SWIFT'S OPINIONS OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH LITERARY FIGURES

by

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Bibliography
The present belated trend toward recognizing the validity of Swift's ideas as well as the power of his art influenced my choice of Swift as a concentrating point. The immediate subject of this thesis was suggested by Professor Alan D. McKillop, whose general and specific criticisms of the manuscript through all its stages have been of inestimable and elsewhere unacknowledged value. Although it will be evident presently that the debts are greater than the accomplishment, I should like to name here, besides Professor McKillop, Mr. George G. Williams, Joseph D. Thomas, Carroll Camden, Joseph W. Hendren, and George W. Whiting, of the Faculty of English, and Floyd S. Lear, of the Faculty of History, not so much for lectures, which provided general background and methods of approach, as for their courtesy in answering sporadic questions concerning details of the present paper. Acknowledgments of debt to printed sources have been rendered, except for general information, in the footnotes. The Bibliography printed at the end of the text is not a complete bibliography of Swiftian and related volumes, or even of books examined, but a finding-list for volumes specifically leaned upon and referred to in the notes and the text. Members of the library staff at the Rice Institute, Misses Alice C. Dean, Sarah L. Lane, Pender Turnbull, and Marjorie Holt, and Mrs. Vivian Fargerson Gready, with their assistants, have been gracious "beyond the line of duty." The Library of the University of Texas made several volumes available through an inter-library loan, and Mrs. Fanny Ruthford, in charge of the Wrenn and Aitken Collections, helped make more profitable days spent at the University of Texas. Private George K. Evans checked for me references to other volumes in the University of Texas libraries. Tasks of preparing the manuscript I have shared generously with Miss Sankey Ellis and my sister, Mrs. Clifford Sivley. After all this, I alone am to blame for any errors and omissions which may remain.

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INTRODUCTION

"It was as little Swift's habit in any part of his life to talk of his readings as of his writings, and it was only for the power or pleasure derived from them to himself that he ever valued either," wrote Forster. In the same vein the Very Reverend J. H. Bernard, Dean of St. Patrick's, introduced Swift's letters:

It is disappointing to find comparatively few references in Swift's correspondence to literature or literary criticism. His judgements on books would have been interesting; but there is much less of books than of men in his letters....it is safe to say that statecraft occupied a larger share of his thoughts than literature. Yet he read much, and of the best, and spent considerable sums for a man of his limited income upon books. The Church Fathers, ancient medicine, the classics—he read them all, although his principal study was history.2

Recent scholarship has offered evidence enough of Swift's voluminous reading. A. G. Guthkelch and D. Michol Smith have exhibited the immense reading exploited by Swift for A Tale of a Tub. Willard H. Bonner, William A. Eddy, and Harold Williams have produced eclectic lists of the travel books read by Swift. George R. Potter has lately shown Swift to have been acquainted, above the bare needs of a satirist, with the works of "projectors" in natural history and philosophy.3 Throughout a shrewdly considered if necessarily scattered study of Swift, the footnotes of Elrington Ball's edition of the correspondence, Swift is vindicated from charges of disloyalty and ignorance in connection with his English forerunners, including Milton and Shakespeare.

Within a score of years, Emile Pons, W. D. Taylor, and Ricardo Quintana have published critical investigations of Swift's art and his literary career, and Paul

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1John Forster, Life of Swift, 57.
2Corres., I, xl.
3See Bibliography, and Ricardo Quintana, Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift, notes to Book V, Chapter I (pp. 386-87).
S. Wood has announced work in progress on Swift as a literary critic, yet no writer on Swift has published a study beyond the limits of a few paragraphs, and ordinarily not beyond the limits of such a sentence as Forster's, of Swift's scattered statements of opinion about other authors. Because in a manner systematically unreadable it deletes all indications of Swift's irony, and is actually a catalogue of adjectives and the respective authors to whom Swift applied those adjectives, E. Günther's *Swifts Belesenheit und Literarische Kritik* was justly pronounced by Max Korn "nicht gelungen."² Perhaps Sir Walter Scott showed more interest in Swift's relation to his contemporaries than any other biographer, although Sir Henry Craik refers by name to almost every writer with whom Swift came into personal relationship. The custom of Swift's popular biographers, with reason enough, has been to record that he loved Pope, hated Dryden, and quarreled with Steele.

The purpose of the present paper is to examine Swift's opinions about his contemporary English writers, in an attempt to determine the extents to which his opinions are evoked by the style of the writings, by religious and political views expressed or held by the writer, and by Swift's personal relations to him.

In the spring of 1689, following the interruption of his work on a second degree at Trinity College, Dublin, by the Revolutionary disturbances in Ireland, Swift had received employment as a secretary in the household of Sir William Temple. When later in the year Temple made a further retirement from Sheen to his house and garden at Moor Park, in Surrey, Swift accompanied him.

Between the times of Samuel Richardson's letter to Lady Bradshaigh and the careful account of Swift's early life by Emile Pons in 1925, the description of Swift as a rebellious snarler eating at the Moor Park servants' table was successively elaborated by Johnson, Jeffrey, Macaulay, Thackeray, and even Craik. Swift's pride swelled early, as shown by his feeling that his Uncle Godwin begrudged him what Swift reportedly called "the education of a dog"; further, Swift was to wear throughout his life intellectual scorn as a sign on his forehead and in his blood; and finally, he left evidence in the Journal to Stella which would strengthen the gossip of his many enemies. Writing to Stella of his new friend Harley, in 1710, Swift reminisced: "I am thinking what a veneration we used to have for Sir William Temple, because he might have been Secretary of State at fifty; and here is a young fellow, hardly thirty, in that employment." A year later Swift's memory included further, "what a splutter Sir William Temple makes about being Secretary of State." In the meantime, on April 3, 1711, Swift had written of a slightly splanetic session with Harley:

one thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a schoolboy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already, (meaning from Sir William Temple).
Swift's expression in London of what he had not expressed during the years in which he returned to Moor Park after leaving each time until Temple's death in 1699 is probably explained by his words to Stella the day after he had first reflected on Temple's coldness: "I have plucked up my spirit since then, faith." And so he had. Although Swift was never unaware of his superiority over those about him, his sense of injury at Temple's spoiling of a fine gentleman, as well as his determination not to be injured further, probably increased with the years. In May, 1692, he had written of Temple to Thomas Swift, in whom he confided regularly for several years:

I never read his writings but I prefer him to all others at present in England, which I suppose is all but a piece of self-love, and the likeness of humours makes one fond of them as if they were one's own.

Temple gave Swift the freedom of his library and, clearly, the time to use it; if we can judge by Swift's later knowledge and his casual quotation of Temple's otherwise unrecorded ideas, Temple discussed with him history and diplomacy; he introduced Swift to King William and sent him to Windsor with requested but unheeded advice; and he entrusted his papers to Swift's editing. On the other hand, he could not, had he wished, have satisfied the needs of his secretary's pride and bursting vitality; he grew so to need Swift that he appeared not to be exerting himself in order to find the clergyman-to-be a better position elsewhere; events so conspired that Swift was once forced to make in writing a groveling request for a statement of character; Temple thought it enough to recommend Swift on another occasion as "honest and diligent"; and, as a final misfortune, Temple's mold was in most ways inferior to Swift's. Lady Giffard wrote tenderly of her brother, "He grew lazier, & easier in his humor as he grew older, though it had bin observed to be a part of his character never to seem busy in his greatest employments." Swift,

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5 Swift, II, 149.
6 Corrorey, I, 366. See ibid., IV, 166.
7 Ibid., 2, 13.
who did not see Temple at his greatest employments, felt that lackadaisicalness needed chastisement even in Robert Harley, whom he loved much more than he loved Sir William Temple.

The relations between Swift and Temple, with their history in later centuries, having been recently discussed by H. E. Woodbridge, in *Sir William Temple, the Man and his Work*, need not be fully examined here. Dr. Woodbridge's conclusion is only slightly more partial than the following conclusion arrived at by Ricardo Quintana:

It was rather that Temple was old and often weary and separated from humble youth by a distinction of position which humble youth doubtless exaggerated. He was not unkind; merely, in this instance, unaware.

Whether or not Swift's fierce attempts to soar like Cowley resulted, as Carl Van Doren believes, from the advice of Temple, one of Swift's four attempts in that ideal verse-form for obscurantists was addressed to Temple in 1692. After praising immoderately Temple's successes at The Hague and elsewhere on the treacherous field of diplomacy, and lauding the wisdom and piety of Temple's retirement, the poet reached the height of his excitement in the eleventh stanza:

Shall I believe a Spirit so divine
Was cast in the same Mold with mine?

Calculated blandishment was doubtlessly a large ingredient in the verses, but two hundred and twelve lines dedicated as "worthless verse" indicate that Swift's admiration for Temple was at that time not small. The next year, with contorted odes and Temple's severe illness both behind, Swift began to praise his employer anew, in blank verse, and included praise for Lady Giffard, who was to lead after Temple's death the long line of Swift's attackers; but writing was so laborious, as

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9Chapters XVI, XVII. See also Clara Karburg, *Sir William Temple*, 98-9.

10*Mind and Art of Swift*, 12-3.

11*Swift*, 10.

12*Poems*, I, 32.
the poet had admitted in concluding the "Ode to Sir William Temple" the year before, that he closed his second paean by renouncing his courtship of the sublimer muse forever.

By 1696 Swift's genius had sufficient sinew and his spirit had sufficient turbulence for entering upon the creation of A Tale of a Tub. Although for his medium Swift could but employ satire displeasing to Temple, at least one of the final causes of A Tale of a Tub must have been fulfillment of a desire to support Temple in his controversy with Bentley and Wotton. Dr. Woodbridge inclines to a belief which he supports with more than plausible arguments that Swift also wrote and in this case published immediately a reply to lesser modernist opponents, a pamphlet "extremely rare" called An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet Lately Printed, Intituled, A Letter from M. de Cros..., bearing the date 1693. It would appear unlikely, however, considering the staggeringly extensive use Swift was to make of pamphlet prose, that he would have waited from as early a year as 1693 until after 1701—although London of course stimulated pamphlet writers—to re-employ an agreeable medium in which he had been once successful.

The great satire which continued to occupy Swift's leisure hours probably throughout 1697 and which received corrections and additions from year to year until its publication in 1704 had other springs than the desire to support Temple. The young clergyman had opinions of his own to do battle for. Although by his own testimony he had learned to read the Bible at the age of three, apparently he had before the age of twenty-five no desire to preserve his own words. Recent criticism, however, has recognized his "immediate maturity" in the years following 1692, when he received his master of arts degree at Oxford. Swift is nearer to Shelley than to Chaucer in this sole respect of developing at once essential ideas

and attitudes which he retained throughout life.

Of sound sense and a clear eye, he believed throughout his life that enough common sense to conduct a successful life is available for everybody. In his darkest hours he believed man to be rationalis capax. He believed that so much sanity exists in the world that government is, should be, and from the nature of the world must be at the consent of the governed. (Yet he did not believe that anything worth while in the world was likely to improve.) Strengthened by common sanity, thought Swift, a gentleman can without fuss acquire good taste sufficient to tell bad works of art from good—a doctrine which effaced tolerance for professional literary critics.

Swift was an enemy to intellectualism in all its forms. Pedantry he could not bear. His grades at Trinity supported his avowals of distaste for philosophy. An enemy to "rationalism" in its technical manifestations, he was a rationalist in a pedestrian sense. He despised romanticizing with the fullness of his titanic scorn. In *A Tale of a Tub* he lifted and let fall alternately a mace against pedantry and an ax against enthusiasm. To Swift both intellectualism and enthusiasm are folly. His habitual understatement of affection, except in letters to his friends in London the affection of which annoyed Dr. Johnson, is famous, as is his practice of using insulting language to those whom he loved. A part of the "little language" to Stella is to call her and Mrs. Dingley "saucy drabs" and "pert rogues." Once in the Journal to Stella he almost waxed enthusiastic about a subject, until he caught himself:

I went afterwards to see a famous moving picture, and I never saw anything so pretty. You see a sea ten miles wide, a town on the other end, and ships sailing in the sea, and discharging their cannon. You see a great sky, with moon and stars, &c. I'm a fool.

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17 *Johnson, Works*, (1825), VIII, 225.

18 T.S., II, 447.
His desire to come into vigorous contact with almost everything printed, and still more his wish to aid all poets and wits of whatsoever bent, led him, as we shall see, to tolerate poems which he felt to be completely foolish and useless, but derision lay close to the surface. Even in the later days of 

\textit{vive la bagatelle}, Swift did not relax his seriousness; all writing must have a purpose—other than earning a living. Ricardo Quintana happily chose moral realism as the key to Swift's mind.\(^{19}\)

Not of less prominence than the other facets of his mind is its uniformitarian quality. As seen, he accepted a form of equalitarianism, derived from his doctrines of common sense and taste; derived likewise from these doctrines was his dictum that all men should conform to the decrees of sanity. Contrary to the uniqueness of his personality, the bias of his mind was toward conformity in everything. It was perhaps through the ideas of Temple, in whom Swift must with admiration have recognized learning without pedantry, that Swift was first delivered from a strict acceptance of literary rules.

Swift was likely to be pleased most by persons who conformed within the Established Church. In 1692 he had indicated in the incomplete "Ode to Dr. William Sanchez" the beginnings of his life-long affinity for High Church principles, though his advocacy of those principles in \textit{A Tale of a Tub} was vigorously denied by most of the horrified clergy.

Swift was not as genial a satirist as Chaucer, of course, but the controversial habits of his age are largely responsible for many of his assaults. His good sense, moreover, seldom left him; in opposing fanaticism, he did not become a fanatic.\(^{20}\) Swift's choice of friends, especially, can be described as liberal. If less articulate, his love was as eager as his hate. He was to consider a Roman Catholic

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\textit{Mind and Art of Swift, passim.}
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\textit{M. A. Korn, Die Weltanschauung Jonathan Swifts, 4.}
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his best friend. That party differences should split his friends from him grieved him. In spite of the many critics who have assured each other that upon thinking about virtuosos Swift became blind with rage, he felt for Dr. Arbuthnot, it may be presumed, no hatred. As well as he could he aided Harley, Sir Andrew Fountaine, and Dr. Arbuthnot with their collections, wholly foreign to his own interests.\textsuperscript{21} Although these may be the John and Peter that Swift loved, Dr. Burnet certainly was not; yet Swift wrote of him, "After all, he was a man of generosity and good nature, and very communicative," and adds, "but, in his ten last years, was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw Popery under every bush."\textsuperscript{22} Although Swift from unwavering distaste for General Marlborough could not refrain from moralizing upon the death of the avaricious duke, he had continually counseled moderation in the successful Tory war against him. For the Church he was an admittedly less tolerant supporter, explaining that to encourage fanatics was to aid them in the abolishment of all toleration.\textsuperscript{23}

A mature enemy to intellectualism, pedantry, presumptuous literary criticism, romanticism, and enthusiasm, then; with intellectual snobbishness, moral realism, much miscellaneous learning, and Temple's negative philosophy of history; an egoist, a lover of classical literature, and a stalwart Churchman though a wit, Swift entered upon \textit{A Tale of a Tub}, \textit{The Battle of the Books}, and \textit{The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit}, which will be considered here together. That the assault in \textit{The Battle of the Books} was to be borne by Temple's enemies seems in part to have been a matter of loyalty, as indicated; Swift was probably more interested, however, in attacking than in supporting. "Lo joug que lui ont imposé ses sympathies pour Temple," writes M. Pons, "et les circonstances de la lutte a passé assez lourdement

\textsuperscript{21} See G. R. Potter, "Swift and Natural Science," \textit{Philological Quarterly}, \textit{XX} (April, 1941), 113-14, 117.\textsuperscript{22} \textit{T. S.}, \textit{X}, 328-29.\textsuperscript{23} Shane Leslie (\textit{The Skull of Swift}, 310) says of Swift with some truth: "Deists and Infidels he only attacked when they attacked, and for the love of counter-attack."
sur lui... en étant le partisan force des Anciens, il a eu la satisfaction intime
d'attaquer dans les Modernes des contemporains, des vivants, des hommes de sang et
de chair. During the years of Tory pamphleteering and thereafter Swift was
frequently to assault in print those whom he would hang if he could; nor was he
blind to the efficacy as well as injustice of a quick jab below the belt.  

In his edition of Phalaris, with a preface contributing to the controversy,
and in a 1698 answer to William Wotton, Charles Boyle had made many hints available
for Swift. As Boyle had mentioned in his preface being refused the use of a
manuscript by Dr. Bentley, Swift introduced his first hero as "The Guardian of the
Regal Library, a Person of great Valor, but chiefly renowned for his Humanity," and
in a footnote related Mr. Boyle's testimony about Bentley's humanitas. Among the
children of Homus, brother to Postiveness and Pedantry, was Wotton, "heavy-arm'd and
slow of foot," closely attended by Dulness and Ill-Manners. During the battle,
recounted like the Tale with the full armor of prefaces and introductions, parodies,
pedantic footnotes, and annoying attention to manuscript hiatuses, moderns as
diverse as Sir John Denham and Mrs. Aphra Behn fell on every hand, before Temple and
Boyle, with the aid of an unnamed person who was probably Atterbury, answered
"like a brace of woodcocks" Wotton and Bentley.

In the Tale, although Bentley's works as well as those of Wotton, Dryden, Tate,
D'Urfey, and Dennis are described to Prince Posterity as once existing, and the

24 Pons, Swift, 285.
26 R. C. Jebb, Bentley, 58.
27 Prose Works, ed. Herbert Davis, I, 145. (This edition of Swift's works will
be designated henceforth by the abbreviation H.D.)
28 Ibid., 164.
30 H.D., I, 22.
New Help of Smattorers, or the Art of being Deep-Learned and Shallow-read is clearly levelled at Bentley, yet Wotton, as more of an upstart, receives more of the abuse. He is ironically praised again and again, is given credit for scores of explanatory, obvious, and absurd notes, and receives the dedication of a winsome footnote: "Mr. Wotton (to whom our Author never gives any Quarter) in his Comparison of Antient and Modern Learning, numbers Divinity, Law &c, among those Parts of Knowledge wherein we excel the Antients."\(^{31}\) In the Apology, which was prepared in 1709, after noticing that William King, the civilian, was an incapable answerer to the Tale, Swift pounced upon the other answer, "from a Person of a graver Character...made up of half Invective, and half Annotation."\(^{32}\) That Wotton was justified in attacking the Tale, the apologist admitted; but that Wotton was to be pardoned for having drawn his pen "against a certain great Man then alive," Swift still denied.\(^{33}\) With a memory this same year of the inordinate titles Dr. Bentley had more than ten years earlier mentioned receiving from foreign sages, Isaac Bickerstaff notified Partridge and all readers that among the more modest titles addressed to him had been Leibnitz' *Illustriissimo Bickerstaffic Astrologiae Instauratori*, etc.\(^{34}\)

In his known correspondence and verse, Swift did not mention while the controversy was a daily subject of gossip throughout England nor later either Bentley or Wotton. Nowhere did he leave any indication of particular personal animosity toward them. In 1708 he listed Wotton as one of those who, by "grave and learned answers" had bolstered the sale of Tindal's "insipid, worthless tract" called *The Rights of the Christian Church*.\(^{35}\) In spite of the awarding of the victory over the modernists in the Battle to Temple, in spite of careful praise for

\(^{31}\)H.D., I, 79.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., 5.

\(^{33}\)Ibid., 6.

\(^{34}\)H.D., II, 160-61.

\(^{35}\)T.S., III, 84.
Temple's learning and character, and in spite of various minor borrowings from him in both satires, it is probably not insignificant that Phalaris and Aesop were found asleep by their modern enemies, nor insignificant that in the brawl Temple was wounded. 36

Despite his abrupt cessation of interest in the two scholars, Bentley and Wotton, in 1709, Swift named Bentley with Blackmore and Dennis in laying down at Holyhead during the miserable days there in 1727 the rule that insignificant scribblers should never be carried to posterity by mention in the works of their superior enemies. 37

Among butts of the satire in A Tale of a Tub, gauged by volume and vehemence of assault the next in importance after pedants and religious enthusiasts are critics. With his ideas again springing to some extent from Boyle, 38 Swift apologizes for delaying until a digression to perform "the due Discourses, Expostulatory, Supplicatory, or Deprecatory with my good Lords the Criticks." 39 A true critic, the only kind left in civilization, is by definition "a Discoverer and Collector of Writers Faults." 40 Criticism is truest when not accompanied by reflection; since the critic is an unreflecting dog, he is "apt to Snarl most, when there are the fewest Bones." 41 These descendants of Momus and Hybris include, among contemporary Englishmen named besides Bentley and Wotton, Rymer and Dennis.

John Dennis, known to his contemporaries as "the critic," was to receive particular mention from 1711 forward in the works of Pope, but Swift satisfied himself with a few scattered thrusts. In 1709, in a letter to Ambrose Philips, Swift deflated Dennis's excesses concerning the Italian opera, toward which Swift

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36 See John Forster, Life of Swift, 35.
37 T.S., XI, 396.
39 H.D., I, 56.
40 Ibid., 58.
41 Ibid., 63-4.
and Dennis held identical views. "Critic Dennis vows to G— these operas will be
the ruin of the nation, and brings examples from antiquity to prove it."42 Many
squibs contributing to Dennis's annoyance—including a 1723 spurious Memoirs of
Scriblerus directed solely against critics—bore Swift's name and were laid by
Dennis to his charge, but may be all dismissed.43 That Dennis in failing to dismiss
one of them (an attack upon him in the Examiner for January 10, 1712) called Swift
"a Joker in a long party colored Coat" and "an arrant Fool,"44 seems not to have
exacerbated Swift's hostility. However, in 1726 Swift added to his "Thoughts on
Various Subjects":

One Dennis, commonly called "the critic," who had writ a threepenny
pamphlet against the power of France, being in the country, and hearing
of a French privateer hovering about the coast, although he were
twenty miles from the sea, fled to town, and told his friends, "they
need not wonder at his haste; for the King of France, having got
intelligence where he was, had sent a privateer on purpose to catch him."45

Toward Thomas Rymer twentieth century advocates of freedom from rules feel
more hostility than Swift perceptibly felt. Beyond listing Rymer, as noted, among
ttrue modern critics and among writers to whom Posterity needed an introduction,
Swift bestowed no distinction upon him. When disappointed in 1714 of the position
as Historiographer, the functions of which he had planned to alter in a "practical"
direction so that he might write a contemporary history of Queen Anne's reign, Swift
damned Rymer's successor, Thomas Madox, but left behind no disparagement of Rymer's
scholarly productivity. Having several times in the Journal mentioned the Feodera,
of which he procured several volumes for Trinity College, Dublin, Swift wrote under
February 25, 1711/2: "I came home early, and have been amusing myself with looking
into one of Rymer's volumes of the Records of the Tower, and am mighty easy to think

42 Corres., I, 142.

43 See Poems, III, 1098; H. G. Paul, John Dennis, 73-4; 85; S.W.S., I, 186;
George Sherburn, Early Career of Alexander Pope, 81.

44 H. G. Paul, John Dennis, 85.

45 T.S., XI, 284.
I have no urgent business upon my hands." Upon Rymor the critic, however, he had not relaxed his views. A passage in "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," peculiarly reminiscent of A Tale of a Tub, presents an unchanged declaration, in 1733, against critics and their rules:

Learn Aristotle's Rules by heart,
And at all hazards boldly quote;
Judicious Rymor oft review;
Wise Dennis, and profound Bossu,
Read all the Prefaces of Dryden,
For these our Critics much confide in,
(Tho' neerly writ at first for filling
To raise the Volume's Price, a Shilling.)

(247-54)

From the beginning, Swift chose his own enemies; he did not attempt to destroy all poets from the fifteenth century through the seventeenth century who were generally respected. Dryden has a prominent place in the Tale, the Battle, and the "Rhapsody" not because he was the foremost contemporary poet and director of literary fashion, but because Swift professed to dislike his poetry, his prose, and his attitude. An important office of A Tale of a Tub was to reply to The Hind and the Panther, and a less important office was to ridicule Dryden's entourage of moderns. (Tom D'Urfey, dramatist and author of Pills to Purge Melancholy, and one of the frequenters of Will's Coffee House where Dryden reigned, may be named here as one of many figures who, once upon Swift's booby list, are mentioned frequently in depreciation throughout the poems and elsewhere but with such insignificance and absence of variation that to cite passages would be needlessly cumbersome.) Dryden had nicely described the Anglican Church's limitations in praise and defense of his lately-adopted Roman Catholic Church. Swift appropriated
or paralleled Dryden's strictures in *The Hind and the Panther* as well as in the earlier *Religio Laici* against the Deists, and set about to prove at once that Peter was a usurper and Dryden a whimpering fool. *The Hind and the Panther,* remarked Swift, was "intended for a complete Abstract of sixteen thousand Schoolmen from Scotus to Bellarmin." 50

Dr. Johnson said he had been told that Dryden, having perused Swift's "Pindaric" odes, said, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," and that Swift thenceforward pursued the memory of Dryden with malevolence. 51 Since Johnson we have all been told that it so occurred. Dr. Saintsbury called this with other legends "idle stuff," but at best it could be only an irritating incident, however contributory or crucial, for there were other sources of animosity. However much hatred Swift might have borne Dryden for condemning his odes, he acquiesced and wrote no more.

Swift writes always of translations of the classics as if he had never used them; one of his favorite jokes was to speak of Horace and Lucretius as poets whom he had read "in Mr. Creech's admirable translation"; in the *Battle Virgil* found himself homed in with Dryden on one side, and Withers on the other. Swift affected to dislike all his relatives. Dryden was not only a translator, but also a paternal cousin. Swift enjoyed intimating that the "worthy Brethren and Friends at Will's Coffee-House" 54 were in quality separated by a hair-line from Grub Street scribblers. Not even Bentley or Wotton had dared oppose general opinion enough to suggest that modern literature was equal to ancient literature, and although Swift did not challenge Dryden's position as the acknowledged chief

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50 H.D., I, 41.
51 *Works*, (1825), VIII, 196.
52 H.D., XI, 202-3. See also *ibid.*, III, 180, and *Corres.*, IV, 68.
53 H.D., I, 146.
post of his generation, he could have challenged it with impunity; Swift "certainly wrote often not to his judgment, but his humor." 55

Dryden as translator was the easiest to deride. Virgil was so surprised by the appearance of his adversary upon an old and lean golding and almost overcome by the weight of his helmet that he desired a parley, and lifted the modern's visor, upon which action

a face hardly appeared from within, which after a pause, was known for that of the renowned Dryden... the helmet was nine times too large for the Head, which appeared Situate far in the hinder Part, even like the Lady in a Lobster, or like a House under a Canopy of State, or like a shrivled Beau from within the Porch-house of a modern Perorn. 56

After assuring Virgil that they were nearly related, Drydon proposed an exchange of armor. "Then, they agreed to exchange Horses; but when it came to the Trial, Drydon was afraid, and utterly unable to mount." 57

In A Tale of a Tub especial vituperation is poured upon Drydon's prefaces, introductions, dedications, opistlog, advertisements, and "prologomenas," which Swift found in 1697 as well as in 1733 long and exasperating; it mattered none to Cousin Swift that, as alone set about to prove, excessive prefaces could not really have raised the price of Drydon's plays. 58 Drydon had carried such ushering, according to "A Digression in the Modern Kind," as far as it would go. "He has often said to me in Confidence, that the World would have never suspected him to be so great a Poet, if he had not assured them so frequently in his Prefaces, that it was impossible they could either doubt or forget it." 59 Prefaces and introductions annoyed Swift until he became too mellow to notice them; in 1713 Bishop Burnet received an entertaining castigation for publishing an introduction

55 Johnson, Works, (1825), VIII, 228.
57 Ibid., 168.
58 George Saintsbury, Drydon, 183.
59 H.D., I, 81-2.
with only a promise of an "antecedent" volume.60

That Swift throughout his life hatefully hounded the memory of Dryden, as usually stated in conjunction with Dryden's dictum on the hopelessness of Swift's poems, is not strictly true. Certainly, however, Dryden's death in 1700 did not tempt Swift to relent. In the "Apology," sub-dated June 5, 1709, he clarified a point in the Tale by explaining that "Dryden, L'Estrange, and some others I shall not name, are here levelled at, who having spent their Lives in Faction, and Apostacies, and all manner of Vice, pretended to be Sufferers for Loyalty and Religion."61 Swift regularly referred to Dryden by one of the two names, Bays and Battus, made nationally known by Dryden's enemies. In "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," Swift wrote:

At Wills you hear a Poem read,
Where Battus from the Table-head,
Reclining on his Elbow-chair,
Gives Judgment with decisive Air.
To whom the Tribe of circling Wits,
As to an Oracle submits.
He gives Directions to the Town,
To cry it up, or run it down.
(like Courtiers, when they send a Note,
Instructing Members how to Vote.)
He sets the Stamp of Bad and Good,
Tho' not a Word be understood.62 (263-274)

Swift's last mention of Dryden concerned his versification. Agreeing with the Earl of Rochester, the notorious Tom Brown, Dr. Johnson, and Lord Macaulay, Swift disliked Dryden's Alexandrines and triplets, "a vicious my of rhyming."63 With an allusion to the famous concluding lines of the "Description of a City Shower," Swift wrote with a noticeable amount of braggadocio in 1735 to Thomas

61 H.D., I, 5.
62 Poems, II, 649.
63 Correspond., V, 162.
Beach, a poet who had applied apparently for criticism, reflections a large part of which deserve quotation:

Dryden, though my near relation, is one I have often blamed as well as pitied. He was poor, and in great haste to finish his plays, because by them he chiefly supported his family, and this made him so very uncorrect; he likewise brought in the Alexandrine verse at the end of the triplets. I was so angry at these corruptions, that above twenty-four years ago I banished them all by one triplet, with the Alexandrine, upon a very ridiculous subject. I absolutely did prevail with Mr. Pope, and Gay, and Dr. Young, and one or two more, to reject them. Mr. Pope never used them till he translated Homer, which was too long a work to be so very exact in; and I think in one or two of his last poems he hath, out of laziness, done the same thing, though very seldom.  

Charles Gildon, critic and anthologist, who was to become an enemy to Pope as unrelenting if less portentous than Dennis, by his Deist's Manual joined in Swift's religious pamphlets the list which included Tindal, Toland, Coward, Clendon, and Asgil, successors of Socinus, Spinoza, and Hobbes, whose works Swift would have his readers deem fit for burning by the common hangman. In a passage which he inserted into the introduction to A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation between the conception of that jeu d'esprit about 1709 and Gildon's death in 1724, Swift employed a heavily worked device of coupling the names of those whom he would deride with names of figures in low repute generally. "Simon Wagstaff," the pretended author, who had collected among his choice ors of conversation a proverbial parody from Dryden without knowing it, had been an intimate friend, upon his own testimony, of "Mr. Thomas Brown" (to Swift's readers the egregious Tom Brown), and was still particularly acquainted with Gildon, Dennis (whom Wagstaff was pleased to call "that admirable critic and poet"), and Ned Ward.

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63 Corres., V, 162.
64 Throughout Swift's works. See especially T.S., III, 87, 180, 185.
66 Ibid., 221.
All other critics Swift disposes of in A Tale of a Tub as "Econetera the Younger," begat by Bentley, Wotton, Rymer, and Dennis. John Hughes, now remembered as a critic and contributor to the Tatler and the Spectator, Swift mentioned for the first time in 1735, and then only as a poet.67

One of the brightest sallies in The Battle of the Books concerns Cowley, who died four months before Swift was born. In the text Cowley is made to hurl a spear ineffectually at Pindar, who immediately "cleft the wretched Modern in twain," but Venus made a dove of the untrampled half of his corpse. A footnote forthwith explains, "I do not approve the Author's Judgment in this, for I think Cowley's Pindaricks are much preferable to his Mistress."68 Cowley being several times in later years seasonable for parody, Swift's regular apology for being familiar with Cowley's work was that he had not in his youth been a strict judge, nor had he "at fifteen" perceived the frivolousness of verses dedicated to Venus.69 With these statements may be compared Swift's letter to Thomas Swift May 3, 1692, when Jonathan was not fifteen but twenty-four. "I find when I write what pleases me," he wrote, "I am Cowley to myself and can read it a hundred times over."70 Swift was probably fortunate in not having similar youthful praise of Dryden to renounce.

Sir Richard Blackmore, feeling that he had not been treated in The Battle of the Books with reverence due his genius, pronounced the author of the Battle and the Tale to be "an impious buffoon," for which phrase supported by others he earned a permanent place among Swift's and Pope's dunces.71 Actually, Blackmore's treatment in the Battle had been moderate. Lucan had entered the battlefield in St. James's Library upon a fiery horse.

68 H.D., I, 159.
69 T.S., IV, 10; Poems, III, 786-87.
70 Corres., I, 364.
Blackmore, a famous Modern (but one of the Mercenaries) strenuously opposed himself; and darted a Javelin, with a strong Hand, which falling short of its Mark, struck deep in the Earth. Then Lucan threw a Lance; but Aesculapius came unseen, and turn'd off the Point. Brave Modern, said Lucan, I perceive some God protects you, for never did my Arm so deceive me before.

After proposing that they present gifts to each other, Lucan bestowed on Blackmore a pair of spurs and received in return a bridle. Blackmore, true to Swift's analysis of men and their vanity in "The Beast's Confession to the Priest," had been dissatisfied with personal salvation as a physician on a page where his translating was damned, although in his preface to Prince Arthur he had anticipated Dennis's thorough devastation of the poem by assuring readers that he was not in seriousness a poet but a physician. Remark in "On Poetry: A Rhapsody" how few poets had reached the low Sublime, Swift traced the descendancy from Flecknoe to one of the brothers Howard to Blackmore and finally to Lord Grimston, another non-professional accredited with ridiculous pages. Swift undoubtedly had been incited to name Blackmore as a mercenary because of Blackmore's disclaimer.

Swift's animosity to translators, both in the Tale and the Battle and in later works, cannot be overemphasized. In addition to being a reputedly bad poet, Blackmore gave overwhelming offense in 1721 by paraphrasing the Psalms of David. No "transprosing" or "transversing" of the Bible could have pleased the Dean. William Dunkin copied in a manuscript now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Swift's marginal notes and parodies of The First Fifteen Psalms of David, translated in Lyric Verse, by Dr. James Gibbs, whom Swift makes to acknowledge, in spite of his own loose watering, the transcendency of Blackmore. Among the incisive comments on Gibbs's ill muse, and coming directly after mention of Blackmore, is this nice parody:

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72 H.D., I, 158. Pons (Swift, 269) somehow interpreted the god to be Temple.
74 Poems, II, 652-53.
For should the foes of David's ape
Provoke his grey goose quills,
Happy are they that can escape
The vengeance of his pills. 75

Swift finished Blackmore off in a more savage marginal note elsewhere. Retorting to Addison's statement in the Freetholder for May 25, 1716: "I have lately read with much pleasure, the 'Essays upon several Subjects' published by Sir Richard Blackmore," Swift noted in 1727: "I admire to see such praises from this author to so insipid a scoundrel, whom I know he despised." 76

Pedants, critics, translators, whiners, and bad poets were not enough; heralding Pope's failure to distinguish between Lintot and Tonson and the arch-enemy Curll, Swift without seeing any necessity for gratitude lampooned in the Introduction to A Tale of a Tub the publisher of his first printed verse—John Dunton. With slight aid from Richard Sault and Samuel Wesley, Dunton edited from 1691 to 1696 the Athenian Gazette; or Casuistical Mercury, in which he attempted to answer, unlike the more prudent Defoe, all questions submitted to "The Athenian Society," no matter how unanswerable the questions were. Sir William Temple was a frequent contributor, and influenced Swift, in 1692, to praise the mythic Society. 77 Although the Athenian Mercury, as Dunton's organ was called during its last years, anticipated in several ways Steele's Tatler, Dunton, a shrewd entrepreneur, had almost no literary originality. After the publication of The Life and Errors of John Dunton, a book which betrayed his insanity, he became a Whig pamphleteer. 78 Swift had heard, he said in A Tale of

75 T. S., IV, 235. Although Dr. Gibbs's paraphrase was first published in 1701, it was probably after 1727 that Swift wrote the marginalia. Dr. Gibbs's stanza:
For should the madness of His foes
Th' avenging God incense,
Happy are they that can repose
In Him their confidence.

76 T. S., X, 376.

77 See Poems, I, 13ff.

A Tub, that the dying speeches of Newgate criminals were to be published "in Twelve Volumes in Folio, illustrated with Copper-Platos" by "that worthy Citizen and Bookseller, Mr. John Dunton... A Work highly useful and curious, and altogether worthy of such a Hand." The occasion of Swift's discovery that the man to whom he had addressed himself, in his "Ode to the Athenian Society," as an humble and immature poet to a jury of learned philosophers was indeed a bookseller and pamphleteer among the lowest of the mercenaries of faction must have been as mortifying as any disillusion of his life. That Dunton was a Whig scribbler who busily called Oxford and Bolingbroke theremasters and Jacobites became sufficient excuse for associating with him "le mytho animal." Just how despicable Swift thought Dunton to be is indicated by his believing that Steele was sufficiently debased by comparison in The Public Spirit of the Whigs with Dunton and George Ridpath, the editor of the Flying Post. Dunton, granted Swift, was the superior in keenness of satire and variety of reading.

His famous tract, intitled "Neck or Nothing," must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with most spirit of any which hath appeared from that side since the change of the ministry; It is indeed a most cutting satire upon the Lord treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it.

Swift was not setting about in these early years to alienate the affections of all his contemporaries. A writer whose name has meant more to later ages than Temple's name has meant preceded Temple as an acquaintance. At Kilkenny School and later at Trinity, Swift was a fellow student of William Congreve (b. 1670). There is no evidence that they were friends in youth, and the usual expression in regard to the matter is that Swift "cultivated" the younger but sooner famous writer with the ode of 1695, "not Pindaric," which Thomas Swift, "the little parson cousin," was to publish in London in time to greet Congreve's Double Dealer.

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77 H.D., I, 35.
78 T.S., III, 166. For the phrase see Pons, Swift, passim.
79 Ibid., V, 516-18.
80 Ibid., V, 316.
81 Ibid., V, 316.
82 Ibid., V, 316.
Mentioning Congreve's "vigorous fancy," and showing other signs of failure to recover from the effects of Cowley, Swift fitfully interrupted satiric thrusts at folly to offer aerial praise of Congreve:

Godlike the force of my young CONGREVE's bays,....
For never did poetic mine before
Produce a richer vein or cleaner ore. 84

To this poem M. Pons gives credit for his conclusion that Swift's genius was born into maturity.

Congreve was a Whig loyal to the party's changing principles and to Marlborough. He did not believe A Tale of a Tub to be of lasting value. 85 His mode of writing, except that it was superb in wit, was not one calculated to appeal to Swift, who fully agreed with Jeremy Collier, Blackmore, and Prynne that the stage of the day and especially the comedies were vicious. In "A Project for the Advancement of Religion," in a vein similar to that of Collier eleven years before, Swift asked the Queen for complete reformation of the stage.

Beside the indecent and profane passages; beside the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the priesthood, with other irregularities, in most modern comedies, which have by others been objected to them; it is worth observing the distributive justice of the authors, which is constantly applied to the punishment of virtue, and the reward of vice; directly opposite to the rules of their best critics, as well as to the practice of dramatic poets, in all other ages and countries.

It is worth noting that "their best critics" were the fools of A Tale of a Tub; the opposition was best represented by Addison. It is a little odd that Swift should intimate that the argument against the stage on the grounds of violated poetic justice was original with him. Swift did not question the wit of the

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84 Poems, I, 45.

85 Congreve to Keally (from London to Dublin), Oct. 28, 1704, printed in G.-M. Berkeley, Literary Relics, 341. "I am of your mind as to the Tale of a Tub. I am not alone in the opinion, as you are there; but I am pretty near it, having but very few on my side; but those few are worth a million....I confess I was diverted by several passages when I read it, but I should not care to read it again."

86 T.S., III, 39.
plays, but believed that other objects of wit could be found; as a clergyman and
moralist he believed that values outside art took precedence over values which were
purely artistic. He objected to a country squire being derided merely because he
was a clown. Further, most of the dramatists, being Whig supporters of Marlborough,
glorified the redcoats, whom Swift thought sluggardly and noisome. He objected to a
country squire being derided merely because he
was a clown. Further, most of the dramatists, being Whig supporters of Marlborough,
glorified the redcoats, whom Swift thought sluggardly and noisome. 87 "The alderman
is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication
are supposed to be committed behind the scenes, as part of the action." In this
language, unfortunately enough, there is no exaggeration. In Examiner No. 28, one
of his cleverest attacks on Marlborough, Swift suggested that the stage, which
usually exaggerated traits of folly, might aid reform by deriding avarice instead of
simplicity. 89 Near the close of A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet, written in
1720, Swift praised the stage for ridding young people of their natural restraints
and prejudices, "especially those of religion and modesty, which are great restraints
to a free people." Swearing, cursing, and lying are learned in the playhouse.

Lastly, the stage in great measure supports the pulpit; for I know not
what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of
the age, but for the playhouse, which is the seminary of them. 90

In the entry for Wednesday of the Holyhead Journal, in which Swift recorded all the
fragments of thought that came to mind while he waited in miserable fear that Stella
was dying, a dream of the night before finds place. In Swift's dream Bolingbroke
had held the pulpit, literally. "I thought his prayer was good, but I forget it.
In his Sermon, I did not like his quoting Mr. Wycherlye by name, and his Play." 91

Of the fact that he read comedies consistently as a youth and sporadically until
about 1709 there can be no doubt. He refers frequently to The Rehearsal, especially

87 G. M. Trevelyan, England under Queen Anne: Blenheim, 86.
88 I.S., III, 40.
89 Ibid., V, 174-75.
90 Ibid., XI, 108. Cf. Ibid., 360.
91 Ibid., XI, 400.
to the two kings of Brentford, and quotes indirectly from the plays of Etherege, Davenant, Wycherley, Congreve, and Dryden. To attend a public presentation of any of these plays would have been to number himself, contrary to his determination, among the less dignified clergymen; even to read comedies, Swift decided later, was not consonant with the demonstration of full dignity. The only dramatic works in Swift's library, except the works of Ben Jonson, were presentation copies from Wycherley and Rowe, received in 1700 and 1702. Besides deploring the coarseness and even lewdness of manners within the playhouse, Swift seems to have partaken to some extent of the familiar Puritan prejudice against the theater. Although he attended the Latin plays at Westminster, he seems never to have attended the public theater. When in the Intelligencer he upheld The Beggar's Opera as more beneficial than the sermons of "so prostitute a divine" as Dr. Herring, who had preached against it, and defended clergymen in both England and Ireland who had attended without their gowns, Swift wrote as from the Deanery. "I shall not," he excepted, "pretend to vindicate a clergyman, who would appear openly in his habit at a theatre, among such a vicious crew, as would probably stand round him, and at such lewd comedies, and profane tragedies as are often represented." With Addison, while an old clerical friend then Bishop of Clogher stood in the balcony, Swift watched the rehearsal of Cato, but he did not attend a public performance and he wrote to Stella unrespectfully of Ann Oldfield as "the drab that acts Cato's daughter."

Just as George Berkeley provides an illustration that Swift while despising philosophers liked George in spite of his "speculative" philosophy and "visionary virtue," so Congreve illustrates Swift's opposition to playwrights, but love of Bill.

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92 S.W.S., I, 471-72.
94 T.S., IX, 320.
95 Ibid., II, 452.
In the Journal to Stella Swift mentions again and again visiting his "dear friend" and "very agreeable companion" Congreve, not, apparently, to dine, as elsewhere when Swift and Congreve were in the same company, but to talk. Also in the Journal and in later correspondence with members of the Twickenham circle, up to the retired wit's fatal accident in 1729, are some fifteen scattered sympathetic references to Congreve's gout and cataracts. Swift's letters are an important source of information about Congreve's life.96 After acquiring Harley's promise of protection for Congreve, in July, 1711, Swift wrote Stella: "I have made a worthy man easy, and that is a good day's work."97 Congreve had once particularly endeared himself by giving Swift "a Tatler he had written out, blind as he is, for little Harrison."98 Swift looked upon Harrison as his own creature. Although Mrs. Whiteway wrote to the Earl of Orrery, when Pope was trying to get his correspondence with Swift into the hands of publishers, that there were letters from Congreve in Swift's packets, none have survived.99

In October of 1711, after he had been dining and sitting with Congreve for over a year, Swift left an amusing record of his decision to leave the reading of plays to his servants:

I saw a volume of Congreve's plays in my room, that Patrick had taken to read; and I looked into it, and in mere loitering read in it till twelve, like an owl and a fool: if ever I do so again; never saw the like.100

The many references in Swift's correspondence before and after Congreve's death are

96 Edmund Gosse, Life of Congreve, 157-58 and passim; D. C. Taylor, William Congreve, 207, 221-26, and passim; J. C. Hodges, William Congreve the Man, A Biography from New Sources, passim.

97 T.S., II, 195. Swift did not stop here; see ibid., 203, 204, 207.

98 Ibid., 121.

99 Corres., VI, 191.

100 T.S., II, 269.
always to a friend and never to a playwright. In his verse, however, "Congreve's wit" was proverbial.101 About six weeks after Congreve's death January 29, 1729, Swift wrote, apparently in reply to some statement of Pope's: "But this renews the grief for the death of our friend Mr. Congreve, whom I loved from my youth, and who surely, beside his other talents, was a very agreeable companion."102 Less than a month later he wrote Bolingbroke:

I have read my friend Congreve's verses to Lord Cobham, which end with a vile and false moral, and I remember is not in Horace to Tibullus which he imitates, that all times are equally virtuous and vicious, wherein he differs from all poets, philosophers, and Christians that ever writ.103

Swift's repugnance for the Whigs in power was too strong to grant Congreve that "all the Golden Age is but a Dream." Bitterness toward the Whigs restricted Swift's praise of Congreve the following year, in "A Libel on Dean Delany." Where Congreve slept, wrote Swift, was of no concern to the Earl of Halifax, until Congreve adopted the proper party principles. "Crazy" Congreve had been scarce able to hire a chair,

Till Prudence taught him to appeal
From Paean's Fire to Party Zeal;
Not owing to his happy Vein
The Fortunes of his latter Scene,
Took proper Principles to thrive;
And so might ev'ry Dunce alive,104

Although he did not intend to imply that Congreve was blameworthy for becoming prudent, Swift was never gentle with the memories of the dead when he desired to clarify a moral point.

Swift from his friendship with Congreve retained always admiration for Congreve's wit and yet undoubtedly realized that Congreve's comedies were lascivious and irreverent in the specific ways which he thought justified the growing opposition to

101 Poems, II, 496.
102 Correspondence, IV, 58.
103 Ibid., 77. See Complete Works of Congreve, ed. Montague Summers, IV, 177-78.
104 Poems, II, 481.
the stage. Perhaps it was love or respect for Congreve which restrained Swift from attacking any particular playwright for his bawdiness. The verses on the runty house Vanbrugh built from the ruins of Whitehall, which Swift did "not reckon so very good" though Harley told Prior they were the best thing he had ever read, probably sprang as much from the idea as from the desire to attack Vanbrugh. Besides revising "Vanbrugh's House" in 1708, supposedly at the instigation of Addison, Swift wrote in 1709 a similar squib ridiculing the small house of his friend Archdeacon Walls, and as Sir Frederick Falkiner believes, wrote after 1719 a third similar poem, on Dr. Delany's house at Delville, usually attributed to Sheridan.

In "Vanbrugh's House," without forgetting that Vanbrugh was herald as well as architect and poet, Swift pointed to the similarity between the tiny structure Vanbrugh had intended as a residence and typical poems by modern needle-wit creators. The effort was large; the result negligible. "Eminent" modern poets as well as Grub Street starvelings, Swift said, illustrated in their conceit that "all the Muses Geese are Swans." What Vanbrugh took for a swan was clearly a goose. A twentieth century reader is likely to suspect that any house not like other houses would have been taken by Swift, with the support of nearly all his contemporaries, as a goose. Still the pitch and feathers do not settle on a particular dramatist for particular crimes, though Vanbrugh might be justified in considering himself especially noticed.

Just such an Insect of the Age  
Is he that scribbles for the Stage;  
His Birth he does from Phoebus raise,  
And feeds upon imagin'd Bays;  
Throws all his Witt and Hours away  
In twisting up an ill-spun Play:

105 T. S., II, 51.  
106 Ball, Swift's Verse, 67.  
107 T. S., XII, 79-82.
This gives him Lodging, and provides
A Stock of tawdry Stuff besides.108
(39-46)

As irresistible as the first idea had been to Swift the wit, the second assault,
written in 1706 but not published until April, 1710, was more specific than ingenious.
In 1705 Vanbrugh had been appointed architect for the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim,
and it was against the Duke's architect that Swift wrote "The History of Vanbrugh's
House."

Having seen houses built of cards by young girls and of a few handfuls of mud
by children, Vanbrugh had built for himself a larger house than those of either type.

From such deep Rudiments as these
Van is become by due degrees
For Building fam'd, and justly reckond
At Court, Vitruvius the second,
No wonder, since wise Authors show,
That best Foundations must be low.109
(35-40)

"Now Swift had no personal grudge against Vanbrugh," writes Laurence Whistler,
Vanbrugh's biographer, "though he probably thought him a pretentious fellow who had
pushed his way into architecture and heraldry with equal insolence. But he was a
Whig; and he had vilely insulted the Church. That was enough.110 There was more:
Blenheim represented a Whiggish gift to the most formidable enemy to peace and,
indirectly, to the Established Church. Vanbrugh had been insulting the church for
ten years; he just then had become architect of Blenheim.

About a year after the revision called "Van's House" Swift wrote to Stella of
eating in the company of Vanbrugh at Sir Richard Temple's:

Vanbrugh, I believe I told you, had a long quarrel with me about
those verses on his house; but we were very civil and cold. Lady
Marlborough used to tease him with them, which had made him angry,
though he be a good-natured fellow.111

108 Poems, I, 80.
109 Ibid., 87.
110 Sir John Vanbrugh, 159.
In 1729 Swift included Vanbrugh along with Wycherley in a list of thirty-nine men, excluding Steele, "famous for their learning, wit, or great employments or quality" who were or had been when alive his friends.112 Perhaps his definition of friendship was not then as exclusive as it had once been. One of Swift's most interesting statements about a dramatist concerns Sir William D'Avenant, successor to Ben Jonson as Poet Laureate, who provided a link between Elizabethan and Restoration drama. In 1721 Swift wrote that D'Avenant, like Shakespeare, would have been a worse poet, had he been a better scholar.113

112 Corres., V, 466.

113 T.S., XI, 98. D'Avenant (or Davenant) died in 1668.
II.

In February, 1700, one year before receiving his degree as Doctor of Divinity, Swift had been appointed to the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeagnan and to the rectory of Agher, and in the autumn to the prebend of Dunlavin in the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Already, upon the death of Temple in 1699, Swift had accepted the chaplaincy to Lord Berkeley, lord justice of Ireland. Between these years and Swift's fertile assignment in 1707 to solicit the first-fruits and twentieth parts for the Irish clergy, he had been three times to England. While with Lord Berkeley in England from April to September of 1701, he had published A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome and had probably visited his mother in Leicester, as he did until her death in 1710. From April to October of the next year he was again in England. The details of publishing A Tale of a Tub were carried out during the third visit to England from November, 1703, to June, 1704.

When he returned to England in 1707, reaching London by December, his authorship of the Tale was becoming known or suspected by most wits, and although legends which grew immediately around his dark behaviour in coffeehouses paint him as a solitary figure, he probably had, as Sir Leslie Stephen suggested, many introductions to London society "through Congreve, the most famous of then living wits." No distinct evidence remains, however, of any friendship with other literary figures in London before Swift's first long sojourn there, from the end of 1707 to June, 1709. Except for a year spent in Ireland from that month to September 1, 1710, and the summer of 1713 when he was installed Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift remained in London as a churchman and political writer until, unable any longer to hold the tumbling Harley

1Unless otherwise noted, all dates are taken from R. Quintana, Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift.

2Swift, 66.
and St. John together, he left London June 1, 1714 for shelter with a friend in
Letchmore Bassett, Berkshire, and then at the death of Queen Anne left Berkshire
for Dublin. During these years were born the most important friendships of Swift's
life, and a comradeship with Steele was born and buried.

On the basis of style in two tracts published in 1701, Dr. Ball suggested that
Swift during the summer months of that year was a collaborator with Dr. Charles
D'Avenant, the son of Sir William D'Avenant the dramatist and an able pamphleteer
who had earlier been a Tory. No confirmatory evidence has been found. In later
years, however, Swift's pieces were frequently attributed to D'Avenant. Of Advice
to Members of the October Club Swift wrote to Stella, "I doubt Lord-Treasurer
suspected; for he said, this is Mr. Davenant's style, which is his cant when he
suspects me." Two other allusions by Swift to D'Avenant, although they do not
corroborate Dr. Ball's suggestion, indicate the possibility that Swift and D'Avenant
were in some way more closely associated than is known. On November 5, 1710, Swift
wrote Stella:

I was with Mr Harley from dinner to seven this night, and went
to the coffeehouse, where Dr D'Avenant would fain have had me gone
and drink a bottle of wine at his house hard by, with Dr Chamberlain;
but the puppy used so many words, that I was afraid of his company....
D'Avenant has been teasing me to look over some of his writings that
he is going to publish; but the rogue is so fond of his own productions,
that I hear he will not part with a syllable; and he has lately put
out a foolish pamphlet, called, The Third Part of Tom Double; to make
his court to the Tories, whom he had left.

On Macky's characterization of D'Avenant Swift remarked, "He was used ill by most
ministries; he ruined his own estate, which put him under a necessity to comply
with the times."

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3Swift's Verse, 49-51. In Poems, III, 1073, Harold Williams dismissed the
proposal as a guess.
4T.S., II, 323.
5Ibid., II, 46.
6Ibid., X, 282.
Although it was formerly believed that Swift was in London in April, 1705, and that he dined frequently during that month with Addison and Steele,\(^7\) he almost certainly was not in London in 1705,\(^8\) and short acquaintanceship between Addison and Swift can be inferred from Addison's invitation in February, 1708 that Swift dine the next day with Steele, Addison, and Philip Frowde, the author of two plays and a friend of Addison's in whom Swift remained interested for some time.\(^9\) In the invitation, Addison expressed a desire for Swift's "conversation more at leisure, which I set a very great value upon."\(^10\) The friendship strengthened rapidly; likely it was within a short time that Addison presented Swift with a copy of his "travels," the *Remarks on Italy*, to "The most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age."\(^11\) Not until Forster discovered the original draft of "Baucis and Philemon" was it known to what extent Swift impaired its vitality when "in a poem of not two hundred lines...Mr. Addison made him blot out fourscore, add fourscore, and alter fourscore."\(^12\) "Vanbrugh's House," which became under Addison's guidance half as long again, was equally vitiated, according to the judgment of Craik.\(^13\) Swift's deference was in every way voluntary. *A Tale of a Tub* had been sufficient to show his power and ability. Partridge's "death" in March, 1708 had incited participation in the jest by Rowe, Congreve, and Steele, none of whom were


\(^8\) Corres., I, 62.

\(^9\) Ibid., 79. See *ibid.*, 101, where Swift says he can, as Philips, Addison, and Steele cannot, listen when Frowde reads his poems, which were "brought almost to perfection." After aiding Frowde in some business matters, Swift wrote as late as December, 1711: "Well, but I am staying here for old Frowde, who appointed to call this morning; I am ready dressed to go to church; I suppose he dare not stir but on Sundays...This old fool will not come, and I shall miss church." (T.S., II, 291f.)

\(^10\) Corres., I, 80.

\(^11\) Sheridan, *Life of Swift*, 44.

\(^12\) Delany, *Observations*, 19.

\(^13\) For a discussion of Addison's influence and a parallel printing of the two versions of both poems, see Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 63-91.
offended by Partridge's ideas as Swift was offended.

The praise of Addison's inscription to Swift was matched by Swift's pronouncements concerning Addison. "That man," Swift wrote to Ambrose Philips early in the autumn of 1708, "has worth enough to give reputation to an age, and all the merit I can hope for with regard to you, will be my advice to cultivate his friendship to the utmost, and my assistance to do you all the good offices towards it in my power." Three months earlier Swift had written:

The Triumvirate of Mr. Addison, Steele, and me, come together as seldom as the sun, moon and earth; I often see each of them, and each of them me and each other; and when I am of the number justice is done you as you would desire.

As quickly as it had developed, and as heavy as the trials which arose were, the friendship between Swift and Addison was to outlast the older comradeships. After Addison became secretary to Lord Wharton, whom Swift assaulted in print year after year, Swift might well have expected that Addison would be led to favor repeal of the Test Act. The following January Swift assured Archbishop King, "Mr. Addison, who goes over first Secretary, is a most excellent person; and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things." "Things" were primarily the Test Act, Swift's shibboleth for discovering enemies to the Church. He was able to write Robert Hunter in March, however, that "Mr. Addison is nine times more secret to me than anybody else, because I have the happiness to be thought his friend." In the same letter he averred

15 Ibid., 100.
16 Ibid., 131.
17 Ibid., 114. Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia and the author of a farce, was a convivial friend to several in the Addison circle. His letters to Swift are lively, and to him Swift attributed Shaftesbury's "Letter Concerning Enthusiasm," placing him in the literary company of Halifax, Addison, Congreve, and Steele. (Corres., I, 111, 113 note.)
Addison to be "Le plus honnête homme du monde," and expressed hope that business
would not spoil him, for it was during Addison's stay in Ireland, within the hands
of a tempter, that he assiduously cemented his friendship with Swift. 18

Soon after Swift's return to London in 1710 he met Harley and floated quickly
to the party which supported his High Church principles. Addison wrote Philips
December 23rd that he had a sort of promise for aid to Philips from Swift, who
was "much caressed and invited every day to dinner by some or other of the new
ministry." 19 From the beginning Swift's admiration for Harley the man was strong,
even if he was forced to place Harley the minister, no matter how much better than
other ministers, in the class of politicians, and therefore in the class of promisers
without scruple. Immediately Swift became a Tory power to be reckoned with; his pen
lashed regularly, as he was directed and as he chose. He wrote the Tory Examiner
from November 2, 1710 to June 14, 1711. He was in England, however, as a clergyman
trying to obtain an extension of "Anne's Bounty" for Ireland, and in a sense his
party was the vts. He desired, as Leslie Stephen said, to use his influence
magnificently. 20 In December, 1712, in no good humor, he was able to boast:

A curse of party! And do you know I have taken more pains to
recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers
than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place. Congreve
I have got to be used kindly, and secured. Rowe I have recommended,
and got a promise of a place. Philips I could certainly have
provided for, if he had not run party mad, and made me withdraw my
recommendation; and I have set Addison so right at first, that he
may have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he
has; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man. 21

During the days when he was assuming more and more duties for the Tory press, and
after he became a member of both the policy-adjusting Saturday Club, of which all

18 W. J. Courthope, Addison, 77. See especially Correa, I, 151, 158, 159.
20 Swift, 104.
21 T. S., II, 406.
other members were ministers, and the influential Brothers' Club, which included, less arbitrarily, selected ministers and writers, Swift felt it to be only natural that his friendships with the Whig writers continue unimpaired. He pretended to be baffled when his friends failed wholly to concur. Stella could have all letters but her own directed to Steele's office in the Cockpit; Swift continued to dine and spend evenings regularly with Addison. On October 12, 1710, less than a month before Swift took up the Examiner, he wrote warmly of Addison that "I believe if he had a mind to be chosen king he would hardly be refused."23

A significant part of the Journal to Stella, partly perhaps because Stella and Addison had met in Ireland, is taken up with tracing Swift's relations with Addison, his disgust that party should sever them and his disappointment that Addison should succumb to the opinions of Steele and party prejudice, and his love of the man through all. Only the outlines need be given. Early in 1711 he had "talked coldly a while with Mr. Addison; all our friendship and dearness are off....But I think he has used me ill, and I have used him too well, at least his friend Steele."24 Two months later: "I have not seen Mr. Addison these three weeks; all our friendship is over."25 In the meantime Swift had mentioned Addison favorably to the ministry. Because of some indiscretions of Steele, Harley—who typically was carrying on a correspondence with Steele unknown to Swift—commanded Swift not to request further favors for Steele or Addison. Swift complied. Affairs rocked along unhappily until July, when Swift could write pleasurably: "Mr. Addison and I have at last met again. I dined with him and Steele to-day at young Jacob Tonson's....Mr. Addison

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22 T.E., II, 4.
23 Ibid., 27.
24 Ibid., 101.
25 Ibid., 132.
and I talked as usual, and as if we had seen one another yesterday. Swift's affection was given life again, although Addison was perhaps not ever a warm friend. "This evening," wrote Swift in September, "I met Addison and Pastoral Philips in the Park, and supped with them at Addison's lodgings; we were very good company; and yet know no man half so agreeable to me as he is." Had Swift remained a frequent visitor to coffee-houses and taverns his desire to maintain and renew old friendships might have had earlier realization; but Swift, who enjoyed exclusiveness, was repelled by the commotion and by the variety of types which jostled together in the usual meeting places, even Button's. Having written earlier to Stella that Addison was finishing Cato—which Swift had seen several years earlier in its unfinished form—he reported fully to her, as mentioned in the previous chapter, watching the rehearsal of the play with Addison and about ten others. Three months after Addison had become Secretary of State, in 1717, Swift wrote to congratulate him.

I examine my heart, and can find no other reason why I write to you now, beside that great love and esteem I have always had for you. I have nothing to ask you either for any friend or for myself. When I conversed among Ministers, I boasted of your acquaintance, but I feel no vanity from being known to a Secretary of State. I am only a little concerned to see you stand single; for it is a prodigious singularity in any Court to owe one's rise entirely to merit.

Addison's last two letters to Swift were equally generous. The first, written three months before his death, contained two clauses which have become famous.

"I always honoured you for your good-nature, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man who has talents so much more shining in the eye of the world."
After Addison's death Swift was pleased frequently to mention "my excellent friend Mr. Addison." In 1721 "immortal ADDISON" was excepted from those who had made bad use of the Bible. In 1730 Swift had not forgotten Addison's Campaign, nor could he forget

Addison's immortal Page,
When rapt in Heavenly Airs, he sings
The Acts of GODS, and god-like Kings.
(101-3)

From the middle of the eighteenth century until today the continued friendship between Swift and Addison has been considered a credit to both men, and cited as an example of Swift's capacity for "disinterested love."

What respect Swift had for the Tatler and the Spectator was clearly derived from his love and respect for Addison, and not from affection for Steele. Very likely Swift never cared much for Steele, despite their early comradeship. In October, 1709 he had written to Philips, it is true, that "You have the best friend in the world, Mr. Addison, who is never at ease while any men of worth are not so; and Mr. Steele is alter ab illo." The "Mr." deserves notice, for Steele, unlike Addison, was to be referred to thereafter generally without title. Growing dislike for Steele was not induced, of course, because Steele was the "author of two tolerable plays, (or at least the greatest part of them)," nor even for acts more definitely foolish which did not escape Swift's eye, but primarily because Steele's chief political quality appeared to Swift as adherence. "Was truer than Steele to the Ha---over Line," wrote Swift in 1730 of a Whig dean indicted for rape. The

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32 See Corres., III, 119.
33 T.S., XI, 96.
34 Poems, II, 496. ("A Panegyric on Dean Swift.")
35 Corres., I, 169.
36 T.S., V, 286-87.
37 Poems, II, 518.
first mention of Steele in the Journal to Stella, other than as an address (with
franking privilege) for Swift's letters, records that "Steele will certainly lose
his Gazetteer's place, all the world detesting his engaging in parties." The
party zeal of "poor Dick" later distressed Addison. Steele in his sober moods was
to Swift an amateurish charlatan. Early in The Importance of Dunkirk Considered
Steele had asserted his importance with a reference to the frequency with which his
name appeared in print. Employing a favorite device of juxtaposing the name of his
victim beside the names of other enemies for whom he had entire contempt, as
inversely in the comparison of the Whig dean indicted for rape with Steele, Swift in
The Importance of the Guardian Considered refuted Steele's argument for his impor-
tance with a reference to the frequency in print of the names of Abel Roper,
whom Swift elsewhere called "a French dog," and of Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter.
"Mr. Steele publishes every day," noticed casually the considerer of the Guardian's
importance, "a penny paper to be read in coffeehouses and got him a little money.
This by a figure of speech, he calls, 'laying things before the ministry.'" In
The Public Spirit of the Whigs Swift pressed the point harder: "Every whiffler in
a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-houses, and is able to spell the title of
a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very
solemn writer...." By 1713 Swift knew what he did not like about Steele and he
knew some unfortunate details of Steele's life. "How did he acquire these abilities
of directing in the councils of princes?...Was it from his being a soldier,
clerk, alchemist, gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher?"

38 T.S., II, 7.
40 T.S., V, 291.
41 Ibid., 294.
42 Ibid., 327.
43 Ibid., 298.
surely it was not because Steele did not pay his debts? "What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele, now he has the honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?" Willard Connelly noticed that Swift was in the habit of remarking that Steele never kept appointments, not when needed, nor ever in his life. Swift's major attacks on Steele were largely attacks on the principles for which Steele was obnoxiously standing, but Steele had made himself particularly disagreeable. In the preface to *The History of the Last Four Years of the Queen*, Swift explained that as gazetteer "Mr. Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity." Craik inclined toward acceptance of Charles W. Dilke's theory that Swift wrote the *Character of Richard Steele, Esq.* by Toby, Abel's Kinsman, a thorough catalogue of Steele's faults, which was republished in 1726 with the papers of Dr. William Wagstaffe. Later Swiftian scholars have granted no more than that the *Character* may have been written by one of Swift's understroppers.

Despite his follies and Irishisms, Steele was a satisfactory tavern acquaintance. The letters to Prue, by whom Steele according to Swift was "governed... most abominably," suggest nearly as well as Swift in his vengeance that "after the first bottle" Steele was no disagreeable companion. In the early days of their acquaintance, Steele's praise of Swift had been generous. He certainly had not borrowed the name of Bickerstaff without acknowledging his indebtedness. "I never knew him taxed with ill nature," continues *The Importance of the Guardian*, "which

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44 T.S., V, 297.
46 T.S., X, 15.
47 Craik, Life of Swift, 295-97.
48 See also Aitken, Life of Richard Steele, I, 412-15.
49 T.S., II, 44.
hath made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice." Good nature Swift was apparently willing to grant anybody, even Lord Wharton. Concerning the ingratitude, discovered by Swift before September 22, 1710,51 one readily concedes that Swift was wrong but not unreasonable to expect Steele to acknowledge indebtedness for his retainment in the offices of Gazetteer and "stamped paper," when Steele knew that his retainment had not been due, to any large extent, to Swift's sincere efforts. Steele was equally wrong but not necessarily unreasonable to expect Swift to know that without his chastisement for speaking to Harley and St. John in behalf of Addison, Steele, and other Whigs, Steele would have been condoned as long as possible for political reasons. Neither Swift nor Steele was aware of all the factors involved. Although the original incident and misunderstanding of it had caused ill-feeling,51 the series of incidents which produced the rupture was still more unfortunate. Believing Swift to be still connected with the Examiner, or without caring, Steele had reflected on Swift in the fifty-third Guardian as an "estranged friend" and later as a "miscreant." When Swift wrote Addison for an explanation, Addison passed the letter on to Steele. A series of futile letters passed between Steele and Swift. Steele's The Importance of Dunkirk Considered and his Crisis gave Swift opportunities to strike blows for his party and to avenge his pride.

Continuation of a better relationship would probably have been possible had any one of the three men indicated any desire to preserve the thin bonds between Steele and Swift. But Addison had acted sedately; anger directed Swift and Steele. A better relationship had, of course, existed earlier, before the Whigs turned down one fork and Swift down the other. A letter from Steele to Swift in 1709 indicates that Steele had been asked, or had desired without being asked, to "walk bareheaded

50 T. S., V, 287.
51 See ibid., II, 37.
before" Swift in the introduction to the Miscellanies published in that year by Tooke. Besides being good-natured and agreeable as a companion, Steele was a friend of Addison, and had therefore deserved the gestures of friendship. "And now I am going in charity to send Steele a Tatler, who is very low of late." A month later Swift wrote, "I have one or two hints I design to send him, and never any more; he does not deserve it."

Swift betrayed his feelings about Tatlers and Spectators by calling them "pretty" before and after they "grew cruel dull and dry." By "pretty" and "prettily written" he regularly commended the poems of his lesser protégés.

Frequently asking Stella if she read the Spectators, he would tell her how the last seemed to have been received in London; as for himself, he would write, he never frequented coffeehouses and therefore seldom read Mr. Spectator's papers. When praising the Tatler and the Spectator, as he found occasion to do, Swift habitually intimated that Addison was their redeemer. In fact, judged Swift, aside from his two tolerable plays, Steele owed his reputation for wit entirely to his friendship with Addison.

However, in the non-political Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue, written hurriedly in February, 1712, Swift wrote of Steele respectfully:

Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having, about a year ago, communicated to the public much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who, for a long time, did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers; and is supposed to pursue the same design at present, under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it.

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53 T.S., II, 7. 55 Ibid., 92, 166, 272, 284.
54 Ibid., 44. 56 As "pretty," however, Swift recommended Arbuthnot's The History of John Bull to Stella. (Ibid., 352.)
Conceivably Swift felt that he was praising Addison, but undoubtedly he realized that the passage would be universally applied to Steele. "Did I tell you," he wrote Stella and Dingley, "that Steele has begun a new daily paper, called the Guardian? they say good for nothing." He had taken the measure of Steele's style and viewpoint, and was able to parody him nicely. In A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet he computed that in London were "three hundred performing poets and upwards," not forgetting the "domestic" imitators, translators, and familiar-letter-writers.

One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late British "Spectator," in his decline, would have called, "an excellent specimen of the true sublime;" or, "a noble poem;" or, "a fine copy of verses, on a subject perfectly new." (the author himself) and had given it a place amongst his latest "Lucubrations." Swift's highly entertaining strictures on Steele's style in The Importance of the Guardian Considered and The Public Spirit of the Whigs are among the most interesting otherwise of his unrestrained critical dicta. Quite contrary to his praise of Steele in the proposal for correcting the language, where Steele's popularity could be useful to Swift, he now affirmed that Steele "hath no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse; for after the first bottle he is no disagreeable companion." Swift decided that among the manifestations of folly which Steele called "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business" was his monotonous elegant variation. Promptly he impaled Steele's transitional phrases:

"In answer to the sieur's first."
"As to the Sieur's second."
"As to his third."
"As to the sieur's fourth."
"As to Mr. Deputy's fifth."
"As to the sieur's sixth."
"As to this agent's seventh."

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60 T.S., II, 450.
59 Ibid., XI, 110.
58 Ibid., V, 287.
"As to the sieur's eighth."
"As to his ninth."
"As to the memorialist's tenth." 61

Such "great eloquence," as Swift called it derisively, quite naturally caught the eye of the prose artist who thought the best style to be "proper words in proper places." "I could heartily wish," he continued, "Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of shewing the utmost variations our language would bear in so momentous a trial." 61 Throughout the tracts Steele is cleverly but unfairly quoted. His information had been insufficient, and his ideas muddled, but it is a tribute to his style that Swift was soon forced into witty quibbling. "Mr. Steele 'has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak on whether he offends them or no, and though their clothes be ever so new; when he thinks his queen and country is, 1 (or as a grammarian would express it, are) 'ill treated.' 62 "If I have ill interpreted him," Swift apologizes, "It is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them." 63

Toward the end of 1713 Steele indiscreetly published his Crisis. Swift first answered with "The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphrased: And Address'd to Richard St--le, Esq." Referring to the plot of the "long-threatened" Conscious Lovers, which was not finished until 1722, and exposing as usual his belief that Steele was a good fellow until he married politics, Swift expressed sympathetic regret that Drury Lane would have to wait without the play until Steele had settled Europe's grand affairs. His own suggestion, however, was that Steele realize some of his many limitations and accompany friend Swift into retirement.

61 T. S., V, 293.
62 Ibid., 303.
63 Ibid., 305.
Thy Genius has perhaps a knack
At trudging in a beaten Track,
But is for State-Affairs as fit,
As mine for Politicks and Wit.

(104-7)

They could best show wisdom by ceasing all attempts to rise above their talents,
retiring to a snug cellar, and quaffing ale and a little port,

With which inspir'd we'll club each Night
Some tender Sonnet to indite,
And with Tom D'Urf—y, Phill—ps, D--nis,
Immortalize our Dols and Jenneys.64

(113-16)

There is nothing in human nature which would have helped Steele appreciate such sage advice. Appreciation or repentance would have been tardy anyhow. Steele was not ejected from Parliament as much because of his indiscretions in the Crisis as because Swift had pointed them out in The Publick Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the CRISIS: with some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candor, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise. Under pretense of commenting on Steele's style, Swift moves harshly toward his question "whether he be a human creature."65

He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard but to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the panels.66

Swift was able to choose examples: "'A Discourse, representing from the most Authentic Records.' He hath borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably understood the words, but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and under favour, he is wholly mistaken."67 Savagely Swift set about to show how wickedly mistaken Steele was. "I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and

64 Poems, I, 183-84.
65 T.S., V, 357.
66 Ibid., 321.
67 Ibid., 319.
the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate?" However dubious Swift had always been of Steele's refinement and intellectual capacities, it took only Steele's presumptuous entry deeper into politics, on the wrong side, to make his style barren.

Swift accustomed himself to the belief that selecting minor flaws was a fair method of deriding the authors of printed matter which was wrong-headed in general as well as in details. A fastidious writer himself, although seldom a fastidious speller, his general method of criticizing work submitted to him, from the poems of Pope to the tracts of Irish nonentities, was to indicate where improper words were in improper places. Facetiously but meaningly Prior asked Swift in a letter of May, 1718, "Am I particular enough? Is this prose? And do I distinguish tenses?" In the much-quoted letter containing Swift's supplication that Arbuthnot finish the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, he admitted that he himself "could put together, and lard, and strike out well enough." Bishops Gilbert Burnet and William Fleetwood felt keenly and often the transcendency of Swift's complete condemnation through laughter at uneasy details. Anthony Collins, the deist, was deeply stung in the meticulous parodies of Mr. Collins's Discourse of Free-Thinking, Put into Plain English, by Way of Abstract, for the Use of the Poor. Having noticed in 1712 that Fleetwood, the Bishop of St. Asaph, was overworking the word "such," Swift pierced four enemies with one arrow in A Letter of Thanks from my Lord W***n to the Lord BP of S. Asaph, in the Name of the Kit-Cat-Club.

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68 T.S., V, 322.
70 Corres., III, 8.
71 Ibid., II, 163.
Of the irresistible charm of the word "such!" Well, since Erasmus wrote a treaty in praise of Folly, and my Lord Rochester wrote an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the "Spectator," or some of his fraternity, (dealers in words) to write an encomium upon Such.72

All personal and political hostility aside, Swift suspected Steele to be what he described him as in the paragraph quoted—void of ideas, a dealer in words.

In later years, when Swift enjoyed recalling the days of his power, he never listed Steele among distinguished men who had been his friends, except to recall that Steele had been ungrateful.73 Steele was involved in one of the peculiar pertinacities of Swift's memory about two years before serious signs of decay appeared. One of Swift's contributions to the Tatler had been the deflation, jointly with Prior and Rowe, of Steele's use of "Great Britain" instead of "England" or simply "Britain." August 8, 1738, he wrote to John Barber, the printer who had become Lord Mayor of London, "Pox on the modern phrase Great Britain, which is only to distinguish it from Little Britain, where old clothes and books are to be bought and sold."74

For the fourth member of the circle that had supped at Will's and George's during Swift's residence in London during 1708-1709, Swift had less respect than he had for Steele. Swift wanted, however hopelessly, to make men better, and he admired most those men who also wanted to make men better.75 From the pastorals of "Namby-Pamby" Philips a reader might infer that men Philips had seen were pure and good enough. Philips was a flatterer. He was meticulous—Swift would say meretricious—in his attire. Very real to Spence was the anecdote telling how, when each member of the coffeehouse circle was describing Julius Caesar as he supposed him to have

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72 T.S., V, 266.

73 Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, (1834), II, 429. Scott inserted in this revised edition a tabulation by Swift of friends grateful and ungrateful, without citing the evidence upon which its authenticity supposedly rests.


75 This statement is not casual. Swift was intensely serious, even in his "trifles."
appeared, Swift perceived that Philips was fairly describing himself, and therefore in his turn characterized Caesar as a clergyman with large, firm features. Swift seems to have enjoyed Philips's fellowship better by mail. Cleverness without substance satisfied him only while a particular mood obtained. "Swift would not tolerate Philips," writes Mary Segar of the later years in Ireland. "But even if Philips had not been intolerable to Swift, Swift's circle was not one in which he could have shone. A cult of form, of swift epigram and of apt expression characterized it, and Philips' talents did not lie in this direction." 77

Despite Swift's distaste for Philips's vanity and his dislike for the inutility of Philips's verse, in 1708 Philips was a friend of Addison, a popular poet, a writer of charming letters, and probably an agreeable companion, though a little melancholy. In 1708 Swift desired to be a friend to every literary figure in England. His assurances to Philips that Addison was the best of all possible friends has been quoted. "As for you," Swift wrote in July, 1708, "I have nothing to wish mended but your fortune; and in the meantime, a little cheerfulness, added to your humour, because it is so necessary towards making your court. I will say nothing to all your kind expressions, but that if I have deserved your friendship as much as I have endeavoured to cultivate it, ever since I knew you, I should have as fair pretensions as any man could offer." 78 Most of Swift's letters, however, contain cushions with pins in them. "I wish you would bring us home half a dozen pastorals, though they were all made up of complaints of your mistress, and of fortune." 79 When Philips accompanied Lord Bark Kerr to York, Swift wrote, "You will be admirable company after your new refined travels [.] I hope you met subjects for new pastorals, unless the new character as a soldier has swaggered out those humble ideas, and that

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76 Joseph Spence, Anecdotes, 286.
77 Introduction to Poems of Ambrose Philips, ed. M. G. Segar, xlvi.
78 Corres., I, 101.
79 Ibid., 110.
you consider the field no longer as a shepherd, but a hero." If Swift's humour in these letters be interpreted as entirely sympathetic with Philips, the further interpretation is necessary that he looked upon pastorals as a sort of hoax perpetrated on the public, or at best that he considered them contrivances made by hand during shop hours. This last, of course, is close to Philips's own viewpoint. In a letter of 1709, supposedly while Philips was in Copenhagen, Swift jested freely.

Your versifying in a sledge seems somewhat parallel to singing a Psalm upon a ladder; and when you tell me that it was upon the ice, I suppose it might be a pastoral, and that you had got a calenture, which makes men think they behold green fields and groves on the ocean. I suppose the subject was love, and then came in naturally your burning in so much cold, and that the ice was hot iron in comparison of her disdain. Then there are frozen hearts and melting sighs, or kisses, I forget which. But I believe your poetic faith will never arrive at allowing that Venus was born in the Belts, or any part of the Northern Sea.

In the autumn Swift rendered Philips a pure compliment: "When you write any more poetry, do me honour; mention me in it...I will contrive it so that Prince Posterity shall know I was favoured by the men of wit in my time." Which is not to say that he personally admired the poetry.

Sir Henry Craik felt that Philips was admitted to the friendship of Swift "by the accident of political comradeship." When Swift joined the Tory leaders, party comradeship with Philips ceased to exist. After expressing, when most irritated by Addison's coolness, a belief that Addison had hindered Steele from filling an appointment with Harley because it grated Addison to the soul "to think he should ever want my help to save his friend," Swift wrote Stella, "yet now he is soliciting me to make another of his friends Queen's secretary at Geneva; and I'll do it if I

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80 Corres., I, 114.
81 Ibid., 141-42.
82 Ibid., 169.
83 Life of Swift, 132.
Six months later Philips was again in need and sent Swift a letter in his own behalf, but he was becoming strongly inspired with Whiggism, and Swift was determined to "do nothing for Philips; I find he is more a puppy than ever, so don't solicit for him." Within another three months, nevertheless, Swift wrote Charles Ford that Philips was going constantly to Harley's levees; "and I believe will get something; I took Occasion to mention him as favorably as I could." Philips was with Addison the day "they both looked terrible dry and cold" and prompted Swift to curse political parties in the abstract and Whigs in particular. Whether it was the recommendation of the early part of 1711 or another letter or word later in the year that Swift felt had to be withdrawn because of Philips's party-madness is not clear.

In later years relations were to be yet more strained. Not only so violently Whiggish that Swift was unable to procure him a position, Philips was also the author of the pastorals that Addison and the other Whig wits at Button's advertised as superior to Pope's pastorals, so that from 1713 Pope and Philips "lived in a perpetual reciprocation of malevolence." Swift entered without verve into the ridicule of Philips, half-heartedly even after Henry Carey, Gay, and Pope regularly jested on Namby-Panjby's flattery of the children of influential men; Swift had always pitied Philips, the "complainer," and he continued to do so. Condemning trite figures of speech in "Apollo's Edict," he commanded that

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\text{Theocritus and Philips be,}  \\
\text{Your guides to true Simplicity.}
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84 T.S., II, 76.  
85 Ibid., 202.  
86 Letters of Swift to Ford, ed. Smith, 10.  
87 T.S., II, 406. See supra, p. 35.  
89 Poems, I, 270.
That Philips came to Ireland in 1724 in the train of Primate Boulter, whose lack of sympathy for Ireland and for the English in Ireland enraged Swift, has been customarily cited as the final act necessary to arouse Swift's satiric power. But, actually, Philips never aroused Swift's satiric power. Although Swift necessarily sympathized with Pope's abomination of Philips, none of the squibs upon Philips's verses to Miss Carteret appear to be Swift's, unless the innocent parody, "A Poem Upon Rover, a Lady's Spaniel," was written by Swift's "Dublin Blacksmith, a great poet," and unless, moreover, the "blacksmith" was Swift himself. Philips in paying court to Lord Carteret could not but please Swift, no matter how silly the "flats" with which he paid his court. In 1725 Swift wrote from London to Thomas Sheridan, the schoolmaster, "There is not so despised a creature here as your friend with the soft verses on children. I heartily pity him." Upon reading Edward Young's The Universal Passion in 1726 Swift's wit conceived an epigram which he was able to conceal from the world only until 1734. A monarch oak, he had noticed, stretches lofty branches into the skies and thrusts large roots into the earth. Just as Philips and Young:

If This to Clouds and Stars will venture,
That creeps as far to reach the Centre.

He would try to explain more clearly. Anybody who had watched mechanics in a sawpit had seen one working from above the log and one from within the pit, but nobody could say which was the more excellent sawyer. If, said Swift, he were the God of Wit,

Then in a Sawpit and wet Weather,
Shou'd Young and Phillips drudge together.

"Nor POPE wou'd dare deny him Wit,
Although to Praise it PHILIPS Writ." (Poems, II, 48d.)

See also Corres., III, 278-79, 292. Even to Pope, however, Swift could write, in September, 1725: "I have not seen Philips, though formerly we were so intimate." (Corres., III, 278.)
Granting Young’s seriousness, Swift thought it only fair to point out a grave inconsistency in his poems. In the companion piece to the sawpit epigram, "On Reading Dr. Young’s Satires, Called The Universal Passion," Swift asked, if Walpole and his fellow factionists were as wise and good as Young announced, what land so blessed as England? If, on the other hand, as was more likely, the "universal passion" with every attendant vice so infected every profession in London that Young’s satires were justified, what land so cursed as England?95

Swift’s editors agree that he met Young toward the end of 1717, when Young accompanied to Ireland the second Marquess of Wharton. With young Wharton Swift was, ironically, on good terms. It seems unlikely that Swift and Young met for the first time in Ireland. Young had been a close friend of William Harrison at Winchester and New College, Oxford; he had rushed from Oxford in 1713 to attend Harrison at his death.96 Upon returning to Oxford to finish his first published poem, the "Epistle to the Hon. George Lord Lansdowne" Young had closed the poem with elegiacal lines to Harrison, with an account of Harrison’s last hours worthy of the Night Thoughts.96 These lines Swift must subsequently have seen, even if he had not already made Young’s acquaintance. But Swift wrote Stella late at night February 15, 1713:

I was out of humour for the loss of poor Harrison. At ten this night I was at his funeral, which I ordered to be as private as possible. We had but one coach with four of us; and when it was carrying us home after the funeral, the braces broke; and we were forced to sit in it, and have it held up, till my man went for chairs, at eleven at night in a terrible rain.97

Swift’s cloudiness of mind that night was heavy, and Young was then but a law student writing his first poem for publication; if they were together in the funeral

95Poems, II, 390-92.
97T. S., II, 429.
coach they must have found the safest congeniality in silence. Recognizing that Young's first dear friend was Swift's protégé, the biographers of Young have been sensitive to the possibility that Young knew Swift in London. M. Thomas asserted in 1901: "Il nous semble facile d'admettre qu'il l'a connu en Angleterre par l'intermédiaire de son ami d'enfance, Wm Harrison." The bond of mutual friendship for Harrison, even if not discovered by the two men until later, was enough to have contributed greatly to Swift's recognition of Young's genius; and it is indeed easily admissible that Swift and Young were acquainted in 1713, but the relationship was almost certainly never direct. A month after Harrison died Swift was still wary of Harrison's mother, whom he had met the previous February. "You would laugh to see how cautious I am of paying her the L.100 I received for her son from the treasury. I have asked every creature I know, whether I may do it safely; yet durst not venture, till my Lord-Treasurer assured me there was no danger." Surely Swift would have gone to Young had he been fully acquainted with the circumstances and prejudiced, even slightly, in Young's favor.

How well Swift came to know Young in Ireland does not appear. It is just possible that among the many lacunae in Swift's extant correspondence are letters to and from Young, a possibility strengthened by the fact that Young's letters and papers were destroyed at his request, but the infrequency with which he is mentioned in extant letters among Swift's acquaintances might be taken as detracting from the probability that Young was ever within Swift's circle of friends. A hint that Young was not long in Swift's company lies in his statement to Spence, true as far as it goes, that "Swift had a mixture of insolence in his conversation." To say just so much about Swift was to say what everybody knew. Swift's insolence to great as well as poor strangers and Swift's insolence to friends were not identical. Young,

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98 Thomas, Le Poète Edward Young, 40. See also H. C. Shelley, Life and Letters of Edward Young, 19.
99 Spence, Anecdotes, 254.
on the other hand, may have had more to say on the subject of Swift's conversation than he told Spence or he may have told Spence more than Spence recorded. In later years Young related how, while he was in Ireland, Swift had pointed one day to an unusual elm and remarked that he would "die like that tree, at the top." Orrery, distinguishing between three styles in Swift's verse, placed under the strongest style "poems addressed to Mr. Pope, Mr. Gay, Dr. Delany, and Dr. Young."

When he writes to them, there is a mixture of ease, dignity, familiarity, and affection. They were his intimate friends, whom he loved sincerely, and whom he wished to accompany into the poetical regions of eternity.

Although Swift and Young probably were not such intimate friends as it would be pleasant to believe them, there is no doubt that Swift considered Young to be among the greatest poets of the age. In order to indicate the qualities of the court which admired Cibber, Swift in "On Poetry: A Rhapsody" reminded readers that this was the same court

Whence Gay was banish'd in Disgrace,
Where Pope will never show his Face;
Where I—— must torture his Invention,
To flatter Knaves, or lose his Pension.  

(307-10)

To save this pension Young subsequently resorted to law. Once again in the same poem Young is placed in the company of Pope and Gay, "Simon Wagstaff," friend to Gildon, Ned Ward, Dennis and Tom Brown, writing upon conversation after the manner of Captain Stevens and John Ozell, says, "Let the Popes, the Gays, the Arbuthnott, the Youngs, and the rest of that snarling brood—burst with envy at the praises we receive from the court and kingdom." Swift's boast to Thomas Beach that he

100 Sheridan, Life of Swift, 290.
101 Orrery, Remarks, 82.
102 Poems, II, 650.
103 Corres., III, 150 note.
104 Line 467.
105 T.S., XI, 223.
"absolutely did prevail" with Dr. Young not to write triplets after the unkempt manner of Dryden was noticed in the preceding chapter. To Charles Wogan, another young poet applying for criticism and aid, Swift wrote in defense of Gay, Pope, Arbuthnot, Young, "and all the brethren whom we own" that "Dr. Young is the gravest among us, and yet his satires have many mixtures of sharp raillery." Young's gravity was not as evident in 1732 as it became after the publication of the Night Thoughts, and the Conjectures on Original Composition, in which Swift's excesses against mental innocence were gravely condemned.

After Addison and Congreve, Nicholas Rowe was perhaps closer to Swift during the London years than any other famous Whig wit. Rowe was available as a dining companion during all the years of the Journal to Stella. Forster believed that Rowe played a prominent part in the Partridge jesting. Swift himself confessed that he, Prior, and Rowe sent the "Great Britain" letter to the Tatler. Swift wrote to Stella of Rowe as if he were one from whom no difficulties were to be expected. He unsuccessfully recommended Rowe to the Tory ministry. Yet no trace remains of interest on the part of Swift in Rowe's tragedies, the best of his age. At least part of the explanation, certainly, is that though Swift was eager always to forward subscriptions to the poems of his friends, he did not associate himself with the theaters. Addison's disaffection for Rowe likely prevented Swift from becoming a close friend to Rowe in the formative years before 1711. Swift mentions Rowe frequently in his letters, but seldom with any indication of attachment. In

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106 Corres., IV, 330.
109 Life of Swift, 258.
110 T.S., II, 65.
1715 he wrote Pope, a friend to Rowe: "I desire you will present my humble service to Mr. Addison, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Rowe, and Gay." Dr. Arbuthnot indirectly mentioned to Swift Rowe's death in 1718, but if Swift answered Arbuthnot during that year the letter has been lost. Swift did not comment on Rowe's death to any other London friend to whom he wrote in the succeeding months.

Sir Samuel Garth, physician and author of *The Dispensary*, had created a scandal in a prologue spoken at the opening of the Queen's Theater in the Haymarket in 1705 by congratulating the world that the stage was beginning to take the place of the church. In *The Dispensary* he had attacked Dr. Atterbury, Swift's friend, and had recommended Dryden as a model to all who would excel in sense and numbers. In the same poem and elsewhere, he had lauded Godolphin, Wharton, and Burnet, all three exquisitely hated by Swift. He was a Whig and a member of the Kit-Cat Club. Neither Addison nor Pope, apologists for Garth, ever denied his irreligion. But Garth was a celebrated poet and wit. This was enough for Swift to desire and accept his company. Nothing was left but to prove Garth's wit against his own mind. Unnecessarily, then, but happily, they had common friends in Addison and Anthony Henley, "a man of fortune and fashion" who favored the wits, and later in Arbuthnot, Pope, and Gay. Swift remembered Garth in 1729 as a friend, but intercourse had stopped when Swift left London. When the Whig leaders by contribution prepared for a riot on Queen Elizabeth's birthday in 1711, Swift wrote to Stella that "Garth gave

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112 Corres., II, 288.
113 Ibid., III, 22.

"But now that pageantry's no more,
And stages thrive as churches did before."

(The Poetical Works of Sir Samuel Garth, 138.)

115 Canto I, 143-62.
117 Corres., V, 466.
five guineas; Dr. Garth I mean, if ever you heard of him." Swift had mentioned Garth to Stella many times, and had never before revealed any doubt that she would know who Garth was. His first mention of Garth in the Journal, less than six weeks after he reached London, implied that he had told Stella in earlier years of his acquaintance with the Whig physician and poet. "If ever you heard of him" conceivably has subtle meaning, for Swift never thereafter included Garth's name in a written sentence. How he had discovered the amount of Garth's donation is problematical. Yet, undeniably, if Garth's company had never stimulated him, Swift could have mentioned Garth's donation merely because he knew Garth, and have implied that Stella might not know Garth because he did not remember that he had written several times to her of dining with Garth and others in "a hedge tavern."

Very likely it is not insignificant that Swift left no criticism of Garth's poems, which he certainly read. Swift preferred for friends men who wrote books, but he was more interested in the men than the books. He liked to be with men capable of witty and sober conversation. Dr. Garth is reputed, at least, to have been such a man. As a satirist he was popularly esteemed, and Swift, who nearly equated poetry with satire, probably thought Garth a better poet than any critic of today thinks him; but the man Swift dined with would have been a man capable of expressing ideas soberly and wittily, not the Tory who publicly expressed ideas odious to Swift. Swift has been repeatedly charged with riding his hatred of ideas to hatred of men who held those ideas. (Hating ideas would have been otherwise fruitless.) Despite this charge by Swift's critics, and despite Swift's inability to carry love of individuals to toleration within his own mind of their ideas, he was able always to continue his love for friends as long as they were willing to remain friends, no matter what their ideas. The attacks on Steele demonstrated what could result from the indication by a man holding the wrong ideas that he no

118 T.S., ii, 283.
119 Ibid., 29.
longer desired to be Swift's friend.

In 1710 Addison introduced Swift to William Harrison, the author of "Woodstock Park" and of many minor poetic pieces which achieved vogue. Swift's remarks on Harrison, who a short time before had been a classmate of Young and Tickell, peculiarly deserve examination because Harrison was the first of Swift's several protégés. Swift, always capable of hero-worship, previously had yearned to know eminent men, and next had felt himself an equal among the greatest men of his time; Harrison offered the first opportunity for reaching down to lift a promising figure.

There's a young fellow here in town we are all fond of, and about a year or two come from the university, one Harrison, a little pretty fellow, with a great deal of wit, good sense, and good nature; has written some mighty pretty things; that in your 6th "Miscellanea," about the Sprig of an Orange, is his; he has nothing to live on but being governor to one of the Duke of Queensberry's sons for forty pounds a-year. The fine fellows are always inviting him to the tavern, and make him pay his club. Henley is a great crony of his; they are often at the tavern at six or seven shillings reckoning, and always make the poor lad pay his full share. A colonel and a lord were at him and made Harrison lag behind, and persuaded him not to go to them...Is not this a plaguy silly story? But I am vexed at the heart; for I love the young fellow, resolved to stir up people to do something for him; he is a Whig, and I'll put him upon some of my cast Whigs; for I have done with them, and they have, I hope, done with this kingdom for our time.120

The circumstances are completely revealed: Swift likes Harrison's company, he admires his verse, he pities him. Or perhaps the relationship should be stated as Swift stated it: He loved the little fellow. His first opportunity to further Harrison's fortune came when Steele brought his Tatler to an end on January 2, 1711.

On the 11th Swift wrote Stella:

I am setting up a new Tatler, little Harrison, whom I have mentioned to you. Others have put him on it, and I encourage him; and he was with me this morning and this evening, showing me his first, which comes out on Saturday. I doubt he will not succeed, for I do not much approve his manner; but the scheme is Mr Secretary St John's and mine, and would have done well enough in good hands. I recommended

120 T.S., II, 29.
him to a printer, whom I sent for, and settled the matter between them this evening. Harrison has just left me, and I am tired with correcting his trash.121

In spite of giving suggestions for the first number, Swift was forced to hope that Harrison would mend. "I am afraid the little toad has not the true vein for it." Hints were necessary for No. 2, and still Swift feared that the "jackanapes wants a right taste; I doubt he won't do." Other continuations of Steele's Tatler were competing; Harrison was sinking. He quarrelled with his printer, and went over to Manship and Lillie, the publishers of the original Tatler. One day in March "little Harrison the Tatler came to me, and begged me to dictate a paper to him, which I was forced in charity to do."122

Swift clearly did not expect to receive reflected glory from the discovery of a great writer. No gambling was involved. Swift was determined to make Harrison's fortune, no more. He introduced Harrison to the ministers and subsequently acquired for him "the prettiest employment in Europe,—secretary to Lord Baby, who is to be ambassador extraordinary at the Hague." "I will send Harrison to-morrow morning," wrote Swift, "to thank the secretary." Two letters to Harrison in Swift's lists of correspondence have been lost;124 a grateful letter of Harrison's exists.125 After being made Queen's Secretary at the Hague in 1712 and later aiding with the Barrier Treaty in Utrecht, Harrison returned to London in 1713 unpaid and penniless. The story of his death from consumption within a month, on the day Swift was bringing thirty guineas from Bolingbroke and one hundred pounds from Oxford, is well known from references to Swift's severe grief.

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121 T. S., II, 99.
123 Ibid.
124 Corres., I, 386.
125 Ibid., 355-58.
Harrison was not the only poet whom Swift tried to sustain. The day before he carried to Harrison the gold which he found it embarrassingly difficult to dispose of properly after Harrison's death, he carried twenty guineas from Bolingbroke to William Diaper, "in a nasty garret, very sick," and sixty guineas collected from the Brother's Club to "two other authors." Even Jeffrey did not suggest that Swift may have kept the sixty guineas, but whether or not the two authors were any more than Tory pamphleteers is not known. Diaper had not appeared until early in 1712, when Swift had promptly informed Stella:

Here is a young fellow has writ some Sea Elegies, Poems of Mermon, resembling pastorals of shepherds, and they are very pretty, and the thought is new....I think to recommend him to our Society tomorrow....P— on him, I must do something for him, and get him out of the way. I hate to have any new vits arise, but when they do rise I would encourage them; but they tread on our heels and thrust us off the stage.\footnote{126}

Diaper, who like Harrison had few years remaining to him, was duly introduced to Bolingbroke and in all probability to other ministers. In answer to a letter in 1713 from Diaper, then a clergyman in Hampshire, telling Swift that he was translating "Oppian's Halieuticks," Swift suggested that Diaper employ a more nervous style in his poems.

I am altogether a stranger to your friend Oppian; and am a little angry when those who have a genius lay it out in translation. I question whether res angusta domi be not one of your motives. Perhaps you want such a bridle as a translation, for your genius is too fruitful, as appears by the frequency of your similes; and this employment may teach you to write more like a mortal man, as Shakespeare expresseth it.\footnote{127}

William King's "horse-play," as Craik called King's attack on \textit{A Tale of a Tub}, did not prevent Swift from obtaining for King the successorship to Steele as \textit{Gazetteer}.\footnote{128} King, Prior, Atterbury, and Dr. Freind had established the Tory

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{126} \textit{S.}, II, 353.
\item \footnote{127} \textit{Corros.}, II, 24.
\item \footnote{128} \textit{Life of Swift}, 175.
\end{itemize}}
Examiner, and Dr. Johnson believed that Freind and Prior were equally beneficial in obtaining the Gazette for King. A few months earlier Patrick, Swift's servant, had attended the funeral of King's Irish footman, who had died as custom was of consumption, which Swift proclaimed "a fit death for a poor starving wit's footman."

Swift wrote to Archbishop King, who had patronized his namesake, of acquiring for "poor Dr. King" the Gazetteership, which would be "worth two hundred and fifty pounds per annum to him, if he be diligent and sober, for which I am engaged." As the Archbishop predicted in answer, King did not grow diligent and sober, but tossed up the Gazetteership and died within a year. Swift did not engage for a worse character until he met Pilkington in 1730.

Swift became so accustomed to aiding wits that he decided to aid a coxcomb of Joseph Trapp, who became Professor of Poetry at Oxford, Swift thought that his judgment in matters of wit and sense, along with the judgment of Dr. Sacheverell, was "miraculous." When Sir Constantino Phipps, whom Swift had not seen, became Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, Stella was informed. "He carries over," Swift added, "one Trapp, a parson, as his chaplain, a sort of pretender to wit, a second-rate pamphleteer for the cause, whom they pay by sending him to Ireland. I never saw Trapp neither." Four months later Swift thought no better of him. Harley had asked Swift to look over a pamphlet, which he did, "and found it a very scurvy piece. The reason," he wrote Stella, "I tell you so is, because it was done by your parson Slap, Scrae, Flap, (what d'ye call him?) Trap, your Chancellor's chaplain." In August Trapp had written a dull poem on the Duke of Ormond, of which eleven were

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129 Works, VII, 366.
130 Correspondence I, 315-16.
131 II, 356.
132 96.
133 Ibid., 176.
sold. Stella was "very modest to compare herself with such a poetaster." To the sixty-sixth Tatler Swift had contributed derision of Trapp's gestures, calling him "little parson Dapper." For all this, Swift was prevailed upon by Trapp to correct his "good for nothing" poems, and was moved to help make him chaplain to Bolingbroke. Leaving London hastily as he did in 1714, Swift trusted the key to his escritoire with Trapp, at Oxford, for Charles Ford to pick up. In 1732, when Trapp was prospering, Swift wrote to John Barber that he planned to "write to Dr. Trapp in Mr. Pilkington's favor, but whether I have any credit with him I cannot tell, although perhaps, you will think I may pretend to some." Swift still did not respect the parson and professor. Less than a month before he had advised Barber, "You will recommend [Pilkington] to Joe, Doctor I mean, Trapp." Swift as a discoverer of genius may have overlooked better candidates than Harrison and Diaper, but of important writers fully or partially discovered few went without Swift's acquaintance. His search for wits, alone, made it impossible that he could have missed Matthew Prior. Swift's critics and biographers have accepted September or October of 1710 as the date of their first acquaintance, when they met as equals at Harley's table. If they had not met earlier, then their friendship needs little explaining. But from Francis Atterbury's statement to Harley in 1704, expressing "satisfaction in perusing Mr. Swift's book, which Mr. Prior showed us," L. H. Wickham Legg infers that Prior had the proofs or an advanced copy of A Tale of a Tub. Craik, who wrote of the years 1710-1711 that Prior, "with his maxim

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134 T.S., II, 228.
135 Ibid., IX, 21. But see Corres., I, 166 note, on the attribution to Swift of Tatlers printed during the summer and early autumn of 1709.
136 Letters of Swift to Ford, 15, 17.
137 Corres., IV, 350.
138 Ibid., 389.
139 Quintana, Mind and Art of Swift, 203.
of *vive la bagatelle,* came to be accepted with a toleration not quite natural to Swift,¹⁴¹ had on an earlier page, perhaps unintentionally, listed Prior among persons Swift knew in 1707-1708.¹⁴² At least it is certain that Swift was at ease with Prior's poems by 1709, for he informed Robert Hunter January 12, 1708/9, from London, that "Lord Dorset is nobody's favourite but yours and Mr. Prior's, who has lately dedicated his book of poems to him, which is all the press has furnished us of any value since you went."¹⁴³ If Swift did not know Prior, he admired the poems enough to have desired meeting the man.

Of the three literary figures most often thought of in connection with Swift—Addison, Prior, and Pope, who each contributed in turn to Swift's craftsmanship—Swift was least attached personally to Prior. In spite of having belonged to a plenipotentiary, Prior's manners were somewhat coarse. To Swift, fastidious everywhere except in his "libels," that is, except in nearly everything he printed, Prior's profligacy could have been only repugnant. Swift condoned it, just as he condoned even more dissolute strains in many of his other friends, but in the case of Prior there was in the early days of their acquaintance the added abrasive of mean birth.¹⁴⁴ Necessarily Swift and Prior were at times rivals for the ministers' favor. Swift wrote Stella complacently of Bolingbroke's announcement to Prior that Swift's verses on Vanbrugh were the best he had ever read. "But Prior was damped," he relates, "until I stuffed him with two or three compliments."¹⁴⁵ In subsequent weeks they complimented each other with deliberateness until Prior presented Swift a "fine Plautus." Swift, however, had no literary jealousy. Forster's statement, upon a different facet of the same jewel, is to the point. Swift liked Prior,

¹⁴¹ *Life of Swift,* 212.
¹⁴² Ibid., 176.
¹⁴³ Corresp., I, 135.
¹⁴⁴ *T.S.*, II, 284-85.
¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 51-2.
and thought him one of the best talkers of that day; but he would say that he was not a fair one, because he left no elbow-room for another, which Addison always did. There was, however, one point in which Swift had the superiority in friendly talk over all his lettered friends. He was better able than either Prior or Addison, or even Steele, or any of the wits, to tolerate wit of a less grade than their own. This, in fact, arose from his regarding literature as less of a serious employment than they did, and it is a peculiarity to be always noted in him. 146 Despite believing that Prior was of mean birth, Swift enjoyed his company, and did not think his genius mean. Prior was in conversation an excellent punster and agreeable wit, and in literature a poet whose style Swift observed closely. No other influence on Swift, in fact, is as easy to perceive as the stylistic and ideologic influences of the octosyllabics of Butler and Prior. 147 Swift, who considered himself an eminently original writer and believed that to stand on the shoulders of one's predecessors is essential and to be assumed without being mentioned, did not celebrate Prior's mastery as Prior had celebrated Butler's. Needless to say, Prior disliked excesses of the imagination and preferred sense to sound. And although Prior wished always to dissociate his name from satire, his assaults on Dryden and others probably first drew Swift's interest. It has been consistently presumed that Swift took from Prior not only Prior's refinement of Hudibrastic couplets but also Prior's limitation of their use to familiar verse, contracted still more by Swift; probably also Swift facetiously, for Prior's benefit, gave in most of his burlesques the name Chloe for the maidens whom he so described as to prove that romantic literature has no basis in observation of real ladies. Literary discipleship, especially from a frequent collaborator, is no small compliment. Nor did Swift fail otherwise to commend Prior's verse. Sometimes the subject matter was enough to predetermine Swift's praise, as in "the handsome paper of verses" Prior wrote on the stabbing of Harley by Guiscard. Although their party

146 Life of Swift, 172.

fellowship was enough to secure Swift's public commendation of Prior, he seemed always to perform such a duty with a willing grace. When in 1710 Prior had been confronted in print and on the streets with charges of editing the *Examiner*, Swift turned immediately on his Whig opponents.

They have in their Prints openly taxed a most ingenious Person as Author of it; one who is in great and very deserved Reputation with the World, both on Account of his Poetical Works, and his Talents for publick Business....The Concern I have for the Ease and Reputation of so deserving a Gentleman, hath at length forced me, much against my Interest and Inclination, to let these angry People know who is not the Author of the *Examiner*. For, I observed, the Opinion began to spread; and I chose rather to sacrifice the Honour I received by it, than let injudicious People entitle him to a Performance, that perhaps he might have Reason to be ashamed of. 148

The humility of the writer conforms to the character Swift thought was the highest political scribblers should assume; but the praise of Prior probably is no more than he felt Prior, an emissary of the Government as well as a poet, deserved. When, in 1711, in order to mitigate the wrath of Marlborough's admirers who were beginning to suspect that a peace with France was imminent, Swift assumed the character of the Sieur du Baudrier, in *A New Journey to Paris*, he conceded, "I must let you so far into his Character, as to tell you, that Monsieur Prior has signalized himself, both as an eminent Poet, and Man of Business;" 149 and when apparently getting to some point of importance at last, the valet related that "Mr. Prior has a great deal of Wit and Vivacity; he entertained Monsieur de la Bastide with much Pleasantry, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me." 150 Prior had been at first a little upset by the "bite."

It is difficult even to guess in what ways Swift's reserve manifested itself in Prior's presence, for their friendship would appear on a moderately close observation to have been a close one from the beginning. "Mr Prior walks to make

149, Ibid., 209.
150, Ibid., 219.
himself fat," writes Swift, "and I to bring myself down; he has generally a cough, which he only calls a cold; we often walk round the Park together." Telling in An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry how hard he had tried to hold Harley and St. John together, Swift remarked that all other friends of the two men had refused to "intermeddle."

Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. On Hackey's remark that Prior "is one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin hollow.looked man, turned of 40 years old," Swift noted: "This is near the truth." The cleverness of his letters to Prior after his retirement to Dublin holds a warmth which other witty letters from his pen—to Ambrose Philips, for instance—do not hold. He writes that he is not able to say to Lady Harley, as Prior is, carmina possumus donare. From the act of amnesty to political offenders in 1717 Prior was excepted, and even after his release in the middle of the year his affairs were in a sorry state. His friends in London having begun soliciting subscriptions for the handsome Poems on Several Occasions, Swift pressed all his own friends in Ireland to subscribe, and aided Prior in preparing the text and subscription lists. Difficulties of solicitation were exasperating, but Swift wrote cheerfully to Harley: "I have sent Mr. Prior all the money which this hedge country would afford, which for want of a better solicitor is under two hundred pounds." In 1718 Prior wrote to Swift, "till I cease to cough, i.e. to

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151 T.S., II, 125.
152 Ibid., V, 455.
153 Ibid., X, 282.
154 See especially the letter of Jan. 25, 1719/20, Corres., III, 43ff.
155 Corres., III, 7.
live, I am, with entire friendship and affection...your...servant." Swift endorsed
the letter, probably soon after receiving it, "Lovanda est enim paupertas corum
hominum qui diu reipublicae viventes pauperes sunt, et nullorum magis." On
September 28, 1721, Swift interrupted a letter from Gaulstown to Archbishop King:

I am just now told from some newspapers, that one of the King's
enemies, and my excellent friend, Mr. Prior, is dead; I pray God
deliver me from many such trials. I am neither old nor philosopher
enough to be indifferent at so great a loss; and therefore I abruptly
conclude.157

The following February he requested Adrian Drift, who had been Prior's secretary,
to send a good picture of Prior to Jervas, "painter for Martinus Scriblerus," so
that Jervas might copy it for Swift.158 Swift's love for Prior had increased year
by year. The only further generalization about their friendship to be safely made
is that Prior's many letters to Swift show more affection than Swift's letters to
Prior.

With Atterbury, later Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Freind, who were both
important Tory cronies, Swift was on intimate terms;159 for professional party
writers, however, he had little respect. From the never-diminished desire to assure
himself that he was above mercenary writing, he repeatedly and steadily expressed
the view that mercenary writers were beneath him, and, for that matter, beneath
beggars. He seldom contaminated his letters with their names. Abel Roper,
responsible for the Tory Post Boy, was the "humble slave" of Swift, who was able to
write Stella that he would make Roper print whatever he wished, but Swift was
himself not above "drawing up a paragraph for the Post-Boy...as malicious as
possible, and very proper for Abel Roper, the printer of it."160 Of William

156 Corres., III, 15.
157 Ibid., 103.
158 Corres., VI, 236.
159 See Journal to Stella, passim.
160 T.S., II, 395. (Cf. Corres., II, 150.)
Oldisworth, who took up the Examiner after Swift had finished his job of justifying the new ministry and making their peace palatable, and was busy at other matters, Swift complained: "He is an ingenious fellow, but the most confounded vain coxcomb in the world, so that I dare not let him see me, nor am acquainted with him."\textsuperscript{161} It certainly is not surprising, then, that Swift slung vituperation freely at journalists and pamphleteers of the opposing faction. To Abel Roper, "a little whiffling Frenchman" who had bounced from the Tories to the Whigs, had been jailed for his authorship of The Political State of Great Britain, and had attacked Swift personally, Swift devoted a page of an Examiner.\textsuperscript{162} Several pages of several Examiners and separate pamphlets were necessary for answering John Oldmixon and Arthur Maynwaring, authors of the Medley; George Ridpath, who amalgamated in 1712 the Medley with the Flying Post; George Tutchin, author of the Observer; and Daniel Defoe's Review. Swift is inordinately careful, most of the time, not to mention Defoe's name; an omission which he turns to gold in the famous passage in "A Letter Concerning the Sacramental Test," where Defoe and Tutchin, "two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them Fanaticks by Profession,"\textsuperscript{163} are chastised as usual together:

One of these Authors (the Fellow that was pilloryed, I have forgot his Name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him; the Observer is much the brisker of the two; and, I think, farther gone of late in Lies and Impudence than his \textit{Presbyterian} Brother.\textsuperscript{164}

To assert that Swift's remarks on the Review show that he respected Defoe's power could be only to theorize. In vilifying Whig scribblers Swift was fighting, as he felt, almost for his life; Defoe he had attacked first, but after Defoe's first

\textsuperscript{161}T.S., II, 440.
\textsuperscript{162}No. 42. H.D., III, 156-57. (Mr. Davis retains the numbering of the 1712 reprint.—No. 41—which discounted Bolingbroke's letter of introduction.)
\textsuperscript{163}H.D., III, 13.
\textsuperscript{164}Ibid., II, 113.


discussion of Swift's learning and scurrility, retreat would have been folly. Possibly we should wish—not to no avail—that Harley had dared to inform Swift that Defoe was contemporaneously writing for the Tory cause and editing the Whig Review, but it does not harm us who are two hundred years late to enjoy the wit, interlarded though it is with scurrilities. Swift himself jested to Stella: "Not the Meddle, but the Medley, you fool. Yes, yes, a wretched thing, because it is against you Tories: now I think it very fine, and the Examiner a wretched thing.—Twist your mouth, sirrah." More unfortunate than the battle between Swift's paper and Defoe's is the absence of any statement from Swift concerning either Robinson Crusoe, published about a year before Swift began writing Gulliver's Travels, or any other works by which Defoe's posthumous rank as a writer was earned.

Defoe was not the only writer for the Whigs who deserved better language than Swift publicly used upon him. Maynwaring had long been a prominent member of the Kit-Cat Club and a friend to the Whig ministers and leaders, including Addison and Steele. Oldmixon, in The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwaring, Esq., published in 1715, assured his readers that Maynwaring held in contempt base, scurrilous mercenaries like—to take a good example—Jonathan Swift, who would have been willing any day of his political career to sell himself back to Godolphin. Maynwaring and Oldmixon were contented, nevertheless, because they were certain that Harley paid Defoe better than he paid Swift.

There was at least one unprincipled pamphleteer, perhaps the most dissolute of all, who evoked not only Swift's respect for her talents but also pity for her circumstances. Toward Mrs. Mary de la Revière (or Delariviere) Manley, although he publicly chastised her, Swift was amusingly sympathetic. As Mrs. Manley had been

166 T. S., II, 165.
167 Pages 158, 275-76.
contributing her salaciousness to the Tory cause since 1705, when she published

The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zaragrua, Swift probably began
suggesting work for her pen soon after he joined Harley in the autumn of 1710. His
admonition December 17 upon Stella's mis-spelling "ridiculous" suggests that he may
have seen a manuscript or letter written by Mrs. I'lonley. It has been generally
assumed that Mrs. I'lonley was the authoress with whom Swift dined the following
month, when Stella "never heard of," wrote Swift, was it worth her while to
know. Swift put Mrs. I'lonley upon writing The Narrative of Guiscard's Examination,
A Comment on Dr. Hare's Sermon, The Duke of Marlborough's Vindication, The True
Relation of the Intended Riot on the Queen's Birthday, and probably other pamphlets.
Late in 1711 Swift wrote Stella that he had got "five pamphlets, which I have either
written or contributed to, except the last, which is the Vindication of the Duke of
Marlborough; and is entirely of the author of the Atalantis." Stella knew who
the "author of the Atalantis" was, even if she had not seen any of the volumes,
because it was the spelling of that author that she was to avoid. In July Mrs.
I'lonley solicited Lord Peterborough for a pension or reward for her prosecution in
1709 and other distresses. "I seconded her," Swift wrote, "and hope they will do
something for the poor woman." Still more compassionate were his words a half-
year later when Mrs. I'lonley was the mistress of John Barber, the Tory printer.

Poor Mrs. I'lonley, the author, is very ill of a dropsy and sore leg; the printer tells me he is afraid she cannot live long. I am heartily sorry for her; she has very generous principles for one of her sort; and a great deal of good sense and invention; she is about forty, very homely, and very flat. Mrs Van made me dine with her
to-day.

While she was living in poverty at Finchley, and ill, in 1714, Charles Ford wrote of

169. Ibid., II, 94.  
170. Ibid., 265.  
171. Ibid., 203.  
172. Ibid., 327. "Mrs. Ven" is Mrs. Vanhomrig, the mother of Vanessa.
her to Swift as "our friend."  After her death Swift remembered her as grateful.

Pity for Mrs. Manley and respect for her talents, however, does not seem to have prevented Swift, who clearly recognized and deprecated her impudence, from helping to expose her character to the public. The pathetic "Corinna," written sometime between 1710 and 1713 but first published in the Miscellany of 1727, judges rather accurately Mrs. Manley's contributions to prose fiction. To Corinna's cradle Cupid with a satyr went:

```plaintext
Then Cupid thus: This little Maid
Of Love shall always speak and write;
And I pronounce, (the Satyr said)
The World shall feel her scratch and bite.

Her Talent she display'd betimes;
For in twice twelve revolving Moons,
She seem'd to laugh and squawk in Rhimes,
And all her Gestures were Lampoons.

At six Years old, the subtle Jade
Stole to the Pantry-Door, and found
The Butler with my Lady's Maid;
And you may swear the Tale went round.  
(9-20)
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Obscenely and wittily the poem traces Mrs. Manley's history down to the publication of the four famous volumes in her New Atlanties series. "Corinna" was reprinted in Faulkner's more or less authorized edition of Swift's works, which contained footnotes by Swift, in 1735.

From Swift's day through the edition of his works by Temple Scott published during the first decade of the twentieth century—excepting Craik's biography in 1882—the sixty-third Tatler, for September 3, 1709, was attributed to Swift. In this Tatler, the second of two written in ridicule of Mrs. Mary Astell and her ideas

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173 [Corres.], II, 177.
175 Poems, I, 150.
of Platonic Love, Mrs. Manley is satirized as "Epicene," the director of Amazonian tactics in Mrs. Astell's school for assertive girls, "the writer of 'Memoirs from the Mediterranean', who, by the help of some artificial poisons conveyed by smells, has within these few weeks brought many persons of both sexes to an untimely fate; and, what is more surprising, has, contrary to her profession, with the same odours, revived others who had long since been drowned in the whirlpools of Lethe." If Swift is the author of this paper, the difference between the approach to Mrs. Manley's major work here and the approach in "Corinna" is only equal to Swift's association with Mrs. Manley in the interval. Sir Henry Craik, however, on point of style contested the attribution to Swift of this and other Tatlers. Parts of the paper certainly are not written in Swift's best style, but neither is any other Tatler attributed to Swift. The writer of the short paper had available for expression in Swift's style an epigram relating to the "Saints" of Paul Lorraine, Ordinary of Newgate, and their dying confessions, phenomena which uninterruptedly interested Swift, from the time of the jibe at John Dunton in A Tale of a Tub. Dr. Ball agreed with Craik that the paper was not written by Swift, and Harold Williams acquiesced, despite a confession that Swift's lampooning of Mrs. Manley in "Corinna," after he had known her and sympathized with her, was unexplainable. Dr. Ball proposed besides Craik's distrust of the style a further reason for denying Swift's authorship of the sixty-third Tatler: Swift in his account of expenses recorded no letter to Steele from June 13, 1709 to October 30, over four months later. Although attribution of the essay has not been clearly settled, the three foremost Swift scholars of the present century who have had reason to deal with the essay, Ball, Williams, and Davis, agree in the belief that Swift was not the author.

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177. See T.S., V, 39-44; VII, 34, 57. Cf. Corres., III, 296, a letter from Bolingbroke to Swift. Two other ideas in the paper are familiar to readers of Swift: the banter on the staff families and the ridicule of readers who discover beauties undreamed of by the author.
In August, 1710, several months after the first volume of *Memoirs of Europe* was published, Swift wrote Addison:

> I read your character in Mrs. Manley's noble *Memoirs of Europe*. It seems to me, as if she had about two thousand epithets and fine words packed up in a bag; and that she pulled them out by handfuls, and strewed them on her paper, where about once in five hundred times they happen to be right.  

Swift felt pity for Mrs. Manley's circumstances; he was intrigued by her satiric and imaginative powers; but he was not a Bret Harte, and did not believe that her kindly personal qualities counterbalanced the lascivious character which she flaunted before the public. Her person he was eager to aid; her possible influence he deplored.

In one of the latest entries in the Journal to Stella, shortly before his departure for Ireland where he was to remain "like a poisoned rat in a hole," Swift told of going to court "on purpose to present" George Berkeley.

> That Mr Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and great philosopher, and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and given them some of his writings; and I will favour him as much as I can. This I think I am bound to do, in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit toward helping forward men of worth in the world.  

Swift realized throughout his years in London that his little credit would have its period; he tried hard to further the lots of men of worth, and his degree of success deserves recognition.

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180 *Corres.*, I, 190.

Swift during the London years is most easily and most often pictured as a solitary figure, morose, avaricious, and scornful. He had never seen any good weather in his life. He spoke to no one who had not been acceptably humble. He shunned other clergymen, and clubbed scowlingly with wits. He was beginning to hate mankind passionately, and to wish rather to vex the world than to divert it. Intolerably clear-sighted and frank, he wrote to Stella monotonously about his hopes for preferment and his assumption that he deserved a position of considerable dignity and stipend. If he petitioned regularly for others it was only because, as he himself said, he was too proud to petition regularly for himself. He was to write later to Pope—with shame, he said—that all his endeavors to distinguish himself had been for want of a title and fortune. In default of a coach and six horses, he added, he had achieved a reputation for wit and great learning. Having achieved this reputation, he hated to share it with rising wits.

Swift's friends were quick to reprimand him for excessively blackening his character in his statements about himself; they pointed out that he served all who were deserving, that he served liberty, that by his frugality he was able to give away most of his income. Still, no amount of emphasis on Swift's inverted hypocrisy can negate his pride and symptoms of egoism. He was able to act the part of an overbearing Dean with remarkable conviction to the end of his life. He made no attempt to deny his surliness. He maintained, despite the denials of his friends, that it was upon his self-love and belief in his own superiority that he based his love of friends and belief in their superiority; that he "based his whole

1Corres., IV, 78.

2This interpretation of Swift's character is fully exploited in M. Rossi and J. M. Hone's Swift: The Egoist, and roundly denied by Harold Williams in The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift.
"character" on a maxim in Rochefoucauld: "Dans l'adversité de nos meilleurs amis nous trouvons quelque chose, qui ne déplaist pas." The death of a friend was a cruel blow, he would say, because it took from him something that he needed. Whatever reason be assigned for Swift's love of his friends, all indications are that in spite of his own protests he either loved deeply, or was able to outdo reality. Addison, Pope, Bolingbroke, and Dr. Arbuthnot testified vigorously that Swift remained always a warm friend and genial companion. His exertions in behalf of others are eloquent.

The greatest monument to Swift's geniality is the Scriblerus Club, made up of Swift and the four men who were to be his dearest friends until their deaths: Parnell, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Pope. Also associated with the club were Atterbury, perhaps Congreve and Addison, and particularly Harley. Atterbury had first won Swift's favor near 1700, when he supported Temple in the controversy over ancient and modern learning. Later he had been a Tory wit almost rivaling Prior and Swift. The club proper, which flourished in 1714, first met toward the end of 1715, presumably not long after Swift introduced Pope to Arbuthnot and Pope introduced Gay to Swift. Probably the spirit of Martinus Scriblerus did not invade all the members during their first few gatherings in Arbuthnot's apartments, but the five men soon considered themselves an honest junto. Swift, who had previously kept his Saturdays inviolable for the ministers, entered eagerly into the new club and into the weekly rhyme-making by which Harley was invited to follow Martin away from politics. Goldsmith, in his life of Parnell, said that jests within the group were usually directed at Swift, especially practical jokes. In 1716, after the death of Queen Anne and the fall of the Tories had scattered the Scriblerus members,

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3 The springboard for "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift," Poems, II, 55ff.
4 R. J. Allen, Clubs of Augustan London, 565; George Sherburn, Early Career of Pope, 70, 77; Joseph Spence, Anecdotes, 8.
5 Poems, I, 184-88. See Sherburn, op. cit., 78.
Arbuthnot wrote Parnell of a meeting at "our table in the chop-house in Exchange
Alley.

There wanted nothing to complete our happiness but your company, and our
dear friend the Dean's. I am sure the whole entertainment would have
been to his relish."

The Scriblerus sessions clearly were just exclusive enough for Swift's taste.
Meetings of the club must actually have been few, for its life was short, yet its
influence on at least four members was so great that it completely overshadows the
larger and longer-lived Saturday and Brothers' Clubs.

Deserving first place among the five because of his eminent sociability, and
because it was he who kept Scriblerus alive after the Tory debacle, is Dr. John
Arbuthnot. Arbuthnot was first mentioned in the Journal to Stella March 19, 1711,
when Swift had written a memorial to the Duke of Argyle in order to procure a
captain-lieutenancy for Bernage, a young friend from Ireland. Swift wrote Stella
that he had sent the memorial to Argyle by Dr. Arbuthnot. "That hard name belongs
to a Scotch doctor, an acquaintance of the Duke's and me; Stella can't pronounce
it."8 Herman Teerink, who as a rule used Swift's works carefully for his edition
of The History of John Bull, was inclined to accept as true Swift's words in 1734
that he had known Arbuthnot "above five and twenty years,"9 but either Swift's
memory or his mathematics are usually faulty, especially after 1727, in regard to
dates of even exceedingly important events. A legend of no historical value dates
the acquaintance of Swift and Arbuthnot from an occasion in 1702 when Arbuthnot
expressed a need for blotting sand and Swift punned on "gravel."10 Even if they
had met, any knowledge Swift had of Arbuthnot before 1711 must have been slight.
None of the facts about Arbuthnot generally known in 1711 were such as would appeal

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7 Loc. cit., 167.
8 E. S., II, 140.
10 S.W.S., I, 62 note; Sheridan, Life of Swift; 41; Teerink, op. cit., 45.
to Swift. Arbuthnot's writings up to that time had been concerned with mathematics, antiquities, medicine, and other sciences. He recently had gone even beyond this failure to write books on subjects attractive to Swift by stepping out of his bounds as physician, though fortunately in the right direction, in An Argument for Divine Providence, taken from the constant regularity observed in the Births of both Sexes.\footnote{11} He was Physician in Ordinary to the Queen and a Fellow of the Royal Society. His gravest felony, after all, was being a Scotchman. Once known, there was no better friend to be had, as his friends and Dr. Johnson recognized. "I think there does not live a better Man," Swift wrote to Ford of "poor Doctor Arbuthnot" when the doctor was ill in 1724.\footnote{12} Ten years before, Arbuthnot had written to Swift, commending Ford: "I really value your judgement extremely in choosing your friends."\footnote{15} Arbuthnot himself provides the best example of Swift's good judgment in choosing. "It is your own fault if I give you trouble," Swift was able to write less than a year before Arbuthnot's death in 1735, "because you never denied me anything in your life."\footnote{14} That the friendship between Swift and Arbuthnot was not warm for at least four months after they were acquainted, however, is indicated by a remark of Swift's to Stella July 10, 1711:

You must understand I have a mind to do a small thing, only turn out all the Queen's physicians; for in my conscience they will soon kill her among them; and I must talk over that matter with some people.\footnote{16}

Although September 6th Swift still felt it necessary to explain a reference to Arbuthnot as "the Queen's favourite physician, a Scotchman,"\footnote{16} Arbuthnot's name appears frequently and regularly in the Journal from that time. He and Swift often

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{11}{M. Beattie, John Arbuthnot, 339-46.}
\item \footnote{12}{Letters to Ford, 99.}
\item \footnote{13}{Corres., II, 254.}
\item \footnote{14}{Ibid., V, 106.}
\item \footnote{15}{Ibid., II, 207.}
\item \footnote{16}{Ibid., 239.}
\end{itemize}}
are working together on "bites"—the beginning of a practice of interchanging hints and of perpetrating together subterfuges concerning authorship so that the canon for each is still unsettled. They had been dining together at Harley's for several months, and both were members of the Brothers' Club, which had been created, during Swift's absence from London in July, with the purport of encouraging and aiding men of wit within the party. Although Swift became progressively intimate with Arbuthnot during 1712, he complained frequently of the Brothers, and announced to Stella in December that "we do no good." More and more the policies of Harley and Bolingbroke, and their inability to work together, needed support from without; Arbuthnot, Swift, and Erasmus Lewis became the prudent "triumvirate of honest counsellors." Lewis, the Under-Secretary of State, was a considerate and loyal friend, but apparently less respected even by the ministers than Swift and Arbuthnot; he belonged to none of the Tory clubs. Lewis at times played piquet with Arbuthnot while Swift sat pleasurably by, but literary interests brought Swift and Arbuthnot often together without him. In September, when Swift was trying to get Bernage a Captaincy, he discovered dolefully that Arbuthnot's brother George, an ensign, was more likely, through the doctor, to receive the place. Several days after writing to Arbuthnot not to work such a hardship, Swift learned, with surprise, that Arbuthnot had complied; Bernage was made captain, and Dr. Arbuthnot's brother was made lieutenant. The following March, when Dr. Freind—who was also a Brother—desired Swift's aid in procuring the position of Physician-General, Swift first made the recommendation to Bolingbroke and then decided it was unreasonable. "Besides, I know not but my friend Dr. Arbuthnot would be content to have it himself, and I love him ten times better than Freind."
From that time until 1735 Arbuthnot was Swift's physician, counsellor, correspondent, collaborator at least in trifles, and loyal friend. In 1725 Swift wrote, in a famous letter to Pope:

Mr. Lewis sent me an account of Dr. Arbuthnot's illness, which is a very sensible affliction to me, who, by living so long out of the world, have lost that hardness of heart contracted by years and general conversation....Oh! if the world had but a dozen Arbuthnots in it, I would burn my Travels. But, however, he is not without fault. There is a passage in Bede highly commending the piety and learning of the Irish in that age, where, after abundance of praises he overthrows them all, by lamenting that, alas! they kept Easter at a wrong time of the year. So our Doctor has every quality and virtue that can make a man amiable or useful; but alas! he has a sort of slouch in his walk. I pray God protect him, for he is an excellent Christian, though not a Catholic, and as fit a man either to live or die as ever I knew.21

The next year Swift beat his hedge country once more for subscriptions to Arbuthnot's revised Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures, Explain'd and Exemplify'd, in several Dissertations.22 Swift wrote fewer and fewer letters as he grew older, and Arbuthnot, like Pope and others, was forced to complain frequently that his distress over Swift's health should be relieved whenever possible.23 Sometimes Swift wrote joint letters to Pope and either Gay or Bolingbroke, always speaking considerately of Dr. Arbuthnot; sometimes he wrote to Arbuthnot and one or, less frequently, two of the other London friends. In October, 1734, Arbuthnot wrote affectionately to Swift, with a melancholy overtone that heralded his last long illness, and entreated Swift to visit again his friends in England. Two days after Arbuthnot's death the following March, Swift wrote to John Barber:

The people who read news have struck me to the heart, by the account of my dear friend Dr. Arbuthnot's death; although I could expect no less, by a letter I received from him a month or two ago.24

21 Corres., III, 278.
22 Ibid., 342.
23 See especially Arbuthnot’s letters of May 8, 1729, December 5, 1732, and October 4, 1734.
24 Corres., V, 140. (Dr. Ball suggested that a premature announcement of Arbuthnot's death may have reached Swift.)
Swift had considered Arbuthnot competent in every way. In 1737 he wrote William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, in agreement with Pulteney's opinion of physicians:

I have esteemed many of them as learned ingenious men, but I never received the least benefit from their advice or prescriptions, and poor Dr. Arbuthnot was the only man of the faculty who seemed to understand my case, but could not remedy it.26

From the first ripening of their friendship Swift took an exceptional interest in Arbuthnot's writings. His repeated praise for the John Bull pamphlets in the Journal to Stella is so markedly above all other praise there except for his own works that Toerink inferred from it Swift's authorship of the pamphlets.26 Lester M. Beattie, while reasoning "with irresistible logic" that Arbuthnot was the author of the pamphlets, agreed with Toerink that Swift's excessive pride and vanity prompted him to praise wholeheartedly no work but his own.27 Swift's vanity cannot be denied and need not be defended, but his statements concerning Arbuthnot's prose genius can be understood only when the traditional and inevitable interpretation of his statements in the Journal concerning his own tracts be applied. Without customarily bestowing outside the Journal unqualified praise on his own work, Swift frequently praises inordinately the literary works of others. He assumes in the Journal that Stella is interested only in "Pdfr"; further, he apologizes constantly for mentioning the activities of others. Unable always at the time of publication and usually thereafter to admit openly his authorship of particular political writings, he distinguishes his own work from the work of others by calling it good, without laying the authorship clearly upon anyone.28

25 Corres., V, 418.
26 The History of John Bull, ed. Hermann Toerink.
27 John Arbuthnot, 53-4.
28 T.S., II, 68, 89, 93, 133, 216, 227, 273-74, 350, etc. Cf. ibid., 44, 64. On Swift's generous praise of other writers in the Journal to Stella, see Beattie, John Arbuthnot, 52-3. (But for Prior there, read Parnell.)
On March 10, 1712, four days after the publication of the first John Bull pamphlet, Swift wrote Stella: "You must buy a small twopenny pamphlet, called, Law is a Bottomless Pit. 'Tis very prettily written, and there will be a Second Part." Although Arbuthnot's purpose in writing the series was to justify the Treaty of Utrecht, Swift's continued praise is obviously given to the intrinsic cleverness of the satire. March 7th he wrote, "The second Part of Law is a Bottomless Pit is just now printed, and better, I think, than the first." When the third part of John Bull was published, in April, Swift was too ill to attend to business or to carry on his journal. By May 10th he was able to write again. "The Appendix to the Third Part of John Bull"—the fourth part—"was published yesterday; it is equal to the rest. I hope you read John Bull. It was a Scotch gentleman, a friend of mine, that writ it; but they put it upon me." In order to correct Stella's mistaken attribution, probably to Swift, of Law is a Bottomless Pit, the first pamphlet, he exclaimed on June 17th:

Well, but John Bull is not writ by the person you imagine, as hope! It is too good for another to own. Had it been Grub Street, I would have let people think as they please; and I think that's right; is not it now?

Teerink suggested that Stella and her friends in Ireland had attributed the work to Mrs. Hankey, whose name appeared on the title page. In the absence of Stella's letter, it is impossible to be sure what the entire passage means, but that Swift is commending the style of the tract is clear enough. In August he was still too unwell to resume his journal method of writing, but a week after the final pamphlet of the series was published, he wrote that it was "equal to the rest, and extremely good."31

32, 352. Teerink (op. cit., 6-7) gives the dates of the pamphlets.
34, 381. T. S., II, 381.
By autumn it had become clear that no danger accrued to Arbuthnot from his pamphlets. October 9th Swift wrote diffusely:

Arbuthnot has sent me from Windsor a pretty Discourse upon Lying, and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a proposal for publishing a curious piece, called The Art of Political Lying, in two volumes, &c. And then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets which they call "The Works of the Learned." Pray get it when it comes out.

Swift was apparently in a loquacious mood, but his intense interest in the inferior work is apparent. In December he wrote again that the "pamphlet of Political Lying is written by Dr Arbuthnot, the author of John Bull; 'tis very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood." He had once asked Stella if she understood all of John Bull. 

Early in July, 1714, when the Scriblerus members had not yet grown used to separation, Swift wrote Arbuthnot: "To talk of Martin in any hands but yours, is a folly. You every day give better hints than all of us together could do in a twelvemonth... The hints you mention relating to medicine are admirable; I wonder you can have a mind so degage in a Court where there is so many million of things to vex you." Three weeks later his praise was more liberal and more general:

It was a malicious satire of yours upon Whiston, that what you intended as a ridicule, should be any way struck upon by him for a reality. Go on for the sake of wit and humour, and cultivate that vein which no man alive possesses but yourself, and which lay like a mine in the earth, which the owner for a long time never knew of.

A Brief Account of Mr. John Ginglycut's Treatise concerning the Altercation or Scolding of the Ancients, the satire which Pulteney praised effusively to Swift a few days after Arbuthnot published it, has been taken as the pamphlet which

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32 T.S., II, 398.
33 Ibid., 368.
34 Corres., II, 162-63.
35 Ibid., 197.
Swift made inquiry to Pope about nearly a year later, only to be answered that the pamphlet was "of little value." As Swift's letter has been suppressed, exactly what he asked cannot be known, but a reasonable conjecture is that Swift, after waiting several months for Arbuthnot to send him a copy, expressed in some form to Pope a wish to see the commended example of Arbuthnot's satirical power.

The most widely known of Swift's remarks on Arbuthnot's literary prowess is his last, in the "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift":

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ARBUTHNOT is no more my Friend,
Who dares to Irony pretend;
Which I was born to introduce,
Refin'd it first, and shew'd its Use. 37
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(55-6)

"Friend" demanded a rhyme which probably was not as felicitous in meaning as Swift would have wished. The ironic theme and tone of the poem, the context of the lines quoted, and Swift's other statements about Arbuthnot's talents make the meaning of the lines unmistakable. The quatrain is preceded by lines on Pope and Gay:

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In POPE, I cannot read a Line,
But with a Sigh, I wish it mine:
When he can in one Couplet fix
More Sense than I can do in Six;
It gives me such a jealous Fit,
I cry, Pox take him, and his Wit.

Why must I be outdone by GAY,
In my own hum'rous biting Way?
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(47-54)

Arbuthnot aptly is not, as Pope and Gay are, referred to as superior to Swift, but his puissant rivalry is implied.

That Swift dared publicly to grade his friends startles the ordinary reader, even when it is conceded that Swift knew how deeply he loved each friend and

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37 Poems, II, 556.
believed he knew to what degree his love was by each reciprocated. The lines upon
his death, written in 1731, are familiar:

Poor POPE will grieve a Month; and GAY
A Week; and ARBUTHNOT a Day. 38
(207-8)

Although the attribution of brief sorrow to Arbuthnot may be explained by
Arbuthnot's having a family and many friends, and being "sufficient unto him self
alone," 39 and the attribution of middling grief to Gay may be explained—as much of
Swift's treatment of Gay is explained—as Gay's carefree bent, Swift habitually
called Pope his best friend and Gay, by courtesy, his next best friend.

Swift's admiration of Pope's genius and his love of Pope as a friend are
largely inseparable. That his admiration was built first upon the poetry,
however, is evident. 40 In March, 1713, probably some time after Swift and Pope
were first acquainted, Swift recommended that Stella read "a fine poem, called
Windsor Forest." 41 It is unlikely that Swift appreciated the pastoral excellence
of "Windsor Forest," although the "delicious situation" at Windsor had always
appealed to him, but he was joyously attracted by Father Thames's speech at the
close of the poem, the "really noble paean to the Peace." 42 The friendship is
believed to have strengthened greatly during the few weeks in September after
Swift returned from Ireland and before Pope departed for Binfield, for Pope wrote
in December that he had many obligations to Swift and answered wittily Swift's
attempt to proselyte him from the Roman Catholic Church to the Established Church. 43

Swift's toleration of almost any private opinion in his friends has been mentioned;

38 Poems, II, 561.
40 Cf. Ball, Swift's Verse, 209; R. K. Root, Poetical Career of Pope, 68.
41 T.S., II, 439.
42 See Stephen Gwynn, Life and Friendships of Swift, 193. Swift was not above
noticing the woodlands without a camera obscura of classical allusion.
43 Corres., II, 95ff.
after Pope pleaded that he could not leave the Catholic Church without hurting his parents, Swift remained, even after the death of Pope's father, as willing as Pope to leave the status quo undisturbed, with only an occasional jest. Perhaps Swift's friendship for Pope was the greatest positive force in his insistence that danger to the Church could come only from the Dissenters. The Catholic Church, Swift said, was a lion, but a lion sufficiently toothless and bound. Although most Tories were more tolerant to Catholics than most Whigs were, so that Pope was relieved from the pressure of Caryll and other Catholic friends when he exchanged the Addison circle for Swift and other Tories, Swift was not by habit friendly toward Catholics. Neither, however, was he ever by habit friendly toward Scotchmen. Swift was affected, as he frequently wrote, by the desire to be known, both before and after his death, as a friend to the greatest men of his time; but his protests of affection for the deformed man are incontestably genuine. "Pray let me have three lines," he wrote Pope in 1726,

under any hand or pot-hook that will give me a better account of your health; which concerns me more than others, because I love and esteem you for reasons that most others have little to do with, and would be the same, although you had never touched a pen further than with writing to me."

The year before, he had replied to Pope's statement that he was sending a copy of the Odyssey which had been often exasperating to Pope and to several aides: "I shall thank you kindly for the present, but shall like it three-fourths the less, from the mixture you mention of another hand; however, I am glad you saved yourself so much drudgery."46

Whatever Swift thought of Pope's widely hailed genius in the years between 1709 and the publication of "Windsor Forest," he admitted no doubt thereafter that Pope,

44 George Sherburn, Early Career of Pope, 69-70.
45 Corres., III, 325. Cf. ibid., 335.
46 Ibid., 277.
rather than Prior or Parnell, was the foremost poet of the time. Bishop Kennet sullenly related that a part of Swift's blustering in "the coffeehouse," on November 2, 1713, was to instruct a young nobleman "that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope, a papist, who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; for, says he, the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him." When in later years Swift failed to specify that Pope was the greatest poet of his time, he felt that such an obvious truth should be inferred. Of particular poems from Pope's pen Swift would say that they were excellent enough to double the fame of any other poet alive. He felt that the greatest favor he was able to do Thomas Sheridan was to submit Sheridan's translation of Persius to the judgment of Pope; his Irish protégés, he thought, should admit no greater desire than to be given a letter of introduction to his dear friend, the greatest poet of England. He gave Pope "despotic power" over his own verse, to publish it, correct it, or throw it away.

Once it was understood that he considered Pope's poetic genius and judgment the greatest extant, Swift felt free to point out the flaws that illness and temporary laxity had allowed to stand. When the first book of Pope's Iliad was published in 1715, Swift wrote:

I borrowed your Homer from the Bishop--mine is not yet landed--and read it out in two evenings. If it pleases others as well as me, you have got your end in profit and reputation: yet I am angry at some bad rhymes and triplets, and pray in your next do not let me have so many unjustifiable rhymes to war and gods. I tell you all the faults I know, only in one or two places you are a little obscure; but I expected you to be so in one or two and twenty.... Your notes are perfectly good, and so are your prefaces and essay.

In the same letter are hints that Swift was still getting pleasure from welcoming Pope into the ranks of Tory sympathizers. In October, 1725, before Pope had been

47 Johnson, Works, (1825), VIII, 287.
48 See particularly Corres., III, 349, 372, 440; IV, 7.
49 Ibid., II, 287.
long at work upon his "Dullness," Swift warned him against committing the names of his enemies to posterity by mentioning them in his poems, but the poem later appealed to him, for he "snatched from the fire" a rough draft which he saw while visiting Pope in 1726. The second visit to Twickenham, lasting from April to September of 1727, was as long as the visit from March to August the year before, but was not quite as successful, although the world was "glutting itself" on Gulliver's Travels, because both friends were in poorer health. Besides his deafness and giddiness, Swift was grieved by Stella's impending death; he left Twickenham silently during Pope's absence, and returned to Ireland. Pope, who was fortunately sympathetic and tactful, sent in a kind letter the inscription to Swift which was to precede the Dunciad, as "The Progress of Dullness" came to be called. Having pronounced the inscription his most glorious opportunity for fame, Swift was frankly disappointed when the first edition was published anonymously and without the dedication to gratify his vanity "in the most tender point." What gratification his vanity was ultimately to receive certainly was not the only element in the Dunciad that attracted Swift, who was likely always to equate poetry with satire. March 28, 1728, Swift wrote to Gay: "The Beggar's Opera has knocked down Gulliver; I hope to see Pope's Dullness knock down the Beggar's Opera, but not till it has fully done its job." A year later the Dunciad appeared in full dress, including the dedication to Swift and footnotes part of which were written by Swift himself. "You were so careful of sending me the Dunciad," he wrote Pope, "that I have received five of them, and have pleased four friends." Until he was no longer able to correspond, Swift inquired diligently about poems in progress at Twickenham, and frequently gave his opinion after he had seen copies. From the

51 Corres., IV, 34.
52 Ibid., 23.
53 Ibid., 106.
beginning of his exile, he had been insisting that poems containing occasional subject matter should be fully annotated. "Your poem on the Use of Riches," he wrote in January, 1733, "has just been printed here, and we have no objection but the obscurity of several passages by our ignorance in facts and persons, which makes us lose abundance of the satire." A few months later he wrote, "Your Imitation of Horace, the work of two mornings, is reckoned here by the best judges— and with submission we are not without them—to be worth two years of any poet's life except yours; nor are there any objections to that to Lord Bathurst, but that some parts of it are not so obvious to middling readers." Pope jested not without truth to Swift in 1733: "You call your satires, libels; I would rather call my satires, epistles. They will consist more of morality than wit, and grow graver, which you will call duller;" yet Swift's interest in Pope's work remained keen. The Essay on Man and the manner of its conception so little accorded with Swift's personal manner of working out his own idea in his own way that he threatened not to write longer both to Bolingbroke and to Pope—since Bolingbroke had become Pope's genius. Nevertheless, he answered Pope in November, 1734:

Surely I never doubted about your Essay on Man; and I would lay any odds, that I would never fail to discover you in six lines, unless you had a mind to write below or beside yourself on purpose. I confess I did never imagine you were so deep in morals, or that so many new and excellent rules could be produced so advantageously and agreeably in that science, from any one head. I confess in some few places I was forced to read twice. The following March Swift asked John Barber if he sometimes saw Pope, and informed him that Pope "publishes poems oftener and better than ever, which I wonder at the more, because he complains with too much reason of his disorders." To Pope's

54 **Corres., IV, 380.**
55 **Ibid., 415.** "That to Lord Bathurst" is The Use of Riches.
56 **Ibid., 425.**
57 **Corres., V, 101-2.**
58 **Ibid., 140-41.**
admission that where in the *Essay on Man* he gained on the side of philosophy he lost on the side of poetry, Swift replied:

I deny your losing on the side of poetry; I could reason against you a little from experience. You are, and will be some years to come, at the age when invention still keeps its ground, and judgement is at full maturity; but your subjects are much more difficult when confined to verse. I am amazed to see you exhaust the whole science of morality in so masterly a manner.59

In 1738 Swift wrote to Barber that he liked very much Pope's poem now known as the "Epilogue to the Satires."60

In 1737, after chiding Popo for failing to discriminate between the English in Ireland and the "savage old Irish," Swift commented on Pope's recently published letters that "there might be collected from them the best system that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at least to shame all reasonable men out of their follies and vices. It is some recommendation of this kingdom, and of the taste of the people, that you are at least as highly celebrated here as you are at home."61

It would be more interesting to know what Swift really thought of Pope's character than what he thought of Pope's genius. Swift was not well qualified for evaluating the genius he recognized in Pope, but he may have had better opportunity than is known for judging Pope's character. Undoubtedly, he would have been extremely reluctant to search into the more earnest of Pope's subterfuges, with which he would have been painfully unable to sympathize had he discovered them. (Veiling the truth from the maddening mob was entirely different.) That Swift would not consciously have expressed distaste for any of Pope's traits is certain; it is less clear whether he would have admitted their existence to himself. He never brought himself to confess the slightest suspicion that Harley, or even Bolingbroke,

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59 *Corres.*, V, 320.
had been entangled with the Pretender in 1714. In his letters to Pope there are occasional hints that he perceives the sinuous trail of Pope's plotting, but none vivid enough to stand as evidence. Although Pope and Bolingbroke more than once wrote sharply to Swift concerning his unfortunate recommendations, Swift never wrote more harshly to Pope than in the letter which contained his praise of Pope's epitaph upon Gay, and a few literal corrections, one or two of which Pope adopted. Although, Swift said, he laid little weight upon the arguments of several friends that some of the expressions in the epitaph, such as "[in] simplicity a child," would not appear to the vulgar to be even complimentary, he felt it only proper to mention their opinions. The unwarranted posthumous publication of Gay's inferior works, however, definitely displeased him.

I think it is incumbent upon you to see that nothing more be published of his that will lessen his reputation for the sake of adding a few pence to his sisters, who have already got so much by his death. If the case were mine, my ashes would rise in judgement against you.62

On May 1st he wrote again about the epitaph and about continued publication in Gay's name of inferior works. "You do not exert yourself as much as I could wish in this affair," he concluded. According to Letitia Pilkington, Swift once "very frankly owned he did not think Mr. Pope was so candid to the merits of other writers as he ought to be," but Mrs. Pilkington, who despised Pope as much as most people abhorred her, confesses that she had labored to get a still blacker concession from Swift.63

The riddle of the correspondence between Pope and Swift has not yet been entirely solved. Their editors have made it clear that Pope's ways in securing Swift's letter-packets were devious, and that he was at least partly successful; but it is not clear whether Swift's exceedingly cautious words cover dissatisfaction at Pope's movements. If there were words less cautious, Pope removed them. Most of the gaps in the

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62Corres., IV, 414.
63Memoirs, (1928), 61.
Pope-Swift correspondence were created by Pope's destruction, in his zeal to present himself to the world as a virtuous man, of letters containing dubious matter. About the time of Pope's equally unseemly operations in preparing the fourth volume of the Miscellanies, however, Swift ceased writing to Pope for a time, although he continued writing to other friends.  

Conceivably Swift had realized for a long time that Pope's knowledge of good and evil was incomplete, but it is rather more likely that Swift was ingenuous in repeatedly writing encomiums on Pope's character. While silent concerning a friend's faults, Swift was usually equally silent concerning virtues the friend did not, as far as Swift could determine, possess. We can be certain that Swift believed actually—and perhaps rightly—that for every day that Arbuthnot would grieve for him, and every week that Gay would grieve for him, Pope would grieve a month. He was not afraid to pen, probably in Pope's presence, "Advice to the Grub-street Verse-Writers" and "Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope, While he was writing the Dunciad," in which "paper-sparing Pope" is praised, as Swift enjoyed praising, through raillery.

Swift wrote Lady Elizabeth Germain in January, 1733:

Mr. Pope, besides his natural and acquired talents, is a gentleman of very extraordinary candour; and is, consequently, apt to be too great a believer of assurances, promises, professions, encouragements, and the like words of course. He asks nothing, and thinks, like a philosopher, that he wants nothing.

By his will, witnessed in 1740, Swift left his miniature portrait of Robert Harley, which he had spent five years of correspondence with two Earls of Oxford in acquiring.

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64 Corres., VI, 197-202. See Pope's Works, ed. Elwin and Courthope, VII, 366. It is possible, however, as suggested by Ricardo Quintana (Mind and Art of Swift, 340), that Swift not only understood Pope's movements in connection with the letters and the Miscellanies but also cooperated.

65 Poems, II, 394f., 406f.

66 Corres., IV, 376. If Swift was mistaken about some of Pope's traits, he is almost certainly not speaking ironically, even for his own pleasure—unquestionably not for Lady Elizabeth to so interpret.
to "my dearest friend, Alexander Pope, of Twickenham, Esq." All England had known
of the friendship. Beyond their constant protests of affection was the gang warfare
they had carried on. Curll would, Swift knew, one day

Revive the Libels born to dye;
Which POPE must bear, as well as I.  

Pope might well bear the libels born to die; most of them had fought in his service.
Nearly all of Pope's enemies not already Swift's immediately became so; by attacking
Pope, Alexander Burnet became a "beast"; if Pope said that Eliza Haywood was a
scurrilous scribbler, she probably was. Swift's opinion of Gildon, Cibber, and
other malefactors was demonstrably colored by the opinions of Scriblerus members
nearer the field of battle. Pope colored everything.

No precautionary tension was necessary in writing to or about John Gay. Swift's
reader is likely to forget that Gay was older than Pope. He needed constant instruc-
tion in how to control his reputation and how to manage his affairs at Court; he
was too young to continue the Memoirs of Scriblerus, though he had "often held the
pen"; he could write on childish subjects without being childish, as Pope said, but
was too young to concentrate on a single incisive satire; he needed sympathetic
words, occasionally, when he began to take himself seriously.

Swift was not alone in looking upon Gay as "a true poet" unmindful of the ways
of the world. When Swift placed his savings for investment in Gay's hands—to the
astonishment of Dr. Arbuthnot--, it was Swift alone who dared to be more sorry for
Gay than for the greater loser when Gay sunk his own funds as well as Swift's in
the South Sea venture.

Gay was not only too "young" but also too agreeable and dear to be designated

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69Corres., IV, 266-67.
"Mr." Francis Jeffrey wrote acidly that Swift, "if not very generally beloved, was, what he probably valued far more, admired and feared by most of those with whom he was acquainted." However tempting it is to distrust apparent warmth in the mutual love of Swift and Pope, Swift's love for Gay, as well as his recognition of Gay's genius, educes full cognizance. Gay, who had indicated no reluctance to follow Pope away from the wits at Button's, did not merely accept and admire Swift, he depended on him as a friend, from the beginning of their acquaintanceship. Certainly Swift's wit did not bluster so exceedingly as to frighten Gay.

Phoebe Gaye has suggested that Gay got most of his introductions to London figures, including an introduction to Pope about 1711, through Swift. As Gay is not mentioned in the Journal to Stella, however, he can not have been a close friend before 1713. That it was Pope who introduced Gay to Swift, about 1713, is indicated by Pope's expression of gratitude to Swift, in June, 1714, for the kindnesses Swift had shown Gay. In The Present State of Wit, published in May, 1711, Gay had commended Swift's Examiners, but futilely, for Swift noticed that the Tatler was praised even more, and therefore took the mention of his own paper as condescension from a Whig. Clearly Swift did not know Gay at that time. "Plump Johnny Gay" was a fellow to all of Swift and Pope's modest adventures; in the apartments of Arbuthnot before the fall of the Tories, on the tours away from Twickenham during the great months of 1726 and 1727, and in the joint correspondence which lasted until Gay's death. He and the Duchess of Queensberry sent jolly invitations steadily to Swift for years, always pretending that Swift's answers meant he would be soon on his way. Swift was concerned equally with Gay's literary reputation and

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70 Edinburgh Review, XXVII (September, 1816), 43.
71 John Gay, 47-8. Unfortunately this terse and witty book is frequently inaccurate.
72 Corres., II, 154-55.
73 T.S., II, 176.
with Gay's preferments from the Court. He was quick to approve, as Pope had been, Gay's refusal of the post of usher to the infant Princess Louisa, in 1727. "You are the most refractory, honest, good-natured man I ever have known," Swift assured him. In 1731 Swift wrote "To Mr. Gay on his being Steward to the Duke of Queensberry," on the maxim that "Sons of Phoebus never break their Trust," but upon discovering that the report of Gay's appointment was a mistake, turned the poem into an attack on Walpole. Just before Gay had been offered the position as Usher to Princess Louisa, when he was particularly low, Swift tried to cheer him up:

I have been considering why poets have such ill success in making their Court, since they are allowed to be the greatest and best of all flatterers. The defect is, that they flatter only in print or in writing, but not by word of mouth; they will give things under their hand which they make a conscience of speaking.

Swift enjoyed referring to Gay as the type of the true poet—not without justice, perhaps, when compared with Pope and Prior. Oddly enough for a group of men who considered themselves Horaces, part of Gay's typicalness was taken to be his romantic out-of-the-worldness, his "youth." Soon after the publication of The Beggar's Opera, Swift wrote to Pope:

I suppose Mr. Gay will return from the Bath with twenty pounds more flesh, and two hundred less in money. Providence never designed him to be above two-and-twenty, by his thoughtlessness and cullibility. He has as little foresight of age, sickness, poverty, or loss of admirers, as a girl at fifteen.

A half-year before Gay died, Swift wrote to him at the Duke of Queensberry's home near Salisbury:

Tell me, have you cured your absence of mind? Can you attend to trifles? Can you at Amesbury write domestic libels to divert the family and neighbouring squires for five miles round, or venture so far on horseback without apprehending a stumble at every step?

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74 Corres., III, 431-32.
75 Poems, II, 530ff.
76 Corres., III, 149.
77 Ibid., IV, 39.
Can you set the footman a laughing as they wait at dinner, and do the Duchess's women admire your wit? In what esteem are you with the vicar of the parish? Can you play with him at backgammon? Have the farmers found out that you cannot distinguish rye from barley, or an oak from a crab tree? You are sensible that I know the full extent of your country skill is fishing for roaches or gudgeons at the highest. I love to do you good offices with your friends, and therefore desire you will show this letter to the Duchess, to improve her Grace's good opinion of your qualifications, and convince her how useful you are like to be in the family.78

Swift was recalling, no doubt, Gay's pseudo-authoritative poems on country life; the description of oaks, elms, and beeches at the beginning of "Friday; or, the Dirge" in The Shepherd's Week, and the elaborate discussions of fishing for trout and salmon in the first canto of Rural Sports. Gay's quasi-instructions about such rural chores as milking probably had been the subject of many jests while Swift was in London.

Being as well acquainted with Gay's literary talents as with his personal characteristics, Swift corresponded sympathetically with him even about his methods of working. The most famous literary connection between them is the germ of The Beggar's Opera and perhaps of lesser pieces in Swift's statement to Pope that he did not believe pastoral ridicule to be exhausted, and that a Quaker, porter, or Newgate pastoral might go well under the hand of "our friend Gay."79 Although Spence reported that when the idea of a comic opera with a Newgate theme was first mentioned to Swift he did not much like the project, Swift never neglected to support the works of his friends once the works were in a form available for the public. In his letters and in the third Intelligencer, in answer to Dr. Thomas Herring who had preached against Gay's opera, Swift hailed the play for its public service in exposing vice and in making people laugh with innocence. Disagreeing with Sir William Temple's opinion that humor is peculiar to the English nation,

78Corres., IV, 294.
79Ibid., II, 330.
80Anecdotes, 120.
since he believed it to be found in Spanish, Italian, and French productions, Swift asserted in the *Intelligencer* that "the comedy or farce, (or whatever name the critics will allow it) called the 'Beggar's Opera'" excelled in the article of humor. From this assertion he continued for several pages to defend against all the charges brought upon it "this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. Gay."\(^{81}\) Unable within his conscience and dignity to attend the opera himself, he kept faithful account of its long run in Dublin. Over two months before his public vindication, he wrote to Gay: "I bought your opera to-day for sixpence, a cursed print. I find there is neither dedication nor preface, both which wants I approve; it is in the *grand gout.*"\(^{82}\) He had been writing on two letters at once, and had inserted by mistake in a letter to "Patty" Blount: "I bought your opera to-day for sixpence, so small printed that it will spoil my eyes. I ordered you to send me your edition, but now you may keep it till you get an opportunity."\(^{83}\) It is to be noted that here for once the proof is clear that Swift did not desire Gay's edition in order to save sixpence. In 1730 Swift scolded Mrs. Howard, who the * Scriblerus Four* had backed unsuccessfully in her rivalry with the Queen for the favors of George II: "Mr. Gay deserved better treatment among you, upon all accounts, and particularly for his excellent unregarded Fables, dedicated to Prince William, which I hope his Royal Highness will often read for his instruction."\(^{84}\)

For the success of the second series of Fables Swift had no expectation. He was correct, as it unfortunately proved, in disparaging most of Gay's late productions. He wrote in March 1730, of the *Wife of Bath*:

"I had never much hopes of your vamped play, although Mr. Pope seemed to have, and although it were ever so good; but you should have done like the parsons, and changed your text—"
mean the title, and the names of the persons. After all, it was an effect of idleness, for you are in the prime of life, when invention and judgement go together. He reproached Pope (and indirectly the Duke of Queensberry) for the posthumous publication of Achilles, which he grieved to say was a very poor performance, and spoke of it again in the same month—March, 1735— to the Earl of Orrery:

I have sometimes chid poor Mr. Gay for dwelling too long upon a hint, as he did in the sequel of the Beggar's Opera [Polly] and this unlucky posthumous production. He hath likewise left a second part of [his] fables, of which I prophesy no good. I have been told that few painters can copy their own originals to perfection. And I believe the first thoughts on a subject that occurs to a poet's imagination are usually the most natural.

Clearly Swift believed that the works which he disparaged were unsuccessful not only because of external circumstances, as he hinted in his letter to Gay, but also because these works had not the quality to be successful. Nevertheless, his expression of sympathy for Gay had not been limited to his letters to Gay. In 1724 he had lamented in a letter to Charles Ford:

Why will they not give poor Gay an Employment. Tis a wofull Case to be under the necessity of writing a Play for Bread when perhaps a Mans Genius is not at that time disposed. I am sure it is an ill way of making a good Poet.

If it were not unfair to Swift to imply that he had not the ability to recognize the good in Gay's poetry, one could say that, opposite to the order in which Pope's works and person attracted Swift, he came to admire Gay's poetry from admiring the boisterous Gay.

The story of Swift's leaving unopened for five days, upon a presentiment of misfortune, the letter from Pope which announced Gay's death belongs to popular history. In 1735, about three months after the death of Dr. Arbuthnot, Swift wrote despondently to Pope:

85Corres., IV, 133-34.
86Ibid., 403.
87Letters to Ford, 103.
The death of Mr. Gay and the Doctor have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them, like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should at least receive annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from my Lord Bolingbroke.88

Every time during the succeeding years that he consoled with another upon the loss of friends or relatives, he mentioned that he himself had suffered sufficiently from the losses of Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Gay.

Thomas Parnell, customarily called the fifth member of the Scriblerus Club and often regarded as a quasi-member because of his indolence, was the first to make Swift's acquaintance. In August, 1711, five years after Parnell had married and become Archdeacon of Clogher, Swift wrote to Stella:

I am heartily sorry for poor Mrs. Parnell's death; she seemed to be an excellent good-natured young woman, and I believe the poor lad is much afflicted; they appeared to live perfectly well together.89

Stella may have written of Mrs. Parnell's death or (less likely) Swift may have received word through Dillon Ashe, Vicar of Finglas, who was with Swift in London at the time; in any case, he clearly had known the poet and his wife in Ireland. When Swift and Parnell saw Lady Bolingbroke for the first time, nearly two years after Mrs. Parnell died, Parnell and Swift both thought Lady Bolingbroke "was like Parnell's wife."90

Depressed and grieving from his wife's death, in November, 1712, Parnell had crossed to London in order to recover his spirits. Coming under the management of Swift, he soon joined the Tories. December 22, 1712, Swift wrote:

I gave Lord Bolingbroke a poem of Parnell's. I made Parnell insert some compliments in it to his lordship. He is extremely pleased with it, and read some parts of it to-day to Lord-Treasurer, who liked it as much. And indeed he outdoes all our poets here a bar's length.

From this last assertion it is to be inferred that Prior was not in unchallenged

88 Corres., V, 176-77.
89 T.S., II, 228.
90 Ibid., 430-31.
possession of the throne when Swift pronounced Pope king of poets in 1713. Parnell's poem, which Swift was to worry over more than Parnell in the ensuing months, was taken by Frederick Ryland, who edited the Journal to Stella in Temple Scott's edition of Swift's works, to be On Queen Anne's Peace, but it almost certainly was the Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry, which was dedicated to Bolingbroke.\(^9\) The poem was twice submitted to Bolingbroke for correction, which it might be more logical to expect in a poem of particular political import, but Swift was eager to gain friends for Parnell. Also, he was anxious to have the poem to which he was giving his attention into the press the following January, two months before the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, but the "rogue Parnell" had not at that time fully corrected it.\(^9\) Swift's announcement to Stella that the poem would soon be out occurs immediately before the publication of the Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry, and before the Treaty of Utrecht was signed at the end of March.\(^9\) Three days after the poem was published, Swift wrote that "Parnell's poem is mightily esteemed; but poetry sells ill."

Swift frequently expressed concern over headaches which constantly rode "the poor boy," and regularly added to mention of trying to aid him, by introductions to men in power, a hope that Parnell would be materially benefited. Yet Swift's affection for Parnell appears never to have run very deep. "Lord Bolingbroke likes Parnell mightily;" he wrote Stella, "and it is pleasant to see, that one, who hardly passed for anything in Ireland, makes his way here with a little friendly forwarding."\(^9\) The day before, Swift had stated the case more emphatically: "I hoise up Parnell partly to spite the envious Irish folks here, particularly Tom Leigh," who, as Swift thought, envied Swift's power and accomplishments. The night

\(^9\) T.S., II, 416.
\(^9\) Ibid., 444.
\(^9\) Ibid., 411.
of January 31, Swift told of his famous manipulation to make Harley seek out
Parnell:

I contrived it so, that Lord-Treasurer came to me, and asked (I had
Parnell by me) whether that was Dr Parnell, and came up and spoke
to him with great kindness, and invited him to his house. I value
myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell,
and not Parnell with the ministry.

(It has not been obvious to all readers that for acquaintance with himself Swift did
not demand from poets and wits the same advances that he demanded from women and
noble men. He supported men of genius and wit against persons who had different
claims to attention.) One week after being ordained Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift
wrote glowingly to Archbishop King of the esteem with which Parnell was held in
London, and requested for Parnell his own prebend of Dunlavin, which would put
Parnell "into the Chapter," where Swift might be able to help him.95 In November
Parnell wrote lofty verses in honor of Swift's birthday.96 Whether Parnell con-
tributed to the Memoirs of Scriblerus or not, he was unfailingly present at the
Saturday meetings;97 the best classical scholar of them all, he became necessary to
Pope, and for a time inseparable from him; he visited Swift, with Pope, at Letcombe
Bassett. The fall of the Tories upset Parnell severely; he could not decide for
some time what his relation to the two parties was to be thereafter. In 1715 he re-
accepted the Archdeaconry of Clogher from Archbishop King, and Swift coolly
considered him a political renegade during the three years remaining before Parnell's
death. How long they continued to communicate is not known, for their correspondence
has disappeared. That it was not Swift who destroyed the letters, however, is
indicated by Mrs. Whiteway's statement, in 1740, that there were letters from
Parnell in Swift's packets.98 It is possible, of course, that Mrs. Whiteway was

95 Corres., II, 23. King had been one of Parnell's guardians.
96 Poetical Works, (1894), 129.
97 Professor Root (Poetical Career of Pope, 68) lists Parnell as a collaborator.
98 Corres., VI, 171.
mistaken about there being letters from the two literary figures of Irish background, Parnell and Congreve, who were friends of Swift but who have no letters in the remaining Swiftian correspondence. In 1722, when an Irish edition of Parnell's poems was published, Swift complained irately that the poem inscribed to Lord Bolingbroke was omitted "by the zeal of Parnell's booby brother." In his tabulation of those whom he had aided, Swift pronounced Parnell ungrateful, but added his symbol for doubt.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, complete omission of Parnell's poems from anthologies has been commonly considered a natural phenomenon, but as Swift asserted, Parnell outdid by a bar's length, in many ways, all the poets flourishing in London between 1711 and 1713. What Parnell did, however, came to be more important to Swift than what Parnell had written.

99Corres., III, 129.

100Miscellaneous Prose Works of Scott, (1834), II, 429.

101J. Churton Collins (Jonathan Swift, 97 note) listed Parnell's admirers, and appended his own name.
Much mellowness entered Swift's mind in the twenty-four years between the writing of *A Tale of a Tub* and the writing of *Gulliver's Travels*. Contemplativeness and universality, absent from the journalistic pamphlets dashed in support of Queen Anne's Tory ministry, are evident in the Drapier's Letters of 1724. Swift had written his first "sedulous" pamphlet for the Irish, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, in 1720; when he made his progress to England in 1726 and 1727 he was becoming largely inured to his rat-hole; after Stella's death in 1728, no island or continent on earth could have provided contentment. In the meantime, his giddiness, deafness, and gruffness increased year by year. He advised Pope to adopt his own practice; to associate with prating women, and to have about him only underlings who expected nothing but scowls, tewsks, and scornfulness. As for himself, while life remained he would be a patriot to beggarly fools. On his birthday he would wear black and read the third chapter of *Job* while people throughout the land celebrated with bonfires.

As Pope obviously knew that Swift could not come again to England, he has been charged, though needlessly, with bad faith in his share of the many letters by which he and Swift continued, until Swift's weakness foreshadowed the pronouncement in 1742 that he was unsound of mind and memory, each to invite the other to move across the channel into his own home. Swift realized that above sad necessity he had made roots in Ireland. As can be discerned even in the short passages quoted in the preceding chapter from Swift's letters to Pope, Swift reduced considerably, during his first seven or eight years as Dean of St. Patrick's, the harshness of his original opinion regarding Anglo-Irish judgment in matters of wit and learning. He was a visitor for long periods in twelve or more residences belonging to families
of diverse social and financial condition, among them Howth Castle, the Market Hill mansion of Sir Arthur and Lady Acheson, the house of the Rochforts at Gaulstown, the villa Delville of the Delanys near Dublin, and the unkempt house of Thomas Sheridan and his shrewish wife at Quilca.

Sheridan, the father of Swift's biographer and grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was the closest friend of all. Except for a servant involved in the publication of the Drapier's Letters, only Sheridan, whom Swift had met in 1717 or 1718, knew with certainty who the Drapier was. Although Sheridan translated Persius and Juvenal, was co-author with Swift of the Intelligencer issued weekly for five months in 1728, published sermons, wrote trifles of every sort, especially in mock-Latin, to Swift, and carried on verse warfare against his own and Swift's enemies, Swift thought of Sheridan primarily as the most learned person in Ireland, "and the best schoolmaster here in the memory of man, having an excellent taste in all parts of literature."¹ In the arguments between Sheridan and Patrick Delany, each energetically jealous of the other, Swift usually took the part of Sheridan. Soon after meeting him Swift wrote Latin verses "ad Amicum Erudition" of which he himself was very proud, beginning "Deliciae Sheridan Musarum, dulcis amico," and commending both the serious and the light productions of his new friend.² Nonetheless, Sheridan's indiscretions were so abundant that their cumulative effect frequently drove Swift to scold him. His first error, in November, 1718, was to carry raillery beyond the rules Swift thought friends should observe: he celebrated in verse the death of Swift's muse. Swift requested Delany either to defend Sheridan's audacity or to advise Sheridan to restrain himself thenceforward, and described Sheridan in octosyllabic couplets as a wag

Who full of Humour, Fire and Wit,
Not allways judges what is fit;

¹Corres., V, 150.
²Poems, I, 211ff.
But loves to take prodigious Rounds,
And sometimes walks beyond his Bounds. 3

December 20th Swift wrote cheerily to Charles Ford that Sheridan was plaguing him "with bad Verses during his Christmas leisure." 4 Swift influenced Lord Carteret to appoint Sheridan as a chaplain and to give him a living, in 1725, in the county of Cork. Soon after his installation, Sheridan preached from the text "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" on the anniversary of the accession of the House of Hanover. 5 Although to Sheridan Swift wrote that if advertency had been his talent he would have "fled that text, as from a rock," 6 he defended Sheridan in letters to Thomas Tickell, who was at that time secretary to Carteret, and helped lampoon publicly Richard Tighe, an old enemy whose information to the government about the ill-chosen text had deprived Sheridan of his living. Many of Swift's efforts to better Sheridan's condition went for naught. During Sheridan's absences from his school in Dublin, which had been set up with Swift's aid, Swift took his place; but losing by his blunders his school along with everything else he owned, Sheridan died, in 1738, in poverty. "The Blunders, Deficiencies, Distresses, and Misfortunes of Quiloa" was designed by Swift principally to demonstrate the miserable state of Ireland by describing a typical home in a typical section of the island; 7 dissimilarly, "The History of the Second Solomon," written about 1729 in a moment of savage irritability but fortunately not published during Swift's life, is a minute examination of Sheridan's faults and indiscretions. 8 In tracing the history of Sheridan's deficiencies and follies, Swift related—with blindness in regard to

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5 Corres., VI, 210-12.
6 Ibid., III, 267.
7 T.S., VII, 74-7.
8 Ibid., XI, 151ff.
converse episodes—that Sheridan had sometimes taken offence at what was meant in jest. "Without the knowledge or advice of one living soul," as Sheridan confessed, he wrote a song in praise of the King and Queen, which induced Swift to write in 1730, in *A Vindication of His Excellency, John, Lord Carteret*, that the deposed chaplain, though of a family suspected of Jacobitism, manifestly was "a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry, and a great adorer of the present Royal Family through all its branches." In the same year, however, Sheridan began collecting for publication "English bulls and blunders" of which Swift wrote rather enthusiastically to Lord Bathurst as the work of "a certain wit, one of my followers." In 1733, when the collection was still unpublished, Swift wrote to Sheridan:

> I am confident your collection of bon mots, and contes à rire, will be much the best extant, but you are apt to be terribly sanguine about the profits of publishing; however it shall have all the pushing I can give.

A few months before his death Sheridan apologized to Mrs. Whiteway, a cousin of Swift who managed his affairs after 1736, for being an expensive guest. "It is in your power, Doctor, easily to remedy this," was Mrs. Whiteway's answer, which Sheridan, according to the testimony of his son, believed to have been given by Swift's direction. A connected legend has Sheridan fulfilling a promise to inform the Dean when he showed evident signs of avarice by handing him a list of instances, upon which Swift asked Sheridan if he had never read *Gil Blas*. The "Character of Doctor Sheridan," which Swift wrote soon after Sheridan died in October, 1738 is perfunctory but not grudging. The "Character" closes with a suggestion that those "who had the advantage of being educated under Dr. Sheridan" erect a monument over

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11 *ibid.*, 409.
12 *ibid.*, 409.
13 *T.S.*, XI, 161 note.
his body. The derogatory statements in the piece are remarkably accurate. Of Sheridan's talents and writings Swift says:

He was doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or perhaps in Europe; and as great a master of the Greek and Roman languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His English verses were full of wit and humour, but neither his prose nor his verse sufficiently correct; however, he would readily submit to any friend who had a true taste in prose or verse. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French, and English writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But, among those extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in six, at least, were of little use or entertainment.

Delany, who was more dignified and more worldly wise than Sheridan, held a Junior Fellowship in Trinity College, in 1718, when Swift became acquainted with him. Swift's first chastisement of Sheridan, as mentioned above, was addressed "To Mr. Delany":

To You, whose Virtues I must own
With shame, I have too lately known;
To you, by Art and Nature taught
To be the Man I long have sought,
Had not ill Fate, perverse and blind,
Plac'd you in Life too far behind;
Or what I should repine at more,
Plac'd me in Life too far before.16

(1-8)

In recommending models for Delany to have Sheridan read so that Sheridan might master "the obliging jest," Swift wrote:

For Prose, I recommend Voiture's,
For Verse, (I speak my Judgment) Yours:
He'll find the Secret out from thence
To Rime all day without Offence.

(105-8)

Swift is commending, no doubt, flattery he had received from Delany. Though Delany wrote light verses in English and though his name appears frequently in the trifling

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14 T.S., XI, 163.
15 Ibid., 161.
squibs and pasquinades which concerned the activities of Swift, Sheridan, and other friends, Delany deplored the waste of wit and ingenuity involved in the trifling of Swift and Sheridan; only their riddles, he said, were justifiable. 17 Back of this abhorrence of la bagatelle probably lies jealousy of Sheridan, an indefatigable trifler. 18 Unaware of Swift's part in the writing of the Intelligencer, Delany attacked it "both in word and in print." Early in 1729, when Swift was finding it difficult to remain friendly toward anybody, he replied scornfully to Delany's attacks with a short poem, "On Paddy's Character of the Intelligencer," in which he related how Paddy, after tearing the earned laurel from Tom's brow,

At length, presumes to vent his Satyr on  
The DEAN, TOM'S honour'd Friend and Patron. 19

Through Lord Carteret, Delany received the living of Borryvullen, the Chancellorship of Christ Church, Dublin, and a prebend's stall in St. Patrick's, but his manner of living at Colville was so extravagant that he addressed an epistle to Carteret in frank solicitation of further preferment. 20 In amusement, Swift replied with "An Epistle upon an Epistle." 21 People were exclaiming, he said,

How could so fine a Taste dispense  
With mean Degrees of Wit and Sense?  
(16-8)

He advised Delany to give up his ambition, to be frugal, and to pay his debts.

Most think what has been heap'd on You,  
To other sort of Folk was due;  
Rewards too great for your Flim-Flams;  
Epistles, Riddles, Epigrams.  
(105-3)

Later in the year he turned momentarily to the same incident, but without any desire

18 Delany's statement that the indecency of Swift's works derived from Swift's association with Pope is similarly suspect. (Ibid., 75.)  
20 Ibid., I, 471ff.  
21 Ibid., II, 476ff.
to chide Delany, in "A Libel on Dean Delany and a Certain Great Lord." In the first poem Swift had digressed to attack Jonathan Smedley, the arch-enemy of his closing years; in the second poem, intended as a "libel" on the professions of statesmanship and kingship, he denounced the treatment given by the Court to Steele ("who owned what others writ"), Gay, and Congreve; showed how Addison had survived only by becoming a chief minister; awarded the highest praise to Pope for avoiding politics altogether; and violently attacked Walpole and all his breed. Delany was almost forgotten, but the moral was clear. Delany's enemies, taking their cue from Swift's two friendly poems, lashed regularly at Delany for several months. To soothe his feelings, Swift wrote two octosyllabic epistles challenging him to be worthy of his eminence by ignoring the stupid malice of his detractors. In a cheerful mood, Delany wrote "The Pheasant and the Lark," to which Swift wrote an amicable answer. As an additional gesture of good will, both fables were published under the imprint of the Intelligencer.

Delany was in London in 1727 simultaneously with Swift, and was accepted more favorably by Pope, Gay, and Bolingbroke than any other acquaintance from Ireland introduced by Swift. In 1732 Delany returned to London, to marry and to publish the first volume of his largest work, Revelation examined with Candour, "written against the eating of blood." Although Swift's attitude toward Delany's hypotheses is shown by a jocular remark to Lord Bathurst about Delany's doctrine of animal blood disposing human partakers to cruelty, and by his statement to Gay that he had attempted to dissuade Delany from attempting to popularize such subjects, Bolingbroke clearly failed in his many attempts to draw from Swift an adverse opinion.

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22 Poems, II, 479ff.
23 See ibid., 499-506, for all the poems involved.
24 Corres., IV, passim.
25 Ibid., 236, 295.
of Delany's methods of argument. In 1725, when Archdeacon Walls had submitted a paper of verses to Swift for correction, Swift wrote that "Dr. Delany, if you knew him, could show you what is to be altered." In spite of introducing to Swift several persons who later created embarrassing situations, Delany remained a close friend as long as Swift's memory remained. Sheridan's sycophancy in writing a song to the Royal Family had left Delany ascendant among Swift's friends in Ireland. It was almost surely during one of his earlier periods of irritation that Swift described Delany, in his table of friends, as indifferent but partly grateful. In January, 1733, after Delany's first marriage to a wealthy widow, Mrs. Richard Tenison, Swift wrote Pope:

Doctor Delany presents you his most humble service; he behaves himself very commendably, converses only with his former friends, makes no parade, but entertains them constantly at an elegant, plentiful table, walks the streets as usual by daylight, does many acts of charity and generosity, cultivates a country house two miles distant, and is one of those very few within my knowledge, on whom a great access of fortune hath made no manner of change.

Mary Granville, the cousin of Lord Carteret, wife after Swift's death of Dr. Delany, and eventual author of memoirs which dealt with more than half the Georgian century, was a young widow of a Cornishman named Pendarves, and a visitor in Dublin, when Swift met her in 1733. From Swift's correspondence with Mrs. Pendarves, which ascertainably continued through 1736, and from her autobiography, it is to be inferred that she was Swift's favorite among the score of women whom he adopted as pupils during the last decade of his life. In October, 1734, he wrote in a typical vein:

Nothing vexes me so much with relation to you, as that with all my disposition to find faults, I was never once able to fix upon anything that I could find amiss, although I watched you narrowly;

27 Ibid., III, 251.
29 Corres., IV, 381. Cf. Letters to Ford, 144.
for when I found we were to lose you soon, I kept my eyes
and ears always upon you, in hopes that you would make some
boutade.  
After glossing *boutade* as a French word signifying an unexpected jerk from the hind
legs of a horse previously believed to be a sober animal, he commanded her to return
to Ireland for one year, after which he would give her permission to leave if she
should make a *boutade*. Complimenting her was a game which lasted through three
years of great depression. There are indications throughout Mrs. Delany's corre-
spondence in 1753-1754 that she played a large part in the preparation of the
Observations upon Lord Orrery’s Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan
Swift, which Dr. Delany published anonymously in 1754.  

Although Dr. Delany and his charming wife have not been alone in considering
Lord Orrery's Remarks malicious, Orrery surely did not intend them so. The son of
Charles Boyle (who edited the Epistles to Phalaris), Lord Orrery had entered the
Swift circle soon after his first voyage to Ireland in 1731. He attended Swift,
as Ricardo Quintana has observed, chivalrously. Upon being introduced by Swift
to Pope, Orrery became as frequent a visitor at Twickenham as he had become, while
in Ireland, at the Deanery. December 9, 1732, Swift wrote to Charles Ford: "I
often see Ld Orrery who seems every way a most deserving Person, a good Scholar,
with much wit, manners and modesty." "My Lord Orrery," he wrote six months later
to Mayor Barber, "is the delight of us all." Like Mrs. Pendarves, Orrery became
intimate with many of Swift's friends in Ireland, and bestowed his favor and
patronage freely upon Swift's protégés. In 1737 Swift announced to Pope that Orrery

31 *Corres.* V, 97.
33 *Mind and Art of Swift*, 541. See Orrery Papers, I, 131, 141, 185, 203.
34 Letters to Ford, 144.
35 *Corres.* V, 8.
was returning again to England. "Pray let my Lord Orrery see you often. Next to yourself I love no man so well, and tell him what I say, if he visits you." 36 Frequently in his old age Swift took charm, even in as shallow a man as Orrery, for genius.

Deane Swift, the third man to write memoirs of Swift, suffered for many years the handicap, in Swift's eyes, of being a cousin. Swift believed that hardly any good could come from relatives, especially young or very old relatives. In 1725, when Deane was a student at Trinity College, Dublin, and involved in litigation with Swift's curate, Swift called him "that puppy" who "so behaved himself, as to forfeit all regard or pity." 37 Deane diligently courted Swift, sold him most of his property, went from Trinity College to Oxford as Swift had done, and by September, 1735 had merited Swift's inquiries concerning him of William King, Principal of St. Mary's Hall. 38 One month later Swift addressed to Deane a witty letter prefaced by an acknowledgment that Deane had offered his friendship in a generous manner. 39 Fortunately for his determination to cultivate Swift, Deane became able during his stay at Oxford to aid his Principal (the third William King of Swift's acquaintance, a man of wit and learning strongly disaffected toward the Walpole government), in the publication of the History of the Last Four Years of the Queen; perhaps, also, Deane performed some task in connection with King's The Toast, a sourrilous mock-heroic poem in which Swift had been interested from the time he met King in 1734, 40 and of which he wrote Charles Ford that "the Verses are rough, but it is very malicious, and worth reading." 41 King remained loyal to Swift.

36Corres., VI, 33.
37Ibid., III, 236. See ibid., IV, 418 note.
38Ibid., V, 238.
39Ibid., V, 245f.
40Ibid., V, 239, 458-60. On Deane Swift's interest in King's poem, see ibid., VI, 81.
41Letters to Ford, 141.
and Deane, being on good terms with Martha Whiteway, his first cousin, and showing
his willingness to attend Swift during hours of pain, became one of the most
intimate visitors to the Deanery after 1738. In April, 1730, Swift wrote of Deane
to Pope:

He hath a very good taste for wit, writes agreeable and entertaining
verses, and is a perfect master equally skilled in the best Greek
and Roman authors. He has a true spirit for liberty, and with all
these advantages is extremely decent and modest.42

In spite of his many inaccuracies and absurd suppositions, Deane in his Essay on
the Life of Swift showed himself a surer judge of Swift's genius and intent than any
other contemporary who wrote in memory of Swift, but Swift had accepted Deane's own
word at least about his spirit for liberty.

Swift not only was particularly interested in literary works which were
obviously useful, but also was attracted by men with literary powers who were, like
himself rather than like Pope and Gay, not primarily authors. Swift's judgment is
never surer, for instance, than in evaluating the works of Bolingbroke. He thought
Bolingbroke's Dissertation upon Parties, generally held in esteem, "very masterly
written," though he may have thought so, in part, because of the book's bitterness
toward Walpole.43 It must have been due to his engrossing relationship with Pope
that Swift thought of non-professional writers as exceptional. He seemed to place
women of wit and learning among those whose writing was a kind of supererogation.
As early as 1700/9 he had amused himself by exchanging verses with Ann Kingsmill
(Mrs. Finch), afterward Countess of Winceholme.44 Letters to Chotswode show that
Swift was giving advice to domestic poets as early as 1719.45 Most of the women
whom Swift favored in Ireland had more claim to his attention than his earlier

42Corres., VI, 127.
44Poems, I, 119-23.
45Corres., II, 302, 406.
polite friends, Mrs. Finch and Biddy Floyd, in that the women in Ireland needed Swift's aid. He was willing to bestow his attention upon them because he liked to have about him persons of little importance, whom he could dismiss at will. So eager was Swift to aid those whom only he could or would aid that, as Sir Henry Craik observed, he "scarcely cared to practise literary discrimination." "A kindly thought," Craik continues, "a desire to help a modest effort, a friendly personal feeling—these were quite enough to win from Swift a verdict of unstinted praise."\(^46\)

Delany, who introduced to Swift most of the persons whose talents have been consistently depreciated since Swift introduced them in the seventeen-thirties to his greater friends, put Swift's case differently:

> The truth is, Swift loved merit wherever he found it, and never seemed more delighted, than when he could draw it out from obscurity, into an advantageous light, and exalt it there.\(^47\)

It is not insignificant that every one of the "whining scribblers" who came under Swift's protection—to the chagrin of Bolingbroke and Pope—had recommended himself by praising Swift in verse. In February, 1730, in a letter carried to Twickenham by one of Swift's protégés, Swift wrote:

> There are three citizens' wives in this town; one of them whose name is Grierson, a Scotch bookseller's wife. She is a very good Latin and Greek scholar, and has lately published a fine edition of Tacitus, with a Latin dedication to the Lord Lieutenant; and she writes carmina Anglicana non contemnenda. The second is one Mrs. Barber, wife to a woollen draper, who is our chief poetess and, upon the whole, has no ill genius. I fancy I have mentioned her to you formerly. The last is the bearer hereof, and the wife of a surly, rich husband, who checks her vein; whereas Mrs. Grierson is only well to pass, and Mrs. Barber, as it becomes the chief poetess, is but poor. The bearer's name is Sian. She has a very good taste of poetry, has read much, and, as I hear, has writ one or two things with applause which I never saw, except about six lines she sent me unknown, with a piece of sturgeon, some years ago, on my birthday. Can you show such a triumfeminate in London? They are all three great friends and favourites of Dr. Delany, and at his desire, as well as from my own inclination, I give her this passport to have the

\(^{46}\)Craik, *Life of Swift*, 441.

\(^{47}\)Observations, 27. It might be noted here that in 1730 Swift called too great a compliment the saying that Sir William Temple had shown more learning in his essay against modern learning than the ancients could pretend to. (Corres., IV, 166.)
honour and happiness of seeing you, because she has already seen the ostrich, which is the only rarity at present in this town.48

In this year or the next, Swift wrote a short poem to Mrs. Sican (or Sycon), as Psyche, commending her gracefulness at tea-service time.

To please you, she knows how to choose a nice bit;
For her taste is almost as refined as her wit....
Yet beware of her arts, for it plainly appears,
She saves half her victuals, by feeding your ears.49

In a few months after Mrs. Sican departed for London, Mrs. Barber followed her.

May 2nd Swift wrote Pope:

It is to be understood that the only women of taste here are three shop-keepers' wives. Of the other two, one is both a scholar and a poet, and the other a poet only, and Mrs. Sican but a good reader and judge. Mrs. Barber, who is a poet only, but not a scholar, is going to England; but I shall give her no letter of recommendation, and you will pardon me for what I did to Mrs. Sican.

Mrs. Barber, however, who continually grew in Swift's favor, had interested him for more than a year. In March, 1728, he had written Gay:

I hope Dr. Delany has shown you the tale, writ by Mrs. Barber, a citizen's wife here, in praise of your Fables. There is something in it hard upon Mr. Congreve, which I sent to her, for I never saw her, to change to Dryden, but she absolutely refused.50

After coming under Swift's patronage, however, Mrs. Barber was in this instance as in most other instances submissive to Swift's will; Congreve's comedies were not named in the printed version among those forbidden "as poison to the mind." Swift, to whom character and alertness were equally more important than skill, if genius were absent, believed Mrs. Barber to be honest, modest, and generous. He gave her letters of introduction to all his English correspondents, and asked Lord Carteret and Lady Elizabeth Germain to intercede for Mrs. Barber with the Duke of Dorset.

None of his friends escaped requests for subscriptions to her poems, which were published in 1735. In 1731 a counterfeit letter over Swift's signature, forged

48 [Notes]
49 [Notes]
50 [Notes]
perhaps by an enemy or perhaps by Matthew Pilkington, announced to Queen Caroline that Mrs. Barber was "the best female poet of this or perhaps of any age."51

Angered because his friends thought it possible that he had written such a foolish and presumptuous letter, Swift wrote thereafter of Mrs. Barber, probably the worst poet of all his protégés, in a higher strain than ever. To Edward Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, he wrote, "she is by far the best poet of her sex in England, and is a virtuous, modest gentlewoman, with a great deal of good sense, and a true poetical genius."52 In the first letter he had written to Sir Andrew Fountaine since the publication of the Dunciad, in which Fountaine had been roughly handled, and apparently the first letter since Queen Anne's death, Swift urged Fountaine to subscribe to the poems soon to be published by Mary Barber, "the best poetess of both kingdoms. If there be any others," he continued, "they are behind her longo intervallo."53 In August, 1733, Swift wrote the Earl of Orrery:

I have read most of her poems, and believe your Lordship will observe, that they generally contain something new and useful, tending to the reproof of some vice or folly, or recommending some virtue. She never writes on a subject with general unconnected topics, but always with a scheme and method driving to some particular end; wherein many writers in verse, and of some distinction, are so often known to fail. In short, she seemeth to have a true poetical genius, better cultivated than could well be expected, either from her sex, or the scene she has acted in, as the wife of a citizen; yet I am assured, that that no woman was ever more useful to her husband in the way of his business. Poetry hath only been her favourite amusement; for which she hath one qualification, that I wish all good poets possessed a share of, I mean that she is ready to take advice and submit to have her verses corrected by those who are generally allowed to be the best judges.54

It is unfortunately clear that Swift convinced himself that Mrs. Barber was a poet,

51Corres., IV, 478. In the same year Swift saw the necessity of apologizing to Pope because Mrs. Barber had asked Pope to correct her verses. (Ibid., IV, 217.)
52Ibid., V, 22.
53Corres., V, 21.
54Ibid., 28-9.
but it is also clear that he found many reasons for doing so; and the interpretation that he did not think of her verses in terms of literature remains plausible. It is only in his private correspondence that the names of his "female poets" take on any significance. Late in 1733 Mrs. Barber crossed St. George's Channel with several of Swift's poems, which she gave to Pilkington for publication by Motte. Because of political allusions in three of the poems, all of the persons involved in the transactions, beginning with the bookseller, were arrested. Probably it was Pilkington who informed on Mrs. Barber, who spent nearly a year in prison, and Swift, who was saved from arrest only by his position in the minds of the Irish people second only to St. Patrick. In 1736 Swift gave Mrs. Barber, upon her request, his Polite Conversation to publish for her sole profit. "How shall I express the sense I have of your goodness," she had written, "in inviting me to return to Ireland, and generously offering to contribute to support me there?"

Delany introduced Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Pilkington to Swift in 1728, about the same time he introduced Mrs. Barber. Swift thought Pilkington, a young clergyman, to be a man of modesty and learning and of "more wit, sense and discretion, than any of your London parsons ten years above his age." Swift was combing his brush country for wits to encourage, and true wits were not to be found; in their absence he was doing the best he could. Pilkington seemed to be the most promising young man Anglo-Ireland could provide. Some of Pilkington's poems, Swift told Lord Bathurst in 1730, were "not unpleasant." He added that he had been celebrated in one or two poems of Pilkington's volume, which therefore cost him, above his guinea, two bottles of wine. Unfortunately, Swift had no reason to heed the first warnings of Pope and Bolingbroke regarding Pilkington, because in connection with "The Life and Character of Dr. Swift" the deception lay entirely with Swift, who

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55 Concerning Pilkington's guilt in this instance, see Corres., V, 59 note; Sheridan, Life of Swift, 239; Memoirs of Letitia Pilkington, ed. Iris Barry, 7, 105-6.
56 Corres., V, 386.
57 Corres., IV, 323. Cf. ibid., 334, 349, 381.
58 Ibid., 169.
insisted to his perplexed friends that the poem was a bad copy of his "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift," and published without his consent—yet he refused to admit that Pilkington, who clearly provided the publisher with the poem, should be stigmatized. In 1729 Swift had sent Pilkington to London with introductions to his friends and had acquired for him the position of chaplain to Lord Mayor Barber; Pilkington's modesty vanished. The diminutive Letitia Pilkington, who was befriended by Colley Cibber while she was in London with her husband, amused Swift. Her verses and her port Memoirs, in which she wove verses, aspersions on most of the people she had known, and anecdotes of Swift and other literary figures, show much smartness and shrewdness. Swift decided that there were four women poets in Ireland, and wrote Mrs. Pilkington in 1733 that he had never in his life seen better verses than some of hers. 59 "He watched her literary freaks," says Craik, "much as a mastiff might watch the gambols of a kitten." 60 Swift continued to befriend the Pilkingtons for several years after his other friends deserted them. By February, 1739, however, when the Pilkingtons were divorced, their names were synonymous among the ballad-makers, whether quite justly or not, with indecency and vice. At that time Swift recalled in a letter to Barber that Delany had "forced" him "to countenance Pilkington,...and praised the wit, virtue, and humour of him and his wife; whereas he proved the falsest rogue, and she the most profligate whore in either kingdom." 61 Swift erased Pilkington's name wherever it occurred in his correspondence.

In examining the qualifications of the friends Swift made after 1728, although the literary abilities of the Pilkingtons were by no means contemptible, one wonders what part Stella had played in his choice of friends before 1728. He did not entirely relax his judgment in matters of literature, it would seem, for in 1733 he gave an adverse judgment of a poetical piece by one of his favorites, Miss Frances

59 Corres., IV, 371.
60 Life of Swift, 442.
61 Corres., VI, 68-9.
Kelly, who died later in the year. Mrs. Pendarves (the future Mrs. Delany), who admitted the superiority of Lotitia Pilkington in wit and "even genius," feared as a rival for Swift's favors and company only Miss Kelly, because of her beauty and good humor.

Oddly enough, Swift's most satisfactory protege, William Dunkin, was his last, and was probably introduced to him by Pilkington. The first dates of Swift's acquaintance with Dunkin are not certain. In 1730 Swift read with pleasure the Dublin Miscellany, in which Dunkin had had a large part. Swift is credited with the authorship of a part of the many epigrams issued in 1734 against Dunkin's rival, Charles Carthy, particularly against Carthy's halting translation of Horace's Epistles, to which Swift had subscribed in 1731. Although Dunkin's verses contained enough Toryism to ingratiate Swift, in 1735 Swift overcame Archbishop Bolten's prejudices in order to get Dunkin ordained. In 1736 Swift recommended that Dunkin's annuity from the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, be increased.

I am almost a perfect stranger to Mr. Dunkin, having never seen him above twice, and then in mixed company, nor should I know his person if I met him in the streets. But I know he is a man of wit and parts; which, if applied properly to the business of his function, instead of poetry, wherein it must be owned he sometimes excels, might be of great use and service to him.

Being informed in 1737 through some friend of Dunkin's that the curacy of Finglas was soon to be vacant, Swift wrote in favor of Dunkin to the Rev. James Stopford, whom he had aided as "the most promising young man in Ireland" while George Berkeley was

62 Corres., IV, 365.
64 Corres., IV, 168-69.
67 Ibid., 359.
still Dean of Derry. Dunkin was "a most ingenious man" of whom he had heard no ill, Swift wrote, except that he had married imprudently; but then again, Swift added, Dunkin was "happy in his wife." Upon reflection, however, he decided that he would have all possible offices performed first for Stopford's curate, Mr. Bury, whom he valued "a hundred times more than... Mr. Dunkin," because he still hardly knew Mr. Dunkin by sight.

But as he is a man of genius, I wished him a little easy, and he signified his desire to me by another hand, for I never had any commerce with him either by writing or personal knowledge... I would not give you the constraint of a minute to make Mr. Dunkin an Archbishop.68

From January, 1738 to July, 1739 Swift tried almost frantically, but futilely, to procure for Dunkin the living of Coleraine. He reminded Barber assiduously to inform him immediately of the death of Dr. Squire, the holder of the living, who was very ill, so that Dunkin might receive the place:

He is a gentleman of much wit, and the best English, as well as Latin, poet in this kingdom; he has a hundred pounds a year from our University, to be continued till he is provided for. He is a pious, regular man, highly esteemed, but our Bishops, like yours, have little regard for such accomplishments, while they have any dunces of nephews or cousins... You know that my talent was a little, or rather too much, turned to poetry, but he is wiser than I, because he writes no satires, whereby you know well enough how many great people I disoblighed, and suffered by angering great people in favour.

In spite of the assurances of several friends, Swift called Dunkin before him in March, and "catechised him strictly on his principles."70 Finding Dunkin a "fine Christian in every regard," Swift appointed him as a witness to his will and continued to serve him during the few clear months remaining. In April, 1739, he wrote to Barber a little forgetfully of "Mr. Dunkin, who is an excellent scholar, and keeps a school in my neighborhood; besides, he is a very fine poet."71

68 Corres., VI, 23.
69 Ibid., 60-1.
70 Ibid., 70.
71 Ibid., 122-23.
Several writers whom Swift wished to help he seems never to have met. In 1732 Charles Wogan, a Jacobite refugee in the service of Spain, sent a packet to Swift which contained one or two long narrative poems, an autobiography, and paraphrases of the Psalms of David in Miltonic blank verse. Wogan included also a depreciation of the subject matter of The Beggar's Opera, which induced Swift to answer at length, defending satire. He and his friends agreed upon reading Wogan's pieces, Swift said, that "the writer was a scholar, a man of genius and of honour," and noticing that Wogan's genius ran "wholly into the grave and sublime."

I have been only a man of rhymes, and that upon trifles, never having written serious couplets in my life, yet never without a moral view. However, as an admirer of Milton, I will read yours as a critic, and make objections where I find anything that should be changed.72

Another letter from Swift to Wogan remains, apparently written in 1736.

I think you are the only person alive [Swift writes] who can justly charge me with ingratitude; because, although I was utterly unknown to you, and become an obscure exile in a most obscure and enslaved country, you were at the pains to find me out, and send me your very agreeable writings, with which I have often entertained some very ingenious friends, as well as myself; I mean not only your poetry, in Latin and English, but your poetical history in prose of your own life and actions, inscribed to me, which I often wished it were safe to print here, or in England, under the madness of universal party now reigning.73

Swift received from Thomas Beach, an unfortunate poet who may have been known to Pope for some time, a verse panegyric on Sir William Pownes a few days after Pownes's death, in March, 1735. As Pownes had held many political and humanitarian views similar to Swift's, Swift answered Beach sympathetically.

If he had recovered, I should certainly have waited on him with your poem, and recommended it and the author very heartily to his favour. I have seen fewer good panegyrics than any other sort of writing, especially in verse, and therefore I much approve the method you have taken; I mean, that of describing a person who possesseth every virtue, and rather waiving that Sir William Pownes was in your thoughts, than your picture was like in every part.74

72Corres., IV, 328-29.
73Ibid., V, 439.
74Ibid., V, 161.
Swift proceeded line by line down the poem, suggesting corrections, all of which were incorporated in the quarto text which was published in 1737 with a dedication to Pope. A third writer whose work instantly appealed to Swift was Michael Clancy, an Irish physician who had recently become blind. Clancy's play, The Sharper, which was placed on Swift's desk by one of the Grattans, satirized the life of Colonel Francis Charteris, who had been lampooned after his death by Swift and Arbuthnot. Swift sent several gold pieces to the blind author, and wrote concerning the play: "I read it carefully, with much pleasure, on account both of the characters and the moral."  

Swift's personal literary enmities were few. The bitterest and most lasting originated with the adversary, Jonathan Smedley, who was appointed Dean of Killala in 1718 and Dean of Clogher in 1724. Smedley's literary career began, apparently, with the hostile verses posted on the door of the Deanery of St. Patrick's to greet Swift in 1713, and reached its peak in 1728 with the publication of the malicious Gulliveriana; ingrained with Whiggism, Smedley attempted unrelentingly to balk Swift even through violent support of Wood's halfpence. Swift's method of meeting with the attacks of his foe was to intermix ridiculous praise of Smedley's powers with savage abuse. In 1716 Swift wrote to Archdeacon Walls:

Do you know that one of the great packets you had for me was nothing but a scoundrel sermon of that rascal Smedley, sent me either by himself or some other dog, on purpose to put me to charge and vexation?  

The beginning lines of "Dean Smedley Gone to Seek his Fortune," Swift's "translation" of a Latin inscription Smedley had written to have placed under a mezzotint of himself, are typical of Swift's attacks:

The very Reverend Dean Smedley,  
Of Dullness, Pride, Conceit, a medley,  
Was equally allowed to shine,  
As Poet, Scholar and Divine.

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75Corres., VI, 56-7. See also ibid., VI, 208ff.  
76Ibid., II, 351-52.
With Godliness could well dispense,
Would be a Rake, but wanted Sense. 77

For the Rev. William Tisdall, suspected of habitually writing verse attacks on Swift, and clearly the author of verses lampooning Sheridan as the tool of the Dean, Swift had pure contempt. In 1732, however, Swift solemnly denied that he had ever published any attacks on Tisdall. 78 Swift's advice that Tisdall preach rather than write controversial pamphlets and his coldness toward Tisdall's proposal to Stella, while Swift was in London in 1704, annoyed Tisdall, whose opinion of himself was not hampered by Swift's opinion of him. In 1711, when Tisdall had married and had been presented to livings in the diocese of Armagh, Swift answered Stella: "What care I for Dr Tisdall and Dr Raymond, or how many children they have? I wish they had a hundred a-piece." 79 Early in the next year, 1712, Stella asked Swift to recommend Tisdall to Lord Anglesey, to whom Tisdall, she said, was already known. "I will do what you desire me," answered Swift, "for Tisdall, when I next see Lord Anglesey." 80

On December 20th Swift wrote triumphantly:

I remember either Tisdall writ to me in somebody's letter, or you did it for him, that I should mention him on occasion to Lord Anglesey, with whom, he said, he had some little acquaintance. Lord Anglesey was with me to-night at Lord-Treasurer's; and then I asked him about Tisdall, and described him. He said, he never saw him, but that he had sent him his book. See what it is to be a puppy.

Tisdall's high opinion of his own controversial talents was a constant irritation to Swift. March 4th he wrote Stella:

Tisdall is a pretty fellow, as you say; and when I come back to Ireland with nothing, he will console with me with abundance of secret pleasure. I believe I told you what he wrote to me, 'That I have saved England, and he Ireland;' but I can bear that. 81

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77 Poems, II, 455.
78 Corres., IV, 304-6.
79 T.S., II, 248.
80 Ibid., 359.
81 Ibid., 437. Of the passage for March 29, 1713, which is unintelligible as it stands.
In 1722 Swift wrote to Ford:

What is more, Tisdal lives but 7 miles off, we meet him once a week at a Club. He is fifty times less agreeable than ever, but a great Poet, Writer and Divine, and we fall out every time we meet.82

Swift's opinion of Tisdall failed to soften with the years. His affectation of inability to spell Tisdall's name correctly, although he varied also his spelling of Arbuthnot and Bolingbroke, is likely an added indication of contempt. In 1733 he mentioned Tisdall again in a letter to Ford: "Dr. Tisdel writes a weekly Paper called the Correspondent, generally very poor and Spiritless. But we all conclude the Affair desperate."83

In the verses for Stella's birthday in 1723 Swift named Richard Daniel, Dean of Armagh, as a fit companion for Dean Smedley: a second dull Irish dean.84 In the autumn of 1728 Swift tried to get Nathaniel Whaley appointed to the Rectory of Armagh, partly because "his adversary, one Dean Daniel, is the greatest puppy and vilest poet alive, with a very bad cause to be supported by a party."85 The following March, shortly after Daniel was appointed to the Rectory, Swift wrote to Pope: "You were kind in your care for Mr. Whaley, but I hope you remembered, that Daniel is a damnable poet, and consequently a public enemy to mankind."86

Despite his engrossment in triumphing over a situation which had been in 1714 humiliating, hopeless, and nearly unbearable, Swift was never able to forget that he had once had the power to choose his company in London coffeehouses from among virtually all the greatest living wits in England. He received pleasure from realizing that to many in England what he himself wrote was more important than anything else produced in Ireland, but he was not, for all the "sourness of temper"

82Letters to Ford, 96.
83Ibid., 161.
84Poems, II, 742.
86Ibid., 60.
which he displayed, a man who enjoyed living alone on a pinnacle—or, as he would have it, in a ditch. On the last day in 1724 he wrote to Charles Ford, "I suppose 1d Suffolks Works sell very well, and I should be as glad to see them as you would be to see those of the Draper." Thirteen years later he wrote to Pope:

Pray who is that Mr. Glover, who writ the epic poem called Leonidas, which is reprinting here, and has great vogue? We have just read one upon Conversation, and two or three others. But the crowds do not encumber you, who, like the orator or preacher, stand aloft, and are seen above the rest, more than the whole assembly below.

A convenient way to express contempt for bad poets and hostility toward the Whig government was to lampoon the Poets Laureate. In the good old times before Laurence Eusden, riding his "damned jade of a Pegasus," had become Laureate, wrote Swift, he himself had been able to convince people that he received help from Apollo.

But finding me so dull and dry since,
They'll call it all poetick Licence:  
And when I brag of Aid divine,
Think Eusden's Right as good as mine.

Less than a year before Eusden died in September, 1730, Swift wrote, for the instruction of Matthew Pilkington, "Directions for a Birth-day Song," in which he satirized the sycophancy of Eusden's official poems, yet granted maliciously that being Laureate was not easy at such a time.

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.

In hailing the Queen, Swift prayed that she might continue long, for ever fair and

87 Letters to Ford, I16-17.
88 Corres., VI, 17. The poem on Conversation was written by Benjamin Stillingfleet, a grandson of the Bishop.
89 Arbuthnot to Swift, Corres., III, 22.
90 Poems, II, 741.
91 Ibid., 467.
young—in song. In lines purportedly written to Swift by Sir Arthur Acheson, Swift attacked the "Brazen Knight," Sir Robert Walpole:

He dares defy both sense and wit,
What dares he not? He can, we know it,
A laureat make that is no poet.92

In attacking English wits Swift frequently, though not always, took his cue from Scriblerus fellows. In 1730 he wrote to Gay, "The vogue of our few honest folks here is, that Duck is absolutely to succeed Fusden in the laurel, the contention being between Concann or Theobald, or some other hero of the Dunsiad."93 For Poems on Several Subjects, dedicated to the Queen by Stephen Duck, the author, and printed finely in 1730, Swift had been one of the several hundred eminent subscribers. Although Duck, previously a thresher in Wiltshire, was accepted into society as a wondrous self-made man, and a second volume of his poems in 1736 was "dignified with an account of the poet's career by Joseph Spence," most of the wits met Duck's success with scorn. Soon after receiving his copy of the poems Swift prepared an epigram which closed with the following lines:

Though 'tis confess't that those who ever saw
His Poems, think them all not worth a Straw.
Thrice happy Duck, employ'd in threshing Stubble!
Thy Toil is lessen'd, and thy Profits double.94

Thereafter, Swift regularly named Duck and Cibber as rivals for the acme of dullness. In the verses on his own death, Swift wrote that Curll would be unable more to profane his memory than by publishing his works revised by Lewis Theobald, James Moore Smythe ("phantom More"), and Colley Cibber. In Faulkner's edition of 1739, a note almost certainly written by Swift explains:

Three stupid Verse Writers in London, the last to the Shame of the Court, and the highest Disgrace to Wit and Learning, was made

93 Corres., IV, 180.
94 Poems, II, 521.
Laurent....See the Character of John Moore, and Tibbalds, Theobald in the Dunciad.95

Swift's derision of Theobald was usually perfunctory, and although his opinion of an actor could never be high, he seems to have particularly disliked Cibber for no reason except Cibber's obvious lack of qualifications as Laureate. In April, 1731, Swift wrote Pope:

As to Cibber, if I had any inclination to excuse the Court, I would allege that the Laureate's place is entirely in the Lord Chamberlain's gift; but who makes Lord Chamberlains is another question. I believe, if the Court had interceded with the Duke of Grafton for a fitter man, it might have prevailed.96

Swift is supposed to have called Cibber's poetry "prose on stilts."97 Temple Scott, in a note to the introduction of "Polite Conversation," said of Cibber that "Swift often praises him," without locating Swift's praise.98 In the passage which Mr. Scott was explaining, and in the succeeding passages where "Simon Wagstaff" praises Cibber, lie Swift's most insidious attacks on Cibber, "that great master of our whole poetic choir, our most illustrious laureat." According to a legend first recorded by Thomas Davies, Swift was entranced by Cibber's clever Apology for his Life.

As soon as Cibber's Apology reached Dublin, Falkener [sic], the printer, sent it to the Dean of St. Patrick's, who told him next day, that Cibber's book had captivated him, he sat up all night to read it through. When Falkener gave information of this to Cibber, he shed tears for joy.99

It needs to be noted that Cibber's Apology was not published until 1740, when Swift's intercourse with Faulkner, "the Prince of Dublin publishers," could hardly have been daily; nor is there any likelihood that Swift could have read very steadily at that
Only once was Swift able to make the acquaintance of a respected English poet whom he had not already known, or had known only slightly; Swift showed more interest in the man, as might be expected, than in his works. In 1724 Thomas Tickell, the friend and biographer of Addison, was appointed Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at that time Lord Carteret. Although Tickell's translation of the first book of the Iliad had been supported by the Whig wits at Button's much the same way Ambrose Philips' pastorals had been, thus establishing a permanent enmity between Pope and Tickell, Swift, no doubt because of Tickell's relations with Addison, failed to share Pope's hostility. Announcing in octosyllabics that an edict of Apollo had banished from poetry all trite machinery and phrases, in 1721, Swift wrote for the benefit of those who could no longer say that "Damon's Soul shall take its Flight":

Yet if his Name you'd eternize
And must exalt him to the Skies;
Without a Star this may be done,
So TICKELL mourn'd his ADDISON.100

Immediately after arriving in Dublin, Tickell got in touch with Swift; the first of Swift's many invitations for Tickell to dine at the Deanery is dated July 11, 1724.101 A month earlier, however, Swift had written Ford:

We have got here a Poet for a Secretary, one Mr Tickell, born and famous since I left the World. We have mutually visited, but neither of us at home; however I have dined with him at a third Place, and he is a Wit of as odd a Countenance as I have seen.102

Swift's letters to Tickell have a light, personal tone, but their purpose usually is to solicit aid from Lord Carteret for Sheridan, George Berkeley, and lesser friends. Tickell seems to have tried hard not to disappoint Swift any more than the limitations of his power made necessary. Swift made further requests while he was visiting in London, but refused to divulge to Tickell any information concerning

100 Poems, I, 271.
101 R. E. Tickell, Thomas Tickell, 99.
102 Letters to Ford, 109-10.
Gulliver's Travels. So determined was Swift not to discuss Gulliver with Tickell, whose "Notions of Persons & Things" he felt to differ wholly from his, that after informing Tickell how impossible it would be for Tickell to "find out my Treasures of waste Papers, without searching nine Houses & then sending to me for the Key," Swift wrote to Sheridan to be careful, when talking to Tickell, to affirm that papers at the Deanery were in inveterate disorder. Shortly before 1730, when the Duke of Dorset replaced Carteret as Lord Lieutenant, Tickell settled at Glasnevin, near the villa Delville where Swift often visited Delany. Few details of Swift and Tickell's intimacy are known, however, even for his period, partly because Swift could not write congenially of Tickell to Pope. Tickell's transcript of minor corrections made by Swift in 1731 upon an unfinished poem in heroic couplets printed for the first time by Richard Tickell, in 1931, remains as an indication of Swift's interest in other productions from Tickell than the encomiums on Addison. "I desire you will please to finish it," wrote Swift. As a postscript to the last letter to Tickell which has survived, written in August, 1731 to explain Pilkington's innocence in regard to the current charge against him, Swift announces:

I am just going out of Town for a few Weeks, but I have ordered that Mrs. Tickell shall have her annual Tribute of Peaches and Nectarines, which will be ripe in a few Days, if the Sun is favourable, and Thieves will spare them.

Little is known about Swift's relations to other authors after 1727. In 1733 he enjoyed for a short time the company of Thomas Southern, who with great success had dramatized novels by Mrs. Aphra Behn. Although Southern apparently had come to Ireland principally to visit the Earl of Orrery, he had many friends in and around Dublin. In July, Swift wrote Pope:

Our old friend Southern, who has just left us, was invited to dinner once or twice by a judge, a bishop, or a commissioner of the revenue, but most frequented a few particular friends, and chiefly [Delany].

103 R. E. Tickell, op. cit., 123f. (Cf. S.W.S., I, 315.)
104 Ibid., 157, 236ff.
105 Ibid., 160.
who is so easy in his fortune, and very hospitable. 106

Swift and Pope may or may not have known Southerne together in London. Southerne had matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1676, and had taken a master's degree there in 1796, while his plays were in vogue.107

Surveying the state of English literature in 1732 for Charles Wogan, Swift remarked that the taste of England was being "infamously corrupted by shoals of wretches who write for their bread." This corruption was present, for the most part, in blank verse.

One Thomson, a Scotchman, has succeeded the best in that way, in four poems he has writ on the four seasons, yet I am not over fond of them, because they are all description, and nothing is doing, whereas Milton engages me in actions of the highest importance, modo me Romae, modo ponit Athenis, and yours on the seven Psalms, etc. have some advantages that way.108

There is an interesting implication in a letter of March 13, 1737, from Orrery to Baron Weynright, that Matthew Green's Spleen, published posthumously in February, was being read with pleasure at the Deanery.109 Spleen, written in octosyllabic couplets, was edited by Richard Glover, about whom Swift queried Pope near the end of May, when he wrote that he had just been reading Glover's Leonidas and two or three other poems.110

The poems of John Hughes, published posthumously in 1736 by his brother-in-law, William Duncombe, a sort of poet in his own right, almost made Swift ill. On July 17th he wrote to Orrery that the previous evening Marmaduke Philips

hath sent me two volumes of poetry just reeking, by one John Hughes, Esq. . . . I have been turning over Squire Hughes's poems and his puppy publisher, one Duncombe's preface and life of the author. This is all your fault. I am put out of all patience to the present set of whifflores, and their new-fangled politeness. Duncombe's preface is fifty pages upon celebrating a fellow I never once heard

106 Corres., V, 2-5.
107 D. N. E., XVIII, 688.
108 Corres., IV, 330.
109 Orrery Papers, I, 203. See the Gentleman's Magazine, VII (February, 1737), 128.
110 Supra, p. 122; see D. N. E., VIII, 494.
of in my life, though I lived in London most of the time that Duncombe makes him flourish. Duncombe put a short note in loose paper to make me a present of the two volumes, and desired my pardon for putting my name among the subscribers. I was in a rage when I looked and found my name, but was a little in countenance when I saw your Lordship's there too. The verses and prose are such as our Dublin third-rate rhymers might write just the same for nine hours a day till the coming of Antichrist. I wish I could send them to you by post for your punishment.  

Hughes had not, so far as Swift knew, belonged to the intramural body of esteemed poets. Although Swift himself was promoting inferior poets, he was excessively irritated at having to pay postage on two volumes, and at being listed as a patron, of poems (by his own admission mediocre) which were written and promoted by men he had never known. September 3rd Swift repeated his strictures, more calmly, for Pope:  

A month ago were sent me over by a friend of mine, the Works of John Hughes, Esq.; they are in verse and prose. I never heard of the man in my life, yet I find your name as a subscriber too. He is too grave a poet for me, and I think among the mediocribus in prose as well as verse.

Conceivably, Swift's reiterated disavowal of acquaintance with Hughes is to be taken not at face value but as an indication of contempt. From November, 1713 to February, 1714 Hughes had edited, with Sir Richard Blackmore, the Lay Monk, in the tradition of the Tatler; he had been a friend of Addison, and some of his poems had appeared, above the signature "J.H.," in the 1721 edition of Addison's works. Pope answered Swift that he had known Hughes, and that what Hughes "wanted as a genius he made up as an honest man." Yet it would seem that Swift meant what he said; either he had forgotten Hughes, or had never known him. In consequence of Pope's letter, Swift inscribed on the fly-leaf of the first volume of Hughes's poems: "The Author is a Mediocribus Poeta. But seems to have been an honest man." In 1738, having decided that honesty was not sufficient excuse, he wrote beneath his original

111 Corres., V, 212.
Leonard Welsted, who had injudiciously attempted to satirize Pope, Swift attacked mildly several times. In "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," he charged Pope with rashness in pronouncing Welsted the master of sinking in poetry, reminding him that Matthew Concanen and "Feilding" and "Jemmy Moore" had descended further.

Faulkner's 1735 and 1737 editions of Swift's works, giving "The Laureat" instead of "Feilding," have a note: "In the London Edition, instead of Laureat, was maliciously inserted Mr. Fielding, for whose ingenious Writings the supposed Author hath manifested a great esteem." Fielding's novels, of course, like Richardson's, appeared too late for Swift to give an opinion of them. His failure to leave on record any statement about Defoe's books, however, is surprising. His opinion of the romances which were in vogue during his day was quite low. In the ironical Directions to Servants his advice for the governess is brief:

Make the misses read French and English novels, and French romances, and all the comedies writ in King Charles II. and King William's reigns, to soften their nature, and make them tender-hearted, &c.

Even the general reader of Gulliver's Travels is likely to remember that the fire in the apartment of her Imperial Majesty of Lilliput was caused "by the Carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance." Gulliver's comment on an allied form of fiction, the tales of travel, is equally conspicuous: He could not record his travels, because his story "could contain little besides common Events, without those ornamental Descriptions of strange Plants, Trees, Birds, and other Animals; or the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with

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114 Notes and Queries, Series 3, III, 260.
115 Poems, II, 654 and note.
which most writers abound.\textsuperscript{118} Aside from the kindness he is supposed to have shown Henry Brooke, the future author of \textit{The Fool of Quality},\textsuperscript{119} Swift's relations with writers of fiction were disappointingly, if naturally, few. In 1738 or 1739, while Swift was exceedingly giddy and deaf, a letter from the second Lord Gower was directed to Swift through a friend—and according to legend instigated by Pope—with the request that Swift use his influence with Trinity College to procure a degree of master of arts for Samuel Johnson, then known as the author of \textit{London}, so that Johnson might qualify for the mastership of a school at Appleby; but the letter left Lord Gower, in Staffordshire, less than six weeks before the school session was to begin, terminating Johnson's hopes for the position.\textsuperscript{120} Swift had not been destined to aid many men of potential greatness.

\textsuperscript{118}H.D., XI, 131.

\textsuperscript{119}Corres., III, 147 note.

\textsuperscript{120}The date given in Boswell's \textit{Life of Johnson}, (1934), I, 133-34, is 1739; Ball (Corres., VI, 210), after Walter Scott (\textit{S.W.S.}, XIX, 238), reads "1738."
CONCLUSION

There is indeed in Swift's works "more of men than of books." But the men in whom Swift was interested, almost to the exclusion of all others, were men who wrote books. As a young man, when he alone knew what power lay half-bound within him, Swift thought little of love between individuals and of a need for affection between himself and others of his profession, and concerned himself, both for and against, only authors held most in esteem generally; in his middle years he was a learned warrior among warriors, who briskly created friendships and enmities among those he was willing to think of as equals; as an old man, when his power was unquestioned, he was attentive to moderate talents, especially when those talents were directed frequently toward his gratification. John Barber, the printer, is the only man admitted to Swift's friendship who did not have some claims to learning. Beyond this simple rule, that his friends must not be entirely without education—and it was inevitable that a man who had achieved a doctorate should lean toward such a restriction—the controlling factors behind Swift's opinions of literary figures varied slightly as he grew older.

Swift's position among the greatest writers of the modern era has not resulted solely from the transcendent nervousness of his prose style, but largely, as Swift would prefer, from the eminent saneness of his ideas. Only the bonds of dearest friendship took precedence with Swift over ideas. Although partly, perhaps, because Addison had been a Whig when Swift met him, Swift lamented that Addison's ideas of party should come between them. Pope's dogged determination to remain outside the Established Church soon went unchallenged by his loyal friend. On the other hand, Parnell was pronounced ungrateful for returning to the Whigs when the Whigs returned to power, and Sheridan's violation of integrity by writing an "ode" to a Hanoverian
was enough to alienate considerably his great patron. In the years from the writing of *A Tale of a Tub* to his entrance into political warfare in London, in 1713, Swift was concerned more with art than with all but the most basic ideas; but from 1713 forward, even after his outlook had mellowed, religious and political ideas held by a writer largely determined Swift's published opinions of the writer's works.

A cumbersome mass of Swift's opinions, especially those of his later life when he endeavored incontinently to further the popularity and the fortunes of his protégés, is without critical value. Although to praise or to condemn was easy, Swift believed himself qualified to give specific criticisms only for minor details: to help put proper words in proper places. If a man's method was weak, his genius was weak, and criticism could not aid him. That Swift's critical apparatus was not insignificant is shown not only by his "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," *A Letter to a Young Clergyman*, *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet*, and other pieces, but also by the soundness of the few specific criticisms which he gave. He was an omnivorous reader. He read with delight and with critical alertness. Not altogether accidentally he adopted Prior and Rowe as friends, and chose Addison, Congreve, Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Young as men of genius with whom he would like posterity to associate him.


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