The Controlling Ideas Of Jonathan Swift

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THE CONTROLLING IDEAS
OF JONATHAN SWIFT

A thesis presented to Carroll College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

by
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Helena, Montana
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to show in a general way the rationalistic forces acting upon him through the social and intellectual order of the time, and to show by reference and example the effects of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century atmosphere upon his attitudes toward Science, Religion, Politics, Ethics, and Literature and Learning. Such a project is rather large for a thesis. The method here will be to outline incompletely. It is obvious that the details and connotations of any of his major works or ideas would be sufficient material. What we are after here is a general picture, an outline, as it were, of his particular mental cast.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to reduce a man's thinking to separate headings. Swift was, as we shall see, a moralist above all. Consequently, the section on Ethics is very difficult to limit to the realm of pure ethical thought. Likewise, Politics and Religion are intermingled to such a degree as to be almost inseparable. The biographical sketch at the beginning may perhaps seem out of place. It is intended in part to show the diversity of his experiences and through the diversities give a clue to his background. It is perhaps unnecessary. But, like the Capitoline geese, we would rather err on the side which is safer.
I.

LIFE

That Jonathan Swift was born, and in 1667, is certain. That his mother was Abagail Erick is certain. But a mist, if not a cloud, of speculation shrouds his paternity. It is most generally believed that his father was a Jonathan Swift who died in 1667 some months before the younger Jonathan's birth. Some maintain that he was Sir William Temple's illegitimate son; others would honor another Temple living in Dublin at the time of Jonathan's birth. These arguments are, at least, specious, but a lack of documentary evidence keeps both strictly in the realm of theory. However, the point is not material to the purposes of this paper.

During the years 1673 to 1682 he was at Killkenny school, Dublin, said to be one of the best of its kind in Ireland. In April, 1682, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner. Godwin Swift, his uncle, had charged himself with Jonathan's education. Unfortunately, he died in 1688, leaving no provision for Jonathan's further education, since unwise speculation had reduced him from affluence to near-insolvency. But by this time Jonathan had received his B.A., although with what he considered the disgraceful appendix of speciali gratia, 'by special grace'.

In 1689 he went to Leicester, England, to visit his
mother. Ireland was an uncomfortable place at the time, anyway, since he was English (his parents had migrated to Ireland from England before his birth), and a person named Tyrconnel was leading a rebellion against the English.

While in England, he gained an introduction to Sir William Temple, who was some distant relation to Swift's mother. Temple was retired and was living the life of a country gentleman. Jonathan secured a position as companion and secretary to Temple. By autumn they were established at Moor Park, Surrey, England, where Jonathan remained until the summer of 1690, when he returned to Ireland for reasons of health. It is thus early in his life that we see the first symptoms of his disease, a pressure upon the semi-circular canals of the ear, causing giddiness and deafness. This disease has been put forth as one cause of his great activity and productiveness; it is said that he sought relief from its effects in violent activity.

He returned to Moor Park in 1691. He was coming to his maturity during these years; growing from a 'raw, inexperienced youth' to something of a gentleman, at ease among the great men of his time. Even King William spoke to the young secretary.
In July, 1692, through Temple's kindness, he took his A. M. degree at Hart Hall, Oxford.

During his second stay at Moor Park, he composed five odes which are almost invariably described by critics as 'abominable.' Quintana sounds a variation on the theme, calling them verses, since 'they can be called poetry only by courtesy.' These odes are said to have evoked Dryden's classical comment, 'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet.' And he never became a poet. He wrote enough 'verse' to fill two volumes, but none of it is really poetry, although he developed a certain smoothness. His peculiar genius was as unfitted for poetry as it was for serving. He had his revenge on Dryden in the Battle of the Books, painting a ridiculous picture of him wearing armor too large for him, riding a broken-down nag whose best speed was a slow trot, and making a terrifying clamor.

In May, 1694, having quarreled with Temple, he left his service and returned once more to Ireland. There, in October, 1694, he was ordained a deacon in the established church, and in January of the following year, priest, and obtained the living of Kilroot, Ireland, near Belfast, worth about £100 per year. He had been debating the step for at least two years. It would give him independence of patrons and employers at least.
Kilroot he met Jane Waring, or 'Varina,' as his correspondence names her, the least important of the trio of women associated with him during his life. His proposal to her in 1697, her refusal, her proposal to him after he became more financially competent, and his final insulting letter of reply in May, 1700, have caused much unfavorable criticism and speculation about his character.

In 1698, apparently tiring of the life of a country parson, he resigned his position and returned to England to Sir William Temple. Temple was glad to have him back, in spite of any difficulties there may have been between them previously. Temple died in 1699, leaving Swift, as his sister describes it, 'unprovided both of friend and living.'

During these years at Moor Park, Swift was constantly engaged in acquiring a profound knowledge of books and men. Perhaps, too, here he saw the other side of the great men. Living in intimate contact with Temple, seeing and hearing his visitors, as Thackeray says:

Ah! What platitudes he must have heard! what feeble jokes! what pompous common-places! what small men they must have seemed under those enormous periwigs to the swarthy, uncouth, silent Irish secretary....
So ends the first period in his life. He was poor and still dependent. But he had learned much, had matured, and had sprung, as it were, full-blown into the full possession of his literary capacities. For he had already written *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of A Tub*, in 1697, although they were not published until much later. These, and especially *A Tale of A Tub*, are among the most brilliant satires in the English language. He had built up a background for what was to come.

Within six months after Temple's death, he was appointed chaplain to Lord Berkely, himself newly appointed Lord Justice of Ireland. He went there with him. His income was shortly increased to about 260 per annum by the addition of the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan and the rectory of Agher; and later in the same year the prebend of Dunlavin in the chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In the years from 1699 to 1714 he grew in the public eye from an Irish parson to one of the most powerful men in England. Lord Berkely was recalled to England in 1701 and Swift returned to London with him. There he published *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions in Athens and Rome*, provoked by the im-
peachment of Whig lords in 1701. Naturally this grati-

fied the Whigs. But the Whigs subsequently failed to

gratify him. Two or three better posts opened at vari-

ous times, and each time he was passed over. Nothing

was done for him when he was soliciting for the re-

mission of certain taxes upon the Irish clergy. We

must remember that he was never a Whig at heart, they

merely adopted him. When he saw that the adopted son

was getting nowhere, he declared for the Tories. The

Battle of the Books and A Tale of A Tub were pub-

lished in 1704. By their publication he was admitted
to the literary circles of the day - he became friend
to such men as Pope, Gay, Aburthnot and others. His

political connections were disappointing but his literary

friendships lasted throughout his life.

His first work for Harley and the Tory ministry

after A Short Character of Thomas Earl of Wharton was to

assume the editorship of the Tory Examiner. He wrote all

the articles during the period from November 2, 1710 to

June 14, 1711. In June, 1711, he laid it aside to work

on The Conduct of the Allies. This pamphlet did more, it

is said, than anything else to make the Peace of Utrecht

acceptable to the English nation. He had learned

politics from the inside at Temple's. He wrote, not as

a doctrinaire, but as a man of affairs.
The Conduct of The Allies was published November 17, 1711, a few days before the meeting of parliament and the beginning of the debates on the Peace of Utrecht. Finally, on December 29th Swift received word that twelve new peers had been created, that the "Duchess of Somerset is to be turned out." This was the high point in Tory politics; after that, the Whigs were again the rising party.

During the summer following he was at work on The History of The Four Last Years of The Queen, an account of the events leading to the Peace of Utrecht. He worked hard on it, but his superiors saw the danger in circulating the inflammatory material and consequently suppressed it. We may presume that this might be somewhat baffling to a man who "flattered himself that he alone combined a full knowledge of the facts and the historians qualifications."12

He began to suspect that all was not well. His promises of performance had produced nothing more substantial than rumors. He demanded 'something honorable' point-blank from Oxford. After much maneuvering it was finally decided that John Sterne, then Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin, would be promoted to the see of Dromore and that Swift should have the vacant Deanery. This arrangement was not particularly pleasing to Swift,
but, since the Tory party was on the decline, and since he knew the strength of his enemies he could do little else than accept, however much more he may have wished. He left for Ireland June 1, 1713 and was installed on the thirteenth of the same month.

He had not been in Ireland three months before he was recalled to try to reconcile Oxford and Bolingbuke. He reentered the pamphlet war. The most notable document he issued during this time was *The Public Spirit of The Whigs*. In June he left London and took refuge in Berkshire Rectory. The news of the Queen's death on October 1st reached him there and he went back to Ireland.

So ends the second period of his life, that of his political activity.

He did little of anything notable until 1720, when he wrote *The Progress of Poetry, The Progress of Beauty, A Proposal of The Universal Use of Irish Manufacturers*, and others, and probably began *Gulliver's Travels*.

In 1723 Vanessa (Esther Vanhomrigh) died. She had come to Ireland in 1714 and had taken up residence at Celbridge. Swift did his best to hold her off. Such a situation could only end in quarrels, as it did, although no one is sure precisely what the nature of these
quarrels was. At any rate she died, thus offering a rather neat solution to their mutual problems. His major Irish project, The Drapier's Letters, was begun in 1721. William Woods of England, a hardware man, had been granted by the King a patent to coin £108,000 in small copper coins. The current rumor that the patent had been obtained by bribing the King's mistress, the patent was considered arbitrary and burdensome to the Irish; Swift thought so, and he moved into action immediately by issuing what purported to be a series of letters by M. D. Drapier, an Irish linen-draper. The first three attacked Wood's coinage directly. The remaining four attacked the English oppression of Ireland. The controversy about the coinage itself was not the major item for dispute, rather, it was exemplary of the high-handed manner in which the Irish rights and privileges and traditions had been usurped and abused by the English. Swift did not love the Irish. He loved justice.

This was clearly a case of injustice, and he entered it with a club in each hand. The effectiveness of his attack is borne out by the fact that on August 26, 1725 Wood's coinage was withdrawn from Ireland.

Late in the same year he finished Gulliver's Travels, his last major work. It is by this book that he has gained his general reputation. It is a masterpiece, a thing extremely good in its kind. It is universal
enough to be read on the level of the grade school and to be studied by scholars. It was published October 28, 1726. This is the end of the third major period of his life.

Swift only left Ireland twice after 1714, once in 1726 to visit old friends, and again the following year to see if the King would aid his work for Ireland. His health had been deteriorating over the years. It began to fail seriously in 1738 and 1739, and by 1742 he was declared of unsound mind and memory and incapable of taking care of his person or fortune. From then until the end of his life in 1745 he was an imbecile and in constant pain. He is buried in St. Patrick's, Dublin, Ireland. The inscription on his tomb reads:

"HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
HUIUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS
DECANI:
UBI SAEVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LAGERARE NEQUIT.
ABI, VIATOR,
ET Imitare, si poteris,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIT ANNO (1745);
MENSIS (OCTOBRES) DIE (19);
AETATIS ANNO (78)."

This epitaph was written by Swift in his will. In the same will he left a fortune of about £11,000 to build a hospital for the insane in Dublin.
The Enlightenment was characterized in part by the beginnings of a strong general interest in science, or 'natural philosophy.' This was not something new, that there should be science and interest in physical beings from a scientific point of view; rather the revolutionary aspect was derived from its extension and popularization. The various departments of science had existed since time immemorial. The Egyptians and Babylonians, we are told, were well versed in astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. Aristotle was something of a naturalist. Galen and Hippocrates are still considered as the fathers of medicine. Alchemy was a notable field, especially during the Middle Ages.

But over the years, these sciences became allied in the popular mind with witchcraft, sorcery, and magic. During The Enlightenment, these prejudices disappeared and science became what we might call a popular institution.

Another aspect of the rise of science is seen in the development of science as a social activity. Earlier, each department of science had been more or less independent.

In England, as an effect of the popularization,
we find Charles II puttering in his "chymical laboratory."
The museum of natural science was established in Oxford University in 1683. Earlier, in 1675, the notable Greenwich Observatory was established.

The socialization was expressed in England and other European countries by the establishment of Academies, devoted to scientific research of all kinds. In 1660 (the date is sometimes given as 1662) the famous Royal Society was chartered by Charles II to:

"examine all systems, theories, principles, hypotheses, elements, histories, and experiments of things natural, mathematical, and mechanical, invented, recorded, or practiced by any considerable author, ancient or modern."

An Academy had been established in Dublin in 1664. The Dublin Philosophical Society was founded in 1683, and among its members was George Ashe, Swift's college tutor. This society must have been known to Swift, and he was writing Gulliver's Travels in Dublin around 1725.

Swift did not share the enthusiasm for science. He and people like him, products of the liberal education of the times, thought it unworthy of a man of sense to dabble in science. The scientific research especially was regarded as a childish monomania. These "virtuosi" symbolized madness for Swift.
During the 18th century most of our eccentrics seem to have concentrated on being inventors. In those days Dublin was certainly the home of surprisingly many crack-brained projectors, as they were called.  

Swift satirized science, scientists, and the Royal Society in the third voyage of *Gulliver's Travels* in the Floating Island and in the Grand Academy of Lagado. The Lagado Academy clearly represents the Royal Society. Swift, or rather Gulliver, is represented to the projectors as a "great admirer of projects, and a person of much curiosity and easy belief." He is then conducted through the huge establishment, over five hundred rooms, and each of these rooms filled with one or more projectors. The savageness of the attack upon science in this section of the book reaches such proportions as to somewhat dissipate the force of the satire, especially in the passage relating to human excreta and a cure for colic. The other projects, such as extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, are merely ridiculous. But these are too strong, at least for the modern taste. The various crackpot inventors are depicted as constantly doing things in the most inefficient, costly, and ridiculous manner. Blind men in one room are mixing colors for artists by the sense of touch and smell. In another room another man is working on a scheme to build houses..."
from the roof down, drawing upon his observation of nature for proof that houses should be built this way, since it is so with the bee and the spider. This bee and spider image had been used before, in the Battle of The Books. The spider is again called up in a further room. The inventor here is trying to develop a spider web to replace silk.

So far in the Academy Swift had only satirized the virtuosi. Then he turned upon speculative learning. The machine used to write books discussed in this part is merely one attack of many he made, both upon what he considered subtle reasonings and upon shallow learning. It is interesting to note at this point that in George Orwell's novel, 1984, a device strikingly similar was used by the propaganda masters of the communistic society to produce reading material for the intellectually enslaved and dead masses. Swift calls it "a project for improving speculative knowledge by practical and mechanical operations." 8

The next project is an excuse for a double-barreled attack upon the talkativeness of women, one of his favorite subjects, and upon the Royal Society. The proposal is this: Since all things imaginable are in reality nouns, verbs and participles should be omitted from the language. But "since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them
such things as were necessary to express the particular business they are to discourse upon.\textsuperscript{9} In the \textit{History of the Royal Society} (1667) Sprat gave as the ideal of style the expression of 'so many things almost in an equal number of words.' This may be only accidental; however, to Swift, it would probably be the logical conclusion to the statement. It was not that he despised a spare style, but he disliked the virtuosi intensely and hence they, being persons of little sense and no learning, could not seem to him to pronounce correctly upon anything. His opposition "was the considered judgment of one for whom natural philosophy was altogether overshadowed by the philosophy of human conduct."\textsuperscript{10}

The Academy of political projectors is exposed under the light of irony rather than satire, which was the form in the preceding parts. Here he proposes that governments shall be run by men of good character and of sound reason. This manner of government, he seems to say, is as farfetched and impossible as extracting sunbeams from cucumbers, especially when there is a shortage of cucumbers.

The attack upon pride is carried out here as it is almost uniformly carried out in his other works. Even in this section of the book, where the satire is aimed in
general at science, the moralist appears. The method is clever, but it is doubtful if it is original. The projectors propose to tax men upon their own estimation of their "qualities of body and mind for which men chiefly value themselves;"¹¹ the women would be taxed, according in proportion to their beauty and skill in dressing, the proportion they have to be judged by themselves. The men, of course, would not be taxed upon their honor, justice, wisdom, and learning, because "they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them to his neighbor, or value them in himself."¹² Women, by the same token, would not be rated for constancy, chastity, good sense, and good nature, because a tax collected upon these items would hardly repay the cost of collecting them. This is a profound observation upon the general attitudes of society toward the substantial virtues. Men are more proud of their charm and their conquests as a rule, than they are of being learned or just. And in modern society, chastity is considered to be Victorian prudery. Not that people in general are not chaste or just; but they rarely regard these virtues as anything that can be noted publicly without embarrassment. This refers of course to the superficial people, to the masses as they appear, not as they necessarily are.

The remainder of the chapter is taken up with
Swift's deprecation of informers, profound politicians, and the like.

Bacon wrote *The New Atlantis*, which was published in 1627, the year after his death. It stands in striking opposition to Swift's third voyage. This Utopia is governed by science. But Bacon sees science as a benign force for the practical good of humanity. We note from other references that Swift was acquainted with Bacon's works. (For example, in the Drapier's Letters he quotes Bacon no less than six times.) Although we will not enter into a discourse here, the relationship of the two seems to present interesting material for research.

In the Academy Swift completed the attack upon science which had been begun in the chapter on the Floating Island of Laputa. In this part of the book we have science represented at its speculative worst. The Laputian men are so intently absorbed in the contemplation of mathematics and music that they require an attendant with a flapper to interrupt their ecstasy even for purposes of conversation. Sir Isaac Newton was the inventor of infinitesimal calculus, a most abstract branch of mathematics. Newton had also assayed Wood's copper coin for the king and had found them to be good. The attack upon mathematics is, in part, an attack upon Sir Isaac Newton.
The love of music shown by the Laputians is a hit at Italian opera, then the craze in London. The projects of Glubbdubrib suggest the South Sea Company, upon which he had also written a poem in 1721. He had criticized Italian opera in A Vindication of Mr. Gay, and The Beggar's Opera (1728).

This Comedy likewise exposeth with great Justice that unnatural Taste for Italian Musick among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our Northern Climate, and the Genius of the People, whereby we are overrun with Italian Effeminacy, and Italian Nonsense. An old Gentlemen said to me, that many years ago, when the Practice of an unnatural Vice grew so frequent in London that many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the Fore-runner of Italian Opera's and Singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing or poysong, to make us perfect Italians. But all music and all mathematics are not bad. For instance, the people of Brobdingnag excell in mathematics. But it is wholly applied to the improvement of agriculture and mechanical arts. The Horses have no concept of mathematics.

The sciences of optics and astronomy are satirized somewhat in Gulliver's Travels, but even the Horses have a crude kind of astronomy, which they use only to measure the months and the seasons. In Laputa the astronomers of the Floating Island have catalogued over ten thousand fixed stars and ninety-three comets.
Edmund Halley, (1656-1742) a close friend of Newton's, had charted a large number of fixed stars and had predicted the orbit of the comet that bears his name. It is not unlikely, then, that this notation in Gulliver's Travels is directed against Halley as another refined speculator. Also, we are told:

They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or satellites, which revolve about Mars, whereof the innermost is distant from the centre of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and an half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance from the centre of Mars, which evidently shows them to be governed by the same law of gravitation, that influences the other heavenly bodies.

This prediction is almost exact. Mars does have two satellites, the smallest of which has a period of seven hours and thirty-nine minutes and the second of which has a period of thirty hours and eighteen minutes. The proportional distance from the center of Mars of the first is about one and one-third diameters. The outer satellite is about three and a half diameters from the center of Mars.

Astrology, a corollary science, had been popular for centuries. In the early times, it was associated (as were most physical sciences) with magic and witchcraft. Pope Sixtus V had condemned it as early as 1586.
But it survived in England as a science popular even with Royalty until much later. Queen Elizabeth was fond of horoscopes. Even in our modern scientific world, horoscopes are sold on news stands, side by side with books on popular science, etc. Swift's most notable attack on astrology occurs in a series of papers written more for fun than amendment. John Partridge had come to London in 1678 as a cobbler and an astrologer. He became rich at his second profession and King William, who was grateful to him for his denunciations of Popery, made him court physician. In 1708 Swift decided to continue the satirical attacks that had been made upon him before by the London wits. He published a fictitious paper entitled Predictions for The Year 1708, by Isaac Bickerstaff. Here Swift predicts the death of Partridge upon the twenty-ninth of March. On March 30, 1708, Swift issued his Elegy on the death of Partridge, and a few days later An Account of The Death of Partridge. But Partridge made the mistake of insisting that he was alive, to which Swift replied in a later paper in which he pretended to prove that Partridge was really dead. Swift then wrote another squib which was given to Thomas Yalden who gave it to Partridge, who published it as a defense against his tormentors. This single incident is sufficient to prove that Swift was most heartily opposed to astrology.
It is fairly certain that Swift had seen, or at least knew about, microscopes. Some of the descriptions given in the second voyage support this idea. He describes the monstrosity of humanity as it appears through the microscope most effectively in a scene where one of the nurses places him on her naked breast.

He has little to say about geography, except to propose some imaginary corrections to take into account his imaginary lands. The period of exploration that had come before his time had stimulated an interest in far away places. As a result of this interest, a great number of travel books had been written, some of them containing ideas as false and ridiculous as Gulliver's Travels. At any rate, the interest which prevailed at that time prepared the way for a book of this sort. In fact, the book itself is intended in part as a satire on travel books. In the last chapter he says:

I am not a little pleased that this work of mine can possibly meet with no censurers; for what objections can be made against a writer who relates only plain facts that happened in such distant countries, where we have not the least interest with respect either to trade or negotiations: I have carefully avoided every fault with which common writers of travels are often too justly charged. 

Medicine is mentioned only in passing in the Academy. In the last voyage he presents the idea that
the Horses are never sick because they have no vices; intemperate humans are disease-ridden. Some of the more ghastly pictures of disease, a subject that fascinated him, can be found in his poetry - *On A Young Nymph Going to Bed*, for example. Another description, and a much more vivid one in its way, is found in the second voyage, where Gulliver, seeing things as if through a microscope, is presented with the spectacle of diseased beggars having opened sores on their bodies large enough for him to crawl into. The foregoing are probably more a comment upon the immorality of man than a jibe at medicine.

From the section above it is clear that Swift was anti-scientific. His opposition to science was based upon his view of the use of reason. Anti-intellectualism was a prevalent attitude existing side by side with the new science, and directly opposed to it. The general sense of mankind is a sufficient guide. Speculation which attempts to go beyond the general sense is presumptuous. Intellectual subtleties are foolish. This is not anti-rationalism, it is a divergent path taken from the idea that reason should be supreme in man, and that reason is sufficient.

Swift is therefore opposed to speculative science and approves only the very practical sciences, such as agriculture. These are the effects of his rationalism upon his attitude toward science. In the next section, we will discuss its consequences upon his attitude toward religion.
III.

RELIGION

The Anglican Church of England was born in 1533, when Henry VIII broke away from the Catholic Church. Whether or not this secession would have taken place without the marital troubles of Henry is open to question. However, it seems likely that the beginnings of the split, the sources that paved the way for a break with Rome without any religious wars or popular uprisings were present in the sixteenth century society. The prayer book under Edward VI in 1549 represented a very moderate Protestantism. It retained such elements of Catholicism as the word 'mass' and certain other features of baptism and ordination. It was succeeded in 1552 by the second prayer book, which was more completely Protestant than the edition of 1549. In it, the word 'mass' was omitted, vestments were forbidden and the doctrine of transubstantiation was condemned as idolatry. Edward died childless in 1553 and was succeeded by his elder sister, Mary, a Catholic. Mary did not have a bias toward moderation, and at her death the inevitable reaction took place. The majority of the people were moderate in their views, but the Marian exiles returned after her death with strong Calvinist convictions. The Protestant minority was very active, and hence possessed an influence greater than its numerical strength.
Queen Elizabeth decided that the future lay with Protestantism. The problem was either to use the first prayer book or the second as the basis for the national church. The result was a compromise, in which a Catholic Church order was combined with a reformed, but conservative liturgy and a confession (the XXXIX Articles) which was so worded as to be neither Lutheran nor Calvinist. The theology of the Church in regard to the Eucharist was vaguely defined at that time and continued to be so. The Act of Uniformity was passed under Elizabeth prescribing uniform worship throughout England. But the uniformity was not real. Further reform along Calvinist lines was desired increasingly during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, and this having failed, the Puritans broke away to found either Presbyterian or independent churches.

A struggle for a national church was continued by Charles I. One of the more startling consequences in this persistence after uniformity was the loss of the King's head. The Restoration was welcome to the people of England. However, at this time opportunity of bringing more English Protestants within a more comprehensive national church was lost. The Presbyterian element was not won into the Church. Charles II desired toleration but his first parliament rejected the Declaration of Indulgence since it would cover Catholics and Socinians. Charles' religious
policy was dictated not by his love of Anglicanism but rather by his sympathy for Catholicism. He joined the Catholic Church in 1685 on his deathbed. Under Charles an act of uniformity (1662) was passed, depriving some two thousand Puritan clergymen of their offices. The fear of Catholicism increased, culminating in the "popish plots," and the rabid persecution of Catholics. The governing aristocracy broke into factions over the Exclusion Bill of 1679 which would bar Charles' son, James, from the throne. These two factions became known as Whigs and Tories. The Tories defeated the bill and James II was seated in 1685. The high church, or Tory party, was dominant until 1689 and, having recovered somewhat under Queen Anne, fell away thereafter. The Whig influence upon the Church resulted in Latitudinarianism. The Church, after the death of Anne, became involved in the struggle with Deism and began to emphasize a practical morality.

So we see that the Church of England had changed during Swift's life from predominately Tory to predominately Whig. We shall see how Swift regarded the attitudes of these factions within the Church. Politically, he was a Tory; but first and always he was a moralist. We may not expect then to find much of theological controversy in his religious position, and we will see that he accepted parts of the position of both sides. Possibly, he would

26
be a High Church man, if it were necessary to classify him into one of the common divisions; and this would be a weak contention at best.

In his pamphlet *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man* Swift defined what he considered the relations between Church and state. His course lay between conservatism and Whig radicalism. The Whigs had defined an Erastian state-church deriving its authority from the general voice. The Tories, or the conservatives, united High Church and royalism.

"Politically, the state was supreme; but the church because its principles were of quite another order, was, in all that concerned religion proper, inaccessible to civil decrees. It was such a middle course, dictated by his entire system of controlling ideas, which *The Sentiments of A Church of England Man* was intended to define."

The question had revolved about two points. Does the state have the ultimate power or does the Church? Swift answered this problem neatly by giving it to neither; each in its own way would be supreme. Ultimately, it appears that he would defer to the state under the doctrine of passive obedience, should such a course be necessary.

"He would defend it by arms against all the powers on earth; except our own legislature; in which case he would submit as to a general calamity, a dearth, or a pestilence."

The doctrine of passive obedience had been amply stated in the homilies on *Willful Rebellion* and on
Obedience. These doctrines were laid down in the canons of convocation in 1606 and by the University of Oxford in 1662. The only divergence from this that he shows in his works occurs in the Drapier's Letters, where he says that he would transgress that statute to prevent the Pretender from being crowned.

Clearly, Swift tried to hold a reasonable view of the Church and state. He was, after all, a priest. Most of his writings on the Church do not deal with the Church as anything except a religious organization. His concern was always predominately concerned for the moral order. "Since religion is the best of things," he says, "its corruptions are therefore the worst." The Tale of A Tub, sections 2, 4, 6, 8, and 11 and the History of Martin are a view, in allegorical form of what he saw as abuses in religion. The other parts are satire on learning and will be discussed in another section. The form of the allegory is simple. He gives the story of three brothers; Peter, the Catholic Church; Martin, the Lutheran Church; and Jack, the Calvinist Church. A coat bequeathed to each of them in a will represents the doctrine and faith of Christianity. The method is clever, but the content is traditional. He accuses the Catholic Church of the same practices that were condemned by the Reformation. Martin, the Lutheran or perhaps the Anglican
Church, is treated very gently. He probably represents the original Lutheran Church, since in the sequel, the History of Martin, there are two, one in Germany and one in England.

Peter assumes titles and turns projector to support them. He invents the allegorical equivalent of purgatory, penance and absolution, the confession, holy water, bulls, and pardons. The satire on the pardon is very effective. It is presented in the form of a letter from Peter commending A. B. to be released from jail;

"and if you fail hereof, G—d—mn you and yours to eternity. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Your most humble

man's man,
Emporor PETER."

The last line in the letter takes the edge off the bitterness. It is probably more effective, since Peter seems more ridiculous that way.

Peter, to Swift, is in religion as the virtuosi are in science. He represents reason used where reason has no right - beyond the common sense of mankind.

"I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture and less from reason or good policy."
He was all out of patience with subtleties, niceties, and distinctions.

The Calvinist dissenters, in the person of Jack, represent almost the opposite in unreason, which was just as repugnant to him. His attitude toward these enthusiasts appears especially in sections 8 and 11.

In section 11 he mentions the "fruitfulness of imagination." Again, in the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, he comments upon the unreason of the enthusiastic congregation:

Meanwhile you may observe their eyes turned up in the posture of one who endeavours to keep himself awake; by which, and many other symptoms among them, it manifestly appears that the reasoning faculties are all suspended and superseded, that imagination hath usurped the seat, scattering a thousand deliriums over the brain.

The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit purports to show how this state is generated. It requires that the preacher hum, not speak, and by a kind of hypnosis put the whole congregation into the state described above. He regards it as a product of a mechanical induction of a state of senselessness, produced by the preacher's hum, by a straining of the eyeballs, and by a see-saw motion of the body.

This little paper continues in the second part to express Swift's violent dislike of the moving manner of preaching, a topic treated more seriously in another place.
For, it is to be understood, that in the language of the spirit, cant and droning supply the place of sense and reason, in the language of men; ... 

The art of canting, he continues, requires a large share of inward light; that is, a supply of mysterious texts and polysyllables from the scripture.

Hawking, spitting, and belching, the defects of other men's rhetoric, are the flowers and ornaments of his. 16

Swift has a good deal to say about the art of preaching. In the foregoing he ridiculed the 'enthusiastic' preachers and their congregations. In A Letter to a Young Gentleman Lately Entered Into Holy Orders, he likewise ridicules the moving manner of preaching, and states quite clearly what the business of a preacher is and how he should go about it.

As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching, are first to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so. The topics for both these, we know are brought from Scripture and Reason. 17

The rules are simple; no cant, no use of obscure terms above the level of the auditors, and most especially, no use of the moving manner.

A plain convincing reason may possibly operate upon the mind both of a learned and ignorant hearer as long as they live, and will edify a thousand times more than the Art of wetting the Handkerchiefs of a whole congregation, if you were sure to attain it. 18

His discouragement of the use of the technical language of theology is based on his anti-intellectualism.
All he wants is a sound argument, at the level of the congregation, convincing them of their duty. All else is out of place.

Both Jack and Peter, then, have strayed from Swift's norm, and stand at either extreme. His course is between them. It appears that he did not fully understand the importance of the doctrines he treated so lightly. He was not a theologian.

In the History of Martin recounts the Lutheran revolt from the Catholic Church and the origin of the Anglican Church. He recalls how under Queen Elizabeth the form of the Anglican Church was created out of Peter's, and Martin's, and Jack's receipt-books, continuing down to the reign of William III. Here the fragment breaks off. A note on the History of Martin by Sir Walter Scott says that the tone of many passages is "not only Whiggish but of Low Church." This was published in 1710 before Swift's conversion to the Tory party.

Swift has more to say about the dissenters than the Catholics since the problem of friction in England was chiefly that between the Anglicans and the dissenting churches, who were far more powerful than the Catholics. His problem is this: all men have reason. Can toleration be accorded to those who do not concur in the general opinions? The answer had to be yes. Therefore he limits the rights of the dissenters to hold office but does not
wish to impair their right to worship as they please. He does not regard them as equals in religion.

And thus fanatic saints, though neither in Doctrine nor discipline our brethren, are brother Protestants and Christians, as much as Hebrews and Phillistines; but in no other sense, than Nature has made a rat our fellow-creature.

The next major problem, the one that concerns us more directly here, is his concept of the relationship of reason and religion. Here, as elsewhere, he is anti-rationalistic. The Argument Against Abolishing Christianity is the vehicle for his expression of anti-rationalism. In it, he mentions the "free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning," as attacking Christianity. These are people who attempt to refute Christianity on intellectual grounds. In another place, he says that he does not believe many of the free-thinkers are actually so, but that the concepts involved are produced by a vicious type of character. In other words, what they aim at is an excuse for their conduct rather than the truth. His Thoughts on Religion exemplify the anti-rationalistic element.

He does not think that human understanding is sufficient to carry men to a valid knowledge of God. He understands that there are elements in religion which cannot be explained by reason. To these mysteries we
should assent. These are matters of faith. Also, the doctrinal content of the Bible is a matter for faith. Reason and faith, then, complement each other in their respective isolated spheres. Reason gives us morality, Christianity gives divine sanction to it, and faith gives us Christianity. He has a great deal of respect for the heathen philosophers, with this added note, however, that the philosophers failed in point of authority.

Swift was far from being a mystic. His lack of spirituality has been the subject for much comment. But occasionally, in his works, sentences or phrases appear that indicate that he was not altogether insensible to the religious emotions. For example, in the Thoughts on Religion:

"Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the honour and glory of God? I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books."

In another place, he mentions "the unfathomable mercies of God"; and again:

"God, who worketh Good out of Evil, acting only by the ordinary Cause and Rule of Nature, permits this continual Circulation of human Things for his own unsearchable Ends."

He also composed some prayers for Stella which first appeared in 1746. There are three. Perhaps these better than anything ever intended for publication illustrated his whole attitude. The phrases "resignation
to thy holy will", "infinite justice and mercy", "All-powerful Being, the least motion of whose will can create or destroy a world; pity us", and "thy mercy always prevaleth."

Expressions like these, in their context, hardly support the idea of Swift as a man who regarded his religion coldly; these are more than cant expressions, these words came from a man who was, at the bottom, a Christian. Of the expressions noted above the next to the last is almost poetry.

In the foregoing we have seen that Swift tried to take what he considered to be a reasonable course between Catholicism on one hand and extreme Calvinism on the other. His belief in the validity of the general sense of mankind, and his distrust of the application of reason any farther than the general sense can comprehend, defined his position. On one hand he would avoid the intellectual subtleties of Catholicism, and on the other hand he would avoid the enthusiasm of the Calvinist. Speculations in theology were forbidden by his anti-intellectualism. The object of faith is that part of religion, such as the mysteries which are beyond the common sense. The object of reason, which he thought the "enthusiastic" sects did not appreciate, is, that acting as the general sense, it would produce a sort of conformity in religion. Reason, as such does not have
a high place in his scheme. He condemns most heartily its misuse. The truths of nature are the element of reason. Beyond nature lies the supernatural which is incomprehensible to reason as such and therefore must be accepted through faith.  

Man's reason is imperfect, "perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices." Dryden, in 1682, had said:

\[
\ldots \text{to apprehend them (the Scriptures)} \\
\text{to be the word of God is all our reason has to do; beyond it is the work of faith,} \ldots
\]

Doubt, a consequence of imperfect reason, must be disciplined by the Church. This discipline will be expressed in outward conformity to the Church. In the next section the matter of politics and Swift's theory of the state will be taken up.
We have seen in the last chapter something of Swift's attitude toward the relationship of the Church and state. Again there is a difficulty. The Church and the state were more closely united in the eighteenth century than in our American system, for example. They were not separate, hence it is inaccurate to consider them separately.

For many years after 1689, the government of Great Britain was in the hands of the landed aristocrats and the capitalists. These wealthy and titled men had taken the leadership in the Revolution of 1688, and stood as the champions of the people against absolutism. Somewhere near this time the character of the government began to change. Power was concentrated in Parliament rather than in the King.

By this time the Whigs and Tories were fully formed into separate parties. It should be understood, however, that the division was not as clear as it might seem. Both Whigs and Tories were aristocrats, and both had participated in the Revolution, and both were intent upon maintaining the powers of Parliament. The Tories in general tended to support an agricultural economy, a more rigid Anglicanism, and catered somewhat to the
King and royalty in general.

The Whigs, on the other hand, tended to support the powerful middle class, the commercial interest, the Protestant nonconformists, and cared little for royalty. In a way it was convenient. Each side could then blame the other for whatever happened. This might have some correspondence in the American system. It is much the same in both countries.

One factor contributing in this development was George I (1714-1727). George was a German. He spoke no English. He was at the same time the Elector of Hanover. His heart was in Germany. Small wonder, then, that he left most of the business of government in the hands of the cabinet.

George II, his son (1727-1760), followed in the footsteps of his father. Their reigns were substantially the same. They were "suffered to reign, but not to rule."

As far as they concerned themselves in politics they were Whigs. The Whigs had been loud apologists for the Hanoverian succession. The Tories, on the other hand, were suspected of desiring a restoration of the Stuart line.

Parliament and the royal ministers were, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, Whigs. All this was not without reason. In 1715, a group of Tories had participated in an attempt to seat the son of James II on the throne.
Besides the increasing importance of Parliament, one other major development to the place that became part of the political background Swift encountered. Since George I had left more of the affairs of government in the hands of his cabinet, and since the cabinet became allied in popular thought with a more democratic type of government, the cabinet became an important element of the British system. The Prime Minister, or chief member of the cabinet likewise gained in importance. From 1721 to 1742 Sir Robert Walpole occupied this position. In a prose tract written in 1728, an account of the Court and Empire of Japan, Swift describes the reign of George I. In this piece he severely criticizes Sir Robert Walpole, mentioning, among other things, his arbitrary management of the government, the scandalous manner in which he gave offices to his relatives, his use of bribery, his lack of politeness, and his general corruption.

"He had the most boldness, and the least magnanimity that ever any mortal was endued with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependents, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a support against an evil day. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one person, upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption; and he never gave brieve or pension without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty if they failed to comply in every circumstance."
The fable goes on into the reign of George II. Here Swift shows commendable caution in leaving the tale unfinished. There is no reflection upon the King here; but the satire on Walpole continues. The inconclusiveness of the end gives it the character of a fragment.

Swift, during all his life, was opposed to factions in government. In the Sentiments of a Church of England Man, which was published in 1711, he speaks out for moderate action between the extremes of Whig and Tory.

(He) recommends to those who desire "to preserve the Constitution entire in Church and State . . . to avoid the Extremes of Whig for the Sake of the former, and the Extremes of Tory on Account of the latter."14

In a poem On The Union he compares the union of Scotland and England to a ship with two keels in danger because of rough weather.

"So tossing faction will o'erwhelm,
Our crazy double-bottom'd realm."5

The problem of authority is taken up by Swift in several places. In the Drapier's Letters he asserts the sovereignty of the general will. All men have reason. This common process of reason entitles them to a certain equality in government. This equality is granted, in theory at least, by an assembly representing the people. This assembly, or Parliament, therefore has possession of the authority.
delegated to it by the people.

"I look upon your unanimous Voice to be the Voice of the Nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe to be, in some Manner, the Voice of God."6

Thus far, did Swift support his doctrines of the general sense of mankind. Party spirit, a deviation from his norm, is reduced to the level of enthusiasm. He emphasizes the necessity for representative government in a passage in the Drapier’s Letters.

"For in Reason, all Government without the Consent of the Governed is the very Definition of Slavery: But in Fact, Eleven Men well Armed will certainly subdue one Single Man in his Shirt."7

The first half of the statement is the intellectual ground of sovereignty. The second half is a statement, not of things as they should be, but of things as they very often are. The people must be free. Freedom is derived from the laws "of God, of nature, of nations."8

Throughout these Letters he refers over and over again to freedom and the grounds of freedom.

"I had been long conversing with the Writings of your Lordship, Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineaux, Collonel Sidney and other Dangerous Authors, who talk of Liberty as a Blessing, to which the whole Race of Mankind hath an original Title, whereas nothing but unlawful Force can divest them."9

But in what does freedom consist?

"Freedom consists in a People being Governed by Laws made with their own Consent, and Slavery in the Contrary."10
To this point he is consistent. However, something of a contradiction creeps in in a later letter.

"If the universal wish of the Nation upon any Point, were declared by the unanimous Vote of the House of Commons, and a reasonable number of Lords; I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my Sphere according to that Vote; because, in all free Nations, I take the proper Definition of Law to be the Will of the Majority of those who have the Property in Land; which, if there be a Monarchy, is to be confirmed by the Royal Assent."

In the first part of the sentence he assumes again the complete sovereignty of the general will. In the latter part of the sentence, the defining law as the will of the majority of the landholders, he contradicts himself. By limiting the law making power to the landholders he is consistent with Tory policies. But he thus eliminates the commercial interests which formed a large part of the population. He also eliminates tenants and tradesmen. So, at the bottom, his democratic ideal is strictly limited.

He accepts the idea of the balance of power. The administration of the government and its laws will be carried on by an organization of three elements; the King and the Lords and the Commons. Anyone of the three elements out of control produce tyranny. If the King is not checked absolutism follows. If Commons is not checked something akin to the Protectorate follows. He knew these were historical facts.
He recognizes the King as a limited monarch, who nevertheless governs with divine sanction.

"And although he be God's Vicegerent upon Earth, he will not punish us for any Offences, except those which we shall commit against his Legal Authority, his Sacred Person (which God preserve) or the Laws of the Land."

The King's authority is limited by the good of his subjects and by the legally defined limits of his prerogative.

"The King never Issues out a Proclamation but to enjoyn what the Law Permits him. He will not Issue out a Proclamation against Law, or if such a thing should happen by a Mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our Heads into the Fire."

"that the King's Prerogative is bounded and limited by the Good and Wellfare of his People."

Government, then, is determined and limited by the general welfare. The system of balance he maintains is very much akin to the American system where the three branches of government, although by no means identical with the King, Lords, and Commons, operate in much the same manner.

Another point brought out several times in the Drapier's Letters is that precedents are not law and do not determine it, especially as a precedent drawn from times of emergency is used to fortify an oppressive law
in peacetime.

"whatever is done in great Exigences and Dangerous Times should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of Peace and Quietness."15

"God forbid that the Necessities of turbulent Times should be a Precedent for Times of Peace, and Order, and Settlement."16

Taken all together, the Drapier's Letters are a substantial series of documents; that is, they embody either directly or implicitly most of Swift's ideas about the nature of government.

Swift believed above all in a moral government. As the moral tone colors all of his thinking, it naturally effects his political theories. This point is repeated and insisted upon throughout everything he wrote concerning government.

Gulliver's Travels is, in part, an exposition of political theory. In the first voyage, chapter VI, he takes a few sly digs at English law. One he mentions is that fraud is a greater crime than theft and is therefore usually punished by death. In a way this reflects his anti-rationalism; a man with a very common understanding may preserve his goods against thieves, "but honesty has no fence against superior cunning."17 Here he comes very close to identifying cunning and the subtle reasoning of intellectuals. Likewise, their method of selection of officials is extremely unusual.
"In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for, since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understandings is fitted to some station or other, and that Providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery, to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age; but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power; the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service of his country, except where a course of study is required. But they thought the want of moral virtues was so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such dangerous hands as those of persons so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and had great abilities to manage, and multiply, and defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for, since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of Providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority under which he acts."

In the second voyage, chapter VI, Swift starts out with a eulogistic description of the government of England, and ends up a few pages later with the King of Brobdingnag. The King of Brobdingnag's description of the historical affairs of the seventeenth century as a
"heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, banishments, the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, or ambition could produce."19

The King concludes that:

"I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."20

The only other notable point in the second voyage is that the laws are few, short, absolutely clear, and rarely broken.

In chapter VII he aims a bit at royal absolutism. Gulliver proposes to show the King the uses of gunpowder and cannons. The King "from a nice unnecessary scruple" is horrified. He will have nothing to do with an invention that would make him the master of his people through subjugation by force. Government with the King of Brobdingnag was not a science. He confined government to common sense and reason, justice and lenity, and the like.21

Chapter VI of the third voyage emphasizes the moral tone of Swift's political philosophy. The satire, perhaps reflecting something of Swift's experience, is on the corruption of government rather than the art of governing. Chapter XI of the same voyage deals with the topic of undue respect and ceremony shown to the King, or perhaps nobility in general. The current manner of
approaching the King of Luggnag is by crawling on one's stomach to the foot of the throne, while licking the floor. Since Gulliver was a stranger, the floor was swept clean before he approached so that the dust would not be offensive. But, he tells us, persons having powerful enemies in the court often find the way strewn with dust or even poison. Other particulars are mentioned in the chapter, but the general tone implies that man, as a possessor of reason, has by nature a certain dignity; or, as Burns said later: "the rank is but the guinea's stamp."

The fourth and last voyage is probably the most complete castigation of man and the societies of men that Swift ever wrote. In this section almost all pretense of allegory is dropped. He ridicules war and the costs of war. His master, the Horse, concludes from his account of war that instead of reason, Gulliver's people are only equipped with a faculty fitted to increase and multiply and refine their natural vices.

Law and lawyers are the subject of the next attack. The delay of law, the perversions of law, its intricacy, its use of precedents, and, as it seemed to Swift, its separation from justice are each given a lash or two in passing. The tone of the last voyage at no time loses its seriousness. There are no lighter touches here as there were in the first voyage for example, where the ministers
and candidates for office and persons of nobility vie with each other by jumping on a tightrope to win pieces of colored thread. The Horse, with his irresistible reason is pure intellect dissecting the corruption of European society.

He outlines the qualifications for the Prime Minister, a person "who makes use of no other passions but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles," and who excels in "the three principle ingredients, of insolence, lying, and bribery."^25

The Horses, being reason personified, do not have complex systems of government. Since they are creatures of reason they have no occasion to have laws or government. They rule themselves through their intellect. Their government consists of a representative council of the whole nation which meets every four years for about five or six days. The only matters they settle are: seeing that each district has a plentiful supply of hay and oats, cows and Yahoos; and determining the regulation of children. This is the extent of their political operation.^26

Swift must have known that this was Utopian. He was certainly not advocating anarchy. As far as the political matter goes, he emphasized reason, justice, and spirit of unity. It is ironic, as if to say "if only men could." In the foregoing we have seen that one of the
central ideas in Swift's political theory is that the general sense of mankind, acting through a representative political organization, and administered by persons of good character, will produce good government. The next section, Ethics, will deal with the relationship of reason to moral action.
Swift above all is a moralist. Everything he wrote is, in one way or another, a treatise on morality. He is more than a moralist; but the tone predominates always.

It would be incorrect to call Swift a Stoic, but he shares to a large extent in the basic proposition of the Stoic school of thought. The ideal that the system proposed was a life of unimpassioned reason. Man is composed of two elements; the passions and reason. Reason must at all times be in control of the passions or emotions.¹

Swift adopted the standard of reason, and the best proof of that is his own life. It is clear, especially in his relations with the women that were associated with him (Stella and Vanessa) that he never felt the 'grand passion.' The reason for this has been the cause of much speculation and this problem remains unresolved.²

The method of exposition in this section will be to use as an outline the last voyage of Gulliver's Travels and to confirm what is said of the Horses or theYahooos by extract from his works at large. To even list all the vices and follies he satirizes in his works would be to cumbersome within the limited scope of this
Before doing so, however, there are some explicit statements of Swift in regard to the emotions that must be considered.

"In a Glass-House, the Workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh Coals, which seems to disturb the Fire, but very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the Passions, that the Mind may not languish."3

"The Stoical Scheme of supplying our Wants, by lopping off our Desires, is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes."4

"He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a Stoic."5

These three statements would tend to indicate that Swift would not embrace absolute Stoicism. But, elsewhere he says, "I love to conceal my passions."6 If emotion has a role in Swift's ethical system, it is most probably a small one, as we shall see during the course of the section.

Swift in the character of the Horse presents his view of the life of reason. The Horse observes that "reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature."7 The Horse has a plentiful share of what we are accustomed to call "horse-sense." This is a common slang expression having much the same connotation for us as "reason" does for the Horse. Let us see first what the common vices of the Yahoos are. Throughout the course of the last voyage
a rather complete catalogue of human vices is presented. We will take them in the order in which they occur.

First, he remarks upon the greed of the Yahoos, who will fight for more food than they are able to eat in the presence of an abundance for all. Next, they are avaricious. The Yahoos find shining stones which are of no use to them, hide them, and show every sign of grief if any of them should be lost or stolen. This is Swift's way of asking "why should a man desire to have anything in excess?" The Horses assume that they all have an equal right to the land and its use. They are not concerned with laying up treasures for themselves. They are creatures of reason and are not subject to excesses of any sort except perhaps that of austerity.

The Yahoos also greatly prize a certain kind of root which produced in them the same effects as liquor does in humans, most notably a suspension of what little rational activity they are capable of.

The Yahoos recognize a leader in each herd which is usually the most deformed and mischievous member. This leader has a favorite whose chief position is to lick his master's feet and drive the females to his kennel. His reward for this service is an occasional piece of meat and the hatred of the whole herd. The Horse leaves it up to Gulliver to decide how far this might apply to the court and to the favorites of the court.
"I durst make no return to this malicious insinuation, which debased human understanding below the sagacity of a common hound, who has judgment enough to distinguish and follow the cry of the ablest dog in the pack, without being ever mistaken."

The Yahoos are unspeakably filthy. Swift takes a morbid delight in describing filth and disease, especially in things idealized. Some of his poetry especially is guilty of this. To show the extent of its fascination for him by direct quotation would hardly be edifying. It is an unfortunate characteristic, and through it more than anything else, are we led to question his purity of mind. He seems to have an almost pathological hatred of the human body, and in concentrating upon the organs of elimination, degrades it to something less and more bestial than it actually is. In Brobdingnag we see the human body through a microscope, discolored, pitted, coarse, and noisome. To extenuate it, it might be said that distrust of the body and contempt for it is the logical consequence of an attitude which at all times emphasizes the importance of controlling the animal part of man's nature by means of the rational part.

The Yahoos are subject to lust. The females even will admit the males while they are pregnant. Concupiscence is a passion. Swift clearly states its primary use in the Thoughts on Religion.

"Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points
of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning."

In the poem Strephon And Chole he describes step by step the descent from idyllic love to the rutting process of two stinking animals. The poem is rescued from complete despair of marriage by its ending.

"On sense and wit your passion found. 
By decency cemented round; 
Let prudence with good nature strive, 
To keep esteem and love alive. 
Then, come old age where'er it will, 
Your friendship shall continue still: 
And thus a mutual gentle fire 
Shall never but with life expire."12

The female Yahoos, upon seeing a strange female in the group show every sign of what Swift calls "censure and scandal."13 These creatures are almost human at times. The substance of this attribute of the lady Yahoos was taken up at various times by Swift. Gossip has been traditionally ascribed to be the province of women. In fact, this is not so. But Swift censures gossip in women as being one of their most prominent and prevalent vices. The ridiculous aspect of gossip is shown clearly in the first voyage of Gulliver's Travels. Keeping in mind the contrast between the normal sized Gulliver and the Lilliputians who
were about six inches high, the following passage is an
excellent ridicule of gossip and rumor.

"The Treasurer took a fancy to be
jealous of his wife, from the malice
of some evil tongues, who informed
him that her Grace had taken a violent
affection for my person; and the court-
scandal ran for some time, that she once
came privately to my lodging." 14

Another method of Swift used to ridicule scandal
and gossip is found in a long poem Cadenus and Vanessa.2
The purpose of this poem is only incidentally a repudiation
of gossip. It was originally intended to define the
relationship between Swift and Esther Vanomrigh, which,
from biographical accounts, seems to have become rather
awkward. 15

"First issued from perfumers' shops,
A crowd of fashionable fops:
They ask'd her how she liked the play;
Then told the tattle of the day;
A duel fought last night at tow,
About a lady—you know who;
Mention'd a new Italian, come
Either from Muscovy or Tome;
Gave hints of who and who's together;
Then fell to talking of the weather;
Last night was so extremely fine,
The ladies walk'd till after nine;
Then in soft voice and speech absurd,
With nonsense every second word,
With fustian from exploded plays,
They celebrate her beauty's praise;
Run o'er their cant of stupid lies,
And tell the murders of her eyes . .
To scandal next—"What a awkward thing
Was, that last Sunday in the ring;
I'm sorry Mopsa breaks so fast;
I said her face would never last,
Corinna, with that youthful air,
Is thirty, and a bit to spare:
Her fondness of a certain earl
Began when I was but a girl!
Phillis, who but a month ago
was married to the Tunbridge beau,
I saw coquetting t'other night
In public with that odious knight!

The Yahooos have one thing in their natures which
raises them in Swift's estimation, a little bit higher than
utter depravity. They have only natural vices.

"I expected every moment that my
master would accuse the Yahooos of
those unnatural appetites in both
sexes, so common among us. But
nature, it seems, hath not been so
expert a school-mistress; and these
politer pleasures are entirely the
productions of art and reason, on
our side of the globe."

Next, he comments that the Yahooos are the most
unteachable of brutes. So is man, he says in other places.

In the 1735 edition of Gulliver's Travels, a letter from
Captain Gulliver to his cousin Sympson was printed by way
of a preface. In here he notes:

"Pray bring to your mind how often
I desired you to consider, when you
insisted on the motive of public
good; that the Yahooos were a species
of animals utterly incapable of
amendment by precepts or examples:
and so it hath proved; . . ."

Another specific notation upon this same subject
is found in his Thoughts on Various Subjects.

"A man seeing a wasp creeping into a
vial filled with honey that was hung
on a fruit tree, said thus: "Why,
thou scullion animal, art thou mad to
go into the vial, where you see many
hundred of your kind dying before you?" "The reproach is just" an­swered the wasp, "but not from you men, who are so far from taking example by other people's follies, that you will not take warning by your own. If after falling several times into this vial, and escaping by chance, I should fall in again, I should then but resemble you."19

The results can only be frustration. Swift proposed reason as the basis for his morality and yet in the end finds man unwilling to be guided by reason, choosing rather to be swayed by the natural temptations to vice, and even inventing some of his own which are not founded in nature and are therefore to be reckoned monstrous and unnatural even in a Yahoo. His ethical doctrine of the irrationality of man is not a hopeful one. He does not expect that mankind will be reformed by his satires, but he goes on to picture the ideal moral creature in spite of it.20 In a letter to Pope, dated September 29, 1725, he says that he intends to prove that man is not a rational animal but is an animal capable of reason.21 He keeps the distinction. "Man should act in this certain way as I have shown, but he will not."

From the irrationality of the Yahoos we will now proceed to the rationality of the Horses, and will conclude with a summary of his attack upon pride as the chief and most ridiculous vice.

We are explicitly told in chapter VIII that
"their grand maxim is to cultivate reason, and to be wholly governed by it."22 Here, too, Swift states what he means by the word reason. The meaning he gives to it is almost Cartesian.

"Neither is reason among them a point problematical as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question; but strikes you with immediate conviction."23

The Horses do not have any conception of opinions. Anything that they may neither affirm nor deny absolutely, any point that could plausibly have two sides to it is not considered.

"Because reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain, and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either."24

This attitude is consistent with Swift's view of the use of reason. Speculation beyond what one can immediately affirm or deny, that is, beyond the general sense of mankind, is fruitless and presumptuous.

The Horses are absolutely honest. The argument is simple: lying defeats the ends of the faculty of speech which are to communicate information of facts, and to make the speaking creatures understand each other. Anything else is contrary to nature, therefore contrary to reason, and therefore evil.25

The two passions that the Horses admit are friendship and benevolence. These are their two principal virtues,
and are universal to the whole race. Each Horse is a friend to every other Horse; there are no strangers among the Horses. As regards benevolence, they claim that nature teaches them to love the whole race; only reason permits them to make a distinction where there is a superior degree of virtue. Therefore, they do not love their own offspring more than that of their neighbor, since virtue is not fully developed in children.

Swift has taken a peculiar stand upon the education and rearing of children. In Lilliput the same position has been affirmed in the scheme of educating the children.

"For since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness towards their young proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reason they will never allow, that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or his mother for bringing him into the world; which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts in their love-encounters were otherwise employed."26

Naturally, this theory could not hold water in practice.

The Horses observe a high degree of civility and politeness among themselves but without the least
degree of ceremony. They meet conscious of their equality in reason, and since ceremony would either indicate distrust, dislike, or the superiority of one, they see no need of it. Swift has had much to say upon the qualifications mentioned. He calls them *les petites morale*, or good breeding. The end of good manners is to make us easy in company. Since friendship is one of the principal virtues he mentions whatever contributes to it is a good. The good breeding he talks about though does not quite equate with the civilities of the Horses for, he says,

"This I look upon, in the general notion of it, to be a sort of artificial good sense, adapted to the meanest capacities, and introduced to make mankind easy in their commerce with each other. Low and little understandings, without some rules of this kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thousand indecencies and irregularities in behaviour."  

The experience he relates in the last of the essay is one undoubtedly familiar to all of us. He has the misfortune to be entertained by a family who obtrude their wishes upon him in the name of good breeding and politeness.

The Horses have a form of marriage. He specifically states that they marry not out of love, but rather for eugenic considerations; as our modern cattle are bred. The marriages are based upon mutual esteem, and
have no regard for love or courtship, and are conducted without jealousy, fondness, quarreling, or discontent.

The most notable exposition of his in regard to marriage that we have is an impertinent letter written by him, probably to Miss Betty Moore, who was not amused by it. It is full of sound advice and contains the essential ingredients for a good marriage with the exception of one. He does not allow any place for love. He calls it "that ridiculous passion which has no being but in Play-books and Romances." The rest of the letter is, although impertinent and forward, good advice. He desires her to cultivate the friendship and esteem of her husband, to improve her mind in order to be an intellectual companion to him, to avoid demonstrations of fondness in public and the like.

He is not always so restrained. We have mentioned his attitude toward the physical side of love above, and in a quote already given he said that "no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason." The use of sex among the Horses is strictly expedient. They limit themselves to two offspring through abstinence, while the Yahoos, as we have said before, do not abstain from intercourse even during pregnancy.

The Horses have no fear of death. Why? Because it is irrational.
"Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise, and wish it at an end, or that it never had a beginning."31

"It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by providence as an evil to mankind."32

The Horses, in short, are almost utterly devoid of emotion. This has been the general subject for the criticism of Swift's ideal.33 Their life is colorless and absolutely impossible to humans as they are. Emotions and feeling are too fundamental in man to be suppressed or denied so completely by an act of reason without producing abnormality. Such are his ideal men, and such is his picture of man governed by passion. Both, because they are extremes, are repulsive.

The last voyage of Gulliver is a summary of his ethical system. Nearly everything it contains is found to be a restatement of something he had written before. For example, the Horses never converse with each other on trivial matters. Their consistent aim is to gain improvement through their conversation. In 1709 he had written
hints toward an essay on conversation. Twenty-two years later, in 1731 he completed the Compleat Collection of Gentle and Ingenious Conversation. It is a collection of the clichés current in the conversation of his day. The notes on conversation in Gulliver's Travels were just a step in the development of a complete treatment. The final essay is almost unreadable because of the lack of sense in the conversation reported. This is precisely the point of the essay. In Gulliver's Travels it was explicit.

The most ridiculous of vices and therefore the worst, is pride. This is one of the fundamental points of his ethical doctrine. We shall discuss only four of his statements upon it. There are many others.

The first one we will consider occurs in the first voyage of Gulliver's Travels.

"GOLBASTO MOMAREN EVLAME CURDIL0 SHEFIN MULLY ULLY GUE, most mighty Emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand blustruge (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the centre, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime Majesty proposeth to the Man-Mountain, lately arrived to our celestial dominions, the following articles, which be a solemn oath he shall be obliged to perform."
The contrast here between a man six inches high and the title he bears approaches the sublime in wit, if there by any.

The second statement we will consider occurs in the second voyage. Again the contrast lends a humor to the situation, but there is a note of sadness in it.

"He could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and stroking me gently with the other, after an hearty fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a Whig or a Tory. Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the mainmast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed how contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I: and yet, said he, I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour, they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure in dress and equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times with indignation to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbiteress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honour and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated." 35

The last sentence is a faint echo of some of the titles the Lilliputian King has assumed.

Since pride is an estimation of one's worth beyond the value it actually possesses, pride is therefore unreasonable and therefore evil. Humility consists in placing
a proper valuation upon one's self and being content with
a position that does not exceed one's capacities.

"He made me observe, that among
the Houyhnhnms, the white, the
sorrel, and the iron-grey, were
not so exactly shaped as the bay,
the dapple-grey, and the black;
nor born with equal talents of the
mind, or a capacity to improve
them; and therefore continued always
in the condition of servants, with­
out ever aspiring to match out of
their own race, which in that
country would be reckoned monstrous
and unnatural."36

The last instance we will consider from Gulliver's
Travels occurs in the last chapter, which is sort of an
epilogue to the whole book. The tone here has neither humor
nor sadness. It is almost like one of Cicero's long sen­
tences, reaching its climax on the word pride.

"My reconcilement to the Yahoo-
kind in general might not be so
difficult, if they would be con­
tent with those vices and follies
only which nature hath entitled
them to. I am not in the least
provoked at the sight of a lawyer,
a pick-pocket, a colonel, a fool,
a lord, a gamester, a politician,
a whore-master, a physician, an
evidence, a suborner, an attorney,
a traitor, or the like; this is
all according to the due course
of things: but when I behold a
lump of deformity and diseases
both in mind and body, smitten with
pride, it immediately breaks all the
measures of my patience; neither shall
I be ever able to comprehend how such
an animal and such a vice could tally
together."37
He is bitter, but the case as he states it is logical. He could not see that what seemed evil on the surface might perhaps be a blundering effort after good and therefore commendable. Crane Brinton made a remark about Bacon that could well fit Swift. "He may, of course, be an inverted idealist, a man who is cynical just because he wants so much perfection."38

We have seen the cardinal points of Swift's ethical position. They are few and simple. Reason must govern the passions. What stems from the passions is evil because it is not rational. The only good out of the passions is the continuation of the species. Life itself seems to be regarded as an evil, something that no sane man would endure without the promptings of instinct. But man as a whole is irrational and subject especially to pride, which is ridiculous. His position, then, is pretty close to that which he stated in his letter to Pope: namely, that man is fundamentally only capable of reason and not a true rational animal.

In the next section we will discuss his attitude toward literature and learning.
VI.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING

In the section on Religion we noted that Swift saw little place for the ornamental type of preaching, or for the moving style of preaching. These two points have a direct bearing upon his concept of literature. As in morality the emotions must be under the control of reason, so in poetry and prose the imagination must be under the control of reason. Hobbes had defined this principle. "Experience begets memory; memory begets judgment and fancy; judgment begets the strength and structure, and fancy begets the ornaments of a poem." This was the general attitude of the period. Swift was more extreme.

Too intense a contemplation is not the business of flesh and blood; it must, by the necessary course of things, in a little time let go its hold, and fall into matter. Lovers for the sake of celestial converse are but another sort of Platonics, who pretend to see stars and heaven in ladies' eyes, and to look or think no lower; but the same pit is provided for both; and they seem a perfect moral to the story of that philosopher, who, while his thoughts and eyes were fixed upon the constellations, found himself seduced by his lower parts into a ditch.

But when a man's fancy gets astride of his reason, when imagination is at cuffs with the senses, and common understanding, as well as common sense, is kicked out of doors; the first proselyte he makes is
himself; and when that is once compassed, the difficulty is not so great in bringing over others; a strong delusion always operating from without as vigorously as from within.*

Three major works serve to define Swift's literary position. These are: Battle of The Books, The Tale of A Tub, and A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet. The first has to do with the relative merits of the Ancients and the Moderns. The second is in some sections a satire on the corruptions in literature and learning. The third is a satire on the common faults of literature and also contains some good advice upon style.

Swift wrote The Battle of The Books while he was still with Temple. Sir William had written an Essay Upon Ancient and Modern Learning in which he had affirmed the superiority of the Ancients. This essay was attacked by William Wotton in his Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. Subsequently Dr. Bentley issued his Dissertation Upon the Epistles of Phalaris. Wotton attacked Temple's view of the moderns; Bentley regarded the two works that Temple had praised more highly as spurious. It is more or less certain that Dr. Bentley was correct. Swift defended his patron in The Battle of The Books in which the books of the Ancients and the Moderns line up and have a literal battle. He takes occasion in the book to bring in the image of the spider and the bee. The spider represents the
Moderns, spins everything out of himself and is incidentally well versed in mathematics. The bee, on the other hand, gathers the nectar from the flowers and blossoms of the field and produces honey and was which produce sweetness and light.

After the incident of the bee and the spider the battle commences. The conclusion is left undetermined, a prudent device, by the representation that the manuscript is defective.

The important point here is that man should gather the best from the best writers and make it his own. The pretense to the utter originality which the Moderns claim produce only cobwebs, or things of little substance and no durability.

"regardless of time and place feeble talents will never and true genius will always produce great art, the ingredients of which do not vary."5

The next major work is The Tale of A Tub which was printed in 1703. The very organization of the book is a satire on current literature. It contains, in the 1710 edition, thirty-eight pages of introduction and one hundred seventeen pages of text, a ratio of about one to three. The introductory material includes an apology, a dedication, a letter from the book seller to the reader, a second dedication, and a preface. The first section is also called the introduction. The first dedication, to
Lord Somers, is a parody.

"I should now, in right of a dedicatar, give your lordship a list of your own virtues, and, at the same time, be very unwilling to offend your modesty; but chiefly, I should celebrate your liberality towards men of great parts and small fortunes, and give you broad hints that I mean myself."

The tone of this passage is maintained through the whole dedication, and he ends it saying:

"There is one point, wherein I think we dedicators would do well to change our measures; I mean, instead of running on so far upon the praise of our patrons' liberality, to spend a word or two in admiring their patience. I can put no greater compliment on your lordship's, than by giving you so ample an occasion to exercise it at present."

Swift shows notable contempt for dedications.

Dryden was noted for his dedications, in fact, he dedicated the several parts of his translation of Virgil to several different men. Swift disliked Dryden intensely. The reason is not clear, nor is it pertinent here. Prefaces and dedications were the order of the day and Swift did not like them. The second dedication, to Prince Posterity is an ironic defense of contemporary writers. Here the satire is curiously complex. Not only does he say that the current writers are producing things of no durability, but also in the very same paragraph he ridicules the changing tastes of the public.
"I inquired after them among readers and booksellers; but I inquired in vain; the memorial of them was lost among men; their place was no more to be found; and I was laughed to scorn for a clown and a pedant, without all taste and refinement, little versed in the course of present affairs, and that knew nothing of what had passed in the best companies of court and town."

In the preface he defines the purpose of *The Tale*. It is intended to serve as a diversion for the wits who have nothing better to do than to "pick holes in the weak sides of religion and government." He did prevent these wits from "canvassing and reasoning upon such delicate points." While they are thus diverted an academy will be built for them in which they may exercise their talents at leisure. A second point begins to appear. His anti-rationalism dictates that men shall not concern themselves with reasoning upon fine points. The general sense of mankind is at all times sufficient. Literature, at all times, must be substantial. The spider is accused by the bee of having more regard for form and method than for duration of matter.

He goes on to ridicule the stereotyped form of prefaces by repeating some of the cant phrases ordinarily found in them, which consist mostly of complaints about the number of writers who discourage by their very numbers any attempt to write.

Section one, the introduction, is at large a satire on numerology, preaching, and literature. He discerns four
levels of appreciation. The first is the pit, where the weighty matter falls into the mouths of the hearers; the second level, where the ladies ordinarily sit, is on a level with the stage and they receive the dirty jokes and sly comments which are not heavy enough to fall into the pit; the third level receives the "whining passions and little starved conceits," which are frozen in the middle region by the "frigid understandings of the inhabitants;" the fourth level, bombast and buffoonery rises to the very top of the building and is intercepted there by the smallest understandings. All of this means that the matter of writing is more important than the form or the humor.

He then becomes engaged in a parody of the elaborate metaphors which he despises as a product of enthusiasm. Wisdom is compared to a fox, a cheese, a sack-posset, a hen, and a nut.

He ridicules writers who serve parties.

"From an understanding and a conscience thread-bare and ragged with perpetual turning... Fourscore and eleven pamphlets have I written under three reigns, and for the service of six and thirty factions." 

Section three is a malevolent description of critics. The matter here is what might be expected. The true critic is a man who is not given to collecting the faults of writers, but rather seeks to give praise where it is due and avoid praising the corruptions of matter or
"For first, by this term was understood such persons as invented or drew up rules for themselves and the world, by observing which, a careful reader might be able to pronounce upon the productions of the learned, from his tasted to a true relish of the sublime and the admirable, and divide every beauty of matter or of style from the corruption that apes it."

Section five satirizes digressions by its form and the art of being learned without study by the use of indexes, extracts, etc. He sums up the purpose of digressions in the final paragraph.

"Having thus paid by due deference and acknowledgment to an established custom of our newest authors, by a long digression unsought for, and an universal censure unprovoked, by forcing into the light, with much pains and dexterity, my own excellencies, and other men's defaults, with great justice to myself, and candour to the, I now happily resume my subject, to the infinite satisfaction both of the reader and the author."

Section seven is directed against any manner of writing that is padded.

"'Tis manifest, the society of writers would quickly be reduced to a very inconsiderable number, if men were put upon making books, with the fatal confinement of delivering nothing beyond what is to the purpose."

In section nine he resumes his attack on the imagination as an irrational faculty.
"so human understanding, seated in the brain, must be troubled and overspread by vapours, ascending from the lower faculties to water the invention and render it fruitful."17

The tenth section, A Farther Digression, is consistent with the rest. Here he derides the custom of writers acknowledging the general applause given to their works whether any was received or not.

In the Conclusion he again points out the lack of matter in the current writing and proposes for himself an "experiment very frequent among modern authors; which is to write upon nothing."

"In my disposition of employments of the brain, I have thought fit to make invention the master, and to give method and reason the office of its lackeys. The cause of this distribution was, from observing it my peculiar case, to be often under a temptation of being witty upon occasion, where I could be neither wise, nor sound, do anything to the matter in hand."18

The Letter of Advice to a Young Poet contains all the ideas mentioned above. He stresses the necessity of learning to a poet, the contemporary corruption of poetry, and the need for a religious background for a poet.

The satire upon learning and the abuses of knowledge has been expressed implicitly throughout the whole work and especially in the section on science.
and in the proceeding part of the present section.

Learning is to be deep but not abstruse. A man should improve his knowledge through study and conversation. He should cultivate a taste for the good elements of literature. He should avoid the seemingly senseless dabbling in science.

In the next section, the Conclusion, we will attempt to summarize the major points covered in the thesis.
CONCLUSION

We have seen, in a very general and scattered way what Swift thought about things. As a matter of expediency the content has been divided into five sections which cover pretty well the major areas of seventeenth and eighteenth century thought.

The central idea in his manner of thought may be summarized in a very few words. Reason belongs to all men. All men do not have an equal degree of reason. The misuse of reason appears in several forms - the speculative sciences, religious enthusiasm, lack of emotional control, certain fopperies in literature, in political extremes, in any kind of deviation from the norm of common sense. Man should live by reason, be governed by reason, and should not try to exceed the limitations set upon it by God. This is Swift's central idea, and is the source of the corollary ideas developed in his works.

Obiter dicta, I would like to say that he seems to be brilliant, but he must have been a sad man, to have thought and acted as he did. He had an unhealthy mind in some respects, a shallow mind in some, but he was always clear, logical, and consistent. His life has tragic elements in it that move pity, and help us to understand him even if we cannot agree with his outlook.
NOTES

SECTION I

1. The life of Swift was found prefixed to two volumes of his works: an abridged form of the life written by Dr. Sheridan in the Choice Works of Dean Swift in Prose and Verse, and a life by the Reverend John Mitford in The Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift. Several others, much shorter, were found in other editions. The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift is in part a biography.


Bernard, J. H., "Dean Swift in Dublin", Blackwoods, Vol 180, pp. 689-92


4. ibid., p viii

5. see Quintana, Ricardo, The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift, pp. 27-48

6. Swift, Jonathan, op. cit., p. 161


9. see also the Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIX, p. 211: 'As it became evident that Whiggism meant alliance with dissent, Swift's distaste of the leaders deepened into aversion.'

10. Swift, Jonathan, Tale of a Tub, etc., p. xii

11. ibid., p. xii.
12. Quintana, op. cit., p. 190

   Swift, Jonathan, *The Drapier’s Letters*, ed. Herbert Davis, B xi, £100,800.

SECTION II


3. loc. cit.


5. Jackson, R. W., *Swift and His Circle*, p. 76


7. *ibid.* p. 400

8. *ibid.* p. 403


10. *ibid.* p. 42


12. *ibid.* p. 408


14. loc. cit.


17. *ibid.* pp. 384-5

18. *ibid.* p. 524
SECTION III

1. The best account is Johnson, H.J.T., Anglicanism in Transition
2. Johnson, op. cit., p.1
3. ibid., p.8
4. ibid., p.17
6. ibid., p.138-9
7. quoted in ibid., p. 139
10. Swift, Jonathan, Gulliver’s Travels, Oxford, p. 373
11. ibid., p. 452
14. ibid., p. 584
15. ibid., p. 588
16. ibid., p. 590
17. Swift, Jonathan, Swift’s Satires and Personal Writings, p. 279-80
18. ibid., p. 279
20. Quintana, op. cit., p.p. 139-140
23. Quintana, op. cit., p.p. 150-51
25. ibid., p. 419
26. ibid., p. 83
27. Quintana, op. cit., p. 151

SECTION IV

1. A good brief account is Hayes, C.J.H., *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Chapters 9 and 10
2. ibid., p. 454
4. quoted in Davis, Herbert, *The Satire of Jonathan Swift*, p. 49
7. ibid., p. 79
8. ibid., p. 80
9. ibid., p. 108
10. loc. cit.
11. ibid., p.p. 163-4
12. Quintana, op. cit., p. 131
14. *ibid.*, p. 27
15. *ibid.*, p. 13
16. *ibid.*, p. 43
18. *ibid.*, p. 66
20. *ibid.*, p. 154
21. *ibid.*, p. 158
22. *ibid.*, p. 243
23. *ibid.*, p. 295
24. error in numbering
25. *ibid.*, p. 303

SECTION V

2. See note 1, Section I, for two good discussions.
4. *ibid.*, p. 410
7. Swift, Jonathan, Gulliver's Travels, Oxford, p. 308
8. ibid., p. 298
9. ibid., p. 312
11. Swift, Jonathan, Swift's Satires and Personal Writings, p. 420
14. ibid., p. 73
15. see note 1, Section I
18. ibid., p. 4
20. insinuated in the Letter to Symson prefixed to the edition of 1735
21. Swift, Jonathan, Swift's Satires and Personal Writings, p. 429
23. loc. cit.
24. loc. cit.
25. ibid., p. 285
26. ibid., p. 67
27. in his essay in the Tatler, No. 20, March 6, 1710-11
28. Swift, Jonathan, *Prose Writings of Swift*, p. 300
29. Swift, Jonathan, *Swift's Satires and Personal Writings*, p. 66
30. see note 11, this section.
31. see note 11, this section.
32. Swift, Jonathan, *Swift's Satires and Personal Writings*, p. 420
33. see, for example, Scudder, Vida D., *Social Ideals in English Letters*, p. 111
35. *ibid.*, p. 123
36. *ibid.*, p. 304
37. *ibid.*, p. 354
38. Brinton, Crane, *The Shaping of the Modern Mind*, p. 103

SECTION VI

3. *ibid.*, p. 494
4. see Quintana, op. cit., Book I, Ch. V
5. *ibid.*, p. 58
6. Swift, op. cit., p. 386
7. *ibid.*, p. 389
8. *ibid.*, p. 421, note
9. *ibid.*, p. 394
10. *ibid.*, p. 398
11. ibid., p. 413
12. loc. cit.
13. ibid., p. 420
14. ibid., p. 436
15. ibid., p. 465
16. ibid., p. 475
17. ibid., p. 488
18. ibid., p. 525
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