

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF  $\label{eq:cambridge} \textbf{JONATHAN SWIFT}$ 



# THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

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# THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

- 1. A Tale of a Tub and Other Works
- 2. Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises: Polite Conversation, Directions to Servants and Other Works
- 3.-6. Poems
  - 7. English Political Writings 1701–1711: The Examiner and Other Works
  - 8. English Political Writings 1711–1714: The Conduct of the Allies and Other Works
- 9.–10. Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley 1710–1713
  - 11. Later English Political Writings: The History of the Four Last Years and Other Works
  - 12. Writings on Religion and the Church to 1714: An Argument against Abolishing Christianity and Other Works
  - 13. Writings on Religion and the Church after 1714: Sermons and Other Works
  - 14. Irish Political Writings to 1725: Drapier's Letters and Other Works
  - 15. Irish Political Writings after 1725: A Modest Proposal and Other Works
  - 16. Gulliver's Travels
  - 17. Personal and Miscellaneous Writings, Fragments and Marginalia
  - 18. Index Volume





JONATHAN SWIFT

# A Tale of a Tub and Other Works

Edited by
MARCUS WALSH





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## **CONTENTS**

List of illustrations page ix
General Editors' preface xi
Acknowledgements xii
Chronology xiv
List of abbreviations xxiv

| Introduction  | xxxi  |
|---|-------|
| 1 The works included in this volume                                       | xxxi  |
| 2 A Tale of a Tub, The Battel of the Books and A Discourse Concerning the |       |
| Mechanical Operation of the Spirit  | xxxii |
| 3 Other early texts acknowledged by Swift                                 | lxxxi |
| 4 Other materials relating to the <i>Tale</i>                             | lxxxv |
| A Tale of a Tub   | 1     |
| The Battel of the Books   | 137   |
| A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit             | 165   |
| Swift's editorial matter for Temple's posthumous publications             | 189   |
| Letters Written by Sir W. Temple (1700)                                   | 191   |
| Miscellanea. The Third Part (1701)  | 197   |
| Letters to the King (1703)  | 201   |
| Memoirs. Part III (1709)  | 205   |
| Appendices  |       |
| A Letters between Swift and Benjamin Tooke, 29 June and 10 July 1710      | 211   |
| B William Wotton, 'Observations upon the Tale of a Tub'                   | 215   |
| C Edmund Curll's Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub                        | 231   |
| D Materials from Miscellaneous Works (1720)                               | 253   |
| E Swift's Moor Park reading list  | 271   |
| Textual introduction  | 275   |
| 1 Textual policy  | 275   |
| 2 Bibliographical information   | 283   |
|   |       |

vii



| viii CONTENTS   |            |
|---|------------|
| 3 List of sigla   | 290        |
| 4 Emendations to the copy text                                | 291        |
| 5 Line-end hyphenation  | 295        |
| 6 Historical collation  | 297        |
| 7 Historical collation of the fifth edition 1710, 1751 duodec | imo Works, |
| and the Hawkesworth (1755) and Faulkner (1756) edition        | as 308     |
| Explanatory notes   | 315        |
| Notes to A Tale of a Tub                                      | 315        |
| Notes to The Battel of the Books                              | 464        |

Notes to A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit

Notes to Swift's editorial matter for Temple's posthumous publications

508

533



## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

| 1  | A Tale of a Tub. Frontispiece. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub (1710)    |        |
|----|---|--------|
|    | in the possession of Marcus Walsh                                       | page 2 |
| 2  | A Tale of a Tub, 1710. Title page. © The British Library Board. All     |        |
|    | rights reserved. Shelfmark 1077.g.2                                     | 3      |
| 3  | The Pulpit, the Ladder and the Stage-Itinerant. From a copy of A Tale   |        |
|    | of a Tub (1710) in the possession of Marcus Walsh                       | 35     |
| 4  | Fountaine original design: the tub preacher. V&A Images/Victoria        |        |
|    | and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E                            | 36     |
| 5  | Fountaine original design: the dying Father. V&A Images/Victoria        |        |
|    | and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E                            | 46     |
| 6  | The three brothers and the will. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub         |        |
|    | (1710) in the possession of Marcus Walsh                                | 52     |
| 7  | Fountaine original design: the three brothers and the will. V&A         |        |
|    | Images/Victoria and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E            | 53     |
| 8  | Fountaine original design: transubstantiation. V&A Images/Victoria      |        |
|    | and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E                            | 75     |
| 9  | Peter ejects his brothers. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub (1710) in the |        |
|    | possession of Marcus Walsh  | 79     |
| 10 | Fountaine original design: Peter ejects his brothers. V&A               |        |
|    | Images/Victoria and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E            | 80     |
| 11 | Jack and Martin tearing their coats. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub     |        |
|    | (1710) in the possession of Marcus Walsh                                | 90     |
| 12 | Fountaine original design: Jack and Martin tearing their coats. V&A     |        |
|    | Images/Victoria and Albert Museum. Forster Collection F.47.E            | 91     |
| 13 | Bedlam. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub (1710) in the possession of      |        |
|    | Marcus Walsh  | 114    |
| 14 | Jack 'upon a great Horse'. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub (1710) in     |        |
|    | the possession of Marcus Walsh  | 132    |
| 15 | The Battel of the Books. Frontispiece. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub   |        |
|    | (1710) in the possession of Marcus Walsh                                | 138    |
| 16 | The Battel of the Books. Section title. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub  |        |
|    | (1710) in the possession of Marcus Walsh                                | 139    |

ix



### X LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 17 | Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. Section |     |
|----|--|-----|
|    | title. From a copy of A Tale of a Tub (1710) in the possession of    |     |
|    | Marcus Walsh   | 166 |
| 18 | Miscellaneous Works, Comic and Diverting (1720). Title page. © The   |     |
|    | British Library Board. All rights reserved. Shelfmark 12331.bb.10    | 254 |
| 19 | A Tale of a Tub, 1704. Title page. © The British Library Board. All  |     |
|    | rights reserved. Shelfmark C.58.d.16                                 | 284 |



## THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT

## GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift is the first fully annotated scholarly edition ever undertaken of Swift's complete works in both verse and prose. The great editions of Swift by Herbert Davis and Harold Williams have remained standard for over half a century. We are all greatly indebted to them, but the time has come to replace or revise their texts and commentary in the light of subsequent historical, biographical and textual knowledge. Davis's fourteen-volume edition of the Prose Writings offered valuable introductions but no annotation. The commentary to his separate edition of The Drapier's Letters, and Williams's commentaries to the Poems and Journal to Stella, though excellent in their time, must now be supplemented by a considerable body of more recent scholarship. The Cambridge Edition's detailed introductions, notes and appendices aim to provide an informed understanding of Swift's place in the political and cultural history of England and Ireland, and to establish the historical, literary and bibliographical contexts of his immense achievement as a prose satirist, poet and political writer. The editors of individual volumes include distinguished historians, as well as leading scholars of eighteenth-century literature.

For the Cambridge Edition, Swift's texts will be collated and analysed afresh, with attention to new evidence of drafts, autographs, transcripts and printed editions, including revisions of Swift's own *Works*. All lifetime editions will be investigated for their authority. The choice of the version to be printed will be based on an assessment of the work's nature and of the particularities of its history. As a general rule the last authoritative version of the work will be chosen, but in the case of works that are bound in tightly to an immediate context of controversy (polemical tracts, for example), the first edition will usually be chosen instead. In all cases editors will have regard to Swift's overall conception of his text, including issues of typography and illustration. All substantial authorial variants will be recorded in the apparatus, along with those accidental variants editors deem significant, and full introductions will provide the history of the text and the rationale for editorial decisions.

хi



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the preparation of this volume, and especially in relation to the scientific background of the *Tale* and its sister texts, I have been both delighted and privileged to have the assistance of my one-time student and now colleague, Gregory Lynall, RCUK Fellow and now lecturer in English at the University of Liverpool. Dr Lynall's scholarship, precision and energy have informed and enriched the edition in general, and the annotations in particular, in many ways and at many points. The edition has benefited especially from his extensive learning in the relations of science and literature in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. The section of the Introduction on scientific contexts (2.6.3) was written by Dr Lynall.

I am heavily indebted to many friends and colleagues in Swift studies and editorial studies. I am hugely grateful to Hermann Real, and to Michael Suarez, SJ, and the Master and community of Campion Hall, for generous hospitality. Andrew Carpenter, Chris Fox, Martin Maner, Dirk Passmann and Howard Weinbrot kindly made available to me scholarly writings on Swift before their publication. I wish in particular to note the gracious and principled help of Dirk Passmann. If I have failed fully to benefit from the wisdom of Paul Baines, Andrew Carpenter, David Fairer, Chris Fox, Brean Hammond, Ian Higgins, Stephen Karian, Tom Keymer, Jim McLaverty, Hermann Real, Valerie Rumbold, Ian Small, Michael Suarez, SJ, Howard Weinbrot, Abigail Williams and James Woolley, in many enlightening conversations over many years, I've only myself to blame. I was first dragged to the river of Tale studies, many years ago, by John Muirhead and David Oakleaf (and, from a distance comfortably within the range of her powerful influence, Pat Brückmann); they will judge whether I have drunk to any purpose.

I have enjoyed discussing some of the editorial issues arising from this volume with colleagues at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the University of Leeds Eighteenth-Century Group, the University of Liverpool Eighteenth-Century Worlds seminar, the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, and the Oxford Bibliographical Society.

xii



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

X111

Dennis Wood generously helped with translations from Latin, and Sania Reddig and Alan Suter with translations from German.

An edition of this kind benefits both fortunately and inevitably from the work of previous scholars. My many specific debts are acknowledged in the appropriate places. I particularly wish to acknowledge how much this edition owes to the heroic pioneering work of A. C. Guthkelch (and David Nichol Smith). I have been consistently inspired, guided, provoked and informed, even where I have differed, by the example of two more recent Swift scholars and *Tale* editors, Frank H. Ellis and David Woolley; their recent deaths have been heavy blows to Swift studies.

My research for this volume has been carried out in the Bodleian Library, the British Library, Cambridge University Library, Leeds University Library, Liverpool University Library, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the library of the Ehrenpreis Center for Swift Studies, Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität, Münster. I would especially like to thank Hermann Real, Director of the Ehrenpreis Center; Carl Spadoni, of the Division of Archives and Research Collections at McMaster University Library; Chris Sheppard of the Brotherton Library at Leeds; and Maureen Watry of Special Collections at the University of Liverpool. I have more general, and long-standing, obligations to friends in the Department of Early Printed Collections at the British Library, especially Barry Taylor and Giles Mandelbrote.

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My work on this volume of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift was made possible by the offer of a new post at the University of Liverpool. I am deeply grateful for the personal and professional generosity offered from the very first by Phil Davis and Dinah Birch of the School of English.

I thank the General Editors for their support and advice. Claude Rawson communicated much information from his own researches. Ian Higgins, the General Editor with special responsibility for this volume, has been a model of omniscience, communication, tact and tolerance. My textual work on the volume owes more than I could begin to say to the expertise and practical help of Jim McLaverty. I am grateful for the careful aid of Adam Rounce and Paddy Bullard, AHRC Research Fellows.

My greatest debt, as ever, is to Wendy Perkins.

MARCUS WALSH School of English, University of Liverpool



## CHRONOLOGY

**1664** Marriage in Dublin of Swift's parents, Jonathan Swift the elder and Abigail Erick.

Birth of John Vanbrugh. Katherine Philips, *Poems* (pirated).

**1665** Second Anglo-Dutch War (until 1667). Commencement of *Philosophical Transactions* by Royal Society. Plague in London.

**1666** Fire of London. John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*; Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Satires*; Molière, *Le Misanthrope*.

**1667** March or April: Swift's father dies; 30 November: birth of Swift in Dublin.

Dismissal of Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon; the 'Cabal' administration of the government (until 1673). Death of Abraham Cowley. Birth of John Arbuthnot. John Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis, Indian Emperor, Of Dramatick Poesy*; John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1st edn); Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*.

**1668** Dryden appointed Poet Laureate. Beginning of *Mercurius Librarius (Term Catalogues)*; Cowley, *Works*, with life by Sprat.

**1670** Birth of William Congreve. Milton, *The History of Britain*; Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*; Izaak Walton, *Lives*.

**1671** Milton, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes.

1672 Third Anglo-Dutch War (until 1674); second Declaration of Indulgence. Births of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. John Sheffield, first Duke of Buckingham, *Rehearsal*; Andrew Marvell, *Rehearsal Transpros'd* (Pt II, 1673).

**1673** Second Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn, and Test Act signed. End of Cabal.

**1674** Death of Milton. Opening of Theatre Royal. Boileau, *L'Art Poétique*;

1673-82 Swift at school at Kilkenny

xiv



CHRONOLOGY

XV

Milton, *Paradise Lost* (2nd edn, in 12 books); Thomas Shadwell, *Enchanted Island*.

1675 William Wycherley, Country Wife.

**1676** George Etherege, *Man of Mode*; Shadwell, *Virtuoso*.

**1677** Aphra Behn, *The Rover*, Pt I (Pt II, 1681); Wycherley, *Plain Dealer*.

1678 Popish Plot. Death of Marvell; birth of George Farquhar. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, I (Pt II, 1684); Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, III.

**1679** Exclusion Crisis (until 1681). Birth of Thomas Parnell. Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation* (vols. II and III, 1681 and 1715).

1680 Deaths of Butler, John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, François de La Rochefoucauld. Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha*; Rochester, *Poems*; Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon, *Horace's Art of Poetry Made English*; Sir William Temple, *Miscellanea*, I.

1681 Thomas Burnet, Telluris Theoria Sacra, Books I and II; John Oldham, Satires Upon the Jesuits; Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel.

Death of Sir Thomas Browne. Dryden, The Medall, Religio Laici, Mac Flecknoe, Absalom and Achitophel, II; Lucretius, De rerum natura (tr. Thomas Creech); Thomas Otway, Venice Preserv'd; Sir William Petty, Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind.

1683 Rye House Plot. Death of Oldham.

**1684** Behn, Love-Letters Between a Noble-Man and his Sister (1684–7).

1685 February: Death of Charles II and Accession of James II. June to July: Monmouth Rebellion. October: Edict of Nantes revoked. Birth of John Gay; birth of George Berkeley. *Sylvae* (including contributions by Dryden); Dryden, 'To the Pious Memory of Mrs Anne Killigrew', *Threnodia Augustalis*.

1682 April: Swift admitted to Trinity College Dublin. He remains there until the outbreak of war between James II and William III.



xvi CHRONOLOGY

**1686** Swift takes his bachelor's degree by *speciali gratia* from TCD

Civil war breaks out in Ireland.

1689 January: Swift leaves for England; employed in Sir William Temple's household at Moor Park, near Farnham, Surrey; meets Esther Johnson (Stella), then eight years old.

**1690** May: Swift returns to Ireland, on doctors' advice, after first appearance of Ménière's disease.

**1691** Swift, *Ode. To the King.* Returns to Moor Park by end of year.

**1692** Swift, *Ode to the Athenian Society* (in supplement to *Athenian Gazette*, vol. V). Swift takes degree of MA at Oxford, for future purpose of ordination.

**1694** Swift returns to Ireland, takes deacon's orders.

**1695** January: Swift ordained priest, and becomes prebendary of Kilroot, near Belfast.

Behn, The Lucky Chance; Dryden, The Hind and the Panther, 'Song for St Cecilia's Day'.

**1687** April: James II's Declaration of Indulgence. Isaac Newton, *Principia*.

Glorious Revolution. November: William of Orange invades England; December: James II flees to France (transfer of the crown to William and Mary in 1689). Birth of Alexander Pope; death of Bunyan; Shadwell named Poet Laureate in succession to Dryden. Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des Anciens and des Modernes* (completed 1697).

Accession of William and Mary. Birth of Samuel Richardson; death of Behn. John Locke, *First Letter on Toleration*.

James II defeated by William III in Ireland (Battle of the Boyne) and flees to France. Dryden, Don Sebastian; Locke, Two Treatises of Government, Essay Concerning Human Understanding (enlarged 1694–1700), Second Letter on Toleration; Petty, Political Arithmetick (see 1682); Temple, Miscellanea, II, includes 'An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning', which triggers Phalaris controversy (rev. edn 1692).

Treaty of Limerick ends war in Ireland.

Death of Shadwell. Locke, *Third Letter on Toleration*; Thomas Rymer, *Short View of Tragedy*.

**1693** Beginning of National Debt. Congreve, *Old Batchelor*; Dryden, 'Discourse Concerning Satire', prefixed to trs. of Juvenal and Persius; Locke, *Thoughts Concerning Education*.

Death of Mary II; Founding of Bank of England. Congreve, *Double Dealer*; *Dictionary* of French Academy; William Wotton, *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*.

Death of Henry Purcell. Richard Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*; Charles Boyle, ed., *Epistles of Phalaris*; Congreve, *Love for* 



CHRONOLOGY XVII

**1696–9** Swift at Moor Park, at work on *A Tale of a Tub* and related writings.

Bentley, 'Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris' (in 2nd edn of Wotton's Reflections, see 1694); Blackmore, King Arthur; Dryden, Works of Virgil; Vanbrugh, Provok'd Wife.

Birth of William Hogarth. Richard

Love; Locke, Reasonableness of Christianity and Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity (second Vindication, 1697);

Thomas Southerne, Oroonoko.

1698 Boyle, Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examin'd; Jeremy Collier, Short View of the English Stage; Daniel Defoe, Enquiry into Occasional Conformity; William Molyneux, The Case of Ireland Stated.

Bentley, Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Honourable Charles Boyle; Samuel Garth, The Dispensary.

**1699** January: death of Temple. August: Swift returns to Ireland as chaplain to Earl of Berkeley, Lord Justice of Ireland. Writes 'When I come to be Old'. November: Swift's edition of Temple's *Letters* (dated 1700) is published.

1700 February: Swift appointed Vicar of Laracor, Co. Meath. October: appointed prebendary of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

Death of Charles II of Spain; final statute against Catholics; dispute over Irish forfeitures; Act of Resumption; death of Duke of Gloucester; Partition Treaty. Death of Dryden; birth of James Thomson. Blackmore, Satire against Wit; Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quixote, tr. Peter Motteux; Congreve, Way of the World; Dryden, Fables and Secular Masque; François Fénelon, Dialogue des Morts; James Harrington, Works, with life by John Toland; Matthew Prior, Carmen Seculare.

Death of James II; his son, James Francis Edward (b. 1688), 'Pretender' to the throne, recognized by Louis XIV; Act of Settlement; general election (Tory landslide); Impeachment of John, Baron Somers; general election (Whig recovery). Addison, 'Letter to Halifax' (written); Charles Davenant, Essay on the Balance of Power, John Dennis, Advancement of Modern Poetry, Steele, Christian Hero.

Death of William III, accession of Anne; Tory ministry; Godolphin–Marlborough influence; Edward Harley Speaker of the House of Commons; War of Spanish

1701 April: Swift goes to England with Lord Berkeley; August: Esther Johnson's move to Dublin; September: Swift moves back to Dublin with Rochester, new Lord Lieutenant. October: Swift, *Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome*; Swift's edition of Temple, *Miscellanea*, III.

1702 February: Swift takes the degree DD, Trinity College, Dublin. April: travels to England. August: writes 'Meditation on a Broomstick' (published in



xviii CHRONOLOGY

Miscellanies, 1711). October: returns to Ireland.

1703 November: travels to England, and stays until May 1704. Swift's edition of Temple, *Letters to the King*.

1704 May: publication of *Tale of a Tub*, containing also 'Battel of the Books', and 'Mechanical Operation of the Spirit'. Second and third edns follow this year. 1 June: arrives back in Dublin; there or in Laracor until November 1707.

1705 Tale of a Tub, fourth edn.

Succession. Clarendon, History of the Great Rebellion (1702–4); Defoe, Shortest-Way with the Dissenters; William King, De Origine Mali; Observator (1702–12); Poems on Affairs of State (1702–7); Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, Paradoxes of State.

First Occasional Conformity Bill defeated in Lords; campaign in Flanders; Great Storm (27 November); Defoe imprisoned, pilloried and released. Abel Boyer, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (1703–13); Steele, *The Lying Lover*; Ned Ward, *London Spy* (collected edn, eighteen monthly parts, November 1698–1703)

Battle of Blenheim; Queen Anne's bounty; Ministry of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, resigns; Harley Secretary of State; Henry St John Secretary at War; death of Locke. Defoe, Review (1704–12); Dennis, Grounds of Criticism in Poetry and Liberty Asserted; Wycherley, Miscellany Poems

General election, Whig victory, 'Junto' administration; John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough breaks through lines of Brabant; 'Church in Danger'; Haymarket Opera House opened by Vanbrugh; Addison Commissioner of Appeals. Addison, The Campaign and Remarks on Italy; Samuel Clarke, Being and Attributes of God; Bernard Mandeville, The Grumbling Hive; Steele, The Tender Husband; Toland, Socinianism Truly Stated; Vanbrugh, The Confederacy; Wotton, Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, 3rd edn, with a Defense of the Reflections, including 'Observations upon The Tale of a Tub'.

1706 Act of Succession; Battle of Ramillies; Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State; Steele made Gazetteer; death of John Evelyn; birth of Benjamin Franklin. Addison, Rosamond; Farquhar, The Recruiting Officer; Locke, Conduct of Understanding, On Miracles and Fourth Letter on Toleration; White Kennett, Complete History of England (1706–19).



CHRONOLOGY

xix

1707 April: Swift writes 'Story of the Injured Lady'. August: writes 'Tritical Essay'. November: Swift in London on Church of Ireland business; meets Addison, Steele and other authors; writes tracts on political and ecclesiastical issues; begins friendship with Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa).

1708 January: Swift, Predictions for 1708; March: Elegy on Partridge, Account of Partridge's Death; December: Letter concerning the Sacramental Test; writes Sentiments of a Church of England Man (published 1711); writes Argument against Abolishing Christianity.

1709 April: Swift, Famous Prediction of Merlin, A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Project for the Advancement of Religion. 'Baucis and Philemon' published in various locations. Steele starts The Tatler (12 April); Swift's 'A Description of the Morning' appears in No. 9 (30 April). Swift's edition of Temple, Memoirs III. June: returns to Dublin.

1710 Tale of a Tub, fifth edn. Swift arrives in London on 1 September, travelling on behalf of the Church of Ireland soliciting for a remission of some financial imposts on the clergy of the Church of Ireland; begins epistolary diary known as *Journal to Stella*, 1710–13; Swift's letter on corruptions of style published as *The Tatler*, No. 230. October: meets Harley, leader of the new Tory government; still dining regularly with Addison and Steele; 'A Description of a City Shower' appears in *The Tatler*, No. 238; November: takes over pro-government paper, *The Examiner*.

Union of England and Scotland; births of Henry Fielding and Charles Wesley. Colley Cibber, Comical Lovers, The Double Gallant and The Lady's Last Stake; Defoe, Modest Vindication of Present Ministry; Farquhar, The Beaux' Stratagem; Delarivier Manley, Almyna; John Philips, Ode to Bolingbroke; Prior, Poems on Several Occasions (pirated); Thomas Tickell, Oxford.

Battle of Oudenarde; Harley and St John resign; Catalonia Campaign; Somers returns to office; Naturalization Act; Addison Keeper of Records, Dublin Castle. Joseph Bingham, Origines Ecclesiasticae; Collier, Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain (1708–14); Bernard Le Bovier, sieur de Fontenelle, Dialogues of the Dead, tr. John Hughes; Locke, Letters; John Philips, Cyder; Shaftesbury, Letter Concerning Enthusiasm; Lewis Theobald, Persian Princess.

Charles XII defeated at Pultawa; Henry Sacheverell's sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren*; births of Samuel Johnson and George Lyttelton; Copyright Act (first, fourteen-year term, renewable for another fourteen if author is alive); Steele dismissed from the *Gazette*. Berkeley, *New Theory of Vision*; Manley, *The New Atalantis*; Ambrose Philips, 'Pastorals' and Pope, 'Pastorals', published in the Tonson *Poetical Miscellanies* VI; Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions*; Nicholas Rowe's edn of Shakespeare (1709–10); Shaftesbury, *The Moralists*.

January: Marlborough threatens to resign commission over Tory influence of Abigail Masham at court. March: trial of Sacheverell ends disappointingly for Whig managers. August: Sidney, first Earl of Godolphin dismissed as Lord Treasurer, replaced by Tory treasury under Robert Harley. October: landslide victory brings Tories to power. Samuel Clements, Faults on Both Sides; Berkeley, Principles of Human Knowledge; September: Addison begins The Whig Examiner. Pierre Bayle, Dictionary, first English edn; Congreve, Collected Works; Manley, Memoirs of Europe.

#### XX CHRONOLOGY

1711 February: Swift attends Harley's 'Saturday Club' dinners; publishes *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (includes 'Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man' and 'Argument Against Abolishing Christianity'). September: Death of Swift's friend Anne Long. November: Swift, *Conduct of the Allies*.

1712 May: Swift, Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue. August: Swift, Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty. Formation of the 'Scriblerus Club' with Pope, Gay, Parnell and Arbuthnot.

1713 January: Swift, Mr. C[olli]ns's Discourse of Free-Thinking, put into Plain English. May: public acrimony between Swift and Steele. June: Swift installed as Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. October: Swift, Importance of the Guardian Considered; composes 'Cadenus and Vanessa'.

1714 February: Swift, Public Spirit of the Whigs; declared 'seditious and scandalous libel' by Lords; Swift Governor of Bethlehem Hospital ('Bedlam'). March: Swift helps draft Queen's speech. June: Swift leaves London for Letcombe Basset, Berkshire; writes Some Free Thoughts (not published until 1741). August: sails for Dublin, beginning of six-year break from publication.

**1719** March 13: Swift writes birthday verses for Stella.

1720 Swift, Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture; at subsequent trial of its printer, Edward Waters, Chief Justice Whitshed refuses to accept 'not guilty' verdict from jury.

January: Peace conference at Utrecht begins. February: Tory 'October Club' attacks Harley for perceived moderation. March: assassination attempt by Marquis de Guiscard on Harley. May: Robert Harley created Lord Treasurer and Earl of Oxford. November: Nottingham (Swift's 'Dismal') breaks with Harley. December: Marlborough dismissed. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*; Steele, *The Tatler* final number, January; Addison and Steele, *The Spectator* (1 March 1711 – 6 December 1712); Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*.

July: St John created Viscount Bolingbroke. October: Oxford and Bolingbroke clash in cabinet. Pope, Rape of the Lock (two-canto version); Arbuthnot, Proposal for an Art of Political Lying.

March: Peace and commerce treaties signed by Britain and France at Utrecht. August: Bolingbroke's bid to control ministry defeated by Harley; general election, another Tory victory. December: Queen Anne seriously ill. Pope, Windsor-Forest; Gay, Rural Sports; Parnell, Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry; Addison, Cato; Steele, The Guardian, The Englishman.

January: Steele, *Crisis*. July: Oxford dismissed by Queen Anne. August: death of Queen Anne; accession of George I. Beginning of Whig supremacy.

**1715** June: Pope, *Iliad*, first books published.

1717 January: Pope, Gay and Arbuthnot, Three Hours After Marriage. Pope, Works.

1718 Death of Parnell.

June: death of Addison.

March: Declaratory Act (that the British parliament may make laws binding on Ireland). August: collapse of the 'South Sea Bubble'. November: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon begin publishing *Cato's Letters*.

CHRONOLOGY

xxi

**1721** April: earliest references to writing of *Gulliver's Travels*, in a letter to Charles Ford. Swift travels over four hundred miles on his 'Summer Rambles' in Ireland.

1722 April: Swift begins six-month tour of northern Ireland.

1723 June: death of Vanessa; Swift begins four-month tour of southern Ireland.

1724 January: Swift finishes book four of Gulliver's Travels, and begins book three. March: Letter to the Shopkeepers of Ireland (first Drapier's Letter). August: Letter to Harding (second Drapier's Letter). September: Some Observations (third Drapier's Letter). October: Letter to Whole People of Ireland (fourth Drapier's Letter). December: Letter to Molesworth (fifth Drapier's Letter)

**1725** April: Swift created freeman of City of Dublin. April–October: Swift and Stella at Quilca with Sheridan family; completion of *Gulliver's Travels*.

1726 March: Swift travels to London. April: audience with Princess of Wales. Meetings with patriot members of opposition, and with Walpole. May: at Pope's Twickenham villa with Gay and Martha Blount; visits Richard Temple, first Viscount Cobham at Stowe; Stella seriously ill. August: returns to Dublin amid public acclamation. 28 October: first edn of *Gulliver's Travels*.

1727 January: Swift attempts to correct early editions of *Gulliver*. April: travels to London for his last English visit. June: Pope/Swift *Miscellanies*, vols. I and II. August: returns to Ireland, writing 'Holyhead Journal' during a week of delays before crossing.

1728 January: death of Stella. Swift, 'On the Death of Mrs Johnson'. March: 'last'

Emergence of Robert Walpole as *de facto* Prime Minister. September: death of Prior. December: Parnell, *Poems on Several Occasions*, with Pope's 'Epistle to Oxford' as preface.

July: patent to strike copper coins for Ireland granted to William Wood. August: Francis Atterbury implicated in Jacobite 'Layer's Plot'.

May: trial of Bishop Atterbury. June: exile of Atterbury.

May: death of Oxford. October: £300 reward offered for naming of the author of fourth *Drapier's Letter*. Burnet, *History of his Own Time*.

April: Bolingbroke returns from exile in France. September: cancellation of William Wood's patent. Pope's edition of Shakespeare and translation of Homer's *Odyssey* (to 1726).

March: Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*. December: William Pulteney and Bolingbroke launch opposition periodical *The Craftsman*.

June: death of George I, accession of George II. Autumn: floods and crop failures in Ireland. Death of Newton. Gay, *Fables*.

January: Gay's Beggar's Opera begins triumphant run at Lincoln's Inn Fields.



#### xxii CHRONOLOGY

volume of Pope/Swift Miscellanies; Swift, A Short View of the State of Ireland. May: Swift and Sheridan begin The Intelligencer, runs until May 1729.

**1729** October: Swift, *A Modest Proposal*. December: Swift meets Laetitia Pilkington, author of *Memoirs* (1748–54) concerning Swift, and her husband Matthew.

1730 February: Swift tells Pope of his friendship with a 'triumfeminate' of Dublin literary Bluestockings (Mary Barber, Constantia Grierson, Mrs Sican).

**1731** Swift works on *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift* (published 1739) and the scatological poems published in 1734.

1732 April: Swift, Life and Character of Dr Swift. June: Swift, The Lady's Dressing Room. October: Pope/Swift Miscellanies, 'third' vol.; Swift has met his future biographer, the Earl of Orrery.

1734 A letter of commendation from Swift appears as preface to Mary Barber's *Poems on Several Occasions*. November: George Faulkner begins to publish Swift's *Works* in Dublin. December: Swift, *A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed* published with 'Strephon and Chloe' and 'Cassinus and Peter'.

1735 Death of Swift's faithful housekeeper, Mrs Brent. Faulkner publishes first four volumes of *The Works of J.S., D.D., D.S.P.D.*, with revised/restored *Gulliver's Travels* as vol. III.

**1736** December: Swift tells Pope that 'I now neither read, nor write; nor remember, nor converse. All I have left is to walk, and ride.' June: *A Character of the Legion Club*.

**1737** August: Swift created freeman of the City of Cork.

May: Pope, *Dunciad*; numerous printed attacks on Pope.

April: Pope, Dunciad Variorum.

Charles, second Viscount Townshend resigns as Secretary of State. Trial of Francis Charteris. Cibber made Poet Laureate

December: Pope, *Epistle to Burlington*. First issue of *Gentleman's Magazine*. Death of Defoe.

December: death of Gay. Hogarth, *Harlot's Progress*.

1733 January: Pope, Epistle to Bathurst. February: Pope, first Imitation of Horace; An Essay on Man. Excise Crisis.

January: Pope, *Epistle to Cobham*. Hogarth, *Rake's Progress* (engravings published 1735).

January: Pope, *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. February: death of Arbuthnot. Bolingbroke returns to France. April: Pope, *Works* II.

Porteous Riots; repeal of Test and Corporation Acts defeated. Joseph Butler, Analogy of Religion.

May: Pope's edn of his letters. Prince of Wales expelled from court; death of Queen Caroline.



CHRONOLOGY XXIII

**1738** Spring: Swift, *Genteel and Ingenious Conversation*; fifth and sixth volumes of the Faulkner *Works*.

October: death of Thomas Sheridan. Pope visited by Bolingbroke. Last report of Society for Reformation of Manners.

1739 January: Swift, Verses on the Death of Dr Swift, edited by Pope and William King, followed by Dublin edition in February.

October: War of Jenkins' Ear.

1740 May: Swift makes his last will, on the brink of his final decline; bequests to Rebecca Dingley (Stella's companion), Martha Whiteway (guardian during his final years), and others; land purchased for St Patrick's Hospital. First printing of the Swift–Pope letters.

War of Austrian Succession.

**1742** November: Swift's understanding 'quite gone'.

March: Pope, *The New Dunciad* (i.e. book IV).

1745 19 October: death of Swift.

1744 May: death of Pope.Death of Walpole. Jacobite rebellion.



## **ABBREVIATIONS**

The Bible and Apocrypha are quoted from the Authorized Version (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.). All texts and translations from Greek and Latin classical works are from the Loeb editions unless otherwise stated. The Loeb edition used is identified by date of publication.

Shakespeare is quoted from *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

1720 Miscellaneous Works, Comical and Diverting: by

T.R.D.J.S.D.O.P.I.I., 'London, Society de propagando, &c.';

[really The Hague, Thomas Johnson, 1720]

Account Books Paul V. Thompson and Dorothy J. Thompson (eds.), The

Account Books of Jonathan Swift, Newark: University of

Delaware Press, 1984

Alumni Oxon J. Foster (ed.), Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the

University of Oxford, 1715-1886, 4 vols., 1887-8; repr.

8 vols., Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2000

Bacon The Oxford Francis Bacon, ed. Lisa Jardine et al., Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1996–

Ball, The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D., ed. F. Elrington

Correspondence Ball, 6 vols., London: G. Bell & Sons, 1910-14

Bayle Pierre Bayle, An Historical and Critical Dictionary, tr. Pierre

Desmaizeaux, 4 vols., London, 1710

Bentley, Corres. Richard Bentley, The Correspondence of Richard Bentley, D.D.,

ed. C. Wordsworth, 2 vols., London: John Murray, 1842; facs. repr. (in 1 vol.) Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1977
Richard Bentley. A Dissertation when the Epistles of Phalaris

Bentley, Richard Bentley, A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris.

Dissertation In Wotton, Reflections (1697)

(1697)

Bentley, Richard Bentley, A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris.

Dissertation With an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles

(1699) *Boyle*, London, 1699

Bentley, Works Richard Bentley, The Works, ed. Alexander Dyce, 3 vols.,

London: Francis Macpherson, 1838–40; facs. repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971

BJECS British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies

xxiv



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

XXV

BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester

BL British Library
BM British Museum
Bodl. Bodleian Library

Boyle, Charles Boyle [actually Francis Atterbury, George Smalridge, Examination Robert Freind, John Freind and Anthony Alsop], Dr Bentley's

Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop, Examin'd, London, 1698

Boyle, Phalaris Charles Boyle [with John Freind et al.], Phalaridis

Agrigentinorum Tyranni Epistolæ. Ex MSS. Recensuit, versione, annotationibus, & Vita insuper authoris donavit, Oxford, 1695

Boyle, Works Robert Boyle, Works, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B.

Davis, 14 vols., London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999–2000

Brown, Tom Brown, Amusements Serious and Comical, and other

Amusements

Works, ed. Arthur L. Hayward, London: Routledge, 1927

Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George

Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, ed. Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, 2 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007

Burton Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Thomas C.

Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling and Rhonda L. Blair, intro. J. B. Bamborough, 6 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989–

2000

CQ Cambridge Quarterly

CUL Cambridge University Library

Curll, Key Edmund Curll, A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub; with some

Account of the Authors, the Occasion and Design of Writing it, and Mr. Wotton's Remarks Examin'd, London, 1710

Davis The Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift, ed. Herbert Davis et al.,

16 vols., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939-74

DNB Dictionary of National Biography

Dryden The Works of John Dryden, ed. H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. et al.,

20 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California

Press, 1956-2000

ECCO Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, Thomson Gale, online

subscription database

ECI Eighteenth-Century Ireland
ECL Eighteenth-Century Life
ECS Eighteenth-Century Studies

EEBO Early English Books Online, Chadwyck-Healey, online

subscription database

EHR English Historical Review

Ehrenpreis Irvin Ehrenpreis, Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age,

3 vols., London: Methuen, 1962–83



HIHLB

HLQ

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-82894-9 - A Tale of a Tub and Other Works Jonathan Swift Edited by Marcus Walsh Frontmatter More information

> xxvi LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ehrenpreis, Marginal annotations by Irvin Ehrenpreis in a copy of A Tale of a Tub with other Early Works, ed. Herbert Davis, Oxford: Davis Blackwell, 1939, in the library of the Ehrenpreis Center for Marginalia Swift Studies, Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität, Münster

Marginal annotations by Irvin Ehrenpreis in a copy of GS in

Ehrenpreis, GS the library of the Ehrenpreis Center for Swift Studies, Marginalia

Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität, Münster

**EIC** Essays in Criticism

ELHELH: English Literary History ELNEnglish Language Notes

ESEnglish Studies

**ESTC** English Short Title Catalogue

GMThe Gentleman's Magazine (1731–1907)

A Tale of a Tub: To which is added The Battle of the Books and GS The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1958

Harth Harth, Phillip, Swift and Anglican Rationalism: The Religious

Background of 'A Tale of a Tub', Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1961 The Historical Journal Harvard Library Bulletin Huntington Library Quarterly

Hudibras Samuel Butler, Hudibras, ed. John Wilders, Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1967

Journal of English and Germanic Philology **JEGP** 

IHIJournal of the History of Ideas

**JWCI** Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

LGThe London Gazette

Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, The Library and Library

> Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook, Part 1: Swift's Library in Four Volumes, Frankfurt am Main:

Peter Lang, 2003

Loeb The Loeb Classical Library

London Spy Ned Ward, The London Spy, 4th edn, London, 1709, ed. Paul

Hyland, East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993

Marvell, Prose The Prose Works of Andrew Marvell, ed. Annabel Patterson

et al., 2 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003

Milton, The Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Helen Darbishire,

Poetical Works 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952-5

Milton, Prose The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, ed. D. M. Wolfe

et al., 8 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82

MLNModern Language Notes



### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS XXVII

MLQ Modern Language Quarterly
MLR Modern Language Review

More, Henry More, Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, or, A Discourse of the
Enthusiasmus Nature, Causes, Kinds, and Cure, of Enthusiasme; Written by
Philophilus Parresiastes, and Prefixed to Alazonomastix His
Observations and Reply, London, 1656; facs. repr., ed.

G. A. J. Rogers, Bristol: Thoemmes, 1997

Moréri Louis Moréri, *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary*; facs. repr. of the 6th edn of 1694, 2 vols.,

London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1999

MPh Modern Philology

MS Pate Notes derived from a now lost MS by 'Mr Pate', printed in

The Works of the Rev. Jonathan Swift, ed. Thomas Sheridan

and John Nichols, 19 vols., London, 1808, Vol. II

Münster [date] Reading Swift: Papers from the Münster Symposium, ed.

Hermann J. Real et al. (1985, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008)

NGQ Notes and Queries
NT New Testament

ODNB The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OED Oxford English Dictionary

OT Old Testament

Paulson Ronald Paulson, Theme and Structure in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub',

New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960; repr. Hamden,

CT: Archon Books, 1972

PBA Proceedings of the British Academy

PBSA Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America POAS Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714,

ed. G. deF. Lord et al., 7 vols., New Haven: Yale University

Press, 1963-75

PQ Philological Quarterly

PT Philosophical Transactions, ed. Henry Oldenburgh et al., 177

vols., London, 1665–1886

Rabelais, François Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel, tr. Sir Thomas
Gargantua Urquhart and Pierre Le Motteux, New York, London and

and Pantagruel Toronto: Everyman's Library, 1994

Real The Battle of the Books: Eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe, ed.

Hermann J. Real, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter,

1978

RES Review of English Studies
RS Renaissance Studies
SB Studies in Bibliography
SC Seventeenth Century



### XXVIII LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Scriblerian The Scriblerians and the Kit-Cats
SECC Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture

SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900

SP Studies in Philology

Spectator The Spectator, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols., Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1965

SR The Stationers' Register

SStud Swift Studies

Tatler The Tatler, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1987

TC The Term Catalogues

TCBS Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society

TCC Trinity College, Cambridge TCD Trinity College, Dublin

Temple, Early Sir William Temple, The Early Essays and Romances of Sir Essays William Temple, Bt., ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1930

Temple, Five Sir William Temple, Five Miscellaneous Essays, ed. Samuel

Essays H. Monk, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963

Tilley, Proverbs Morris P. Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Ann Arbor: University of

Michigan, 1950

TS H. Teerink, A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift,

2nd edn, ed. Arthur H. Scouten, Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 1963 Tulane Studies in English

TSLL Texas Studies in Literature and Language

UTQ University of Toronto Quarterly

TSE

Williams, JSt Journal to Stella, ed. Harold Williams, 2 vols., Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1948

Williams, Poems The Poems of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harold Williams, 2nd edn,

3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958

Woolley, Corr. The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D., ed. David

Woolley, 4 vols., Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999-

Wotton, Defense William Wotton, A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and

Modern Learning, in Answer to the Objections of Sir W. Temple

and Others. With Observations upon The Tale of a Tub,

London, 1705

Wotton, Marginal annotations by William Wotton in a copy of the first edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, now in the Mills Library of McMaster University, Canada (shelf-mark B170). This copy bears the bookplates of Swift's friend or hanger-on Knightley

Chetwood (or Chetwode) 'of Woodbrook in Queen's County



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xxix

in *Ireland*' (see Ehrenpreis, vol. III, pp. 59–62); and of Arthur M. Brown. GS (p. 314) reports this copy as having been in the possession of Major Chetwood-Aiken in 1919 William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern* 

Wotton, William Wotton, Reflect Reflections Learning, London, 1694

(1694)

Wotton, William Wotton, Reflections upon Ancient and Modern
Reflections Learning. Second Edition, with Large Additions. With a

(1697) Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates,

Euripides, etc. and Æsop's fables. By Dr Bentley, London, 1697

Wotton, William Wotton, Reflections upon Ancient and Modern
Reflections Learning. To which is now Added, a Defense thereof, in Answer
(1705) to the Objections of Sir W. Temple, and others. With Observations
upon the Tale of a Tub. Also, a Dissertation upon the Epistles of

upon the Tale of a Tuo. Also, a Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris . . . and Æsop's Fables. By Dr Bentley, D.D., 3rd edn,

London, 1705

YES Yearbook of English Studies

Shortened forms of Swift's works

Argument An Argument against Abolishing Christianity

Battel The Battel of the Books
Conduct The Conduct of the Allies

Discourse A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions

Examiner The Examiner
Gulliver Gulliver's Travels
Intelligencer Papers

Letter to a Young A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Enter'd into Holy

Gentleman Orders

Modest Proposal A Modest Proposal

Mr Collins's Mr Collins's Discourse of Free-Thinking

Discourse

Project A Project for the Advancement of Religion
Proposal for A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars

Giving Badges

Publick Spirit The Publick Spirit of the Whigs

Remarks Remarks upon a Book, intitled, the Rights of the Christian Church

Sentiments The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man

Short View A Short View of the State of Ireland

Tale A Tale of a Tub