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Jonathan Swift , Edited by Valerie Rumbold
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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF
JONATHAN SWIFT

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JONATHAN SWIFT

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JONATHAN SWIFT

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JONATHAN SWIFT

Parodies, Hoaxes,
Mock Treatises

POLITE CONVERSATION, DIRECTIONS
TO SERVANTS AND OTHER WORKS

Edited by
VALERIE RUMBOLD



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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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous assistance that so many colleagues have given to this project. First of all, I am grateful to the general editors of *CWJS*, Ian Gadd, Ian Higgins, Claude Rawson and David Womersley, for allowing a confirmed Pope editor to take on Swift, and for their warm support and many helpful suggestions over the years since I wrote my initial proposal in 2002. Since at that point I was already committed to editing the 1728 and 1729 *Dunciads* for the Longman Annotated English Poets *Poems of Alexander Pope*, which appeared in 2007, I particularly appreciate their willingness to accommodate a delayed start on Swift. Among fellow-labourers on *CWJS* and the associated electronic Jonathan Swift Archive (jonathanswiftarchive.org.uk), I am especially grateful to Paddy Bullard, Sean Connolly, Daniel Cook, David Hayton, Stephen Karian, Adam Rounce, Marcus Walsh and James Woolley for their generous assistance and sharing of expertise; and, for astuteness, patience and hospitality on a heroic scale, it is, as always, a particular pleasure to thank James McLaverty. Special thanks are also due to John Burrows, for sharing and discussing his work on the computer analysis of *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* (Appendix H). Many others too have responded with patience and generosity to repeated requests and enquiries: I would like to thank particularly Stephen Bernard, David Fairer, Alexander Lindsay, George Lukowski, Greg Lynall, Paddy Lyons, James May, Richard McCabe, Thomas McGeary, John McTague, Pat Rogers and Min Wild.

My colleagues in the English Department at the University of Birmingham have been an indispensable source of discussion, support and expertise over many years, and I owe a particular debt to Hugh Adlington, Maureen Bell, David Griffith, Tom Lockwood, Anne McDermott, Sebastian Mitchell, Kate Rumbold, Gillian Wright and other members, past and present, of the Restoration, Eighteenth Century and Romantics cluster. Marilyn Washbrook and Bonnie Graham have been unfailingly generous with practical assistance and know-how, and my colleagues in Arts IT have dealt quickly and cheerfully with many technological issues along the way. The enthusiasm of students who have worked on Swift with me in

'Imagining the City', 'Gossip, Scandal and Celebrity' and 'Writing Revolutions' has been an inspiration throughout. I should also like to put on record how much I owe to Susan Hunston, as always, for her wisdom and kindness during my work on this project.

At the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, I would like to thank Hermann Real and his colleagues for their generous invitation to the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, and for the many illuminating contacts, conversations and suggestions that have resulted. It was also a delight to return to Jesus College Cambridge for part of my research leave in 2009: I am grateful to the Master and Fellows for their welcome, and to the President, Michael Minden, for his help in arranging my stay. Working with Linda Bree and Maartje Scheltens at Cambridge University Press, and in the final stages benefiting also from Leigh Mueller's rigour and insight as copy-editor, has made the work a pleasure throughout: it has been a privilege to work with publishers so committed to the value of scholarly editing.

This volume would not have been possible without the good will and expertise of many libraries and collections, both those that I have visited in person and those that have provided information, and in some cases images, at a distance. I am especially grateful to the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham, the British Library, the Bodleian and English Faculty Libraries of the University of Oxford, the University Library of the University of Cambridge, the Manuscripts and Special Collections of the University of Nottingham, the Morgan Library in New York, and the Houghton Library of Harvard College (for acknowledgements in respect of the images reproduced in this volume, see list of illustrations). In addition, my particular thanks are due for repeated access to the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge, where I had the privilege of working with treasures from the Rothschild collection: especially memorable was my work on the Rothschild manuscript of *Directions to Servants* amid the snows of early 2009. In London, I have also benefited from access to Swift manuscripts in the Forster collection at the National Library of Art; and, at the British Library, I am especially grateful to Moira Goff for arranging access to rare items relating to *A Famous Prediction of Merlin*. The Huntington Library in San Marino, California, in collaboration with the British Academy, generously granted me a month's fellowship in 2009 to work on the outstanding collection of Swift puns, wordgames and associated material drawn upon in George Mayhew's *Raillery or Rage* and other writings: I could not have completed this volume without sustained attention to this material, and I am

grateful to have had the opportunity to study it in such beautiful surroundings and in the supportive and stimulating company of the other fellows and readers there. It was also a particular boon to be able to do this work in a library where – an increasing rarity today – unbroken runs of hard-copy periodicals are still accessible on the open shelves. The friendliness and patience of the Huntington staff enabled me to settle in quickly and to make the most of my visit, and it was also my good fortune to enjoy the hospitality provided by Carol Econn in her delightful garden house.

Textual work that involves a large number of disparate items – rather more than forty in the case of the present volume – takes a proportionate amount of time, and the University of Birmingham has supported me with two indispensable semesters of study leave, in 2005 and 2009. The first of these enabled me to tabulate and assess the range of potential authorities for the items in the present volume, and the second, combined with funded leave provided by the Research Leave Scheme of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), enabled me to complete the project. I am particularly grateful to the AHRC for prompt and constructive help with administrative aspects of the award, and for granting an extension to the final report date when it became clear, from closer investigation of the materials, that there were further worthwhile opportunities to be explored, as well as obstacles to be confronted.

One thing that has become very clear during my work on this volume is that we are still very much at the beginning of the transformation of literary research by the digitisation of the print record; and while the resources of *ESTC*, *Literature Online*, *EEBO*, *ECCO I* and, towards the end of the project, *ECCO II* have made possible a significant advance on many fronts, both textual and interpretative, it is obvious that much more relevant evidence is likely to emerge, and to become more readily manipulable, over the coming years. While it has been illuminating to have the opportunity, during the first decade of the twenty-first century, to look again at the witnesses for the texts of these Swift works, and at some of the contexts within which they might be read, I am under no illusion that the issues explored in the present volume will be set in stone any time soon. One of the pleasures of editing this particular volume of *CWJS* has been the hope of offering easier access to writings often overshadowed, both in critical reception and in undergraduate syllabuses, by repeated discussion of a rather narrow range of familiar Swift works. Another has been the opportunity of reappraising potential connections between writings concerned with crucial topics in language and manners, as well as with the genres of hoax and parody. With a refreshed

focus on textual transmission, and a more explicit and fuller commentary, I hope that more readers will be encouraged to explore further beyond the beaten track.

Fascinating as Swift and the textual issues surrounding his oeuvre can be, they have arguably rather little to contribute to domestic felicity, and I am grateful to Ian for refraining from making this point nearly as often as might have been tempting over the past decade. I am grateful, as ever, for his sustaining care and support in enabling me to bring the project to a conclusion, the more so since these have been years in which he has had projects and travels of his own to attend to; and, while fresh woods and pastures new might be a somewhat tall order after so many years devoted first to Pope and then to Swift, I look forward to a future in which the pair of them might consent, at the very least, to take their places among a somewhat wider range of the concerns that might reasonably interest a human person.

VALERIE RUMBOLD

CHRONOLOGY

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

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

1673–82 Swift at school at Kilkenny.

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*.

Dismissal 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*; Milton, *Paradise Lost* (2nd edn, in

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- 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*.
- 1682** April: Swift admitted to Trinity College Dublin. He remains there until the outbreak of war between James II and William III.
- 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. *Sylva* (including contributions by Dryden); Dryden, 'To the Pious Memory of Mrs Anne Killigrew', *Threnodia Augustalis*.

xviii CHRONOLOGY

1686 Swift takes his bachelor's degree *speciali gratia* from Trinity College Dublin.

1688 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.

Behn, *The Lucky Chance*.

1687 April: James II's Declaration of Indulgence. Isaac Newton, *Principia*; Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*; 'Song for St. Cecelia's Day'.

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*.

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

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

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.

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.

Death of Henry Purcell. Richard Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*; Charles Boyle, ed., *Epistles of Phalaris*; Congreve, *Love for Love*; Locke, *Reasonableness of Christianity* and *Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity* (second *Vindication*, 1697); Thomas Southerne, *Oroonoko*.

1697 Birth of William Hogarth. Richard 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*.

1698 Boyle, *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examined*; Jeremy Collier, *Short View of the English Stage*; 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*.

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, recognised 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*.

1702 February: Swift takes the degree DD, Trinity College Dublin. April: travels to England. August: writes 'Meditation on a Broomstick' (published in *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 'Battle 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*, 4th edn.

Death of William III, accession of Anne; Tory ministry; influence of Sydney, first Earl of Godolphin, and John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough; Robert Harley Speaker of the House of Commons; War of Spanish Succession. Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion* (1702–4); Defoe, *Enquiry into Occasional Conformity*, *Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*; William King, *De Origine Mali*; *Observer* (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; Marlborough breaks through lines at 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

- 1707** April: Swift writes 'Story of the Injured Lady'. August: writes 'Critical 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 Tub*, fifth edn, with 'Apology' and notes. 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*, 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).
- 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, Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions* (pirated); Thomas Tickell, *Oxford*.
- Battle of Oudenarde; Harley and St John resign; Catalonia Campaign; Somers returns to office; 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; Naturalization Act; 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: 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,

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*.

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 Bassett, 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 Esther Johnson.

Principles of Human Knowledge; September: Addison begins *The Whig Examiner*. Pierre Bayle, *Dictionary*, first English edn; Congreve, *Collected Works*; Manley, *Memoirs of Europe*.

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 Oxford. 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* (2-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 Oxford; 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. September: Jacobite rebellion.

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

1718 Death of Parnell.

June: death of Addison.

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.

1721 April: earliest references to writing of *Gulliver's Travels*, in a letter to Charles Ford. Swift travels over 400 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 Esther Johnson 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; Esther Johnson 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.

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*.

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 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 Pultney 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*.

xxiv CHRONOLOGY

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

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

- 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 edn 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 (Esther Johnson'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).
- 1744** May: death of Pope.
 Death of Walpole. Jacobite rebellion.
- 1745** 19 October: death of Swift.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Account Books* *The Account Books of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Paul V. Thompson and Dorothy J. Thompson, Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Scholar Press, 1984
- Adams Samuel Adams and Sarah Adams, *The Complete Servant; Being a Practical Guide to the Peculiar Duties and Business of All Descriptions of Servants*, London: Knight and Lacey, 1825
- Baillie Lady Grisell Baillie, *Lady Grisell Baillie's Household Book*, ed. Robert Scott-Moncrieff, Publications of the Scottish History Society, new ser., vol. I, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1911
- Ball, *Corr.* *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, 6 vols., London: G. Bell & Sons, 1910–14
- 'Battel' 'An Account of a Battel Between the Antient and Modern Books'
- BCP The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as They Are to be Sung or Said in Churches, Oxford, 1708
- B.E. B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew, in its Several Tribes of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, Cheats, &c.*, London, c. 1698 (for the bibliography of this work, and its later adaptations, see Coleman, *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries*, vol. I, ch. 4, pp. 76–126)
- BJECS *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*
- BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
- BL British Library
- BNYPL *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*
- Bodl Bodleian Library
- Boyle, *Works* Robert Boyle, *The Works of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis, 14 vols., London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999–2000
- British Academy* Arthur Maynwaring *et al.*, *The British Academy: Being a New-Erected Society for the Advancement of Wit and Learning: with Some Few Observations upon It*, London, 1712