for 'Unity' (Tale, p.139); and repudiation of 'Enthusiasm' and claims of 'Inward Light' in the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit are literary renditions of the contemporary polemical offensive being conducted by High Churchmen such as Leslie against heresy and radical Whig principles in Church and State. Leslie was writing:

If to Rend asunder the Seamless Coat of Christ Jesus, and not only Make but Promote Factions and Divisions in the Church of God; If to Disturb the Peace of all Civil Societies, and Preach up the Lawfulness of Disobedience to Humane Authority, telling People that all that Pretended Authority, ought to be Subject to their Enthusiastical Principle, THE LIGHT WITHIN, which they Call the HIGHER POWER. If this, and much more of this Kind, be to be Innocent and Harmless; then the Quakers are the most Innocent and Harmless People in the World.

Swift's 'History of Fanaticism' concluding with the Quakers exactly performs what Leslie prescribes as the most effective way of dealing with this schism in the body politic.

An historical parallel of Quakers and earlier heresies

Leslie thinks

a proper Method by which to convince them of their great folly and Enthusiastical Madness. For, when they see ... that the principal Doctrines of Quakerism are no other, than the old exploded Heresies of mad Enthusiasts in former Ages; I did imagine, they must needs think it great folly to embrace them; especially considering, that as theirs of old did plainly proceed from a Spirit of Delusion, so those of the Quakers now (though by them farthered upon the Spirit of God) being the same with theirs of old, must of necessity flow from the same Fountain; and if so, then it can be no great Wisdom to be followers of them.

Leslie's method is intended to shame the Quakers which is comparable to the official purpose of Swift's satiric project in the Tale, that is the exposure of 'the Follies of Fanaticism and Superstition' in order 'to cure them, or at least to hinder them from farther spreading' (Tale, p.5). Leslie wrote:

I made choice of this Method, to show the Quakers their Rise and Original, Whence they come, and from whom they derive their Doctrine; and by that means to make them ashamed if possible, of their Pedigree. I believe there are none of them that would willingly be accounted the Disciples of Simon Magus, Menander, Cerinthus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Sabellius, Novatus, Arius, or any of those old condemned Hereticks; and therefore ... one would think, they should be ashamed to own it, and by that means be prevailed upon to renounce it.

Swift's reductive satire of the heretics and Quakers

as agreeing in the 'fundamental Point' of the 'Community of Women' reproduces Leslie's insinuation of sectarian and heretical sexual promiscuity. Like Swift who refers to the libidinous predilection of the Quakers when they 'first appeared' (Tale,p.287), Leslie claims to be only exposing the sexual licentiousness of original Quakerism practised by some Quaker groups and by the Quakers when 'they first appear'd':

I would not be thought, nor is it any Part of my Design, to charge the whole Body of the Quakers with this Heresie [the heresy of the 'Nicolaitans' which is 'that they hold promiscuous use of Women without any respect to Marriage, to be lawful']; But there is a Party who go under that Name, and who pretend to be more exactly conformable to their Primitive Principles than any of the rest ... who have greedily embraced this Heresie of the Nicolaitans.

Leslie's history of heresies juxtaposed with Quakerism draws attention to evidence of sexual promiscuity and to the alleged heretical Quaker principle of women held 'in Common'. Swift's shorter satiric 'History' in the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit concentrates on the heretics in history against whom this charge could be made and adds the Quakers at the end of his catalogue. Leslie forces parallels between George Fox and the Quakers and 'Simon Magus', 'Mahomet', 'Eutyches', 'John of Leiden, a Taylor' and 'David Georgius, an Impudent Fellow, and a pestilent Heretick'. Swift also links the Quakers with these heretics in a tradition of dissenting sex.

Jack's radical reformation in the Tale left his Coat 'either wholly rent to his Shirt; or those Places which had scaped his cruel Clutches, were still in Peter's Livery' (Tale,p.140). Jack's 'Rags' resemble Peter's

'Finery', so that 'it fared with Jack and his Tatters, that they offer'd to the first View a ridiculous Flanting, which assisting the Resemblance in Person and Air, thwarted all his Projects of Separation, and left so near a Similitude between them, as frequently deceived the very Disciples and Followers of both' (Tale, p.200). The agreement in principle and practice between Popery and the Sects is Leslie's favourite theme. In A Parallel, Leslie imagines this agreement metaphorically: 'Quakerism being as Rotten a Fabrick as Popery is, stands in need of the same Crutches, Props and Pillars to support it, that Popery doth'.³⁸

Leslie's Primitive Heresie Revived, In the Faith and Practice of the People Called Quakers: Wherein is shewn, in Seven Particulars, That the Principal and most Characteristick Errors of the Quakers, were Broached and Condemned, in the Days of the Apostles, and the first 150 Years after Christ ... (1698,1700) anathematizes 'the Quaker-Heresies' exposing their antiquity: 'The Gnostick Quakers who boasted in their Light beyond all other Men, and called themselves (as the Quakers do) the Purest and most Perfect of Christians; held these same Principles, and Practised them, in the very Days of the Apostles, and they are Reprehended'.³⁹ One of the seven particulars instanced by Leslie in his account of the Quakers is their rejection of marriage and encouragement of fornication - Swift's satiric focus in his 'History of Fanaticism'. Swift's 'Jack' is recognizable in Leslie's account of the schism of Quakers and other Dissenters from the Church of England:

And he that will make a Separation for every Error, will fall into much greater Error and Sin than that which he would seek to Cure. It is like tearing Christ's seamless Coat, because we like not the colour, or to mend the Fashion of a Sleeve.⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that Swift's description of Jack, especially of his persecution mania (see Tale,p.197) clearly informs Voltaire's account of George Fox and the Quakers in England in his 'Third Letter: On the Quakers' in the Lettres Anglaises of 1734.⁴¹

In Section I of the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit Swift ironically introduces the Anglican 'dangerous Objection' to sectarian claims of inspiration. Charles Leslie, George Hickes and Swift himself would have been among the 'certain Criticks' who positively deny 'that the Spirit can by any means be introduced into an Assembly of Modern Saints, the Disparity being so great in many material Circumstances, between the Primitive Way of Inspiration, and that which is practised in the present Age'. These 'Objectors' distinguish between the Pentecost and Conventicles of dissentious illiterates wearing hats (Tale,p.270).⁴² The 'Objections' of the Anglican critics to the Spirit pretended to by the Modern Saints, as they apply to 'a supernatural Assistance, approaching from without ... have Reason, and their Assertions may be allowed', but these 'Adversaries' can be eluded, notes Swift with sardonic irony, by proving the actual mechanical operation of the Spirit from within as practised by 'our Modern Artificers' in their assemblies (Tale,p.271). Swift's violent derision of the doctrine of the 'Inner Light' and the religious practices of his fellow Protestants pained moderate,

Low Church contemporaries such as William Wotton as well as the contemporary apologists for Quaker principles and liberty of conscience, but clearly the satire derives from the invective art of the pamphleteering tradition in which Leslie was a master.

Swift draws attention in the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit to the long Anglican offensive against Quakerism: 'It hath continued these hundred Years an even Debate, whether the Deportment and the Cant of our English Enthusiastick Preachers, were Possession, or Inspiration, and a World of Argument has been drained on either side, perhaps, to little Purpose' (Tale,p.275). Leslie, for instance, had suggested George Fox and the Quakers were like Simon Magus as they evidenced demonical possession. In Fox's life 'there are some Instances which make it probable that the Spirit he pretended to, and by which he was acted, was no good Spirit; As those preternatural Shakings, Foamings, and Swellings, which were usual among them, when he first set up to make Proselytes'.⁴³ As Swift writes: 'certain Objectors pretend to put it beyond all Doubt, that there must be a sort of preternatural Spirit, possessing the Heads of the Modern Saints' (Tale,pp.282-83). Swift describes 'the Phoenomenon of Spiritual Mechanism' in an Assembly of Modern Saints in what is clearly a violent travesty of a Quaker meeting:

It is here to be noted, that in forming and working up the Spirit, the Assembly has a considerable Share, as well as the Preacher; The Method of this Arcanum, is as follows. They violently strain their Eye balls inward, half closing the Lids; Then, as they sit, they are in

a perpetual Motion of See-saw, making long Hums at proper Periods, and continuing the Sound at equal Height, chusing their Time in those Intermissions, while the Preacher is at Ebb.

(Tale,p.271)

After a digression in which analogues for these practices are found among the 'enlightened Saints of India', the Scythians, and 'the Natives of Ireland' (Tale,pp.271-73), Swift describes 'the Methods, by which the Spirit approaches':

The Eyes being disposed according to Art, at first, you can see nothing, but after a short pause, a small glimmering Light begins to appear, and dance before you. Then, by frequently moving your Body up and down, you perceive the Vapors to ascend very fast, till you are perfectly dosed and flustred like one who drinks too much in a Morning. Mean while, the Preacher is also at work; He begins a loud Hum, which pierces you quite thro'; This is immediately returned by the Audience, and you find your self prompted to imitate them, by a meer spontaneous Impulse, without knowing what you do.

(Tale,p.273)

The satirist is sure that no supernatural inspiration comes to modern Saints and with sardonic seriousness discourses on the mechanical operation of the carnal spirit and the 'Art of Canting' in 'the Commonwealth of artificial Enthusiasm' (see Tale,pp.276-83). Like Leslie, Swift attacks the practice of occasional conformity through which the fanatic and heretic Mechanical Operators he describes have obtained political power under the Williamite regime, instancing Sir Humphrey Edwin's Lanthorn 'Mayoralty, of happy Memory' (Tale,p.279). In A Dissertation Concerning the Use and Authority of Ecclesiastical History (1703), Leslie execrated Whig Latitudinarian ecclesiastical politics: 'Tender Conscience and Moderation is pleaded on their behalf, who Tear the Body of Christ in Pieces by various Sects and Schisms'.⁴⁴ The High Church Tory

polemicist William Baron, in a tract written in 1702 but published in 1703 in support of the Occasional Conformity Bill, reflected:

that a Common-wealth Ministry in our English Monarchy (asking Pardon for so much boldness with our Saviour's Simile) is like a piece of new Cloth on an old Garment, it looks beggarly at best; and doth constantly break out into such Rents, as would have brought any Nation but ours, to beggary, long since; and if they be suffer'd⁴⁵ to patch on as hitherto, thither it must come in the End.

The author of A Tale of a Tub could give a full account of 'How Jack's Tatters came into Fashion in Court and City' and how Jack became Lord Mayor of London (Tale, pp.204-05). For contemporary Old or True Whigs such as John Toland the attack on the Quakers since the Revolution was regarded as an initial stage in the High Tory design against the Toleration and a party-political conspiracy against the Revolution government.⁴⁶

The Tale's satiric association of Jack with Peter, and with the Aeolists and Laplanders would have had political resonance for contemporaries. Ehrenpreis has drawn attention to Swift's technique of associating his enemies with the side they in principle repudiate, observing Swift's association of those apparent opposites, Papist and Dissenter. 'This is one of his normal but most cunning devices'.⁴⁷ Section XI of the Tale contains a famous, extended satiric passage where Jack and Peter are brought into conjunction. Their persons and coats have a strong resemblance, their 'Humours and Dispositions were not only the same, but there was a close Analogy in their Shape, their Size, and their Mien'. They are confused for each other by arresting authorities and accosting friends. They collude

in identical designs (see Tale, pp.198-200,204). There is some ideological and historical basis for Swift's burlesque. As Wotton conceded in 1705 in a passage Swift introduced into the fifth edition of the Tale as a note: 'The Agreement of our Dissenters and the Papists in that which Bishop Stillingfleet called, The Fanaticism of the Church of Rome, is ludicrously described for several Pages together by Jack's Likeness to Peter, and their being often mistaken for each other, and their frequent Meeting, when they least intended it. W. Wotton.' (Tale, p.198).

The political likeness of Popery and Dissent was commonly alleged by contemporary High Churchmen. Theories of popular sovereignty and justified resistance associated with radical and dissenting Whiggery in Swift's day could be demonstrated to have a Jesuitical and radical Protestant ancestry. Swift's note points out that the 'Papists and Fanaticks, tho' they appear the most Averse to each other, yet bear a near Resemblance in many things, as has been observed by Learned Men' (Tale, p.198). But the imputation of consonance in political ideology and collaboration in practice between Popery and Dissent was the routine signature of a High Church text when Swift published the Tale. William Baron, for instance, would have been an appreciative political reader of Swift's satiric collocation of Jack and Peter. In An Historical Account of Comprehension, and Toleration (1705), Baron rehearses a received view of the parallels and borrowing between Roman Catholic and Calvinist ideologists and practitioners of revolutionism and comments: since the Western Church became divided into Popish,

and Protestant; the Jesuit, and Presbyterian setting up together; (for the Pope confirm'd Ignatius Loyola, and his Followers into an Order; about the same time John Calvin establish'd himself at Geneva,) however seemingly opposite, accord in too many things, but more especially in making the People, their propertys, to Subject the Prince the one to the Pope the other to their Presbitery.

Baron's Romanist Jesuit and Genevan Protestant, like Swift's Peter and Jack, find 'their Principles continually meet and shake hands'.⁴⁸

Accounts of plots against the Church-of-England establishment in seventeenth-century Anglican Royalist polemical literature routinely imputed a conspiratorial nexus between Jesuits and Nonconformist sects.⁴⁹ Jesuits were witnessed in disguise fermenting rebellion among the Puritans, Dissenters were 'Papists in Masquerade'. Swift may well be alluding to the confusion surrounding the Meal Tub Plot (believed at first to be a Presbyterian then a Catholic plot) and the Popish Plot ('Popish Plots, and Meal-Tubs' (Tale,p.70)) when it is reported in the Tale that 'nothing was more frequent than for a Bayliff to seize Jack by the Shoulders, and cry, Mr. Peter, You are the King's Prisoner' (Tale,p.199). As mentioned in Chapter Two, an immediate political context for Swift's satiric collocation of Jack and Peter is the apparent alliance between Whig Dissent and James II in 1687 and post-Revolution High Church Tory polemic which reminded readers of Whig Dissenting sympathy and collaboration with James II's policy of prerogative toleration, evidenced in the many addresses of thanks to the King subscribed by Dissenting groups of all persuasions (see Tale,p.204, Swift's note).⁵⁰

The Tory Thomas Long in The Letter For Toleration Decipher'd (1689), an attack on John Locke's Letter on Toleration and latitudinarian politics, described how the Anglican establishment in State and Church was assaulted 'the one by an All-Dispensing Power, the other by an Absolute Liberty ... And there are still a sort of Lapland Sorcerers, that would give Vent to the like Winds to encrease our Storms'. Contending for an 'Absolute and Uncontrolable Liberty in Religious Worship', for the right of forcible resistance to a magistracy enacting laws against public liberty of conscience in religion, and for a Church that would be a voluntary society, Locke 'like another Faux, with his Dark Lanthorn, is ready to blow up the Religion and Loyalty, by God's Blessing, now Established, into meer Air and Atheism'.⁵¹ While a Tory like Long imagined the ideologists of radical Whig Dissent as Lapland Sorcerers turning all into air, in the Jacobite press the Calvinist William of Orange and his Dutch advisers were depicted seeking assistance for their diabolical design in 'the Hellish Country of Laplandia' where there are 'certain old Hags, who have infinite familiarity with the Infernal Spirits, and have often sold Winds' to the Dutchmen.⁵² Swift could have read in Gangraena the story, repeated in his copy of Roger L'Estrange's The Dissenters Sayings, of Samuel Oats, a Dipper in the Interregnum, who was reported to have baptized a woman and then 'bid her gape, and she gaped, and he did blow three times into her mouth, saying words to this purpose, either receive the holy Ghost,

or now thou hast received the holy Ghost'.⁵³ Late seventeenth-century Tory literature with its association of Dissenters with Gnostics, imaginative identification of radical Whiggery (indeed even William III) with Lapland sorcery and winds, and representation of Inspiration among the sects as a literal blowing and inhaling of air might have provided Swift with 'Hints' which he developed into the full-blown satiric fantasy of Jack's sect of Aeolists, a violent burlesque of sectarian Enthusiasm and the Quakers (Tale, Section VIII). The Gnostic 'pneumatic' or spiritual elect are transformed in Swift's satire into Aeolists (literally men of air). The Aeolist priests, 'their Mouths gaping wide against a Storm', issue 'Wind and Vapours' through a distorted mouth and bloated cheeks and 'their Belches were received for Sacred, the Sourer the better, and swallowed with infinite Consolation by their meager Devotees'. The tub preacher 'disembogues whole Tempests upon his Auditory', he delivers 'his oracular Belches to his panting Disciples; Of whom, some are greedily gaping after the sanctified Breath'. Women are prominent among the sects, especially the Quakers, it is explained, because their 'Organs were understood to be better disposed for the Admission of those Oracular Gusts'. Jack's Aeolists who have literally blown up religion into air in this satiric nightmare are linked with the 'Laplanders' who 'appear to be so closely allied in Point of Interest, as well as Inclinations, with their Brother Aeolists among Us, as not only to buy their Winds by wholesale from the same Merchants, but also to retail them after

the same Rate and Method, and to Customers much alike'
(see Tale,pp.153-60).

A TORY TALE OF THE TIMES AND JACK IN POLEMICAL CONTEXT

The Author impersonated by Swift in the Tale is a scribbling son of modern faction his 'Quill worn to the Pith in the Service of the State, in Pro's and Con's upon Popish Plots, and Meal-Tubs, and Exclusion Bills, and Passive Obedience, and Addresses of Lives and Fortunes; and Prerogative, and Property, and Liberty of Conscience, and Letters to a Friend'. His 'Conscience, thread-bare and ragged with perpetual turning', the Party writer confesses: 'Four-score and eleven Pamphlets have I written under three Reigns, and for the Service of six and thirty Factions' (Tale,p.70). A celebrant of schism and heterodoxy, he is the Enthusiastical chronicler of all that High Churchmen regarded as flagitious in modern polity. The Author tells us in his 'Preface' that he is retained by 'the Grandees of Church and State' to divert the Leviathan Wits of the present Age who threaten 'to pick Holes in the weak sides of Religion and Government' with 'Pamphlets, and other Offensive Weapons' by producing 'a Tale of a Tub' (Tale,pp.39-41). The diversionary book is duly dedicated to one of those Grandees - the Junto Whig 'The Right Honourable John Lord Sommers'. Swift's Author may be an impersonation of one of those Dissenting Whig pamphleteers complained of by Roger L'Estrange in his address 'To The Reader' in The Dissenter's Sayings, In Requital for L'Estrange's Sayings. Published in Their

Own Words, For the Information of the People (1681):

This is precisely the Seven and Thirty'th Civility of This Kind, that I have Received, within less than Two Months, from the True Protestant Dissenters: Which truly I look upon but as so many empty Casks thrown out to divert me from sinking the Rotten Barque they are Engag'd in. These Learned Pieces, I know very well, are Compos'd, and Publish'd at the Charge, and for the Service of our Ignatian Society.

The Dissenter's Sayings will expose 'their Pleas and Consciences still varying with their Fortunes'.⁵⁴ A Tale of a Tub ostensibly the anonymous production of the garrets and printing presses of a modern Grubstreet, demotic dissenting Whig culture might be viewed as a literary satiric version of Dissenters' Sayings. Speaking in the tongues of Dissent, Radical Reformation, and the Good Old Cause and through a putative Author who is an apologist for fanaticism and 'the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages', Swift attempts to expose the ship of State in the period between 1696 and 1704 as a 'Rotten Barque', a Ship of Fools. Alluding to Interregnum republicanism, specifically to Harrington's Oceana which was republished by John Toland, Swift has his Government writer admit that many 'Schemes of Religion and Government' are 'hollow, and dry, and empty, and noisy, and wooden, and given to Rotation' (Tale,p.40). And the 'Commonwealth' the Author defends with his Tale of a Tub is 'too apt to fluctuate' (Tale,pp.40-41). William Shippen in his Tory poem Faction Display'd published, like the Tale, in 1704, was exclaiming: 'O England how revolving is thy State!' under the influence of the Junto Whig leaders.⁵⁵

Swift's satire of the times in the Tale as in the early Odes and 'On the Burning of Whitehall in 1698'

is radical. While declaring in 'The Preface' that satire against mankind is ineffectual and pretending to have no talent or inclination for satire, Swift ironically writes a tirade against vice and corruption in the Williamite state in the 1690s. An allusion to sodomy ('Foppery and Fornication, and something else') in the moral satirist's list of vices is followed by a declamation against sin and corruption at the very centre of the Williamite Court and Government: 'Pride, and Dissimulation, and Bribery, at White Hall' (Tale,p.52). Swift's satiric allusion to corruption and mismanagement in the navy (Tale,pp.52-53) would have had topical political resonance in 1704. The Country Tory Commission of Public Accounts in the years 1702-04 had targeted the Junto Whig Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, for financial malpractice as Treasurer of the Navy early in William's reign.⁵⁶ In 'A Digression on Madness' the Author recommends to the volatile Tory MPs Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir John Bolles, John How, Esq. and other Patriots that they 'bring in a Bill, for appointing Commissioners to Inspect into Bedlam'. The 'Commissioners of Inspection' will there find persons naturally suitable for appointment to 'the several Offices in a State'. A madman could be given 'a Regiment of Dragoons' and sent 'into Flanders among the Rest', others assigned to the inns of court, the City financial and commercial centre, the Court, and the Royal College of Physicians (Tale,pp.175-79). The radical derision of the establishment in the Digression has a political flavour in the general satiric allusion

to the Williamite army and court. The way the derisive contempt is expressed - appointing madmen to important offices - also has, perhaps, a political complexion.

The mention of 'Sir J—n B—ls' (Tale, p.175; John Bolles, M.P. for Lincoln, 1690-1702) would have reminded contemporary readers of a notorious parliamentary episode in 1701.

The Tory House of Commons placed Bolles, who was reputed to be mad, in the chair of the Committee on the Bill for the Act of Settlement. Putting a madman in the chair of the committee was understood as an expression of High Tory contempt and aversion for this legislation personally endorsed by William III.⁵⁷ Swift shows his radical aversion to the present establishment in an analogous fictional strategy. When he was writing and publishing A Tale of a Tub Swift was known as a Whig. He had supported the Whig leaders in the Discourse of 1701. But his unacknowledged, anonymous Tale with its putative Author and self-protective ironic concealments nevertheless discloses an extremist political writer disaffected with the Williamite court, and civil, military and ecclesiastical affairs.

The satire on militarism, mercenary armies, and war might seem consistent with loyal Country or Old Whig anti-standing army rhetoric of the late 1690s and therefore an expression of that Old Whig politics modern biography and criticism ascribe to Swift. Yet attention to this aspect of the book's politics suggests its actual consonance with a disaffected Tory perspective. There is satire of a militaristic 'Great Prince' as a disease that can

be cured by assassination (Tale,pp.163-64), reflection on William's Dutch regiments ('Forein Troops in a State', Tale,p.144), violent ridicule of the army in Flanders as blaspheming Bedlamites (Tale,p.176), ridicule of 'Jack's' cant about the threat of 'the Pope, and the French King' which has the effect of trivializing the threat (Tale,p.198), and a possible early instance of Swift's later sneer at 'Nassau, who got the name of glorious/ Because he never was victorious' (Poems,II,468) in The Battel of the Books where Swift perhaps reflects parenthetically on the expensive military setbacks in William's continental campaigns in the nine-years war with France which concluded in the Peace of Ryswick in 1697: 'the Grecians, after an Engagement, when they could not agree about the Victory, were wont to set up Trophies on both sides, the beaten Party being content to be at the same Expence, to keep it self in Countenance (A laudable and antient Custom, happily reviv'd of late, in the Art of War)' (Tale,p.221).

But it is the violence of the satire on Dissent - and contemporaries recognized that 'the Protestant Dissenters are ... the most directly levelled at' (Wotton, Observations, Tale,p.325) - which reveals that the author of the Tale is no Whig. There are unspeakable implications in this satire. The account of the Oratorial Machines in 'The Introduction' contains a particularly frightening frisson. A description of the Gallows ('Ladders') immediately follows the description of a Dissenting Conventicle ('Pulpits' of the Scottish Kirk model) (Tale,pp.58-59 and see the plate visually juxtaposing a tub preacher

and an execution). The Mountebank's stage is 'the great Seminary' of the Gallows and Conventicle 'its Orators are sometimes preferred to the One, and sometimes to the Other, in proportion to their Deservings, there being a strict and perpetual Intercourse between all three' (Tale,pp.59-60). The 'Ladder is an adequate Symbol of Faction' (Tale,p.62). Daniel Defoe would expose just this kind of rhetorical extremism in High Church homiletic and pamphlet literature in The Shortest Way with the Dissenters (1702). The unrepentant Leslie wrote of that work in which he had been satirically impersonated:

This Shortest Way is a New Engine of the Faction, being wrote in the Stile of a Church-man, with an Air of Wit and a great deal of Truth; which they thought would make the Severity to Pass as coming from the Church-Party, to have the Dissenters Treated according to what he had prov'd to be their Deserts, that is, the Preachers to⁵⁸ be sent to the Gallows, and the Hearers to the Galleys.

Swift's Bagatelles pour un massacre vividly imagined what High Church militants thought the Dissenters deserved.

In a familiar Tory legerdemain, the Tale and Mechanical Operation also imply that the modern Dissenters are the heirs of the Puritan regicides (see Tale,pp.195,268). Swift's satire of the doctrine of Predestination (see Tale,pp.192-94) is an ecclesiastical-political intervention in a contemporary paper war in which old wounds within the Church of England were being re-opened. High Churchmen such as Leslie who were Arminian on this point in dispute attacked predestinarian doctrine identifying it with Calvinist Dissenters and some Low Church divines. The political implication of Leslie's attack was that Predestinarians posed the threat of schism and that 'moderation' or latitudinarian politics advocating

rapprochement with Dissent could not be countenanced by responsible clergy or the government.⁵⁹ The latitudinarian and predestinarian author of Liberty of Conscience, or Religion A La Mode. Fitted for the Use of the Occasional Conformist. And Dedicated to the most Learned Author of the Tale of a Tub (1704) objected to the High Church clergy's ridicule of the doctrine of Predestination.⁶⁰ Whereas Leslie was careful to establish his objections to the doctrine by argument, the High Church satirist's use of sardonic ridicule in the Tale exposed him to the charge of blasphemy. Wotton observed that: 'Things compared, always shew the Esteem or Scorn of the Comparer. To ridicule Praedestination, Jack walks blindfold through the Streets; the Body of our Dissenters having till of late been Calvinists in the Questions concerning the Five Points'. The learned Low Church Whig quotes a passage of Swift's burlesque ridicule of Predestination and then anathematizes the author with a stark judgement that surely must have unnerved Swift: 'This is a direct Prophanation of the Majesty of God' (Observations, in Tale, p.324). In the fifth edition of his book, Swift altered 'Providence' to 'Nature' in the passage exposed by Wotton (see Tale, pp.193,324) and in a 'Postscript' to the 1710 'Apology' Swift anonymously denies an attribution of authorship to Thomas Swift and himself (Tale, p.20 and Appendix C, pp.329-48). Swift would never openly acknowledge in print his authorship of the volume.

A central religious and political concern of the satirist in A Tale of a Tub is repudiation of the Protestant Dissenters' alleged schism from the episcopal Church of England. The Romanist claim of precedence and charge that the Church of England as well as the other Reformed Protestant churches were in fact schismatic are summarily dismissed by Swift in a sentence at the beginning of Section II: 'ONCE upon a Time, there was a Man who had Three Sons by one Wife, and all at a Birth, neither could the Mid-Wife tell certainly which was the Eldest' (Tale, p.73). The commonplace standard Protestant charges against Romanist corruptions of primitive Catholic faith are rehearsed in Sections II and IV of the Tale (Tale, pp.73-91,105-22 and notes). But it is the career of Jack upon which the satirist expatiates and expresses the most intense animus or as Swift's putative Author puts it in Section VI: Brother Jack's 'Adventures will be so extraordinary, as to furnish a great Part in the Remainder of this Discourse' (Tale,p.137). For Swift the contemporary political threat lay not in Popery (as Whigs habitually claimed) but in what Leslie described in the title of his provocative pamphlet of 1702 as 'The New Association of those Called Moderate-Church-M[e]n, with the Modern-Whigs and Fanaticks'. As Swift wrote in his sermon 'On Brotherly Love' (1717):

The Papists, GOD be praised, are, by the Wisdom of our Laws, and their own Want of Power, put out of all visible Possibility of hurting us; besides, their Religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no Advocates or Abettors among Protestants to assist them. But the

Fanaticks are to be considered in another Light; they have had of late Years the Power, the Luck, or the Cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their Errors and Designs under the Character of Persons disaffected to the Government; and they have so far succeeded, that now a Days, if a Clergyman happeneth to preach with any Zeal and Vehemence against the Sin or Danger of Schism, there will not want too many in his Congregation ready enough to censure him as hot and high-flying, an Inflamer of Men's Minds, an Enemy to Moderation, and disloyal to his Prince. This hath produced a formed and settled Division between those who profess the same Doctrine and Discipline, while they who call themselves Moderate are forced to widen their Bottom, by sacrificing their Principles and their Brethren to the Incroachments and the Insolence of Dissenters, who are therefore answerable, as a principal Cause of all that Hatred and Animosity now reigning among us.

(PW, IX, 172-73)

In the Tale, Jack's 'Zeal is never so highly obliged, as when you set it a Tearing'. He says to his moderate Brother Martin: 'do as I do, for the Love of God; Strip, Tear, Pull, Rent, Flay off all, that we may appear as unlike the Rogue Peter, as it is possible' (Tale, pp. 138, 139). In 'a Meddley of Rags, and Lace, and Rents, and Fringes, unfortunate Jack did now appear: He would have been extremely glad to see his Coat in the Condition of Martin's, but infinitely gladder to find that of Martin's in the same Predicament with his'. Swift describes how Jack 'after as many of the Fox's Arguments, as he could muster up, for bringing Martin to Reason, as he called it; or, as he meant it, into his own ragged, bobtail'd Condition' separates from Martin. There 'began a mortal Breach' between the two reforming Brothers. 'Jack went immediately to New Lodgings' and was reported to be mad (see Tale, p. 141).

This satiric account of Protestant Jack tearing his coat, which signifies in the parable the dismantling

of pristine Christian Faith and Doctrine, has profound Scriptural resonance, activating the apostolic and authoritative exhortation to Catholic uniformity and reminding readers of Christ's seamless coat which was not to be rent, parted or patched, and that there should be no schism in the body of Christ.⁶¹ The language of Swift's satire of Jack has echoes in contemporary High Church Tory polemical literature against 'schismatic' Dissent. Leslie reproves the Dissenters for schism in The New Association Part II (1703):

it is allow'd by All, even by Themselves, that a Separation from the Communion ... without a sufficient Reason, is a Schism: And that no Reason can be sufficient, except the avoiding of what is Sinful; because that Schism is it self a Great Sin, even the Rending of Christ's Body, which is the Church, into Pieces.⁶²

Swift represents Jack as zealous in 'Tearing'. Jack deploys 'the Fox's Arguments' but his real intention is said to be the reduction of Martin to 'his own ragged, bobtail'd Condition'. In The Wolf Stript of His Shepherd's Cloathing (1704), Leslie declares that High Churchmen desire Protestant union but will not join Dissenters in 'their Schism from Episcopacy, which is, from the Catholick-Church, of all Ages'. The High Church party 'would go as far as Possible to Purchase their Union with the Church upon any Terms that wou'd not Throw our selves out of it with them; that wou'd Leave any Notion of a Church in being'. Citing the authority of St. Paul, Leslie expatiates on the sin of schism which 'is call'd by no less Dreadful a Name, than the Tearing of Christ's Body in pieces!'⁶³ Leslie's parable of the Countryman's House (the Church) and some of his

servants (the Dissenters) in the Rehearsal of 16 December 1704 - an attack on the allegedly causeless separation of Dissenters from the Church of England and argument for their complete exclusion from all public offices in the state - recalls Swift's satiric parable of the three Brothers and their coats. In Leslie's ecclesiastical-political parable 'Countryman' tells how the servants in his house

liv'd at the beginning very peaceably and well, and submitted to the rules and customs of the family, without any grudging. And tho' I keep a great farm, and employ many servants, yet I can say it, no family in the country was in better order, with more love and kindness among our selves, than mine.

But at last, some of my servants grew peevish. They said, that the colour of the cloaths I was to give them, not being expressed in the articles, they would no longer wear that colour they had worn before. Nay, they found fault with the colour and shape of my own cloaths; and said, that neither I, my wife or children shou'd wear such, as we always had done before. They said it was an offence to them to see it, tho' upon OUR backs! and not being express'd in the articles with them, they were not oblig'd to bear with it. And that our wearing such sort of cloaths, was an imposition upon them.⁶⁴

Jack's 'Tearing' and Swift's linkage of the Puritans and modern Enthusiasts with 'the Scythians' (see Tale, pp.268,269,272) is a language with High Church Tory analogues. Leslie in the Rehearsal of 6 January 1705 writes of the modern avatars of 'Knocking Jack of the North' (Tale,p.142):

You must know that at the beginning of this revolution, in Decem. 1688, our Cameronian ZEALOTS had the wink tipp'd to them, and took arms, and shew'd their moderation to the clergy, like the Scythians, O, most CURIOUSLY! plundering, tearing, and murdering at discretion. And this was made use of as an argument to shew the inclinations of the people against episcopacy.⁶⁵

Joseph Trapp's Tory tract Most Faults on One Side (1710) describes 'Whiggish or Fanatical Moderation' as consisting

'in tearing and rending' and denounces the Dissenters' 'Schism': 'Why do They causelesly rend the Church, and tear us in pieces with Quarrels and Factions? For the Distinctions of Parties into Whig and Tory, High-Church and Low-Church, are owing to Their unreasonable Separation; and Men are said to be of This or That Party, according as They are more or less Favourers of the Dissenters'.⁶⁶

George Hickes wrote that it was the condemnation of the Dissenters' schism that distinguished High Churchmen from Low Churchmen long before the Revolution.⁶⁷ Swift's sermon 'On Brotherly Love', which can be read as a homiletic gloss on the parable of the Brothers in A Tale of a Tub,⁶⁸ declares the Dissenters' schism to be the first cause of the 'great Want of Brotherly Love among us' and original source of party-political division (PW, IX, 172-73).

Protestant Dissent from the established Church had been of course a fact of religious life after the Restoration - Presbyterian and Independent divines had been evicted from the established Church under the Uniformity Act of 1662. But it was not really until after the Revolution that the High Church ideal of authoritarian Anglican uniformity in Church and State was radically undermined. The Toleration Act of 1689, although it granted only the merest indulgence to Trinitarian Protestant Dissenters allowing them liberty of worship if a license for their meeting houses was obtained, nevertheless constituted a legislative recognition of religious pluralism in the state.

Clericalist intellectual hegemony was also radically challenged after the Revolution. When the Licensing Act was allowed to lapse in 1695 heterodox writings previously suppressed by the system of pre-publication censorship seemed to contemporaries to be pouring from the press. The dissemination of radical religious and political opinion deeply disturbed orthodox Anglicans. High Churchmen vigorously defended the Test and Corporation Acts by which non-Anglicans were officially proscribed from public employment and deplored the anticlerical and heterodox Whig press. They agitated for parliamentary and convocational action against Dissent and heterodoxy. High Churchmen continued to adhere to the ideal of an authoritarian and uniform Anglican regime in Church and State and denounced Dissent as schismatic. The extreme satire of schismatic Jack in the Tale is an enduring literary product of the High Church reaction.

The religious and political issue of the Dissenters' schism though longstanding reached pitches of polemical intensity in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. The issue, a principal context for our understanding of the satire of Jack, remained a major political preoccupation of Swift's writing after A Tale of a Tub. Swift possessed famous controversial tracts on the subject of schism - John Hales's A Tract Concerning Schism and Schismatics and Francis Tallents's A Short History of Schism 'with Answers and Replies'. Swift's political commentary on the issue is informed by the contemporary paper war between High Churchmen and apologists for Dissent.⁶⁹ His polemic

is generally consonant with that of the High Church answerers to the 'moderate' or irenicist views advanced in Hales's and later Tallents's tracts. The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, for example, devotes two substantial paragraphs to the subject of schism (PW,II,11-12). The rhetoric is conventionally moderate and ostensibly impartial, but the substantive political position is High Church Tory. For the Church-of-England Man there is a 'Schism' in the polity and 'it is certain, that in the Sense of the Law, the Schism lies on that Side which opposeth it self to the Religion of the State' (PW,II,11). It was Swift's lifelong view - given famous expression in Gulliver's Travels (PW,XI,60,131) - that conformity to the legislature and the religion of the state was peremptory. This injunction has secular philosophical origins in Plato (as Swift points out in the Sentiments), Machiavelli and Thomas More, and prestigious Ancient precedent in the example of pristine Sparta. High Churchmen in their tracts on schism made polemical use of this antique, time-tested prescription.⁷⁰ Swift's erastianism on this point could, in theory, sanction obedience to a religion that was heretical or schismatic. Hales had observed that in the Donatist schism from the early Catholic Church proscribed by St. Augustine, it was only by chance that it was the heretics who were outlawed.⁷¹ Swift's stress on conformity and subjection to the established worship reflects more his authoritarian temperament - the political conservative's emphasis on law and order and uniformity - than the dogmatic concern for pristine theological orthodoxy characteristic of anti-erastian

High Church extremists such as Henry Dodwell and George Hickes for whom the only true Church in a state was the episcopal Catholic Church of Cyprianic theology. But it is an obvious point that during Swift's lifetime the religion of the state in England and Ireland was the established episcopal Anglican Church. Swift wrote with the law on his side; the more extreme claims for uniform obedience to episcopal Anglicanism he saw no need to invoke. He could score effective polemical points by exposing the Dissenters as law-breakers.

Swift's readiness to argue in terms of temporal law rather than enter doctrinal controversy also reflects his well-known and well-documented temperamental resistance to disputing theological points. His position on the schism issue is analogous to his arguments marshalled in defence of episcopacy and in defence of tithes. In his polemic concerning episcopacy and tithes Swift routinely avoids the controversial point as to whether or not episcopacy or tithes be of divine institution. He prefers to defend the order of bishops and clerical corporate rights on temporal legal grounds (although he seems to have accepted the High Church Anglican case, expounded principally by contemporary nonjurors such as Hickes and Leslie, of the Jus Divinum of episcopacy and of tithes). Opposing the anti-clerical Old Whig arguments of Lord Molesworth, Swift in Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops (1723) wrote with sardonic irony:

I BELIEVE no Man will dispute his Lordship's Title to his Estate; nor will I the Jus Divinum of Tythes, which he mentions with some Emotion. I suppose the

Affirmative would be of little Advantage to the Clergy, for the same Reason that a Maxim in Law hath more Weight in the World, than an Article of Faith. And yet, I think there may be such a Thing as Sacrilege; because it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman Authors, as well as described in Holy Writ.

(PW, IX, 59-60)⁷²

The High Church Tory ideal of a uniform confessional Anglican polity guaranteed by the legislature was Swift's. He exhorted his congregation to submit to that state with the Apostolic axiom 'that there may be no Schism in the Body' ('On Mutual Subjection', PW, IX, 143).

The simple legalistic position on the Dissenters' 'schism' assumed by Swift in the Sentiments, Gulliver's Travels and elsewhere was commonly adopted by High Churchmen. Thomas Long had been content to assert the peremptory duty of obedience to law as a way of proscribing schism from the established worship, citing Samuel Parker and Bishop Sanderson to this effect, taxing Hales for 'allowing of Separation upon Scruples, and suspicions', and exhorting the civil magistrate to coerce the Nonconformists into submission and 'execute wrath' on the recalcitrant.⁷³

Tallents, in a later phase of the schism controversy in 1705, attacked this Tory legal argument which charged the Dissenters with schism:

It's certain the Holy Scripture is the only sure and perfect Rule whereby we are to judg of Schism, else we shall wander and err. The Laws of Men are not the Rule further than according to it ... Number, Riches, Laws and Power cannot clear People of Schism, or condemn others of it; yet those that have them boldly condemn others, and will hardly be persuaded they can be guilty of it.⁷⁴

Also in the Sentiments Swift rejects the commonplace religious justification adduced by Dissenters for their separation from the established Church, that is, that they desired a worship of 'greater purity'. Swift writes:

I think it clear, that any great Separation from the established Worship, although to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occasion of endangering the publick Peace; because, it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretexts of advancing true Religion, and opposing Error, Superstition, or Idolatry.

(PW,II,11; compare also PW,II,100)⁷⁵

Assertions 'that Schism was a great Evil, both in it self and its Consequences; that the Ruin of the Church, would probably be attended with that of the State; that no Power should be trusted with those who are not of the Establish'd Religion' are listed as 'Tory' opinions in the Examiner of 31 May 1711 (Exam,p.456). The 'offensive Sin of Schism' is a Tory shibboleth in Swift's propagandist writing (Exam,p.345). The Whigs are arraigned in the pages of the Examiner as patrons of anti-clerical writers and 'as professed Advocates, retained by the Dissenters, excusing their Separation, and laying the Guilt of it to the Obstinacy of the Church' (Exam,p.400). Whig principles and practices and religious justifications for Dissent are discredited as political Popery in a familiar Tory imputation. Jesuits and other Romanist emissaries 'under the Pretence of a further and purer Reformation, endeavour to divide us into as many Sects as possible', and the Examiner asks 'whether the Whigs, for many Years past, have not been employ'd in the very same Work?' (Exam,p.401). Swift's Whig answerers in the Medley, of course, condemned the stigmatizing of Whigs 'as Fanaticks and Schismaticks' (see Exam,pp.247,289,369). In one Medley paper, Mainwaring professes to read in the Examiner's complaint about the neglect of religion and consequent 'Schism' in London (see Exam,p.442) a call for more violent proscriptions:

it appears by his long Paragraph against Schism, that he intends to shut up the Doors of all the Conventicles, except those of the Papists and Nonjurors, which never seem to be included in his Descriptions of Schism or Faction. (The Medley, 4 June 1711; Exam,p.459)

A letter to Sir Arthur Langford of 30 October 1714 clearly discloses that Swift regarded the Dissenters as 'without toleration by law' (Corr,II,141). A Tale of a Tub disturbingly imagines a short way with the Dissenters in the gallows humour of Section I where the Tub 'Pulpit' is explained to have a 'near Resemblance to a Pillory' and the 'Ladder' or Gallows is a 'Symbol of Faction' for reasons left unstated, there being an 'Hiatus in MS' (see Tale,pp.58-62).

Swift's polemical and satirical writing represents the Dissenters as factious, refractory and flagitious separatists. No attempt is made, for instance, to explain the terms of the Uniformity Act of 1662, a statute that required the clergy to accept the Book of Common Prayer, the Thirty-Nine Articles and episcopal ordination and which led to dissenting Protestant ministers leaving their livings in the established Church. The attack against schism in A Tale of a Tub and more generally in Gulliver's Travels where public conformity in a confessional State is represented as a positive (see PW,XI,49-50,60,106,131)⁷⁶ is an element identifying these satires as 'Tory' rather than 'Old Whig' in political inspiration. Indeed it is the danger of schism that Swift invokes when he explicitly insists that heterodox Whig Commonwealthmen should be excluded from positions of public trust. Swift wrote in his 'Remarks upon a Book, intituled The Rights of the Christian Church':
Employments in a State are a Reward for those who intirely

agree with it ... For Example, a Man who upon all Occasions declared his Opinion, of a Commonwealth before a Monarchy, would not be a fit Man to have Employments; let him enjoy his Opinion, but not be in a Capacity of reducing it to Practice.

(PW,II,102)

Swift makes the point again in one of his 'Thoughts on Religion'. Addressing the question of 'Liberty of conscience' Swift puts a case:

Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books, preferring that government, and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples.

(PW,IX,263)

Tindal's advocacy of liberty of conscience fails to consider that 'there are some Opinions in several Religions, which, although they do not directly make Men rebel, yet lead to it' (PW,II,89). Papists and Dissenters 'have Opinions that may affect the Peace of the State' (PW,II,107). Swift wholeheartedly supports the Sacramental Test for public employment and 'that it might be no Bribe, the Bill against Occasional Conformity would prevent entirely' (PW,II,103). Tindal's project is schism for which Swift pillories him: 'The Scripture is full against Schism. Tindall promoteth it, and placeth in it all the present and future Happiness of Man' (PW,II,94; see also II,91).

Swift wrote starkly in the unpublished 'Remarks' that: 'Men must be governed in Speculations, at least not suffered to vent them, because Opinions tend to Actions, which are most governed by Opinions' (PW,II,99; see also II,88).⁷⁷

A Tale of a Tub is a hostile distorted mimesis of speculative free-thinking. The putative Author declares himself to be

a Person, whose Imaginations are hard-mouth'd, and exceedingly disposed to run away with his Reason, which I have observed from long Experience, to be a very light Rider, and easily shook off; upon which Account, my Friends will never trust me alone, without a solemn Promise, to vent my Speculations in this, or the like manner, for the universal Benefit of Human kind.

(Tale,p.180; see also pp.57,71,185)

In the 'Apology' affixed to the fifth edition of 1710 the anonymous real author describes himself as a person who 'had endeavour'd to Strip himself of as many real Prejudices as he could; I say real ones, because under the Notion of Prejudices, he knew to what dangerous Heights some Men have proceeded' (Tale,p.4). The satirized putative Author of the Tale is one who has proceeded to dangerous heights. Venting his speculations without restraint this admiring chronicler of schismatic Jack and the Aeolists believes 'it one of the greatest, and best of humane Actions, to remove Prejudices' (Tale,p.161). The satirized putative Author speaks an anticlerical, Old Whig language.

The project of the classic Old Whig Cato's Letters, Trenchard and Gordon wrote in their last paper, had been to show 'the advantage and the beauty of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and the odious deformity of priestcraft and tyranny' and to vindicate 'our present establishment'. The Old Whig publicist hopes 'I have removed many of the prejudices imbibed by education and custom'. For 'it is certain, that the capacities of men would carry them much farther than they are suffered to go, if they were not cramped by custom and narrow education'. Cato laments to see 'men dupes and machines to the ambition, pride, and avarice, of selfish and haughty ecclesiastics, or of corrupt statesmen. Nor can I see how this great

evil can ever be cured, till we change the education of our youth'.⁷⁸ Tindal was a notorious exponent of what Swift in the 'Apology' calls 'the Notion of Prejudices' and Swift acidly remarked on Tindal's arguments against an imputed pernicious High Church clerical hegemony in education: 'Religion, Morality, Honour, and Honesty ... are, it seems, but Prejudices of Education, and too many get clear of them' (PW,II,103). As Examiner, Swift parodied the Whig-speak of 'the Slavery of believing by Education and Prejudice' (Exam,p.150) and condemned 'that Whiggish Practice of reviling the Universities, under the Pretence of their instilling Pedantry, narrow Principles, and High-Church Doctrines' (Exam,p.419). In the sardonic irony of An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity (written in 1708 but first published in 1711) this Old Whig language has become an anti-Christian one: 'It is further objected against the Gospel System, that it obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for Free-Thinkers, and such who have shaken off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confined Education'. The anti-Christians project that the abolition of the Gospel and religion will remove 'those grievous Prejudices of Education; which, under the Names of Virtue, Conscience, Honour, Justice, and the like, are so apt to disturb the Peace of human Minds'. From 'Prejudice of Education' are said to derive 'all our foolish Notions of Justice, Piety, Love of our Country; all our Opinions of God, or a future State, Heaven, Hell, and the like'. The concern about 'Prejudices' is needless in 1708, the speaker informs us, 'effectual Care hath

been since taken, to remove those Prejudices by an entire Change in the Methods of Education' (PW,II,29,33). In the non-ironic Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man also written in 1708 during the Junto Whig administration, Swift writes of the affectation of 'removing the Prejudices of Education; under which Head, they have, for some Time, begun to list Morality and Religion' (PW,II,11). Later in Gulliver's Travels the wise King of Brobdingnag's contemptuous reaction to Gulliver's account 'of my own beloved Country; of our Trade, and Wars by Sea and Land, of our Schisms in Religion, and Parties in the State' is attributed by Gulliver to 'the Prejudices of his Education' (PW,XI,106-07). The indignant King of Brobdingnag's lofty denunciation of the social and political 'Corruptions' Gulliver reports is dismissed by Whig England's obtuse panegyrist as ignorance in affairs of state and polite society. Gulliver's endeavour in his 'many Discourses' had been to 'hide the Frailties and Deformities of my Political Mother, and place her Virtues and Beauties in the most advantageous Light'. The King's condemnation reflects his 'many Prejudices, and a certain Narrowness of Thinking' (PW,XI,132,133). Swift's sardonic parody of Old Whig discourse may contain a specific hit at the last of the famous Cato's Letters (no.138, 27 July 1723) where, as we have seen, Trenchard and Gordon proclaimed that their patriotic papers had shown 'the advantage and the beauty of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and the odious deformity of priestcraft', vindicated the Hanoverian Whig political and ecclesiastical establishment, and opposed

the 'prejudices', 'narrow education', and 'narrow principles' produced by High Church clerical tyranny. Swift described himself in a letter to Pope of 20 September 1723 as a condemned man awaiting execution by the Whigs:

I ... am sunk under the prejudices of another Education, and am every day perswading my self that a Dagger is at my Throat, a halter about my Neck, or Chains at my Feet, all prepared by those in Power.

(Corr, II, 465)

The ferocious mockery of the Whig project against 'Prejudices of Education' in the Tale of 1704 as in his later polemic and satire discloses the presence of a High Church Tory partisan.

THE BOOKSELLER'S DEDICATION TO SOMERS

Praising Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, the new Tory Lord President of the Council, in the Examiner of 1 February 1711 Swift alludes to the ousted Junto Whig Lord Somers with detestation. Commonplace charges against Somers in Tory literature since before the turn of the century are marshalled by Swift in a bitter sarcastic broadside against the Junto Whig leader. The Tory President of the Council is not descended 'from the Dregs of the People'. Rochester is 'neither Deist nor Socinian: He has never convers'd with T-l-nd, to open and enlarge his Thoughts, and dispel the Prejudices of Education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that Perfection of Gallantry, to ruin and imprison the Husband, in order to keep the Wife without disturbance' (Exam, p. 215). It is possible to read the earlier Bookseller's Dedication to Somers in the Tale as Swift's (anonymous and oblique) satiric

reflection on a great Whig patron and a Whig publisher as well as part of the book's satire of the commercialized print culture, debased dedications and decadent panegyric techniques (see also Tale, pp. 49-50, 72). A book which is a satiric mimicry of heterodox whiggery, which violently satirizes Dissent as schism, and ridicules the Royal Society (see Tale, pp. 64, 242) is with delicious and audacious irony offered as a tribute to Lord Somers, the President of the Royal Society from 1698 to 1704 when Swift was writing the Tale, the epitome of a person who had dispelled 'the Prejudices of Education', and regarded by contemporaries as, to use Swift's later sarcasm, the 'great Genius, who is the Life and Soul, the Head and Heart of [the Whig] Party' (PW, VI, 152). The glorious political career of the Williamite Whig statesman, and such biographical facts as his latitudinarianism, patronage of anticlerical writers, support for a Williamite standing army, and connection with city financiers and the new machinery of public credit are not itemized 'Materials of Panegyrick' (Tale, p. 49) in the Tale's Dedication to Somers.⁷⁹ 'ALL Panegyricks are mingled with an Infusion of Poppy' Swift wrote (PW, IV, 252), but the failure to mark specifically and to eulogize the milestones in Somers's Whig career would be extraordinary if Swift really was a wholehearted Whig at this time. Many years later in 1733 when Swift writes a 'Prefatory Letter to Poems on Several Occasions by Mrs. Mary Barber' dedicated 'To the Right Honourable John, Earl of Orrery', a Jacobite Tory, he rehearses the common topics of dedicators that he assumes Mrs. Barber would insist on but mentions

virtues signally absent from his earlier Dedication to Somers:

Perhaps she may be so weak to add the Regularity of your Life, that you believe a God and Providence, that you are a firm Christian, according to the Doctrine of the Church establish'd in both Kingdoms.

(PW, XIII, 74)

In the Tale's Dedication, Somers is the illiterate Bookseller's candidate as 'the sublimest Genius of the Age, for Wit, Learning, Judgment, Eloquence and Wisdom' (Tale, p.23). Somers can be the only possible dedicatee for the stolen encomiums furnished by the mercenary modern Bookseller's hackney authors in their garrets in the alleys near his shop (Tale, pp.24-25). The Bookseller knows a dedication to Somers will 'get off' an edition and recognizes that Somers must be flattered for profit (Tale, p.23). The Bookseller in effect does 'ply the World with an old beaten Story of your Wit, and Eloquence, and Learning, and Wisdom, and Justice, and Politeness, and Candor, and Evenness of Temper in all Scenes of Life; Of that great Discernment in Discovering, and Readiness in Favouring deserving Men; with forty other common Topicks' (Tale, pp.25-26). Swift had not received patronage or preferment from Somers when he wrote this nor would he in the future. He would write in 'Thoughts on Various Subjects' that: 'I HAVE known great Ministers distinguished for Wit and Learning, who preferred none but Dunces' (PW, IV, 245). Some remarks in Andrew Marvell's The Rehearsal Transpros'd (a book referred to in the Tale) well describe an intended side-effect of that praise Somers monopolizes in Swift's Bookseller's Dedication. Marvell wrote that 'improbable Elogies'

are of the greatest disservice to their own design, and do in effect diminish alwayes the Person whom they pretend to magnifie. Any worthy Man may pass through the World unquestion'd and safe with a moderate Recommendation; but when he is thus set off, and bedawb'd with Rhetorick, and embroder'd so thick that you cannot discern the Ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjustly) Interest, Curiosity, and Envy. For all men pretend a share in Reputation, and love not to see it ingross'd and monopolized, and are subject to enquire, (as of great Estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this honestly,⁸⁰ or of what credit the Person is that tells the Story?

A 'good Historian' as Swift's Bookseller recognizes does not credit the testimony of 'Dedications' (Tale, p.26) and Swift has assassinated the character of the Bookseller that tells the 'old beaten Story'.

While contemporaries like William King, responding to the indecorum of the Dedication, said that it was disrespectful, modern academic criticism on A Tale of a Tub usually, indeed routinely, reads the Dedication as a genuine compliment to Somers. What the Bookseller (and behind him Swift) is seen to be getting at is that Somers is second to none, the beau idéal of the patron. There have been dissenting voices, however. In particular, Robert M. Adams discovers covert hostility to Somers behind the raillery in the Bookseller's Dedication. In a passage in which Swift is ostensibly ridiculing panegyrics which absurdly praise patrons for qualities they don't possess, Adams has noted the satiric glances at Somers's humble birth, sexual incontinence and libertinism and debilitated physique.⁸¹ The Bookseller says

I expected, indeed, to have heard of your Lordship's Bravery, at the Head of an Army; Of your undaunted Courage, in mounting a Breach, or scaling a Wall; Or, to have had your Pedigree trac'd in a Lineal Descent from the House of Austria; Or, of your wonderful Talent at Dress and Dancing.

(Tale, p.25)

One of Somers's panegyrists, Joseph Addison, celebrated in 1695 'Britain Advanc'd, and Europe's Peace Restor'd, / By SOMERS' Counsels, and by NASSAU's Sword' and British youth 'Ambitious all/ Who first shall storm the Breach, or mount the Wall'.⁸² Swift assimilated such lines into a hostile allusion to Somers's sexual rather than military gallantry: 'your undaunted Courage, in mounting a Breach, or scaling a Wall'.⁸³ and indirectly reminds readers of Somers's birth and physical constitution when contemporary Tory poems on affairs of state were sneering at the 'Audacious Upstart' with a syphilitic body.⁸⁴ Through a studied, sardonic obliquity Swift contrived to insult a powerful potential patron while ostensibly praising him through raillery.

A parody of a Whig dedication to Somers, the Bookseller's Dedication is also a satiric demystification of the conditions of literary production and an exposure of the disreputable practices of booksellers. The Bookseller is primarily a satiric type, of course, yet he may be distantly modelled, and intended to satirically reflect, on the Whig Kit-Cat publisher Jacob Tonson, a friend and associate of Somers. Tonson's political and literary connection with Somers would make him a topical candidate for a Bookseller praising Somers.⁸⁵ Tonson's famous association with John Dryden who is a target of Swift's satiric animus and parody throughout the book, would also have qualified Tonson for satiric attention. Indeed, Swift may obliquely satirize the Tonson-Dryden publishing enterprise in classical translation.⁸⁶ The Bookseller in his Dedication to Somers reveals that neither he nor the authors he employs in translating

understand Latin:

upon the Covers of these Papers, I casually observed written in large Letters, the two following Words, DETUR DIGNISSIMO; which, for ought I knew, might contain some important Meaning. But, it unluckily fell out, that none of the Authors I employ, understood Latin (tho' I have them often in pay, to translate out of that Language) I was therefore compelled to have recourse to the Curate of our Parish, who Englished it thus, Let it be given to the Worthiest.
(Tale, p.23)

This passage may recall a contemporary literary controversy.

Provoked by such Tonson publications, edited by Dryden, as Ovid's Epistles (1680, 1681, 1683), Miscellany Poems (1684) and Sylvae (1685) all of which consisted largely of translations many by Dryden, and referring to Dryden's charge in the Defence of the Epilogue (1672) that the clergy were corrupters of eloquence, Matthew Prior wrote in a letter of 1685 to Dr. Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's:

let our translators know that Rome and Athens are our territories; that our Laureate might in good manners have left the version of Latin authors to those who had the happiness to understand them; that we accuse not others, but defend ourselves, and would only shew that these corruptions of our tongue proceed from him⁸⁷ and his tribe, which he unjustly casts upon the clergy.

Prior's A Satyr on the modern Translators was published in 1697. It pilloried 'the hireling Drudges of the Age' who have left writing 'bad Plays' to compose 'worse Translations'. The 'dull Translator' Dryden does not 'know what Roman Authors mean'.⁸⁸ It may be a particular satiric sneer at Tonson and Dryden that Swift's Bookseller who employs translators who don't understand Latin should seek enlightenment from a clergyman.

Elsewhere in the Tale Swift satirizes a Whig bookseller - the eccentric Dissenting Whig John Dunton, the publicist

behind the Athenian Society with whom Swift had unwitting dealing when his Ode to the Athenian Society was published in 1692 (Tale, p.59). In connection with the publication of Sir William Temple's manuscripts Swift had some dealings with Tonson. But his own regular publisher was Benjamin Tooke Jr, and during the last four years of Queen Anne's reign John Barber, both of whom were Tory.⁸⁹ As Michael Treadwell points out the anonymity of the publisher of A Tale of a Tub was carefully preserved, but the publisher was almost certainly Benjamin Tooke. A Tale of a Tub carried the imprint of the trade publisher used to distribute the book, that is John Nutt who was succeeded by John Morpew in 1706. The Nutt-Morpew house 'was always very closely associated with the Tory interest'.⁹⁰

Swift's treatment of the Bookseller in the Dedication to Somers may be compared with the caricatured Tonson in William Shippen's satiric portrait of the leading Whig conspirators against Church and State meeting on the night of William III's death in Faction Display'd (1704). Tonson as 'Bibliopolo' and Somers as 'Sigillo' (ll.232-97) are given prominent place in the cabal. The passage in which the Whig bookseller appears reads:

Now the Assembly to adjourn prepar'd,
 When Bibliopolo from behind appear'd,
 As well describ'd by th'old Satyrick Bard,
With leering Looks, Bullfac'd, and Freckled fair,
With two left Legs, and Judas-colour'd Hair,
And Frowsy Pores, that taint the ambient Air.
 Sweating and Puffing for a-while he stood,
 And then broke forth in this Insulting Mood:
 I am the Touchstone of all Modern Wit,
 Without my Stamp in vain your Poets write.
 Those only purchase everliving Fame,
 That in my Miscellany plant their Name.
 Nor therefore think that I can bring no Aid,

Because I follow a Mechanick Trade,
 I'll print your Pamphlets, and your Rumours spread.
 I am the Founder of your lov'd Kit-Kat,
 A Club that gave Direction to the State.
 'Twas there we first instructed all our Youth,
 To talk Prophane and Laugh at Sacred Truth.
 We taught them how to Toast, and Rhime, and Bite,
 To Sleep away the Day, and drink away the Night.
 Some this Fantastick Speech approv'd, some Sneer'd;
 The Wight grew Cholerick, and disappear'd.

(11.374-96)⁹¹

We see in Shippen's caricature of Tonson some of the broad outlines of Swift's satire on the Bookseller in the Dedication to Somers. Shippen sneers at the profession, 'a Mechanick Trade'. This accent is perhaps heard when Swift's Bookseller speaks of his 'Shop' and his employees in garrets and 'an Alley hard by' (Tale,p.24). There is contemptuous irony in Shippen's personation of Tonson holding forth that his Miscellany Poems will be the only means for modern writers to 'purchase everliving Fame'. Swift's Bookseller says ''TIS true, I should be very loth, the Bright Example of your Lordship's Virtues should be lost to After-Ages' but admits the modern dedication is not the vehicle for transport to posterity (Tale,p.26). His motives for publishing the Dedication are mercenary (p.23) and Swift accords amusing emphasis to the Bookseller's absorption in pecuniary and unscrupulous considerations (Tale,pp.24-25). Like Shippen's Tonson, Swift's Bookseller brusquely asserts he is master of his authors (Tale,p.22).

But it is the Bookseller's connection with Somers which suggests that Tonson is a butt of Swift's satire. Later, of course, Swift was to savagely malign the Kit-Cat Club with which Somers and Tonson were famously associated, making similar charges to those made in Faction Display'd

(ll.388-94).⁹² In 1704 his hostility is expressed covertly. The Bookseller, after declaring that he does not fear for the sale of the book since, irrespective of the book's faults or merits, Somers's 'Name on the Front, in Capital Letters, will at any time get off one Edition',⁹³ adds:

Neither would I desire any other Help, to grow an Alderman, than a Patent for the sole Priviledge of Dedicating to your Lordship.

(Tale, p.23)

In order to help Somers support the dignity of the office of Lord Chancellor which he bestowed upon him in 1697, William III had granted Somers the manors of Reigate and Howleigh in Surrey. Reigate was a burgh borough and Somers's manorial estates enabled him to exercise political influence in the borough. With the parliamentary vote attached to burghs, Somers sought to ensure that the franchise of Reigate burghs was held by dependable Whigs. Before the election of 1698, through Somers's influence, Tonson (along with other Kit-Cats) became one of the new burgesses in Reigate, installed so that Somers could advance his Whig parliamentary interest there.⁹⁴ Swift may well be reflecting on Tonson's political recruitment and 'advancement'. In the Dedication to Somers, Swift satirically imagines that perhaps the grateful Bookseller, through his connection with Somers, could hope 'to grow an Alderman'.

MARTIN IN POLEMICAL CONTEXT

The foregoing interpretations present a case for the Tale as a satire of heretics, schismatics, and Whig authors, patrons and booksellers which had party-political dimension and implication. To conclude this account of the book's

politics, the ecclesiastical-political positives explicitly present in the text and intended to control reader response to the Tale's irony and satiric mimesis will be considered.

At the beginning of Section II, the Father provides his Sons with Coats and the Father exhorts his Sons to 'wear them clean, and brush them often'. A 'Will' provides 'full Instructions in every particular concerning the Wearing and Management of your Coats'. The Father commands in the Will that the Sons 'should live together in one House like Brethren and Friends'. The Father's Will was observed for seven years and the Coats kept 'in very good Order' (Tale,pp.73-74). The High Church satirist's parable inscribes the peremptory authority of Scripture, confirmed and defined by the practice of the primitive Church in the first seven centuries, and places considerable emphasis on the injunction to Catholic uniformity. The Father is gone, but his patriarchal authority remains. Swift's satire explores how the human spirit eludes such final authority through intellectual, religious and political corruption and a hermeneutic midwifery that makes the meaning of Word and Text indeterminate (see particularly Tale,pp.12, 186). Swift emphasizes the proscriptive rather than prescriptive aspect of the Church's authority. What Swift means by the euphemistic instruction in the parable to wear the Coats 'clean, and brush them often' and the practice of keeping them 'in very good Order' might be glossed from the unpublished 'Remarks upon a Book, intituled The Rights of the Christian Church'. The fundamentals of the Church of England polity and doctrines 'were deduced from

Christ and his Apostles, and the Instructions of the purest and earliest Ages' (PW,II,79). 'And if Heresies had not been used with some Violence in the primitive Age, we should have had, instead of true Religion, the most corrupt one in the World' (PW,II,103-04). In Swift's nonchalant, burlesque fairy-tale or allegorical romance idiom the Church quite properly in 'the purest and earliest Ages': 'travelled thro' several Countries, encountred a reasonable Quantity of Gyants, and slew certain Dragons' (Tale,p.74). A year after the first publication of the Tale during the Tory Church-in-danger campaign, John Mather preached a sensational, violent sermon at Oxford on the anniversary of Charles II's restoration calling for 'the prudent execution of good and wholesome Laws' to eradicate the 'sin of Schism, which not only rends in pieces the Sacred Body of Christ' and undermines Protestantism, but raises rebellion and faction in the body politic. The contagion of schism was said to spread from 'Schismatical illegal Seminaries'.⁹⁵ Tindal pillories him as a disloyal High Church incendiary. For Swift Mather was merely an 'indiscreet Man' who 'drops an indiscreet Word' (PW,II,101).

In the Tale's parable of the three Brothers it is Martin who embodies the satire's positive or normative attitude. He expresses the Will's injunction to unity in his speech to schismatic Jack (Tale,p.139). But in modern literary criticism of the Tale Martin has seemed the most problematic of positives. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with the debate about him and Swift's Anglican politics in his creation. For Martin is a polemical

character with a particular provenance and meaning. Martin's representation is conditioned by Anglican pamphleteering tradition and, importantly, by a polemical controversy hitherto neglected in Swift studies.

Declaring 'I shall by no means forget my Character of an Historian, to follow the Truth', the Author in Section VI of A Tale of a Tub picks up the thread of his parabolic narrative of Roman Catholic corruption and papal usurpation and the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation: 'We left Lord Peter in open Rupture with his two Brethren' (Tale,p.133). The Author records the 'Complexions' and career of the two Brothers exiled by Peter, now distinguished as 'MARTIN' and 'JACK' and glossed as 'Martin Luther' and 'John Calvin' (Tale,p.134). The monumental, Elizabethan historical defence of Protestantism John Foxe's Acts and Monuments had represented Luther as restoring true religion from papal moral and doctrinal corruption and malpractice by 'reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture'.⁹⁶ In the Tale the two Brothers decide to 'reduce all their future Measures to the strictest Obedience' to the 'Will' (Scripture). Comparing 'Doctrine' and past 'Practice' and finding 'horrible downright Transgressions of every Point', the reforming Brothers resolve 'without further Delay, to fall immediately upon reducing the Whole, exactly after their Father's Model'. The Brothers set out 'to reform their Vestures into the Primitive State, prescribed by their Father's Will' and 'Martin laid the first Hand' (Tale,pp.134-35). The two Brothers' 'Complexions appear'd extreamly different'

(Tale, p.134). The account of 'Martin's Proceedings upon this great Revolution' is a description of a cool, moderate, cautious and conservative attitude to the work of Reformation (Tale,pp.135-37). But Jack 'entred upon the Matter with other Thoughts, and a quite different Spirit' (Tale,p.137). Jack's violent 'Hatred and Spight' is spuriously mystified and privileged as 'Zeal' and 'brimful of this miraculous Compound, reflecting with Indignation upon PETER's Tyranny, and farther provoked by the Despondency of Martin' Jack sets about his career of violent iconoclasm and schism (Tale,pp.137-38). The work of Reformation however requires the 'sedatest Constitution' (Tale,p.138). Martin's 'Complexion' and his speech in response to Jack's furious, fanatical call to extremism embody what the text declares as the appropriate attitude and temper for Reformation and Martin's speech clearly implies that Jack's schism from Martin is condemned by Scriptural authority. The important passage representing Martin in response to Jack's zealotry reads in part:

But Martin, who at this Time happened to be extremely flegmatick and sedate, begged his Brother of all Love, not to damage his Coat by any Means ... Desired him to consider, that it was not their Business to form their Actions by any Reflection upon Peter's, but by observing the Rules prescribed in their Father's Will... That it was true, the Testament of their good Father was very exact in what related to the wearing of their Coats; yet was it no less penal and strict in prescribing Agreement, and Friendship, and Affection between them. And therefore, if straining a Point were at all dispensable, it would certainly be so, rather to the Advance of Unity, than Increase of Contradiction.

(Tale,p.139)

The satiric animus in this passage is directed primarily against Calvinism and the radical Reformation on the left of Luther. Yet Martin, the ostensible positive of the

satire, is represented as a colour-less, cholera-less figure. Focusing on Martin in the text without considering possible polemical contexts that might have conditioned the way he is depicted, readers find Martin to be, at best, satisfactory. Some readers suspect ironic subversion of this moderate in the way he is described as sedate to the point of being soporific. The representation of Martin demands interpretation and Martin's place in the satire has, of course, received detailed attention in literary criticism on A Tale of a Tub.

Phillip Harth has provided a lucid summary and analysis of the sections of the Tale concerned with the abuses in religion and the altering signification of the three Brothers themselves in the course of the tale. Martin's signification shifts from the historical reformer Martin Luther to the English Reformation and Anglicanism. Martin, Harth points out, in spirit and method exemplifies reason, moderation and charity.⁹⁷ Patrick Reilly refers to Martin as 'the unidealistic hero of the Tale' who exemplifies an approved 'cautious reformism', conservatism and 'moderationist temper'. 'That Swift endorsed the Martin attitude is incontestable'.⁹⁸ Martin Price writes that 'Martin embodies the middle way celebrated by Richard Hooker and the Anglican church of the seventeenth century'.⁹⁹ Yet Martin's lack-lustre appearance has suggested to readers that Swift's attitude to the normative Brother is not without ambiguity. Pat Rogers argues that: Swift is sceptical regarding golden means, or at any rate about 'moderation' as currently practised - witness the sermon On Brotherly Love.

Some have claimed that Swift always does convey some implied norm. But (leaving aside the recognized thinness and insufficiency of Martin, who hasn't even the grace to disappear entirely, and makes periodic shifty entrances, like the untroubled absentee norm, he is) I do not see how this view can be sustained.¹⁰⁰

Gardner D. Stout, Jr sees in the representation of Martin evidence of ironic tension between Swift's official ideological commitment and his actual imaginative extremism:

In the religious allegory, Swift assumes 'the Character of an Historian' who chronicles the careers of Peter, Jack, and Martin in a curiously equivocal manner. His portraits of Peter and Jack are contemptuously degrading, and his description of Martin's sane moderation expresses his conscious commitment to the common forms of Anglican orthodoxy. As has often been noted, however, Martin is as much a foppish bully-boy as his brothers until his last-minute transformation into an Anglican rationalist, after which he disappears from the narrative. Martin embodies Swift's genuine, self-defensive commitment to rational moderation and restraint. But Martin's pallor reflects the emotional weakness of that commitment: though he has all the orthodoxy, Peter and Jack have all the imaginative vitality.¹⁰¹

Claude Rawson explores the somewhat ambiguous slightly subverted projection of Martin's Anglican middle way and ecumenical moderation. Rawson observes 'the similarity in the language, and in the configuration of attitudes, between Martin's correct position, and its Whiggish "Abuse"' described in other works where Swift repudiates Whig Moderation. He concludes:

The 'admirable Lecture of Morality' and its predicted soporific effect on the reader tend to deflate Martin. The damage should not be exaggerated. Mild ironic underminings of serious statements are common in Augustan writers, as not very damaging (indeed sometimes affectionate) jokes at the speaker's expense, which at the same time release the (real) author from too solemn a posture of endorsement.¹⁰²

Despite the large corpus of critical commentary and editorial annotation on A Tale of a Tub the paper wars which constitute part of the book's 'background' and from

which Swift purloined materials have not been fully noted. The Ancients-Moderns debate and particularly the Temple-Wotton and Phalaris controversies have received detailed attention as an immediate background to Swift's satire on abuses in learning. Jack and Peter have been interpreted in the context of anti-puritan satire, Anglican apologetics, and polemic against Popery in order to explicate the satire on abuses in religion.¹⁰³ However, Martin is often considered divorced from contemporary polemical context. But Martin's 'Complexion' has a possible provenance in an Oxford battle of books hitherto neglected in Swift criticism. The phlegmatic Martin can be recognized as Swift's somewhat droll literary contribution to a late seventeenth-century skirmish in a longer controversy between apologists for the English Reformation and Roman Catholic polemicists over the character of Martin Luther and his place in debate over the legitimacy of the Church of England.¹⁰⁴ Relocating Martin in contemporary polemical context allows us to understand why Swift specifically represents Martin as a rather pallid, placatory figure. But before describing a polemical genesis for the Martin who appears in the Tale, some brief general observations need to be made about Swift's attitude to Martin Luther and about previous constructions of an Anglican via media in Anglican polemical literature.

As an Anglican clergyman Swift would have admitted that there were doctrinal differences between Lutheranism and Anglicanism. Also, he would have recognized that a defence of Martin Luther was not central to the contemporary defence of the Church of England (see Exam, pp. 260-61 for

instance). The legitimacy of the Anglican Church rested principally on its claim of Apostolic succession and as a true Catholic Church reformed from papal corruption, established as national, and in agreement with Scripture and the practice of the primitive Church. The High Churchman in Swift deplored the erastian and anti-episcopal character of the Reformation Luther fathered and its radical Protestant progeny. Such was Swift's hostility that he can sometimes seem barely within the pale of the Reformation. The reductive representation of the Reformation as the adventures and antics of three fops in A Tale of a Tub perhaps on some level discloses a disgust with the Reformation that is also expressed in his remarkable unfinished paper, dated 24 May 1736, entitled Concerning That Universal Hatred, Which Prevails Against The Clergy. The paper has a probable general occasion in the Whig Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736 and other controversies concerning the corporate rights and temporalities of the established Church in the mid-1730s. In the reign of Henry VIII Swift writes:

the Church and Court of Rome had arrived to such a height of corruption, in doctrine and discipline, as gave great offence to many wise, learned, and pious men through most parts of Europe; and several countries agreed to make some reformation in religion. But, although a proper and just reformation were allowed to be necessary, even to preserve Christianity itself, yet the passions and vices of men had mingled themselves so far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of those who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the just reproaches that Roman Catholics have cast upon us ever since.

The erastian Reformation in northern Europe removed the wealth and authority of the bishops.

And, in the Protestant monarchies abroad, little more

than the shadow of Episcopacy is left; but, in the republics, is wholly extinct.

In England the Reformation was brought in after a somewhat different manner, but upon the same principle of robbing the church.

(PW, XIII, 125-26)

Sir Thomas More who stood out against the erastian Henrician Reformation in England is a Swiftian Hero and exemplar of passive obedience under a tyrant (see PW, V, 84; XI, 196; XIII, 123).

However, Swift accepted Martin Luther, the biblical and patristic scholar, as a Father of the ideas that produced the English Reformation and saw him as embodying the ideal of a centrist, moderate Reformation. In The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, 'the Reformation of Luther' is imaged as a 'Harvest' with the 'Radical Reformers' as the 'Mushrooms' that spring up afterwards (Tale, p. 286).

In A Preface To the Right Reverend Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation, of the Church of England, Swift writes:

The Reformation owed nothing to the good Intentions of King Henry: He was only an Instrument of it, (as the Logicians speak) by Accident; nor doth he appear throughout his whole Reign, to have had any other Views, than those of gratifying his insatiable Love of Power, Cruelty, Oppression, and other irregular Appetites. But this Kingdom, as well as many other Parts of Europe, was at that Time generally weary of the Corruptions and Impositions of the Roman Court and Church; and disposed to receive those Doctrines, which Luther and his Followers had universally spread.

(PW, IV, 73)

'I think, Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the Reformers' Swift wrote (PW, VIII, 96).

Clearly, the Anglican clergyman could consider Luther with historical detachment, and Martin is treated with a certain detachment in the Tale published in 1704.¹⁰⁵

As Martin also comes to signify the Anglican via media

between the Papacy and the 'Radical Reformation', Swift's depiction of him was to some extent pre-scripted or at least influenced by representations of the ideal moderate Anglican middle way in the royalist, anti-puritan pamphleteering tradition. An example of such a royalist, anti-puritan text endorsing Anglican moderation is John Taylor's A Dialogue Betwixt Three Travellers, as accidentally they did meet on the High-way: Crucy Cringe, a Papist, Accepted Weighall, a Professour of the Church of England, and Factious Wrestwrit, a Brownist (1641). Taylor's three men of the world can be recognized as the polemical ancestors of Peter, Martin and Jack. The ideal of Anglican moderation is positively expounded in the Dialogue and embodied in Weighall. It is perhaps indicative of Swift's deep disillusionment with ecclesiastical projects of toleration and moderation and of the impact on the conservative Anglican mentality of the Civil War and Interregnum that whereas Taylor represents Weighall's moderate position as triumphant in his text, Martin's correct moderation in Swift's Tale merely inflames Jack's fanaticism (Tale, p.140). 'Moderation', considered as a strategy of ecclesiastical politics, is clearly represented by Swift as futile for dealing with Dissent. As already suggested, the polemical dimension of Swift's narrative of Peter, Martin and Jack at the time of publication was not lost on contemporaries. Interestingly, there may be an allusion to Swift's depiction of the Anglican via media in the celebrated tracts of the 'Church in Danger' controversy of 1705. For example, the deist and true Whig, John Toland's The Memorial of

the State of England (1705), an answer to the High Churchman James Drake's incendiary The Memorial of the Church of England (1705) which was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, may allude to the sartorial parable and endorsement of Martin in A Tale of a Tub. Toland may have regarded the Tale as High Church Tory in provenance, associating it with Drake's book and the Tory 'Church in Danger' campaign of 1705. Defending Whig policies of toleration and moderation, Toland attacks High Churchmen as secret Jacobites. He says the extremist High Churchmen assert:

that they are the best Reform'd Church in the World, which may be true, tho' not fit for them to say; that they steer between the gaudy Dresses of affected Rome, and the slovenly Attire of nasty Geneva; and the Memorialist says, That no Sect or sort of Christians whatsoever can boast of so extensive a Charity, or so good natur'd a Discipline, when in the same Libel, he who pretends to be their Mouth, arraigns the Government for not passing the Bill against Occasional Conformity, falls foul on the Bishops for the Mildness of their Discipline, in relation to their Protestant Brethren.¹⁰⁶

A Tale of a Tub describes Martin's 'Coat so well reduced into the State of Innocence', while Peter's coat is a baroque medley of lace, ribbons, fringe, embroidery and points, and Jack's is rent to a ragged condition (Section VI). Swift's book also contains satiric reflections on occasional conformity and the contemporary episcopate (see Tale, pp. 79, 204-05, 279).

The particular, forced emphasis on the mildness and moderation of Martin's temper and proceedings as a Reformer suggest Swift's allusion to a particular pamphlet controversy in 1687-88 between the Roman Catholic and Anglican interests in Oxford, a controversy within the larger paper war between Romanist and Anglican polemicists and scholars in which

Swift's future friend, the High Church Tory champion, Francis Atterbury first established his reputation as a brilliant controversialist.¹⁰⁷ In the summer of 1687 a work entitled Two Discourses. The First, Concerning the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation. The Second, Concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy by the Roman Catholic polemicist Abraham Woodhead issued from Obadiah Walker's press at Oxford. Obadiah Walker, the Master of University College and a convert to Roman Catholicism, was engaged in a propaganda campaign in support of James II's Catholicizing policies. The 104 page Considerations Concerning the Spirit of M. Luther, and the Original of the Reformation declaimed against Luther as immoral and possessed by Satan. Luther's relation to other Reformers is represented as wildly immoderate and choleric. Luther 'was noted to suffer impatiently any opposition made to himself, and could not well brook any Reformation different from his own'. He displayed 'presumptive certainty, and plerophory' against the Papists and against other Reformers. Luther is represented violently 'censuring and condemning such other [r]eformed doctrines as were contrary to his own'. A section of the Considerations describes 'His fierce, contentious, and railing spirit discovered in all his Controversy writings'. Passages are cited as an 'extract of his raging choler'.¹⁰⁸ Sardonicly, Calvin appears at one point in the Considerations as an appeasing moderate in relation to Luther. 'Calvin (who liked well, and himself to some degree imitated Luther's reviling spirit, when he wrot [sic] against the Church,

yet censures, and condemns it, when turned upon his own party)' is quoted as saying of Luther: 'That over-boiling heat and passion in all his writings I wish he had studied more to assuage, and moderate'. But both Calvin and Luther are finally judged to be violent and spiritually proud. The spirit of the Reformation's two 'fore-fathers' does not agree 'with the character of the Holy Spirit'.¹⁰⁹

Francis Atterbury's An Answer to Some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther and The Original of the Reformation; Lately Printed at Oxford (1687) immediately and contemptuously demolishes the central assumption of the Romanist polemic: 'But it look's like a Jest, when the Irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turn'd upon Us here in England: as if any thing that He said, or did, could affect a Church establish'd upon it's own bottom, and as independent on any forreign authorities'.¹¹⁰

Atterbury exposed the fraudulent scholarship on which this Romanist defamation case against Luther was based. But, importantly, Atterbury defended Luther as essentially moderate and reasonable in spirit and in his attitude to Reformation: describing how 'he treated his Adversaries with all mildness' and proposed his views on the gross abuse of pardons 'in a mild Scholastic way'. Denunciation and anathemas 'did not heat him, he went on calmly'. But when no redress came from Rome and Luther's books were burned there and his adversaries supported:

he then, and not 'till then, first chang'd his note, and put on a greater freedom of Expression. Before this time he strove with no man, but in the spirit of meekness ... Thus are the earliest actions of Luther in no wise chargeable with contumacy.

Atterbury's tract insists on the distinctiveness of the Church of England from the Lutheran Reformation in Germany but is an apology for the spirit of Martin Luther. Atterbury's answer was itself attacked by the Roman Catholic press with Thomas Deane's The Religion of Mar. Luther ... (1688) again representing Luther as a furious madman 'destitute of the Virtues of the Holy Spirit, temperance, meekness, &c'.¹¹¹

Martin's phlegm, gravity, patience and moderation in Section VI of the Tale clearly coincide with Atterbury's polemical projection of Martin Luther's spirit during Anglican Oxford's resistance to the Roman Catholic campaign in the last years of James II's reign. Atterbury in the course of his argument had tried to explain away the historical evidence of Luther's intemperate disputation. He conceded that Luther 'had fire in his temper, and a German bluntness' and that in the heat of dispute Luther's opponents provoked perhaps a 'hot word or two, that ought to have been softned'. But Luther can be excused.¹¹² Woodhead, of course, represented Luther's 'quarrelsom, reviling stile, fierce and impatient' as increasing with age 'and his last writings to have bin most violent, and passionate ... tho against those, whom his friends thought of all dissenters from him the most innocent, that is Zuinglius, Bucer's, and Calvin's party'.¹¹³ Swift's Martin after the commencement of the Reformation 'knew very well, there yet remained a great deal more to be done; however, the first Heat being over, his Violence began to cool, and he resolved to proceed more moderately in the rest

of the Work' (Tale,p.136). Martin Luther in the Tale is neither choleric nor immoral, indeed Swift drolly presents him as the other extreme. The Tale's Historian comments: 'MARTIN had still proceeded as gravely as he began; and doubtless, would have delivered an admirable Lecture of Morality, which might have exceedingly contributed to my Reader's Repose' (Tale,pp.139-40). Woodhead's Luther is scurrilous and flagitious in disputation, freely damning his Romanist and Protestant adversaries as Satanic and devils.¹¹⁴ In the Tale it is Peter who 'was very lewdly given in his common Conversation, extream wilful and positive' and who has the faculty of 'swearing' and 'cursing the whole Company to Hell' (Tale,pp.119-20). As Swift points out in the 'Apology', 'Peter is frequently made to repeat Oaths and Curses'. Readers are to 'laugh at the Popish Folly of cursing People to Hell' (Tale,p.18). It is Peter and Jack who vent 'Millions of Scurrilities and Curses' (Tale,pp.122,141). Answering the Romanist charge of 'Contention and Disobedience' against Luther, Atterbury described Luther's 'mild Scholastic way' in disputation and scored against Woodhead by noting Luther's passive obedience:

He cannot but own, that L.^r dissuaded the Protestants from taking up arms in the Cause of Religion, but (according to his usual way of guessing at peoples thoughts) imputes it to his being conscious of their weakness. All that I shall say to this kind censure is, that the passive obedience of the primitive Christians has been us'd at the same rate by a late Author, whose face I have since seen thro' a pillory.¹¹⁵

The Tale's Martin certainly disputes in a 'mild Scholastic way':

And as in Scholastick Disputes, nothing serves to rouze the Spleen of him that Opposes, so much as a kind of Pedantick affected Calmness in the Respondent; Disputants being for the most part like unequal Scales, where the Gravity of one Side advances the Lightness of the Other, and causes it to fly up and kick the Beam; So it happened here, that the Weight of Martin's Arguments exalted Jack's Levity, and made him fly out and spurn against his Brother's Moderation. In short, Martin's Patience put Jack in a Rage.
(Tale,p.140)

Martin attempts to dissuade Jack from disobedience and revolt (Tale,p.139).

It would appear that Swift appropriates the polemical language of this Oxford battle of books in a literary representation of the debate about Martin Luther in A Tale of a Tub. Echoes of the controversialists can be heard in the Tale. Early in his Considerations Concerning the Spirit of M. Luther, Woodhead issues an hermeneutic injunction to his readers:

it seems reasonable and of much concernment, that all Christians ... do put themselves in the same posture now, as they should have bin in, had they lived at the first appearance of Luther, when all remain'd in the bosom,¹¹⁶ communion, and faith of that Church which he opposed.

Atterbury readily did so: 'let us take the prescrib'd method, and put our selves in the same posture now, as we should have been in, had we liv'd at the first appearance of Luther'. Atterbury finds that 'should I put my self into that posture, the Considerer desires' he can convict Woodhead of erroneous interpretation:

He advisd me to put my self in the same posture I should have been in had I liv'd at Luther's FIRST APPEARANCE: I have done so, and find that this first appearance of his has nothing hideous or frightful in it: the Posture, he put me in, has prov'd flatly against his design: for it represent's Luther under the Image of an holy and humble person, with¹¹⁷ nothing of Fleshly Lust, or disobedience about him.

The author of A Tale of a Tub writes in his Preface:

I hold fit to lay down this general Maxim. Whatever Reader desires to have a thorow Comprehension of an Author's Thoughts, cannot take a better Method, than by putting himself into the Circumstances and Postures ['Posture' edd. 1-4] of Life, that the Writer was in, upon every important Passage as it flow'd from his Pen.

(Tale, p.44)

Swift, 'this most insisiently parodic of satirists',¹¹⁸ burlesques the hermeneutic method by literalizing the metaphoric 'Posture' and introducing the Reader to the sick and starving Author in bed in his garret (Tale, p.44).

In Section VI Swift recalls the method adopted by the antagonists in the controversy over the spirit of Martin Luther. The true nature of Martin and Jack is revealed by attention to the contingent circumstances at their first appearance:

But when they came forward into the World, and began to display themselves to each other, and to the Light, their Complexions appear'd extreamly different; which the present Posture of their Affairs gave them sudden Opportunity to discover.

(Tale, p.134)

The 'Posture' of affairs presented in the satire implicitly vindicates Atterbury's reading of Martin Luther.

Other parallels and echoes might suggest this specific polemical provenance for Section VI of the Tale. For example, the circumstantial detail of the parabolic narrative that Martin and Jack 'took a Lodging together', fell into argument after which mad 'Jack went immediately to New Lodgings' (Tale, pp.133,141), might recall Woodhead's depiction of Luther in hot dispute with another Reformer 'as they were together in an Inn'. However, in Woodhead's version it is Luther who refused to have the doctrinal controversy between them 'privately composed' and which divided the Protestant Reformers 'into two bands even untill this

day'.¹¹⁹ Atterbury's treatise ends with a eulogy of holy Luther and declares that

If among this Crowd of Virtues a failing crept in, we must Remember that an Apostle himself has not been irreprovable: If in the Body of his Doctrine one Flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest Lights of the Church, and in the purest times¹²⁰ of it, were, we know, not exact in all their Opinions.

Swift imaginatively transposed Atterbury's apology for a 'Flaw' remaining in the 'Body' of Luther's doctrine in the account of Martin's imperfect reformation of the 'Coat' (Christian faith and doctrine):

where he observed the Embroidery to be workt so close, as not to be got away without damaging the Cloth, or where it served to hide or strengthen any Flaw in the Body of the Coat, contracted by the perpetual tampering of Workmen upon it; he concluded the wisest Course was to let it remain, resolving in no Case whatsoever, that the Substance of the Stuff should suffer Injury; which he thought the best Method for serving the true Intent and Meaning of his Father's Will.

(Tale, pp.136-37)

Swift's satiric reflection on Dryden's Roman Catholic poem The Hind and the Panther (1687) in the Tale (Tale, p.69) has a polemical analogue in Atterbury's acid allusion to the baiting of the Anglican Church under the name of the Panther by the Roman Catholic party.¹²¹

It was routine in Tory literature to satirize the alleged contumely of Nonconformists. Dryden, for example, referring to Christopher Ness, a Nonconformist minister and his presumed polemical antagonist, wrote sarcastically in the 'Epistle to the Whigs' attached to The Medall.

A Satyr against Sediton (1682):

Besides, if you encourage a young Beginner, who knows but he may elevate his stile a little, above the vulgar Epithets of prophane, and sawcy Jack, and Atheistick Scribler, with which he treats me, when the fit of Enthusiasm is strong upon him: by which well-mannered and charitable

Expressions, I ¹²²was certain of his Sect, before I knew his name.

Nevertheless, the 1687-88 Oxford controversy may have provided Swift with some hints for the Tale's demotic, and especially the image of Jack uttering 'a Million of Scurrilities' and 'run mad with Spleen, and Spight, and Contradiction' (Tale,p.141). Woodhead, for example, gives purported specimens of Calvin's flagitious contumely. Calvin is quoted and translated abusing the Reverend Fathers of the Council of Trent as 'Impudent, fools, knaves, beasts, horned-beasts, asses, swine, apes, and such like', as '"Upstarts one of those prating Monks, that lead the Council by the nose, and tells a tale of a tub; to which the Fathers, with their ears a foot and half long, give their assent"'.¹²³

Swift obtained his M.A. from Oxford in 1692. Atterbury, who had largely written and supervised Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Aesop Examin'd (1698), recognized that Swift's satiric volume defended the enterprise of the Christ Church Oxford wits and the 'Ancient' position in its satire on abuses in learning. Aligned with Atterbury's side in the battle of the books, A Tale of a Tub also defends a specific 'Oxford' position in its reference to the 1687-88 religious controversy fought out at Oxford in which Atterbury was the celebrated Anglican champion.¹²⁴ Religious controversies before and after the Revolution would still have been 'contemporary' for the author of A Tale of a Tub who declared that the 'greatest Part' of the book 'was finished above thirteen Years since, 1696, which is eight Years before it was published' (Tale,p.4). An allusion to Luther in

a letter Swift wrote to Atterbury on 18 July 1717 might suggest that the reputation and spirit of Martin Luther's reformation may have been a topic of conversation between these two High Churchmen, Chelsea neighbours and companions in 1711, who had both defended Martin Luther in print (Corr,II,280; see also PW,X,132 for a different application of the same allusion to Luther). While Swift does not specifically refer to Atterbury's treatise or the controversy over the spirit of Martin Luther by name in his extant writings, he did of course allude generally to the religious controversies of the late 1680s and praised Anglican Tory polemic against Roman Catholicism in the dangerous days at the end of James II's reign. In Swift's eyes, High Churchmen in their conduct and writings had confronted the concerted attack of Crown, Popery and Dissent with heroic steadiness and learning. In A Preface to the Right Reverend Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum's Introduction Swift affirms: 'That those whom we usually understand by the Appellation of Tory or High-church Clergy, were the greatest Sticklers against the exorbitant Proceedings of King James the Second, the best Writers against Popery, and the most exemplary Sufferers for the Established Religion' (PW,IV,63, Atterbury is defended by name on p.60; see also for example: PW,II,9; Exam,pp.126-27). In the 'Apology' he prefixed to the fifth edition of A Tale of a Tub, Swift claims that his book 'Celebrates the Church of England as the most perfect of all others in Discipline and Doctrine, it advances no Opinion they reject, nor condemns any they receive' (Tale,p.5). Martin is presented as the most perfect

of the Brothers in discipline and doctrine. Martin's genesis is in the ideal of a moderate Anglican via media in seventeenth-century anti-puritan satire. His 'Complexion' in the Tale has a particular topical provenance in a polemical controversy between the Oxford Anglican interest and Romanist propagandists just before the Revolution over the reputation of Martin Luther, the Reformation and the legitimacy of the Church of England. Swift's imaginative literary depiction of Martin Luther is consonant with Atterbury's celebrated polemical vindication of Luther and may borrow from it. In terms of contemporary polemic, Swift's parable imaginatively affirms the Church of England position. To relocate A Tale of a Tub in historical context is to reveal the satire's relation to Anglican clericalist polemic against Popery before the Revolution and to High Church Tory polemical languages on affairs of Church and State in the post-Revolution period. Such a 'Method' discloses the activist, political 'Postures ... that the Writer was in'.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICS OF GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

I SOME CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships was substantially written between 1721 and 1725 and first published in 1726. The history of the actual composition of the book is evidenced in Swift's correspondence and that of his friends.¹ Empiricist historical criticism of Gulliver's Travels attempts to recover the meanings the text had for Swift and his readers in the early Hanoverian period. Reactivating the political meanings of Swift's satiric text and its contexts means exhuming some neglected polemicists and ephemeral literary production. For in reading Gulliver's Travels alongside political works and writers privileged in modern conceptual analyses of eighteenth-century political literature and thought (such as Bolingbroke's Craftsman or Trenchard and Gordon's Cato's Letters or Locke or the canonical authors of civic humanism) modern Swift criticism has occluded the presence in Swift's book of some fugitive militant voices from the contemporary paper wars. Swift's political circumstances and whereabouts during the period of Gulliver's composition are also of significant contextual interest for an intentionalist and historicist interpretation of the book's politics. Swift's partisan 'Posture', Tory milieu and connections in the period of Gulliver's composition will be remarked briefly here before the historical character of the book's political discourse is discussed.

Swift's first reference to Gulliver's Travels in his correspondence is in a letter to Charles Ford of 15 April 1721 (Corr,II,379-81). Swift discloses that: 'I am now writing a History of my Travells, which will be a large Volume, and gives Account of Countrys hitherto unknown; but they go on slowly for want of Health and Humor' (Corr,II,381). This letter to his Tory friend also shows something of Swift's political character and engagement at the time he began writing Gulliver. Swift tells Ford of his efforts to help Edward Waters, the High Tory printer who had been prosecuted for publishing Swift's A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture (1720; PW,IX,13-22). This pamphlet written in response to the passing of the Declaratory Act in 1720 had been regarded as seditious, a militant tract inciting insurrection against the English Whig government (see PW,IX,26; Corr,II,358). At the trial of the printer, Swift recorded, Chief Justice Whitshed 'laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly that the Author's design was to bring in the Pretender' (PW,IX,27; see also PW,XII,121). As Swift tells Ford, his solicitors on the printer's behalf included Lord Arran (the Jacobite Tory brother of the exiled Duke of Ormonde), 'my Sollicitor M^r Charleton' (the Jacobite Chaplain to the Duchess of Ormonde), and Sir Thomas Hanmer (the leading Hanoverian Tory) (Corr,II,380). Swift also sought the help of his friend the Tory extremist and Jacobite Sir Constantine Phipps and the discontented Irish Whig Lord Molesworth.² The 'Whig Jacobite' Duke of Wharton had approved Swift's pamphlet (Corr,II,359). Probably thinking of the Duke of Wharton, Swift tells Ford that 'many of the violent

Whigs profess themselves perfect Jacobites, and plead for it the Miseryes and Contempt they suffer by the Treatment of England' (Corr,II,380).³

When Swift began writing Gulliver's Travels, then, he had immediate personal experience of a prosecution for sedition. The letter to Ford also reveals Swift's interest at this time in what anti-government writers could get away with in print. After commenting on an outspoken opposition Whig paper, he observes ironically to Ford: 'Your Ministry seems to me to want Credit in suffering so many Libells published against them' (Corr,II,380). Swift also provides Ford with a reading of the political atmosphere in Ireland. He reports: 'The sanguine Stile begins to revive, the D. of Ormonde and his naturall Son were last week in Ireland, and went over to the West, with the like Trumpery' (Corr,II,381). But something was in the wind as Swift may have heard.

Jacobite hopes for a Stuart restoration had been growing since the South Sea Bubble catastrophe of 1720. In fact in April 1721 when Swift announces he has begun Gulliver the Atterbury Plot was underway. Swift's Tory 'Brother' Lord Arran was one of the four lords (the others were Lord Orrery, Lord North and Grey and Lord Strafford) planning the plot directed by Bishop Atterbury for 'James III'. Lord Arran was to be commander-in-chief of the projected 1722 Rising until the arrival of the Duke of Ormonde. A key figure in the Atterbury Plot of 1720-23 was Christopher Layer, Lord North and Grey's agent and legal adviser. In 1721 Swift's 'Sister' and correspondent, the Duchess of Ormonde, acted as proxy for Maria Clementina Sobieska,

'James III's' Queen, at the christening of Layer's child, which was performed by her chaplain who was also Swift's friend and correspondent.⁴ The Duchess of Ormonde was in direct correspondence with the Pretender and involved in Jacobite communication and activity.⁵ The Duchess of Ormonde's letters to Swift in the early 1720s indicate his continuing credit and friendships in Jacobite Tory circles and serve to remind modern literary critics of the dangerous conditions under which Swift and his Jacobite friends wrote. In a letter of 18 April 1720 the Duchess of Ormonde tells her 'Brother': 'you'd have great reason to be angry with me, if my long silence had bin occasioned by any thing, but my care of you, for having no safe hand to send by, till now, I wou'd not write, for fear it might be construed a sort of Treason, (Misprision at least) for you to receive a letter from one half of a proscribed man'. She supposes that being in Ireland and 'honest as you are', Swift does not abound in wealth and happiness at the present time (Corr,II,344). Writing on 9 December 1723, the Duchess assumes that Swift's letters to her, which she had not received, must have been intercepted and deciphered during the perlustration of letters by the Post Office at the time of the Jacobite plot and government prosecutions in 1722-23 (Corr,II,471). Swift certainly believed that throughout the Hanoverian period his mail was monitored and intercepted by the Whig government. 'I have an ill name in the post-office of both kingdoms, which makes the letters addressed to me not seldom miscarry, or be opened and read, and then sealed in a bungling manner

before they come to my hands' he tells Pope and Bolingbroke in 1738 (Corr,V,119). Pope and Bolingbroke attest to Post Office surveillance of their correspondence with Swift - 'no secret can cross your Irish Sea [but] every clerk in the post-office had known it' (see Corr,IV,253-55). Writing to Pope in 1723 Swift remarks his 'Infelicity in being so Strongly attached to Traytors (as they call them) and Exiles, and State Criminalls' (Corr,II,464). 'Friendships', as Pat Rogers has observed, 'do not guarantee shared patterns of interest, still less common affections, but they are in themselves a species of elective affinity'.⁶

Swift's elective affinity with known or suspected Jacobites in the 1720s might at least suggest that the man did not share Whig fears of a Jacobite restoration under the military direction of his exiled 'Brother' and hero, the Duke of Ormonde. Scholars simply do not know the extent of Swift's knowledge or complicity in Tory Jacobite activity. He was certainly loyal to his proscribed Tory friends. There is an interesting reassurance in the poetic testament of fidelity Swift wrote for Harley some time between July 1715 and July 1717 entitled 'To The Earl of Oxford, Late Lord Treasurer. Sent to him when he was in the Tower, before his Tryal':

NEXT, faithful Silence hath a sure Reward:
 Within our Breast be ev'ry Secret barr'd:
 He who betrays his Friend, shall never be
 Under one Roof, or in one Ship with me.

(11.15-18, Poems,I,210)

Though Swift's extant remains betray no secret Jacobite complicities we do have Swift's verse image of his political posture in the early Hanoverian period before the publication of Gulliver:

I spend my Time in making Sermons,
Or writing Libels on the G—s,
Or murmuring at Whigs Preferments.

(Poems, III, 993)

In the years when he was at work on Gulliver's Travels Swift was spending his summers in Tory country houses. Swift's poem 'The Journal' (or 'The Part of a Summer') gives an amusing account of how he spent his time between June and October 1721 in the Tory household of George Rochfort whose father, Robert, had been the Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer until he lost office after the Hanoverian accession. The poem is of political interest as it evidences Swift's acquaintance with Jacobite Tory politics. The visiting Dean reports the Tory Baron's conversation:

A word or two of Lord Chief Baron;
And tell how little weight he sets,
On all Whig Papers, and Gazets:
But for the Politicks of Pue,
Thinks ev'ry Syllable is true;
And since he owns the King of Sweden
Is dead at last without evading.
Now all his hopes are in the Czar,
Why Muscovy is not so far,
Down the black Sea, and up the Streights,
And in a Month he's at your Gates:
Perhaps from what the Packet brings,
By Christmas we shall see strange things.

(11.98-110, Poems, I, 282)

The Jacobites in fact had been negotiating with both Charles XII of Sweden and Peter the Great of Russia hoping for a Russo-Swedish joint action against George I as Elector and King.⁷ Charles XII had been the hero and great hope of the Jacobites. The Charles XII-Jacobite connection was a widely suspected fact of foreign affairs and part of the contemporary domestic political idiom. In Swift's verse invective against the Whig politician Richard Tighe entitled 'Dick's Variety', the victim of Swift's satiric

pillory swears that boys who pelt him 'were with the Swedes at Bender, / And listing Troops for the Pretender' (ll. 23-24, Poems, III, 788). Jacobites had entered the service of Peter the Great. Jacobites recruited officers from the Royal Navy for the Russian Navy and Jacobites became admirals in the Czar's service.⁸ After the death of Charles XII in late 1718, the Tory Baron's hopes from the North would naturally lie with the Czar. Appropriately, the Tory Baron is represented by Swift as imagining a naval expedition which will bring, the poem implies, a modern Hannibal to the Hanoverian regime's 'Gates'. Swift archly outfaces here the contemporary Whig scaremongering epitomized in such sensationalist tracts against Tory Pretenderism as (probably Defoe's) Hannibal at the Gates: or, the Progress of Jacobitism. With the Present Danger of the Pretender (1712).⁹ Swift has the Baron darkly predict the arrival of Hanover's foreign enemies by Christmas. Recognizing a Jacobite idiom in this 'word or two of Lord Chief Baron', the reader starts to wonder if there might not be some ambiguity about the 'King' signified in the household's after-dinner loyal toast to 'Church and King' reported at line 36 of 'The Journal'.

Swift's verse account of his visit to the Rochfort country house in 1721 was printed in Dublin (c.1721-22), and published in London newspapers in January 1723. Oblique Jacobite sentiment is expressed in the poem through the character of the Lord Chief Baron speculating on the foreign news. But in a remarkable unpublished poem written in this period and addressed to a close and trusted friend

who had been arrested in 1715 as a suspected Jacobite Swift speaks more freely. 'To Charles Ford Esq.^r on his Birth-day Jan^{ry}. 31.st for the Year 1722-3' (Poems, I, 309-15) is, as Pat Rogers has remarked, 'one of Swift's most openly anti-Hanoverian poems' (Complete Poems, p.726). It was not published in Swift's lifetime and even when it did appear in 1762 its anti-Hanoverianism had to be toned down: 'Hanoverians' in line 50, for instance, was replaced with 'Presbyterians' (see Poems, I, 313; Complete Poems, pp.726,728). The poem discloses Swift's sympathy for suspected Jacobites and betrays no fear of the cause to which Charles Ford was attached. In a passage referring to the Tory exiles Bolingbroke and Ormonde, the incarceration of Oxford and Prior, and the recent arrest and confinement in the Tower of Atterbury for alleged Jacobite conspiracy, Swift tells Ford:

Your great Protectors, once in Power,
 Are now in Exil, or the Tower,
 Your Foes, triumphant o'er the Laws,
 Who hate Your Person, and Your Cause,
 If once they get you on the Spot
 You must be guilty of the Plot,
 For, true or false, they'll ne'r enquire,
 But use You ten times worse than Pri'r.

(11.27-34)

Swift ridiculed the Whig prosecution of Atterbury in 'Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin the B---- of R——'s French Dog. In a Dialogue between a Whig and a Tory' (written 1722, first published 1735, Poems, I, 297-301). It is the satire on Walpole's decipherers and the Whig government prosecution of Atterbury in Part III, Chapter VI of Gulliver's Travels (PW, XI, 190-92) that unmistakably identifies the text as 'Tory'. The bold, but safely generalized, satiric

couplets of 'On Dreams. An Imitation of Petronius' (written c.1724, first published in 1727, Poems,II,363-64) also almost certainly allude to the Atterbury Plot and find the monarch as culpable as his murderous ministers:

The drowsy Tyrant, by his Minions led,
To regal Rage devotes some Patriot's Head.
With equal Terrors, not with equal Guilt,
The Murd'rer dreams of all the Blood he spilt.

(11.11-14)

The true motive of the Whig ministers is imputed: 'The Statesman rakes the Town to find a Plot, / And dreams of Forfeitures by Treason got' (11.19-20; compare PW,XI, 191). The Petronian satirist (like the disgusted Gulliver in Glubbubdrib) execrates the 'hireling Senator of modern Days' who 'Bedaubs the guilty Great with nauseous Praise' and the poem ends slinging mud in Walpole's face (11.35-38).

In 'To Charles Ford Esq.' the Whig regime is anathematized and its flagitious maladministration identified with the ruling German dynasty:

In London! what would You do there?
Can You, my Friend, with Patience bear,
Nay would it not Your Passion raise
Worse than a Pun, or Irish Phrase,
To see a Scoundrel Strut and hector,
A Foot-boy to some Rogue Director?
To look on Vice triumphant round,
And Virtue trampled on the Ground:
Observe where bloody Townshend stands
With Informations in his Hands,
Hear him Blaspheme; and Swear, and Rayl,
Threatning the Pillory and Jayl.
If this you think a pleasing Scene
To London strait return again,
Where you have told us from Experience,
Are swarms of Bugs and Hanoverians.

(11.35-50)

The collocation of 'Bugs and Hanoverians' anticipates a similar satiric diminution in the linkage of 'the new-devouring Vermin' with 'the Land of Huns' in Swift's later

nationalist poem on the political state of Hanoverian Ireland 'Verses occasioned by the sudden drying up of St. Patrick's Well near Trinity College, Dublin' (probably written 1729, Poems, III, 789-94, ll. 59-60). Ostensibly discussing the infestation of vermin in a 'degenerate and base' Ireland this poem's suggestive political diction and its references, for example, to 'A nauseous Brood, that fills your Senate Walls, / And in the Chambers of your Viceroy crawls' and to 'Th' amphibious Tyrant, with his rav'nous Band' (ll. 57-58, 63) invite the disaffected reader to understand the plague of toads, frogs and rats as political metaphor. The poem, remarkably, approves the idea of an armed uprising of patriots and frames its political criticism of Ireland's rulers in dynastic terms:

O! had I been Apostle to the Swiss,
 Or hardy Scot, or any Land but this;
 Combin'd in Arms, they had their Foes defy'd,
 And kept their Liberty, or bravely dy'd.
 Thou still with Tyrants in Succession curst,
 The last Invaders trampling on the first:
 Nor fondly hope for some Reverse of Fate,
 Virtue herself would now return too late.
 Not half thy Course of Misery is run,
 Thy greatest Evils yet are scarce begun.
 Soon shall thy Sons, the Time is just at Hand,
 Be all made Captives in their native Land;
 When, for the Use of no Hibernian born,
 Shall rise one Blade of Grass, one Ear of Corn.

(ll. 79-92)

The restoration of the cursed land through the return of the virtuous and just king was a Jacobite topos.¹⁰ Swift in this poem refers to the land as being 'with Tyrants in Succession curst'. But in 1729 it seems 'some Reverse of Fate' is not to be expected. The poet laments that 'Virtue herself would now return too late'. For 'the Use of no Hibernian born, / Shall rise one Blade of Grass, one Ear of Corn'. Earlier in the decade in the satiric

fiction of Gulliver's Travels the 'least corrupted' of the polities Gulliver visits has an hereditary monarch who thought 'that whoever could make two Ears of Corn, or two Blades of Grass to grow upon a Spot of Ground where only one grew before; would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country, than the whole Race of Politicians put together' (PW,XI,292,135-36). The good monarch absent from modern Britain is offered larger than life in the fictional King of Brobdingnag. Swift's paradigm of a just monarch and political wisdom may owe something to Jacobite Tory propaganda and sentiment as will be discussed later in this chapter. But what can be observed here is that the violent humour of Swift's anti-Hanoverian verse written before and after Gulliver's composition in the 1720s and his willingness to identify the ruling dynasty with the evils of the Whig administration preclude identifying his political allegiance at this time as Whig or loyal Tory.

In the summer of 1722 Swift was at Loughgall, County Armagh, the country estate of his friend Robert Cope, a Tory M.P. who had been arrested as a suspected Jacobite in 1715. There Swift, at work on Gulliver, was reading extensively in 'Books of History and Travells' (see Corr, II,430,431). Swift described for Charles Ford the scene around his Tory friend's estate: 'My Comfort is, that the People, the Churches and the Plantations make me think I am in England. I mean onely the Scene of a few miles about me, for I have passed through miserable Regions to get to it' (Corr,II,431). Swift may have specifically

remembered Cope's country seat when he came to write Part III of Gulliver's Travels, the last part of the book to be completed (see Corr, III, 5; PW, XI, xvii-xviii). In Part III Gulliver journeys through the ruined waste land of Balnibarbi before reaching the estate of the conservative Lord Munodi. At Munodi's estate

the Scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful Country; Farmers Houses at small Distances, neatly built, the Fields enclosed, containing Vineyards, Corngrounds and Meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful Prospect.

(PW, XI, 175-76)

Gulliver says of Balnibarbi 'I never knew a Soil so unhappily cultivated, Houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a People whose Countenances and Habit expressed so much Misery and Want' (PW, XI, 175). A judgement that might recall Swift's account of Hanoverian Ireland in his earlier, allegedly seditious and incendiary pamphlet, A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture. After provocatively describing the miserable subject Irish, oppressed by rack-renting landlords, as in 'a worse Condition than the Peasants in France, or the Vassals in Germany and Poland' Swift remarked:

Whoever travels this Country, and observes the Face of Nature, or the Faces, and Habits, and Dwellings of the Natives, will hardly think himself in a Land where either Law, Religion, or common Humanity is professed.

(PW, IX, 21)

Between 1724 and 1725 Swift was writing the Drapier's Letters and other works in the Irish nationalist campaign against the English Whig government's attempt to impose on Ireland a copper coinage manufactured by William Wood. He completed and transcribed Gulliver's Travels in 1725 at another country house, that of his friend Thomas Sheridan

(Corr, III, 87, 102; PW, XI, xviii). Sheridan, in Swift's words, was 'famous for a high Tory, and suspected as a Jacobite'. He lay 'under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite' (PW, V, 223, 226). In 1725 he revealed his 'Disloyalty in the Pulpit' (Corr, III, 94). When Swift's Whig friend Thomas Tickell, Addison's protégé and Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, asked to see the manuscript of 'an Account of imaginary Travels' in May 1726 (see Corr, III, 135-36) Swift replied significantly:

As to what you mention of an imaginary Treatise, I can only answer that I have a great Quantity Paper some where or other of which none would please you, partly because they are very uncorrect, but chiefly because they wholly disagree with your Notions of Persons and Things.

(7 July 1726, Corr, III, 138)

Swift relied on Sheridan to help keep the manuscript papers from the sight of the Whig government official in Dublin Castle (Corr, III, 139-40).

II PUBLICATION, RECEPTION AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Prepared for the press in the disaffected air of the Irish countryside, Gulliver's Travels was published pseudonymously in London by Benjamin Motte Jr. on 28 October 1726. Pope's story in his letter to Swift of 16 November 1726 of how the copy of the manuscript of Gulliver's Travels was delivered to the printer suggests all the clandestine circumstance of an anonymous Jacobite night drop to the printer's shop:

Motte receiv'd the copy (he tells me) he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach.

(Corr, III, 181)

The plea of ignorance attributed to Motte here (and see also Corr, III, 182) was a standard response of contemporary

publishers when called to account to the authorities for published works the government found objectionable. The Tory trade publisher John Morphew, for example, had testified to the secretaries of state in 1714:

that it is a very usual thing for persons to leave books & papers at his house and at the houses of other publishers, and a long time after to call for the value thereof, without making themselves known to the said publishers, and if the Government makes enquiry concerning the authors of any books or papers so left, in order to bring them to punishment, it often happens that nobody comes to make any demand for the value of the said books.¹¹

Writing to Swift about the book's immediate reception, both Pope and Gay were assuring him that the real author's anonymity had been formally preserved (Corr, III, 181, 182). The potentially incriminating 'original Manuscript is all destroyed, since the Publication of my Book', Gulliver has heard (PW, XI, 7; 'A Letter from Capt. Gulliver, to his Cousin Sympson' added to Faulkner's 1735 edition of Gulliver's Travels). Swift was reputed to be the author of the sensational satire, but there was no formal proof of his connection with the work.

Modern scholarship has described the contemporary reception and political significance of Gulliver's Travels as an Opposition work attacking the Walpolean regime, linking it with the political stance of Bolingbroke's circle and the Opposition journal The Craftsman.¹² From the time of its first publication readers have looked for topical political allusions and allegories in the text. The tenuousness of the consistent political allegories and much of the particular and personal allusion commonly alleged in modern editorial commentary and literary criticism on the book has been demonstrated by several scholars.¹³

Nevertheless, Swift's political satire demonstrably combines topical and general satiric meanings.¹⁴ Swift intended Gulliver's Travels as a polemical act against the Whig government and a satire on contemporary European civilization and perennial imperfections, follies and vices of humanity (Corr, III, 102, 138, 226). Gulliver is a general satire on institutional and individual corruption with topical polemical resonance at the time of its publication. The reader of Gulliver's Travels is enabled by analogy, allusion and echo to make topical political applications of the general satire. But unlike some of the bolder Jacobite pamphleteers and journalists of his day, Swift did not risk publishing explicit anti-government political statements in propria persona or allegories against the Court and Ministry that were too transparent. Swift could write specific, consistent, and transparent political allegory as his An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan (written in 1728) witnesses (see PW, V, 99-107). But this thinly disguised political allegory on affairs of state attacking the Walpolean regime remained unpublished. In his great satire published in 1726 Swift disappears from his text behind fictive putative speakers and the disorientations and concealments of irony. There is ludic ambiguity and obliquity in his use of allusion, analogy and parallel and a studied generality in the satiric political commentary. The particular political attack is sufficiently disguised and indeterminate so as to confound any attempt by the authorities to convict the author of seditious libel and to afford readers the aesthetic pleasure of interpretation and application.¹⁵

Pope and Gay reported to Swift in November 1726 that Gulliver was received as a bold general satire but they reassured him that the book was unlikely to be convicted of libel. Pope wrote

I congratulate you first upon what you call your Couzen's wonderful Book, which is publica trita manu at present, and I prophecy will be in future the admiration of all men. That countenance with which it is received by some statesmen, is delightful ...

I find no considerable man very angry at the book: some indeed think it rather too bold, and too general a Satire: but none that I hear of accuse it of particular reflections (I mean no persons of consequence, or good judgment; the mob of Criticks, you know, always are desirous to apply Satire to those that they envy for being above them) so that you needed not to have been so secret upon this head.

(Corr, III, 181)

Gay's observations are similar:

The Politicians to a man agree, that it is free from particular reflections, but that the Satire on general societies of men is too severe. Not but we now and then meet with people of greater perspicuity, who are in search for particular applications in every leaf; and it is highly probable we shall have keys published to give light into Gulliver's design.

(Corr, III, 182-83)

However, a jocular letter to Swift from the Tory Earl of Peterborough of 29 November 1726 attesting to the popularity of the book also perhaps implies that prosecution of the suspected author of the Travels was contemplated.

It seems that Swift's artful satire exasperated (or could be imagined to have exasperated) the lawyers trying to make out a case for libel. Gulliver also had influential friends (the Princess Caroline and Mrs Howard, see Corr, III, 184-86, 187-88). Amusingly describing what 'strange distempers rage in the nation' the Earl of Peterborough wrote:

Itt was concluded not long agoe that such confusion could

be only brought about by the black Art, and by the spells of a notorious scribbling Magitian, who was generally suspected, and was to be recommended to the mercy of the Inquisition.

Inditements were upon the anvill, a charge of Sorcery preparing & Merlin's friends were afraid that the Exasperated Pettyfoggers would persuade the jury to bring in Billa vera.

For they pretended to bring in Certain proofs of his appearing in severall shapes, att one time a Drappier, att another a Wapping Surgeon, sometimes a Nardac, sometimes a Reverend Divine...

This was the scene not many days agoe, and burning was too good for the Wizard. But what mutations amongst the Lillyputians! the greatest Lady in the nation resolves to send a pair of shoes without heels to Capt Gulliver, she takes vi et Armis the plad from the Lady it was sent too, which is soon to appear upon her Royall person, and Now who but Capt Gulliver?

(Corr, III, 191-92)

Swift's summation of the text's reception in a letter to Pope of 27 November 1726 reflects both his concern about possible prosecution and an assessment that he had eluded the pettifoggers:

some think it wrong to be so hard upon whole Bodies or Corporations, yet the general opinion is, that reflections on particular persons are most to be blamed: so that in these cases, I think the best method is to let censure and opinion take their course.

(Corr, III, 189)

Pope assumes that the political writer of Gulliver's Travels might 'fancy none but Tories are your friends' (Corr, III, 182). Swift joked that the ministry might be made to keep him in England 'by a court expedient of keeping me in prison for a plotter' (Corr, III, 189).

Epistolary evidence suggests that Swift believed there was a dimension of seditious criticism in the text of Gulliver's Travels, that the work was dangerous to publish. He wrote in the well-known letter to Pope of 29 September 1725:

I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing

correcting, amending, and Transcribing my Travells, in four parts Compleat newly Augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a Printer shall be found brave enough to venture his Eares.

(Corr, III, 102)

In the letter from 'Richard Sympson' to Benjamin Motte of 8 August 1726 offering the manuscript of Gulliver's Travels for publication and stating terms, Swift speaks of showing the Travels 'to several persons of great Judgment and Distinction' and seeks to assure the publisher that 'although some parts of this and the following Volumes may be thought in one or two places to be a little Satyrical, yet it is agreed they will give no Offence'. Nevertheless Swift recognizes there might be a possibility of prosecution in the prevailing political climate so he writes further 'you must Judge for your self, and take the Advice of your Friends, and if they or you be of another opinion, you may let me know it when you return these Papers, which I expect shall be in three Days at furthest'. And Motte receives an exhortation: 'I require that you will never suffer these Papers to be once out of your Sight' (Corr, III, 153).

After the publication of the first edition of 1726, Swift complained that Motte had made alterations to the text, particularly in Parts III and IV and he wanted readers to understand that his political satire had been castrated (see Corr, III, 189, 190; IV, 197-98, 211). It is not strictly germane to my discussion to go into the complex and controversial questions of the historical bibliography and textual scholarship on the two substantive editions of Gulliver's Travels in Swift's lifetime (the edition

published in London by Benjamin Motte in 1726 and the text published in Dublin in the edition of Swift's Works by George Faulkner in 1735) and the intermediate textual history. But it is worth observing here that ridicule and repudiation of the Whig prosecution of the Atterbury Plot, attacks on the House of Lords and a degenerate hereditary nobility, attacks on standing armies, and ideas of justified rebellion and tyrannicide were themes in Jacobite polemic in the 1720s. There are substantive textual variants between the Motte and Faulkner editions in places where Swift's political satire is concerned with these topics. The passage in Motte's 1726 text on 'plots' (which alludes to the Atterbury Plot) at Part III, Chapter VI and the satire of the nobility at Part IV, Chapter VI are less bold and forthright than the variant passages printed in Faulkner's 1735 edition. The heavily conditional 'plots' passage in 1726 is not specific as to country and implies that there are 'Plots and Conspiracies' and that these 'could' or 'might' be exploited. But the 'plots' passage in 1735 specifies Britain and England (the reader is entrapped in the part of a decipherer using the satirized 'Anagrammatick Method' to decode 'Tribnia' and 'Langden') and exposes 'Plots' as political fabrications, cynically contrived, conducted and funded by 'Ministers' among a corrupted people. The formulation of the passage in the 1726 text seems to allow some credence to the prosecutors of 'Plots' and is euphemistic. For example, the 1726 text states that care is taken to secure the letters and papers of suspected persons and care is taken

to 'put the Criminal in safe and secure Custody'. The wording in the 1735 text is 'put the Owners in Chains'. The decipherers in 1726 are 'a Sett of Artists of Dexterity sufficient to find out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters'. In 1735 they are 'a Set of Artists very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables and Letters' which imputes motive and removes the possible 1726 suggestion that the 'Artists' necessarily have competence and actual coded meanings with which to work (for the evidence on which the above is based, see the text and textual notes at PW,XI,191-92,311-12). The execrable 'true Marks of noble Blood' in the 1735 text were 'no uncommon Marks of a Great Man' in 1726 and the attack on the House of Lords in the final paragraph of Part IV, Chapter VI in the 1735 text is absent in Motte's edition (for these and other variants, see PW,XI,257,319).

In Part IV, Chapter V of the 1735 text there is a striking, contemptuous attack on mercenary standing armies and the European princes who are said to profit by them. The passage reads:

THERE is likewise a Kind of beggarly Princes in Europe, not able to make War by themselves, who hire out their Troops to richer Nations for so much a Day to each Man; of which they keep three Fourths to themselves, and it is the best Part of their Maintenance; such are those in many Northern Parts of Europe.

(PW,XI,247)

The 1726 edition omits the epithet 'beggarly'. An openly anti-Hanoverian manuscript amendment of 'Germany and other' for 'many Northern' in this passage was not published in either the Motte or Faulkner editions (PW,XI,315).

A passage ambiguously alluding to Irish resistance to Wood's halfpence in 1722-24 and imagining tyrannicide and revolution which would have appeared militantly Jacobitical to the English Whig authorities remained unpublished in Swift's lifetime (see PW,XI,309-10).

One passage in the textus receptus of 1726 does seem to have concerned Swift enough to offer, in a manner, a public disclaimer and to omit it in the 1735 edition. The passage in Part IV, Chapter VI of the Motte text explicitly celebrates Queen Anne's administration as exemplary and is a transparent attack on George I's government by innuendo (the passage can be read in PW,XI,318).¹⁶ Approval of Anne's government in the 1720s could register as a disaffected Tory speech act and would certainly have been objectionable to a Whig government which had prosecuted the principals in Queen Anne's Tory ministry for treason.¹⁷ Specific eulogy of Anne, indirect reflection on the honour of George I and implied connection of the monarch with the imputed corruption of his 'First or Chief Minister of State' might have been thought sufficient to bring the outspoken author within reach of the law as administered by Walpole's government. The incautious passage was specifically disclaimed as an interpolated paragraph by Charles Ford writing to Motte as a friend of the author on 3 January 1727 (Corr,III,194-95). In 'A Letter from Capt. Gulliver, to his Cousin Sympson', first published in 1735 but apparently intended for an earlier revised second edition in 1727, Swift has Gulliver 'renounce' all interpolations, 'particularly a Paragraph about her

Majesty the late Queen Anne', and complain of other unspecified omissions and alterations (PW,XI,5). This brief witness of some substantive textual variants of political significance suggests that it tends to be Swift's anti-Hanoverian (rather than just anti-ministerial or anti-government) writing which in some passages finds Captain Gulliver sailing too close to the wind. Some relatively explicit aspects of the extremist strain in Swift's political writing were not exposed to the light of day in 1726 or 1735.

While on one level Swift no doubt enjoyed all the mystification and secrecy surrounding the book's pseudonymous publication which does have a comic Scriblerian aspect, he nevertheless had real reason to feel apprehensive about the reception of the political satire. A number of factors might have encouraged caution when Swift was writing and publishing Gulliver's Travels: such as his prejudicial public reputation as a Jacobite High Churchman and libeller, repeatedly proclaimed in the Whig prints;¹⁸ the prosecution of the recent A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture; the proclamation against the author (see PW,X,205), and the arrest and death in custody of John Harding the printer of A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland, the fourth Drapier's Letter which was judged to contain seditious paragraphs; the indictment for libel of Seasonable Advice (the 1724 broadside addressed to the Grand Jury preparing a bill against the printer of the Drapier's fourth Letter); and the sufferings experienced by his Jacobite Tory friends in Ireland and England. In

the 'Letter from Capt. Gulliver, to his Cousin Sympson' added to the 1735 edition, Gulliver complains that the first edition of his book had been altered:

When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a Letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving Offence; that People in Power were very watchful over the Press; and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an Inuendo (as I think you called it).

(PW,XI,5-6)

This passage, in fact, well expresses the conditions under which Gulliver's Travels was written and published. It also reflects a view Swift expressed in 'The Answer of The Right Honourable William Pulteney, Esq; To The Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole' written in 1730: 'there were never heard of so many, so unnecessary, and so severe prosecutions as you have promoted during your ministry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the press is so much pretended to be allowed' (PW,V,118). The State Papers Domestic for the reigns of George I and George II provide ample witness to the veracity of this claim about government surveillance of the press.

The demise of pre-publication censorship with the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 had led to a considerable increase in the volume of pamphlet and newspaper publication. While there were calls in the following years for the reintroduction of some form of pre-publication censorship, and measures taken (such as the 1712 Stamp Act for political and economic reasons) to regulate the press, it was the libel laws, and penal laws against Jacobites, which were to remain principal legal means by which the established government could control political expression. A satirist

who used the device of innuendo and fictitious or classical characters in attacking contemporary persons, institutions or government was legally safe under the contemporary libel laws as long as the innuendo was not legally certain, that is, the satiric victim had not been specifically named or had not been identified from other unambiguous evidence in the text.¹⁹ A satirist's meaning might be apparent to readers but legal certainty had to be established in order to secure conviction. The Secretaries of State could initiate official prosecutions against authors and printers on information brought by the Messenger of the Press or the network of informers and press spies. There is frequent witness in the State Papers of the Under Secretary of State, Charles Delafaye, and his officious press men on the hunt for the authors and printers of seditious works.²⁰ From 1722 Nicholas Paxton was employed to monitor papers and pamphlets published in Britain and to report seditious publication to the Secretaries of State.²¹ Seditious libel could be made to cover just about any expression of disaffection towards the Hanoverian State, but the evidence suggests that Walpole's government preferred to silence the Jacobite and Tory voice through harassment, arrest and incarceration of printers and publicists rather than through the problematic and high-risk method of a full-scale public prosecution of a treasonable, criminal or seditious libel in a court of law which would mean incurring costs, adverse publicity, and the considerable legal difficulties of securing a conviction under the existing libel laws.²² Such prosecutions were only

contemplated if there were legal grounds to hope for success. Fiction, for instance, might be prosecuted if it had a criminal double-meaning or construction, but prosecution could be evaded if it could be plainly shown that an innocent sense was meant.²³ In the years when Swift was at work on Gulliver's Travels, Walpole's government, provoked by the extremist and populist strain in Jacobite Tory argument, conducted a campaign of harassment, arrest and prosecution of seditious publicists.²⁴ And as Swift experienced and often attested, the Post Office was used for the surveillance and interception of letters and packets of printed material. As J. C. D. Clark has commented: 'The State Papers Domestic for the reigns of the first two Georges are littered with prosecutions of Jacobite publicists'.²⁵

The conditions and nature of political writing against the established Hanoverian monarchy and government in the 1720s need to be recalled when interpreting the political satire in Gulliver's Travels and understanding its contemporary reception. Jacobite publications, the vehicles of Tory subversion, used strategies of disguise, indirection, innuendo, allusion and analogy in disseminating anti-establishment views while seeking to evade prosecution. Elliptical strategies, indeterminacy and ambiguity had functional purposes. The Whig government was willing and able to prosecute unambiguous attacks on the Hanoverian dynasty and disaffected reflections on the motives of the Revolution or the foundations of the Revolution Settlement. Punishment of printers and publicists whose

innuendoes against the Hanoverian establishment were so obvious as to be legally certain was severe.

A few examples of the 'People in Power' being 'very watchful over the Press' and punishing 'an Inuendo' and explicit statement in the late 1710s and 1720s must suffice. Isaac Dalton, printer of the notorious The Shift Shifted written by the Jacobite George Flint in 1716, was put in Newgate, another principal behind the publication of the paper absconded. Flint escaped from Newgate and hanging in 1717, reaching France and joining the Pretender's service.²⁶ A young Jacobite apprentice James Shephard was arrested and executed in 1718 after information was received of his written undertaking to assassinate King George I.²⁷ In 1718, Delafaye received a letter from Under Secretary of State George Tilson assuring him that the Secretary of State, James Craggs, wanted vigorous prosecution and punishment of offending authors and printers and spoke of employing some attorney who 'knew how to tear and rend those wretches'.²⁸ In 1719 the young printer John Matthews was hanged after being convicted of high treason against the king and government for printing the overtly Jacobite pamphlet Vox Populi, Vox Dei. This inflammatory and militant text declared that the Old Pretender possessed hereditary right and princely virtues and that all asserters of limited monarchy must allow that a person with hereditary right and princely qualities ought to be preferred as monarch. Vox Populi, Vox Dei claimed that every Whig who adheres to true Whig principles must perforce be a Jacobite and called for the popular deposition of a government that

does not answer the end of its institution. Delafaye thought that the example of Matthews's execution would 'have the greatest influence upon those of his trade in deterring them from printing treason'.²⁹ The Jacobite Tory ballad printer Francis Clifton was taken up in 1720 for The Tory's Wholesome Advice which recounts the fate of John Matthews. Clifton was subjected to harassment and arrest in the following years.³⁰

The issue of the Jacobite Tory publicist Nathaniel Mist's The Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post of 27 May 1721 was prosecuted by the government for a transparent abuse of George I and his heir. This Restoration Day paper was thought to have been written by Philip Neynoe, a Jacobite clergyman of the Church of Ireland.³¹ Swift was certainly aware of Mist's paper, which was as Harold Williams described it 'the recognized organ of High-fliers and Jacobites', and Swift commented on the notorious Restoration issue in a letter to his Jacobite friend Knightley Chetwode written on the Pretender's birthday, 10 June 1721: 'There is a paper called Mist come out, just before May 29th, terribly severe. It is not here to be had. The printer was called before the Commons. It applies Cromwell and his son to the present Court. White roses we have heard nothing of to-day' (Corr, II, 390-91). Mist's Weekly Journal of 20 April 1728 reprinted in part Swift's A Short View of the State of Ireland and was prosecuted by the government. In Swift's words: 'Mist, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his press-folks were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and, for

ought I know, are not yet discharged'. For Swift another instance proving 'how dangerous it hath been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in' (PW,XII,122). Nathaniel Mist and his managers and Thomas Payne printer of the Duke of Wharton's The True Briton were principal sufferers of concentrated government action in the early 1720s against expression of disaffection in the press.³² The transparent Jacobite allegory of the Duke of Wharton's 'Persian Letter' printed in Mist's Weekly Journal no.175 of 24 August 1728 led to mass arrests of those connected with the publication of the issue and severe sentences. Mist fled to France and exile in 1728.³³ The issue of Mist's Weekly Journal (no.176, 31 August 1728) immediately following the treasonable libel lamented how no essay could escape censorship and defended Swift ('the finest Genius the Age has produced') from the calumny of his political enemies.

As a final example, the career of the volatile Jacobite pamphleteer and nonjuror Matthias Earbery illustrates the consequences of outspoken press criticism of the Hanoverian monarchy and government. He was in trouble with the authorities over a number of publications. He fled the country in 1717 to escape prosecution for seditious libel over The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs and a sentence of outlawry was imposed on him.

In his own words:

Mr. Attorney-General... mov'd the Court of King's-Bench for corporal Tortures to be inflicted upon myself, being charg'd with writing The History of Clemency, and reflecting,

as his Words were, upon the Honour of the King: So tender is every Age of their Princes in Possession.³⁴

After his return to England, Earbery was recommended to Swift 'as a sufferer by the times, and desirous to help himself by the translation of an Italian book'. Swift received a bizarre letter from Earbery in August 1727.

Swift tells his correspondent that he offered some comments on Earbery's manuscript. He then remarks:

I could not decently give publick encouragement to such a work where M^r Pope was openly reflected on by name. As for a distressed Person, and a Clergyman that hath suffered for his opinion, I should be very ready to contribute my mite, and have done it oftener than it was deserved from me. but this same M^r Earbery would be countenanced as an Author, and a genius, whereof I am no judge, and therefore it would be more convenient for him to apply to others who are. But I think, whoever he applies to for encouragm^t he would not succeed the worse, if he thought fit to spare the method of threatning, and ill language; although I have been too long out of the world, that perhaps I may be mistaken, and that these are the new arts of purchasing favor.

(Corr, III, 227-28, Swift to Mrs. Drelincourt, 7 August 1727)

Swift registers here his sympathy for the sufferings of the Jacobite nonjuror if not for the manners and pretensions of the person and author. Mist's Weekly Journal, no.137

(2 December 1727) was also sympathetic to this 'sufferer

by the times': 'When the Rev. Mr. Earbury was brought to that Bench as an Out Law, I was there, not without Compassion for his Case, he stood upon his last Legs, for Liberty or a Prison'. Perhaps the final witness to the Hanoverian government's surveillance of the press and punishment of 'an Inuendo' can be left to Earbery.

In the third number of The Occasional Historian (1731), a vindication of Charles I from the Craftsman's charge of cruelty in relation to the Star-Chamber, Earbery discusses seditious libel and reflects on the relative severity

of the Hanoverian government's press prosecution in comparison with the 'merciful' punishment of William Prynne for Histriomastix in 1633. Earbery observes:

In this Age, one Matthews was hang'd for Printing the Vox Populi, the Hints were thought strong enough to amount to a Persuasive to an Insurrection; but Prynne's was a Persuasive to attack the Person of King Charles, and to put him to Death; and yet he was punish'd only with Loss of Ears.

Referring to the example of Thomas Payne convicted for publishing The True Briton (1723-24), Earbery writes:

Mr. Payne was convicted for only an Ironical Expression concerning the present Bench of Bishops, and Irony is so soft, so genteel a Way of Libelling, that in Proportion, putting one Crime against the others, Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick and Burton ought to have been hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd upon the Spot...

In God's Name, is English Liberty confin'd only to Republicans, Fanaticks and Rebels? Are not the landed Men of a Nation to Sport in this Sea of Liberty, I thought Liberty was a common Water for all the Natives of England, and not to be ingrossed by one Part only.

Earbery concludes his polemical essay on libels by stressing that an intention of malice is essential to the definition of a libel and for good measure adds an innuendo that the Hanoverian monarch is a latter day Tiberius:

To conclude, Libels are certainly a War against an Establishment, and are known by their Malice; but God forbid that Ministers should ever call in Books that plead for Righteousness and Justice, as Libels. Tiberius was the first who invented this way to punish Anticourtiers... Cremutius Cordus was accus'd... of a new and unheard of Crime, that in his Annals by him publish'd, he had₃prais'd Brutus, and called Cassius the last of the Romans.

Earbery's comments might be kept in mind when reading Swift's political satire and his remarks on it. In Gulliver's Travels Swift implicitly conflates George I with Tiberius in the satire of the Emperor of Lilliput's celebrated clemency in Part I, Chapter VII³⁶ and explicitly praises Brutus in Part III, Chapter VII. In defending his political

and satiric practice in the early 1730s, Swift famously claimed that 'Fair LIBERTY was all his Cry' and that 'Malice never was his Aim' (Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift (written in 1731), ll.347,459, Poems,II,566,571). Earbery was making similar claims. Swift also humorously described himself at one point in An Epistle to a Lady as just a jester and name-caller, a modern Democritus laughing at the corrupt Walpolean regime:

Safe within my little Wherry,
 All their Madness makes me merry:
 Like the Watermen of Thames,
 I row by, and call them Names.
 Like the ever-laughing Sage,
 In a Jest I spend my Rage.

(ll.163-68, Poems,II,635)

Although these lines are part of an aggressive passage transparently attacking Walpole by innuendo, they seem to be implying a lack of political seriousness or culpability - the poet leaves politics to the Opposition publicists (see ll.173-76). But with arch irony the lines disclose Swift's disaffection. There is a 'hint' here that the 'Names' and 'Jest' the poet utters in safety would be actionable seditious words. The Thames Watermen, with whom Swift as satirist compares himself, were notorious not only for ribald language, as Swift's editors remark, but also for Jacobitism. In the projected Jacobite Rising of 1722 in London the Thames Watermen led by the Duke of Wharton were to seize the Greenwich powder magazines. When Atterbury left the Tower for permanent exile on the continent, the Duke of Wharton's watermen escorted him down the Thames.³⁷ The printer and publishers of An Epistle to a Lady were prosecuted for seditious libel against

the King, his administration and Sir Robert Walpole. Lines 155-72 were among those objected to by the government.³⁸ It is a striking fact that Swift had correspondence or acquaintance with most of the major Jacobite literary talents - authors such as the Duke of Wharton (Corr, II, 285), Thomas Carte (Corr, III, 361; IV, 508, 523-24), Matthias Earbery (Corr, III, 227-28) and William King, Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford (Corr, V, 266). He was familiar with the work of the brilliant Jacobite publicists Charles Leslie and Nathaniel Mist and was, of course, the friend of Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Lansdowne, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Orrery, and Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, though such evidence from association does not of course make Swift a Jacobite and must be set against evidence that apparently clears him of any Jacobite commitment. A letter of advice which Swift wrote to the Jacobite Chetwode on 28 April 1731, but then suppressed, indicates his own political prudence and his exasperation at Chetwode's indiscretion in 'a desperate cause' (Corr, V, 250-51). For Swift, rather, Jacobitism provided a political rhetoric of militant opposition that could be appropriated and deployed in his political satire. It is significant that on publication in 1726 Gulliver's Travels was received as a disaffected Tory and Jacobite work as will now be discussed.

'A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson' accurately describes the conditions of censorship in which Gulliver's Travels was produced. But in the 'Letter' Swift

has the disaffected Redriff recluse deny giving any political offence to the authorities:

But pray, how could that which I spoke so many Years ago, and at above five Thousand Leagues distance, in another Reign, be applyed to any of the Yahoos, who now are said to govern the Herd; especially, at a time when I little thought on or feared the Unhappiness of living under them.

(PW, XI, 6)

This denial of topical political application is disingenuous.

At the same time that it protests political innocence it artfully invites readers to interpret innuendo in the text and reflect on the 'Unhappiness' of living under the governing Yahoos. Rhetorical disavowals of political offence were an ironically charged routine in anti-government political literature. The Duke of Wharton's notorious Jacobite 'Persian Letter' in Mist's Weekly Journal, no. 175 (24 August 1728) is prefaced with the author's heavily ironic address to his printer Mr Mist:

I observe you have been often under Confinement for having disoblighed the present Government, and I must say, that I hope for the future, you will avoid all Occasions of giving Offence to the Ministry: A Ministry equally esteem'd for their Abilities in Domestick, and their great Experience in Foreign Affairs, and whose Lenity, of which you have had the strongest Proofs, renders their Administration as amiable at Home, as it is formidable Abroad.

Similarly, in the 'Preface' to the 1729 printing of Polly, a play suppressed by the government, John Gay audaciously disavows any political intent:

Since this prohibition I have been told that I am accused, in general terms, of having written many disaffected libels and seditious pamphlets. As it hath ever been my utmost ambition... to lead a quiet and inoffensive life, I thought my innocence in this particular would never have requir'd a justification... this kind of writing is, what I have ever detested and never practic'd.

Howard Erskine-Hill has discussed examples in the work of Pope (The Rape of the Lock and The Key to the Lock)

and the Duke of Wharton (The True Briton) where the idea of political innuendo is denied or ridiculed but where political implication is demonstrably present.⁴⁰

Despite the protestation of injured innocence in the 'Letter', an unapologetic Gulliver complains that his book has been interpreted as disaffected, as well as misanthropic and antifeminist: 'I see myself accused of reflecting upon great States-Folk; of degrading human Nature, (for so they have still the Confidence to stile it) and of abusing the Female Sex' (PW,XI,7). The remark on the political reception of Gulliver's Travels is accurate. Certainly Whig commentators professed to see transparent Jacobite intention in the published work and there were calls for proceedings against the author and printer for seditious libel.⁴¹ Edmund Curll's A Key, Being Observations and Explanatory Notes, Upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver (1726) seeks at several points to expose the anti-ministerial and anti-Hanoverian applications of Swift's satire. So, for example, the passage in Part I, Chapter III of the 1726 text of Gulliver's Travels on the purple, yellow and white silk threads given by the Emperor of Lilliput as a reward for dexterity in leaping and creeping is explicated in the Key as a reflection on George I's court: 'his Intent could be no other than to ridicule our three most noble Orders of the Garter, the Thistle and the Bath'. The commentator loyally counters the disaffected satirist: 'But indeed the Meannesses to which the Lilliputians are subjected by an Arbitrary Prince can never be the fate of Britons thanks to the Happiness of our admirable

Constitution!'⁴² In 1725 George I had revived the Order of the Bath and Swift possibly wrote a verse version of this satire on George I's honours system (see 'Verses on the Revival of the Order of the Bath', Poems, II, 388-89). In the 1735 text of Gulliver's Travels, interestingly, the silk threads are blue, red and green, a specific and explicit allusion to the three major British orders of the Garter, the Bath, and the Thistle whereas the colours in the 1726 edition are non-specific (PW, XI, 39, 304). In my view, Swift's alterations to the colours constitute a revision of the 1726 text. For the 1735 edition he perhaps saw no need to preserve the transparent disguise of non-specific colours. After all, the passage had been pointed at in 1726 as a reflection on the King and Walpole's administration but without any harmful consequence for author or printer. In the 1735 edition Swift presents a text with bolder strokes of the pen.⁴³

Elsewhere the Key explains apparent topical allusions which imply the Jacobite Tory sympathies of the author. The disarming and detention in custody of the captured and submissive Gulliver and inventory 'of the Effects found about Mr Gulliver by the State-Officers' invite application to the treatment of the Jacobite rebels 'in the Time of the Preston Rebellion'. 'The Opposition made to Lemuel's Enlargement' suggests 'what some English Peers struggled with before they could get out of the Tower'. The charge of High Treason and articles of impeachment against Gulliver resemble 'the late Earl of O — d's Sufferings'. 'With how much Glee will a T — d, or a

W — p-e read this Pygmaean Account of Flimnap and Reldresal' the Key leadingly asks. On Gulliver's remark in Glubbudrib of how 'many innocent and excellent Persons had been condemned to Death or Banishment, by the practising of great Ministers upon the Corruption of Judges, and the Malice of Faction' (PW, XI, 199, 312), the Key observes the allusion to the Atterbury Plot and the execution of Christopher Layer, banishment of the Bishop of Rochester, and incarceration of George Kelly:

Now here I am sensible, that the present Disaffected in England, will immediately apply the Cases of an executed Barrister, banished Bishop, and an imprisoned Priest.⁴⁴

The Court Whig author of Gulliver Decypher'd ... [1726] with heavy irony pretended to vindicate Swift from the imputation of authorship of Gulliver's Travels. The book cannot be Swift's because of 'the many oblique Reflections it is said to cast upon our present happy Administration, to which 'tis well known how devoutly he is attach'd and affected'. It is insinuated that the work gratifies 'Party Malice' and obliges 'a Set of People who are never likely to have it in their Power to serve him or any of their Adherents'.⁴⁵ In Gulliver's Travels Swift was said to have 'here and there scatter'd up and down some laudable Hints of his Zeal for High Church and Toryism' and the book is seen as coming from the same political stable as 'Mist or the Craftsman'.⁴⁶

It seems likely, as Gay, Pope and the Earl of Peterborough opined, that it was the popularity of the satiric fiction, and the artful obliquity and generality of its political commentary and hit and run allusion, which persuaded the Whig government against prosecuting

the book for seditious libel. As the Whig writer of A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend, With an Account of the Travels of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver and a Character of the Author ... (1726) observes in arguing for action against Gulliver which is described as the Jacobite work of an incendiary:

But whatever the Doctor deserves, 'tis given out that he has been so much upon his Guard, that no Forms of Law can touch him; in this, Sir, I beg Leave to differ from his Abbettors; for as I take it, that Point has been settled for some Time; and seems by the general Consent, the Determination has met with, to be rightly settled. So that his imaginary Cautions would be in vain; 'twas the Opinion of a late Learned Chief Justice of the King's Bench, that the universal Notion of the People in these Cases, notwithstanding the artful Disguises of an Author, ought much to influence the Determinations of a Jury; for as he very judiciously added; how absurd was it to imagine that all the World should understand his Meaning but just that particular Judge and Jury, by whom he was to be try'd.⁴⁷

Gulliver's Travels is hardly innocuous, Swift thought it dangerous to publish, and there were calls in the Whig press for prosecution. But the indeterminacy of Swift's ironic mode would have made a legal conviction very difficult and Walpole seems to have avoided prosecuting major Opposition figures, concentrating instead on the means of production - the offending Tory printers and booksellers.⁴⁸ Also, the political damage to the Whig government which resulted from the prosecution of the High Church clergyman, Henry Sacheverell, in 1709-10 was not forgotten by contemporaries after the Hanoverian accession. As Dudley Ryder, later an Attorney-General and Chief Justice, noted in his diary in December 1715:

This shows very plainly that the advantage he [ie. Sacheverell] made by his prosecution has encouraged the clergy to do anything though never so vile from this

precedent, that nobody would for the future dare to prosecute a clergyman again. It is certain the clergy in the country have been the greatest instrument⁴⁹ in raising this spirit of rebellion through the nation.

Presumably, a full-scale prosecution of a High Church clergyman of Swift's prominence would have only been contemplated by Walpole and his ministers if the offending text was explicit and flagitious enough to make conviction certain.

In its political project Gulliver's Travels is not just another Opposition attack on Walpole and his government reflecting unexceptional 'Old Whig' or 'Country' political principles. It is a profoundly disaffected and extremist work. What makes it a candidate for prosecution, as Swift no doubt knew, was its satiric reflection not just on the King's ministry, but on the King and Court and the Revolutionary Settlement upon which the Hanoverian dynasty's rule was founded. There are certainly militant implications in aspects of the satire. The consonance between Swift's indirect critique of the Hanoverian regime in Gulliver's Travels and the criticism of the government conducted in the Jacobite press is striking. A contextualist reading of Swift's satire - placing the literary text in juxtaposition with Jacobite pamphleteering and Jacobite papers such as The Shift Shifted written by George Flint in 1716, Mist's Weekly Journal and its successor Fog's Weekly Journal, The Freeholder's Journal of 1722-23 with which Thomas Carte was involved, and the Duke of Wharton's The True Briton of 1723-24 - activates for the modern reader the dimension of seditious criticism in Swift's satire. Gulliver's Travels can be shown to not only share the disaffected

political discourse of Jacobite publications but also to entertain recognized Jacobite alternative options - ideas of resistance and tyrannicide, demands for free elections and parliaments, ideas of composition and reversion to the principles of 'Old England'. Assuming Swift was not a Jacobite and regarding Jacobitism as a lost cause, modern Swift scholars do not seem to have considered seriously the possibility of a Jacobite context for interpreting Gulliver's Travels. The concentration in criticism on the civic humanist and 'Country' Opposition languages in the text, illuminating as it has been, nevertheless has led to the neglect of other possible ways of reading the politics of Gulliver's Travels. There is, of course, no explicit Swiftian call for a Jacobite restoration in Gulliver's Travels or elsewhere in his canon and Swift renounced Jacobitism several times in print. But I am not arguing that Swift was a committed Jacobite or that the Jacobite publications to which I refer are 'sources' for Swift's political language in Gulliver's Travels. Rather, by describing the consonance between Swift's political expression and Jacobite press argument I can suggest how it was possible for contemporaries to construe Gulliver's Travels as a work of Jacobite Tory provenance. Despite his disclaimers (and Swift like some committed Jacobite publicists called himself an 'Old Whig' or renounced Party labels),⁵⁰ it is not difficult to see why contemporaries regarded this political writer as a Tory extremist, a de facto Jacobite.

III POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Jacobite publicists after 1715 adopted constitutionalist and libertarian stances, criticized the monarch not just his ministry, and purveyed the view of the Hanoverian regime as a tyranny. The distinctive signature of a Jacobite Tory paper was its readiness to impugn the monarch for the policies of his ministers. The provenance of that corruption perceived in the polity by Opposition Whigs and Tories is located in the monarch and court by the Jacobite writer. Jacobite arguments against corruption emphasize the betrayal of the people's trust by their representatives and hold the king and court responsible for the corruption in the body politic. The monarchy is assailed for its illegitimacy, conduct and intentions. As direct criticism of the king was treasonable libel Jacobite publicists sailed close to the wind.⁵¹ Recognition of the conditions of writing under the Treason laws, the strategies of indirection used by anti-government writers, and the typical signature of a crypto-Jacobite text, attunes a reading of Swift's illocutionary acts in the political satire of Gulliver's Travels.

Swift's topical political satire in Gulliver's Travels is directed against the monarch as well as the ministry. A celebrated episode of comic satire in Part I describes the 'Diversions of the Court of Lilliput'. Gulliver is most diverted by the rope dancing which 'is only practised by those Persons, who are Candidates for great Employments, and high Favour, at Court. They are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always of noble Birth, or

liberal Education'. Gulliver tells us that 'Flimnap, the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Caper on the strait Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire. I have seen him do the Summerset several times together, upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope, which is no thicker than a common Packthread in England'. Gulliver 'was assured, that a Year or two before my Arrival, Flimnap would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the King's Cushions, that accidentally lay on the Ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall' (PW,XI,38-39). Swift had 'put the case' of rope dancing as a qualification for high office in a derisive polemical remark on Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church:

Put the Case, that walking on the slack Rope were the only Talent required by Act of Parliament for making a Man a Bishop; no Doubt, when a Man had done his Feat of Activity in Form, he might sit in the House of Lords, put on his Robes and his Rotchet, go down to his Palace, receive and spend his Rents; but it requireth very little Christianity to believe this Tumbler to be one whit more a Bishop than he was before.

(PW,II,75)

The rope-dancing episode in Part I of Gulliver's Travels is a general satire on the politics of intrigue and refinement and the incongruity between qualification or talent and office in the corrupt state. The rope-dancing passage is commonly interpreted as also containing topical political satire. The traditional reading of the passage is succinctly put by Harold Williams in his introduction to the standard Davis edition of the text: 'The Emperor becomes George I ... Flimnap is Walpole; and the cushion which broke his fall is the Duchess of Kendal whose interest he gained (1721)' (PW,XI,xix).⁵² Pat Rogers connects the moral

and topical satire of the rope-dancing episode with the technique of Scriblerian farce and with a running critique of contemporary sights and shows conducted by Swift and his fellow Scriblerians.⁵³ The reading of a topical political satire of Walpole and George I's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, in the episode derives from Sir Walter Scott and is now commonplace in Swift criticism. But it has been challenged controversially by F. P. Lock who urges that more 'than any particular incident, Swift intended Flimnap's near-fall to illustrate one of Sir William Temple's favourite historical maxims, the idea of trifling circumstances affecting great historical events'. Lock strongly emphasizes the paradigmatic rather than tenuous topical allegorical aspect of the episode: 'Any attempt to pin down this or other incidents in Gulliver's Travels in too topical a manner should be resisted. Walpole was only an example; it was the idea that he represented that Swift was satirizing'.⁵⁴

Certainly, it is unlikely that the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, is signified by 'one of the King's Cushions' as she was Walpole's enemy. As Lord Hervey observed:

For as the Duchess of Kendal never loved Sir Robert Walpole, and was weak enough to admire and be fond of Lord Townshend, so in any nice points that were to be insinuated gently and carried by favour... the canal of application to the royal ear had always been from Lord Townshend to the Duchess and from the Duchess to the King.⁵⁵

But the general or paradigmatic significance of Swift's 'Scriblerian' comic satire in the depiction of Lilliputian high politics in the farcical terms of an English popular entertainment does not, however, preclude the possibility that a hit and run reflection on the contemporary Hanoverian

court and ministers was also intended. Significantly, in the episode of the rope dancers in Part I Chapter III, satiric blame is directed against the court, not just against Flimnap and the ministers. The ministers perform their grotesque antics to recommend themselves to the monarch. Gulliver reports that the 'infamous Practice of acquiring great Employments by dancing on the Ropes' (PW,IX,60) is a corruption encouraged by the monarch:

When a great Office is vacant, either by Death or Disgrace, (which often happens) five or six of those Candidates petition the Emperor to entertain his Majesty and the Court with a Dance on the Rope; and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the Office. Very often the chief Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty.

(PW,XI,38)

While Swift does not expose himself or printer to danger by writing simple one-to-one allegory, the reader is enabled to see the Court of Lilliput as a diminutive parallel to England's. The Court is recognizable with a monarch, 'Treasurer' and chief ministers and the incongruous diversion of rope dancing represents the Court of this remote nation in the reductively familiar light of an English popular entertainment. The specific detail in the rope-dancing passage that 'one of the King's Cushions' saved the dexterous Flimnap's neck may just possibly allude to the lits de justice, the ceremonies by which absolutist French kings by-passed parliament. The king reclined on cushions during the ceremony, hence the name lits de justice.⁵⁶ The reader, enabled by the satirist to see the Court of Lilliput as a fictional proxy for George I's, now finds its dexterous practices associated with

the ceremonies of hated continental despots as well as with the antics and properties of a street show. Swift's polemical project in this passage is to insinuate to readers the Hanoverian King's contempt for parliamentary government and natural justice. Walpole's neck is saved at the court of a continental despot.

King George is particularly attacked throughout Gulliver's Travels. The Emperor of Lilliput is a paradigm of a despotic king, but the character also specifically reflects on George I. The Emperor has determined to use 'only low Heels [innuendo Low Church or Whig party] in the Administration of the Government, and all Offices in the Gift of the Crown' and has proscribed the 'high Heels [innuendo High Church or Tory party]' from power, though the high Heels 'are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution' and exceed the low Heels in number (PW,XI,48). The Emperor, like George I when Swift was at work on Gulliver's Travels, had reigned for 'about seven years'. The description of the Emperor's person in Part I, Chapter II (PW,XI,30) is a satiric mock-encomium of George I - the Emperor being praised for physical features George I conspicuously lacked. The italicized 'Austrian Lip' in the catalogue of the Emperor's features may have invited hostile reflection on the House of Hanover's alleged abandonment of the Protestant cause on the continent. A Jacobite pamphleteer posed these rhetorical questions in a 1722 arraignment of the Hanoverian monarch:

Was it for the Interest of the Protestant Cause to Divest the late King of Sweden of his Dominions in Germany? To enable the Regent to suppress the growing Reformation

in France? To leave the reformed Palatines to the fury of a Bigotted Prince? To maintain or permit a Popish College in Hannover? And to extend the Power of the House of Austria, the Ancient and perpetual Enemy to the Reformation?⁵⁷

The sardonic satire on the spurious and cynically-proclaimed 'Lenity' of the Emperor of Lilliput and on the 'great Clemency' of the cruel and arbitrary King of Luggnagg (PW, XI, 69-73, 204-05) reflect on George I and Whig and parliamentary encomiums on George I's 'clemency'. Swift alludes to the capital punishment inflicted on Jacobite lords who had surrendered after the 1715 rebellion and to the imprisonment of and proceedings against Tories suspected of involvement in Jacobite plots in the 1720s. Swift's satire is an intervention on the Jacobite Tory side in the paper war between Whig defendants and Jacobite Tory plaintiffs concerning the honour of the King and the nature of his rule.⁵⁸ Swift implies an arbitrary Hanoverian reign of terror the euphemism for which is the King's 'clemency'. The division in the Lilliputian Court between the cabal of ministers who want capital punishment inflicted on Gulliver and the Emperor and Secretary Reldresal who thought 'there was room for Mercy', parallels a division in George I's Whig Court in 1723. Whether the death penalty should be inflicted on Atterbury 'divided the Court much and made the leaders very uneasy, who were for tempering justice with mercy as the prudenter way'.⁵⁹ The Emperor of Lilliput's 'mercy' manifests itself in his determination to blind and starve Gulliver rather than inflict immediate death by torture. The Lilliputian Court expedient to blind Gulliver might have suggested to Swift's readers the exotic customs of remote countries.

Swift may have derived the idea of blinding from an account of such a court practice in the Dutch voyager Jan Huygen Van Linschoten's Discours of Voyages into y^e Easte & West Indies.⁶⁰ But Swift ensures readers of this satire on the spurious clemency of arbitrary kings reflect on the severity of monarchs closer to home. Gulliver confesses that he could not 'discover the Lenity' of the Lilliputian monarch's sentence of blinding and 'thought of standing my Tryal':

But having in my Life perused many State-Tryals, which I ever observed to terminate as the Judges thought fit to direct; I durst not rely on so dangerous a Decision, in so critical a Juncture, and against such powerful Enemies.
(PW,XI,72-73)

Gulliver wishes that 'Monarchs of Europe would imitate' the King of Luggnagg's 'great Clemency' and 'Care' of his subjects (PW,XI,205)!

In Part III of Gulliver's Travels there is an arresting possibility that the satirist is suggesting that the settlement of the crown in the House of Hanover has been a political, social and economic catastrophe. There are sufficient 'hints' enabling readers to associate Laputa, the 'Flying or Floating Island' (PW,XI,161),⁶¹ with contemporary Britain and George I's Whig Court. For example, the King and Court are preoccupied to distraction with abstract speculations upon the subjects of 'Mathematicks and Musick' (PW,XI,163). George I approved and patronised mathematicians and musicians, and music was the 'reigning Amusement' in London Gay told Swift in 1723 (Corr,II, 447).⁶² Like Gulliver's countrymen, the people of Laputa display a 'strong Disposition ... towards News and Politicks ... passionately disputing every Inch of a Party Opinion' (PW,XI,164). The King of Laputa 'would be the most absolute

Prince' but his ministers it seems are landed men with estates to protect and they 'would never consent to the enslaving their Country' (PW,XI,171). This King is 'distinguished above all his Predecessors for his Hospitality to Strangers'. There are a considerable number of Strangers from the Continent attending at Court (PW,XI,160-61,165). Arraignment of George I for absolutism and for being a foreigner, hostility to Hanoverian 'Strangers', and appeals for a free parliament of landed men to defend the 'Liberties of England' against a Hanoverian Court alleged to be for 'Absolute Power, and Enslaving the Nation' are topoi in Jacobite Tory pamphleteering of the 1710s and 1720s.⁶³ Swift's satire specifically alludes to the Hanoverian government's repeal of the provision in the Act of Settlement (1701) forbidding the King to leave England without parliamentary permission. Gulliver reports: 'BY a fundamental Law of this Realm, neither the King nor either of his two elder Sons, are permitted to leave the Island; nor the Queen till she is past Child-bearing' (PW,XI,172). The passage is not without libellous innuendo. This line of satiric attack also has Jacobite analogues. Jacobite pamphleteers were saying that George I had violated the legislative contract or settlement upon which his right to rule was founded. In the explicit words of one Jacobite pamphlet circulated at the time of the 1722 election, the Hanoverian Court and its client Whig parliament pass'd another Act, which although it then seemed of no great consequence, was however an ill Precedent and hath proved in the highest manner detrimental to the Nation. It was entitled an Act to Repeal part of the Act for the Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights

and Liberties of the Publick. This Act of Limitation provided that no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown should go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland without consent of Parliament. The reasons of that part of the Act of Limitation were obvious, lest the King, pro tempore, by visiting or residing long in his Foreign Dominions might continue estranged from the People of England. Besides Voyages of that kind might give opportunities for Leagues and Alliances prejudicial to the English interest, which could not be so privately Negotiated here as at Hannover. And again those Voyages would afford his German followers the means to Transport to their own Country the Wealth, they might Collect here. ⁶⁴

Swift may in fact encode in Part III disaffection with the Act of Settlement itself by which the Hanoverian dynasty ruled. During Gulliver's stay with that disaffected conservative Lord Munodi, he is desired to observe a distant 'ruined Building upon the Side of a Mountain'. Munodi tells Gulliver

That he had a very convenient Mill within Half a Mile of his House, turned by a Current from a large River, and sufficient for his own Family as well as a great Number of his Tenants. That, about seven Years ago, a Club of those Projectors came to him with Proposals to destroy this Mill, and build another on the Side of that Mountain ... that being then not very well with the Court, and pressed by many of his Friends, he complied with the Proposal. (PW, XI, 177-78)

The Laputan 'Experiment' miscarried and the result was ruin. The Mill episode has been thought to refer to the disastrous South Sea scheme and to the contemporary mania for entrepreneurial projects. Pat Rogers suggests that it 'is likely that Swift has a subsidiary political point: undesirable innovations include the kind of notions imported when the English leaders went across to Holland to invite over William of Orange'. Contesting received allegorical interpretation of the episode, F. P. Lock nevertheless observes appositely that the 'design of the new mill replacing the old is a better type of an attempt to replace one

dynasty with another than it is of a trading and financial concern'. In line with his thesis, Lock does not propose this as 'a serious interpretation' but as an example of how easily allegorical readings can be generated in criticism.⁶⁵ But what if a Jacobitical dynastic critique is obliquely present in the text? The consequence should be a major revision of our understanding of the politics of the text and its author. Munodi, out of favour with the Court, complied with this project 'about seven Years ago' (ie. circa 1701, see PW,XI,154). In 1701, the Tories, out of favour with William III, complied with the alteration of the hereditary succession in the Act of Settlement. The Act being framed with significant limitations restricting the power of future monarchs (see PW,VIII,94 for Swift's witness of Tory framing of the Settlement in 1701). Gulliver tells us that 'I had my self been a Sort of Projector in my younger Days' (PW,XI,178). As the Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions indicates, Swift had been (at least nominally) a Whig in 1701. The fact that in contemporary political iconography a windmill was associated with the Pretender⁶⁶ might have enabled a Tory dynastic reading of the Mill episode in Swift's text: the destruction of the succession in the hereditary House of Stuart in 1701 and radical deviation to the distant House of Hanover with ruinous consequences.

Gulliver's Travels does offer a paradigm of a wise and good monarch in the King of Brobdingnag. Of all the remote nations Gulliver visits 'the least corrupted are the Brobdingnagians, whose wise Maxims in Morality and

Government, it would be our Happiness to observe'. Gulliver does not incriminate himself further. 'But I forbear descanting further, and rather leave the judicious Reader to his own Remarks and Applications' (PW,XI,292). There has been much critical speculation about whom the idealized King of Brobdingnag might suggest, if he suggests anyone. He has been identified with William III, the Hanoverian Prince of Wales, Sir William Temple, and seen more generally as a type of a pacific, patriotic and Platonic Philosopher King offered as a complete contrast to the Emperor of Lilliput.⁶⁷ But a reader is enabled by the text to make disaffected 'Applications' also. The hereditary King of Brobdingnag's rule is founded not on revolution principles but on 'a general Composition'. Brobdingnag had

been troubled with the same Disease, to which the whole Race of Mankind is Subject; the Nobility often contending for Power, the People for Liberty, and the King for absolute Dominion. All which, however happily tempered by the Laws of that Kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three Parties; and have more than once occasioned Civil Wars, the last whereof was happily put an End to by this Prince's Grandfather in a general Composition; and the Militia then settled with common Consent hath been ever since kept in the strictest Duty.

(PW,XI,138)

Is there nostalgia here for the lost alternative to the Revolution of 1688-89 proposed by the Jacobite compounders - a 'composition' between lawful King and people and replacement of a mercenary standing army with a 'militia'?⁶⁸ A Jacobite compounder tract Honesty is the Best Policy had argued that 'there are in all climates ebbings and flowings of the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical particles of the composure' of regular government. The writer concluded: that since the princes have had an inclination to greater

power than the people will comply with, and the people a stronger lust after liberty than our kings were willing to satisfy, that the one has mistaken prerogative, and the other as much their privileges, it would be well if a new Magna Charta was made ... We must deal impartially if we would ever compose things.

The King of Brobdingnag has a militia guard of cavaliers (PW, XI, 115, 138) and displays impeccable 'Country' Opposition principles in his obvious opposition to the institutional corruption, party and faction, systems of modern credit, and standing armies disclosed to him by Gulliver during Gulliver's Court Whig panegyric on Britain (PW, XI, 127-38). The King's rhetoric on standing armies closely resembles Jacobite formulations on the issue. The King of Brobdingnag, says Gulliver:

was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing Army in the Midst of Peace, and among a free People. He said, if we were governed by our own Consent in the Persons of our Representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my Opinion, whether a private Man's House might not better be defended by himself, his Children, and Family; than by half a Dozen Rascals picked up at a Venture in the Streets, for small Wages, who might get an Hundred Times more by cutting their Throats.

(PW, XI, 131)

The Jacobite George Flint was similarly amazed and outraged:

So it is, with all humble Submission Queried, Whether it is not possible for a standing Army to know its own Strength? And then, Whether a Conjuror may not unluckily raise a Devil which he does not know how to lay again. I am amaz'd, astonish'd, stupified, how it is possible for a Man that has a Life, Liberty and Property to lose, a Wife, Sister or Daughter to be ravish'd, can be pleased to see a standing Army.

The King of Brobdingnag's indictment of the management of the treasury, public debt, and a standing army was recognized by contemporary readers as 'a common Jacobite Insinuation, from King William's Dutch Guards to the last Augmentation'.⁷¹ When Swift has 'the Plague' signify 'a

standing Army' during the satire of Walpole's deciphering branch in the 'Plots' passage in Part III (PW,XI,191) he not only expresses his life-long detestation of armies but registers a topical anti-government political reflection alluding to the proclaimed Quarantine Act (1721) and the clauses giving emergency powers to the government. The linkage of the standing army and the plague was sardonically made in contemporary Tory Jacobite writing. A Jacobite tract of 1722 observed: 'because in Times of Tranquility, standing Armies might be thought a Grievance, a new kind of War was contrived, a Plague was denounced, Forces were decreed to be kept on Foot'.⁷² The distinctively Tory satire of Walpole's decipherers and the Whig government prosecution of Atterbury in the 'Plots' passage was reproduced in the Jacobite Fog's Weekly Journal of 29 August 1730.⁷³

The political critique in works of Tory or Jacobite provenance such as Francis Atterbury's English Advice to the Freeholders of England (dated 1714, published 1715), The Second and Last English Advice, To the Freeholders of Englan[d] (1722) and Earbery's two part An Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru'd to England, By the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover (1722) can be readily identified in Gulliver's Travels. Swift's satire in Gulliver's Travels on the 'clemency' of arbitrary monarchs, Hanoverian violation of the Act of Settlement, the corrupt management of the treasury, fraud, foreign military intervention, mercenary standing armies, corrupt elections, informers, party and faction, and 'Corruption' have analogues in Jacobite Tory

pamphleteering and in the discourse of Jacobite journalism. The Freeholder's Journal of 1722-23, for instance, attacks 'Corruption', standing armies and standing parliaments, and struggles for 'the Liberties of old England' against repressive Court Whig legislation. The True Briton of 1723-24 defends 'the Liberties of Old England', discourses on 'Public Spirit', compares the 'present Race of Statesmen' with 'the Heroes of Old', defends Atterbury and execrates 'those obnoxious Vermin called Informers'. And so on. The violent attack on the degeneration of the hereditary nobility in Gulliver's Travels (see esp. PW,XI,129,198-200,256-57) is a traditional topos of satirists, Juvenal's Satire VIII being an important model. To modern readers Swift's satire on the aristocracy might suggest radical Whig rather than Tory politics. In fact, however, the degeneration of the hereditary nobility was a virulent motif of Jacobite Tory writing against the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes.⁷⁴ As historian, Swift traced the corruption of the nobility to the Revolution and Williamite creations (PW,VII,19,21). Elsewhere, the source of corruption in the nobility is traced to the cataclysm of the Civil War and Interregnum (PW,XII,47).

The parallels between the political expression in Gulliver's Travels and that of a Jacobite Tory work of 1722, George Granville, Baron Lansdowne's A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England, are striking. This tract begins: 'AT this critical Conjunction when the Rumour of a new Parliament sounds like the last Trumpet, to awaken the Genius of Old England, and raise departed

Liberty to Life, it would be a Crime to be silent'. It claims 'We have lived to see the first Honours of Peerage bestowed to dignifie Prostitution, the Freedom of the People, the most inestimable Article of their Freedom, the Freedom of Elections, betrayed by their own Representatives'. It excoriates the 'Tyranny' of those 'raised from the Dirt of Faction, supported by Senates, chosen and directed by Corruption'. The tract is a militant call to 'stand for Liberty and Old England'.⁷⁵ In Glubbudrib Gulliver has raised to life before him 'some English Yeomen of the old Stamp ... once so famous for the Simplicity of their Manners, Dyet and Dress; for Justice in their Dealings; for their true Spirit of Liberty; for their Valour and Love of their Country'. Such 'pure native Virtues were prostituted for a Piece of Money by their Grandchildren; who in selling their Votes, and managing at Elections have acquired every Vice and Corruption that can possibly be learned in a Court' (PW,XI,201-02). It is interesting that in the 'Advertisement To The Reader' of the Memoirs of Captain John Creighton (1731) which Swift prepared for the press, the Jacobite Captain is described as 'a very honest and worthy Man; but of the old Stamp: And it is probable, that some of his Principles will not relish very well, in the present Disposition of the World. His Memoirs are therefore to be received like a Posthumous Work'. The Memoirs are offered 'in their native Simplicity' and the man himself is distinguished by his 'personal Courage and Conduct' (PW,V,121-22).

Swift's political rhetoric in Gulliver's Travels

and in his later Irish writings is resonant with echoes of Opposition and Jacobite polemic. For example, the famous cannibal motif in A Modest Proposal (1729; PW,XII,109-18) may have several possible sources but it does have a specific polemical provenance. Cannibalism was an idiom of Oppositionist political language in the 1720s. One of Cato's Letters (no.35, 1 July 1721) describes the misery of Europeans living under arbitrary power:

It is as astonishing as it is melancholy, to travel through a whole country, as one may through many in Europe, gasping under endless imposts, groaning under dragoons and poverty, and all to make a wanton and luxurious court.

There are similarities with the melancholy reflection at the beginning of Swift's sermon on the 'Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland' (PW,IX,199) and the opening of A Modest Proposal (PW,XI,109). 'Cato' observes of European misery under arbitrary rulers:

Such indeed is their misery, that their case would be greatly mended, if they could change conditions with the beasts of the field; for then, being destined to be eaten, they would be better fed: such a misfortune is it to them that their governors are not Cannibals! Oh happy Britain, mayest thou continue ever so!

In another paper (no.99, 20 October 1722) exhorting members of parliament to attend parliament and preserve the liberty of the subject, 'Cato' wrote:

Whatever has happened in former reigns, we have reason to hope, that none come now into parliament, with an execrable intention to carry to market a country which has trusted them with its all; and it would be ridiculous to throw away reason upon such banditti, upon public enemies to human society. Such men would be worse than Cannibals, who only eat their enemies to satisfy their hunger, and do not sell and betray into servitude their own countrymen, who trust⁷⁶ them with the protection of their property and persons.

The Jacobite press was even more outspoken, representing the Hanoverian Whig regime as cannibalistic. Condemning

'a STANDING Parliament' and 'a STANDING Army', Mist's Weekly Journal remarks: 'We read, that the Negroes in Guiney sell the Prisoners which they take in the Wars for Slaves; but we seldom hear of any who sell themselves, or their Children'. The betrayed British subjects are likened to slaves being sold, their rights sacrificed 'to the Pleasures of a devouring MINISTRY'.⁷⁷ Swift, in A Modest Proposal of 1729, is writing that Ireland, oppressed by discriminatory laws imposed by England, is ready for wholesale cannibalism. Swift imputes cannibalism to both the oppressors (the English Whig government, their Irish ruling class clients and Irish landlords) and the oppressed (the brutalized Irish poor). Swift's satiric black fantasy shocks readers by literalizing and animating such cannibal metaphors and analogies. It confronts readers with the horror of a nation prepared for devouring by its inhumane rulers and a people so brutalized and savage that they would be prepared to sell and eat their children.

Swift's imaginative texts turn the current polemical metaphors and imputations of the partisan pamphleteers and journalists into an arresting art of attack. In A Modest Proposal the Jacobite claim that a cannibalistic Hanoverian Whig regime was devouring its victims is transformed (although not beyond recognition) into the savage irony and black humour of the clinically-elaborated cannibal fantasy. In its topical satire, Gulliver's Travels is a disaffected Tory political commentary on the times. A Modest Proposal is the Tory satirist's jeremiad against his people and their oppressors (see Jeremiah 19.9). Swift's

Jacobite Tory correspondents would have been responsive readers of Swift's satire. Lord Bathurst wrote to Swift in 1737:

those complaints y^u make of the deplorable state of Ireland made me reflect upon the condition of England, and I am inclin'd to think it is not much better, possibly the only difference is that we shall be last devour'd.

(Corr, V, 78)

David Hume, in his Essay 'Of the Parties of Great Britain', remarked that the 'Tories have been so long obliged to talk in the republican style, that they seem to have made converts of themselves by their hypocrisy, and to have embraced the sentiments, as well as language of their adversaries'.⁷⁸ Sir Roger Newdigate in his 'Essays on Party' (c.1760) noted that during George I's and succeeding reigns 'the two parties generally distinguished as Whigs and Tories continued to espouse principles directly contradictory to those from whom they inherited those names. Tories were the friends of liberty, watchful against every encroachment of prerogative, enemies of oppression and corruption and every ministerial art or abuse. From the Whigs, the boasted advocates for liberty, proceeded Septennial Parliaments, standing armies, revenue officers without number, Riot Act, martial law'.⁷⁹ Tory and Jacobite appropriation of Country and even Republican idioms to express their disaffection from the Williamite or Hanoverian Courts was observed by contemporaries. Humphrey Prideaux reported in 1693: 'I have been lately told by a very intelligent person that he is well assured that abundance of those that seem fierce Republicarians are in reality

fierce Jacobites, and that they openly promote this designe for noe other end but that it is y^e likelyest to bring about what they would really have'.⁸⁰ A Jacobite described how at the second reading of the Septennial Bill in the House of Lords in 1716: 'The most remarkable thing was that the Tories talked like Old Whigs and Republicans, against monarchy and ministers, &c., and the Whigs magnified the advantages of unlimited absolute power and prerogative, vilified the mob, ridiculed the people, and exalted the Crown'.⁸¹ A modern historian has observed recently that 'the 'country' strand in the ambiguous Jacobite heritage could lead on paradoxically to republicanism and even regicide'.⁸²

Such witness of the paradoxes of Tory politics in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is germane to interpretation of the political significance of Swift's enigmatic 'Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms'. It is, of course, a remarkable political paradox that the ideal condition or polity offered in the militant Tory satire of Gulliver's Travels should be an 'Ancient' arcadian stoic republic. The mythic Houyhnhnm state of nature is modelled principally on Ancient Sparta⁸³ and is a radical, ascetic alternative to the cosmopolitan, pluralistic, commercial and 'Athenian' society posited in the writings of contemporary Whig authors such as the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Molesworth, Addison or Bernard Mandeville. There are instances of republican nostalgia in the writings of Jacobites. The inspiration of patriot Polybius led Dryden to remarkable radical reflections in an essay prefixed

to Sir Henry Sheers's translation of The History of Polybius (1693):

When we hear this author speaking, we are ready to think ourselves engaged in a conversation with Cato the Censor, with Laelius, with Massinissa, and with the two Scipios; that is, with the greatest heroes and most prudent men of the greatest age in the Roman commonwealth. This sets me so on fire, when I am reading either here, or in any ancient author, their lives and actions, that I cannot hold from breaking out with Montagne into this expression: "It is just," says he, "for every honest man to be content with the government and laws of his native country, without endeavouring to alter or subvert them; but if I were to choose, where I would have been born, it should have been in a commonwealth." He indeed names Venice, which, for many reasons, should not be my wish; but rather Rome in such an age, if it were possible, as that wherein Polybius lived; or that of Sparta, whose constitution for a republic is by our author compared with Rome, to which he justly gives the preference.⁸⁴

There is admiration for Lycurgan Sparta in Country Jacobite writing.⁸⁵

The approval in Montaigne and Dryden for the principle of passive obedience to established government and law, yet hint of radical disaffection with the monarchy, and republican sympathy, may also be read in Swift. In one of his 'Thoughts on Religion', for instance, there is this remark:

Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books, preferring that government, and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples.

(PW, IX, 263)

Swift, of course, is putting a case here. His primary argument stated with characteristic animus and intensity is the commonplace Tory one for a strictly limited toleration and for the proscription from public life of Commonwealth principles and the persons who subscribe to them. When

Matthew Tindal put the Old Whig argument for the removal of the civil disabilities imposed on non-Anglicans under the Test Act, Swift remarked: 'Employments in a State are a Reward for those who intirely agree with it ... For Example, a Man who upon all Occasions declared his Opinion, of a Commonwealth before a Monarchy, would not be a fit Man to have Employments; let him enjoy his Opinion, but not be in a Capacity of reducing it to Practice' (PW, II, 102). As Tory Examiner Swift exhorted conformity to the established constitution in Church and State:

'Tis possible, that a Man may speculatively prefer the Constitution of another Country, or an Utopia of his own, before that of the Nation where he is born and lives; yet from considering the Dangers of Innovation, the Corruptions of Mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing Idea's to Practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present Order of Things, and be a true Friend to the Government already settled.

(Exam, p.256)

Houyhnhnmland is a mythic 'well-instituted commonwealth' and is offered in the satire as the positive rational and virtuous social order and standard of reproach to a corrupt modern civilization. But the virtuous republic of Gulliver's Travels is non-human and thus unattainable for the vicious human species. Of the 'remote nations where Yahoos preside', it is the balanced, mixed polity of Brobdingnag ruled by an hereditary king which the text approves. For Swift in the fable of Part IV as for Dryden in the 1690s the order of Ancient Sparta afforded a nostalgic model of civic virtue for a time of corruption.

Matthias Earbery wrote in The Occasional Historian of 1731 that it 'was certainly a very wise and just Observation of Mr. Hobbes, That many of our English Gentry

were poison'd by the Greek and Roman Histories'. He denounces the Commonwealth Interregnum, 'a wretched, hideous Republick, justly hated by all Men of Honour and Sense'.⁸⁶ Yet the anti-Hanoverian polemicist could also write elsewhere:

'I must needs own I think the Republican Whigs are more in the Interests of their Country than the others; for no doubt if such a Scheme of Government prevail'd it would be more eligible and better for the Interest of England than the Dominion of a Foreigner'.⁸⁷ Swift hated the Commonwealth Interregnum but the experience of Hanoverian monarchy prompted the High Churchman into the radical political margins:

I can recollect, at present, three Civil Establishments, where Calvinists, and some other Reformers who rejected Episcopacy, possess the supreme Power; and, these are all Republicks; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss Cantons. I do not say this in Diminution, or Disgrace to Commonwealths; wherein, I confess, I have much altered many Opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some Observation, long Experience, and a thorough Detestation for the Corruptions of Mankind: Insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the Censure of Hobbs, who complains, that the Youth of England imbibe ill Opinions, from reading the Histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned Scenes of Liberty and every Virtue.⁸⁸
 (The Presbyterians Plea of Merit (1733); PW,XII,278)

CHAPTER FIVE

SWIFT AND THE DUTCH: THE QUESTION OF SWIFT'S JACOBITISM

I SWIFT AND JACOBITISM

The third Earl of Shaftesbury remarked to a correspondent in 1706 'that if you would discover a concealed Tory, Jacobite, or Papist, speak but of the Dutch, and you will find him out by his passionate railing'.¹ High Church discourse was said to be characterized by 'railing at the Dutch'.² Indeed, hatred of the Dutch was a recognized sign of high Toryism in Queen Anne's reign.³ Whig readers recognized in Tory, anti-Dutch discourse the familiar Jacobite vitriol against 'Dutch counsels and Dutch measures of acting'.⁴ In his Reflections Critical and Satyrical, Upon a Late Rhapsody, Call'd, An Essay Upon Criticism (1711), John Dennis arraigns Alexander Pope for a couplet on the Dutch (later omitted from the Essay) stating:

'I humbly conceive that he who Libels our Confederates, must be by Politicks a Jacobite'.⁵ Swift, however, dismissed Whig imputations that Tory animus against the Dutch signified a treasonable, crypto-Jacobite meaning. When an allusive attack on the Dutch in Examiner no.22,28 December 1710 (see Exam,pp.129-30) was so 'discovered' by William Wotton, Swift responded:

He says, in his Title-Page, my Representations are unfair, and my Reflections unjust. And his Conclusion is yet more severe, where he doubts I and my Friends are enrag'd against the Dutch, because they preserv'd us from Popery and Arbitrary Power at the Revolution; and since that time, from being over-run by the exorbitant Power of France, and becoming a Prey to the Pretender. Because this Author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put him the Question, whether

He thinks I and my Friends are for Popery, Arbitrary Power, France and the Pretender?

(Examiner, no. 26, 25 January 1711, Exam, p. 198)

Swift professed to see such charges by his adversaries as absurd; a case of Whig cant and hyperboles that were not to be taken literally (see PW, II, 13). Tory polemicists routinely dismissed the Whig predilection for reading a subtext of popery, slavery, France and the Pretender in Tory discourse.⁶ The Jacobite Tory, George Lockhart, for electoral purposes, went further and published a pamphlet denying any intention among the Tories of restoring the Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart. Lockhart wrote:

But to consider the Tories in generall, who was it that carried thorow the Act of Succession in the Protestant line and that for abjuring the Pretender, and then tell me who hath done most for the Revolution principles and constitution? Nobody will pretend but that the English Torys were the cheif and greatest instruments of bringing the Revolution about.

As 'Examiner' Swift was 'to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new ministers' (PW, VIII, 123). It would appear to have been a significant part of his brief as ministerial publicist to refute the plausible and politically damaging Whig charge that the government had Jacobite intentions and designed a political coup for a Stuart restoration on the conclusion of a peace with France.⁸ The succession issue was always potentially damaging electorally for the Tory party as was demonstrated by the Whig victory in the elections held after James's invasion attempt in 1708. Also, the Tory party was fissile. The Harley ministry relied uneasily on the support of

both moderate, 'Hanoverian' Tories and parliamentary Jacobites. The Whigs with increasing effectiveness during the last four years of Anne's reign sought to expose and exploit the real Tory party division on the succession in the House of Hanover.⁹ Swift excoriated Hanoverian Tories such as the apostate Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, and 'such who left us upon the subject of the peace, and affected jealousies about the succession' (Corr, II, 111; see PW, XVI, 430-50; Corr, I, 339-40; Exam, p. 145; PW, VI, 129, 139-41; VII, 11-20; VIII, 82-83). In attacking those Tories who through concern about the safety of the Protestant Hanoverian succession deserted the government to vote with the Whigs, Swift, of course, denied that there was a hidden Tory agenda to alter the succession as established by the transfer of the crown in 1689 and by the Act of Settlement (1701). Nevertheless, it possibly reveals an ambiguity in Swift's attitude to the Revolution that in An Excellent New Song, Being the Intended Speech of a Famous Orator against Peace (6 December 1711) he should choose to satirize Nottingham, who was 'known to share Whig fears that peace would lead to an opportunity for a Jacobite restoration',¹⁰ for his complicity in the conspiracy that led to the invitation to William of Orange in 1688:

When I and some others subscribed our Names
 To a Plot for expelling my Master King James;
 I withdrew my Subscription by help of a Blot,
 And so might discover, or gain by the Plot
(lines 27-30, POAS, 7, 528-29)

Swift's vitriolic remarks on those involved in the invitation to William of Orange and on the Prince's designs against

the English throne of James II can be read in his marginalia in a copy of Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time (PW,V,288). There is also the sneer of the Tory farceur in the bathetic re-enactment of William of Orange's successful landing on 5 November 1688 in Gulliver's arrival in Lilliput in Part One of Gulliver's Travels. Gulliver's landing on 'the fifth of November' is less than glorious, if providential. As Fortune would have it, Gulliver's ship, driven by a strong wind, splits on a rock and Gulliver eventually swims ashore to begin his adventures in the island kingdom (PW,XI,20-21).

In his first Examiner (2 November 1710) Swift confronts the ultimate Whig charge that the introduction of 'the other Party' and changes in the ministry in 1710 'naturally tends to break the Settlement of the Crown, and call over the Pretender'. The dissemination of such notions by the Whigs is designed 'to render the Queen and Her Administration odious, and to inflame the Nation. And these are what, upon Occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the Falshood and Absurdity of them' (Exam,p.3; see also pp.165,192-93,196,362,373, 399-401). Swift's capacity to deflect the 'Jacobite' charge made him a valuable ministerial polemicist.¹¹

In a letter to Swift two days after Queen Anne's death on 3 August 1714 asking him to return to London, Bolingbroke singles out this aspect of Swift's polemical strategy:

the Torys seem to resolve not to be crush'd, and that is enough to prevent 'em from being so ... the Whigs are a pack of Jacobites. that shall be the cry in a month if you please.

(Corr,II,101-02)

Interestingly, in the light of contemporary polemical readings of extreme anti-Dutch animus as a Francophile and Jacobite code, there is evidence that Swift was directed to moderate his attacks on the Dutch in his ministerial writing. In 'A Letter on the Fishery' (which Swift wrote to Francis Grant in March 1734), he remarks:

Ever since I began to think, I was enraged at the Folly of England, in suffering the Dutch to have almost the whole Advantage of our Fishery just under our Noses ... The Dutch are like a Knot of Sharpers among a Parcel of honest Gentlemen, who think they understand Play, and are bubbled of their Money.

I LOVE them for the Love they have to their Country; which, however, is no Virtue in them, because it is their private Interest, which is directly contrary to England. In the Queen's Time, I did often press the Lord Treasurer Oxford, and others of the Ministry, upon this very Subject, but the Answer was, We must not offend the Dutch; who were at that very Time opposing us in all our Steps towards a Peace.

(PW, XIII, 111; Corr, IV, 229)

Swift's own views on the Dutch before he began writing for Harley's ministry were, in fact, extremely hostile. A received view in Swift studies that Swift's hostility toward the Dutch first becomes apparent in his canon after 1710 is misleading.¹² In his unpublished 'Remarks upon a Book, intituled, The Rights of the Christian Church' (begun c1707 and unfinished) Swift notes:

Set forth at large the Necessity of Union in Religion, and the Disadvantage of the contrary, and answer the contrary in Holland, where they have no Religion, and are the worst constituted Government in the World to last. It is Ignorance of Causes and Appearances make shallow People judge so much to their Advantage. They are governed by the Administration and almost Legislature of Holland through Advantage of Property; nor are they fit to be set in Balance with a noble Kingdom ...

(PW, II, 100-01)

'The Calvinist Scheme one would not think proper for Monarchy' Swift comments. 'Therefore [the Dissenters] fall in with the Scotch, Geneva, and Holland; and when

they had Strength here, they pulled down the Monarchy' (PW,II,101). The softer line on the Dutch expounded, for instance, in Examiner,no.14,2 November 1710, does not reflect Swift's real attitudes, although one suspects that for Swift and his Tory readers there was hostile irony lurking in the hyperbole of 'their prudent Administration, the Greatness of their Trade, their wonderful Parsimony, the Willingness of their People to undergo all kind of Taxes, and their Justice in applotting as well as collecting them' (Exam,p.9).

As in this case of a strategically moderate attitude toward the Dutch there is evidence that Swift's own political views were more extreme than the moderate 'Harleyite' positions he ostensibly advocated in writings published in 1710 and 1711 such as the early Examiners and The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man.¹³ Swift seems to have recognized the difficulties and complications for Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, of Queen Anne's independent role in her government.¹⁴ But in addressing in 'Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs' (written in May 1714 and intended for publication) 'the Current Censure ... that one part of the Ministry is for restoring the old Faction, and the other for Introducing the Pretender' Swift wrote that there could be no excuse for the kind of 'moderating Schem' Harley attempted to implement in the last four years of Anne's reign. Swift 'looked upon all Schemes of Comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the State as in the Church'. He endorses a Tory party regime in Church and State -

the 'thorough' policy of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke and also of the Country and Jacobite Tories (see PW,VIII, 83-89,103,116-17,124-25; Corr,II,44-45).¹⁵ Swift denies 'any Design in the Ministry to weaken the Succession in Favour of the Pretender', and attests 'that during a very near and Constant Familiarity with the great Men at Court for four Years past, he never could observe even in those Hours of Conversation when there is usually least Restraint, that one Word ever passed among them to shew a Dislike of the present Settlement, although they would sometimes lament that the false Representations of their's and the Kingdom's Enemies had made some Impressions in the Mind of the Successor'. With the exception of nonjurors, 'I have not met with above two Persons who appeared to have any Scruples concerning the present Limitation of the Crown'. Swift averred 'that the Number of those who wish to see the Son of the abdicated Prince upon the Throne, is altogether inconsiderable'. The Pretender's Roman Catholicism makes him obnoxious and 'the Inheritance to the Crown is in pursuance of Laws ...by which all Papists are excluded' (PW,VIII,90-92).

When Archbishop King gratuitously insinuated in a letter of 22 November 1716 that Swift might have been an accomplice in a ministerial design to restore the Pretender (see Corr,II,228), Swift rehearsed his position of 1714 in a dignified declaration of innocence on 22 December 1716:

Had there been ever the least Overture or Intent of bringing in the Pretender during my Acquaintance with the Ministry, I think I must have been very stupid not to have pickt out some discoveryes or Suspicions; and tho I am not sure I should have turned Informer, yet I am sure I should

have dropt some generall Cautions, and immediately have retired. When People say things were not ripe at the Queen's death, they say they know not what Things were rotten, and had the Ministers any such Thoughts they should have begun 3 years before, and they who say otherwise understand nothing of the State of the Kingdom at that time. But whether I am mistaken or no in other Men, I beg your Grace to believe, that I am not mistaken in my self; I always professed to be against the Pretender, and am so still; and this is not to make my Court, (which I know is in vain) for I own my self full of Doubts, Fears and Dissatisfactions, which I think of seldom as I can; Yet, if I were of any value, the Publick may safely rely on my Loyalty, because I look upon the coming of the Pretender as a greater Evil than any we are like to suffer under the worst Whig Ministry that can be found
(Corr, II, 238-39)

The Whig Archbishop replied on 12 January 1717:

I never believed you for the Pretender, but remember that when the surmises of that matter run high, you retired, which agrees with what you say you ought to have done in that case.

The letter concludes with this reassurance in a postscript:

There is a foolish profane letter here in y^r name but you may be easy under it. It is universally condemned, and thought to be writ by a Jacobite and Deist.

(Corr, II, 248)

The ministers for whom Swift laboured in the Examiner and in his political tracts to free from the charge of Jacobitism were in fact, for strategic political purposes, corresponding with the exiled court of James Stuart, the Old Pretender, at St. Germain. The Tory party in fact had a significant Jacobite phalanx in parliament which looked to the Oxford ministry of 1710-14 for a revocation of the Act of Settlement and a restoration of James Stuart by peaceful parliamentary means.¹⁶ The question of Swift's 'Jacobitism' has been often canvassed. Ellen Douglass Leyburn in 1951 remarked: 'Nobody any longer seriously accuses Swift of Jacobitism; but his own writings repudiating the charge for his friends show

how clearly he was aware that in the popular mind denunciation of the Dutch was the corollary of devotion to the French and the French interest'.¹⁷ Assessing the evidence of Swift's statements on the succession, both F. P. Lock and J. A. Downie have recently concluded that although Swift was often accused of Jacobitism his professions of innocence can be accepted.¹⁸ Bolingbroke once cruelly remarked of Swift's position as ministerial publicist: 'the lie of the day ... was coined and delivered out to him, to write Examiners and other political papers upon'.¹⁹ Swift's first biographer, John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, remarked that Swift 'was employed, not trusted'.²⁰ Such statements perhaps do not accurately reflect Swift's involvement with the ministers or, certainly, his jealously protected independence, but despite Swift's work for the Oxford ministry, which included contributions to drafts of the Queen's speeches,²¹ and, despite his friendship with the 'great men', Swift was demonstrably not privy to all the inner counsels of the ministers and was on occasion naive and imperceptive.²² The ministers may not have communicated information of treasonable correspondence to Swift and may have thus avoided testing the scruples of their principal propagandist engaged in justifying the ministry from Whig clamour of the government's Pretenderism and in allaying Hanoverian Tory anxiety.

Yet there is some ambiguity in the received evidence which has not always been sufficiently remarked. Swift, of course, was suspected of Jacobite involvement and

the Whig government had his correspondence intercepted in 1715 (Corr,V,230-33).²³ However, there is no evidence extant in Swift's correspondence and extensive writings of explicit Jacobite commitment or activism. Yet the question of Swift's 'Jacobitism' may be explored further despite this absence of positive evidence. Swift was usually cautious and prudent in his correspondence, as his circumspection in committing to paper sensitive political information in the Journal to Stella attests and as a remark made in a letter to the Earl of Peterborough on 18 May 1714 (presumably referring to the acrimonious rivalry between Oxford and Bolingbroke which debilitated the administration) suggests: 'If your Excellency were here, I would speak to you without any constraint; but the fear of accidents in the conveyance of the letter, makes me keep to generals' (Corr,II,23). The pains and penalties to be executed on Jacobites under the Treason laws would have encouraged Swift's discretion on the subject of a Stuart restoration or any kind of Jacobite involvement. J. A. Downie, in arguing that 'evidence for Swift's Jacobitism appears non-existent', also remarks appositely: 'It is quite likely that he burnt any incriminating documents that came his way, and he was scrupulously careful not to leave any of his own scribbles in case they implicated him in unsavoury transactions'.²⁴ Swift's pusillanimity at the apprehension of the reinstatement of a Whig ministry in 1711 and likely Whig retribution on him for his part in what the Whigs regarded as the 'Jacobite Peace' (see PW,XVI,434-40), and his later

ostentatious declarations of inviolable loyalty to the House of Hanover and obedience to law during the Drapier's incendiary (and, the Walpolean Whig government alleged, crypto-Jacobite) campaign against the English Whig administration (see PW, X, 9, 11, 21, 35, 43, 54-55, 62, 69, 85-86, 105, 107), reveal a man who acutely recognized that prudence and precaution on matters involving the dynastic issue were the better parts of valour under the Treason laws.

While no incriminating evidence of Jacobitism exists in Swift's extant writings, there is evidence of self-censorship - omission or suppression of information, secrecy and, perhaps, studied political ambivalence - in his extant correspondence with Tories and suspected Jacobites. Reading through Swift's correspondence of 1714 and after the Hanoverian accession, for instance, it is apparent that the full extent of Swift's political knowledge and opinion and that of his friends is not explicitly disclosed in the written sources.²⁵ Also, covert modes of communication and signals used among Jacobite Tories, such as the use of the word 'honest' as an understood synonym for 'Jacobite' and expressions of support for Charles XII of Sweden as an understood register of anti-Hanoverianism and Jacobite sympathy, may be present in the 'Honest' Dean's Tory correspondence.²⁶ Re-examining the evidence of Swift's political opinion and intercourse from 1714, it seems quite possible that despite Swift's reiterated, public disclaimers of any knowledge of Jacobite intentions or sympathies in the ministry he nevertheless suspected his High Church Tory

colleagues. His own political position in relation to Jacobitism was probably more ambivalent than is usually thought in Swift studies.

On 18 May 1714 Swift informed the Earl of Peterborough that the 'height of honest men's wishes at present is, to rub off this session' and lamented that despite the Queen's failing health it is not possible 'to persuade people to make any preparations against an evil day' (Corr, II,21, and see II,36,110-11). Swift resolved to withdraw from the political turmoil of Court and London politics. On 22 May Chiverton Charleton wrote to Swift encouraging him to remain at his post: 'Hearing from honest John [Barber] that you still persist in your resolution of retiring into the country I cannot but give you my thoughts of it'. Swift should stay and show 'that you are neither afraid nor unwilling to face a storm in a good cause'. In the postscript, Charleton wrote: 'Honest Townshend & I have the satisfaction to drink your health as often as we do drink together ... at present we have disposed you in the first list of Rank Tories' (Corr,II,23-25). Swift, however, told Archdeacon Walls on 11 June 'that I care not to live in Storms, when I can no longer do Service in the ship, and am able to get out of it. I have gone thro my Share of Malice and Danger, and will be as quiet the rest of my days, as I can' (Corr,II,30). Swift foresaw, as he says in a later letter to Walls, 'the Storm that would happen' (Corr,II,89). Swift refers to Bolingbroke's eventual triumph in the ministerial contest and Oxford's removal. However, it also might

just possibly have been a more revolutionary political change he anticipated in June 1714: 'To tell you a Secret, I think as times are like to be, I should be glad to have my money in another Place' (Corr,II,31). In a later letter to Knightley Chetwode of 17 December 1715 Swift appears to use the word 'storms' to mean the landing of the Pretender and related unrest (Corr,II,190).

In the first letter Swift wrote from his retirement in Berkshire he emphasizes his remoteness from London politics and, perhaps, gives a glimpse of a reason for his withdrawal from the centre of politics additional to the well-documented reason of his despair at the internecine contestation between his friends Oxford and Bolingbroke within the ministry (see PW,VIII,132; Corr,II,63,70-71,76,110). Swift tells Esther Vanhomrigh: 'The Pretender or Duke of Cambridge may both be landed and I never the wiser'. Perhaps Swift hoped at this point that in passivity and ignorance lay innocence. He had received not 'one Line from any body since I left London; of which I am very glad' (Corr,II,26). Lodging with 'an honest Clergyman of my old Acquaintance' (the Rev. John Gere), Swift, however, was to be regularly informed by John Arbuthnot and Erasmus Lewis, the remaining two of 'the Triumvirate of honest Councillors', and by other close friends, of the state of ministerial affairs (Corr,II,35,46). While the idea of restoring the Pretender is treated sardonically in Swift's 1714 correspondence (see Corr,II,38,47), Swift interestingly echoes the title of Charles Leslie's notorious and triumphal Jacobite

polemical work The Finishing Stroke (1711) when he describes the last moves in Oxford's demise and the takeover of the administration by Bolingbroke and the Tory extremists as 'a finishing Stroak' (Corr,II,75).

The death of Queen Anne prevented a Tory coup de grâce on the Whig party and dissent. Swift was informed by Barber, Lewis, Charles Ford, and Arbuthnot that the Elector of Hanover would succeed without opposition. Lewis commented: 'we are ill prognosticators. every thing goes on with a tranquillity we durst not hope for' and Arbuthnot remarked: 'so far is plain from what has happen'd in publick affairs that what one party affirm'd of the settlement has prov'd true, & that it was firm ... I can assure you the peacable scene that now appears is a disappointment to more than one sett of people' (Corr,II,98,122, and see 92-95,102,117). No public move had been made by suspected Jacobite Tories to proclaim the Pretender. Bolingbroke and Barber hoped Swift would return to London 'and help to save the Constitution, which with a little good managem^t might be kept in Tory Hands' (Corr,II,101). Swift recommended a united 'Church-interest' to confront the new, pro-Whig dynasty (Corr,II,111-12). But with the increasing evidence of Tory proscription after the Hanoverian accession, Swift's references to the new order become noticeably more ambivalent. He declares to Knightley Chetwode on 6 October 1714: 'Everything is as bad as possible; and I think if the Pretender ever comes over, the present men in power have traced him the way' (Corr,II,135-36). Lord Harley is told on 8 March 1715 that 'there

is nothing too bad to be apprehended in my opinion, from the present Face of Things'. In his election year 'Letter to Pope' (10 January 1722),²⁷ Swift gave his opinion on 'what is called a Revolution-principle':

That, whenever those evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, were not in probability so pernicious as the grievances we suffer under a present power, then the publick good will justify such a Revolution; and this I took to have been the Case in the Prince of Orange's expedition, although in the consequences it produced some very bad effects, which are likely to stick long enough by us.

(PW, IX, 31)

In 1715 and 1722, Swift in common with Jacobite Tories professed to be witnessing the expiration of Liberty in the kingdom. Swift's 'Revolution-principle' is not without a certain ambivalence and could easily be construed as covert Jacobite politics if readers felt the present grievances were insupportable. For Swift's Revolution principle would endorse the military expedition of another Prince in such an exigency. A 'disaffected' rather than 'Whig' reading is encouraged by Swift's reflection on the Revolution as a violent change of government and by the remark that the post-Revolution order has produced 'some very bad effects'.

In An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry, with Relation to their Quarrells among themselves, and the Design charged upon them of altering the Succession of the Crown (begun in 1715, completed some time before 1721, but unpublished in Swift's lifetime), a defence of the government of 1710-14 from the Whigs' 'old slander of bringing in the Pretender' (Corr, II, 175) and an attack on the post-1714 Whig administration, Swift implicitly

argues that the Tories and the nation have been driven into Jacobitism:

upon the Queen's Death, if we except Papists and Nonjurers, there could not be five hundred Persons in England of all Ranks who had any Thoughts of the Pretender, and among these, not six of any Quality or Consequence; But how it hath come to pass that severall Millions are said to have since changed their Sentiments, it shall not be my Part to inquire.

(PW,VIII,165; see Corr,II,176,183-84)²⁸

In the last four years of Anne's reign, people 'could have no Scruples of Conscience in submitting to the present Powers'. If 'any Guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally understood that our Ancestors were only to answer for it'. With 'an Exception to professed Nonjurers, there was not one Man in ten thousand through England who had other Sentiments'. Now there is 'prodigious Disaffection'. Swift argues that a parliamentary alteration of the Succession in favour of the Pretender had not been designed under the Oxford ministry:

in order to have brought such an Affair about in a Parliamentary Way, some years must have been employed to turn the Bent of the Nation, to have rendred one Person odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed towards absent Princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had Experience, which was not then the Case.

(PW,VIII,173)

Swift is more explicit in a manuscript of the unpublished 'Enquiry' where there is a paragraph entertaining a military solution to Hanoverian tyranny. Swift's tacit support for the Jacobite projects of military invasion and insurrection in 1715, 1717, and 1719 may be legitimately inferred. The paragraph in Swift's hand but crossed out reads:

If the King of a free People will chuse to govern by

a Faction inferior in Number and Property to the rest and suspected of Principles destructive to the Religious or Civil part of the Constitution, I do not see how a civil War can be avoyded Because the Bulk of the People and of the Landed Interest, who profess the Established Principles will never endure to see themselves entirely cut out and rendred incapable of all Employ^{ts} of Trust or Profit, and the whole Power most unnaturally vested in the Hands of a Minority, whose Interest it must of necessity be to alter the Constitution, & oppress their Fellow Subjects.

(PW,VIII,218)

Swift's unqualified opposition to standing armies expounded, for example, in 1722 in the 'Letter to Pope' means he endorsed the removal of one of the fundamental securities of the Hanoverian establishment in England and Ireland against Jacobite revolutionism (PW,IX,31-32). Swift's position aligns him with the consistent oppositional political stance of William Shippen, 'the head of the veteran staunch Jacobites'.²⁹

Interestingly, in a poem written c1730 Swift takes a vicarious part in a carnivalesque version of a Jacobite rebellion. 'The Revolution at Market Hill' (Poems,III,882-86) is a playful burlesque but there is insistent allusion to the political reality of a tyrannical reign, Tory proscription from the centre of power, Jacobite plotting and insurrection, and cynical Whig ministerial politics. As Pat Rogers has noted of the poem: 'The title suggests to us a coup d'état involving the populace; Swift perhaps has in mind a palace revolution, or the kind of power struggle enacted in 1688. Towards the end there are hints of a 'plot' such as the Jacobites were accused of, and of a political coup of the type by which a minister like Walpole ousted awkward or uncooperative colleagues'.³⁰

Swift and his Tory friends Sir Arthur Acheson and Henry

Leslie, a son of Charles Leslie who had served in the Spanish army, are 'Three Suff'ers in a ruin'd Cause' banished by Faction (11.6-7). Swift and Leslie reproach Acheson (created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1728) for a lack of commitment and suffering in a dangerous cause:

PROUD Baronet of Nova Scotia,
 The D—n and Spaniard must reproach ye;
 Of their two Fames the World enough rings;
 Where are thy Services and Suff'rings?
 What, if for nothing once you kiss't,
 Against the Grain, a M—s Fist?
 What, if among the courtly Tribe,
 You lost a Place, and sav'd a Bribe?
 And, then in surly Mode come here
 To Fifteen Hundred Pounds a Year,
 And fierce against the Whigs harangu'd?
 You never ventur'd to be hang'd.
 How dare you treat your Betters thus?
 Are you to be compar'd to Us?

(11.29-42)

The disaffected Dean and Spaniard plot to dispossess the Knight who 'triumphant reigns' and enslaves them.

There is a popular rising:

COME Spaniard, let us from our Farms
 Call forth our Cottagers to Arms;
 Our Forces let us both unite,
 Attack the Foe at Left and Right;
 From Market-Hill's exalted Head,
 Full Northward, let your Troops be led:
 While I from Drapier's-Mount descend,
 And to the South my Squadrons bend:

(11.43-50)

When 'we execute our Plot' (1.107) and are in possession of 'the Realm' (1.92), Swift and Leslie will act as, it is implied, Whig 'Conqu'rors' (1.91) and 'Politicians' (1.109) do: they will proscribe, subjugate and hang (11.90-110).³¹

Whatever the extent of Swift's knowledge of Jacobite activity and the degree of political sympathy he had for the Jacobite cause, he seems to have resolved to

be passive and private in the 'storms' around him. He wrote to Knightley Chetwode on 17 December 1715:

Honest people get into corners, and are as merry as they can. We are as loyal as our enemies, but they will not allow us to be so. If what they said were true, they would be quickly undone. Pray keep yourself out of harm's way. It is the best part a private man can take unless his fortune be desperate, or unless he has at least a fair hazard for mending the public.

(Corr,II,191)

Unlike his hero the Duke of Ormonde, or Knightley Chetwode, or that 'Honest Gentleman', his close friend Charles Ford 'an honest sensible firm friendly man' (Corr,II,143, Arbuthnot to Swift, November 1714), Swift did not become an active Jacobite. However, he seems to have identified himself to his Tory correspondents as a Jacobite sympathiser. In the wake of the government arrests of prominent suspected Jacobites in 1722 Swift wrote to Robert Cope: 'Pray God keep all honest men out of the hands of lions and bears, and uncircumcised Philistines' (Corr,II,435). There are surely Jacobite political implications in Swift's intention to dedicate his projected 'History of England' to Charles XII of Sweden and in the anti-Hanoverian dedicatory letter (dated 'Nov. 2, 1719') to Swift's acquaintance, Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish envoy arrested in 1717 for complicity in concerting a Swedish-Jacobite plot (PW,V,11-12).³² Although Swift had long admired Charles XII of Sweden (see Corr,I,153; PW,XVI,650-51), the following passage in a letter to Ford on 6 January 1719 may contain, as well as its obvious literal statement, a covert registering of Swift's goodwill towards those Tories who looked to Charles XII and Sweden for assistance in 1716-18:

I am personally concerned for the Death of the K of Sweden,

because I intended to have beggd my Bread at His Court, whenever our good Friends in Power thought fit to put me and my Brethren under the necessity of begging. Besides I intended him an honor and a Compliment, which I never yet thought a Crownd head worth, I mean, dedicating a Book to him.

(Corr,II,311)

Swift was fully aware that admiration for Charles XII after 1717 signified Jacobite Tory politics (see Corr,II,312; 'The Part of a Summer', lines 95-104, Complete Poems, p.237; 'Dick's Variety', lines 23-24, Poems,III,788; Complete Poems,p.347).

In a subsequent letter to Ford on 16 February 1719 Swift allusively registers his sympathy for the cause of the disaffected but confesses his disposition is to be out of danger:

It would be an admirable Scituation to be neither Whig nor Tory. For a Man without Passions might find very strong Amusements. But I find the turn of Blood at 50 disposes me strongly to Fears, and therefore I think as little of Publick Affairs as I can, because they concern me as one of the Multitude; and for the same Reason I dare not venture to play at threepeny Basset, because it is a Game where Conduct is of no use, and I dare not trust to Fortune as the younger Folks do, and therefore I divert my self with looking upon others at Play mea sine parte pericli [Lucretius,ii.6.], which if a Man could do in what concerns the Publick, it would be no ill Entertainment. But when the Diversion grows to throw Fire-balls at Random, how can I be certain that Ucalegon may not live at the Deanry-house [Aeneid,ii.311-12.]. — There is a Proverb that shews what is the Time when honest People come by their own. I wonder whether that Proverb hath a Reverse.

(Corr,II,312)³³

Any interpretation of this epistolary obliquity must be conjectural, but Swift seems to be saying that like Lucretius's philosopher he would observe the warfare in the state without taking part in the peril. The stakes were too high and chances of success too uncertain. Swift was too well aware of the exiguity of the Anglican

establishment in Ireland to risk committing himself to a revolution on behalf of a Roman Catholic claimant. In the battle for Troy neighbouring Ireland and the Dean of St. Patrick's would not escape the flames. In early 1719 it seemed the time had passed for the 'honest' party and their King who sought to enjoy his own again. In 1723 Swift shares his experience of Whig prosecution for alleged Pretenderism with the Jacobite Chetwode and counsels him to forswear politics: 'Do you find that your trees thrive and your drained bog gets a new coat? I know nothing so well worth the enquiry of an honest man, as times run' (Corr,II,449).

Swift's view of the times recorded in one of the notes appended to Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. (1731) is profoundly disaffected:

Upon Queen ANNE's Death the Whig Faction was restored to Power, which they exercised with the utmost Rage and Revenge; impeached and banished the Chief Leaders of the Church Party, and stripped all their Adherents of what Employments they had, after which England was never known to make so mean a Figure in Europe. The greatest Preferments in the Church in both Kingdoms were given to the most ignorant Men, Fanaticks were publicly caressed, Ireland utterly ruined and enslaved, only great Ministers heaping up Millions, and so Affairs continue until this present third Day of May, 1732, and are likely to go on in the same Manner.

(Poems,II,568,note 2)

This note recalls Swift's account in his 'Family of Swift' (dated between 1738 and 1739) of the sufferings of his royalist grandfather during the Interregnum: ' He was deprived of both his Church livings ... and his estate sequestered. His Preferments ... were given to a fanatical Saint' (PW,V,190). In another note to the Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D. Swift records his persecution

as a suspected Jacobite on his return to Dublin in 1714:

Upon the Queen's Death, the Dean returned to live in Dublin, at his Deanry-House: Numberless Libels were writ against him in England, as a Jacobite; he was insulted in the Street, and at Nights was forced to be attended by his Servants armed

(Poems, II, 568, note 3)

Swift repeatedly assured the Whig Archbishop King that he was no Jacobite Tory: 'I had no ill designs, nor ever knew any in [Queen Anne's predominantly Tory last ministry]'. He was 'always a Whig in Politicks' (Corr, II, 206, 236). Swift's letter to King of 13 November 1716 containing anathemas on the perpetuation of the nonjuring separation and an opinion that the Tory clergy might be regained by the Court (see Corr, II, 221-22) was industriously shown in public by the Archbishop. Erasmus Lewis thought Swift must have written 'in an ironical Stile' and that King 'wou'd have it otherwise understood'. Lewis reminds Swift of the dangers of irony: 'this will bring to your mind what I have formerly said to you on that figure' (Corr, II, 246)! Atterbury defended Swift from the imputation of political apostasy and Swift wrote to assure the Tory Bishop in 1717 of his continued fidelity to 'my party' and that he is 'an honest man' grieved that anyone could think he 'was wholly gone over to other principles more in fashion' (Corr, II, 278-80).³⁴ Swift may have been inconsistent, his allegiances shifting, 'my thoughts change every week' he confessed (Corr, II, 279). Yet in 1723 he admitted his 'Infelicity in being so Strongly attached to Traytors (as they call them) and Exiles, and State Criminalls' (Corr, II, 464). This attachment extended to seeking to continue a correspondence with

the enemies of Hanover. Count Gyllenborg, he tells Reverend James Stopford in 1725, 'if he has not lost his Head, may perhaps be an Ambassad^r somewhere in your way. If he be I would be glad to know where to write to him, upon an Affair wherein he promised to inform me' (Corr, III,63).

Received readings of Swift either as a Whig or as a Hanoverian Tory, a political writer who 'never wavered in accepting the Revolution settlement of 1688, and never doubted the wisdom of maintaining the Protestant succession after the death of Queen Anne', who with 'the Modern Whigs subscribed wholeheartedly to the Act of Settlement', understate the complexity and ambiguity of the case.³⁵ Such readings necessarily neglect the ambivalence and polemical resonance of aspects of Swift's political language which led contemporaries to identify his political texts as Jacobite Tory. For instance, in his ministerial writing and in a political testament of 1722 Swift seems ambivalent on the Act of Settlement, reflecting his (and the Tory party's) reservations about the House of Hanover and perhaps a calculated attempt to keep legislative alteration of the succession a theoretically open possibility - an option honest men could consider in a case of necessity. Sir John Percival observed in 1714 that 'there is an unaccountable obscurity in some men's discourse which has giv'n ye Jacobites hopes that more are in their Master's interest than I am persuaded will be found really so'.³⁶ It is an observation applicable to Swift's writing at certain moments of political high temperature.

While monarchical doctrines of indefeasible divine hereditary right and Filmerian patriarchalism, ably propounded by such publicists as Charles Leslie and George Harbin during Queen Anne's reign, constituted the legitimist mainstream of an essentially variegated Jacobite ideology,³⁷ Jacobite political aims in Anne's last years were principally 'the repeal of the Act of Succession and the institution of a Tory regime in Church and State'.³⁸ There was clearly an elision in Country Tory and Jacobite political argument, and although the great majority of Tories before 1714 were committed to the Protestant Hanoverian succession rather than to the exiled Catholic Stuarts as Swift repeatedly affirmed, a register of ambivalence on the Act of Settlement could be construed as a crypto-Jacobite speech act. The Treason laws and pragmatic politics effectively meant that prudent Jacobites would use anonymity and impersonation, and strategies of indirection, allusion and obliquity in print. Exceptions to this rule were public, publishing sensations. The 'plain dealing' of the Jacobite George Lockhart's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's Accession to the Throne, to the Commencement of the Union of Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, in May, 1707, published anonymously in 1714, made it 'a very extraordinary piece' and Arbuthnot thought Swift should come to London just to see it (Corr, II, 58). 'I should be glad to see that Manuscript about the Invasion: & I think I ought to have a Copy of it' Swift replied (Corr, II, 63).³⁹ At the conclusion of his 'Letter to Pope', Swift dismissed allegations that he had advanced seditious

principles by pointing to his politic discretion in public political discourse: 'I am too much a politician to expose my own safety' (PW,IX,34). In the absence of explicit evidence of Jacobitism, contemporary readers of political literature scrutinized a writer's attitude to the Act of Settlement and to the Dutch to determine political sympathies.

In The Conduct of the Allies (1711) the ministerial publicist is indignant that by the terms of the Barrier Treaty the Dutch should be guarantors of the Act of Succession as this prevented legislative defeasibility of the succession 'how much soever the Necessities of the Kingdom may require it' (PW,VI,27,206). Swift added a prudent explanation (but not, it will be observed, a recantation) in the fourth edition of the Conduct, as he explained in a 'POSTSCRIPT':

I Have in this Edition explained three or four Lines in the 38th Page [see PW,VI,206, textual note on page 27, line 25ff], which mentions the Succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of Cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe, how ready the Adverse Party is to make use of any Objections, even such as destroy their own Principles. I put a distant Case of the possibility that our Succession, through extream Necessity, might be changed by the Legislature, in future Ages; and it is pleasant to hear those People quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the Consent of the entire Legislature.

(PW,VI,65)

In the fourth edition Swift writes: 'our Posterity may hereafter, by the Tyranny and Oppression of any succeeding Princes, be reduced to the fatal Necessity of breaking in upon the excellent and happy Settlement now in force' (PW,VI,27). Swift returned to this constitutional point in Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty (1712). He boldly

restates the potentially treasonable position of the Conduct:

'I make it a Question, whether it were right in point of Policy or Prudence to call in a Foreign Power to be Guarantee to our Succession; because by that means we put it out of the Power of our own Legislature to alter the Succession, how much soever the Necessity of the Kingdom may require it? (PW,VI,92). He also obliquely insinuates a nonjuring argument against the Revolution while defending his principle of legislative defeasibility and attacking Whig Revolution principles:

The worst of this Opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be Whiggish; but the Distinction is thus, the Whigs are for changing the Succession when they think fit, though the entire Legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great Necessity, and that with the Sanction of the whole Legislature. Do these Gentlemen of Revolution-Principles think it impossible that we should ever have occasion again to change our Succession? And if such an Accident should fall out, must we have no Remedy, 'till the Seven Provinces will give their Consent? (PW,VI,93)

Swift's statement that the succession should not be changed without the sanction of the whole legislature is a reflection on the Revolution of 1689. 'THE only Difficulty of any Weight against the Proceedings at the Revolution ... offered me some Time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy Gentleman of the Non-juring Party', Swift wrote in The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man (1711), is:

that the Laws made by the supreme Power, cannot otherwise than by the supreme Power be annulled: That this consisting in England of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative Voice, no Two of them can repeal, or enact a Law without Consent of the Third; much less, may any one of them be entirely excluded from its Part of the Legislature, by a Vote of the other Two. That all these Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution ... (PW,II,21)

Swift declared in his 'Sermon upon the Martyrdom of King

Charles I' that James II 'was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on' (PW,IX,229-30). Swift favoured the ultra-Tory 'remedy' of a regency which would have preserved James II's legal authority and the succession (PW,V,291). It had not been adopted by the Convention in 1689. By raising this 'Difficulty' about the Revolution settlement, by entertaining the possibility of legislative revocation of the Act of Settlement at some future time, and by attacking the Dutch, Swift's ministerial tracts were recognized to signify Tory ambivalence on the succession and a vaguely projected legislative revolution for the Pretender. It is interesting to note in this context that there is some evidence that Swift may indeed have thought that 'the danger of a revolt to a Pretender' might be a useful security against future bad kings (see PW,V,292). In Remarks upon Remarks (1712), John Oldmixon italicizes the passage in Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty where Swift declares 'That the Legislature should have Power to change the Succession, whenever the Necessities of the Kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our Religion and Liberty, that I know not how to recant' (PW,VI,92-93) and remarks: 'What Occasion was there for such a Thought, if it was not uppermost, and what his Faction most desire?'⁴⁰ The alarmed Whig press reacted stridently to legislative defeasibility, reflections on the Revolution, attacks on the Dutch, and bantering of the danger of the Pretender in Tory and Swiftian political argument. Swift was regularly convicted of Jacobitism

in the press.⁴¹ Swift did not retract his position on the legislative defeasibility of the succession, although he was obliged to modify it. He went on the offensive in The Public Spirit of the Whigs (1714). Restating his position, Swift was able to confirm the constitutional propriety of legislative defeasibility of acts of parliament against the privileging of the Union and the Settlement of the Crown as unalterable in the work of Whig writers, such as Richard Steele and Daniel Defoe (see PW, VIII, 38, 50-53).⁴²

As Swift remarked, his advocacy of the principle of legislative defeasibility 'appears to be Whiggish'. Later, in marginal comments in copies of William Howells's Medulla Historiae Anglicanae (1734) and Burnet's History (1724-34), Swift in fact approved the Whig Exclusion Bill of 1681 (PW, V, 264, 279). This approval of exclusionism is taken in Swift scholarship as unequivocal evidence of Swift's fundamental whiggism.⁴³ But when read in polemical context approval of legislative defeasibility could be understood as an extreme Tory, crypto-Jacobite gambit. High Church and Tory political argument had discovered virtues in legislative defeasibility by 1710. A pro-Blackall, Tory tract of 1710 informed readers, for instance, that 'The Bill of Exclusion was one of the wisest Bills that has been brought into Parliament, since the Reformation; and, next to that, the Bills of Limitation: The former being rejected, gave us the Curiosity to experience, that a Popish Sovereign would not do; and the two latter, by passing into Laws, have secured us, I hope, from ever

trying over the same Experiment again'.⁴⁴ Swift's support in 1714 of a Tory regime in Church and State and Ormonde's purge of Whigs from the army,⁴⁵ as well as his provocative entertainment of the possibility of altering the succession, at least complicates the matter of Swift's ultimate political sympathies, although Swift always denied that the Hanoverian succession had been 'attacked by the immortal Tory Ministry' (PW,V,265).

The real difficulties for Swift and the Tory party with the Stuart dynastic option were the Pretender's Roman Catholicism and, after 1714, the oaths of allegiance to the Hanoverian king. It was widely held in Tory circles that only a recantation and conversion would lead to a Stuart restoration. Charles Leslie opined that James would convert to Anglicanism⁴⁶ but the Pretender's absolute refusal in April 1714 to become a Protestant was a blow for Jacobite Toryism. 'As to the Person of this nominall Prince', Swift wrote with disgust in May 1714, 'he lyes under all manner of Disadvantages: The Vulgar imagin him to have been a Child imposed upon the Nation by the fraudulent Zeal of his Parents and their bigotted Councillors; who took special Care, against all the Rules of Common Policy, to educate him in their hatefull Superstition, suckt in with his milk and confirmed in his Manhood, too strong to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley; and, a counterfeit Conversion will be too gross to pass upon the Kingdom after what we have seen and suffered from the like Practice in his Father' (PW,VIII,91).

Swift recorded in 'A Letter From Dr Swift to Mr Pope'

'what my Political principles were in the time of her late glorious Majesty, which I never contradicted by any action, writing or discourse'. The first of these principles was:

I always declared my self against a Popish Successor to the Crown, whatever Title he might have by the proximity of blood: Neither did I ever regard the right line, except upon two accounts; first, as it was established by law; and secondly, as it hath much weight in the opinions of the people. For necessity may abolish any Law, but cannot alter the sentiments of the vulgar; Right of inheritance being perhaps the most popular of all topicks; and therefore in great Changes when that is broke, there will remain much heart-burning and discontent among the meaner people; which (under a weak Prince and corrupt Administration) may have the worst consequences upon the peace of any state.

(PW, IX, 31)

Although often cited as such, this passage is hardly a straightforward loyal enunciation of a Whig or non-Jacobite position. If the Pretender converted to Protestantism then according to Swift's principles a revolution on his behalf and a new settlement could be accepted. Swift argues that 'the right line' (the excluded Stuart dynasty) is only to be regarded when it is established by law and supported by the people. But Swift points out that 'necessity may abolish any Law' and that hereditary right is 'perhaps the most popular of all topicks'.

Swift in the 'Letter' defends himself from allegations of treason by declaring that he has been retiring, apolitical and quietist since the accession of King George 'of whose character and person I am utterly ignorant, nor ever had once the curiosity to enquire into either' (see PW, IX, 25-28). He also rehearses, in effect, the Opposition political catechism in the election year of 1722. There is the typically Tory, 'royalist' collocation of Whig

principles with Cromwellian parliamentarians and religious fanaticism (PW,IX,30-31) and a recital of dissident Whig and Tory Opposition 'Old Whig' arguments against the Walpolean Whig regime (PW,IX,31-33). Swift disturbingly implies in the 1722 'Letter' that 'a weak Prince and corrupt Administration' might bring the state to just that fatal necessity he presaged in his government writings against the Whigs and the Dutch (PW,IX,31).

II SWIFT AND THE DUTCH

Swift's considered position on the decisive question of political obligation - that the subject owed allegiance unconditionally to the legislature of King, Lords and Commons in settled possession of the government according to present law in force - aligns him with the view influentially expounded by the former Nonjuror and High Churchman William Higden against Jacobite indefeasible divine hereditary right doctrine and Whig contractual resistance theory.⁴⁷ Higden's case of allegiance, the Jacobite Tory Thomas Hearne remarked, 'resolves all into Possession, and makes all Usurpers have a title to Allegiance'; it therefore could not satisfy Jacobite legitimists or post-Revolution Whig governments.⁴⁸ Swift's political theory certainly did not preclude the possibility of supporting the Pretender if the Act of Settlement was revoked and if a revocation in favour of the hereditary line was popular. The provenance of 'exclusionist' legislative defeasibility argument in Swift's ministerial writing suggested just such Jacobite ulterior motives

to Swift's readers. 'They had a Revolution in their Heads, and a King to impose upon us', Arthur Mainwaring alleged.⁴⁹

A Whig or 'Hanoverian' Tory would have had no interest in being ambiguous about the succession or ambivalent on Jacobitism. There is however, as I have suggested, a certain degree of ambivalence in Swift's writing in relation to Jacobitism.

Nevertheless, Swift's rejection of Filmerian patriarchal monarchism and indefeasible divine hereditary right doctrine divorces his politics from the legitimist mainstream of Jacobite ideology. He certainly claimed he was no Jacobite and indeed professed to be a Whig and loyal to the existing settlement. Yet contemporaries often judged the political significance of his writing to be Jacobite. John Oldmixon and Arthur Mainwaring, who were deeply familiar with Swift's political writing, identified him as a Jacobite.⁵⁰ It of course suited the partisan purposes of Swift's adversaries to smear him as a treasonable writer and the Whig press regularly accused him. Yet modern scholars should not presume to know better than contemporaries and too readily dismiss contemporary understandings of Swift's writing. Whatever Swift's ultimate loyalties, the historical critic must be responsive to the actual meanings Swift's texts generated in polemical context. Swift publicly professed to be a Whig in politics but his texts register, through their use of familiar Tory and Jacobite polemical languages, a disturbing disaffection with post-Revolution Whig regimes. An examination of Swift's treatment of Holland suggests

that a disaffected Tory politics predates his 'conversion' to the predominantly Tory government of 1710 and is inscribed in Gulliver's Travels.

Several specialist studies have traced the anti-Dutch animus in Swift's writings to such factors as Swift's association with Harley's predominantly Tory ministry during the government peace negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht, a traditional xenophobia in English attitudes to the Dutch reflected in seventeenth-century literature, and his own hostile view of Dutch religious, political, diplomatic, maritime and trading practices. Swift scholars have suggested sources for some particular details of the famous satiric attack on the Dutch in Part III of Gulliver's Travels - such as the 'trampling upon the Crucifix' episode and Gulliver's passage on a Dutch ship called the 'Amboyna' - in his reading of contemporary voyage literature and accounts therein of the Dutch East India traders in Japan, and imaginary, historiographical, and geographical literature on Japan. Thus, William J. Brown concludes that Swift made references in Gulliver's Travels to an established tradition of Dutch brutality toward the English. Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienenken observe that:

Reports of Dutch tergiversation in Japan were apparently 'in the air' at the beginning of the eighteenth century ... Moreover, Dutch willingness to trample upon the crucifix is neither a malicious invention of English anti-Dutch propaganda nor an insidious concoction of Swift's; it is, on the contrary, testified to by the Dutch themselves. Finally, in terms of satirical strategy, the material presents the familiar tactics of the Dean recruiting his artillery from the arsenals of the very enemy.⁵¹

The political signification, the polemical 'speech act',

of Swift's anti-Dutch expression in the contemporary paper wars has been relatively neglected in Swift scholarship, however.

The Duke of Marlborough reflected a widespread sentiment, certainly one shared by the Whigs, when he wrote to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough in 1703:

I can't say a word for the excusing the Dutch for the backwardness of their sea preparations this year; but if that, or any thing else, should produce a coldness between England and Holland, France would then gain their point, which I hope in God I shall never live to see; for our poor country would then be the miserablest part of all Christendom; for we should not only lose our liberty, but our religion also must be forced ...

'There are a thousand reasons for preserving our friendship with the Dutch', wrote Marlborough, 'for as we save them, so they must preserve us from the arbitrary power of [the Pretender]...'.⁵² Oldmixon wrote that Mainwaring was

a Whig and felt Whig principles 'were the foundation of our Constitution, as well as the Barrier of our Liberty. This made him always speak well of the Dutch, of whose Conduct he had a high Opinion. I have often heard him extol their Wisdom, Courage, and Steadiness: He us'd to speak with great Concern for them, when the Treaty of Utrecht was open'd, and he found they wou'd be forc'd to fall in with our dangerous and dishonourable Measures'.⁵³

However, Tory and Jacobite polemical language on the subject of the Dutch is very different. The Tory and Jacobite charges against the Dutch in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are conveniently summarized by the Tory author who remarked at vitriolic length on an 'unaccountable Sentence' by the Whig apologist Francis Hare:

Besides it must be own'd there is a great Probity, Plainness and Honesty both in the Dutch and Germans which appear in all the Affairs of Common Life. What a wonderful Discovery have we here of a thing that has been so long unknown to the World. The Probity, Plainness and Honesty of the Dutch. This is certainly his own Thought, he could never borrow it, for in my little Reading, I cannot call to Mind that ever I met with it before, he should have added their Religion to compleat the Character; and have sent us to Japan to enquire about it, if we could find no sati[s]factory Information nearer. Pumica [sic] fides grew into a Proverb among the Romans and has been in the latter Ages frequently apply'd to that honest Nation, so much resembling the Carthaginians, that another great Man speaking of them said, delenda est Carthago. There is scarce any corner of the World that has not furnish'd us with Instances of their Probity, Plainness and Honesty, witness Amboyna, Polloroon, Sumatra, Bantam and many other Places in the East-Indies; Guiana, Surinan, and others in the West; their Behaviour towards their Patroness Queen Elizabeth, the Fishery in our own Seas, and infinite other Instances, which I have not Leisure nor Inclination to repeat, nor should I take the least notice⁵⁴ of them were they not publickly known to all Mankind.

Jacobite polemicists such as Charles Leslie drew upon the accounts of the Dutch East India trade - an available, vital tradition of anti-Dutch prejudice in order to expose 'the truth' about the Dutch. Leslie's Delenda Carthago (1695?), a tract written in opposition to a continental land war against France and advising readers that the 'Fleet are the Walls of England. To Command at Sea, not to make Conquests by Land, is the true Interest of England', is primarily a violent indictment of the Dutch. Leslie substantiates his claim that 'No Treaties, no Alliances will, or ever did bind them to us, longer than till they could make an Advantage by us' by reminding readers of 'the Murder of the English at Amboyna ... and other Depredations in the East Indies. You may see a whole History of their Breach of Treaties, and most Barbarous and Perfidious Cruelties upon the English, By Dr. Stubbe, Printed in 1673'.⁵⁵ In A

Justification of the Present War. Against The United Netherlands and A Further Justification of the Present War Against The United Netherlands, violently anti-Dutch books written in support of the Dutch War to which Leslie refers and from which he quotes, Henry Stubbe presents historical evidence for an extreme polemical disjunction between a Dutchman and a law-abiding, civilized, Protestant Christian. This disjunction is a characteristic polemical strategy of Jacobite tracts in the 1690s and of the High Tory and Jacobite tracts of Anne's reign where the ideological and polemical enterprise was to indict Dutch principles in religion and government and to alienate English public opinion from the Dutch in order to prepare the nation for a peace with France.

Since Stubbe's books are an authority and source for Jacobite polemic against the Dutch with parallels in theme and detail in Swift's anti-Dutch writing, especially in the similar polemical points made in the satire of the Dutch in Gulliver's Travels (PW,XI,154-55,216-17), some illustrative passages may be quoted here. When Gulliver's petition to be excused the ceremony (performed by Dutchmen, one of whom he pretends to be) of 'trampling upon the Crucifix' in Japan was interpreted to the Emperor 'he seemed a little surprised; and said, he believed I was the first of my Countrymen who ever made any Scruple in this Point; and that he began to doubt whether I were a real Hollander or no; but rather suspected I must be a CHRISTIAN' (PW,XI,216). Stubbe claims that the Dutch by their actions in Japan and own confession are anti-

Christian:

I should injure Christendom to reckon the United Netherlands a part thereof; such are their practices, that 'tis a crime in them to profess that Religion ... the Dutch themselves have avowed it, and those that managed their Trade in Japan, when the Christians there (at the Instigation of the Dutch) were all by horrible tortures put to death, and every House-keeper enjoined to declare in writing, That he neither was a Christian, nor retained any Christians in his Family, Melchior à Santvoort, and Vincentius Romeyn, subscribed themselves that They were Hollanders: Most impiously for Lucre's sake declining that Profession of Christianity, to which Christ and his Apostles oblige them.

Stubbe reports that by the terms of their trade in Japan the Dutch must strictly refrain from any profession of Christianity:

Upon these terms the Emperor permitted them to trade thither; the Conditions were sent into Holland to be approved of there, it being added in the close of the Letter, That if they did make any of the least show, that they were Christians, they should not obtain any favour at the hands of the Emperor. And the Dutch have so exactly submitted to these Conditions, and do so absolutely in word and deeds dissemble their Christianity, that not only the common people, but the Rulers and Magistrates of Japan do really believe that they are as perfect Heathens as themselves.⁵⁶

While a Dutchman is satirized in Part III of Gulliver's Travels as worse than 'a Heathen' (PW, XI, 154-55), a Portuguese captain, 'Pedro de Mendez', is presented sympathetically as humane, moral and charitable in Part IV (PW, XI, 286-89). Much has been made of Don Pedro particularly in 'soft school' readings of the meaning of Part IV of Gulliver's Travels where he is seen sometimes to function as the satire's positive of moderation,⁵⁷ but it can be observed that the Portuguese appear positively in the anti-Dutch literature which the Jacobites and Tories culled. The good Portuguese captain has a polemical political provenance. Stubbe, for instance, makes the

following marginal comment in A Justification of the Present War. Against The United Netherlands:

The Portugueses refused to trade there [in Japan] upon those terms. Which are the best Christians, those Papists, or these Protestants? Is it not manifest that the Dutch are hereby [in the conditions of trade in Japan] obliged to deny themselves absolutely to be Christians, in case any Japanner doth put such a Question unto them?⁵⁸

The 'jabbering' Dutchman in Part III of Gulliver's Travels presages the Yahoos of the fourth voyage in his restless and mindless violence. The only difference we infer between Gulliver's reprobate 'Brother Christian' (PW, XI, 154-55) and his 'Brother Brutes in Houyhnhnmland' being that human Yahoos 'use a Sort of Jabber, and do not go naked' (PW, XI, 8). The Dutchman assails Gulliver 'with all the Curses and injurious Terms his Language could afford' (PW, XI, 155). Stubbe had described Dutch belligerence similarly and was willing to endorse the solution that Swift's Houyhnhnms would project for the Yahoos:

We do complain that these Netherlanders, who ... do so highly pretend to Piety and Protestancy, should violate all divine and humane Rules of Civility, that they rail instead of fighting, that they attacque us with contumelious language, and aggravate their unjust enmity with an insolence that is not to be endured ... and common humanity,⁵⁹ obligeth every one to endeavor their extirpation.

For Stubbe, the Dutch are only problematically part of the human species: 'whilst others behold the Dutch as Protestants and Christians, I cannot but rank them amongst the worst of mankind, not to be parallel'd by any known race of Pagans and Savages.⁶⁰

The example of the Dutch in Japan provides a rhetorical climax in Leslie's account of Dutch atrocity in the East Indies in Delenda Carthago. Leslie writes:

But above all things the most astonishing and down-right Diabolical, exceeding even the Treacherous and Bloudy Massacre of the English at Ambiyna, being done in time of Peace, and the chief Actors thereof justified and preferred by the States, when Complaint was made against them, and Justice demanded: But it exceeds all this, and all that ever was heard of any Nation which bore the name of Christian; the Wickedness of all Nations is exceeded by what the Dutch did, and still continue to do at Japan.

They incensed the Government there against the Christians who traded thither, representing them as People of dangerous Principles as to Government, and plotting of Insurrections: Whereby they procured the miserable Slaughter, with horrible Tortures and Torments, of above 400 000 Christians in that Kingdom, and denying themselves to be Christians (wherein some think they told no Lie) they, by that means, ingross the Trade of that wealthy Island to themselves.

And if they can dispense even with their Christianity, to promote their Trade; what Obligations can we [p]ut upon them that will make them false to their Supream God, Interest?⁶¹

These charges against the Dutch - their treachery and attrition against the English in the East Indies, their massacre of Englishmen at Amboyna (now Ambon in Indonesia), their abjuration of Christ in Japan - were repeated in the Tory and Jacobite tracts during the Tory Peace campaign. A most violent anti-Dutch pamphlet repeating such charges while deploring 'that Monstor, call'd Faction' was the Jacobite Robert Ferguson's An Account of the Obligations The States of Holland Have to Great-Britain, And The Return They Have Made Both in Europe and the Indies. With Reflections upon the Peace published soon after Swift's Conduct of the Allies in December 1711.⁶² In this work and in an earlier strident Jacobite book of 1696, the short title of which is A Brief Account of Some of the Late Incroachments and Depredations of the Dutch upon the English,⁶³ Ferguson explicitly linked Dutch treachery in the East Indies with their involvement in the Revolution. Ferguson wrote in A Brief Account:

Nor, will it be improper or unseasonable for me here, considering the present Juncture, and the Circumstances We of Great Brittain are now Reduced unto, to put my Country Men in remembrance that among other of the Motives upon which the Dutch Contrived and Promoted the Revolution, how that their Obviating and Preventing the Reckoning and Account, which King James was about calling them unto, for their Wresting Bantam by Fraud and Violence from the English East-India Company, was not only One, but that which most Influenced that Avarous and Rapacious Republick thereunto.⁶⁴

Charges of Dutch perfidy and violence against the English and their possessions in the East Indies and the recorded Dutch practice of trampling upon the Crucifix in Japan, a ceremony undertaken in order to secure trading privileges from the anti-Christian Japanese Emperor,⁶⁵ would seem to be conflated metaphorically by the Jacobite polemicist with the Prince of Orange's role in the Revolution:

[The Dutch] took Hold of, and Encouraged the Prince of Orange's Ambition, whom Pride had disposed and prepared to despise and transgress all the Laws of God, and to Trample upon all the Constitutions of Nations for the Gaining of a Crown; whose aspiring Haughtiness they resolved, in that Matter to Gratifie, in order to the Supporting themselves in the quiet Enjoyment, of what they had Treacherously, Unjustly and Rapaciously Seised ... the People of England ... might from the forementioned Depradation [sic] of the Dutch upon Us in the Business of Bantam, have very easily Foreseen and have naturally Concluded, how far they would Usurp upon Cheat and Rob us afterwards.⁶⁶

When in a Jacobite tract such as Ferguson's A Brief Account there are anticipations of some of the more audacious rhetorical strategies of Swift's Tory Peace pamphleteering it is not difficult to understand how contemporaries could read in works such as The Conduct of the Allies and Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty a rhetoric of Jacobitism. Swift in Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty connects Dutch atrocities in the East Indies with alleged Dutch military designs against Britain (PW,VI,97): Ferguson's

polemical argument in A Brief Account. Ferguson's reiterated use of 'Dutch King' or 'Belgick King' for William III,⁶⁷ anticipates Swift's reflection in The Conduct of the Allies that William 'although King of England, was a Native of Holland' (PW,VI,11). Jacobite political literature ceaselessly reminded readers that the House of Orange and the House of Hanover served Dutch and German interests at the expense of Britain's. Swift appropriates Jacobite Tory language in a sardonic attack on William III and on the Hanoverian dynasty in the later, violent 'Directions for a Birthday Song':

A skilfull Critick justly blames
 Hard, tough, cramp, gutt'rall, harsh, stiff Names.
 The Sense can ne're be too jejune,
 But smooth your words to fit the tune,
 Hanover may do well enough;
 But George, and Brunswick are too rough.
 Hesse Darmstedt makes too rough a sound,
 And Guelph the strongest ear will wound.
 In vain are all attempts from Germany
 To find out proper words for Harmony:
 And yet I must except the Rhine,
 Because it clinks to Caroline ...

Nassau, who got the name of glorious
 Because he never was victorious,
 A hanger on has always been,
 For old acquaintance bring him in.

(ll.209-20,251-54, Poems,II,467,
 468; see Complete Poems,pp.393,394 and notes pp.802,803)

Swift's declamation in the Conduct that 'we are thus become the Dupes and Bubbles of Europe' recalls the Jacobite's outburst against England's ruinous course in underwriting Dutch military expansion: 'a bubbling of this Kingdom'.⁶⁸ In Ferguson and Swift there are shared charges that England has become a tributary state of the Dutch, that England has been reduced to a dependence on the Dutch who have assumed a power to depose a King of England, that English expenditure of men and money

in continental war has only served to enlarge Dutch dominions.⁶⁹ Contemporaries certainly linked the older Jacobite texts of the 1690s and the anti-Dutch, Tory peace tracts of 1711-12.⁷⁰

It is not unlikely that Swift could have imbibed his anti-Dutch material from Jacobite and High Tory polemical writings.⁷¹ The themes and particular details of Swift's satire on the Dutch in Gulliver, for instance, evince some striking correspondences with Jacobite and Tory charges. Swift's satiric treatment of the Dutch would have been received by contemporaries as a production with such a political purpose. For example, the notorious 'massacre' of some Englishmen by the Dutch at Amboyna to which Swift alludes in Gulliver (PW,XI,217) was certainly in polemical currency in the early eighteenth century. Swift could have read about it in a voyage literature primary source such as Purchas His Pilgrimes.⁷² But in terms of polemical intention and contemporary reception it is important to note that Whigs ignored, understated, or extenuated such incidents in the East Indies while 'Amboyna' remained a centrepiece of the Jacobite and Tory rehearsal of Dutch atrocity and attrition in the 1690s and in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁷³ Swift's provocative, casually-intruded assumption that the Dutch are anti-Christian - the ironic disjunction between a Hollander and a Christian in Part III of Gulliver's Travels (PW,XI,154-55,216-17) - was the strident aspersion of Jacobite and Tory writers from the 1690s. In the 1720s, for instance, the Jacobite Tory journalist Nathaniel

Mist's Weekly Journal was rehearsing the accusations

against the Dutch in Japan. The Dutch

are charged with spiriting up the Massacre with the Natives of Japan, committed upon the Spaniards and Portuguese settled there, some Years since, but whether the Accusation be just, I cannot determine: Immediately after which Massacre, a Law was pass'd in that Country, which made it Death for any Christian to land there, or to attempt to settle any Trade or Commerce with them; immediately after which, it was observ'd, the Dutch settled a Factory at Magasaqui, the Capital of Japan; — and, it is said, being questioned at their first Coming, what Religion they were of, they answer'd they were Dutchmen? And, it seems, that to this Day the Japanez observe the Formality of searching every Dutch Ship which comes in for Christians, according to the Law before-mention'd, I cannot learn that ever they found any.⁷⁴

As an example of the 'enormities' committed by the Dutch on the English, Jacobite polemicists such as Leslie and Ferguson referred readers to particular cases of English ships despoiled by Dutch East-India ships. The case of William Courten and partners whose ship 'the Bona Esperanza', 'upon a very hopefull trading Voyage to China', was seized and confiscated 'by the depredation and hostile act of one Geland, Commander in chief of two Ships belonging to the East-India Company of the Netherlands ... in the Streights of Mallacca', and the seizure by the Dutch of the 'Henery Bonadventura' also belonging to the Englishmen became the subject of a long, notorious litigation (involving the Crown) between George Carew (administrator of the goods and chattels of Courten and partners) and the Dutch East India Company who refused reparation for damages sustained by the Englishmen.⁷⁵

Reading the tracts occasioned by the case and cited by contemporary polemicists, the reader finds reiterated charges which are clearly present in Swift's paradigm

of the perfidious Dutchman in Gulliver's Travels: that the Dutch behave like pirates, committing depredations upon English shipping in breach of oaths, peace treaties, the laws of nations and common humanity, and that they are worse than pagans.⁷⁶

Swift indeed may allude obliquely to this case in Gulliver's Travels. The case was notorious enough to be listed alongside 'Amboyna' in the pamphlet literature.⁷⁷ In Part III Gulliver sets out on a voyage to the East Indies on a ship called suggestively the 'Hope-well' (PW,XI,153).⁷⁸ Gulliver is made master of a sloop intending to traffic in the neighbouring islands to 'Tonquin'. Gulliver's boat, like the heavily laden 'Bona Esperanza' was chased by two ships - in the Travels they are 'Pyrates', in the case of Courten's ship it was two Dutch East-India boats acting like pirates. Gulliver's sloop is boarded by both the pirates and 'they pinioned us [Gulliver and the prostrate crew] with strong Ropes' (PW,XI,154). Through Gulliver Swift then begins his violent satire of the Dutch and their conduct in the East Indies (PW,XI, 154-55). Firstly, he makes the point that the Dutch have an influence over the Japanese authorities and exercise this power to the detriment of England. Swift then alludes acidly to the characteristic method of murder employed by the Dutch on Englishmen in the East Indies as made familiar to contemporaries in the anti-Dutch pamphleteering in England:

I OBSERVED among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some Authority, although he were not Commander of either Ship. He knew us by our Countenances to be Englishmen,

and jabbering to us in his own Language, swore we should be tyed Back to Back, and thrown into the Sea.

(PW,XI,154)

Charles Leslie, citing as his authority 'The Remonstrance of G. Carew, Esq; Printed 1662', gives an identical account of Dutch treatment of English commanders and crew in Delenda Carthago: 'and causing them to be tied back to back, they were cast into the Sea ... the Dutch ... went aboard the English Ships, and served every Man in the same manner'. Ferguson cites the seizure of Courten's ships and describes the Dutch method of murder: 'the Men tied back to back and thrown over-board, the Cargo seiz'd for the use of the States ... So much for the return they made us in the Indies, and that in time of Peace'. The circumstantial details of Dutch atrocity in the Carew case, often repeated in anti-Dutch polemic, are reproduced by Swift in his satire.⁷⁹ Swift then develops the familiar disjunction of Tory and Jacobite rhetoric between a Dutchman and a Christian and Protestant, thus undermining the usual Whig argument that Dutch-English friendship and alliance was necessary to safeguard European Protestantism. The Dutchman is shown violating international law and allied treaties. It is suggested that the Dutch procure the slaughter of Christians in Japan and that a heathen is better than a Dutch Protestant ally. The constant utterance of profane oaths by Swift's Dutchman (and the Japanese Captain's fidelity to his word) suggest that central charge of Tory and Jacobite polemic against the Dutch, namely, their flagrant abuse of oaths and alliances, and causeless belligerence against the English.⁸⁰

Gulliver's confrontation with the Dutchman may be seen then as a paradigm of the charges made in anti-Dutch East-India tracts and reiterated in the 1690s, during the Tory peace campaign, and later by Tory and Jacobite authors. Swift's satire of the Dutch in 1726 is sometimes seen by modern readers as gratuitous, an incidental satiric eruption reflecting Swift's personal animus. Scholars have laboured to show that even this gratuitous outburst says nothing against the Dutch that cannot be documented as derived from sources in 'voyage literature', geographical and historiographical writings. But the polemical nature of this anti-Dutch satire as an understood language of Jacobite Toryism would suggest that Swift designed to vex gentle readers of whiggish political persuasion. Swift perhaps also intended to gesture his disaffection with the Hanoverian court and Whig government in England. Swift's statement that Gulliver's Travels would be published 'when a Printer shall be found brave enough to venture his Eares' (Corr, III, 102) contains something of the histrionic and hyperbolic,⁸¹ but there is also an admission or revealing awareness that elements in the text were politically subversive.

Correspondences with High Tory and Jacobite polemic, witnessed in Swift's satire of the Dutch in Gulliver, can also be recognized in the earlier Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man (probably written in 1708 but published in 1711), a work generally regarded as politically 'moderate' (see PW, II, xv-xvi). Some striking rhetorical parallels between Swift's treatment of the Dutch here and the treatment

of the Dutch in the writings of the Jacobite High Churchman Charles Leslie, with whose work Swift was familiar (see Corr, I, 43), suggest deeper correspondences between Swift's political writing and High Tory and Jacobite polemic than is usually admitted in studies of Swift's biography and politics.

In the Sentiments Swift devotes a long paragraph to the example of the Dutch (PW, II, 7-8) which follows an argument in defence of Anglican uniformity in public life and the existing legal restrictions on the toleration of dissent against latitudinarian ecclesiology and the Lockean case for liberty of conscience (PW, II, 5-7). Locke's radical argument in A Letter Concerning Toleration in effect endorsed the idea of the Church as a disestablished, voluntary society, affirmed the people's right of godly armed resistance against the legislature and the tyranny of clerical persecution by statute, and would allow civil power to be vested in non-Christians.⁸² Swift intensely opposed the radical Lockean case for toleration disseminated by Matthew Tindal, whom Swift identified as an adherent of Locke's 'dangerous tenets' (see PW, II, 80, 97):

Sects, in a State, seem only tolerated, with any Reason, because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a Government, or so pure a Religion as ours, to use violent Methods against great Numbers of mistaken People, while they do not manifestly endanger the Constitution of either. But the greatest Advocates for general Liberty of Conscience, will allow that they ought to be checked in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be an Evil at all; or, which is the same Thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there should be none.

(PW, II, 5-6)

The 'Evil of Dissention' will remain 'while the Liberty

still continues of professing whatever new Opinions we please' (PW,II,6; compare PW,II,96,99). Swift would invent in Part IV of Gulliver's Travels a utopia of univocal reason where the evil of difference of opinion is unknown (PW,XI,267). In the Sentiments the extirpation of the sects is not considered realpolitik 'while they do not manifestly endanger the Constitution' although 'it were better for the Peace of the State, that there should be none'. He certainly approved 'violent Methods' in the interest of uniformity, however. In his unfinished and unpublished 'Remarks' on Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church, Swift sees Tindal's argument as giving ultimately 'un-bounded Licence to all Sects'. He juxtaposes this remark: 'if Heresies had not been used with some Violence in the primitive Age, we should have had, instead of true Religion, the most corrupt one in the World' (PW,II,103-04). Swift's particular objection to the argument 'that no Man should, on the Account of Conscience, be deprived the Liberty of serving his Country' because it is 'a Topick, which may be equally applied to admit Papists, Atheists, Mahometans, Heathens, and Jews' (PW,II,6-7; compare PW,II,88-89,115) can be found in High Church polemical literature in the political debate on toleration.⁸³

The acerbic analysis of the example of the Dutch at PW,II,7-8 is part of Swift's confutation of the Whig and dissenting case for a broadened Toleration and his exposure of Whig and Dissenter claims of persecution on account of religious opinion as a party shibboleth. Consideration of the juxtaposed case of Holland in this

context was routine in pamphlet controversy on Toleration, Schism, the Test Act and occasional conformity.⁸⁴ Swift's analysis of 'their crazy Constitution' is all the more effective for being presented in generally restrained, moderate, ostensibly 'objective' language. Indeed modern critics have read the passage as politically moderate. Swift's 'surprisingly moderate' position in the Sentiments is used as evidence for the biographical and critical interpretation that Swift's political views generally, and attitude to Holland in particular, gradually changed: that is, from a liberal and favourable view of Holland, an outcome perhaps of Sir William Temple's influence, Swift arrived at the hard-line Tory attitude that lies behind the satire of the Dutch in Gulliver's Travels. His association with the 1710-14 ministry and his High Church principles are seen as crucial factors contributing to his hardened attitude.⁸⁵ But this reading interprets a rhetoric of moderation in the Sentiments as actual meaning. Swift's violent opposition to the Dutch constitution in Church and State and dislike of the Dutch themselves, recorded in the unpublished 'Remarks' on Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church and in the marginalia of a copy of Burnet's History of His Own Times (see PW, II, 100-01, V, 275) are not far below the dispassionate rhetorical surface of the Sentiments.

Certainly Temple's presence in Swift's argument is apparent. Temple's Observations upon the United Provinces of The Netherlands (1673), an accepted English authority on the Dutch republic,⁸⁶ describes the Dutch people and

their dispositions, the country's situation, soil, natural wealth and so on. Swift in the Sentiments merely states the obvious deduction from a reading of the expository topics of Temple's Observations: 'Our Country differs from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil and Productions of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants' (PW,II,7). There are close similarities, for instance, in Temple's and Swift's accounts of the reasons the Dutch are a major trading nation. One of Temple's reasons for 'so prodigious a Success' in 'the Trade of this Countrey' is:

From the confluence of people out of Flanders, England, France, and Germany, invited by the Strength of their Towns, and by the Constitutions and Credit of their Government; by the Liberty of Conscience, and Security of Life and Goods...

Swift writes in the Sentiments:

That Confluence of People, in a persecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge nearest at Hand, put them upon the Necessity of Trade, to which they wisely gave all Ease and Encouragement.

(PW,II,7)

But Swift adds some arch-Tory twists to such a fact derived perhaps from Temple. The celebrated Dutch polity in Temple's account becomes 'a Place of Refuge nearest at Hand' in Swift's. Swift sets up a satiric contrast between the real persecution of European Protestants by Roman Catholic rulers and the limited political demands of these refugees and the spurious, party shibboleth of 'Persecution' cried up by the dissenters in England. He concedes that it is wise to encourage trade - to imitate the Dutch in this one particular - but his reason hardly displays liberalism or tolerance and is distinctly 'Tory' in its

opposition to Protestant immigration and approval of the imputed acquiescence of continental Protestants in their exclusion from offices in the state:

And, if we could think fit to imitate them in this last Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who seem to think no farther, than how to secure their Property and Conscience, without projecting any Share in that Government which gives them Protection; or calling it Persecution, if it be denied them.

(PW, II, 7)

Temple's Observations are crucially different in tone from Swift's passage in the Sentiments, though critics have read Swift as sharing Temple's (generally positive) attitude. As Sir George Clark noted of Temple's Observations 'No one could read his book without observing that it recommended the policy of co-operation with the Dutch, of which he had been the convinced representative'.⁸⁸ Temple, for instance, seeks to extenuate notorious Dutch perfidies that were alleged against them in the contemporary paper wars and reiterated acidly by Swift in Gulliver.

Temple wrote:

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their charge about their being Cruel, besides what we have so often heard, of their barbarous usage to some of our men in the East-Indies, and what we have so lately seen of their Savage Murther of their Pensioner De Wit ... But this Action of that people may be attributed to the misfortune of their Countrey; and is so unlike the appearance of their Customs and Dispositions, living as I saw them under the Orders and Laws of a quiet and settled State, that one must confess Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known that has not been seen in his Rage, as well as his Drink.

Whereas Temple is moderate and generally approving toward the Dutch, Swift's emphasis is disparaging and hostile. Temple is undoubtedly a primary source for Swift's 'factual' analysis and the reflective essayist's manner Swift adopts helps to give the Sentiments passage an

ostensible aloofness from any polemical or party purpose. But Swift's real purpose is a polemical act - to discredit Holland as an instructive example for England to imitate. So, for example, Temple points out the precarious military situation in which the free commonwealth originated and continues to exist, but Temple's 'moral' is instructively different from Swift's. Temple, in the preface to his Observations, writing precipitately of the fall of the United Provinces, beholds it almost 'reduced in a manner to its first Principles of Weakness and Distress ... the remainders of their State rather kept alive by neglect or disconcert of its Enemies, than by any strength of Nature'. After an historical relation of the rise and progress of the United Provinces, Temple reflects:

no State was ever born with stronger throws, or nurst up with harder fare, or inur'd to greater labours or dangers in the whole course of its youth; which are circumstances that usually make strong and healthy bodies: And so this has proved, having never had more than one Disease break out, in the space of Ninety three years, which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of Utrecht, enter'd by the Provinces in 1579.

Though he, typically, diagnoses the disease of factionalism that may corrupt this strong and healthy body politic:

But this Disease, like those of the Seed or Conception in a natural body, Though it first appear'd in Barnevelt's time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with Spain, and seemed to end with his death (who was beheaded not many years after); yet has it ever since continued lurking in the veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions, that seem to favour the predominancy of the one or other Humour in the Body; And under the Names of the Prince of Orange's, and the Arminian Party, has ever made the weak side of this State; and whenever their period comes, will prove the occasion of their Fall.⁹⁰

Temple is pessimistic, but there is qualified admiration for the States here. Swift in the Sentiments, while reading

superficially like the judicious Temple, removes the positive reference, keeps the negative analysis, and achieves a fine diminution of the Dutch through strategically reductive diction:

They are a Commonwealth, founded on a sudden, by a desperate Attempt in a desperate Condition, not formed or digested into a regular System, by mature Thought and Reason, but huddled up under the Pressure of sudden Exigences; calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto subsisting by Accident in the Midst of contending Powers, who cannot yet agree about sharing it amongst them. These Difficulties do, indeed, preserve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Constitution would extreamly subject them to in a long Peace.

(PW, II, 7)

The italicized 'yet' and such epithets as 'desperate' and 'crazy' disrupt the surface moderation and neutrality and reveal the presence of the Tory partisan.

How Swift could use Temple's well-known analyses to subvert a whiggish position (the case for an extension of the toleration) is illustrated a little later in Section I of the Sentiments:

And thus, even in Holland it self, where it is pretended that the Variety of Sects live so amicably together, and in such perfect Obedience to the Magistrate; it is notorious, how a turbulent Party joining⁹¹ with the Arminians, did, in the Memory of our Fathers, attempt to destroy the Liberty of that Republick.

(PW, II, 12)

Swift's use of Temple and the historical record here gives some insight into what Swift understood by 'Liberty'. It is worth observing of this passage that Swift (a High Anglican in religion who would have been generally sympathetic to an Arminian doctrinal position against Calvinist predestinarianism)⁹² identifies the active agents of civil dissension and rebellion ('a turbulent Party') as the Orangist party. Temple's Observations provides a gloss (as well as phraseology) for Swift's passage

and was a work with which Swift could expect his politically-informed readers to be familiar. After describing the dissension between 'the Prince of Orange's, and the Arminian Party' as Holland's fatal weakness, Temple explains:

The ground of this Name of Arminian was, that whilst Barnevelt's Party accused those of the Prince of Orange's, as being careless of their Liberties ... So those of the Princes Party, accused the others, as leaning still, and looking kindly upon their old Servitude, and relishing the Spaniard both in their Politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by being generally Arminians (which was esteemed the middle part between the Calvinist and the Roman Religion). And besides these mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, One of the true and purer Reformed Religion [ie. the Orangist Party]; and the other, of the true and freer Liberties of the State [ie. the Arminian Party].⁹³

Swift rejects 'any great Separation from the established Worship' even if the justification is a desire for a religion 'more pure and perfect' (PW,II,11). Swift's positive is 'perfect Obedience to the Magistrate'.

Significantly, 'the whole Body of Puritans in England, drawn to be the Instruments, or Abettors of all Manner of Villany, by the Artifices of a few Men, whose Designs, from the first, were levelled to destroy the Constitution, both of Religion and Government' are paralleled by Swift with the anti-Arminian, Prince of Orange's party which, like the Puritans, sought a 'more pure and perfect' worship, and as Swift presents them, threw off obedience to the magistrate and attempted 'to destroy the Liberty of that Republick' (PW,II,12).

Swift's version in the Sentiments is essentially the same as that expounded at greater length by the Jacobite Tory High Churchman and historian Thomas Carte in A General History of England (1747-55). Carte wrote that after

the death of Arminius 'Prince Maurice put himself at the head of the Calvinists; and John Olden Barnevelt, a man of quality, and a true patriot, who had done eminent services to his country on many occasions, suspecting him of a design to make himself absolute master of the United Provinces, espoused the cause of the Arminians, in hopes of being able, by their assistance, to disappoint the prince's measures'. Maurice became Prince of Orange and 'by an arbitrary illegal force' dispossessed Arminians of the magistracy and church. The Prince of Orange's 'violence was absolutely necessary for his own design of destroying Barnevelt (who was always on the watch against any incroachment on the liberties of his country, and whose credit in the states rivalled the prince's power) and for the views of his party, who wanted to have their adversaries condemned by a national council. This could not be attempted with success, whilst the Arminians were possessed of the charges and churches within the four provinces of Hollande ...'. At the synod of Dort 'Barnevelt' 'in contempt of the fundamental laws of the Belgic liberty, was beheaded' and Grotius imprisoned by the Calvinist Orangist party.⁹⁴ Swift describes in the Sentiments, as Carte later did in volume four of his Tory History, how in England and in Holland a Calvinist revolutionism subverted religious and political liberty in the state.

For contemporary readers habituated to political discourse in an historical idiom and sensitive to the potential relevance and polemical signification of historical dissertation, Swift's passage in the Sentiments on the

Orangist party's attempted destruction of Dutch liberty may have contained an implicit analogy between the conduct of the Prince Maurice and Prince William of Orange. Swift observes later in the Sentiments that 'the Abdication of King James' which nonjurors and Jacobites regarded as 'forcible and unjust' was 'perhaps not without the Privity of the Prince of Orange; as reasonable concluding, that the Kingdom might better be settled in his Absence' (PW,II,20). It is difficult to tell whether Swift is sincere or sardonic here, although many years later he would reflect scurrilously on the Revolution as a coup effected by William's supporters (Poems,II,468) and in the marginalia of a copy of Burnet's History of His Own Times he agreed with the contemporary Jacobite position that Prince William 'designed to get the crown' (PW,V,288). In Swift's casuistical account of James's 'Abdication' or 'Departure' in which the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance is not seen to be in question, he is officially subscribing to a contemporary conservative Anglican Tory interpretation of the events of 1688-89.⁹⁵ Swift's Tory politics are nowhere more clear than in his desire in the argument of the Sentiments to preserve intact the doctrine of absolute non-resistance, that under no 'Pretence whatsoever' was it 'lawful to resist the supreme Magistrate' (PW,II,16). For most subjects the question of passive obedience is not concerned in the events of 1688-89, 'I think a Man may observe every Article of the English Church, without being in much Pain about [the Abdication of King James]' . Whatever

the manner of James's 'Removal', it was the supposition of 'the Throne to be vacant, which was the Foot the Nation went upon' at the Revolution (PW,II,20). The Tory High Churchman, Henry Sacheverell, had made the same insistence in the notorious sermon, The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State (1709) which had provoked a Whig government prosecution:

How often must they be told, that the King Himself solemnly Disclaim'd the Least Imputation of Resistance in his Declaration; and that the Parliament declar'd, That they set the Crown on his Head, upon no other Title, but that of the Vacancy of the Throne? And did they not Unanimously condemn to the Flames, (as it justly Deserv'd) that Infamous Libel, that would have Pleaded the Title of Conquest, by which Resistance was suppos'd? So Tender were they of the Regal Rights, and so⁹⁶ averse to infringe the least Tittle of Our Constitution!

But there is a radical, potentially Jacobite implication of unjust deposition in Swift's remark that 'It is not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for [James II's] Departure, and perhaps not without the Privity of the Prince of Orange; as reasonably concluding, that the Kingdom might better be settled in his Absence'. Swift declaims against the 'improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation' by writers in the Jacobite interest that a regicide was James II's intended fate in 1688, 'Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for the ignominious Murder'. But in the Sentiments the insinuation that James II was forcibly removed or deposed in a court coup remains in the ostensibly unresolved question: 'whether his Removal were caused by his own Fears, or other Mens Artifices' (PW,II,20). The echo here of 'the Artifices of a few Men' (PW,II,12) made

earlier in the Sentiments with reference to the political and religious extremists Swift saw as directing the Puritans in a designed destruction of the constitution in Church and State, suggests that Swift on some level does link, as he says Jacobite polemicists do, James II's 'Removal' (in which he reasons the Prince of Orange had some degree of complicity) and the rebellion against Charles I.

Swift uses Temple's pro-Dutch Observations in the Sentiments for his own anti-Dutch polemical purposes. From Temple, an ideologue of religious toleration,⁹⁷ Swift was able to find evidence that the liberty of the Dutch republic depended upon perfect obedience to the magistrate and established worship and was able to identify the threat to liberty with the actions of a Calvinist Orangist party seeking a 'more pure and perfect' worship in a clash with Arminians. Whereas Temple clearly regards Holland as the remarkable nation of Christendom in its civil government and religious policy, Swift subversively regards England's not Holland's ecclesiology as the prodigy of 'Christendom' in the degree of toleration afforded dissenters (PW,II,7-8).

Temple's exposition of the very different Dutch constitution and disposition of the people, his observation that Roman Catholics were 'not admitted to any Publick Charges',⁹⁸ and that toleration of sects depended upon the magistrate being satisfied that 'their Opinions, and manners of Worship' are not 'destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitutions of their State',⁹⁹ could obviously be put to polemical use by post-

Revolution Tory writers seeking to keep the Test and Corporation Acts in full force and to restrict (and Whigs claimed to abolish) the legal Toleration of dissenters.

Temple's Observations are the distinguished authority for the Tory extremist William Baron's anti-Dutch, anti-dissenting writings. Baron in The Dutch Way of Toleration, Most Proper for our English Dissenters (1698) wrote:

the Question ... propounded ... How it comes to pass the Dutch live in so much Peace and Quiet, notwithstanding the many Perswasions tolerated amongst them? Which may be clearly answered in very few Words; viz. because no such troublesome, uneasie People, as aforementioned, have to do in the Government. And I have sometimes admir'd our great Sticklers for Liberty, and Toleration, who upon all occasions are too forward in crying up the Low-Country Model ... And that you may give the greater Credit to what I shall say herein, it shall not depend upon my sole Authority (though it was my chief Enquiry during some Years abode there) but have the Confirmation of Sir William Temple's Observations upon those Provinces; which, as I think it was the first, so 'tis, generally believed, the exactest Piece we have had from that Ingenious Gentleman; Clear Matter of Fact, without that partiality and by-respect, which many times is not avoided by such as pretend most thereunto.¹⁰⁰

Temple's observation that no sect in Holland is tolerated if it is 'destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitution of their State' is used by Swift in the Sentiments to put a distinctly Tory polemical case:

I will suppose any of the numerous Sects in Holland, to have so far prevailed as to have raised a Civil War, destroyed their Government and Religion, and put their Administrators to Death; after which, I will suppose the People to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old Foundation: Then I would put a Query; whether that Sect, which was the unhappy Instrument of all this Confusion, could reasonably expect to be entrusted for the future with the greatest Employments; or, indeed, to be hardly tolerated among them?

(PW, II, 8)

Swift's key argument discrediting the Dutch model as used by Whig and dissenting writers is that the Dutch

are exclusivist, strictly limiting the degree to which dissenters are tolerated:

The Dutch, whose Practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conscience, have yet a National Religion, professed by all who bear Office among them.

The Dutch sects it is implied, unlike English dissenters, do not project 'any Share in that Government which gives them Protection; or [call] it Persecution, if it be denied them'. Swift is clearly antipathetic to Toleration (or as he calls it in typically Tory language an 'Indulgence') and is certainly against any further liberalization:

'our Sects are not so numerous as those in Holland; which I presume is not our Fault; and I wish may not be our Misfortune'. Swift does speak of 'the Honour of our Administration' in exceeding the world in toleration by allowing occasional conformity, but 'Honour' is rendered ambiguous by Swift's subsequent identification of the modern dissenters with the Civil War regicides and by his wondering whether the liberal Dutch would 'hardly' tolerate such radical subversives (PW,II,7-8).

Swift's argument here can be found in the polemical writings of Charles Leslie, for example, in the notorious The New Association ... (1702), a violent High Church Tory tract which was explicitly 'personated' by Daniel Defoe in The Shortest Way with the Dissenters. Swift may have had this pamphlet in mind when he refers to Leslie's violent papers against latitudinarians and dissenters in a letter to Tisdall (Corr,I,43,3 February 1704) and mentions 'the Papers published by Mr. Lesly' in the Sentiments (PW,II,13). Contemporaries regarded

the Jacobite Leslie's work as an extreme Tory attack on the Toleration. It is an uncompromising defence of a prescriptive High Anglican hegemony in Church and State. Leslie (like Swift in the Sentiments) defends the existing legal restrictions on the Toleration, identifies the modern dissenters with the Civil War regicides, and has no sympathy with 'their Great Pretence of Tender Consciences, and Persecution for Conscience-sake'. There is a considerable digression examining the case of Holland:

Well but here is Holland behind, one of our Allies: And ['Restraining of the Dissenters here'] wou'd disoblige them.

What wou'd? To grant the same Toleration here that is allowed there? viz. That none who keep to any other Communion of Religion than that Established by the States, shall be capable of any Office or Publick Employment in the State. They could not be offended with Us for what they do themselves. And they well know the Reason and Necessity of it. That it is this which keeps their Government Entire and Secure. If all the Various Sects there Tolerated, were let in to Compose their Assembly of States, they would soon find themselves what we are, a Nation divided.

Leslie's position is identical to Swift's. 'But above all things', writes Leslie, 'these Men [the dissenters] are to be kept out of any Share in the Legislature ... not till then, the Dissenters will be as Peaceable with us, as they are in Holland, where they complain of Persecution. They think they are very well dealt with, to have a free Toleration for their Religion, though they are totally excluded from the Legislature, or bearing any Publick Office in the Government'.¹⁰¹ Clearly Swift's discussion of the Dutch example in the Sentiments would have been associated by contemporaries with such analyses and understood to be a Tory polemical act. Whigs offered a totally opposite analysis of Holland as pluralist and

without religious restrictions on public office holders.¹⁰²

The appropriation of Temple's authority in Tory anti-Dutch polemic, like the appearance of that eclectic radical Henry Stubbe¹⁰³ as a quoted authority in the work of the High Churchman Charles Leslie, well illustrates the opportunistic and adventitious borrowing that takes place in political argument in Swift's period. The presence of Temple, Molesworth and Locke, for instance, in Swift's political writing against Whig policies is too readily assumed in Swift studies to imply Swift's underlying identification with 'Whig' ideologues when what we may be witnessing is audacious polemical strategy rather than political conviction. Certainly in his treatment of the Dutch Swift can be seen confronting Whig political and religious ideas and deploying what contemporaries would have understood as a Jacobite Tory polemical language.

CODA: GROTIAN HIGH CHURCHMAN

In his great satires and poetry and prose on affairs of state, Swift can be understood as saying what Jacobites and Tories were saying. Swift's attitude to Jacobitism is not without ambivalence. Perhaps in the long Hanoverian winter of Tory discontent, the 'Honest Dean' may have enjoyed an occasional 'Honest Claret' (Corr, IV, 55, 470). Swift told Charles Wogan, the Irish Jacobite exile who had dramatically rescued Clementina Sobieska from incarceration by the Austrian Emperor and who was in Jacobite service under the Duke of Ormonde, that he highly esteemed 'those Gentlemen of Ireland, who, with all the Disadvantages

of being Exiles and Strangers, have been able to distinguish themselves by their Valour and Conduct in so many Parts of Europe' (Corr,IV,51). Swift habitually traces corruptions in the modern polity to the Revolution of 1688-89. An Humble Address to Both Houses of Parliament. By M. B. Drapier (first published in 1735) remarks roundly: 'whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his Thoughts to observe the Course of publick Affairs in this Kingdom, from the Time of the Revolution; must acknowledge, that the highest Points of Interest and Liberty, have been often sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of particular Persons' (PW,X,120-21).

The Revolution and post-Revolution order are the subject of homiletic reflection in 'A Sermon Upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I. Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30, 1725-6'. One of the consequences of 'that abominable rebellion and murder', the Dean of St. Patrick's told his congregation, was that the future James II while in enforced exile 'was seduced to Popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad'. This bold reference to the catastrophe of the Williamite Revolution regime subversively prefaces the dutiful reference to 'Our deliverance' which 'was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry'. There is in the next sentence implied, critical allusion to William's less than glorious motives and the national guilt despite the Providential permission

of the Revolution: 'It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: And God gave him greater success than our sins deserved' (PW,IX,223-24). Many True or Old Whigs saw the Revolution and subsequent settlement as a lost radical opportunity, Swift saw it rather as being but only too radical, activating a Genevan republican spirit that undermined 'the true fundamentals both of religion and government' (PW,VII,5). As historian, Swift evokes a pre-Revolution Stuart age of peace and prosperity and describes the Revolution's new financial order and the institution of a National Debt as a politic Court Whig-Dutch expedient to further Williamite ambitions at English expense. Swift wrote in The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen:

BY all I have yet read of the History of our own Country, it appears to me, That National Debts secured upon Parliamentary Funds of Interest, were things unknown in England before the last Revolution under the Prince of Orange ... When the Prince of Orange was raised to the Throne, and a general War began in those Parts of Europe, the King and his Counsellors thought it would be ill Policy to commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon the People, who had lived long in Ease and Plenty, and might be apt to think their Deliverance too dearly bought.

William engaged in war against the will of 'even the Convention-Parliament, that put the Crown upon his Head' (PW,VII,68). The Williamite Court cultivated

a money'd Interest; because the Gentry of the Kingdom did not very much relish those New Notions in Government, to which the King, who had imbibed his Politicks in his own Country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that Prince think National Incumbrances to be any Evil at all; since the flourishing Republick, where he was born, is thought to Owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay.

(PW,VII,69)

The maxims of 'a Commonwealth so crazily instituted' cannot be prescribed for the British monarchy. 'I WAS moved to speak thus', the historian writes, 'because I am very

well satisfied, That the pernicious Counsels of borrowing Money upon publick Funds of Interest, as well as some other State-Lessons, were taken indigested from the like Practices among the Dutch' (PW,VII,69). In 1722 Swift was linking 'that scheme of politicks, (now above thirty years old) of setting up a monied Interest in opposition to the landed' with the financial mismanagement and corruption - the 'Funds of Credit and South-sea Projects' - experienced under Hanoverian Whig rule (PW,IX,32). Significantly, Gulliver begins his account of the state of England to the Houyhnhnm Master - a shocking catalogue of flagitious institutional corruption - with 'the Revolution under the Prince of Orange; the long War with France entered into by the said Prince' (PW,XI,245).

There may be oblique, disparaging reflection on the proceedings of the 1689 Convention in Swift's attack on 'publick Conventions' in A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome (Discourse, pp.120-21). Swift's account of the reign of King Stephen in his unfinished 'History of England' contains covert reflection on the proceedings of the 1689 Convention parliament in breaching the oath of allegiance to James II and electing William to the throne:

Stephen [was] elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was swayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the security whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in constant dependance, would be less tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full

security by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people ...

(PW,V,48; see also V,50,52-53,242)¹⁰⁴

In Gulliver's Travels Swift does not specifically reflect on the motives and proceedings of William and his supporters in 1688-89 and so does not expose himself to prosecution for seditious libel. But history is corrected in Glubbudrib and Gulliver speaks generally of being 'truly informed of the Springs and Motives of great Enterprizes and Revolutions in the World' (PW,XI,199), which perhaps looks 'like an Inuendo'.

Though a juring clergyman, Swift is discontented with the Revolution ecclesiastical Settlement (see Exam, pp.125-36; PW,XII,271). The growth of irreligion is associated with the Revolution (PW,IV,30). In the Memoirs of Capt. John Creichton (1731) which Swift prepared for the press there is clearly editorial sympathy with the views and conduct of the Jacobite soldier. Creichton offers this apology for his conduct at the Revolution:

I am conscious, that many People, who are in another Interest, may be apt to think and speak hardly of me: But I desire they would please to consider, that the Revolution was then an Event altogether new, and had put many Men, much wiser than myself, at a loss how to proceed. I had taken the Oath of Allegiance to King James; and, having been bred up under the strictest Principles of Loyalty, could not force my Conscience to dispense with that Oath, during his Majesty's Life. All those Persons of Quality in Scotland, to whom I had been most obliged, and on whom I chiefly depended, did still adhere to that Prince. Those People, whom, from my Youth, I had been taught to Abhor; whom, by the Commands of my Superiors, I had constantly treated as Rebels; and who consequently conceived an irreconcilable Animosity against me; were, upon this great Change, the highest in Favour and Employments. And lastly, the established Religion in Scotland, which was

Episcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always born the highest Veneration, was now utterly destroyed in that Kingdom; (although preserved in the other Two) and the Presbyterian Kirk, which had ever been my greatest Aversion, exalted in its Stead.

(PW,V,168)

The Revolution is also associated with cultural decline in Swift's writing. For example, modern corrupt refinement in polite language is dated from 'the Time of the Revolution' (PW,IV,106), as is the neglect of philology (PW,IV,231). Swift's idiom on the Revolution Settlement discloses disturbing disaffection rather than the axiomatic approval often alleged in modern Swift studies. It can also be noted that Swift's argument that the Tory party was not Jacobite at George I's accession but was driven toward disaffection and Pretenderism by the violence of the Hanoverian Whig regime (PW,VIII,165,173) was the line of argument deployed in the contemporary Jacobite press.¹⁰⁵ Of course, as I have pointed out, Swift's official ideological position was that the private subject owed allegiance and passive obedience to the powers that be - the sovereign legislature of king in possession with the consent of parliament: a conservative quietism he outlined in letters to friends suspected of Jacobitism such as Pope, Chetwode and Sheridan (Corr,II,213; II,384; III,67). As the paper war occasioned by William Higden's A View of the English Constitution, with Respect to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject (1709) and his Defence (1710) makes clear, this Swift-Higden view is ideologically neither Jacobite nor Revolution Whig. It regards post-Revolution government as a legal settlement and prescribes submission to established government

(thus it is not Jacobite) but it leaves a residual unwhiggish ambiguity about the constitutional legality of the actual Revolution and continues to insist on the doctrine of non-resistance.¹⁰⁶ Tory proponents of the doctrine of non-resistance to the tripartite legislature who accepted the Revolution settlement were discomforted by the rigorous legalism of nonjurors who argued that only the King, Lords and Commons could make and repeal law and that the Convention parliament at the Revolution did not constitute the supreme legislature. As I will indicate, when directly confronting this problem Swift capitulates to a Grotian conservative natural rights position of resistance in extremis - that the doctrine of non-resistance is the rule but an exception can be allowed in an extreme case of necessity.

The paradoxical amalgam of reactionary and radical strands in Swift's political writing, commonly observed in Swift scholarship, largely derives from polemical contingency. The post-Revolution Tory or Church party for whom Swift engaged in the contemporary paper wars, although the traditional royalist party, found itself in opposition to the Court during the reigns of James II and William III and literally proscribed from the establishment under the Hanoverian monarchs. The apogee of Tory ideological claims of monarchical sovereignty was in Restoration Royalism. While Hereditary Right and Stuart loyalism were still resilient in the Jacobite mainstream, monarchism in Tory polemic could be said to have reached its nadir after the Hanoverian accession. Tories appropriated Country and radical languages. Mist's

Weekly Journal of 7 October 1727 discussed the principles of Whig and Tory and argued that Tory principles had been consistent from the party's genesis in Charles II's reign to the present. The paper expounds the principles of the present 'Tories' in a rhetorical question:

If therefore, those who are distinguished by that Name at this Day, are for allowing the Crown as much Power as will keep it safe from Insult or Contempt; but are against giving it such a Power as may make it appear terrible and dangerous to Liberty: If they are for hindering the Church from being insulted, as well by Fanaticks on one Side as Papists on the other; if they are for calling Ministers to an Account for publick Money and private Treaties; if they are Enemies to Bribery and Corruptions in Ministers and Senates; if they talk against Standing Armies, and against exorbitant Taxes, and for preserving the Constitution in its natural Order and Beauty; - I say, if they argue for all these Things when they are out of Power, how have they changed their Principles? If it be demonstrable, that their Writings, their Sentiments, and their Conduct, had the same Tendency when they were in Power.

Mist's Weekly Journal of 14 October 1727 depicts the Whigs as ideological supporters of the Interregnum Commonwealth, but absolutists when the monarchy is engaged against the Church interest, as in the later part of James II's reign. Gulliver's Travels in its topical aspect is a 'Tory' radical critique of Hanoverian establishment. Its imaginative extremism places it at the margins of permitted expression.

The conservative and libertarian elements co-existing in paradoxical compound in Swift's political thought also reflect the conservative natural rights strand, and particularly the presence of the great Hugo Grotius, in his eclectic intellectual inheritance. The general and specific influence of the great polymath Hugo Grotius and the conservative natural rights school on Swift is a large topic which has been almost totally neglected

in Swift studies and which would require a separate study. But I can suggest here the influence of conservative natural rights thinking in a crucial area of Swift's political thought - his views on the legitimacy of resistance. Attitudes to the right of resistance being the major ideological difference between the Whig and Tory parties and a point on which Swift is often interpreted, quite inaccurately, as Whig.

It is important in reading Swift to recognize that contemporary Tory clerics writing on government such as John Sharp, Francis Atterbury, Offspring Blackall, William Higden and George Berkeley accepted the Revolution but continued to subscribe to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. For them the legislature was the sovereign supreme authority in the state to which the subject was to submit. A King ruling with the consent of parliament was King de facto and de jure.¹⁰⁷ Some post-Revolution Tories, as Mark Goldie has demonstrated, subscribed in effect to a conservative natural rights ideological position. In the allegiance controversy of 1689 and later, Tories allowed resistance in extremis and admitted the Revolution as a case of necessity.¹⁰⁸ During the Hanoverian 'usurpation' Jacobite political argument appropriated a radical Whig rhetoric of contractual resistance and even of justified regicide.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, resistance principles associated with Whigs and Dissenters were routinely deplored in Tory literature. The Jacobite Tory William Oldisworth in his answer to Tindal's The Rights of the Christian Church animadverted:

there's as much Difference between the Right of Self-

defence, and your Right of judging, executing, recalling Representations, and altering the Government to what Form the Multitude pleases, as between the Glorious Revolution we have had, and those many Imaginary Revolutions, that are now working in your Pericranium.

Resistance in extraordinary circumstances where the constitution is threatened is justifiable, but passive obedience to the supreme tripartite legislature is enjoined on subjects. 'The whole of every Government is certainly Absolute' writes Oldisworth but he acknowledges that

Grotius does indeed take away Passive Obedience in those Cases, where the Supremacy is shar'd among more than one, and there it must be regulated according to the Limits and Extent of such a Partition: but he exacts it in the severest Manner from all those, ¹¹⁰ who are excluded from and plac'd under the Supremacy.

Whig Revolution principles are a principal subject of satire in John Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull (1712) and an incidental entertainment in the satiric comedy of John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728), the satiric masterpieces of Swift's Scriblerian friends. Arbuthnot allegorizes resistance theory as marital infidelity. The History of John Bull parodies Whig Revolution principles as expressed in the Whig prosecution speeches at the Sacheverell Trial in 1710 in 'Mrs. Bull's Vindication of the indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom, incumbent upon Wives, in case of the Tyranny, Infidelity, or Insufficiency of Husbands: Being a full Answer to the Doctor's Sermon against Adultery'. Contractual resistance is cuckoldom. High Church Tory doctrines of passive obedience and absolute, unlimited non-resistance are 'absolute unlimited Chastity, and conjugal Fidelity'. The resistance in extremis argument becomes 'The general Exhortations to Chastity in Wives, are meant only for Rules in ordinary Cases'. For Whigs

the Revolution involved necessary resistance. Sacheverell's assertion that the subject owed unconditional obedience to the supreme power and that resistance is illegal was interpreted by the Whig prosecution to be an attempt to undermine the foundation of the Williamite and Queen Anne establishment. Arbuthnot's allegory, however, displays Whig argument as moral bankruptcy and a subversive claim for permissive infidelity. To assert 'the Illegality of Cuckoldom, upon any Pretence whatsoever' and 'an absolute unconditional Fidelity', Mrs. Bull thinks, strikes at the foundation of a 'married State'.¹¹¹ The 'Doctrine of unlimited Chastity and Fidelity' divides Wives into 'two great Parties', between those who subscribe to it and those who refuse 'to part with their native Liberty'. Arbuthnot admits that in practice 'the distinction was more nominal than real' and refers to 'an ingenious Treatise' entitled 'Good Advice to Husbands' which reports the case of a 'foolish and negligent Husband, who trusting to the Efficacy of this Principle, was undone by his Wife's Elopement from him'.¹¹² The Church of England is represented as 'a zealous preacher up of Chastity, and Conjugal Fidelity in Wives, and by no means a Friend to the new-fangl'd Doctrine of the Indispensable Duty of Cuckoldom'.¹¹³

For the majority of Church Tories who had accepted William of Orange on the terms of his Declaration and who, after the crisis of conscience caused by the transfer of the crown, publicly conformed to the Revolution settlement, the 'Elopement' could not be allowed to discredit the principle of non-resistance or give ideological ascendancy

to whiggish radical Protestant political principles.¹¹⁴

In The Beggar's Opera, Gay may be casting a hostile glance at Whig Revolution principles, and perhaps specifically at Walpole and the late Gilbert Burnet, when the familiar language of resistance and conquest used in controversy about the legitimacy of the Revolution is associated in the play with receivers of stolen goods and highwaymen. At the Trial of Doctor Sacheverell, Walpole approved 'the Necessary and Commendable Resistance used at the Revolution'. The nation sought to preserve itself in the 'utmost Necessity'.¹¹⁵ In Act I, Scene XI of Gay's play, Peachum and Mrs. Peachum decide it is their duty to take measures to ensure that Macheath is hanged. However, Peachum (one of the characters through whom Gay was understood to be satirizing Walpole) hesitates to undertake to have Macheath 'taken off'. Mrs. Peachum soon resolves him: 'But in a Case of Necessity - our own Lives are in danger'.¹¹⁶ In Act II, Scene I, the highwayman, Jemmy Twitcher, uses the language of just war and conquest to assert his right to possessions acquired in armed robbery:

But the present Time is ours, and no Body alive hath more.
Why are the Laws levell'd at us? are we more dishonest
then the rest of Mankind? What we win, Gentlemen, is our
own by the Law of Arms, and the Right of Conquest.¹¹⁷

Phrases such as 'Case of Necessity' and 'Law of Arms, and the Right of Conquest' placed by Gay in a satiric, disreputable light were perhaps more familiar to contemporaries in the context of controversy about the legitimacy of the Revolution. Charles Blount's notorious justification of the Revolution - that William ruled by right of conquest over James - was denounced by a Williamite

tract in 1693 as imputing William 'to be Entitled that Greatest of Robbers'.¹¹⁸ For Jacobites, of course, William's rule was founded in robbery. Dryden, for instance, alludes to the Revolution as an illegal conquest in Amphitryon when Jupiter, a favourite surrogate in Jacobite literature for William III, declares:

In me (my charming Mistris) you behold
 A Lover that disdains a Lawful Title;
 Such as of Monarchs to successive Thrones:
 The Generous Lover holds by force of Arms;
 And claims his Crown by Conquest.¹¹⁹

Whig conquest theory is enshrined in Gilbert Burnet's History of His Own Time when he wrote that William's 'success against King James gave him the right of conquest over him and by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince'. As I have noted, Swift in a marginal comment on this passage very interestingly (since his 'Ode to the King' represents William's military victory over James and the theory is considered in the 'Ode to Sancroft') rejects conquest as a justification of the Revolution. Alluding to Burnet's A Pastoral Letter (1689) condemned by the House of Commons and burned in 1693, Swift remarked: 'The author wrote a paper to prove this, and it was burnt by the hangman, and is a very foolish scheme'.¹²⁰ As Frank H. Ellis observes, Gilbert Burnet, 'eminence grise of the Revolution, and William's latitudinarian bishop of Salisbury, was a frequent target for Tory satirists in four reigns'.¹²¹ Bishop 'Burnt' as he was called after the fate of his Pastoral Letter was a favourite target of the Scriblerian satirists.¹²² Gay may have had the great Whig Father and the Whig 'prime minister' in mind when the criminal provenance of 'Right

of Conquest' and the language of Resistance is dramatized in The Beggar's Opera.

For Swift it was axiomatic

that in all Government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative Power, which is originally in the Body of the People, although by Custom, Conquest, Usurpation, or other Accidents, sometimes fallen into the Hands of one or a few. This in England is placed in the Three Estates (otherwise called the Two Houses of Parliament) in Conjunction with the King: And whatever they please to enact or to repeal in the settled Forms, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Civil, immediately becometh Law or Nullity. Their Decrees may be against Equity, Truth, Reason and Religion, but they are not against Law; because Law is the Will of the supreme Legislature, and that is, themselves.

(PW,II,74)

The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, With Respect to Religion and Government (1711) affirms that it is not lawful to resist the legislative power which is 'absolute and unlimited' (PW,II,16,23).¹²³ Despite this adamant adherence to the Tory doctrine of absolute non-resistance, there is acquiescence to the cessation of James II's right at the Revolution in 1689. The Church-of-England Man argues that as 'to the Abdication of King James, which the Advocates on that Side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in it self; I think a Man may observe every Article of the English Church, without being in much Pain about it'. Whether James II's 'Removal were caused by his own Fears, or other Mens Artifices' (there is an innuendo against 'the Prince of Orange' in the passage at PW,II,20), the body of the people acted on the supposition that the throne was vacant. When in polemical combat with Whig ideologists, Jacobites as well as conforming Tories insisted that the 1689 Convention went upon the supposition of vacancy in the throne and abdication, not the principle

of resistance and deposition.¹²⁴ Swift in the Sentiments puts a case for a natural right of resistance in extremis (PW,II,22-23). In his first Examiner (2 November 1710), Swift speaks of the nobility and gentry yielding 'to those Breaches in the Succession of the Crown, out of a regard to the Necessity of the Kingdom' but there is conservative insistence that this case of necessity cannot be turned into a precedent (Exam, pp.5-6). The Examiner paper of 22 March 1711 on passive obedience sees no remedy against an arbitrary King of England

'till it grows a general Grievance, or 'till the Body of the People have Reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a Case of Necessity, and then I suppose a free People may assert their own Rights, yet without any Violation to the Person or lawful Power of the Prince.

Swift says 'the Tories allow all this, and did justify it by the Share they had in the Revolution' (Exam, pp.317-18).

Swift's political theory here is essentially Grotian, his casuistry that of a post-Revolution Tory. Swift's library was well stocked with editions of Grotius's works.¹²⁵ In a letter of 1714 Swift recommended De Jure Belli ac Pacis to Gay (Corr,II,33). Grotius's commentary on government (like Swift's) could be construed in different ways by different readers. A conservative ideologist of non-resistance, Grotius in De Jure Belli ac Pacis reserves a right of resistance in certain extreme circumstances. Grotius considers 'the question whether the law of non-resistance should bind us in case of extreme and imminent peril' and remarks that even 'some laws of God, although stated in general terms, carry a tacit exception in case of extreme necessity'.

The 'law of non-resistance'

seems to draw its validity from the will of those who associate themselves together in the first place to form a civil society; from the same source, furthermore, derives the right which passes into the hands of those who govern. If these men could be asked whether they purposed to impose upon all persons the obligation to prefer death rather than under any circumstances to take up arms in order to ward off the violence of those having superior authority, I do not know whether they would answer in the affirmative, unless, perhaps, with this qualification, in case resistance could not be made without a very great disturbance in the state, and without the destruction of a great many innocent people.

In a case where 'the sovereign power is held in part by the king, in part by the people or senate, force can lawfully be used against the king if he attempts to usurp that part of the sovereign power which does not belong to him'.¹²⁶ Swift's principles in the Sentiments (PW, II, 22-23) are remarkably similar.

Grotius is an ubiquitous authority in seventeenth and eighteenth-century political literature. His legacy was equivocal. He could be quoted by Jacobite assassins on the scaffold, by ideologists of absolute non-resistance, and by radical Whigs. A conservative Grotian resistance in extremis position is useful for Swift as Tory party publicist in the Examiner enabling him to accept the Revolution while preserving the doctrine of non-resistance. Yet the radical implications in natural rights thinking are activated when Swift is a militant populist writing against the Hanoverian Whig legislature. For instance, he writes in A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture:

I WOULD be glad to learn among the Divines, whether a Law to bind Men without their own Consent, be obligatory in foro Conscientiae; because, I find Scripture, Sanderson

and Suarez, are wholly silent in the Matter. The Oracle of Reason, the great Law of Nature, and general Opinion of Civilians, wherever they treat of limited Governments, are, indeed, decisive enough.

(PW, IX, 19)

On the issue of allegiance to post-Revolutionary governments Swift's reiterated views in letters to Pope, Chetwode and Sheridan, that possession is unexceptional title and that it is not for private persons to determine the right of sovereignty have Grotian authority:

Above all, in case of a controversy the private individual ought not to take it upon himself to pass judgement, but should accept the fact of possession.

Thus Christ bade that tribute be paid to Caesar because the coin bore Caesar's image, that is, because Caesar was in possession of the governing power.¹²⁷

But Swift did have difficulty with the actual violation of James II's lawful power at the Revolution. This is well illustrated by a significant and much discussed annotation Swift made in the mid to late 1730s in the margin of a copy of Gilbert Burnet's History of His Own Time belonging to Dr. John Lyon on the arguments propounded in 1688-89. Against Burnet's account of a 'party ... made up of those who thought that there was an original contract between the kings and the people of England', Swift wrote: 'I am of this party, and yet I would have been for a regency' (PW, V, 291). The ultra-Tory regency proposal at the Convention if implemented would have preserved James's legal authority, avoided the transfer of the crown and alteration of the hereditary succession, and preserved the Anglican doctrine of non-resistance to the supreme magistrate. In Burnet's words the proposers of the regency thought, their expedient would take in the greatest, as well as the best, part of the Nation: Whereas all other expedients

gratified a Republican party, composed of the Dissenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to see the Church ruined, and the government set upon such a bottom, as that we should have only a titular King; who, as he had his power from the people, so should be accountable to them for the exercise of it, and should forfeit it at their pleasure. The much greater part of the House of Lords was for this, and stuck long to it: And so was about a third part of the House of Commons. The greatest part of the Clergy declared themselves for it.

Swift commented: 'And it was certainly much the best expedient'.¹²⁸ Considering the views of 'those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons', Swift approves, not the radical Whig assertions described by Burnet, but the in extremis argument put by those who 'avoided going into new speculations, or schemes of government'.¹²⁹ He also appears to be sympathetic to the Tory position in the debate on the word 'abdicated' and the vacancy of the throne (PW,V,291).

Despite the ultra-Tory implications of Swift's support for a regency at the Revolution, John Lyon would have read that Swift is of the party that thought there was an original contract between the kings and people of England, apparently another instance of the profession he made, for example, in his 'Advertisement to Poems, 1735' and in his correspondence especially to Whigs, that he was a Whig in politics and within the pale of the Revolution. However, it is arguable whether Swift's identification with the original contract party (as described by Burnet) means he was endorsing radical Whig versions of contract theory.¹³⁰ And it should be recalled that the Jacobite Tory Bishop of Ely, Francis Turner, a leading advocate of the regency scheme (for him it was an expedient until James II could be restored), accepted that there was an

original contract between kings and people and argued that the law settling the hereditary succession was part of the original contract and that laws could only be altered by the legislative power of King, Lords and Commons in parliament.¹³¹ In a letter of 1692 Swift wrote that he used 'to converse about 2 or 3 years ago' with Turner (Corr, I, 9).

The Tory view that passive obedience and non-resistance were peremptory duties of the subject informed Swift's support of the regency at the Revolution, praise of Sancroft, and his understanding of the oath he made to subsequent monarchs. As historian of the reign of King Stephen, Swift observed how 'all the miseries of this kingdom' during that period 'were manifestly owing to that continual violation of ... oaths of allegiance' (PW, V, 63). The Tory party polemicist and apologist believed 'that no true Member of the Church of England, can easily be shaken in his Principles of Loyalty, or forget the Obligation of an Oath by any Provocation' (PW, VIII, 95), a Church Tory principle given expression in Gulliver's Travels. Gulliver in Lilliput (like his creator in the 1720s perhaps) experiences temptation but knows the Church-of-England man's duty:

Once I was strongly bent upon Resistance: For while I had Liberty, the whole Strength of that Empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with Stones pelt the Metropolis to Pieces: But I soon rejected that Project with Horror, by remembering the Oath I had made to the Emperor.

(PW, XI, 73)

Despite the violence of Swift's satire on Hanoverian Court Whiggism and vicarious entertainment of revolt, it is the Church Tory doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience that is exemplified and endorsed in Gulliver's

Travels. For example, in the passive conduct of the oppressed Lord Munodi - whose patience under extreme provocation is intended to be poignant and admirable (PW,XI,176). High Church and Tory ideologists of absolute non-resistance represented submission, prayer, appeals and petitions, or leaving the country, as the private subject's options when lawful governors acted tyrannically.¹³² Gulliver in his Travels goes through these routines of a loyal subject. For instance, in Part I he petitions to be excused from complying with the Emperor's commands which would have forced the consciences and destroyed the liberties and lives of innocent people (PW,XI,69). In the third voyage Swift has Gulliver act out the principle of passive obedience in a classic exigency - when his religion and the law of the State conflict. Gulliver is expected by the Emperor of Japan to perform the ceremony 'of trampling upon the Crucifix'. Gulliver petitions to be excused from active obedience to this law of Japan to which Dutchmen (one of whom he pretends to be) are subject (PW,XI,216). A despairing Gulliver in the fourth voyage is obedient to the (literally inhuman) rational rigour of a Houyhnhnm Assembly 'Exhortation' (PW,XI,280). The Houyhnhnms, exemplars of stoic 'sociableness' who live in accord with Reason and Nature and in total obedience to the determinations of the Representative Council of the whole Nation, might be seen as fabulous embodiments of the stoic-influenced Grotian state of nature described in the 'Prolegomena' to De Jure Belli ac Pacis. The Houyhnhnms certainly exemplify that 'rule of the law of nature' to abide by pacts and

to conform to what the majority, or those upon whom authority is conferred, have determined.¹³³ The hypothetical Houyhnhnm state of nature where all obey what is enjoined by natural law without the necessity of divine injunction may be an imaginative version of a Grotian proposition.¹³⁴ But Swift's Grotian state of nature is a non-human world. The fable's image of a human state of nature is the brutish, violent anarchy of the anthropoid Yahoos - a mythic version of a Hobbesian state of nature. The idyllic order of those equine Ancients, the Houyhnhnms, is unattainable. Gulliver lives in a world of political opinions and choices, in a history of 'Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments'. Gulliver feeds his eyes on 'the Destroyers of Tyrants and Usurpers' but as a private subject he pays obedience to the powers that be. As Swift wrote to Archbishop King in 1727:

My Lord, I have lived, and by the grace of God will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds: And I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due.

(Corr, III, 210)

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. A redacted version of this chapter with some commentary on Jacobite and Tory aspects of the politics of Gulliver's Travels was read at a Symposium on the works of Jonathan Swift in May 1987 at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia and subsequently published as 'Swift's Politics: A Preface to Gulliver's Travels', Monash Swift Papers, Number One, edited by Clive T. Probyn and Bryan Coleborne (Monash University, 1988), pp.41-65. Some of my objections to current 'Whig' readings of Swift's political biography are registered briefly in my review of Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography. By David Nokes (Oxford, 1985) and Jonathan Swift: Political Writer. By J. A. Downie (London, Boston, and Henley, 1984) in The Yearbook of English Studies, 18 (1988), 302-03.

2. F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics (London, 1983) and 'Swift and English Politics, 1701-14', in The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus, edited by Claude Rawson (Newark, Delaware, London and Toronto, 1983), pp.127-50. Henry Craik commented on Swift's position in 1710: 'So far he had only disliked the Whigs: he now became the ally of the Tories. Opinion, principle, inclination, and resentment at personal neglect all combined to bring him over to that camp, where his sympathies had long lain, and the gates of which had been so readily thrown open at his approach' (The Life of Jonathan Swift, second edition, 2 vols (London, 1894), I, 259). Harold Williams remarked: 'Swift, by upbringing and association, regarded himself as a Whig, and continued in that belief after it had ceased to be true in fact and meaning. By 1710 his ecclesiastical and political views had nothing in common with Whig doctrine' (PW, XV, xxi). On Swift's High Church and Tory politics, see among others: Robert W. Babcock, 'Swift's Conversion to the Tory Party', University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature (Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature), 8 (1932), 133-49; George P. Mayhew, 'Swift's Political "Conversion" and his "Lost" Ballad on the Westminster Election of 1710', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 53 (1971), 397-427 (on the public moment of Swift's 'conversion' to a Tory political position); John Robert Moore, 'Was Jonathan Swift a Moderate?', South Atlantic Quarterly, 53 (1954), 260-67; David P. French, 'Swift, the Non-Jurors, and Jacobitism', MLN, 72 (1957), 258-64 (who considers that in the early 1690s 'Swift was half tempted to accept the Non-juring position, and he shows more than a tinge of Jacobitism' and remarks 'his shifting attitude toward the Glorious Revolution'. The view that Swift may have been a Jacobite 'is perhaps more tenable than is usually believed'); Margaret E. Sherman, A Study of Swift's "History

of the Last Four Years of the Queen": As a History and As a Tory Document (New York, 1955); Robert M. Adams, 'The Mood of the Church and A Tale of a Tub', in England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century: Essays on Culture and Society, edited by H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972), pp.71-99 and see his 'In Search of Baron Somers', in Culture and Politics from Puritanism to the Enlightenment, edited by Perez Zagorin (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1980), pp.165-202; Richard I. Cook, Jonathan Swift as a Tory Pamphleteer (Seattle, 1967), esp. pp.ix-xxxiv; Isaac Kramnick (Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), esp. pp.205-17) describes a bias 'traditional and Tory, idealizing an aristocratic and gentry society' shared by Swift. For Swift as a Tory reactionary see Perry Anderson, Arguments within English Marxism (London, 1980), pp.83-99, esp. pp.94-97 which contests the reading by E. P. Thompson (see for example Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act (London, 1975), esp. p.293) of Swift as a Tory radical. For Swift as a Tory radical and Irish populist see such marxian readings as A. L. Morton, The English Utopia (London, 1952), pp.86-113, esp. p.91; Thomas Metscher, 'The Radicalism of Swift: Gulliver's Travels and the Irish Point of View', Studies in Anglo-Irish Literature, edited by Heinz Kosok (Bonn, 1982), pp.13-22; Carole Fabricant, Swift's Landscape (Baltimore and London, 1982).

3. See the acute readings in Daniel Eilon, 'Did Swift Write A Discourse on Hereditary Right', MP, 82 (1985), 374-92; 'Private Spirit: A Moral and Political Theme in Swift's Prose' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986); David Nokes, 'The Radical Conservatism of Swift's Irish Pamphlets', BJECS, 7 (1984), 169-76 and his Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography (Oxford, 1985). The label 'Tory-anarchist' has long had currency in accounts of Swift, but see especially George Orwell, 'Politics vs. Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels', The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Volume IV, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (London, 1968), pp.205-23; Edward W. Said, 'Swift's Tory Anarchy', Eighteenth-Century Studies, 3 (1969), 48-66; idem, The World, the Text, and the Critic (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), ch.2; Carole Fabricant, Swift's Landscape, p.37.
4. For some modern studies that, despite other differences, identify Swift's fundamental Whig politics: Arthur E. Case, Four Essays on Gulliver's Travels (Princeton, 1945; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1958), pp.107-09; Ricardo Quintana, Swift: An Introduction (London, 1955; rpt. Oxford Paperbacks, 1962), pp.7-8, chapter IV is entitled 'Whig Man Of Letters', pp.67-93. The Tory government propagandist was a Harleyite moderate: 'In his own mind he was neither Whig nor Tory' (p.98); J. C.

Beckett, 'Swift as an Ecclesiastical Statesman', in Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd, edited by H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn (London, 1949) rpt. in Fair Liberty Was All His Cry: A Tercentenary Tribute to Jonathan Swift 1667-1745, edited by A. Norman Jeffares (London, 1967), pp.146-65 (pp.150,152,159); Kathleen Williams, Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise (Lawrence, Kansas, 1958), pp.100-03; James A. Preu, The Dean and the Anarchist (Tallahassee, 1959), esp. pp.33,99-102; Bertrand A. Goldgar, The Curse of Party: Swift's Relations with Addison and Steele (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), pp.63-67,83,169. Reviewing this book, Donald Greene wrote: 'He is surely right in concluding that Swift never essentially changed from being a moderate "old Whig", one who uncritically accepted the Revolution of 1688 and the Hanoverian succession. Goldgar thus agrees with Johnson, who was fond of stressing Swift's Whiggism', PQ, 41 (1962), 629-30 (p.629); Addison Ward, 'The Tory View of Roman History', SEL, 4 (1964), 413-56 (p.413); Basil Hall, ' "An Inverted Hypocrite": Swift the Churchman', in The World of Jonathan Swift: Essays for the Tercentenary, edited by Brian Vickers (Oxford, 1968), pp.38-68 (p.60); W. A. Speck, 'From Principles to Practice: Swift and Party Politics', in The World of Jonathan Swift, pp.69-86 (pp.80-81); idem, 'The Examiner Examined: Swift's Tory Pamphleteering', in Focus: Swift, edited by C. J. Rawson (London, 1971), pp.138-54 (p.138); idem, Society and Literature in England 1700-60 (Dublin, 1983) which sees Gulliver's Travels as reflecting 'Country more than Tory attitudes'. Political attitudes in the work are labelled 'Country Whig' and 'Country Tory' (see pp.27,67,82); Donald Greene, 'Swift: Some Caveats', in Studies in the Eighteenth Century II: Papers presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar 1970, edited by R. F. Brissenden (Canberra, 1973), pp.341-58 (pp.341-47); Lee Horsley, 'Vox Populi in the Political Literature of 1710', HLQ, 38 (1974-75), 335-53 (p.353). Like W. A. Speck, J. A. Downie (Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe (Cambridge, 1979), pp.127-29, and Jonathan Swift: Political Writer (London, 1984), esp. pp.259-60) presents the argument that Swift straddled the contemporary party division between Whig and Tory. His anachronistic political ideology was Old Whig or Country. Downie's claim in the 'Preface' to Jonathan Swift: Political Writer that his 'Whig' case is original and a revision of the prevailing view of Swift's politics (see pp.ix-x) is misleading. Irvin Ehrenpreis (Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age, 3 vols (London, 1962-83) sees Swift as an 'Old Whig' in politics but Tory with regard to the Church. Swift is seen as essentially a Whig in political principle by Frank H. Ellis in his edition of The Examiner and The Medley (Oxford, 1985). Ellis (' "A Quill worn to the Pith in the Service of the State": Swift's Examiner' in

- Proceedings, pp.73-82) comments: 'Although The Examiner attacks some Whigs whom Swift defended in A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions (1701) and many Whig practices of 1690-1710, it attacks only one Whig principle'. With the exception of an apparent alteration in his attitude on the issue of an Occasional Conformity bill 'Swift did not "change any Principles relating to Government, either in Church or State", when he undertook The Examiner' (p.74n). Clive T. Probyn (' "Haranguing upon Texts": Swift and the Idea of the Book', in Proceedings, pp.187-97) describes Swift as 'a Whig in state politics, but a Tory in Church politics' (pp.193-94). J. G. A. Pocock ('The Machiavellian Moment Revisited: A Study in History and Ideology', Journal of Modern History, 53 (1981), 49-72) remarks 'the presence in opposition of Tories of the style of Swift, Bolingbroke, and Pope, whose ideology differed surprisingly little from that of the Old Whigs' (p.63). The relation of Swift's political theory with Lockean radical whiggism is traced in: Irvin Ehrenpreis, 'Swift on Liberty', Journal of the History of Ideas, 13 (1952), 131-46 and his Swift, II,127; III,142,255-58,273,286-88; Louis A. Landa in PW, IX,123; Myrddin Jones, 'Further Thoughts on Religion: Swift's Relationship to Filmer and Locke', RES, 9 (1958), 284-86; Ricardo Quintana, Two Augustans: John Locke, Jonathan Swift (Madison, 1978), pp.71-82. Liberal and republican politics have of course been derived from Swift's writings: for examples see Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p.153. Swift's political ideology has been related to the classical republican, neo-Harringtonian traditions described in the scholarship of Z. S. Fink, Caroline Robbins, J. G. A. Pocock and others, see generally F. P. Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels' (Oxford, 1980), ch.2, 'The Lessons of History', pp.33-65.
5. Ehrenpreis, Swift, II,4,46,118,252-54; III,142,243.
 6. J. A. Downie, 'Swift's Politics', in Proceedings, pp.47-58 (p.58).
 7. See the excerpts from The Source of Our Present Fears Discover'd and from Charles Leslie, The New Association. Part II and 'Supplement' reprinted as appendices in Discourse, pp.228-51. Leslie, who assumed the work was by the eminent Whig polemicist Bishop Gilbert Burnet, triumphed at one point: 'Ah! Doctor, Doctor, Was this Always your Doctrine? Are you come to see it at last? And yet never Mend!' (p.247). See the extended study of the pamphlet in F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp.146-61, esp. pp.160-61.
 8. William King, Some Remarks on The Tale of a Tub (1704) in The Original Works of William King, LL.D., 3 vols (London, 1776), I,215; William Wotton, Observations upon The Tale of a Tub (1705), reprinted in Tale,

pp.313-28 (p.327). The 'Bookseller's Dedication' to Somers can be construed as a satiric parody of the Whig publisher Jacob Tonson's relationship to Somers and the obsequious flattery of the many Whig dedications to the great Junto Whig patron of John Toland and other heterodox Whig writers. John Locke dedicated tracts to Somers in the 1690s. (For a list of dedications to Somers see Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', pp.196-97.) Swift parodies in the Tale the language and project of Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (see Adams, 'The Mood of the Church and A Tale of a Tub', pp.86-87) and modern scholarship has recognized that the 'Bookseller's Dedication' parodies Locke's prolegomena and the obsequious flattery of his dedication of the Essay to the 8th Earl of Pembroke, see W. B. Carnochan, 'Swift, Locke, and the Tale', Swift Studies, 1 (1986), 55-56.

9. For recent discussions of the Old Whig and deist John Toland's place in the Tale's satiric parody of the 'modernists' see: Kenneth Craven, 'A Tale of a Tub and the 1697 Dublin Controversy', Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1 (1986), 97-110; Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, Review of The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England. By Gerard Reedy, S.J. and John Toland: His Methods, Manners, and Mind. By Stephen H. Daniel, in MLR, 83 (1988), 954-57 and his 'Swift's Spirit Reconjured: Das Dong-An-Sich', Swift Studies, 3 (1988), 9-78 (esp. p.31). On Toland's presence in the Tale and on the reception of the Tale as a profane, deistical and irreligious work, see Frank T. Boyle, 'Profane and Debauched Deist: Swift in the Contemporary Response to A Tale of a Tub', Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 3 (1988), 25-38. Swift's satire on the Quakers and claims of 'Inward Light' in A Tale of a Tub and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit was no doubt remembered by the author of Brief Remarks On the late Representation of The Lower House of Convocation; As the same respects the Quakers only (London, 1711) p.6: 'Would any Man think that those Churchmen, who have all along so banter'd the poor Quakers, for owning the Light within, till they themselves seem to have none without, should now charge the same Quakers with denying the Supernatural Operations of the Spirit?' Swift duly appears in the company of those convicted of heterodoxy, heresy or irreligion: 'we see by Experience, that Socinianism, Arianism, Deism, and the Ridiculing of all reveal'd Religion, with the like Damnable Errors, such as those of Asgil, Coward, Swift, Burnet, Sherlock, &c. have been discover'd to be, and are daily more and more found among the profess'd Members of the Church of England, and not a few of their Ministers' (pp.13-14).
10. Swift also wrote: 'IF a Man would register all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning,

and the like; beginning from his Youth, and so go on to old Age: What a Bundle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions would appear at last?' (PW, I, 244). Patrick Reilly remarks in his study of Swift that 'Swift is consistent only in his inconsistency, partisanly utilising or discarding any argument to secure his overall aim'. That no single formula accommodates all the contradictions and inconsistencies in Swift's writing 'for his judgements were provisional and piecemeal', see Jonathan Swift: the brave desponder (Manchester, 1982), pp. 28, 120.

11. See also: PW, II, 13-14; VIII, 71-72; Exam, pp. 34-37 (Examiner, 16 November 1710); pp. 313-14 (Examiner, 22 March 1711); pp. 450-58 (Examiner, 31 May 1711).
12. Charles Leslie, The New Association. Part II (London, 1703), 'Supplement', p. 22.
13. See for example the list of persons in Swift's letter to Mrs. Barber of 23 February 1731, Corr, III, 439-40.
14. For descriptions of himself as a Whig to Whig correspondents see: Corr, I, 359 (27 May 1713, to Richard Steele); II, 236 (22 December 1716, to Archbishop King); III, 138 (7 July 1726, to Thomas Tickell); III, 484 (27 July 1731, to the Countess of Suffolk); IV, 100 (8 January 1733, to Lady Elizabeth Germain); IV, 230 (23 March 1734, to Francis Grant). In another letter to Lady Elizabeth Germain of 8 June 1735 he expresses his complete despair for the 'enslaved kingdom' of Ireland but adds 'I have sometimes wished, that the true loyal Whigs here might be a little more considered in the disposition of employments, notwithstanding their misfortune of being born on this side the channel, which would gain abundance of hearts both to the Crown and his Grace [the Duke of Dorset]' (Corr, IV, 346).
15. For reviews (from different perspectives) of the historiographical debate about Tory politics and about whether the primary dichotomy in post-1714 politics is Court-Country or Whig-Tory (with party-political identity continuing beneath the bipartisan 'Country' attitudes of opposition Whigs and Tories on specific issues), see the following: Linda Colley and Mark Goldie, 'The Principles and Practice of Eighteenth-Century Party', The Historical Journal, 22 (1979), 239-46; J. C. D. Clark, 'The Politics of the Excluded: Tories, Jacobites and Whig Patriots 1715-1760', Parliamentary History, 2 (1983), 209-22; Nicholas Rogers, 'Party Politics during the Whig Ascendancy', Canadian Journal of History, 18 (1983), 253-60; Geoffrey Holmes, 'Eighteenth-Century Toryism', The Historical Journal, 26 (1983), 755-60; Frank O'Gorman, 'The Tory Party, 1714-1760', The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation, 24 (1983), 276-81; Geoffrey Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne,

- revised edition (London and Ronceverte, 1987), 'Introduction to Revised Edition', pp.xii-xiii;
 J. V. Beckett, 'Introduction: Stability in Politics and Society, 1680-1750', in Britain in the First Age of Party 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes, edited by Clyde Jones (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp.1-18. Essential studies of the Tory party after 1714 are: Eveline Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45 (London, 1979) and Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60 (Cambridge, 1982). Cruickshanks considers the Tory party after the Hanoverian accession to have become a Jacobite one. Colley considers the majority of the party to have been loyal, 'Hanoverian' Tories. For a succinct and persuasive restatement of her case for the Tory party as a Jacobite party, see Eveline Cruickshanks, 'The Political Management of Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-42', in Britain in the Age of Walpole, edited by Jeremy Black, Problems in Focus (London, 1984), pp.23-43 (esp. pp.28-33). See also: Ian R. Christie, 'The Tory Party, Jacobitism and the 'Forty-Five: A Note', The Historical Journal, 30 (1987), 921-31.
16. W. A. Speck, 'Polemical purposes', The Times Higher Education Supplement, 7 November 1986, p.16.
 17. Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction', Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.3,4,7.
 18. Downie, Jonathan Swift: Political Writer, p.345.
 19. Christopher Hill, Collected Essays. Volume One: Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England (Brighton, 1985), pp.32,160,170.
 20. Denis Donoghue, 'Was Swift a monster?', London Review of Books, 5 June 1986, p.12.
 21. The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1715-1754, edited by Romney Sedgwick, 2 vols (London, 1970), I,62; Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables, p.6.
 22. G. V. Bennett (The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester (Oxford, 1975)) observes of Atterbury's Jacobitism: 'He had no romantic or theoretical attachment to the cause of Stuart legitimacy, and for the policies and persons of Roman Catholics he continued to have a profound distaste. His loyalty was to the Church of England and to a vision of its place in English life and society. He became involved in Jacobitism only when he despaired that the Tory party would ever be able to rise again in sufficient strength to restore the Church to its ancient status and authority. In 1716 it seemed that both Church and State had fallen into bondage to a Whig oligarchy

- which rested on a standing army and a ruthless exploitation of political corruption' (pp.206-07). If Swift's private loyalties did shift from the settlement in the Protestant House of Hanover and he entertained the Jacobite option I believe his reasoning would have been similar to Atterbury's as described here. Swift did not subscribe to the theory of divine Hereditary Right which informed the political thinking of many supporters of the exiled Stuart dynasty.
23. For 'honest principles', see their correspondence on the defeat of the Excise Bill in 1733 (Corr, IV, 175, 188). For epistolary evidence of continued close friendship and shared political attitudes, see for example: Corr, IV, 57, 62, 70-71, 175-76, 188-90; V, 18-20, 50-51, 85-86, 95-99, 114-16. Although no correspondence between Swift and his Jacobite friend survives for the period between 1715 and 1732 we know they corresponded and conveyed messages of goodwill, see Corr, II, 303, 308, 356, 360. Swift certainly knew of Barber's 'Tory Principles' (Corr, IV, 535). For documentation and an account of the Swift-Barber relationship, see Charles A. Rivington, 'TYRANT': The Story of John Barber 1675 to 1741 Jacobite Lord Mayor of London and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift (York, 1989).
 24. See Joseph McMinn, 'A Weary Patriot: Swift and the Formation of an Anglo-Irish Identity', Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 2 (1987), 103-13 (esp. p.107).
 25. For studies on party politics in Ireland upon which I have drawn see: David Hayton, 'Walpole and Ireland', in Britain in the Age of Walpole, pp.95-119 and Daniel Szechi and David Hayton, 'John Bull's Other Kingdoms: The English Government of Scotland and Ireland', in Britain in the First Age of Party 1680-1750, pp.241-80 (pp.259-79).
 26. Louis A. Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland (Oxford, 1954 [1965]), p.51.
 27. Swift must have suspected Sheridan of Jacobite sympathies and in effect was counselling him to be an oath-swearing Jacobite. On 28 June 1725 Swift wrote to him: 'Take the Oaths heartily to the Powers that be, and remember that Party was not made for depending Puppies' (Corr, III, 67). In the letter of 11 September he writes: 'It is indeed against Common Sense to think, that you should chuse such a Time, when you had received a Favour from the Lord Lieutenant, and had reason to expect more, to discover your Disloyalty in the Pulpit'. Sheridan has become the victim of 'Yahoes' and 'Party Malice' (Corr, III, 94).
 28. On Samuel Wesley's politics, see Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, p.113 and J. C. D. Clark, English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime (Cambridge, 1985), pp.51n, 237.
 29. 'Swift's Advertisement to Poems, 1735', in Swift: Poetical Works, edited by Herbert Davis (London,

- 1967), pp.xxix-xxx (p.xxix); Downie, 'Swift's Politics', p.48.
30. Downie, 'Swift's Politics', passim.
31. Parl. Hist., VII, cols.339-67. On Hutcheson, see the entry by Eveline Cruickshanks in The House of Commons 1715-54, II, 163-64; Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, see pp.28-29,98-99; Jeremy Black, 'Archibald Hutcheson as Author', Notes and Queries, n.s., 32 (1985), 207-08.
32. Parl. Hist., VII, cols.317-18.
33. Lord Bolingbroke. Contributions to The 'Craftsman', edited by Simon Varey (Oxford, 1982), p.153 (no.375, 8 September 1733).
34. Select Letters taken from Fog's Weekly Journal, 2 vols (London, 1732), II, 26,158-59,172-73.
35. Parl. Hist., X, cols.400-01. See Eveline Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables, pp.14-16.
36. T. N. Corns, W. A. Speck and J. A. Downie, 'Archetypal Mystification: Polemic and Reality in English Political Literature, 1640-1750', Eighteenth Century Life, 7 (1982), 1-27 (p.24).
37. David Hayton, 'The "Country" interest and the party system, 1689-c.1720', in Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784, edited by Clyde Jones (Leicester, 1984), pp.37-85.
38. See especially: Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.49-69; Paul Chapman, 'Jacobite Political Argument in England 1714-1766' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983); J. G. A. Pocock, 'Radical Criticisms of the Whig Order in the Age between Revolutions', in The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism, edited by Margaret Jacob and James Jacob (London, 1984), pp.33-57 (esp. pp.36-37); F. J. McLynn, 'The Ideology of Jacobitism on the Eve of the Rising of 1745 - Part I', History of European Ideas, 6, no.1 (1985), 1-18 (p.1) and 'The Ideology of Jacobitism - Part II', History of European Ideas, 6, no.2 (1985), 173-88; Paul Monod, 'Jacobitism and Country Principles in the Reign of William III', The Historical Journal, 30 (1987), 289-310. For recent scholarship on Jacobitism after 1714, see J. C. D. Clark, Revolution and Rebellion: State and society in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Cambridge, 1986), Appendix B, pp.174-77.
39. Review, 28 April 1705; Defoe's Review, Reproduced from the Original Editions, with an Introduction

- and Bibliographical Notes by Arthur W. Secord. Facsimile Book 4. February 27, 1705, To August 23, 1705. Of Volume II (New York, 1937), p.93.
40. Cited in Paul Langford, The Excise Crisis: Society and Politics in the Age of Walpole (Oxford, 1975), p.13.
 41. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Cato's Letters: Or, Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, And other important Subjects, 4 vols (n.p., 1754), I, Preface. And see Trenchard and Gordon, The Independent Whig: or, A Defence of Primitive Christianity. And of our Ecclesiastical Establishment, Against the Exorbitant Claims and Encroachments of Fanatical and Disaffected Clergymen, 3 vols, sixth edition (London, 1735), I, no.II, p.14 on the High Church clergy who preach up their 'Votaries to Rebellions and Assassinations'.
 42. Cato's Letters, I, 116-17 (no.20, 11 March 172[1]).
 43. Cato's Letters, I, 146 (no.23, 1 April 1721).
 44. Parl. Hist., VII, cols.386,448.
 45. See Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, pp.98-99.
 46. See Parl. Hist., VII, col.536; Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, p.92.
 47. For a recent restatement of such views, see Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Party Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Some Myths and a Touch of Reality', BJECS, 10 (1987), 201-10.
 48. See especially Mark Goldie, 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism', Political Studies, 31 (1983), 61-85 and his 'The Roots of True Whiggism 1688-94', History of Political Thought, 1 (1980), 195-236.
 49. For a detailed study of the Hanoverian Independent Whig publicists John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon that properly emphasizes not just their 'Country' ideology but their agreement with Establishment Whigs on fundamental issues and the centrality to their polemical project of their defence of a constitutionally-limited monarchy in the Protestant House of Hanover, and combat against High Church ideology and Jacobite Toryism, see Marie Patricia McMahon, 'The Quiet and Stability of this Free State': A New Look at the "Independent Whigs", John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The American University, 1986).
 50. John Toland, The Miscellaneous Works, 2 vols (London, 1747), pp.244-45.
 51. See the 'Sentiments of the late Lord Molesworth' in The Memoirs of John Ker, of Kersland in North

- Britain Esq, 3 pts (London, 1726), III, 191-221 (pp.191, 207).
52. PW,V,80; IX,31-32; XI,131. For the eclectic sources behind Swift's invective on standing armies, see Heinz J. Vienken and Hermann J. Real, ' "Ex Libris" J. S.: Annotating Swift', in Proceedings, pp.305-19 (pp.314-15).
 53. 'Sentiments of the late Lord Molesworth', Memoirs of John Ker, III, 210-12.
 54. Parl. Hist., VII, cols.536-37; Hayton, 'The "Country" interest and the party system', p.51.
 55. See, for example, Cato's Letters, II, 200 (no.60, 6 January 172[2]); III, 223 (no.95, 22 September 1722); IV, 143-50 (no.125, 20 April 1723); [Thomas Gordon], 'A Short View of the Conspiracy, with some Reflections on the present State of Affairs. In a Letter to an Old Whig in the Country, by Cato', in A Collection of Tracts by the late John Trenchard, Esq., and Thomas Gordon, Esq. (London, 1751), II, 127-59 (pp.128,148).
 56. Cato's Letters, IV, 146 (no.125, 20 April 1723).
 57. Observed in Cruickshanks, 'The Political Management of Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-42', p.33.
 58. On the party-political importance of religious controversy under Walpole, see, among others, Stephen Taylor, 'Sir Robert Walpole, The Church of England, and the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736', The Historical Journal, 28 (1985), 51-77.
 59. See Cato's Letters, III, 108-14 (no.81, 16 June 1722 'The established church of England in no danger from dissenters').
 60. Taylor, 'Sir Robert Walpole, The Church of England, and the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736', p.59.
 61. Hayton, 'The "Country" interest and the party system', p.64.
 62. Charles Leslie, A View of the Times, Their Principles and Practices in The Rehearsals, 6 vols, second edition (London, 1750), VI, Appendix No.V, p.267.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. See under Secondary Works in Bibliography. Several important essays by Howard Erskine-Hill explore Dryden, Pope and Johnson in relation to affairs of state and Jacobitism: 'Scholarship as Humanism', Essays in Criticism, 29 (1979), 33-52 (pp.42-45); 'Alexander Pope: The Political Poet in His Time', Eighteenth-Century Studies, 15 (1981-82), 123-48; 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.49-69; 'The Political Character of Samuel Johnson', in Samuel Johnson: New Critical Essays, edited by Isobel Grundy (London and Totowa, N. J., 1984), pp.107-36; 'The Political Character of Samuel Johnson: The Lives of the Poets and a Further Report on The Vanity of Human Wishes', in The Jacobite Challenge, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.161-76; 'Life into Letters, Death into Art: Pope's Epitaph on Francis Atterbury', The Yearbook of English Studies, 18 (1988), 200-20.
2. POAS, 5, 456-57; POAS, 6, 361-63.
3. Commenting on the debates and resolutions among the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers in response to James II's policy of prerogative toleration, Burnet writes: 'They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution: And therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither should they go into any engagements for Popery ...'. William Penn (a leading Quaker who supported James II) 'had not many followers', see Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, 2 vols (London, 1724, 1734), I, 702, 703.
4. John Miller, Religion in the Popular Prints 1600-1832, The English Satirical Print 1600-1832 (Cambridge, 1986), p.116. Some examples, although a cloud of High Church and Tory witnesses could be produced: Interrogatories: or a Dialogue between Whig and Tory (1681) in the Tory printer Nathaniel Thompson's collection 86 Loyal Poems (1685), p.224: 'Whig: What is term'd Popery? / Tory. To Depose a King / W. What's true Presbytery? / T. To Act the Thing'; Roger L'Estrange (The Character of a Papist in Masquerade; Supported by Authority and Experience. In Answer to the Character of a Popish Successor (London, 1681)) describes how 'The Church of England, and the Members of it, are beset with two Sorts of Papists; the One, bare-Fac'd, the Other dress'd

up in several shapes of Disguise' (p.4). Rome's emissaries effect their seditious designs 'by masquing themselves under the Appearance of Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, Millenaryes, and the like' (p.5). L'Estrange describes 'the Harmony and Agreement betwixt the Jesuites of the Society, and those of the Covenant (esp.pp.82-85). In 1704, the year when A Tale of a Tub is first published, Mary Astell (A Fair Way with the Dissenters and their Patrons. Not Writ by Mr. L___y, or any other Furious Jacobite, whether Clergyman or Lay-man; but by a very Moderate Person and Dutiful Subject to the Queen (London, 1704)) refers to 'the Church of Rome, and that dearest Spawn of hers our English Dissenters' and directs readers to, among others, the Jacobite High Churchman Charles Leslie's 'the New Association, the Woolf, &c' for 'the plain Matter of Fact' (pp.14-15). In 1710, the year of the Tale's fifth edition, High Church Tory pamphlet literature described 'the Church of Rome and the Low-Church Antimonarchists together, who so exactly agree in their Doctrine of Resistance, Deposing and Murdering Kings, Butchering Loyal Subjects, and Desolating all Churches but their own; that one Egg cannot more resemble another, than the Romish Conclave and Low-Church Republican Conventiclers do one another in their Principles and Practices' (Tint for Taunt. The Manager Managed: Or, The Exemplary Moderation and Modesty, of a Whig Low-Church-Preacher discovered, from his own Mouth ... (London, 1710),p.4). And also: Undone again; or, The Plot discover'd. Being a Detection of the Practices of Papists with Sectaries, For Overthrowing the Government, and the National Church. Collected from the Speeches, Letters, and Writings ... (London, 1710).

5. A Jacobite tract by Charlwood Lawton arguing for a restoration of James II 'upon composition' represented King James as an acceptable monarch to Whigs because of his latitudinarian politics - an analysis which a High Churchman like Swift would have felt was only too true. Lawton wrote: 'remember how King James's declaration of indulgence was at first entertained. I know the universal joy with which it was first received lasted but a little while; but know that though the whigs misliked that it should be put out upon a dispensing power, yet believing it a preface to comprehensive measures and latitudinarian politics, they forgave that blemish in its birth, and every where so unanimously embraced it, that those narrow spirits of the church of England, who had a mind, were ashamed, if not afraid, to oppose it. Liberty of conscience would have made King James the Second memorable and glorious in our histories ...', see The Jacobite Principles Vindicated, In an Answer to a Letter Sent to the Author (London, 1693), in Somers Tracts, X, 523-41 (p.535). See also A Modest Apology for the loyal Protestant Subjects of King James, who desire his

Restoration, without Prejudice to our Religion, Laws or Liberties: In Answer to the Pretences of the French Invasion Examined. In a Letter to a Friend, Somers Tracts, X, 401-29 (p.412). Narcissus Lutterell (A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714, 6 vols (Oxford, 1857), I, 395, 399-443) reports the many addresses of thanks presented to James II by Dissenters for 'his declaration of liberty of conscience' which were printed in the London Gazette in 1687-88. For evidence of significant support for Stuart prerogative toleration or liberty of conscience by royal edict among Dissenters and radical Whigs, see Rev. J. S. Clarke, The Life of James the Second King of England, &c. Collected Out of Memoirs Writ of His Own Hand ..., 2 vols (London, 1816), II, 113; J. R. Jones, 'James II's Whig Collaborators', Historical Journal, 3 (1960), 65-73; idem, The Revolution of 1688 in England (London, 1972), esp. Chs 5 and 6, pp.98-175; Douglas R. Lacey, Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689 (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1969), esp. pp.175-243, 249-51; Mark Goldie, 'The Roots of True Whiggism 1688-94', History of Political Thought, I (1980), 195-236 (esp. p.207); idem, 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism', Political Studies, 31 (1983), 61-85; idem, Review of Subjects and Sovereigns: the Grand Controversy over Legal Sovereignty in Stuart England. By C. C. Weston and J. R. Greenberg, in Historical Journal, 26 (1983), 1029-1030; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Religion and Royal Succession - The Rage of Party', in Britain in the First Age of Party 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes, edited by Clyve Jones (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp.19-43 (esp. pp.19, 22-23, 26). On Stuart policies of religious toleration, see John Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-88 (Cambridge, 1973) and his James II: A Study in Kingship (Hove, 1978).

6. For Leslie's Jacobite career and High Church Tory and Jacobite writings, see particularly, Bruce Frank, '"The Excellent Rehearser": Charles Leslie and the Tory Party, 1688-1714', in Biography in the 18th Century, edited by J. D. Browning (New York and London, 1980), pp.43-68.
7. Charles Leslie, A View of the Times, Their Principles and Practices in The Rehearsals, second edition, 6 vols (London, 1750), I, 7 (Rehearsal, no. 1 (5 August 1704)). The first issue was called The Observer, but thereafter The Rehearsal of Observator and Rehearsal (the title by which Leslie's paper is known). All quotations are from the collected edition of 1750 which also contains Cassandra and Appendices.
8. The Rehearsals, I, 247-48 (Rehearsal, 5 May 1705).
9. [Charles Leslie], The New Association ..., third edition (London, 1702), p.16. See also [Charles Leslie],

The Wolf Stript of His Shepherd's Cloathing ...
(London, 1704), pp.24-25.

10. See for example: The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, With Respect to Religion and Government (1711), PW,II,9; The Examiner, no. 22 (28 December 1710), no. 40 (3 May 1711), Exam,pp.126,404-05; Marginalia in PW,V,285,286,318; The Presbyterians Plea of Merit (1733), PW,XII,268-71. Whigs contested Swift's reading of events leading to the Revolution. 'I protested openly', Daniel Defoe declared, 'against the Addresses of Thanks to [James II] for his Illegal Liberty of Conscience, founded upon the Dispensing Power' (Review, 24 November 1711, quoted by F. H. Ellis in Exam,p.40n). The Medley, no. 15 (8 January 1711) answered the Examiner of 28 December 1710: 'The Clergy, he says, are known to have rejected all Advances made them to close with the Measures at that time concerting (he means before the Revolution) while the Dissenters, to gratify their Ambition and Revenge, fell into the basest Compliances, &c. This may be true of Persons, but shou'd not be affirm'd of whole Parties; for the Clergy did not All reject the Advances, nor did All the dissenters gratify those Passions of Ambition and Revenge' (Exam, p.158).
11. A Treatise of Monarchy: Containing Two Parts. I. Concerning Monarchy in General. II. Concerning this Particular Monarchy. Wherein All the Main Questions occurrent in both, are Stated, Disputed, and Determined. Done by an earnest Desirer of his Countries Peace (London, 1643, rpt. 1689), p.55.
12. The Rehearsals,II,105 (Rehearsal, 9 February 1706).
13. J. A. Downie, Jonathan Swift Political Writer, p.246.
14. Swift owned a copy of the third edition of Tindal's Rights of the Christian Church Asserted ... (London, 1707; SC, no. 396). His remarks on the book, begun in 1707, remained unfinished. The Remarks is included in his 'List of Subjects for a Volume' (1708), see Ehrenpreis, Swift,II,768. In a letter to Charles Ford of 8 March 1709 he writes of having abandoned the idea of answering Tindal: 'No, the Report of my Answering Tindall's Book is a Mistake; I had some thoughts that way, but they are long layd aside' (Corr,I,126). As it stands Swift's Remarks consists of two unrevised drafts. A prose argument (PW,II,67-84) and a systematic, point by point polemical refutation of Tindal's book where references to the page number and a brief quotation from Tindal's Rights are followed by Swift's remarks (PW,II,85-107). For Swift's aspersions on Locke and Molesworth in the Remarks see PW,II,80,97,99.
15. The Rehearsals,II,298 (Rehearsal, 3 August 1706).

- The Rights of the Christian Church attracted over twenty replies. The formidable array of Whig and Tory Anglican answerers included, as Swift points out (PW,II,69), William Wotton, John Potter and George Hickes. Tindal was an embarrassment to, and repudiated by, conservative Anglican Whigs.
16. The Rehearsals,III,78,80 (Rehearsal, 14 December 1706).
 17. The Rehearsals,III,81 (Rehearsal, 14 December 1706).
 18. Important received views about the pindaric odes are summarized in David Sheehan, 'Swift on High Pindaric Stilts', in Contemporary Studies of Swift's Poetry, edited by John Irwin Fischer and Donald C. Mell, Jr., with David M. Vieth (Newark, London and Toronto, 1981),pp.25-35. Sheehan reads the poems as satiric pindarics.
 19. Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr., 'Swift's Ode to Sancroft: Another Look', Modern Philology,73 (1976),S24-S39; F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics,esp.pp.75-93. Rosenheim finds in the poem a 'failure to dwell upon Sancroft's accomplishments' and a sparing admiration, and that Swift writes of William III 'with anything but Jacobite sentiments' (see esp. S33, S34,S37). Lock argues that the 'Ode' 'is not a non-juring or non-juror's poem, still less a Jacobite one' (p.85).
 20. Paul Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985),esp. Ch.2.
 21. [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance of the Wars, Between the Mighty Giant Gallieno, and the Great Knight Nasonius, and His Associates (Dublin, 1694). The account of the Revolution begins at Ch. VI. On the rhetoric of Jacobitism, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause', pp.49-69. For some examples of Jacobite literary attack on William, see on his 'homosexuality': 'Satyr', in A New Collection of Poems Relating to State Affairs, From Oliver Cromwell To this present Time ... (London, 1705),pp.531-32 ('Declining Venus has no Force o'er Love, / The tender Ganymede now rules above ... / B___s are still the Stamp of Revolution'); John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, 'A Feast of the Gods', (p.17), Buckingham Restor'd: Being Two Essays Which were Castrated from the Works of the late Duke of Buckingham ['Some Account of the Revolution' (pp.1-14) and 'A Feast of the Gods' (pp.15-19)] (Hague, 1727) included in Volume 2 of the Monash University Library copy of Buckingham's Works, 2 vols (London, 1723). See also The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham, third edition corrected, 2 vols (London,

- 1740), II, 89-122, 185-96; [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance, passim on 'Nasonius' and 'Sodomicus'; [Robert Ferguson], Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive unto, or the End that was designed in, the late Revolution? ... (1695), Somers Tracts, IX, 543-69 (on the catamite court see p.564); POAS, 5, 37-38, 41-42, 153, 155, 221. And see Swift, PW, V, 285. On William's alleged coronation accident: POAS, 5, 44. In An Historical Romance, 'Nasonius' is told 'you are much better at Shiting than Fighting' (p.73). Principal Jacobite satirical motifs can be read in Arthur Mainwaring, Tarquin and Tullia (1689), POAS, 5, 46-54 and Suum Cuique (1689), POAS, 5, 117-22. See generally the excellent selection and annotation of political poetry in the Yale POAS.
22. [Charles Leslie], A Catalogue of Books of the Newest Fashion, to be Sold by Auction at the Whiggs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes in Prating-Alley, near the Deanry of St. Paul's [London, 1694]. British Library Shelf-mark 12316.g.26, attributed to Leslie. See Bruce Frank, '"The Excellent Rehearser": Charles Leslie and the Tory Party, 1688-1714', p.54n.
23. [Robert Ferguson], Whether the preserving the Protestant Religion ..., Somers Tracts, IX, 563; [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance, p.24.
24. [Robert Ferguson], Somers Tracts, IX, 555; [William Anderton], Remarks upon the present Confederacy, and late Revolution, &c (1693), Somers Tracts, X, 507; [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance, passim.
25. See the headnote and notes to the poem by Pat Rogers in Complete Poems, pp.601-03 where important critical discussions are listed. See also: Ehrenpreis, Swift, I, 109-14 and David Nokes, Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography (Oxford, 1985), pp.21-22. A. C. Elias, Jr. posits a private, Moor Park readership and context for the 'Ode to the King' and 'Ode to Sancroft', see his Swift at Moor Park: Problems in Biography and Criticism (Philadelphia, 1982), pp.244-46, n.45. Elias parenthetically remarks 'a somewhat ambivalent effect' in the way Swift imagines William's heroism in the 'Ode to the King' (p.83). Alan Robinson describes 'Swift's ambivalent approach' in his royal panegyric and notes how 'the metrical rapture sounds somewhat perfunctory and insincere' and 'the epic pretensions' accompanied by 'sober equivocation' in places. 'One finds it difficult to accept at face value Swift's account of the Battle of the Boyne'. The possibility that the rather distanced, ambivalent treatment of William is a polemical strategy is not entertained, but is explained as a stylistic problem: 'Swift's hesitant adoption of the mythologizing convention' and diffidence with it, see his 'Swift and Renaissance Poetry:

- A Declaration of Independence', BJECS, 8 (1985), 37-49 (esp. pp. 39-40).
26. The violence of the moral condemnation in Swift's poem was perhaps typical of the sub-genre of poems on the 'Burning of Whitehall'. See, for example, Upon the Burning of White-Hall, Jan. 4. 1697. Englished from the Latin, in A New Collection of Poems Relating to State Affairs ... (London, 1705), p. 535:
 While leud White-Hall, burning in justest Flames,
 Heav'n's Wrath 'gainst Force, and Lust, and Fraud, proclaims;
 In Eagles shape, the Genius of our Isle,
 Clapping its Wings, with Joy flew round the Pile:
 No Chapel, Room of State or Ease, exempt.
 But when the Banquet-house the Flames attempt,
 Hold! (cry'd the Angel) for this Sacred Place,
 Where Ty__t's Blood wash'd out my Isle's Disgrace,
 Shall every Fire (but the World's last) outface. }
27. [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance, pp. 37-38.
28. 'An Horation Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland', ll. 73-74, 105-14, in The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, edited by H. M. Margoliouth, revised by Pierre Legouis with E. E. Duncan-Jones, third edition, 2 vols (Oxford, 1971), I, 91-94.
29. [Charles Leslie], The Right of Monarchy Asserted ... (London, 1713), pp. 9-10.
30. The Table Talk and Omniana of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Oxford, 1917), p. 116. For a possible actual origin of this repartee Coleridge attributed to Swift, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism', p. 62, n. 12.
31. [Sir James Montgomery], Great Britain's Just Complaint ... (1692), Somers Tracts, X, p. 468.
32. See, for example, Thomas Shadwell, A Congratulatory Poem On His Highness the Prince of Orange His Coming into England, in The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, edited by Montague Summers, 5 vols (London, 1927), V, 335-40; Poems on the Reign of William III, Introduction and Selection by Earl Miner, Augustan Reprint Society, No. 166 (Los Angeles, 1974).
33. [Thomas Wagstaffe], A Letter Out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, Giving Some Account of the Last Sickness and Death of Dr. William Sancroft, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Somers Tracts, IX, 527-40 (pp. 528, 529, 535, 539).
34. For example, Charles Hatton wrote on 16 October 1688: 'I trust y^e nation in generall will behave themselves wth loyalty to their prince and regard to their country y^t y^e Dutch in 1688 will succeed

- noe better then y^e Spaniards did in 1588'. Sir Edmund King wrote on 20 November 1688: 'Tis true our lot is cast in a dismall time at present; a great storme seemes to be gathering, thunder and lightening threaten'd; God knows who may be struck ... It's now high time we becom seriouslie considerate, and all of us begg of Him to spare us once more, and y^t we may outlive the storm, and see a calme again before we goe off the stage of this world', in Correspondence of The Family of Hatton Being Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton A.D. 1601-1704, edited by Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols (London: Camden Society, 1878), II, 96, 107. Lady Theophila Nelson writes in 1689 that her husband (Robert Nelson) and herself left England before the 'storm' came, see British Library, Additional MS, 45,511, fol.181 and see also ADD.MS, 45,512, fol.78 (Robert Nelson Collection, volumes I and II).
35. For graphic description of the 'frightfull earthquake' of September 1692, see Correspondence of The Family of Hatton, II, 184-85. Pat Rogers (Complete Poems, p.611) does not record the minor London earthquake, but notes however the disastrous earthquakes at Port Royal in Jamaica, on 7 June 1692 and in Sicily in September 1693 for Swift's allusion. The earthquake in Jamaica was a public sensation in England, see 'The Earth-quake of Jamaica, describ'd in a Pindarick Poem, 1692. By Mr. Tutchin.', in Poems on Affairs of State, Volume 4 (London, 1707), pp.327-33.
36. POAS, 5, 117-22 (11.14-15, 67-69).
37. [Robert Ferguson], Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion ..., Somers Tracts, IX, 560. Charles Leslie asked: 'Whether Dame Britannia were not less culpable in being forc'd to endure a Thirteen Years Rape from Oliver and the Rump, than by living a Five Years Adulteress now by Consent?', A Catalogue of Books, p.8.
38. Faction Display'd (1704) in POAS, 6, 657 (11.152-54).
39. See Mark Goldie, 'The Nonjurors, Episcopacy, and the Origins of the Convocation Controversy', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.15-35 (p.30) and Paul Monod, 'Jacobitism and Country Principles in the Reign of William III', Historical Journal, 30 (1987), 289-310. On the 'Country interest' becoming synonymous with the Tory party, see David Hayton, 'The 'Country' interest and the party system, 1689-c.1720', in Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784, edited by Clyde Jones (Leicester, 1984), pp.37-85.
40. Samuel Johnson, 'Granville', in Lives of the English Poets, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols (Oxford, 1905), II, 287, 288. On the political significance

- of Johnson's 'Life of Granville', see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'The Political Character of Samuel Johnson: The Lives of the Poets and A Further Report on The Vanity of Human Wishes', pp.163,165,166,168-69,172.
41. For Granville's career and works, see Elizabeth Handasyde, Granville the Polite: The Life of George Granville Lord Lansdowne, 1666-1735 (Oxford University Press, 1933). On Pope's relationship to Lansdowne, see among others: Alexander Pope, Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism, edited by E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, Twickenham Edition (New Haven, 1961), I,130; Frances M. Clements, 'Lansdowne, Pope, and the Unity of Windsor-Forest', Modern Language Quarterly, 33 (1972), 44-53; Maynard Mack, Alexander Pope A Life (New Haven and London, 1985), pp.145, 206-07,641,838n.
42. [George Granville, Baron Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England (London, 1722). British Library Shelf-mark: 8132.b.59. This work is reprinted in full in Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Alexander Pope: The Political Poet in His Time', 143-46. On the Letter, see Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', pp.55-56 and Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine-Hill, 'The Waltham Black Act and Jacobitism', Journal of British Studies, 24 (1985), 385-65 (p.360n).
43. See Paul Kleber Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788', 2 vols (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985), I,159.
44. Lives, II, 286.
45. Poems upon Several Occasions (London, 1712), p.10; hereafter cited as Poems. See also 'To the Immortal Memory of Mr. Waller: Upon his Death', Poems, p.17.
46. 'Occasion'd by the foregoing [Verses sent to the Author in his Retirement, Written by Mrs. Elizabeth Higgons]', in Poems, pp.96-101. Higgons's poem is on pp.94-96. The poems are in the Genuine Works in Verse and Prose of the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdowne (London, 1732), I, 22-24; 24-29.
47. All quotations from Poems, p.97.
48. Poems, p.98.
49. See Poems, pp.12,13,17.
50. Poems, p.99.

51. Poems, pp.100,101. See also 'An Imitation of the Second Chorus in the Second Act of Seneca's Thyestes' in which the poet predicts a short date for impious, parricidal usurpation and desires the Happy Man's life 'remote from guilty Courts', see Poems, pp.102-05. Oblique Jacobite political implication might be read in other pieces, see for example, Poems, pp.146-47 ('Prologue to the She Gallants') and pp.157-67 ('Peleus and Thetis. A Masque, Set to Musick').
52. Poems, II, 634 (ll.147-54). Compare also Ralph Gray, The Coronation Ballad (1689), POAS, 5, 39-45 for an example of a Jacobite poem describing William III as 'a monkey', a 'strutting thing called a Punchinello', and an 'ape' (p.41).
53. Granville's Essay is unoriginal and is heavily derived from Bouhours's La Manière de Bien Penser dans les Ouvrages de l'Esprit (1687), see George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, An Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry (1701), in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, edited by J. E. Spingarn, 3 vols (Oxford, 1908-09), III, 292-98 and Notes, pp.337-39; Handasyde, Granville the Polite, pp.64-67, 253n, 254n.
54. An Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry, ll.7-12, Critical Essays, III, 294.
55. See Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument: An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', Bulletin of Research in the Humanities, 83 (1980), 473-564 (p.557, no.150).
56. An Essay Upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry, ll.13-16, Critical Essays, III, 294.
57. Explanatory Annotations on the foregoing Poem, Critical Essays, III, 296-97.
58. Handasyde, Granville the Polite, p.18.
59. The Character of Polybius (1693), in The Works of John Dryden, edited by Sir Walter Scott, revised and corrected by George Saintsbury, 18 vols (London, 1882-1893), XVIII, 23-53 (p.31).
60. 'Mr Charnock's Letter to a Friend, Written Shortly Before His Execution', reprinted as Appendix 1 in Jane Garrett, The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696 (Cambridge, 1980), pp.265-71 (p.267). For an account of Charnock, see pp.28-32, 204-05. For Jacobite 'dying speeches' after the '45, see The Lyon in Mourning, edited by Henry Paton, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1895-96). The 'Speech of the Rev^d. Mr. Thomas Coppach ...', for example, justifies 'taking up arms to restore' the Stuarts 'and to banish from a free, but inslaved people a foreigner,

- a tyrant, and an usurper'. The Hanoverian oppression is the worst 'since Julius Caesar's invasion' (The Lyon in Mourning, I, 60-64). On the 'free Jacobitism' of such printed last words, see Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause', pp. 56-59. See also Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death', in The Jacobite Challenge, pp. 57-73.
61. 'Mr Charnock's Letter', pp. 268-69.
 62. 'Mr Charnock's Letter', pp. 269-70.
 63. Cato and Brutus are Swiftian heroes, see for example: PW, I, 222; PW, II, 2; PW, V, 84; Poems, II, 724. Brutus and Cato are members of the illustrious 'Sextumvirate to which all the Ages of the World cannot add a Seventh' in Gulliver's Travels, Part III, Chapter VII, PW, XI, 196.
 64. The True Briton, no. 20 (9 August 1723). Paul Chapman has described the radical whiggish and regicidal elements in Jacobite polemic, see his 'Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983). Professor F. P. Lock, in a paper read at Queen's University, Canada on 3 February 1987 entitled 'Gulliver's politics revisited', argues that Gulliver's Travels reflects the point of view of a disaffected High Church Tory of the 1720s and points out, referring to Chapman, that the apparently old-whig republican attitude to tyrannicide could, in polemical context be Jacobite in tendency, the expression of someone on the right of the political spectrum. He argues that Swift was too conservative to be a Jacobite, however. I am grateful to Professor Lock for allowing me to see and refer to his paper.
 65. [George Granville, Baron Lansdowne], A Letter ..., pp. 6-7. Also compare William Shippen, Faction Display'd (1704), lines 486-87: 'Where is the Noble Roman Spirit fled, / Which once inspir'd thy antient Patriots dead?', POAS, 6, 671.
 66. On Swift's relationship with Mist, see Paul Sawyer, 'Swift, Mist, and a Lincoln's Inn Fields Benefit', Notes and Queries, New Series, 24 (1977), 225-28.
 67. A Collection of Miscellany Letters, Selected out of Mist's 'Weekly Journal', 4 vols (London, 1722-27), II, 156-57.
 68. Bolingbroke reveals his interest in 'Cato, and Brutus, and Pompey and others' in a 1730 letter to Swift, Corr, III, 388.
 69. There is a substantial corpus of literature on the subject of political assassination, tyrannicide

- and so on with political implication in the 17th and 18th centuries. Whig partisans identified the 'Jacobite Party' with regicide, see [John Hervey], The Conduct of the Opposition, and the Tendency of Modern Patriotism, (More particularly in a late Scheme to Establish a Military Government in this Country) Review'd and Examin'd (London, 1734), pp.44-45. And see E. W. Rosenheim, Jr., 'Swift and the Martyred Monarch', Philological Quarterly, 54 (1975), 178-94 (pp.184-85, 191, quoting Benjamin Hoadly and Francis Hutchinson). In The Freeholder, no.51 (15 June 1716), Addison warns of the pernicious effects of 'following blindly the Examples of Persons to be met with in Greek and Roman History'. He reminds readers: 'Our Regicides in the Commission of the most execrable Murder used to justify themselves from the Conduct of Brutus', Joseph Addison, The Freeholder, edited by James Leheny (Oxford, 1979), p.257. For Court Whig response to the Opposition invocation of Cato, see Reed Browning, Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs (Baton Rouge, 1982), esp. pp.210-13.
70. Corr, IV, 321 (Swift to Thomas Beach, 12 April 1735). See also PW, V, 311-13, 317-19 where James is described as 'a Cowardly Popish King'. He 'unkinged himself for Popery'. And PW, V, 286, where Swift comments on Burnet's view that James II's action against Magdalen College although 'an act of despotical and arbitrary Power' yet did not strike 'at the whole'. Swift wrote: 'He was a better Tory than I, if he spoke as he thought'.
71. On the date of composition, see Tale, pp.xliii-xlvii; PW, I, xv-xviii, xxii.
72. Tale, pp.162-65. Swift's source for the story about Henri IV is in François Eudes de Mézeray, Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France (Amsterdam, 1696), VI, 368ff; see Tale, p.163. See also W. A. Speck, 'Swift and the Historian', in Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, pp.257-68 (pp.260-61).
73. [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance, pp.60-62. For further examples of Jacobite scorn of William's militarism, see POAS, 5, 388-89.
74. For a Jacobite Tory example, see John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, 'A Feast of the Gods', (p.17). It might be suggestive of an oblique identification of Henri IV and William that in the previous paragraph to Swift's account of Henri IV's 'Vapour', it is said that 'Fumes issuing from a Jakes, will furnish as comely and useful a Vapor, as Incense from an Altar (Tale, p.163). William's defecation and stink at his coronation was a Jacobite satiric motif, see An Historical Romance, pp.37-39.

75. See Paul Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again', II, 575-76.
76. [Charlwood Lawton], A French Conquest neither Desiderable nor Practicable. Dedicated to the King of England (London, 1693), Somers Tracts, X, 475.
77. Incised in stone at the entrance to Pope's grotto is an enigmatic inscription 'JR 1696'. Maynard Mack suspects this stands for James Rex 1696 and that it alludes to the Jacobite Assassination Plot. Pope's meaning however, is indeterminate, see Maynard Mack, The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743 (Toronto, 1969), pp. 64, 287-88. The 'Jacobite half of his being', however, regarded William III as a usurper (see Mack, p. 5). A satiric epigram on William is probably Pope's first published poem (see David Nokes, 'Lisping in Political Numbers', Notes and Queries, New Series, 24 (1977), 228-29; A New Collection of Poems Relating to State Affairs, From Oliver Cromwell ... To this present Time ... (London, 1705), p. 534): 'Behold, Dutch Prince, here lye th' unconquer'd Pair, / Who knew your Strength in Love, your Strength in War! / Unequal Match, to both no Conquest gain, / No Trophy of your Love or War remains.' Maynard Mack's account of Pope's views on Jacobitism concludes cautiously that he was 'in essentials simply a Roman Catholic nonjuror', see Alexander Pope A Life (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 261-66.
78. Claude Rawson, 'The Character of Swift's Satire: Reflections on Swift, Johnson, and Human Restlessness', in The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus, edited by Claude Rawson (Newark, London and Toronto, 1983), pp. 21-82 (pp. 39-40).
79. B. Higgons, Historical and Critical Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of His own Time ... The Second Edition, with Additional Remarks. To which is added a Postscript (London, 1727), p. 297. On political censorship and the press, see among many others, Donald Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', The Library, 5th Series, 32 (1977), 315-32 and Jeremy Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century (London and Sydney, 1987), esp. Chs 5 and 6. On literary strategies and mediums of obliquity used by writers engaged in political commentary under conditions of censorship, see Annabel Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England (Madison, 1984); idem, 'Fables of Power', in Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England, edited by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1987), pp. 271-96.

80. References are to Swift's marginalia as reprinted in PW,V. Swift's editor, Herbert Davis, did not print Swift's marginal comments on Burnet from the copy belonging to John Lyon (see PW,V,xxxvi). For a significant substantive correction to the Davis text, see Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, p.63n.
81. Francis Manley, 'Swift Marginalia in Howell's Medulla Historiae Anglicanae', PMLA, 73 (1958), 335-38 (p.338); PW,V,264-65; William Shippen (in Faction Display'd (1704), POAS, 6, 673) represents William, Duke of Gloucester's death as leaving 'Hopes involv'd in endless Night'.
82. Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, I, 797.
83. Jacobite writers traduced William for his detention of Feversham, see John Sheffield, 'Some Account of the Revolution', (p.9); An Historical Romance, p.34. On Dundee, see Archibald Pitcairne's latin verses, translated by John Dryden, in The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1685-1692, Volume III, edited by Earl Miner (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p.222. Swift publicized the exploits of one of Dundee's men, the episcopalian, Jacobite cavalier John Creighton, preparing for the press Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton (1731), PW,V,120-81.
84. PW,V,270,272,277,278,282,285,289,291,294.
85. A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England (London, 1722), p.4.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Memoirs of Mrs Letitia Pilkington 1712-1750 Written by Herself (1748-1754; rpt. London, 1928), p.88. A number of studies examine the influence of Butler's Hudibras on Swift's poetry. Ehrenpreis remarks that 'the clusters of associated traits which are damned in A Tale of a Tub' would be 'at least slightly familiar' to readers of Butler's Hudibras (Swift, I, 197-98) and describes Butler as Swift's poetic 'father' (Swift, II, 24). For recent comments, see James L. Thorson, 'Jonathan Swift and Samuel Butler', Swift Studies, 1 (1986), 80-81.
2. The 'Dedication to Somers' and 'The Bookseller to the Reader' were probably written in 1704.
3. Phillip Harth, Swift and Anglican Rationalism: The Religious Background of 'A Tale of a Tub' (Chicago and London, 1961), p.153.
4. Richard I. Cook, Jonathan Swift as a Tory Pamphleteer (Seattle and London, 1967), pp.5, 133.
5. Cook, p.xii.
6. Kathleen Williams, ed., Swift: The Critical Heritage (London, 1970), pp.1-4 (p.4).
7. Downie, Jonathan Swift: Political Writer (London, 1984), p.x.
8. There have been several specialist studies explicating the background of Swift's religious satire in A Tale of a Tub and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, see, among others: C. M. Webster, 'Swift's Tale of a Tub Compared with Earlier Satires of the Puritans', PMLA, 47 (1932), 171-78; idem, 'Swift and Some Earlier Satirists of Puritan Enthusiasm', PMLA, 48 (1933), 1141-53; idem, 'The Satiric Background of the Attack on the Puritans in Swift's A Tale of a Tub', PMLA, 50 (1935), 210-23; idem, 'The Puritans Ears in A Tale of a Tub', MLN, 47 (1932), 96-97; John Maybee, 'Anglicans and Nonconformists 1679-1704: A Study in the Background of Swift's A Tale of a Tub' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1942); Ronald Paulson, Theme and Structure in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' (New Haven, 1960); Harth, Swift and Anglican Rationalism; Ehrenpreis, Swift, I, 210; Paul J. Korshin, 'Swift and Satirical Typology in A Tale of a Tub', in Studies in the Eighteenth Century II Papers Presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar Canberra 1970, edited by R. F. Brissenden (Canberra, 1973), pp.279-302; J. R. Crider, 'Dissenting Sex: Swift's "History of Fanaticism"', SEL, 18 (1978), 491-508. See also more generally:

- William P. Holden, Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642 (New Haven, 1954; rpt. Archon Books, 1968); Roger Thompson, Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1979), pp.37,40-56; C. P. Daw, 'Swift's Favorite Books of the Bible', HLQ, 43 (1980), 201-12.
9. A. C. Elias, Jr. (Swift at Moor Park: Problems in Biography and Criticism (Philadelphia, 1982)) like Cook sees at least one main purpose of the Tale as Swift's private enjoyment and satisfaction. He points to an engagement with Temple, the man and his writings, and sophisticated ironic subversions of Temple's stances in the work. He argues that we should 'table' further attempts to see the Tale as an outgrowth of intellectual, philosophical and religious traditions. The Tale's inspiration and origins and the immediate context in which it is to be interpreted are in Swift's experience and work as Temple's amanuensis at Moor Park and in his reaction to his patron's vagaries (see esp. pp.164-72,189-90,196-97).
 10. Paulson, Theme and Structure in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub', esp. Ch.2,pp.35-86.
 11. Paulson,pp.158-62 (p.162); George Every, The High Church Party, 1688-1718 (London, 1956); Maybee, 'Anglicans and Nonconformists 1679-1704: A Study in the Background of Swift's A Tale of a Tub'.
 12. Ehrenpreis, Swift, I,213.
 13. Ehrenpreis, Swift, II,328.
 14. Robert M. Adams, Strains of Discord: Studies in Literary Openness (Ithaca, New York, 1958), Ch.VII,pp.146-79 and his 'The Mood of the Church and A Tale of a Tub', in England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century: Essays on Culture and Society, edited by H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972), pp.71-99.
 15. 'The Mood of the Church and A Tale of a Tub',p.99.
 16. The influence on Swift's verse style and satiric technique of the violent invective tradition of 'Poems on Affairs of State' is now recognized, see Peter J. Schakel, 'Swift's Poetry Revisited: The Achievements of a Decade of Criticism', in Proceedings,pp.233-46 (pp.243-44).
 17. John Traugott, 'A Tale of a Tub', in The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus, edited by Claude Rawson (Newark, Delaware, London and Toronto, 1983), pp.83-126 (p.89).
 18. Traugott, 'A Tale of a Tub',p.90.

19. See Chapter Two. John Sharp's sermon preached before the Lords at Westminster on the 5 November 1691 describes James's assault on the Anglican establishment and the present calm after the nation's providential delivery through the agency of William III: 'What a horrible storm but of late did we apprehend, and justly enough too, was impending over us? And yet blessed be God (who hath never failed to raise up Deliverers to his People in the day of their Distress) that storm is blown over', see John Sharp, Fifteen Sermons Preach'd on Several Occasions (London, 1700), Sermon X, p.264. Swift owned a copy of the Fifteen Sermons, see Le Fanu, p.273; SC, no.415. Swift's knowledge of Sharp's sermons in the 1680s and 1690s has been suggested, see Tale, pp.xxxi-xxxvi. And compare Swift's 'Ode to Dr. William Sancroft', line 192: 'that fearful storm of late'; Tale, p.204: 'Jack' and 'Peter' had a design 'in a certain rainy Night, to trepan Brother Martin'.
20. On the charge of irreligion and profanity, see William John Roscelli, 'A Tale of a Tub and the "Cavils of the Sour"', JEGP, 64 (1965), 41-56. Roscelli assesses whether the 'Cavils of the Sour' are 'ill-placed' as Swift claimed in his 1710 'Apology' (Tale, p.4). He argues that Swift's satire of Roman Catholic doctrine on penance, sacramentals and transubstantiation and of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination undermines and ridicules faith in matters above Reason and as such implicitly assails the reality of Christian mysteries and faith. He points out that contemporary and later readers have found irreligious implications in Swift's violent and iconoclastic satire.
21. The significant substantive changes made to the 1704 text by Swift in 1710 are listed by A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith on p.xxii, note 1 of their edition of the Tale. See also Davis's textual notes to the Tale, PW, I, 296-98. And see J. C. Maxwell, 'The Text of 'A Tale of a Tub'', English Studies, 36 (1955), 64-66. G. K. Holzknecht ('Swift and the Text of A Tale of a Tub', English Studies, 54 (1973), 470-78) assesses the alterations made to the first edition 1704 text in the fifth edition of 1710. He argues that although there is no concrete change of purpose between 1704 and 1710, the text of 1704 represents the immediate intentions of 'a penetrating satirist, unaltered by the second thoughts of an ambitious clergyman' (pp.472-73). The 1704 text is reproduced in photo-facsimile in the Garland Foundations of the Novel series (introd. Malcolm J. Bosse; New York, 1972). 'A Tale of a Tub' and Other Works, edited by Angus Ross and David Woolley, The World's Classics (Oxford and New York, 1986) is based on the first edition of 1704, its errors retrieved from the second edition, and incorporating authorial revisions introduced in the fifth edition.

22. Epist. Corr., III, 203,214,218.
23. PW,XVI,452; The Original Works of William King, L.L.D., 3 vols (London, 1776), I,xxiii-xxiv.
24. William King, Some Remarks on The Tale of a Tub, in The Original Works, I,209-18 (pp.215,217).
25. William Wotton, A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, In Answer to the Objections of Sir W. Temple, and Others. With Observations upon The Tale of a Tub (London, 1705); Observations rpt. in Tale,pp.313-28 (pp.324-25).
26. See for example: A Morning's Discourse of a Bottomless Tubb, Introducing the Historical Fable of the Oak and her Three Provinces ... Written by a Lover of the Loyal, Honest, and Moderate Party (London, 1712), see pp.6,21-26. John Dennis sees in Swift's work the incendiary Tory cry of the 'Church in danger'. Sir Richard Blackmore and the anonymous Whig author of A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend ... (1726) regard the Tale as irreligious, see Swift: The Critical Heritage, edited by Kathleen Williams, pp.48-49,52,70. Other politically inspired Whig attacks on Swift's irreligion alluding to the Tale include: [Thomas Burnet], A Letter to the People, To be left for them at the Booksellers; With a Word or Two of the Bandbox Plot (London, 1712); [Richard Steele], The Public Spirit of the Tories, Manifested in the Case of the Irish Dean, and his Man Timothy (London, 1714); [Thomas Burnet], A Second Tale of a Tub: Or, The History of Robert Powel the Puppet-Show-Man (London, 1715). Swift came to be regarded as 'a great Jacobite' by Whigs, see The Life and Errors of John Dunton edited by John Nichols, 2 vols (1818; rpt. New York, 1969), 'Appeal to George I', p.740.
27. Thomas Sheridan, The Life of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift (London, 1784; rpt. in Swiftiana XV, New York, 1974),pp.48-49.
28. Claude Rawson has explored connections and relations between Swift's radical satire and romantic and modern extremist fiction in 'Cannibalism and Fiction: Reflections on Narrative Form and "Extreme" Situations, Part I', Genre, 10 (1977),667-711; Part II, Genre, 11 (1978),227-313.
29. J. R. Crider, 'Dissenting Sex: Swift's "History of Fanaticism"', p.508.
30. C. J. Rawson, 'Cannibalism and Fiction: Reflections on Narrative Form and "Extreme" Situations, Part I', Genre, 10 (1977), p.690, see also pp.700,705. See Irenaeus, Against Heresies, in The Ante-Nicene

- Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, revised by A. Cleveland Coxe (New York, 1896, rpt. Michigan, 1981), I, 309-567. For extended treatment of Swift's satire of gnosticism in the Tale, see especially, Paulson, Theme and Structure in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub', passim; Paul C. Parlato, 'Vesture in Anglican Tradition: A Frame of Reference for Swift's Tale of a Tub' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1971), esp. pp. 89-90, 112-18.
31. Swift studied Saint Irenaeus, Adversus Valentini & Similium Gnosticorum Haereses Libri Quinque (Paris, 1675) and Johannes Sleidanus, A Famovse Cronicle of oure Time Called Sleidanes Commentaries (London, 1560) in 1697. For Swift's reading in 1697 and the Tale, see Tale, pp. liii-lx; Jonathan Swift, The Battle of the Books: Eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit literarhistorischer Einleitung und Kommentar von Hermann Josef Real (Berlin and New York, 1978), Appendix B, pp. 128-32. Swift possessed a copy of Edwards's Gangraena (1646), see Le Fanu, p. 271; SC, no. 515.
 32. Andrew Marvell, The Rehearsal Transpros'd and The Rehearsal Transpros'd The Second Part, edited by D. I. B. Smith (Oxford, 1971), pp. 257-58. Moderate, Nonconformist writers repudiated the High Church polemical parallel of Nonconformists with 'the old Gnostick Separatists', see Moderation a Vertue (London, 1683), p. 10.
 33. William Falkner, Christian Loyalty ... (London, 1679), see pp. 326, 334-35, 342-43, 405-07.
 34. [Charles Leslie], The History of Sin and Heresie Attempted, From the First War that they Rais'd in Heaven: Through their various Successes and Progress upon Earth: To the final Victory over them, and their Eternal Condemnation in Hell. In some Meditations upon the Feast of St. Michael and all Angels (London, 1698), pp. 17-18.
 35. The History of Sin and Heresie, pp. 35-36.
 36. [Charles Leslie], A Parallel Between the Faith and Doctrine of the Present Quakers, And that of the Chief Hereticks in all Ages of The Church. And also A Parallel between Quakerism and Popery (London, 1700). All quotations from the unpaginated 'Preface'.
 37. A Parallel ..., pp. 17, 13-14 and see pp. 18, 35. In his best sardonic manner Leslie in his earlier, well-known tract The Snake in the Grass (London, 1696) had disclosed the alleged sexual license behind the hypocritical pretence to purity of the Quakers (see esp. pp. 90, 95-96).

38. A Parallel ..., p.49. On the parity of Popery and Quakerism, see pp.49-59.
39. [Charles Leslie], Primitive Heresie Revived ..., in Five Discourses By the Author of the Snake in the Grass, viz. On Water-Baptism. Episcopacy. Primitive Heresie of the Quakers. Reflections on the Quakers. A Brief Account of the Socinian Trinity (London, 1700), pp.99-153 (p.122).
40. Five Discourses, p.152.
41. See Voltaire, Lettres Philosophiques ou Lettres Anglaises Avec Le Texte Complet Des Remarques Sur Les Pensées De Pascal, Introduction, Notes, Choix De Variantes Et Rapprochements Par Raymond Naves (Paris, 1956), esp.pp.11-13; Voltaire, Letters on England, translated by Leonard Tancock (Harmondsworth, 1980), pp.29-30.
42. See, for example: The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised: In a Sermon Preach'd Before the University of Oxford, &c. The Fourth Edition, much enlarg'd. By George Hickes D.D. With Two Discourses Occasioned by the New Prophets Pretensions to Inspiration and Miracles ... (London, 1709), esp.pp.64-65. Swift possessed this work, see Le Fanu, p.272; SC, no.445. The sermon was first published in 1680. [Leslie], A Parallel ..., pp.2-3,9.
43. [Leslie], A Parallel ..., p.2.
44. [Charles Leslie], A Dissertation Concerning the Use and Authority of Ecclesiastical History (London, 1703), p.xvi.
45. William Baron, Separation and Sedition Inseparable (London, 1703), p.3.
46. John Toland, The Art of Governing by Parties ... (London, 1701), pp.22-23.
47. Ehrenpreis, Swift, III, 763.
48. An Historical Account of Comprehension, and Toleration ... Part I. By the Author of the Dutch Way of Toleration (London, 1705), pp.69-70. See also George Smalridge, A Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons, At St. Margarets Westminster, Jan. 30. 1702 ... (London, 1702), p.14.
49. For a masterpiece of lively sardonic invective against Jesuits and Presbyterians in this Anglican Royalist polemical genre, see Henry Foulis, The History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of Our Pretended Saints: Representing the Beginning, Constitution, and Designs of the Jesuite. With the Conspiracies, Rebellions, Schisms ... of Some

Presbyterians: Proved ... from the Beginning of that Faction to this Time (London, 1662). See also: [John Nalson], Foxes and Fire-brands: Or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation. Wherein is Proved From undeniable Matter of Fact and Reason, that Separation from the Church of England is, in the Judgment of Papists, and by sad Experience, found the most Compendious way to introduce Popery, and to Ruine the Protestant Religion (London, 1680); George Hickes, The Spirit of Popery Speaking Out of the Mouthes of Fanatical Protestants (London, 1680). The collusion of 'Jack Presbyter' with Jesuitical Popery is a leitmotiv in Roger L'Estrange's The Observator, in Dialogue, April 13. 1681 - March 9 1687 (London, 1684-87), see esp. The First Volume (London, 1684), no.68 (5 November 1681); no.110 (11 March 168[2]); no.333 (5 May 1683); no.341 (19 May 1683).

50. For a speciman of Presbyterian Jack accepting Peter's protection, see [Vincent Alsop], The Humble Address of the Presbyterians, Presented to the King ... With His Majesties Gracious Answer (n.p., 1687).
51. Thomas Long, The Letter For Toleration Decipher'd ... (London, 1689), Dedication, sig. A and pp.1,3.
52. [John Sergeant], An Historical Romance of the Wars, Between the Mighty Giant Gallieno, And the Great Knight Nasonius, And His Associates (Doublin, 1694), p.22.
53. Thomas Edwards, Gangraena 3 pts (London, 1646; rpt. The Rota, 1977), Part II, p.147; Roger L'Estrange The Dissenters Sayings. Two Parts in One ... (London, 1685 [1705]), p.7. Swift owned L'Estrange's Dissenters Sayings and other pamphlets, see SC, no.514 (marked in the catalogue as having been annotated by Swift). Swift refers to L'Estrange's writings, see Tale, pp.7, 70, 183.
54. Roger L'Estrange, The Dissenter's Sayings, In Requital for L'Estrange's Sayings. Published in Their Own Words, For the Information of the People (London, 1681), 'To The Reader', sig. A2b, A3. L'Estrange's style, tone and phrases are specifically parodied by Swift in the Tale, see Tale, pp.7, 70 and compare especially The Observator in Dialogue. The First Volume (London, 1684), 'To the Reader'. In the preface to The Observator in Dialogue. The Third Volume (London, 1687), L'Estrange, for example, appeals 'To Posterity' (compare the Tale's Dedication to 'Prince Posterity', Tale, pp.30-38), remarks that 'People are well enough pleas'd to see' abuses stripped and whipped 'provided that they be Lash'd upon Other-Folks Shoulders' (compare Tale, pp.51-53), compares his papers to a 'Looking-Glass' (compare Tale, p.215), suffers for his loyalty to the government,

- debates party questions 'Pro and Con' (compare Tale, p.70), and says the people are 'not to Trouble their Heads about the Cracking of Controversies that are too Hard for their Teeth' (compare Tale, p.66). The Observer of Saturday, 29 May 1686 (Observer, Vol.3, no.178) considers the subject of whether it is better to be a Fool or a Knave (compare Tale, pp.171-74).
55. POAS, 6,648-73 (line 458).
 56. Geoffrey Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, revised edition (London and Ronceverte, 1987), p.139. Swift later ambiguously satirized Admiral Russell's conduct in 1692 as treacherous. Russell defeated the Jacobite navy although he was supposed to be in the Jacobite interest, and was suspected of not pursuing total victory after Barfleur. In Gulliver's Travels, Gulliver learns the disreputable truth of how 'an Admiral, that for want of proper Intelligence, he beat the Enemy to whom he intended to betray the Fleet' (PW, XI, 199). See F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics (London, 1983), p.121.
 57. Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, p.89.
 58. [Charles Leslie], The New Association Part II, p.6.
 59. [Charles Leslie], The History of Sin and Heresie, p.49; idem, The New Association Part II, p.19; idem, The Rehearsal, 6 vols (London, 1750), I, p.vii. See esp. Rehearsal nos.231-37 (2-23 August 1707). The doctrine of Predestination was still very much an active issue when the fifth edition of the Tale appeared, see The Criterion: Or, Touchstone, By which to judge of the Principles of High and Low-Church. In a Letter to a Friend (London, 1710), p.4 and John Edwards, The Divine Perfections Vindicated; Or, Some Brief Remarks On his Grace William Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin's Sermon Preach'd At Christ-Church in Dublin, May 5, 1709, before his Excellency, Thomas Earl of Wharton, &c. Entituled, Divine Predestination and Fore-knowledge consistent with the Freedom of Man's Will: Humbly Presented in a Letter to His Grace (London, 1710).
 60. Liberty of Conscience, or Religion A La Mode. Fitted for the Use of the Occasional Conformist. And Dedicated to the most Learned Author of the Tale of a Tub (London, 1704), pp.20-21.
 61. For some key Scriptural texts behind Swift's use of the coat metaphor in his satiric parable of Romanist corruption of Catholic Christian Faith and Doctrine and the iconoclasm and anti-episcopal character of radical Protestant reformation, see I Corinthians 12.25; John 19.23-24; Psalms 22.18; Joel 2.13; Matthew 9.16; 23.5; Mark 2.21; Luke

- 5.36; Revelation 3.4; 16.15. See also: Deuteronomy 8.4; 29.5; Nehemiah 9.21. Swift's clothing metaphor for Christian Faith and Doctrine in his satiric parable is conventional in Anglican literature. For examples among Anglican writers: John Donne, Satyre III, lines 43ff; esp. ll. 66-68: 'As women do in divers countries goe/ In divers habits, yet are still one kinde,/ So doth, so is Religion', in Donne Poetical Works, edited by Herbert J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1929, 1971), p.138 (the name 'Martin' is used at line 97). Satyre III was imitated by the Scriblerians Pope and Parnell among others; Donne, Holy Sonnet XVIII, lines 1-4: 'Show me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and clear./ What! is it She, which on the other shore/ Goes richly painted? or which rob'd and tore/ Laments and mournes in Germany and here?', Poetical Works, p.301; George Herbert, 'The British Church'; 'Josephs coat', in The English Poems of George Herbert, edited by C. A. Patrides (London, 1974), pp.122-23,166.
62. The New Association Part II, p.14.
63. The Wolf Stript of His Shepherd's Cloathing (London, 1704), Preface, p.7; Wolf Stript, p.2.
64. The Rehearsals, I,121-22 (Rehearsal, 16 December 1704).
65. The Rehearsals, I,139 (Rehearsal, 6 January 1705).
66. [J. Trapp], Most Faults on One Side (London, 1710), pp.24,41-42. Trapp had read Swift's Tale (the Fifth edition was published in 1710) and seems to have recognized the parody of the voice of Whig Dissent, see the reference to the Tale on p.39.
67. George Hickes, 'Letter to the Author', preface to Roger Lawrence, Lay Baptism Invalid, second edition (London, 1710), pp.xviii-xix.
68. For a trenchant juxtaposition of Tale and sermon, see Martin Price, 'Pope, Swift and the past', in Studies in the Eighteenth Century: 5: Papers presented at the Fifth David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar Canberra 1980, edited by J. P. Hardy and J. C. Eade (Oxford, 1983), pp.19-31 (pp.21-22).
69. Swift possessed Golden Remains, of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eaton-Colledge, second edition (London, 1673) which includes Concerning Schism and Schismatics, see Le Fanu, p.273; SC, no.511; Real and Vienken, 'A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Imprints from Swift's Library' in Proceedings, pp.366-67. He also owned Francis Tallents, A Short History of Schism 'with Answers and Replies', Le Fanu, p.273; SC, no.422. For the pamphlet controversy between the octogenarian Francis Tallents, an

ejected Presbyterian divine who argued a moderate, latitudinarian position on the schism question, and the nonjuring controversialist Samuel Grascome who marshalled the High Church case that the Dissenters were schismatic, that schism was a damnable sin, and that schismatics should be excluded from public office see: Tallents, A Short History of Schism; for the Promoting of Christian Moderation and the Communion of Saints (London, 1705); Grascome, Moderation in Fashion: or, an Answer to a Treatise, Written by Mr. Francis Tallents, Entituled, A Short History of Schism, &c. Wherein His Scandalous Abuse of the Primitive Fathers, and all Ecclesiastical Antiquity, is plainly Detected and Refuted: and the Case of the present Schism, and of Occasional Conformity, is fairly Stated, and clearly Resolved (London, 1705); Tallents, Some Few Considerations upon Mr. S. G.'s Large Answer to The Short History of Schism; and Especially upon the New and Bold Assertion, That There Can Be no Church, or Salvation, in an Ordinary Way, without a Canonical Bishop (London, 1706); Grascome, Schism Triumphant: or, a Rejoinder to a Reply of Mr. Tallents, Entituled, Some Considerations on Mr. S. G.'s Large Answer to his Short History of Schism, &c. (London, 1707). Tallents adopted the essentially irenic and undogmatic position expounded in Hales's influential and controversial A Tract Concerning Schism and Schismatics. Wherein Is Briefly Discovered the Original Causes of all Schism first published in 1642. There is a large corpus of High Church writing denouncing on spiritual and temporal grounds the Dissenters' alleged schism from the divine and apostolic episcopal Church. As the Church of England was legally established, High Churchmen called for the strict enforcement of the disabling Test Act.

70. See PW, II, 11-12; Niccolò Machiavelli, The Discourses, edited by Bernard Crick and translated by Leslie J. Walker, S.J. with revisions by Brian Richardson (Harmondsworth, 1970), I, 12-15 (pp. 142-52); The Complete Works of St Thomas More, Volume IV, Utopia, edited by Edward Surtz, S.J., and J. H. Hexter (New Haven and London, 1965), pp. 221-23; Xenophon, Constitution of the Lacedaemonians, VIII, 5, Scripta Minora, translated by E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library, supplemented edition (London, 1968), pp. 163-65; Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', VI; Lives, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols (London, 1914-26), I, pp. 221-25. In the Preface to Moderation in Fashion (1705), Grascome observed: 'Princes therefore, whether they regard their own Safety or their Subjects good, ought by all lawful means to endeavour, that their People's Minds may be so truly and thoroughly [sic] possess'd with a Sense of Religion, that they may think themselves constantly obliged to the Practice of it: And then

will those, who rule for God, govern most safely and honourably, when they rule by Him and his Assistance.

Upon this account in the general (tho' they were mistaken in the particular application, and therefore not justifiable) it was, that the wisest Heathen Emperors, Kings and States, would never endure, that the Religion of their Country should be opposed or affronted; as being sensible, that it was not possible to secure such Men firm to any Humane Authority, who were regardless of a Divine Power ...' (n.p.).

71. John Hales, A Tract Concerning Schism and Schismatics, in Several Tracts (London, 1677), p.206: 'Now in one part of this Controversy betwixt St. Augustine and the Donatist, there is one thing is [sic] very remarkable. The Truth was there where it was by meer chance, and might have been on either side, any Reasons brought by either party notwithstanding'.
72. For Swift's view of the divine institution of tithes, see Corr, III, 374-75. In the Sentiments Swift 'will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right' (PW, II, 5), but elsewhere assumes the 'Jus Divinum of Episcopacy' (see PW, II, 37). See also PW, II, 82.
73. Thomas Long, Mr. Hales's Treatise of Schism Examined and Censured. To which are Added, Mr. Baxter's Arguments for Conformity, Wherein the most Material Passages of the Treatise of Schism are Answered (London, 1678), pp.19, 111-14, 126-31, 138-39.
74. Tallents, A Short History of Schism, p.5.
75. Thomas Long linking the Dissenters to the Donatist schismatics argued that the grounds of the Dissenters' 'schism' were the same as those of the notorious Donatists in the early Church - that the schismatical communion was alleged to be 'purer'. The Donatists pretended 'to greater Purity, better Ordinances, and a greater shew of severity, in the Discipline which they used', see The History of the Donatists (London, 1677), pp.10-11, 53. Edward Stillingfleet in his controversial sermon The Mischief of Separation preached in May 1680 represented separation from the established worship 'on pretence of greater sanctity and purity' as schism, see The Mischief of Separation ..., second edition (London, 1680), especially The Epistle Dedicatory and pp.29-30, 32-33, 48-49. Grascome observed that Stillingfleet who 'wanted not a kindness' for Dissenters and who 'was inclinable enough' to favour their party enraged the Dissenters with such sentiments, see Moderation in Fashion (1705), pp.21-22, 207-08. For the Dissenters' justification of separation from the established worship to one of greater purity see Vincent Alsop's reply to Stillingfleet, The Mischief of Impositions: Or, An Antidote Against a Late Discourse Partly Preached at Guild-Hall Chappel, May 2. 1680. Called The Mischief of Separation (London, 1680).

'Purity of worship' Also writes in the Epistle Dedicatory, 'is no such idle and contemptible thing, to be flam'd off with an impertinent story, that we must not separate from a true Church upon pretence of greater purity'. The Dissenters 'will not be cheated with that expression of pretence of greater Purity'. Leslie explicitly rejected the Quakers' claim to be 'the Purest and most Perfect of Christians', see Primitive Heresie Revived, in Five Discourses (1700), p.122. One of Swift's notes in Section XI of the Tale where Swift is satirizing the biblicism of the Dissenters points out that 'The Author here lashes those Pretenders to Purity' (Tale, p.190).

76. The King of Brobdingnag's comment on Gulliver's disclosure of 'the several Sects among us in Religion and Politicks' is that 'he knew no Reason, why those who entertain Opinions prejudicial to the Publick, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And, as it was Tyranny in any Government to require the first, so it was Weakness not to enforce the second: For, a Man may be allowed to keep Poisons in his Closet, but not to vend them about as Cordials' (PW, XI, 131). The King voices Swift's opinion (compare PW, IX, 261). Swift's analogy of liberty of conscience with vending poison may recall Roger L'Estrange's Dissenter's Sayings. Compare The Dissenters Sayings. Two Parts in One. Published In their own Words ... (London, 1685 [1705]), p.3: '"A Toleration would be the putting a Sword into a mad Man's Hand; a Cup of Poyson into the Hands of a Child ..."'; p.4: '"Will Merciful Rulers set up a Trade for Butchering of Souls, and allow Men to set up a Shop of Poyson, for all Men to Buy, and Take, that will: Yea to Proclaim this Poyson for Souls in Streets and Church-Assemblies"'.
77. But speaking 'for the Honour of Liberty' against 'Tyranny' in The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, Swift says that 'Slavery is of all Things the greatest Clog and Obstacle to Speculation' (PW, II, 18). However, there is a disturbing ambiguity in this statement. Shackling the speculative mind may not be a bad thing in Swift's view when one considers what he writes about the danger of 'Speculations' in this tract and in the 'Remarks' on Tindal's Rights (PW, II, 13-14, 88). Swift's great satires endorse clogs on speculation. In the Tale, the putative Author uses a political metaphor in complaining of Time's 'Methods of Tyranny and Destruction' practised upon modern writings (Tale, p.33). Swift's satire of the ephemerality and worthlessness of modern writings endorses the 'Tyranny' rather than the putative Author's (whiggish) indignation at the tyrant. In Gulliver's Travels, utopian Houyhnhnmland is literally a caste and slave society. The Houyhnhnms are studiously depicted as uniformitarian in sentiments. Swift's fabulous rational animals conspicuously lack that 'wonderful Agility' in 'Speculation' which is a damning characteristic of

- 'the Modern Party' in The Battel of the Books (Tale, p.225; see especially PW,XI,264,267-68,277). In his polemic, Swift certainly supported placing restraints on the anticlerical Whig press (see PW,II,10-11,106-07).
78. John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Cato's Letters, IV, 244,245,247,248 (no.138, 27 July 1723).
 79. For Somers's biography, see Richard Cooksey, Essay on the Life and Character of John Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham (Worcester, 1791). This biography, the author states, is intended to vindicate Somers from the hostile charges laid by 'Swift, that monster of ingratitude, perfidy, and prostitution' (pp.1-2); William L. Sachse, Lord Somers: A Political Portrait (Manchester, 1975); Joseph Addison, The Freeholder, edited by James Leheny (Oxford, 1979), p.208, n.2; Robert M. Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', in Culture and Politics From Puritanism to the Enlightenment, edited by Perez Zagorin (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), pp.165-202.
 80. Andrew Marvell, The Rehearsal Transpros'd, p.12.
 81. Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', esp. pp.185-88 and notes 72-83.
 82. Joseph Addison, To the King dedicated 'To the Right Honourable John Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham', in Miscellaneous Works, edited by A. C. Guthkelch (London, 1914), I,39,43.
 83. For the sexual innuendo of such military metaphors, see William Shakespeare, Henry V, edited by Gary Taylor, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford, 1984), 5.2.136-40,305-15 and notes pp.271-72,279 and for contemporary examples, see Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', p.202, note 82.
 84. For some public attacks, see POAS, V,247, VI,16,198, 222,520,629,660-61 and Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', pp.184-85.
 85. Adams notes a possible 'hit at Tonson as the type of the new busybody tastemaking publisher' and registers the public fact of the close relation between Tonson and Somers in the Kit-Cat Club and the Tory hostility towards Tonson as part of the Modern Whig connection. Adams does not offer further evidence that the Bookseller may be a satiric impersonation of the Whig publisher, see 'In Search of Baron Somers', p.187 and note 80. On Somers's longstanding political and literary relationship with Tonson, see Sachse, Lord Somers, pp.19,68,138,189-92,197-98. For Somers and Tonson as founding members of the Whig Kit-Cat Club, see John Oldmixon, The History of England, 3 vols (London, 1735), III,479. Tonson and Somers are portrayed in the group portraits of the Kit-Cat Club by Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

86. For the Tonson-Dryden connection consult Harry M. Geduld, Prince of Publishers (Bloomington and London, 1969); Kathleen M. Lynch, Jacob Tonson, Kit-Cat Publisher (Knoxville, 1971); James Anderson Winn, John Dryden and His World (New Haven and London, 1987).
87. See the commentary on A Satyr on the modern Translators in Matthew Prior, Literary Works, edited by H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2 vols, second edition (Oxford, 1971), II, 822-23.
88. A Satyr on the modern Translators, 11.2, 12, 52, 77, Literary Works, I, 19-24.
89. Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', The Library, 6th Series, 4 (1982), 99-134 (pp.117-18); idem, 'Swift's Relations with the London Book Trade to 1714', in Author/Publisher Relations during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford, 1983), pp.1-36 (pp.8-12, 22, 25).
90. Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers', pp.108, 118; idem, 'Swift's Relations with the London Book Trade to 1714', pp.12, 14, 19.
91. POAS, VI, 667-68.
92. See PW, IV, 28; PW, VI, 149-55.
93. Ironically, Tonson actually makes a similar declaration in 1711 to that which Swift imputes to the Bookseller here. In his dedication of the 1711 pocket edition of Paradise Lost to Somers, Tonson suggests that it was Somers's connection with the work that really ensured its sale. Also, the brevity and business-like tone of Tonson's dedication as well as of course its form (beginning 'My Lord' and concluding 'My Lord/Your Lordship's/ Ever Obliged Servant') are presaged by Swift's Bookseller in his Dedication to Somers. Tonson wrote:
- My Lord,
It was Your Lordship's Opinion and Encouragement that occasion'd the first appearing of this Poem in the Folio Edition, which from thence has been so well receiv'd, that notwithstanding the Price of it was Four times greater than before, the Sale encreas'd double the Number every Year .../ My Lord / Your Lordship's / Ever Obliged Servant.
(quoted from Lynch, Jacob Tonson, Kit-Cat Publisher, p.129)
94. Sachse, Lord Somers, p.138; Adams, 'In Search of Baron Somers', p.174.
95. A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Tuesday May 29th. 1705 ... By John Mather ... (Oxford, 1705), see esp. pp.19-23.

96. John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, edited by S. R. Cattley and George Townsend, 8 vols (London, 1837-41), IV, 348-49; Ronald H. Fritze, 'Root or Link? Luther's Position in the Historical Debate over the Legitimacy of the Church of England, 1558-1625', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 37 (1986), 288-302 (pp.290-91). Swift owned a copy of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 2 vols (London, 1610), see SC, no. 241.
97. Phillip Harth, Swift and Anglican Rationalism, esp. Ch.2, pp.13-18.
98. Patrick Reilly, Jonathan Swift: The Brave Desponder (Manchester, 1982), pp.86,120.
99. Martin Price, 'Pope, Swift and the past', p.27.
100. Pat Rogers, 'Swift and the Idea of Authority', in The World of Jonathan Swift: Essays for the Tercentenary, edited by Brian Vickers (Oxford, 1968), pp.25-37 (p.34).
101. Gardner D. Stout, Jr, 'Satire and Self-Expression in Swift's Tale of a Tub', in Studies in the Eighteenth Century II Papers presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar Canberra 1970, edited by R. F. Brissenden (Canberra, 1973), pp.323-39 (p.327).
102. Claude Rawson, 'The Character of Swift's Satire: Reflections on Swift, Johnson, and Human Restlessness', in his Order from Confusion Sprung: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature from Swift to Cowper (London, 1985), pp.3-67 (pp.42-44).
103. In his study of the religious background of the Tale, Phillip Harth contends that 'a specific tradition of Anglican apologetics - the Anglican rationalist polemics against Catholicism, Puritanism, and atheism - was the immediate religious and philosophical background of Swift's satire on abuses in religion in A Tale of a Tub' (Swift and Anglican Rationalism, p.154). Harth situates Swift in an essentially Low Church, Latitudinarian religious context (see esp. pp.19-20) which invites misleading inferences as it obscures the significant Laudian High Church element in Swift's reading and Anglican background, especially the influence of Henry Hammond, Archbishops Laud and Sancroft, George Hickes, Charles Leslie, Francis Atterbury and others. An important corrective study of the religious background of A Tale of a Tub opposing Harth's assessment of Swift's Anglican attitude is Paul C. Parlato, 'Vesture in Anglican Tradition: A Frame of Reference for Swift's Tale of a Tub' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1971).
104. On Luther and the Reformation in England, see the overview in A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation, revised edition (Glasgow, 1967), esp. pp.91-126 and Fritze, 'Root or Link? Luther's Position in the

- Historical Debate over the Legitimacy of the Church of England, 1558-1625'. Michael Mullett's remarks on representations of Martin Luther and Luther's position vis-a-vis the Papacy and what G. H. Williams termed the 'Radical Reformation' are germane to an understanding of 'Martin', see Michael Mullett, 'Luther: Conservative or Revolutionary? Was Martin Luther the author of a 'Moderate Reformation'? Or was his progeny to prove a 'Radical Reformation'?', History Today, 33 (December 1983), 39-44.
105. After the accession of the (Lutheran) Hanoverians, militant crypto-Jacobite High Churchmen found it politically apposite to emphasize Anglican doctrinal distinctiveness from Lutheranism and the incomplete reformation of Lutherans. Francis Atterbury notoriously did so in attempting to raise the Tory 'Church-in-danger' electoral issue in his incendiary English Advice To The Freeholders of England (n.p., 1714 [1715]) see p.20. He also suggests George I, advised by a Whig parliament, will be like Henry VIII (p.19). Pro-Hanoverian Whigs responded to the insinuation that the Church was in danger under a Lutheran King. See, for example, [Daniel Defoe], A Reply to a Traiterous Libel, Entituled, English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain (London, 1715), p.21: 'Was not Luther the Bane and Plague of Popery, the Morning Star of the Reformation, the Overthrow of the Popish Interest in Europe, and the Foundation of all the Protestant Churches in the World'. Interestingly, Swift's first biographer John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, a Jacobite (Swift called him 'an honest man, and of good dispositions' when mentioning him for the first time in his correspondence, Corr, IV, 77) looked upon A Tale of a Tub 'as no intended insult against Christianity, but as a satyr against the wild errors of the church of Rome, the slow and incompleat reformation of the Lutherans, and the absurd, and affected zeal of the presbyterians', see Swift: The Critical Heritage, p.128. For a High Church, crypto-Jacobite critique of the religion of the House of Hanover, see Thomas Brett, A Review of the Lutheran Principles (London, 1714).
106. [John Toland], The Memorial of the State of England, In Vindication of the Queen, The Church, And the Administration: Design'd To rectify the Mutual Mistakes of Protestants, And to unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty (London, 1705), p.14.
107. For this episode in Atterbury's career, see G. V. Bennett, The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester (Oxford, 1975), pp.28-30.
108. [Abraham Woodhead], Two Discourses. The First, Concerning the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation. The Second, Concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy (Oxford, 1687), Considerations Concerning

- the Spirit of M. Luther, and the Original of the Reformation, see pp.40,46,48,52, Section 28, esp.pp.53-56.
109. Considerations, pp.56-57,61.
110. [Francis Atterbury], An Answer to Some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther and The Original of the Reformation; Lately Printed at Oxford (Oxford, 1687), 'The Preface', and pp.6-7,7-8.
111. Thomas Deane, The Religion of Mar. Luther Neither Catholick Nor Protestant, Prov'd from his own Works. With some Reflections In Answer to the Vindication of Mar. Luther's Spirit, Printed at the Theater in Oxon. His Vindication being another Argument of the Schism of the Church of England (Oxford, Printed by Henry Cruttenden, One of His Majesty's Printers [for Obadiah Walker], 1688), pp.16-17,22.
112. An Answer to Some Considerations ..., pp.29,38, and see pp.39-42.
113. Considerations, pp.53,54.
114. Considerations, pp.48,57.
115. An Answer to Some Considerations, pp.6-7,57.
116. Considerations, p.2.
117. An Answer to Some Considerations, pp.5,8.
118. C. J. Rawson, '"I the Lofty Stile Decline": Self-apology and the "Heroick Strain" in Some of Swift's Poems', in The English Hero, 1660-1800, edited by Robert Folkenflik (Newark, Delaware, London and Toronto, 1982), pp.79-115 (p.79).
119. Considerations, p.47.
120. An Answer to Some Considerations, p.68.
121. An Answer to Some Considerations, pp.42-43.
122. The Works of John Dryden, Volume II: Poems 1681-1684, edited by H. T. Swedenberg, Jr, et. al. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972), p.42 and p.293n. See also, Charles Leslie, A Parallel Between the Faith and Doctrine of the Present Quakers, And that of the Chief Hereticks in all Ages of The Church. And also a Parallel between Quakerism and Popery (London, 1700), p.47; John Arbuthnot, The History of John Bull, edited by Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson (Oxford, 1976), p.51.
123. Considerations, pp.58-59. On the ill language of Calvin and Atterbury's failure to defend Calvin as he did

Luther, see Thomas Deane, The Religion of Mar. Luther, pp.16-17.

124. Bishop Burnet thought Atterbury's work one of the best vindications of the Church of England issued at the time from Oxford, the best short piece on Luther by an Anglican, see DNB; G. V. Bennett, The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester, p.29. On trial for Jacobite conspiracy against his Lutheran King in 1723, Atterbury in defence of himself said: 'You will pardon me, my Lords, if I mention, what one of my Counsel also did, that thirty-seven years ago I wrote in the Defence of Martin Luther, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the only Divine, or Member of this Church, that has defended him in a Treatise, expressly writ for that purpose, from the infancy of the Reformation to this day', The Speech of Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, At the Bar of the House of Lords, on Saturday, May 11, 1723, In His Defence Against the Bill Then Depending, For Inflicting Pains and Penalties on Him, in Epist. Corr, V, Appendix, No.III, pp.365-396 (p.388). Atterbury's An Answer to Some Considerations was reprinted in 1723. There was much reference to it in the political papers on the Atterbury Plot.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. See PW, XI, xvi-xxi. Arthur E. Case conveniently printed in chronological order the significant passages from all the correspondence of Swift and his friends in Four Essays on 'Gulliver's Travels' (Princeton, 1945; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1958), pp.97-102. In substantially writing Gulliver's Travels in the first half of the 1720s Swift of course may have incorporated earlier ideas and material. The Author of A Tale of a Tub projects 'A Voyage into England, by a Person of Quality in Terra Australis incognita, translated from the Original' (Tale, p.2) and on 28 April 1711 referring to The Spectator, no.50 (27 April 1711) Swift wrote: 'The Spectator is written by Steele, with Addison's help: 'tis often very pretty. Yesterday it was made of a noble hint I gave him long ago for his Tatlers, about an Indian supposed to write his travels into England. I repent he ever had it. I intended to have written a book on that subject. I believe he has spent it all in one paper, and all the under-hints there are mine too' (PW, XV, 254-55). Gulliver's Travels, where an Englishman voyages to remote nations, is a direct reversal of this idea or satiric strategy. For the case that Gulliver may have its origins as a Scriblerian satire and derives from earlier Scriblerian projects, see particularly The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, edited by Charles Kerby-Miller (New Haven, Connecticut, 1950), pp.50-53, 315-20. More generally, the influence of Scriblerus Club literary activity on the later Gulliver's Travels is accepted in scholarship. Opinions shared between members of the Scriblerus Club can be observed appearing later in Gulliver's Travels. For example, in a letter to Swift of 26 June 1714 John Arbuthnot reports that the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Treasurer 'speaks mighty affectionately' of Thomas Parnell 'which you know is an ill sign in Ecclesiastical preferments. witness some, that you know, & I know, wher the contrary was the best sign in the world' (Corr, II, 42). Swift replied: 'Tis as you say, if the Dragon speaks kindly of Parnell, he is gone' (Corr, II, 46). Gulliver tells the Houyhnhnm Master about 'a First or Chief Minister of State', that 'whenever he begins to praise you to others or to your self, you are from that Day forlorn' (PW, XI, 255).
2. On the pamphlet and its prosecution, see Corr, II, 357-59 (Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer, 1 October 1720); Corr, II, 361-62 (Sir Thomas Hanmer to Swift, 22 October 1720); Corr, II, 375 (Sir Constantine Phipps to Swift, 14 January 1721); Poems, I, 236-38, Complete Poems, pp.217-18, 701-02 ('An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet'); Ehrenpreis, Swift, III, 122-30.
3. By 1720 Swift was of course also allied with Archbishop William King in the Irish cause against the English

- Whig government. This political rapprochement between Swift and the Whig Archbishop has been taken to signify Swift's return to his supposedly natural political allegiance, to a fundamental Irish Whiggism. There is evidence, however, that Swift regarded the Irish Whigs as having changed their party-political colours. He describes the Archbishop of Dublin in a letter to Ford of 1719 as 'half a Tory' (Corr, II, 331). Disaffected Irish Whigs are 'perfect Jacobites' (Corr, II, 380).
4. See the important revisionist study of the Atterbury Plot by Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Lord North, Christopher Layer and the Atterbury Plot: 1720-23', in The Jacobite Challenge, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.92-106. Swift's correspondence with Arthur Charleton has not survived. But for references to their friendship and correspondence, see Corr, II, 166n, 173, 250, 253, 254, 271, 274, 331, 348; III, 85, 87, 89; V, 230.
 5. See The Jacobite Attempt of 1719 Letters of James Butler, Second Duke of Ormonde, Relating to Cardinal Alberoni's Project for the Invasion of Great Britain on Behalf of the Stuarts, and to the Landing of a Spanish Expedition in Scotland, edited by William Kirk Dickson, Scottish Historical Society (Edinburgh, 1895), pp.193-94, 199; Ruth Perry, The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist (Chicago and London, 1986), pp.172-75.
 6. Pat Rogers, 'Gay and the World of Opera', in John Gay and the Scriblerians, edited by Peter Lewis and Nigel Wood (London and New York, 1989), pp.147-62 (p.160).
 7. Ragnhild Hatton, George I: Elector and King (London, 1978), p.221; Edward Gregg, 'The Jacobite Career of John, Earl of Mar', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.179-200 (p.184).
 8. Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction' to Ideology and Conspiracy, pp.1-14 (p.11).
 9. For comments on the pamphlet skirmish surrounding Hannibal at the Gates and on the association of Hannibal and Charles XII with Jacobitism, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'The Political Character of Samuel Johnson', in Samuel Johnson: New Critical Essays, edited by Isobel Grundy (London and Totowa, 1984), pp.107-36 (pp.131-32). For Swift, Charles XII, and Jacobitism see Chapter Five.
 10. See the interesting discussion of Jacobite propaganda art in Paul Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale

- University, 1985), Chs 1-3, Vol. I, pp.26-180.
11. Public Record Office, State Papers (hereafter cited as PRO, SP) 35/1/100, 28 August 1714. Quoted in Laurence Hanson, Government and the Press 1695-1763 (London, 1936), p.51; Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', The Library, 6th series, 4 (1982), 99-134 (p.125).
 12. See particularly Isaac Kramnick, Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Bertrand A. Goldgar, 'Gulliver's Travels and the Opposition to Walpole', in The Augustan Milieu: Essays Presented to Louis A. Landa, edited by Henry Knight Miller et. al. (Oxford, 1970), pp.155-73 and his Walpole and the Wits: The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722-1742 (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1976), esp.pp.5,30,49-63; J. A. Downie, 'Walpole, 'the Poet's Foe'', in Britain in the Age of Walpole, edited by Jeremy Black, Problems in Focus (London, 1984), pp.171-88 and his 'The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels', in Swift and His Contexts, edited by John Irwin Fischer, Hermann J. Real and James Woolley (New York, 1989). On the immediate contemporary reception of Gulliver, see Kathleen Williams, ed., Swift: The Critical Heritage (London, 1970), esp.pp.8-15,61-99; Phyllis J. Guskin, '"A very remarkable Book": Abel Boyer's View of Gulliver's Travels', SP, 72 (1975), 439-53; Ehrenpreis, Swift, III, 497-508.
 13. Phillip Harth, 'The Problem of Political Allegory in Gulliver's Travels', MP, 73 (1976), S40-S47; J. A. Downie, 'Political Characterization in Gulliver's Travels', YES, 7 (1977), 108-20; Hatton, George I: Elector and King, p.259; F. P. Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels' (Oxford, 1980), esp.pp.89-122. In reaction to the kind of particular allegorical interpretations pioneered by Charles Firth and advanced by Arthur E. Case which have been very influential in modern criticism on the book, F. P. Lock argues that 'Swift's political commentaries in Gulliver's Travels are expressed through fables and paradigms rather than specific allegories and allusions referring to particular events and politicians'. Lock argues that Swift's satire had contemporary application but its meanings are not limited to or determined by the contemporary political scene. Although he acknowledges that 'there is some particular political satire' (The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.89-90,3).
 14. Edward Rosenheim, Jr. puts it well in his study of Swift's satiric reflection on the Whig prosecution of the Atterbury Plot in Gulliver's Travels: 'Gulliver's Travels is, to be sure, 'above' mere political pamphleteering, but this is so, not because Swift disdains the particulars of political controversy, but because he exploits them in his pursuit of graver, more persistent problems of human belief and conduct.

- If, for today's reader, the book is a timeless assault on pride or hypocrisy or ingratitude, it also remains a record of Swift's response - angry, artful, and immediate - to the manifestation of these sins in the Hanoverian world' ('Swift and the Atterbury Case', in The Augustan Milieu, pp.174-204 (p.204)). Rosenheim's essay and the discussion of the satire on the Emperor of Lilliput's 'Mercy' by R. F. Kennedy, 'Swift and Suetonius', Notes and Queries, n.s.,16 (1969), 340-41 illustrate how Swift's satire has particular political and 'universal' meaning.
15. Brean Hammond remarks that Swift combined particular and general satire 'skilfully enabling the possibility of identification while avoiding certainty', see his Gulliver's Travels, Open Guides to Literature (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, 1988), p.54. See also David Bywaters, 'Gulliver's Travels and the Mode of Political Parallel during Walpole's Administration', ELH, 54 (1987), 717-40.
 16. For different views on the passage about Queen Anne and first ministers, see Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.83-85 and Michael Treadwell, 'Benjamin Motte, Andrew Tooke and Gulliver's Travels', in Proceedings, pp.287-304 (p.299 note 48).
 17. The Jacobite Matthias Earbery remarks that speaking against King William or for the Tory part of Queen Anne's reign is regarded as seditious, see The Universal Spy or, The Royal Oak Journal Reviv'd, no. 9 (2 September 1732) in PRO, SP 36/28, ff.90-91.
 18. See, for example: [Thomas D'Urfey], 'The Peace in View. A Song to the Tune of A Health to the Constitution', POAS, 7, 585-89; An Hue and Cry after Dr. S—T (London, 1714) and Dr. S—'s Real Diary (London, 1715) reprinted in Swiftiana II: Bickerstaffiana and Other Early Material on Swift 1708-1715 (New York, 1975); Corr,II,172-73. When publicly denounced in 1730 by Viscount Allen 'as a Jacobite, and Libeller of the Government &c' Swift responded with the violent satiric invective of Traulus (see Corr,III,374,396; Poems,III,794-801). Swift remained a suspected person in Hanoverian Ireland, his correspondence subject to perustration as the Jacobite Lord Bathurst remarks in a letter to Swift of 1730 (Corr,III,401). For a discussion of the question of Swift and Jacobitism, see Chapter Five.
 19. See the important article by C. R. Kropf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', ECS, 8 (1974-75), 153-68. Kropf comments that 'Swift's careful handling of the manuscript and publication of Gulliver's Travels' was probably influenced by 'fear of a possible Scandalum Magnatum suit from someone in a government he had already sufficiently irritated' (pp.166-67, citing Harold Williams, The Text of 'Gulliver's Travels' (Cambridge, 1952) on Swift's relation to the manuscript and editions).

20. For reports from informers on the press in the early Hanoverian period, see for example PRO, SP 35/3/78; SP 35/51/34,35. For a reported account of the discovery of 'Parson Cart's lodgings' and subsequent apprehension of the Jacobite author Thomas Carte, see PRO, SP 35/40/2,3.
21. PRO, SP 35/31/17; Michael Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study in the Origins of the Modern English Press (London and Toronto, 1987), pp.136-40.
22. On this point, see particularly: Donald Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', The Library, 5th Series, 32 (1977), 315-32 (pp.316,318) and P. B. J. Hyland, 'Liberty and Libel: Government and the Press during the Succession Crisis in Britain, 1712-1716', English Historical Review, 101, no.401 (1986), 863-88 (pp.865,877).
23. PRO, SP 36/19,f.102.
24. This view derives from a broad reading of the Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic for the reign of George I, covering the years 1714-1727. See also Rocco Lawrence Capraro, 'Political Broadside Ballads in Early Hanoverian London', Eighteenth-Century Life, 11 (1987), 12-21.
25. J. C. D. Clark, English Society 1688-1832 (Cambridge, 1985), p.144. For recent important studies of the press and politics: Jeremy Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century (London and Sydney, 1987), esp. Ch.6 'Controlling the Press: Censorship and Subsidies', pp.135-96 and Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole, esp.Ch.7 'The Press and Politics' and Ch.8 'Political Control of the Press', pp.113-54. For richly documented studies of the Jacobite press, see Paul Chapman, 'Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983) and Paul Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985).
26. R.J. Goulden, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei: Charles Delafaye's Paperchase', The Book Collector, 28 (1979), 368-90 (pp.385-86); Clark, English Society 1688-1832, p.145; Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century, p.163.
27. On the literature concerned with the Shephard case and government censorship, see Manuel Schonhorn, 'Defoe and James Shephard's Assassination Plot of 1718: Two New Pamphlets', SEL, 29 (1989), 447-62.
28. PRO, SP 35/12, f.360; quoted in Goulden, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei', p.371.

29. See PRO, SP 43/63; Goulden, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei', passim, quotation on p.377; Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century, p.163. There are copies of Vox Populi, Vox Dei at PRO, SP 35/19, f.135 and SP 43/61, no.86.
30. See Capraro, 'Political Broadside Ballads in Early Hanoverian London', pp.13-15; Goulden, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei', p.368. Thomas Gent's account of a clandestine meeting between his master Francis Clifton and himself, and the Bishop of Rochester, Francis Atterbury, affords a wonderful glimpse of secret Tory press operations and the constant apprehension of 'direful consequences' under which Tory printers worked in the reign of George I, see Thomas Gent, The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York; Written by Himself (London, 1832; reprinted New York and London, 1974), esp.pp.85-90. For Gent on Matthews and Clifton, see also pp.91-93,95. For the arrests of Gent, Clifton and others at the time of the Atterbury Plot and trial, see pp.121-29.
31. The much-prosecuted Mist describes his sufferings as a Newgate prisoner on account of the 'ever-memorable Letter of the 27th of May' in 'The Preface' of A Collection of Miscellany Letters, Selected out of Mist's 'Weekly Journal'. The Second Volume (London, 1722), pp.ix-xi. For Neynoe's authorship, see Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IX (London, 1895), pp.234-35. On Neynoe and his involvement in the Atterbury Plot where he was an evidence, see Cruickshanks, 'Lord North, Christopher Layer and the Atterbury Plot: 1720-23', pp.100-01. For a sympathetic account of Neynoe who drowned while trying to escape from the Messenger's custody, see The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York; Written by Himself, pp.125-28. Cf 'Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin the B---- of R---'s French Dog', Poems, I, 297-301, l.22: '...t'other Puppy that was drown'd'.
32. Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole, p.142.
33. Goulden, 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei', p.368; Jeremy Black, 'Trying Mist's Men: Fresh Material from the Althorp Papers', Notes and Queries, n.s., 33 (1986), 497-98; Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole, pp.145, 146,148,149.
34. Matthias Earbery, The Occasional Historian, Numb. III (London, 1731), p.17. See also his The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs ... The Second Edition. With Additions (London, 1720) with A Vindication of the History of Clemency, With Reflections upon the Late Proceedings against the Author. In a Letter from Himself at Paris, to his Friend in London ... (dated May.30.1718) (London, 1720). Government action against Earbery for The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs is noticed in Clark, English Society 1688-1832, p.144.

35. The Occasional Historian, Numb. III (London, 1731), pp.23-24,32-33,37-38. The Occasional Historian was silenced by the government after the publication of the fourth number - an historical essay upon and in defence of English Hereditary Right. Earbery makes similar points to those in the third number of The Occasional Historian and again implicitly compares George II with Tiberius in the suppressed paper The Universal Spy or, The Royal Oak Journal Reviv'd, no. 9 (2 September 1732) in PRO, SP 36/28, ff.90-91.
36. Irvin Ehrenpreis has summarized the findings of modern research on this satiric passage: 'when Gulliver reports the praise heaped on the Emperor of Lilliput for his merciful disposition, we notice that some crucial words are in italics, a feature inviting us to scrutinize them. Research discloses that the words echo the language of Suetonius on Domitian and Tiberius. They also echo the language used by and about George I in connection with the suppression of the 1715 rebellion and again with the trial of Atterbury. We may suspect therefore that the passage refers specifically to the King and asks us to regard him as a bloodthirsty hypocrite in the fashion of the sadistic emperors of Rome. When we go outside the book, our suspicion is confirmed by a letter in which Swift mentions the topic and also by some of his marginalia' (Swift, III, pp.453-54). Swift scholarship however has neglected a topical piquancy in the satire's flavour in the 1720s. The spurious mercy of George I was a Jacobite topos and Earbery fled prosecution for publishing The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs.
37. See Cruickshanks, 'Lord North, Christopher Layer and the Atterbury Plot: 1722-23', pp.99 and 105, n.28. It is not inconceivable that Swift may have had direct knowledge of the political sympathies of Thames Watermen from the Duke of Wharton himself with whom Swift was acquainted (Corr, II, 285).
38. See John Irwin Fischer, 'The Government's Response to Swift's An Epistle to a Lady', PQ, 65 (1986), 39-59 (p.50).
39. John Gay, Dramatic Works, edited by John Fuller, 2 vols (Oxford, 1983), II, 70. The passage is remarked in Nigel Wood, 'Introduction' to John Gay and the Scriblerians, pp.11-21 (p.13).
40. Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.49-69 (pp.53-54 and p.67 notes 75 and 76).
41. For example, see A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend, With an Account of the Travels of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver and a Character of the Author. To which is added, The True Reasons why a certain Doctor was made a

- Dean (London, 1726), reprinted in Gulliveriana VI: Critiques of Gulliver's Travels and Allusions Thereto. Book One. Facsimile Reproductions with an Introduction by Jeanne K. Welcher and George E. Bush, Jr. (Delmar, New York, 1976), pp.8-9.
42. [Edmund Curll], A Key, Being Observations and Explanatory Notes, Upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver ... In a Letter to Dean Swift ... (London, 1726), reprinted in Gulliveriana VI (Delmar, New York, 1976), 'Observations ... upon the Voyage to Lilliput', p.16.
43. For differing views on the significance of these textual variants, see Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.79-81 and Treadwell, 'Benjamin Motte, Andrew Tooke and Gulliver's Travels', p.299,n51.
44. [Edmund Curll], A Key ..., 'Observations ... upon the Voyage to Lilliput', pp.9,17,25-26,13, 'Observations ... upon the Voyage to Laputa &c', p.27.
45. Gulliver Decypher'd: or Remarks on a late Book, intituled, Travels Into Several Remote Nations of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. Vindicating The Reverend Dean on whom it is maliciously Father'd ... (London, [1726]), reprinted in Gulliveriana VI (Delmar, New York, 1976), pp.10,30.
46. [Jonathan Smedley], Gulliveriana: Or, A Fourth Volume of Miscellanies. Being a Sequel of the Three Volumes, published by Pope and Swift ... (London, 1728), p.280.
47. A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend ..., pp.10-11, see pp.9-14.
48. Donald Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', pp.316,318-19.
49. The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716, edited by William Matthews (London, 1939), p.152.
50. For example the Jacobite Roman Catholic George Flint (The Shift Shifted, no.16, 18 August 1716, pp.94-95) claims 'I, for Example, am an honest Low-Churchman, love K. GEORGE very well, and the Protestant Succession' but he is shocked by George I's lack of clemency, perpetuated parliaments and a standing army and witnesses a universal discontent and a general voice for the Pretender since the Hanoverian accession. The Jacobite Duke of Wharton's The True Briton (19 August 1723) celebrates 'The old Whigs of Rome'. Among Jacobite works rejecting 'Party' in 1722: The Freeholder's Journal (31 January 172[2]), p.3; [George Granville, Baron Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England (London, 1722), p.6; The Second and Last English Advice, To The Freeholders of Englan[d] (London, 1722) rejects 'talk of Whig or Tory' but

- admits in the course of argument a leaning 'to what is called the Tory or Church-party' (pp.40,23); [Matthias Earbery], An Historical Account of the Advantages that have Accru'd to England, By the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover (London, 1722), p.44: 'I am no Party Writer; I neither prefer the Interests of Whig or Tory ... the Question now is not whether Whig or Tory Church of Englandman or Dissenter is to prevail, but between English Liberty and Foreign arbitrary Dominion'.
51. See generally Chapman, 'Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766' and Monod, 'For The King To Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788'.
 52. Compare also: Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, edited by Paul Turner, The World's Classics (Oxford, 1986), p.314 and Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, edited by Peter Dixon and John Chalker, with an introduction by Michael Foot, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1985), p.350.
 53. Pat Rogers, Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England (Brighton, 1985), Ch.2 'Shapes and Postures. Swift, Walpole and the Rope-Dancers', pp.71-86. The essay originally appeared in Papers on Language and Literature, 8 (1972), 159-71.
 54. Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.86-87.
 55. Some Materials Towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II By John, Lord Hervey, edited by Romney Sedgwick, 3 vols (London, 1931 [1970]), I, p.84; The House of Commons 1715-54, The History of Parliament, edited by Romney Sedgwick, 2 vols (London, 1970), II, 514.
 56. For a later 'Swiftian' play with the absolutist ceremony, see Laurence Sterne, The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, edited by Ian Campbell Ross, The World's Classics (Oxford, 1983), Vol. VI, Chap. XVI, p.349 and note on p.582.
 57. The Second and Last English Advice, To The Freeholders of Englan[d] (London, 1722), p.39.
 58. For close Jacobite analogues to Swift's allusive satire on the clemency of George I, see The Shift Shifted, no.1 (5 May 1716); no.3 (19 May 1716); no.8 (23 June 1716); To Robert Walpole Esq. (n.p., [1717]), p.2; The Freeholder's Journal (31 January 172[2]), p.5; Matthias Earbery, The History of the Clemency of Our English Monarchs ... The Second Edition. With Additions (London, 1720); The Second and Last English Advice, pp.17,20,23,30-31; [George Granville, Baron Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, to His Friend in England, pp.4-5. Swift, of course, was well aware of the polemical controversy over George I's 'clemency,

- mercy, and forgiving temper' (Corr,II,436; PW,V,254).
59. Quotation is from an entry for March 1723 in the Tory Sir Edward Knatchbull's Parliamentary Diary, in Sedgwick, ed., The House of Commons 1715-1754, I, p.66.
 60. See my 'Possible 'Hints' for Gulliver's Travels in the Voyages of Jan Huygen Van Linschoten', Notes and Queries, n.s., 33 (1986), 47-50 (pp.47-48).
 61. The Weekly Journal discussed a reported sighting of a floating island near Gibraltar in 1718, see Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century, p.213. The italicized 'Floating Island' might have amusingly reminded contemporaries of earlier satires on imaginary voyages, see Richard Head, The Floating Island (London, 1673).
 62. The satire on George I is annotated in Paul Turner's World's Classics edition of Gulliver's Travels, see esp.pp.341-42. Pat Rogers remarks Hanover's 'highly musical court' in 'Gay and the World of Opera', p.151. In Swift's disaffected 'Directions for a Birth-day Song', the Whig poet is instructed to take his panegyrical song on the Hanoverian monarch to 'Minheer Hendel' to be set 'to some Italian Tune' (Poems,II,469).
 63. The Second and Last English Advice, p.40 and passim; To Robert Walpole Esq., passim; [Earbery], An Historical Account ... Part II, esp.pp.43-44; [Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, passim.
 64. The Second and Last English Advice, pp.25-26; To Robert Walpole Esq., passim; [Earbery], An Historical Account ...Part II, p.52; [Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, p.4.
 65. Case, Four Essays on 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.88-89; Pat Rogers, 'Gulliver and the Engineers', MLR, 70 (1975), 260-70 (p.262); Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.102-03.
 66. See Louis G. Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', American Historical Review, 82 (1977), 843-74 (pp.861,865 and see the Dutch print 'Qualis vir Talis Oratio', dated October 16, 1688 reproduced as fig.1 on p.863).
 67. See Paul Turner, ed., Gulliver's Travels, p.328; Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels', pp.16-17,121, 131-32,138-39.
 68. Charlwood Lawton, The Jacobite Principles Vindicated ... (London, 1693), in Somers Tracts, X, 536,527.
 69. Honesty is the Best Policy, in Somers Tracts, X, 212,213.
 70. The Shift Shifted, no.7 (16 June 1716), p.41. Compare

- John Gay, To my ingenious and worthy Friend W[illiam] L[owndes], ll.55-57: 'Why need we armys when the land's in peace? / Soldiers are perfect devils in their way, / When once they're rais'd, they're cursed hard to lay', John Gay, Poetry and Prose, edited by Vinton A. Dearing with Charles E. Beckwith, 2 vols (Oxford, 1974), I, 246. Total opposition to standing armies is a topos of Jacobite publicists. Old Whigs called for a reduction in the size of the army, see Cato's Letters, 4 vols (n.p., 1754), III, 212-23 (no.95, 22 September 1722).
71. Gulliver Decypher'd, p.38; [Jonathan Smedley], Gulliveriana, p.282 (identifying the King's words against a standing army as libel).
72. [Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, p.5. And for Tory agitation to repeal clauses in the Act, see Parl. Hist., VII, cols 929-35. For Swift's refusal to read the Act of Parliament concerning the plague see his letter to Chetwode of 13 March 1722 (Corr, II, 422).
73. Select Letters Taken from Fog's Weekly Journal, 2 vols (London, 1732), II, 72-78. For a later Swiftian ridicule of Whig deciphering, see An Examination of Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities, in the City of Dublin (1732), PW, XII, 213-32.
74. See for example: [Francis Atterbury], English Advice to the Freeholders of England (n.p., 1714 [1715]), p.26; [Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, p.4; The Second and Last English Advice, pp.3-5, 38.
75. [Lansdowne], A Letter from a Noble-Man Abroad, pp.3, 4, 5, 8. See my 'Swift's Politics: A Preface to Gulliver's Travels', Monash Swift Papers. Number One, edited by Clive T. Probyn and Bryan Coleborne (Monash University, 1988), pp.41-65 (pp.51-53).
76. Cato's Letters, 4 vols (n.p., 1754), II, 12, 13; III, 247.
77. A Collection of Miscellany Letters, Selected out of Mist's Weekly Journal. The Third Volume (London, 1727), p.89. Swift was reading both 'Cato' and Mist in 1721-22, see Corr, II, 380, 422. For other Jacobite examples, see The Shift Shifted, no.7 (16 June 1716), p.41; The Shift Shifted, no.8 (23 June 1716), p.46; The Shift Shifted, no.10 (7 July 1716), pp.56-57; The Shift Shifted, no.16 (18 August 1716), p.94 (King George as Moloch); The Freeholder's Journal, no.10 (23 March 172[2]), pp.56-57. Also, Swift's arresting anecdote in the famous fourth Drapier's Letter: of 'the known Story of a Scotch Man, who receiving Sentence of Death, with all the Circumstances of Hanging, Beheading, Quartering, Embowelling, and the like; cried out, What need all this COOKERY?' (PW, X, 67) might be compared with a violent sardonic passage in Charles Leslie's

- notorious tract against William III, Gallienus Redivivus, or, Murther Will Out, &c. Being a True Account of the De-Witting of Glencoe, Gaffney, &c. (Edinburgh, 1695), p.18: 'But our Milder Order, bid only EXTIRPATE, and that not this or that Body, or making Distinctions of Old or Young, Men or Women --- What need all that Cookery!'
78. David Hume, Essays: Moral, Political and Literary (1741-42; London, Oxford University Press, 1963), p.74.
79. Reproduced in Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Sir Roger Newdigate's Essays on Party, c.1760', The English Historical Review, 102 (1987), 394-400 (p.398).
80. Edward Maunde Thompson, ed., Letters of Humphrey Prideaux Sometime Dean of Norwich to John Ellis Sometime Under-Secretary of State 1674-1722 (London, 1875; rpt. New York and London, 1965), p.156.
81. Quoted in James Leheny ed., Joseph Addison The Freeholder (Oxford, 1979), p.17.
82. Bruce Lenman, 'Physicians and Politics in the Jacobite Era', in The Jacobite Challenge, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.74-91 (p.89).
83. For the presence of Lycurgan Sparta in Swift's work, see the evidence brought together in my 'Swift and Sparta: The Nostalgia of Gulliver's Travels', MLR, 78 (1983), 513-31.
84. The Works of John Dryden, edited by Sir Walter Scott, revised by George Saintsbury (London, 1893), XVIII, 51. See also John Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays, edited by George Watson, 2 vols (London and New York, 1962), II, 69. As Steven N. Zwicker observes (Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry: The Arts of Disguise (Princeton, N. J., 1984), pp.182-84) the passage reappears in The Dedication of the Aeneis in the great 1697 Virgil although Dryden's declared preference for ideal Roman and Spartan constitutions to the Venetian commonwealth is replaced with the patriotic statement that he is 'better pleas'd to have been born an English Man' (see The Poems of John Dryden, edited by James Kinsley, 4 vols (Oxford, 1958), III, 1014). In his essay 'Of friendship' Montaigne wrote of La Boétie: 'And I know further that if he had had the choice, he would rather have been born in Venice than in Sarlat, and with reason. But he had another maxim sovereignly imprinted in his soul, to obey and submit most religiously to the laws under which he was born' (Essays, I:28, in The Complete Works of Montaigne, translated by Donald M. Frame (London, 1957), p.144). In 'Of vanity', Montaigne writes: 'We are prone to be discontented with the

- present state of things. But I maintain, nevertheless, that to wish for the government of a few in a democratic state, or another type of government in a monarchy, is foolish and wrong' (Essays, III:9, in The Complete Works of Montaigne, p.731).
85. See Charlwood Lawton, The Jacobite Principles Vindicated (1693), in Somers Tracts, X, 540 and The True Briton (30 December 1723).
 86. The Occasional Historian, Numb.II (London, 1731), pp.4,6.
 87. An Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru'd to England, By the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover (London, 1722), p.21.
 88. Compare also PW,II,17-18. For contemporary Whig animadversion on the Jacobite 'Republican Scheme', see The Freeholder's Alarm to his Brethren: Or, The Fate of Britain Determin'd by the Ensuing Election (London, 1734), esp.pp.14,19-21,23.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. The Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, edited by Benjamin Rand (London and New York, 1900), pp.349-50. See also Douglas Coombs, The Conduct of the Dutch: British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance During the War of the Spanish Succession (The Hague, 1958), p.12; Geoffrey Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, rev.ed. (London, 1987), p.67; J. H. Plumb, The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725 (London, 1967), p.153 n.1; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction', in Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh, 1982), p.9; T. N. Corns, W. A. Speck and J. A. Downie, 'Archetypal Mystification: Polemic and Reality in English Political Literature, 1640-1750', Eighteenth Century Life, 7, n.s.3 (1982), 1-27 (p.17).
2. [Matthew Tindal], New High-Church Turn'd Old Presbyterian (London, 1709), p.20.
3. See, for example, March and October, A Dialogue (London, 1712), pp.5, 21, 28-29; David Hayton, 'The 'Country' interest and the party system, 1689-c.1720', in Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784, edited by Clyve Jones (Leicester, 1984), pp.37-85 (p.74 n).
4. James Montgomery, The People of England's Grievances offered to be enquired into, and redressed by their Representatives in Parliament [1689?], in Somers Tracts, X, 542-46 (p.543); [Charles Leslie], A Catalogue of Books of the Newest Fashion, to be Sold by Auction at the Whiggs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes in Prating-Alley, near the Deanry of St. Paul's [London, 1694], pp.1, 6, 7.
5. J. V. Guerinot, Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope 1711-1744. A Descriptive Bibliography (London, 1969), pp.3-4.
6. See, for example, An Examination of the Third and Fourth Letters to a Tory Member. Relating to the Negotiations for a Treaty of Peace in 1709 ... (London, 1711), pp.6-7. It cannot be simply assumed that the rhetoric of early eighteenth-century polemical writers deliberately distorts the political reality and the political texts of their adversaries for partisan purposes. Whig and Tory propagandists may have fully subscribed to the interpretations expounded in their papers of their opponents' political meaning. On this point see generally W. A. Speck, Society and Literature in England, 1700-60 (Dublin and Atlantic Highlands, N. J., 1983) and his 'Swift and the Historian', in Proceedings, pp.257-68. Animus against the Dutch in post-Revolution political writing, as contemporary Whig and Tory writers were aware, potentially activated

disaffected political meanings.

7. The Lockhart Papers, edited by Anthony Aufrere, 2 vols (London, 1817), I, 509-20 (p.513); D. Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14 (Edinburgh, 1984), p.64.
8. The importance of this propaganda project has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized in the large corpus of commentary on Swift's recruitment and role as ministerial writer. For recent detailed accounts of Swift's work for the government in the last four years of Anne's reign, see F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics (London, 1983), pp.1-69; J. A. Downie, Jonathan Swift, Political Writer (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley, 1984), pp.135-97; Frank H. Ellis, 'Introduction', in Exam, pp.xxi-lxiii (see Frank H. Ellis, '"A Quill worn to the Pith in the Service of the State": Swift's Examiner', in Proceedings, pp.73-82); J. A. Downie, 'Swift and the Oxford Ministry: New Evidence', Swift Studies, 1 (1986), 2-8.
9. On the profound impact of the issue of Jacobitism during Anne's reign and after, see G. V. Bennett, 'Jacobitism and the Rise of Walpole', in Historical Perspectives, edited by Neil McKendrick (London, 1974), pp.70-92 and his 'English Jacobitism, 1710-1715; Myth and Reality', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 32 (1982), 137-51; Margaret Steele, 'Anti-Jacobite pamphleteering, 1701-1720', The Scottish Historical Review, 60 (1981), 140-55. Tory division on the succession issue split the party in the last years of Anne's reign, see Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, pp.82-94, and B. W. Hill, The Growth of Parliamentary Parties 1689-1742 (London, 1976), pp.139-46.
10. Hill, The Growth of Parliamentary Parties 1689-1742, p.134.
11. Charles Ford remarked on Swift's denial of any Jacobite intentions in the ministry in the manuscript of 'Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs': 'a great part of it is as much for [Bolingbroke's] service as if he had given directions himself to have it done. What relates to the Pretender is of the utmost use to him' (Corr, II, 65-66, 17 July 1714). For examples of Swift demonstrating the Jacobitism of the Whig party and Whig principles, see Examiner, No. 16, 16 November 1710, Exam, pp.39-41; Examiner, No. 40, 3 May 1711, Exam, pp.405-07; Examiner, No. 44, 31 May 1711, Exam, p.454; PW, VI, 145-46; PW, VIII, 40, 45; PW, XIV, 7. On Swift's deployment of the charge of Jacobitism against the Whigs, see F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp.120-33. Swift's writings are identified with the Jacobite October Club by Daniel Defoe in The Secret History of the October-Club, From Its Original to this Time. By a Member. Part II (London,

- 1711), pp. 27, 42, and see the appended song, p. 92, lines 25-26. On page 63, an October Club member says: 'we have spread a report, That the Dissenters are for bringing in the Pretender, and we endeavour to make them odious upon that Account: Now we cannot own, what we brand another for; therefore it is but prudence to act with moderation ...'.
12. Ellen Douglass Leyburn, 'Swift's View of the Dutch', PMLA, 66 (1951), 734-45 (p. 734). For the view that Swift did not overtly attack the Dutch, except for their religion, before 1710, see also Donald L. Wing, 'Swift and Holland' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1980), esp. pp. [2], 226, 248.
 13. For Swift's prosecution of party extremism, see Pat Rogers, 'Swift and Bolingbroke on Faction', JBS, 9 (1970), 71-101, and Daniel Eilon, 'Private Spirit: The Prosecution of Self-Interest and Faction in Swift's Satire', History of Political Thought, 5 (1984), 79-89. F. P. Lock (Swift's Tory Politics) detects Tory and extremist positions behind the ostensible moderation of Swift's political rhetoric.
 14. The definitive study of Anne is Edward Gregg, Queen Anne (London, Boston, Henley, 1980).
 15. See Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp. 65-69; Eveline Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45 (London, 1979), pp. 2-3; Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14, pp. 52-54. Swift was loyal to Oxford but his correspondence reveals apprehension over Oxford's imputed intention 'to declare for the Whigs' (PW, XVI, 643-44; Corr, I, 339-40; Corr, II, 21). Yet Swift's feelings fluctuated. There are clearly reservations in his letters to John Arbuthnot of 22 July 1714 and Charles Ford of 25 July 1714 about the new Tory regime on Oxford's removal (see Corr, II, 75, 83). Swift had elected to follow the dismissed Oxford in his retirement (Corr, II, 90, 91, 96-97).
 16. See L. G. Wickham-Legg, 'Extracts from Jacobite Correspondence, 1712-1714', English Historical Review, 30 (1915), 502-18; H.N. Fieldhouse, 'Bolingbroke's Share in the Jacobite Intrigue of 1710-14', English Historical Review, 52 (1937), pp. 443-59. On the involvement of the Oxford ministry with St. Germain and parliamentary Jacobitism see Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14, passim.
 17. Leyburn, 'Swift's View of the Dutch', 735.
 18. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, esp. pp. 119-20, 133; J. A. Downie, Jonathan Swift, Political Writer, Appendix II: 'Swift's Alleged Jacobitism', pp. 344-45. See also, John Irwin Fischer, review of J. A. Downie, Jonathan Swift: Political Writer, Scriblerian, 17 (1985), 170-73: Swift 'was no Jacobite' (p. 172). An historian of

Jacobitism, however, finds Swift 'ambivalent' on Jacobites and their doctrines, see Frank McLynn, The Jacobites (London, 1985), p.148.

19. Quoted in Exam, p.xxviii.
20. Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Jonathan Swift (London, 1752; rpt. New York, 1974), p.47.
21. J. A. Downie and David Woolley, 'Swift, Oxford, and the Composition of Queen's Speeches, 1710-1714', BLJ, 8 (1982), 121-46, and see J. A. Downie, 'Swift and the Oxford Ministry: New Evidence', Swift Studies, 1 (1986), 2-8.
22. See Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, p.120; Downie, Jonathan Swift, Political Writer, pp.146-49; Exam, pp.xxviii-xxxii, p.373n; W. A. Speck, 'Swift and the Historian', Proceedings, pp.257-58.
23. Pat Rogers interprets this as evidence that Swift in effect took the Jacobite side, see Complete Poems, p.804, note to line 40 of 'The Revolution at Market Hill'.
24. Downie, Jonathan Swift, Political Writer, p.345.
25. Corr, II, 156 (Erasmus Lewis to Swift, [January 1715]); Corr, II, 158-59 (Swift to Matthew Prior, 1 March 1715); Corr, II, 166-67 (The Duke of Ormonde to Swift, [3 May 1715]); Corr, II, 167-69 (John Barber to Swift, 3 May 1715). Barber is writing before the Jacobite Rising in 1715: 'Our Friends here and all the Kingdom over are in great Spirit. we shan't always groan under the Burden. I wish I might speak out' (p.169); Corr, II, 195 (Swift to Bishop Atterbury, 24 March 1716); Corr, II, 197 (Bishop Atterbury to Swift, 6 April 1716); Corr, II, 218-19 (Viscount Bolingbroke to Swift, 23 October 1716); Corr, II, 435 (Swift to Robert Cope, 9 October 1722).
26. Mrs. Caesar, wife of the Jacobite Tory Charles Caesar, concludes her letter to Swift of 6 August 1732: 'so with M^r Casars and my best wishes thou Worthy Witty Honest Dean Adieu' (Corr, IV, 55). For some examples of the Jacobite nuance and association of the label 'honest', see Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Oxford Historical Society, 11 vols (Oxford, 1885-1921), V, 65, 10 June 1715: 'all honest Men were obliged to drink King James's Health & to shew other tokens of Loyalty very privately in their own Houses, or else in their own Chambers, or else out of Town. For my own Part I walk'd out of Town to Foxcomb with honest Will. Fullerton, ... & with honest M^r. John Leake'; V, 264, 12 July 1716: '[Dr South] was look'd upon as pretty honest, considering he was a Complyer'; V, 281, 1 September 1716: 'He says that my L^d Oxford is very honest, & y^e he had managed things for the

King's Restauration'; V,370,14 December 1716: 'I was in company last Night with three or 4 honest Gentlemen, who advised me to take great care to secure my MSS. Books, such as those that these Remarks are contained in'; VIII,233,28 June 1724: 'He told me he believ'd he was an honest Man, & a true Friend to K. James III'; see also III,12,199,251; IV,389,409; V,100,170; VII,32,283; VIII,75; XI,239. See also The Jacobite Attempt of 1719. Letters of James Butler, Second Duke of Ormonde . . ., edited by William Kirk Dickson, Scottish Historical Society (Edinburgh, 1895), pp.51,102,129,134,146. The Jacobite historian Thomas Carte was regarded as 'honest and zealous, but indiscreet', quotation in Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables, p.24. Jacobitical tracts immediately after the Revolution included Honesty is the best Policy, in Somers Tracts, X,211-18 and An Honest Commoner's Speech, in Somers Tracts, X,324-31. For a Whig attack on sophistical Tory principles which satirically uses the label, see The Thoughts of an Honest Tory, Upon the Present Proceedings of that Party. In a Letter to a Friend in Town (London, 1710). 'Honest' as signifying incorruptible Country Tory and legitimist principles is common in Jacobite Tory writings. The association of 'honest' with Jacobitism is observed in Paul Chapman, 'Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983) and P. Monod, 'For the King to Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985). On Jacobite enthusiasm for and involvement with Charles XII of Sweden and lament at his death in 1718, see Charles XII of Sweden. A Character and Two Poems, with an Introduction by Eveline Cruickshanks (Locks' Press, Brisbane, 1983), pp.ii-v. In the pamphlet literature at the time of the Swedish-Jacobite conspiracy of 1716-17, Jacobites are seen to admire and approve Charles XII of Sweden, see for instance: To Robert Walpole Esq (n.p., n.d., subscribed by Wm Thomas), pp.5-7. (This Jacobite tract is tentatively dated 1716 in the British Library Catalogue but reference to the 'discoveries lately made of a Design in the King of Sweden of Invading us' (p.5) places the work in 1717. The papers of the Swedish envoy, Gyllenborg, were seized in January 1717.) Defoe, who admired Charles XII (see The History of the Wars of his Present Majesty, Charles XII (London, 1720); Maximillian E. Novak, Defoe and the Nature of Man (Oxford, 1963), pp.137-39), criticized his later career. The attribution of the History to Defoe is in fact questioned in P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, 'What if Defoe did not Write the History of the Wars of Charles XII?', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 80 (1986), 333-47. In A Short View of the Conduct of the King of Sweden (London, [1717]), Defoe notes: 'Yet to the Encouragement of a sinking Cause, the King of Sweden, has the Hearts of a considerable Party [the

- Jacobites], and his Name is to them as Savoury Ointment' (pp.4-5). See also [Daniel Defoe], What if the Swedes Should Come? With Some Thoughts About Keeping the Army on Foot, Whether they Come or Not (London, 1717), p.8. Defoe accuses Swift of supporting a Swedish-Jacobite invasion of Britain, see An Account of the Swedish and Jacobite Plot (London, 1717), p.21; see Maximillian E. Novak, 'Swift and Defoe: Or, How Contempt Breeds Familiarity and a Degree of Influence', in Proceedings, pp.157-73 (p.165). For the general contention that Swift was aware of 'secret modes of exchanging information', see Paul J. Korshin, 'Deciphering Swift's Codes', in Proceedings, pp.123-34 (esp.pp.129,134); Maximillian E. Novak, 'Swift and Defoe: Or, How Contempt Breeds Familiarity and a Degree of Influence', in Proceedings, pp.157-73 (p.159); and see, Exam, pp.lx-lxi.
27. Ehrenpreis dates the letter as begun on 10 January 1722 and completed during the year, see Swift, III, 136,445.
 28. On the Enquiry, see the annotated edition edited by Irvin Ehrenpreis (Bloomington, 1956) and the discussion in F. P. Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp.122-25.
 29. Lord Hervey's Memoirs, edited by Romney Sedgwick, revised edition (London, 1963), p.7; Parl. Hist, VII, cols 506-11; Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp.131-32.
 30. Headnote to 'The Revolution at Market Hill', The Complete Poems, p.804.
 31. The subversiveness of the poem is observed in Carole Fabricant, Swift's Landscape (Baltimore and London, 1982), pp.160-63. In her reading Swift is subverting the Country House ideal, enacting a class warfare and demystifying differences in economic and social power.
 32. On Swift's admiration for Charles XII and the political contexts of his expressed admiration, see Irvin Ehrenpreis, 'Swift's History of England', JEGP, 51 (1952), 177-85 (esp.pp.182-85); F. P. Lock, The Politics of Gulliver's Travels (Oxford, 1980), pp.56-65; Lock, Swift's Tory Politics, pp.125-26.
 33. On card games as a conventional way of alluding to affairs of state, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'The Satirical Game at Cards in Pope and Wordsworth', YES, 14 (1984), 183-95.
 34. Atterbury's final letter to Pope of 23 November 1731 suggests the exiled Jacobite Bishop's continued friendship and regard for Swift. He kindly sends a copy of his Vindication ... relating to the Publication of Lord Clarendon's History to be conveyed to Swift, see The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, edited

- by George Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford, 1956), III, 247, 248.
35. See Herbert Davis, 'Introduction', PW, II, xvii; Downie, Jonathan Swift, Political Writer, p. 82.
 36. Sir John Percival to Philip Percival, 3 April 1714, quoted in Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14, p. 197.
 37. Whig polemicists identified such doctrines with the whole Tory party. J. C. D. Clark describes the survival of Divine Right ideology between 1688 and 1760, see especially his English Society 1688-1832 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 119-98.
 38. Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14, pp. 157, 196-99.
 39. Swift possessed a copy of Lockhart's Memoirs, see SC, no. 416 and Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Imprints from Swift's Library', in Proceedings, pp. 351-88 (p. 371).
 40. [John Oldmixon], Remarks upon Remarks ... (London, 1711 [1712]), pp. 26-27, and see pp. 28-30, 38-43. See also A Letter to the People of England, occasion'd by the Letter to the Dissenters [signed Cato Brutus] (London, 1714), pp. 23, 62-63. For Swift's response to 'politick Dingley' who found the passage in The Conduct of the Allies referring to the Dutch guarantee of the Hanoverian succession 'blameable' (see PW, XVI, 477-78 and notes).
 41. For the pamphlet literature in which Swift figured during the period of the Harley ministry, the peace negotiations culminating in the Treaty of Utrecht, and the Jacobite Rising of 1715 and its aftermath, see Pat Rogers, 'The Pamphleteers on Swift, 1710-1716: A Preliminary Checklist', Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography, 7 (1983), 16-30. For examples of Whig readings of Jacobitism in Swift's ministerial writing, see John Oldmixon, The Dutch Barrier Our's ... (London, 1712), pp. 4, 8, 16-17, 18; [Daniel Defoe], The Secret History of the October-Club, From Its Original to this Time. By a Member. Part II (London, 1711), pp. 25-27, 42; [Daniel Defoe], Hannibal at the Gates: Or, The Progress of Jacobitism. With the Present Danger of the Pretender (London, 1712), p. 29; [Richard Steele], Two Letters Concerning the Author of the Examiner (London, 1713), pp. 9-10.
 42. For Defoe on the 'Jacobite' argument of legislative defeasibility of the succession and his case for fundamental parts of the constitution (such as the Union, Act of Settlement and Toleration) being legally unalterable: [Daniel Defoe], The Secret History of the October Club: From its Original to this Time. By a Member (London, 1711), pp. 54, 55, 73; [Daniel Defoe],

- The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain (London, 1712), esp. pp. 235-43; [Daniel Defoe], The History of the Jacobite Clubs (London, 1712), pp. 34-36 (on Swift see esp. pp. 11-14).
43. See especially J. A. Downie, 'Swift's Politics', in Proceedings, pp. 47-58 (p. 51). An argument by F. P. Lock (Swift's Tory Politics, pp. 128-29) that Swift's support for exclusion represents a retrospective desire that the Revolution might have been avoided is dismissed by Daniel Eilon, 'Private Spirit: A Moral and Political Theme in Swift's Prose' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986), pp. 171-72.
44. The Declaration of an Honest Churchman, Upon Occasion of the Present Times (London: Printed, and Sold by J. Morphew, 1710), pp. 14-15 and see pp. 9-11. William Higden (A Defence of the View of the English Constitution with Respect to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject. By way of Reply to the several Answers that have been made to it (London, 1710)) affirmed that legislative authority is in the King for the time being, with his two Houses of Parliament; that the crown is hereditary but inheritance can, in law, be limited by parliament and the descent of the crown is under the direction of the legislative power. The nonjuror Jeremy Collier declared in 1714 that where 'Property or Civil Jurisdiction is concern'd, the Crown and the Three Estates have without Question a Power to extinguish Title, and transfer Right; and the Conscience of the Subject is bound to Acquiescence. But I humbly conceive, we may safely say there's no Omnipotency in a Parliament', see An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain ..., 2 vols (London, 1708, 1714), II, 93.
45. See PW, VIII, 89-90. Whig contemporaries alleged Ormonde was purging the army of pro-Hanoverian Whigs to engage the military for the Jacobites, a view confirmed by the evidence of the Stuart manuscripts available to modern historians, see for example: A Letter to the People of England, occasion'd by the Letter to the Dissenters (London, 1714), p. 133; Corr, II, 247-48 (Archbishop King to Swift, 12 January 1717); G. V. Bennett, 'English Jacobitism, 1710-1715; Myth and Reality', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 32 (1982), 137-51 (p. 145).
46. A Letter from Mr. Lesly to a Member of Parliament in London ([London], dated 23 April 1714).
47. Corr, II, 384; Higden, A Defence of the View of the English Constitution ..., Preface, A2: '... it has been the Common Usage of the Realm, for all Orders and Degrees of Men after Revolutions to submit to the Princes that were possess'd of the Throne with the Consent of the States ...'.
48. Hearne, Remarks and Collections, II, 297 (2 November

- 1709). For Hearne on Higden, see also II, 284, 290, 293, 398; III, 93.
49. John Oldmixon, The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring Esq; Containing Several Original Pieces and Translations, in Prose and Verse, never before Printed (London, 1715), p. 259.
50. John Oldmixon, The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring, pp. 11, 199, 275-76; John Oldmixon, Memoirs of the Press, Historical and Political, For Thirty Years past, From 1710 to 1740 (London, 1742), pp. 7-8.
51. See: Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'Swift's 'Trampling upon the Crucifix' Once More', N&Q, n.s., 30 (1983), 513-14 (quotation from p. 514); Ellen Douglass Leyburn, 'Swift's View of the Dutch', PMLA, 66 (1951), 734-45; J. Kent Clark, 'Swift and the Dutch', HLQ, 17 (1954), 345-56; William J. Brown, 'Gulliver's Passage on the Dutch Amboyna', English Language Notes, 1 (1964), 262-64; John A. Dussinger, '"Christian" vs. "Hollander": Swift's Satire on the Dutch East India Traders', N&Q, n.s., 13 (1966), 209-12; Karl D. Chambers, 'Swift and the Trampling Dutch', Christian Scholar's Review, 3 (1973), 51-54; Maurice Johnson, Muneharu Kitagaki, Philip Williams, 'Gulliver's Travels and Japan: A New Reading', Moonlight Series no. 4 (Kyoto, 1977), esp. pp. 4, 9-10, 22-25, 45 n. 4; Arthur Sherbo, 'Swift and Travel Literature', Modern Language Studies, 9 (1979), 114-27 (esp. p. 125); Elizabeth R. Napier, 'Swift's "Trampling Upon The Crucifix": A Parallel', N&Q, n.s., 26 (1979), 544-48 and 'Swift, Kaempfer, and Psalmanaazaar: Further Remarks on 'Trampling Upon The Crucifix'', N&Q, n.s., 28 (1981), 226; see also Takau Shimada, 'Possible Sources for Psalmanazar's Description of Formosa', N&Q, n.s., 30 (1983), 514-16; Takau Shimada, 'Possible Sources for Gulliver's Travels', PQ, 63 (1984), 125-30; Dirk Friedrich Passmann, 'Full of Improbable Lies': 'Gulliver's Travels und die Reiseliteratur vor 1726', Aspekte der englischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte, Bd 10 (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris, 1987), pp. 264-70. On British opinion of the Dutch in Swift's time, see Douglas Coombs, The Conduct of the Dutch: British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance During the War of the Spanish Succession (The Hague, 1958); John Arbuthnot, The History of John Bull, edited by Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson (Oxford, 1976), pp. lix-lxvi; Michael Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner, The English Satirical Print 1600-1832 (Cambridge, 1986), esp. pp. 27-31, and plates 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 37. The fullest treatment of the subject in Swift studies is Donald L. Wing, 'Swift and Holland' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1980).
52. William Coxe, Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, With His Original Correspondence, new edition, revised by John Wade, Bohn's Standard Library, 3 vols (London,

- 1847-48), I, 134, 136.
53. John Oldmixon, The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring, p.224.
54. An Examination of the Third and Fourth Letters to a Tory Member (London, 1711), p.18. For a vituperative Tory recital of Dutch atrocity and perfidy, see The Dutch Won't Let Us Have Dunkirk, And High Treason Happily Discover'd. Or The Dutch Und...d. With the Shortest Way to Understand aright, and Confute any Dutch Memorial whatsoever. And the Reasons Why Those that Massacred the English at Amboyna, so Malitiously and Barbarously Thwart the General Peace of Europe, and the Advantage and Welfair of Great Britain at this Time (n.p., 1712). For a Whig burlesque of Tory anti-Dutch arguments, see March and October, A Dialogue (London, 1712), esp. pp.27-29 (pp.27-28): The Tory Speaker 'October' says: 'Confederates — I wish we had never heard of the Name of them. We have been beating our Brains out against Stone Walls, to take Towns and Countries for them. I wish we had kept to our floating Castles, our Walls of Oak. We might have defy'd all the World. The Dutch grow rich by the War, and would have no End of it. They'l be too many for us, if we don't look about us — They hate us, because we are for Monarchy and Episcopacy; 'sbud, Amboyna always runs in my Mind — And Chathim too, and the Fishery — Confederates, quoth-a, I wish we do not rue the Day we had any thing to do with them'. Douglas Coombs, The Conduct of the Dutch: British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance During the War of the Spanish Succession (The Hague, 1958) presents a full study of the press campaign on the Dutch Alliance with many references to Swift's Tory opinion. For the passages quoted here, see also Coombs, pp.252, 307.
55. Charles Leslie, Delenda Carthago. Or, The True Interest of England, in Relation to France and Holland (n.p., [1695]), pp.1, 3.
56. Henry Stubbe, A Justification of the Present War. Against The United Netherlands ... (London, 1673), pp.2-3. In all quotations gothic print used for emphasis in the original is reproduced in normal italics.
57. For debate on Pedro de Mendez and interpretation of Gulliver's Travels, see Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'What's in a Name: Pedro De Mendez Again', AN&Q, 24 (1986), 136-40; Maurice J. O'Sullivan, '"How Now? What Means This Passion At His Name?"', AN&Q, 24 (1986), 140-42.
58. Stubbe, A Justification, p.3.
59. Stubbe, A Justification, p.5.
60. Stubbe, A Justification, p.28.

61. Leslie, Delenda Carthago, p.5, see also p.8.
62. Robert Ferguson, An Account of the Obligations The States of Holland Have to Great-Britain ... (London, 1711), see pp.4-5, 33-40. On this work, see Coombs, The Conduct of the Dutch, pp.289-90. On Ferguson, see James Ferguson, Robert Ferguson the Plotter (Edinburgh, 1887).
63. A Brief Account of Some of the Late Incroachments and Depredations of the Dutch upon the English; and of a Few of Those Many Advantages Which by Fraud and Violence they have made of the Brittish Nations since the Revolution, and of the Means enabling them thereunto (n.p., 1695 [1696]). This work is dated 1695 by the DNB (q.v. Ferguson, Robert) and in The British Library Catalogue. Internal evidence identifies 1696 as the year of publication, see pp.10,45,48.
64. Ferguson, A Brief Account, p.8; see Ferguson, An Account, pp.32-33.
65. Dutch connivance with Japanese anti-Christian legislation - their concealment and abjuration of their Christian faith - is attested in Dutch prints concerning the East-India Company in Japan as hostile commentators such as Henry Stubbe alleged, see, for example, History of the Martyrs who have been killed, or endured fearful and insufferable torments, for the sake of the Roman Catholic Religion in Japan, written by Reyer Gysbertsz (first printed at Amsterdam in 1637 as De Tyrannije ende Wreedheden der Jappanen or The Tyranny and Cruelties of the Japanese) in François Caron and Joost Schouten, A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam, reprinted from the English edition of 1663 with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by C. R. Boxer (London, 1935), pp.73-88 (see p.88) and Translation of a Japanese Letter from Siragemondonne, Burgomaster in Nangasacqui, to the Governor-General &c, forwarded by the Opper-Coopman, Jan van Elzerach, and dated the 28. October 1642 in A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam, edited by C. R. Boxer, pp.89-91, and see Boxer's note on pp.132-33. On Japanese anti-Christian policy and culpable Dutch connivance with it which Swift's account of Dutch iconoclasm in Japan in Gulliver's Travels strikingly parallels, see Arnoldus Montanus, Atlas Japannensis ... English'd ... By John Ogilby (London, 1670), esp.pp.322,324-25,439. In Montanus's account, however, the Dutch iconoclasm is seen as anti-Papist rather than anti-Christian (see esp.pp.309,333-34,349,377-78). That the Dutch 'trample on the Crucifix to enter Nangasache, the Port of Japan' and 'admit no Strangers aboard the Ships bound for Japan, but only Natives of Holland, who can prove they are of that Country, and give an Account of their Father and Mother' (see A Voyage Round The World, By Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri.

In Six Parts ... Written Originally in Italian, Translated into English, Part IV, Book I, Chapter II, in A Collection of Voyages and Travels, 4 vols (London: Printed by H. C. for Awnsham and John Churchill, 1704), IV, 291, 292) were notorious facts assiduously exploited by Swift at PW, XI, 216-17. See also: Jean Crasset's Histoire de L'Eglise du Japon (1689) published in English as The History of the Church of Japan, 2 vols (London, 1705-07), II, 376-77; Herman Moll, The Compleat Geographer, 3rd edition (London, 1709), p.153. For Swift's contemporary sources, see Passmann, 'Full of Improbable Lies': 'Gulliver's Travels' und die Reiseliteratur vor 1726, pp.264-70.

66. Ferguson, A Brief Account, p.10 (my emphasis). For other applications of this verbal expression 'to Trample upon' to William III, see p.18 ('to Trample on Crowned Heads') and p.46 ('he would soon trample upon all the Laws of these Kingdoms, and tread upon our Necks'). For an illustration to Henry Stubbe's A Further Justification of the Present War Against The United Netherlands (1673) showing Britannia trampled on by Hollandia, see Michael Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner, plate no.16; Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, edited by F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, 11 vols (London, 1870-1954), no.1044.
67. See particularly, A Brief Account, p.40.
68. PW, VI, 40; A Brief Account, p.40.
69. Compare, for example, Swift's Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty (PW, VI, 87) with Ferguson's A Brief Account, pp.12, 40.
70. See John Oldmixon, The Dutch Barrier Our's: Or The Interest of England and Holland Inseparable. With Reflections on the Insolent Treatment the Emperor and States-General have met with from the Author of the Conduct, and his Brethren ... (London, 1712), p.4. This tract presents a hostile Whig analysis of Swift's 'Jacobite' rhetoric.
71. J. Kent Clark ('Swift and the Dutch', p.355) noted, without developing the point, that 'the long-standing commercial rivalry between England and Holland and the resentment of the Jacobites over the Dutch share in the Revolution had produced a backlog of anti-Dutch charges and anti-Dutch feeling which could strengthen the bias of a man who distrusted them on other grounds. From this arsenal Swift drew the charge which he later used with such venom in Gulliver: that in Japan the Dutch abjured Christ for the sake of trade'.
72. Purchas His Pilgrimes. In Five Bookes (London, 1625), Part II, pp.1853-58. Swift owned this edition, see Le Fanu, p.270; SC, no.261.

73. Daniel Defoe, in no way excusing Dutch atrocity in Amboyna in 1623, nevertheless diminishes it in comparison to the cruelties of the Spanish slave trade ('Reformation of Manners' (1702), 11.327-32; POAS, VI, 413) and in comparison to the devastation executed by the Wits on the Men of Sense in the mock-heroic 'The Pacificator' where the Dutch in Amboyna and the French at Swamerdam are 'out-done' by the Wits ('The Pacificator' (1700), 11.175-82; POAS, VI, 169). See also: [Daniel Defoe], A Justification of the Dutch From Several Late Scandalous Reflections: In Which is Shewn the Absolute Necessity of Preserving a Strict and Inviolable Friendship betwixt Great-Britain and the States-General: With the Fatal Consequences that must attend a War with Holland (London, 1712), pp.13-14: 'Then to confirm this as a Peice [sic] of Ingratitude, they [the Tories and Jacobites] run whole Ages back, search the Roll of Time, to pick out the worst they can to bespatter them; and since they can find nothing near Home, fly as far as the East-Indies to bring Home Dirt to throw in their Faces. Ungenerous Proceedings! Unparalleled Ingratitude!'; John Withers, The Dutch Better Friends than the French to the Monarchy, Church, and Trade of England ..., 2nd edition (London, 1713), pp.34-36. The anti-Dutch literature of the three Dutch wars (1652-74) gave considerable prominence to the Dutch torture and massacre of the English at Amboyna in 1623. Henry Stubbe explicitly described how the Dutch 'so exquisitely tormented and so barbarously put to death the English at Amboyna' (see A Justification, pp.31-32, 80 and his A Further Justification, pp.134-36). On 10 May 1729 the Jacobite Fog's Weekly Journal commented 'the Affair of Amboyna is but too well known, and perhaps it is better it should be quite forgot, since no Satisfaction is ever like to be made for it' (Select Letters Taken From Fog's Weekly Journal, 2 vols (London, 1732), I, 74. The Jacobite Thomas Carte records the massacre of the English at Amboyna in A General History of England, 4 vols (London, 1747-55), IV, 120: 'The Dutch, however, put them all to such exquisite tortures by fire and water ... ten were put to death without any trial, and the English factory utterly destroyed. Scarce any age affords an instance of the like barbarity'.
74. A Collection of Miscellany Letters, Selected out of Mist's 'Weekly Journal', 4 vols (London, 1722-27), IV, 276-77. Mist's Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's Post (1716-25) became Mist's Weekly Journal (1725-28) and from 1728-37, Fog's Weekly Journal. On the contemporary vogue for Mist's papers and his importance as a leading Tory political publicist, see Alexander Pope, The Dunciad Variorum (1729), I, 194 and note, III, 286 and note; The Dunciad (1743), I, 208 and note, Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, edited by John Butt and others, 11 volumes in 12 (London, 1939-69), V, 86, 184, 285; The Life and Character of John Barber, Esq; Late Lord-Mayor of London, Deceased ... (London, 1741), pp.41-42; Paul Chapman, 'Jacobite

Political Argument in England, 1714-66' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983); Jeremy Black, 'An Underrated Journalist: Nathaniel Mist and the Opposition Press during the Whig Ascendancy', BJECS, 10 (1987), 27-41 and the many references in his The English Press in the Eighteenth Century (London and Sydney, 1987). Black observes the Jacobite Catholic journalist Francis Clifton's opposition to the Dutch expressed in his Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer in 1718, a Tory attitude shared by Mist who attacked the Anglo-Dutch alliance, see 'An Underrated Journalist', 33, 35; The English Press in the Eighteenth Century, p. 222.

75. See 'A Copie of the Letters Patents for Especiall Reprisalls (from the King of Great Britain, under the Great Seale of England) against the States Generall and their Subjects. Inrobed in Chancery Anno 1665', in Severall Remarkable Passages Concerning the Hollanders Since the Death of Queene Elizabeth Untill the 25'th of December, 1673 ... With the Continuation of the Case betweene S^r William Courten His Heires and Assignes and The East-India Company of the Netherlands ... (n.p., 1673), p. 66.
76. For 'the Courten case' see: Severall Remarkable Passages Concerning the Hollanders ... (n.p., 1673); George Carew, Fraud and Oppression detected and arraigned. Or An Appeal to the Parliament of England in a short Narative and Deduction of severall Actions at Law, depending in the Ordinary Courts of Justice in Holland & Zealand, between diverse Subjects of the King of England, and the Subjects of the States Generall of the Seven United Provinces. With severall remarkable Observations and Animadversions thereupon by the Creditors of S^r William Courten, S^r Paul Pyndar, S^r Edward Littleton and William Courten Esquire deceased ... (n.p., 1676) and his Lex Talionis ... (London, 1682); Thomas Browne, Vox Veritatis. or A Brief Abstract of the Case, Between George Carew Esq; Administrator of the goods and Chattells of Sir William Courten & Sir Paul Pyndar Knights deceased with their wills annexed. And The East India Company of the Netherlands ... (n.p., 1683).
77. See, for instance, Severall Remarkable Passages Concerning the Hollanders, p. 42. See John Oldmixon, The Dutch Barrier Our's, p. 18, for a Whig attempt to diminish the present significance of such Dutch attrition in the East Indies: 'I cannot omit reflecting on the unfair Treatment the Dutch meet with from these Men, who condemn them Unheard, and what is more barbarous, bring Things to remembrance for which they have expiated with their Blood: We having begun Three terrible Wars with that Nation for Old Claims in the Indies, and some Disputes between Merchants, which we wou'd always have decided by Arms'.

78. On the names of Gulliver's ships generally, see Maurice J. Quinlan, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships', PQ, 46 (1967), 412-17; Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'Lemuel Gulliver's Ships Once More', N&Q, n.s., 30 (1983), 518-19; Passmann, 'Full of Improbable Lies': 'Gulliver's Travels' und die Reiseliteratur vor 1726, pp. 270-72. Ships called the 'Hopewell' appear in maritime sources Swift may have consulted as Real, Vienken and Passmann point out.
79. Leslie, Delenda Carthago, pp. 4-5; Ferguson, An Account of the Obligations The States of Holland Have to Great-Britain, p. 39; see also Stubbe, A Further Justification, p. 69 and The History of the Dutch Usurpations. Their Maxims and Politicks In Point of Government, And Their Remarkable Ingratitude to England. Particularly their unheard of Cruelties at Amboyna, and the Debates thereon in the English Council, in the Reign of King James I. With their usual Method of managing Treaties (London, 1712), p. 25: 'The Men were ty'd back to back and Flung over Board, the Goods seis'd to the use of the States'. The alleged atrocities at Amboyna and elsewhere, and the fate of the crews of the Katharine and Dragon allegedly seized by the Dutch on a return voyage from China in 1630, tied back to back, and thrown into the sea are graphically depicted in the Frontispiece to A true and compendious narration ... of sundry notorious or remarkable injuries, insolences, and acts of hostility which the Hollanders have exercised from time to time against the English nation in the East Indies (1665), see Michael Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner, plate no. 14. Duffy parenthetically comments that the supposed atrocity inflicted on the crews depicted in the propaganda print 'was still being used by Swift in 1726 in Gulliver's Travels Part III, Ch. 1' (p. 80). Swift's information may have been derived from a variety of print sources. He certainly appropriates the phraseology of anti-Dutch polemic in the Jacobite press.
80. The Dutchman's contumelious and imprecatory language has a polemical provenance as remarked above, but Swift's specific insult that the Dutchman (and human Yahoos) 'jabber' (PW, XI, 8, 154) has a long literary pedigree. The Dutchman's 'jabbering' identifies him with the simian and barbarian in literature since Homer, see Alexander Pope, The Dunciad Variorum (1729), II, 228-29; The Dunciad (1743), II, 236-37, Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, edited by John Butt and others, 11 volumes in 12 (London, 1939-69), V, 128, 307; Claude Rawson, 'Narrative and the Proscribed Act: Homer, Euripides and the Literature of Cannibalism', in Literary Theory and Criticism. Festschrift in Honor of René Wellek, edited by Joseph P. Strelka, 2 Parts (Bern, Frankfurt on the Main, New York, 1984), Part II, pp. 1159-87 (p. 1169).

81. For the argument that Swift surrounded Gulliver's publication in epistolary clandestine comedy, see F. P. Lock, The Politics of 'Gulliver's Travels' (Oxford, 1980), pp.70-72. For the view that Swift's statements are totally serious, reflecting real fear of prosecution, see J. A. Downie, 'Gulliver's Travels: The Politics of the Text', BJECS, 7 (1984), 87-90. See Ch.4.
82. John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration: Humbly Submitted, &c. Licensed, Octob.3.1689 (London, 1689), see pp.9-10,15-16,43-44,53-54. An important study situating Locke's texts in a tradition of radical dissenting Protestant revolutionism is Richard Ashcraft, Revolutionary Politics & Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government' (Princeton, N. J., 1986). On A Letter Concerning Toleration, see esp.pp.475-76,497-506.
83. For examples: Thomas Long, The Letter for Toleration Decipher'd, and the Absurdity and Impiety of an Absolute Toleration Demonstrated ... (London, 1689), esp.pp.2-3; Charles Leslie, The New Association ... (London, 1702), pp.16-18.
84. See, for example, the following High Church works (where the analyses of Holland parallel Swift's): Long, The Letter for Toleration Decipher'd (London, 1689), p.16; William Baron, The Dutch Way of Toleration, Most Proper for our English Dissenters (London, 1698); William Baron, Separation and Sedition Inseparable, Whilst Dissenters and Commonwealthmen Are Permitted to Controll in all Publick Administrations of Church and State: Being a farther Prosecution of the Dutch Toleration: In a Letter to a Member of Parliament (London, 1703); Charles Leslie, The Case of the Regale and of the Pontificat Stated (n.p.,1700), pp.187-89; Leslie, The New Association (London, 1702), pp.6,9; Leslie, Bishop of Salisbury's Proper Defence from a Speech Cry'd about the Streets in his Name, and Said to Have Been Spoken by Him in the House of Lords, upon the Bill Against Occasional Conformity (London, 1704), pp.24,56-57; Leslie, The Wolf Stript of his Shepherd's Cloathing ... (London, 1704), p.32.
85. See: Leyburn, 'Swift's View of the Dutch', 734-45 (esp.pp.734,745); Clark, 'Swift and the Dutch', 345-56 (esp.p.347), Clark notes an anti-Dutch bias in the passage at PW, II, 7-8 (see p.349); Wing, 'Swift and Holland', esp.pp.[2], 248.
86. Sir William Temple, Observations upon the United Provinces of The Netherlands, edited by Sir George Clark (Oxford, 1972), see p.ix.
87. Temple, Observations, p.118; Temple repeats the phrase 'a confluence of People' (p.121).
88. 'Introduction', in Observations, p.x. Defoe, for instance, cites the authority of 'Sir William Temple' in affirming

the inseparable interest of England and Holland, see A Justification of the Dutch, p.40.

89. Observations, pp.94-95.
90. Observations, pp.1,49.
91. I read 'joining' in the sense of 'To dash together; to collide; to encounter: this sense is to be found in the phrase to join battle', see Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 4th edition (London, 1828), p.657: Join. v.a., sense 4; OED, Join, senses 12,18, Joining, sense 1b. Swift's use of 'to join with' in this adversarial sense has the same meaning in effect as the idiom 'join issue with', see PW, VIII, 17: 'I am willing to join Issue with Mr. Steele'.
92. Laudians were identified as Arminian and Puritan theology was anti-Arminian, see Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695 (Chapel Hill, 1982). However, for historiographical debate on Arminianism in seventeenth-century England, see T. M. Parker, 'Arminianism and Laudianism in Seventeenth-Century England', in Studies in Church History, Volume 1, edited by C. W. Dugmore and Charles Duggan (London, 1964), pp.20-34; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in The Origins of the English Civil War, edited by Conrad Russell, Problems in Focus Series (London, 1973), pp.119-43; Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, no.101 (1983), pp.34-54; Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, no.115 (1987), 201-16; Peter White, 'A Rejoinder', Past and Present, no.115 (1987), 217-29; Blair Worden, 'Intellectual Liberation', London Review of Books, 21 January 1988, pp.6-9. Swift's High Church Anglicanism, however, might be seen as closer to a traditional 'Calvinist' than to an authentic Arminian ecclesiastical position on such points as his resistance to any extension of religious toleration or to increased latitude in matters of worship and discipline, and in his support for the independent rights, powers and privileges of an authoritarian, self-governing Church. There is of course a deep Augustinian cast to Swift's religious view of the human condition. For debate about the significance of Augustinianism and Arminianism in the eighteenth century and its consequence for eighteenth-century English literary history, see Donald Greene, 'Augustinianism and Empiricism: A Note on Eighteenth-Century English Intellectual History', ECS, 1 (1967), 33-68; Greene, The Age of Exuberance: Backgrounds to Eighteenth-Century English Literature (New York, 1970), pp.92-100; Greene, 'Latitudinarianism and Sensibility: The Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling' Reconsidered', MP, 75 (1977), 159-83; Frans De Bruyn, 'Latitudinarianism and its

- Importance as a Precursor of Sensibility', JEGP, 80 (1981), 349-68.
93. Temple, Observations, p.49.
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105. For examples: The Shift Shifted, no.16 (18 August 1716), pp.94-95; The Shift Shifted, no.17 (25 August 1716), p.100; The Second and Last English Advice, To The Freeholders of Englan[d] (London, 1722), p.16.
106. Swift possessed a copy of Higden's A View of the English Constitution, with Respect to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince, and the Allegiance of the Subject, &c. The Third Edition. With a Defence of the View, By way of Reply to the several Answers that have been made to it (London, 1710), see Le Fanu, p.273; SC, no.423. Higden's work went through several editions and prompted attacks and defences. For witness of Higden's influence see: BL Additional MS. 45,512. fol.192-93 (Robert Nelson collection); Charles Leslie, A Battle Royal Between Three Cocks of the Game. Mr. Higden, Hoadly, Hottentote. As to the State of Nature and of Government ... appended to The Finishing Stroke ... (London, 1711), pp.125-239. 'Higden' says on p.180: 'I am heartily for the Revolution, I have Complied with it, Sworn to it, and Wrote in Defence of it better than any Man of the Age, and my Work is Admired and Hugged by every Body'. 'Hoadly' replies: 'Let them Admire it who will. But I Charge it upon you, that it is Levelled directly at the Revolution. He is Blind that does not See it'.
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113. The History of John Bull, p.49.
114. For recent assessments of the complex Tory response to the Revolution of 1688-89, see Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Religion and Royal Succession - The Rage of Party', esp.pp.24-26 and John Miller, 'Proto-Jacobitism? The Tories and the Revolution of 1688-89', in The Jacobite Challenge, edited by Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.7-23. On Tory Revolution principles see also J. P. Kenyon, Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party 1689-1720 (Cambridge, 1977) and Henry Horwitz, Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III (Manchester, 1977). See also Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., By Force or By Default?: The Revolution of 1688-89 (Edinburgh, 1989) which appeared after this study was completed.
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117. Gay, Dramatic Works, II, 23.
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119. The Works of John Dryden: Volume XV. Plays: Albion and Albanus Don Sebastian Amphitryon, edited by

- Earl Miner and others (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976), Amphitryon, II, ii, 83-87, p.258. For the William III-Jupiter parallel, see John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's scurrilous (and suppressed) 'A Feast of the Gods', in Buckingham Restor'd: Being Two Essays Which were Castrated from the Works of the late Duke of Buckingham (Hague, 1727), (p.17): 'Yet Jupiter himself shew'd great Esteem of [William III]; but was suspected a little of some Partiality, on Account of his own Proceedings with old Father Saturn. He was observ'd also to kiss Ganymede all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whisper to one another a little maliciously'.
120. Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, 2 vols (London, 1724, 1734), I, 824; PW, V, 293.
121. POAS, 6, 37.
122. For 'Burnt', see, for example, Correspondence of The Family of Hatton Being Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton A.D. 1601-1704, edited by Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols (London, 1878), II, 187-88, 190, 192, 213. Thomas Parnell, a member of the Scriblerus group, develops the joke of 'Bishop Burnt' in his satire on the Whig partisan: 'On Bishop Burnet's being set on Fire in his Closet', in the Collected Poems of Thomas Parnell, edited by Claude Rawson and F. P. Lock (Newark, London and Toronto, 1989), pp.322-23.
123. A view which has impeccable High Church Tory polemical provenance, see for example: Charles Leslie, The Case of the Regale and of the Pontificat Stated (n.p., 1700), pp.127-28: 'Civil Government, which it is Necessary shou'd be Absolute and Un-Controulable; as the Supreme Power is in all Governments, wherever it is Lodg'd, whether in One, or in Many ... The Supreme Legislative Power cannot Make it self not to be Absolute'.
124. See, for example, Charles Leslie, A View of the Times, Their Principles and Practices in The Rehearsals, second edition, 6 vols (London, 1750), I, 14-15; II, 94, 108, 126-27; V, 256-57, 262; idem, The Best Answer ... (London, 1709), pp.1-2; idem, Best of All ... (London, 1709), pp.12-13, 18; [Matthias Earbery], The Universal Spy or, The Royal Oak Journal Reviv'd (no.9, 2 September 1732), SP 36/28, ff.90-91.
125. See Le Fanu, p.272 lists five books; SC, nos.151, 322. Swift owned one of the two 1712 Amsterdam editions of De Jure Belli ac Pacis.
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129. Burnet, History of His Own Time, I, 814; PW,V,291.
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131. See The Debate at Large, Between The House of Lords and House of Commons, at the Free Conference, Held in the Painted Chamber, in the Session of the Convention, Anno 1688. Relating to the Word, Abdicated, and the Vacancy of the Throne, in the Common's Vote (London, 1695; rpt. Shannon, 1972), pp.49,51-60. Swift owned this book, see Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, 'A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Imprints from Swift's Library', in Proceedings, p.363. On Turner at the Convention, see George L. Cherry, 'The Legal and Philosophical Position of the Jacobites, 1688-1689', The Journal of Modern History, 22 (1950), 309-21; Robert Beddard, 'The Loyalist Opposition in the Interregnum: a Letter of Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, on the Revolution of 1688', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 40 (1967), 101-09, and his 'The Guildhall Declaration of 11 December 1688 and the Counter-Revolution of the Loyalists', The Historical Journal, 11 (1968), 403-20; Lois G. Schwoerer, The Declaration of Rights, 1689 (Baltimore and London, 1981), esp.pp.216-19. For a summary of our fragmentary knowledge of Swift's acquaintance with Turner, see Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr., 'Swift's Ode to Sancroft: Another Look', Modern Philology, 73 (1976), S24-S39 (S30-S32).
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