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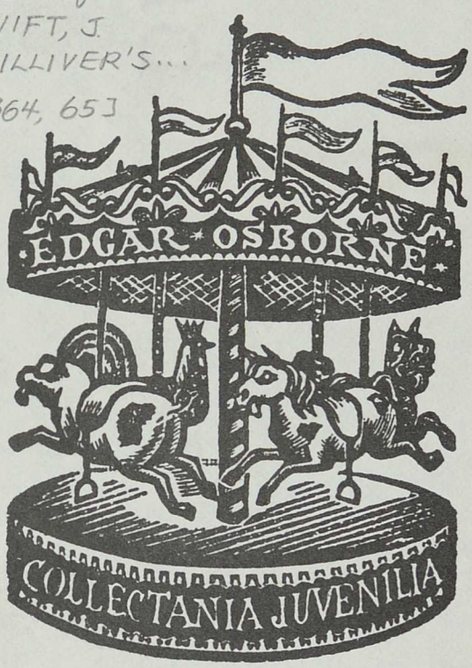

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"He commanded his general to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me."—*See* Chap. III.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

REMOTE REGIONS OF THE WORLD.

BY

DEAN SWIFT.

A New Edition.

With Explanatory Notes and a Life of the Author,

BY

JOHN FRANCIS WALLER, LL.D.,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

ILLUSTRATED BY T. MORTEN.



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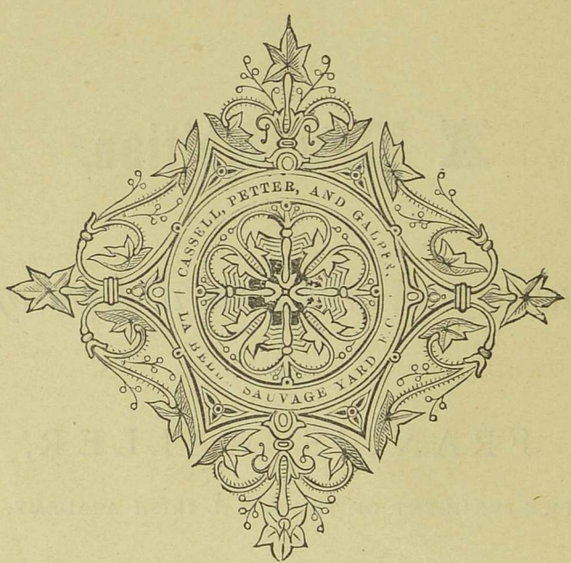
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LIFE OF DEAN SWIFT

THE life of Swift is a subject which the biographer approaches with a conflict of feelings. If he finds in it much to admire and even much to honour, he meets, too, with a great deal to censure and not a little to reprobate; acts that he cannot justify, motives that he cannot approve, and conduct that he can neither extenuate nor account for. There is little to excite his sympathy, less to claim his love, while he is often moved to sorrow, and sometimes to disgust.

Yet to trace that eventful life, from its opening to its close, is no unprofitable or uninteresting task. From it we may draw many a lesson for the guidance of our own lives. We may learn how perseverance and application overcome the greatest difficulties, and raise men under the most unfavourable circumstances; how learning and genius may control the councils of a nation, and sway the minds and the passions of a people; how political integrity can no more be violated with impunity than morality or truth; how the disregard of the best and holiest instincts of our nature is likely to be avenged by a life comfortless and desolate, and a death miserable and humiliating.

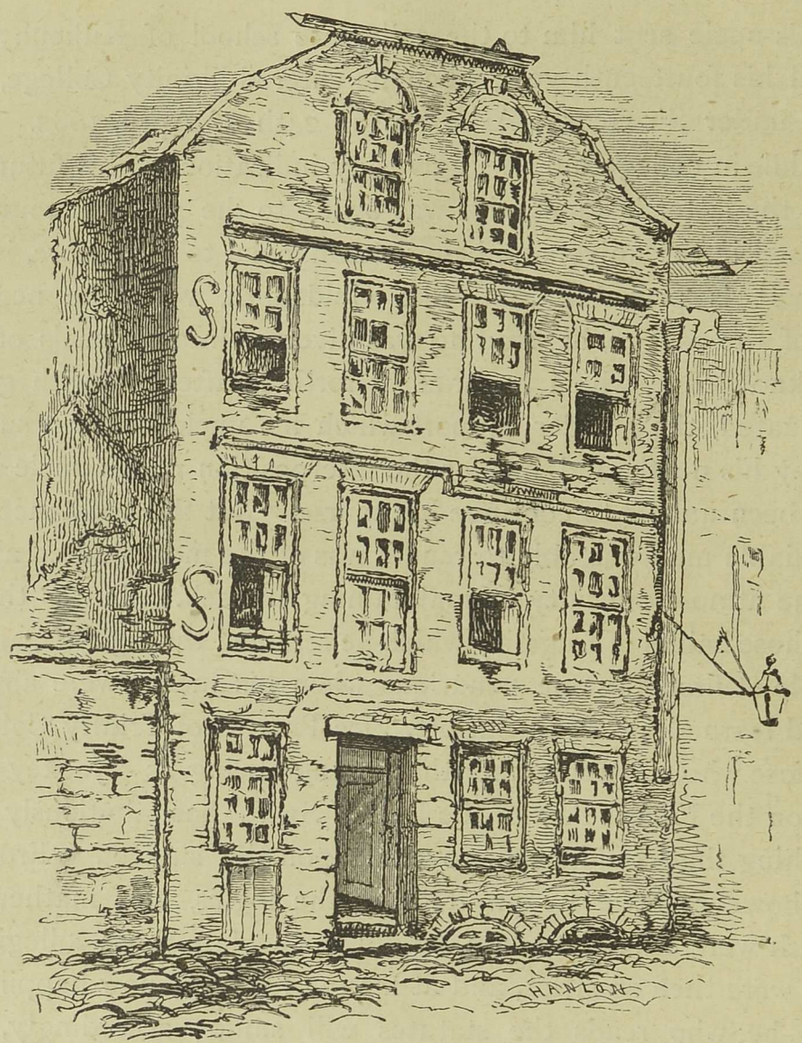
The family of Jonathan Swift was English, and of respectability.* We find them in Yorkshire in the sixteenth century, whence a branch passed into Herefordshire, where Thomas, the Dean's grandfather, who married a Dryden, possessed some property, and also held the vicarage of Goodrich, near Ross. He was a man of courage and loyalty to Charles I., in whose cause he endured much suffering, and made many sacrifices. His grandson

* Mr. W. Monck Mason, in his "History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral," gives the pedigree of the family from the fifteenth century. One of them was created Baron Carlingford in 1627.

records that, after having been plundered by the Roundheads six-and-thirty times (some say fifty), he mortgaged his estate, and, sewing up the money in his waistcoat, got off to a town held for the king; where, being asked by the governor what he could do for his majesty, Swift said he would give the king his coat, and, stripping it off, presented it to the governor, who observing it to be worth little, Swift said, "Then take my waistcoat," which, when ripped, was found to contain three hundred broadpieces of gold. The vicar left a large family, and after the Restoration, Godwin, the eldest son, who had married a relative of the Duchess of Ormond, was appointed Attorney-General of the Palatinate of Tipperary, in Ireland, by the duke, when viceroy; and after he had established himself in that country he was followed by three of his brothers, one being Jonathan, the father of the Dean. We do not know much about this last, except that he was poor, and did not mend his fortunes by marrying a lady as poor as himself, though well-born, Abigail Erick, of a Leicestershire family, who traced her descent from the time of William the Conqueror. Jonathan seems to have had some agencies, probably for English companies or landowners, and in 1665 obtained the post of steward, or under-treasurer, to the Society of the King's Inns in Dublin. He died about two years after this, not having lived to see his illustrious son. The widow was left almost destitute; considerable arrears, it is true, were due by persons who dined at the Bench table, but then the treasurer owed £12 to the Inns, which the benchers took care to stop out of the arrears. Godwin Swift, her brother-in-law, came to the relief of the poor widow, took her to his home, and mainly supported her. And under such circumstances it was that, on the 30th of November, 1667, the subject of our memoir was born. The house in which this event took place, in Hoey's Court,* was standing a few years ago. The locality, though once fashionable, has long been given up to the poorest mechanics; its very existence is unknown except to those who take a short cut from Ship Street to Castle Street. To the distinguished antiquary, Sir William R. Wilde, we are indebted for having procured, for the first time, a drawing of the house, and preserved it for posterity. A strange destiny—if one could believe in prognostics—seems to have determined from the first that his life should be passed partly in the land of his forefathers. His nurse, who was an Englishwoman, requiring to go to her native land, actually stole the child rather than part with him, and during three years reared and educated him with the greatest care. A year after his return, when he was six

* Sir W. Wilde, following Scott and Mason, gives it as No. 7; Mr. Gilbert, in his excellent "History of Dublin," states it to be No. 9. The change in the numbering will account for this difference, but of the identity of the house there could be no doubt. The hale and venerable sexton of St. Wesburgh's, Mr. P. Flanagan, now eighty-five years of age, whose recollection of the locality goes back to the last century, lately pointed out to me the site.

years old, his uncle sent him to the collegiate school of Kilkenny, where he remained till his fourteenth year, when he entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner under Sir George Ashe, on the 24th of April, 1682. Neither at school nor while in college did Swift give any indications of his future celebrity. Whether, in the latter instance, this was owing to the peculiar course of study then prescribed in the university, being uncongenial to his nature, is not worth discussing. It is probable that, like Goldsmith, while he neglected the *curriculum* of the college, his reading was diverted into channels of discursive and varied knowledge, which he brought forth in after life with great effect. Ere he graduated, the slender support which his uncle Godwin supplied was withdrawn by his death, and but for the interposition of his uncle Dryden, he would have been unable to continue his course. But the assistance which this poor but amiable man was able to render was of the most limited amount, and Swift had the utmost difficulty in maintaining himself. It was then that he contracted those habits of frugality which he retained through life, and, however commendable at first, became penurious when his means were ampler. The eccentric and learned Dr. John Barrett, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, better known to those who still remember that strange being as "Jackey Barrett," in his "Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift," has laboriously brought to light everything that could be discovered upon the subject. From him we learn that, however little he profited by the logics, and mathematics, and physics which were offered to him, he did not violate those collegiate regulations which were then so strict, and at many of which—now happily abolished or disused—he who reads the statutes will smile; accordingly, the awful calendars of crime, the registry books and the buttery books, record nothing in the way of fine or censure against him in his undergraduate course. And so he got somehow along, poor, obscure, undistinguished even by a row or a frolic, till the time came for his going up to answer for his degree, in February, 1685. And a sad hand he made of it. Probably he could not spare half a crown to buy one of those learned theses written by poor scholars and sold by the porters; and though no doubt shrewd enough at reasoning, he was woefully deficient in the barbarous rules of the old dialectics, and knew no more how to construct a syllogism than a chronometer; could not tell a major from a minor, a subject from a predicate. So the proctor had to come to his relief, and reduce his answers to orthodox ratiocination and unintelligibility; the result of which was that he got his degree, not as of right, but as of mercy—"*Speciali gratiâ*," as it is called—with two others who were in like woeful plight. One can well understand this indignity sinking deep into the heart of this proud, poor, and sensitive young man; not breaking down his spirit, but irritating it to rebellion and contempt of discipline. Accordingly the black books, from this time, record him as an offender. We find him admonished "for notorious



THE HOUSE IN WHICH SWIFT WAS BORN.

neglect of duties, and frequenting the town;" for seventy weeks he had punishments on him for neglect of some of those duties which in such numbers beset the path of the unwary as well as of the idle—chapel, hall, "missing night roll," or "town-haunting," surplice lectures in the afternoon and in the morning. "I do not believe," says Dr. Barrett, "the censure wrought any reformation in him." We suspect it did the reverse; his haughty spirit could not brook these constant disgraces, and so he seems to have buried himself for a time in the country. At last, on the very day on which he attained his majority, he was, with others, sentenced to suspension for divers acts of insubordination, contempt, contumacy, and abusive language to the junior dean—all set forth in Latin; and he and another unfortunate, who had conducted themselves more intolerably than the others, were condemned to ask pardon of the dean publicly in the hall upon their bended knees. Truly we can understand how this degradation lacerated his proud heart, and was one of the many reasons which made him through life observe his birthday in sorrow and mourning,

crying out with Job, "Let the day perish wherein I was born." Such were the circumstances under which Swift left college, and, shortly afterwards, his native land, which was then becoming the battle-ground of James and William. Not without difficulty did he make his way to his mother's house in Leicestershire, travelling through England on foot. The widow could do nothing for him, but a patron appeared in the person of Sir William Temple, one of the most distinguished of the statesmen and scholars of his day, and related in some way to Swift's mother. So to Sheen Park he went, and was received into the house, occupying a position sufficiently humiliating to him, being little better than a servant, employed to read for Sir William, and sometime to act as his amanuensis, at a salary of £20 a year. But little cordial intercourse subsisted between the patron and his dependent at this period, Swift neither sharing in conversation nor dining at the table. The fault was probably not less Swift's than Temple's, who, no doubt, little dreamed of the genius and power that lay concealed beneath the rude and morose manner of the young Irishman.

One great advantage Swift now enjoyed, and he made good use of it—a noble library, and ample time to use it. Accordingly, he studied diligently for eight hours a day, notwithstanding his delicate health, during two years, and thus acquired a vast amount of learning and knowledge; and, above all, he must have gained a great insight into the politics of the times. It was during this period that the symptoms first manifested themselves of that disease which afflicted him through life, and brought him to the grave. Various causes have been assigned, and many conjectures have been hazarded on this subject Sir William Wilde, with his characteristic ability, has investigated it scientifically, and is of opinion that in its commencement, at least, it was cerebral congestion, which exhibited itself in well-marked periodical attacks, and which, year after year, increased in intensity and duration. Swift has himself given an account of the origin of this distemper, and there is no reason for doubting its correctness.

"About two hours before you were born," he writes to Mrs. Howard, "I got my giddiness by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond; and when you were four years and a quarter old, bating two days, having made a fine seat about twenty miles farther in Surrey, where I used to read, there I got my deafness; and these two friends have visited me, one or other, every year since, and being old acquaintance, have now thought fit to come together." Sir W. Wilde declares that the causes assigned by Swift were very apt to produce both those complaints, and so we may dismiss all the fanciful conjectures which have been put forward. "Until medical authors," says Scott on this subject, "can cure the diseases of their contemporary patients, they may readily be excused from assigning dis-

honourable causes for the disorders of the illustrious dead." Ill health for a time interrupted Swift's studies. He visited his native land, but after a short time returned to Temple, then residing at Moor Park. A vigorous understanding and a sagacious intellect like Swift's could not fail in the end to assert their rights, and Temple soon learned to respect and trust his companion, and even introduced him in his confidential communications with William. The king, no doubt, saw there was something above the common in this secretary, who, when Temple was in the gout, walked with his majesty in the garden, and learned to cut asparagus in the Dutch way—aye, and to eat it like a Dutchman. George Faulkner, the printer—"Wooden-legged Elzevir," as he was called—the butt of Swift and Pope in after years, told a story of his dining with Swift. The Dean helped his guest to asparagus, who asked to be helped a second time. "Sir, first finish what you have on your plate." "What! sir," replied George, "eat my stalks?" "Aye, sir; King William always ate the stalks." "Were you blockhead enough to obey him?" asked Dr. Delany of the printer. "Yes, doctor," said George; "and if you had dined with Dean Swift *tête-à-tête*, faith, you would have been obliged to eat your stalks too." If Swift had taken the troop of horse that William offered him, what might have been the result? He would probably have had half a dozen duels on his hands in as many weeks, and then, like another trooper, Dick Steele, have flung away his sword and taken to his pen, a sharper weapon a thousand times, and achieved greatness; but, at all events, it would have saved him from the Church, and the "Tale of the Tub," already fashioned in his brain, would not have marred his promotion. Sir Walter Scott says he had an inclination for the Church, but one may reasonably doubt this. At all events, he went to Oxford in 1692, and took a master's degree. No doubt he had now proved himself a man of learning and genius, for he was well received there, and in after life spoke gratefully of that reception. It was at this period, too, that his first efforts in versification appear in a translation of the 18th Ode of the 2nd Book of Horace, the versification of which is easy and flowing, and the style simple and inornate. These were followed by some attempts at Pindaric odes. Four of these are given by Scott. They merit but little praise as poetical compositions; and one of them, that to "The Athenian Society," is as dull as the dull set of fellows to whom it was addressed. "I have been told," says Johnson, "that Dryden having perused these verses, said, 'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet.'" The ode justified Dryden's prophecy; nor did Swift's metrical productions in after life falsify it. If these compositions do not exhibit Swift to us as a poet, they show that he had learning and strong satiric power, and though prosaic, they are nervous and thoughtful prose. It is to be regretted that Swift never forgot or pardoned Dryden's criticism, and in after years

avenged himself upon the poet by criticism as rancorous as it was unjust. Swift had resided now nearly three years with Temple, and it would seem that an estrangement was gradually growing up between them ; indeed, some lines in his ode to Sir William Temple confirm this supposition. It is not to be much wondered at. Swift's spirit was proud, fiery, and impatient, conscious of its own power, and chafing in its ineffectual struggles to break the thrall of dependence and emerge from obscurity. Thus he was disposed to resent the slowness with which Temple forwarded his wishes ; while Temple considered Swift unjust in his complaints, and perhaps ungrateful. Temple, at the time, was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and so he offered Swift a place in that office worth £120 a year. The reply of Swift was characteristically bitter. Since the offer gave him now an opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a maintenance, he was resolved to go to Ireland to take holy orders. Temple, no doubt, felt the sarcasm, for they parted in mutual displeasure. "He was extremely angry," wrote Swift to his cousin, "I left him ; and yet would not oblige himself any further than upon my good behaviour ; nor would promise anything firmly to me at all." So to Ireland Swift went to seek ordination. To his mortification, no bishop would ordain him without a testimonial of good conduct, as he had lived so long out of Ireland. To apply to Temple was a humiliation not to be submitted to without a struggle, which lasted five months. At last the application was made ; humble enough it was to disarm any resentment. It accomplished its object, a reconciliation was effected, and Swift was ordained in October, 1694, priested in January following, and obtained the prebend of Kilroot, worth about £100 a year. The solitude and obscurity of a rural parish in Ireland were little suited to Swift. He soon wearied of his position, and ardently longed for a renewal of that intercourse with the great and the learned that he had enjoyed at Moor Park. Nor did his patron regard the separation less ; for he felt the want of one whose ability and genius he now thoroughly appreciated. Under such circumstances, the result might be easily foreseen. Temple solicited Swift to return, and the latter was not slow in accepting the invitation, and so, after a few months, he again became an inmate of Moor Park. A romantic story is told by Sheridan, and adopted by Scott, for which there does not appear to be any foundation—indeed, it is disproved by Mr. Monck Mason—namely, that Swift resigned his prebend solely to secure it for an indigent old clergyman whom he casually met.* Swift, however, did not

* "In an excursion from his habitation," says Scott, "he met a clergyman, with whom he formed an acquaintance, which proved him to be learned, modest, well-principled, the father of eight children, and a curate at the rate of forty pounds a year. Without explaining his purpose, Swift borrowed this gentleman's black mare, having no horse of his own, rode to Dublin, resigned the prebendary of Kilroot, and obtained a grant of it for this new friend. When he gave the presentation to the poor



DEAN SWIFT.

resign till some time after he had returned to England. In his own statement, he says no more than that he returned to England, and resigned his living in favour of a friend. If the story were true, there would have been no indelicacy in his recording it, especially as the document does not purport to have been written by Swift.

The temporary separation of the friends was useful to both. Each had learned the value of the other. Accordingly Swift re-entered Moor Park as the honoured and confidential friend of Temple, and so continued till the death of the latter, in 1699, "scarcely a cloud intervening to disturb the harmony of their friendship. By his will Temple confided to Swift the editing and publication of his works, and left him a legacy. It was during

clergyman, he kept his eyes steadily fixed on the old man's face, which at first only expressed pleasure at finding himself preferred to a living; but when he found that it was that of his benefactor, who had resigned in his favour, his joy assumed so touching an expression of surprise and gratitude, that Swift, himself deeply affected, declared he had never experienced so much pleasure as at that moment. The poor clergyman, at Swift's departure, pressed upon him the black mare, which he did not choose to hurt him by refusing."



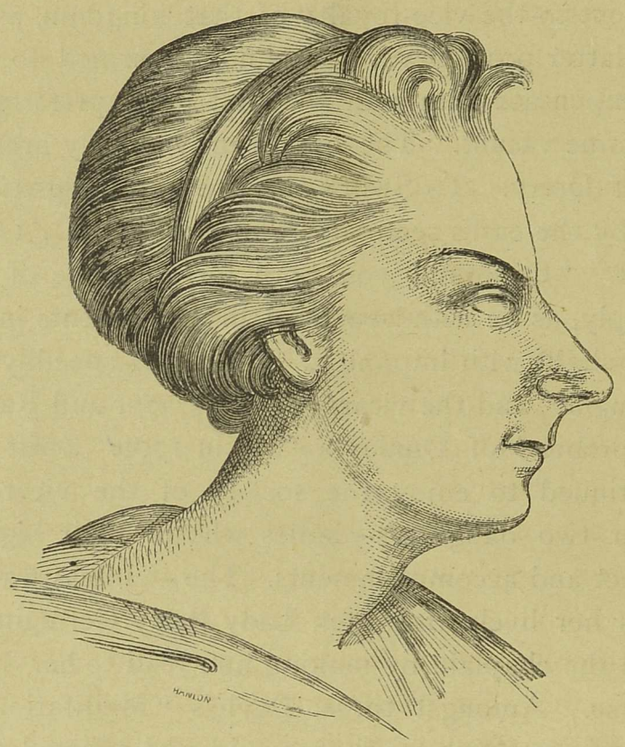
SWIFT AND STELLA AT MOOR PARK.

this last residence at Moor Park that Swift became acquainted with one whose life was to be bound up with his own by a tie the nature of which has ever been the subject of conjecture ; but the connection, whatever it was, affected their whole existence, bringing perhaps as much misery as happiness to them. "When Sir William Temple left Sheen to reside at Moor Park, he brought down with him, one summer, a gentlewoman in the character of a housekeeper, whose name was Johnson. She was a person of surprising genius ; few women ever exceeded her in the extent of her reading—none in the charms of her conversation." It was manifest she had occupied a higher position than that which she now came to fill. She stated that she was the widow of a merchant who had been unsuccessful, and died, leaving her three children ; the youngest of whom, Esther, she brought to Moor Park, where she was educated and dressed in a manner quite beyond her apparent position. The world was not slow to attribute this to a stronger claim than friendship, and little Hetty was believed to be the daughter of Temple—a belief which many circumstances tended to confirm. The child was born in 1681, so that when Swift returned to Moor Park she was fourteen years of age. "Never," wrote Swift, on the day of her death—"never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation." To improve that mind was the task of Swift, and the instructor insensibly became the lover: but of this more hereafter. Up to her fifteenth year she was sickly, but then she grew into perfect health, "and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection." Allowing for the extravagance of a lover's estimate, the portraits that still exist bear out this description. At this period it is not likely that either Swift or his fair pupil knew the state of their own feelings. Indeed, the former had previously attached himself to the sister of a college pupil, Miss Jane Waryng—whom he has celebrated under the name of "Varina"—and had offered her marriage. The lady long refused his solicitations ; but afterwards, as his passion seemed to subside, her feelings changed towards him, and she became almost the suitor. The coldness of Swift, while still offering marriage, must have roused her pride, and the engagement terminated. It is more than probable that the attractions of his fair pupil insensibly wrought the change in his feelings towards Miss Waryng.

Upon the death of Temple, Swift edited his patron's works, which he published with a dedication to the king, from whom he had hopes of preferment in England, founded on a promise made to Temple. But these hopes were disappointed, as Swift says, owing to Lord Romney's suppressing his petition to the king ; so, after vainly hanging for a time about the court, gaining literary reputation, but nothing more, he accompanied Lord Berkeley to Ireland,

on his appointment to the vice-royalty of that kingdom, as his chaplain and secretary. The latter post, however, was not confirmed to him, but Berkeley promised to compensate him with the first good preferment in the Church that should become vacant. The opportunity shortly arose by the vacancy of the deanery of Derry. To Swift's surprise and indignation, he found himself forestalled by the earl's secretary, who demanded £1,000 as the price of the appointment. "Confound you both for a couple of scoundrels!" was the chaplain's reply, as he withdrew from his apartments in the castle. Swift was no man to slight with impunity; so the earl speedily pacified him with the rectory of Augher, and the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, to which was added the prebend of Dunlavin early in 1700. Swift retained his chaplaincy, and continued to enjoy the society of the viceroy's family, Lady Berkeley and her two daughters—ladies who to their high rank added the charms of intellect and accomplishments. The countess was "given to fasting and praying," as her lively daughter, Lady Betty Germaine, wrote of her to Swift, and bored the chaplain by making him read to her daily some moral or religious discourse. Amongst these, Boyle's "Meditations" were in high favour. Swift had no relish for those vapid and affected compositions, so he contrived a pleasant joke that released him from his uncongenial task. He composed "A Meditation on a Broomstick," imitating admirably the style of Boyle, and slipping it into the volume, began to read it for the countess. The title startled her. "'A Meditation on a Broomstick!' what a strange subject! But there is no knowing what useful lessons of instruction this wonderful man may draw from things apparently the most trivial. Pray let us hear what he says on it." And so, with imperturbable gravity, Swift read a wittier meditation than ever came from the pen of Boyle, interrupted constantly by expressions of admiration from his auditor. In the simplicity of her heart, she said to some friends, "The doctor has just been reading to me that excellent 'Meditation on a Broomstick.'" They all expressed their ignorance. "Upon my word," she rejoined, "there it is; look into that book, and convince yourselves. Then one of them opened the book, and found the manuscript in Swift's handwriting. A burst of laughter hailed the discovery, and the dupe joined heartily in it, saying, "What a vile trick has that rogue played me! But it is his way; he never baulks his humour in anything." If we are to judge from the correspondence maintained during his life between Lady Betty Germaine and Swift, she must have been a very charming woman: sensible, witty, and a little "fast;" up to all sorts of fun, and ever ready to pay off Swift with verse or *jeux d'esprit;* and so they were firm friends during life.

From this pleasant society his new duties called him away, and he went to take possession of his residence at Laracor. It is said he made the



MEDALLION OF STELLA, AT DELVILLE.

journey incognito and on foot, which is not unlikely, considering his humour and penurious habits; and the course of his journey is marked by some verses recording the little towns through which he passed. Whoever wishes to inform himself of the humorous stories connected with this journey, will find them in abundance in the "Swiftiana," but should not be over-credulous in receiving them as true. Entering the house, he announces himself as the curate's "master," throws the household into a state of alarm and trepidation, plays the tyrant for a while, and when the good couple are heartily dismayed, suddenly becomes kind and friendly, and wins them to respect and esteem him. Lord Orrery tells a story, which Theophilus Swift denies to be true, and says he saw the original in a jest book, printed 1660; yet it is certainly characteristic of Swift. The new incumbent gave notice that he would have service in the church on every Wednesday and Friday. Wednesday came, the bell was rung, Swift was in the reading-desk, but no congregation attended, save Roger Cox, the parish clerk. "Dearly beloved Roger," commenced the dean, with gravity, "the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places." Scott inclines to believe the story, adding that to Swift, notwithstanding his sincere piety, a jest was irresistibly seductive. Roger, according to tradition, was a humorist in his own way, and a wit, and thus well suited to his master. He was by trade a hatter, and used to dress in a light grey coat and a scarlet waistcoat of most uncommon dimensions, justifying the latter on the ground of belonging to the Church militant; and he was on all occasions

ready to bandy a jest or retort a witticism upon his superior. It is highly creditable to Swift, that from the outset of his clerical life, and indeed throughout it, he discharged the duties of his calling with zeal and sincerity, and had ever the interests of the Church and of religion at heart. He was not long at his new residence before his attention to those duties, added to his high reputation, attracted a large congregation, which effectually prevented the recurrence of a *tête-à-tête* with Roger.

The vicarage too soon exhibited the energy of the new occupant, the house was renovated, the garden made to bloom, and the river suffered to wander no longer wild and free, but taught to move in an orderly fashion (a questionable improvement) between smooth trim banks, planted with a formal line of willows on each side.

When doing all this, may we not believe he had in view the arrival there of one who was to charm its solitude, and make his life happier than even the gay and witty coterie at Dublin Castle could make it? Certain it is that he lost no time in inviting Esther Johnson to leave England and come over to his neighbourhood. Circumstances conspired to make this both natural and desirable. "I leave," said Sir William Temple, in his will, "some lands I have in Morristown, in the county of Wicklow, in Ireland, to Esther Johnson, servant to my sister Gifford." And so she came over, accompanied by a respectable and very insignificant middle-aged woman, Mrs. Dingley, in the character of protectress, and settled in lodgings in the little town of Trim, two miles from Laracor. And now commenced that connection between Swift and Esther Johnson which terminated only with her death, the precise nature of which has never been proved, though the balance of evidence and probability favour the belief that they were early affianced and ultimately married. The terms in which Swift writes to her, the ardent protestations of love, admit of no other construction, consistent with honour, than that there was a tacit, if not an express understanding, from the time she came to Ireland, that their union was to be completed when Swift's means were, in his opinion, sufficient to make such union prudent. That period was, unhappily, too long postponed for the honour of Swift and the happiness of both. Meantime their intercourse was fenced around with the most scrupulous decorum. Stella lodged in Trim when Swift was at Laracor, removing to the vicarage with Mrs. Dingley when he was absent; and however much they may have been together, a third person was always present. One so young, so lovely, so fascinating as Stella was sure to have admirers. Dr. William Tisdale, a neighbouring clergyman, proposed marriage to her through Swift. Swift's conduct was scarcely candid. He placed before the woman, whom he loved too well to endure the thoughts of her becoming another's, the offer; and yet he must have felt to do so was treason to her and to himself. The result was such as might be expected:

the offer was declined, and thenceforth no other suitor ever ventured to approach her; her destiny was irreversibly bound up with that of Swift.

Meantime Swift was preparing himself to appear before the world as a political writer. It was not in vain that for years he had associated with Temple and the great political actors whom he met at his house—that he studied history and mankind with all the power of a clear, sagacious intellect. In religion a High Churchman, yet in politics inclining to the Whig party, he stood somewhat between both, and in communion with each. His first published essay, if we except the "Battle of the Books," was in politics, and therefore it was on the side of the Whigs. The violent proceedings against Somers, Halifax, and others, who had been concerned in the treaty for the partition of Spain, induced a contest between the Houses of Parliament. Deeply read in the history of Greece and Rome, Swift produced anonymously, in 1701, his "Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Greece and Rome," to show that the same contests that had ruined the free states of antiquity were now leading to the ruin of his own country. Though to-day this treatise has but little interest, when it appeared it attracted general attention. Simple, nervous, clear and logical, appealing to the precedents of classical antiquity, then considered so conclusive, every one read it, and conjecture was busy to assign the authorship. A sneer of the Bishop of Kilmore, at last, stung Swift into an avowal of being the writer. Thenceforth his genius and power were recognised, and he became the friend of some of the great moving spirits of the times, both in politics and literature.*

The "Tale of a Tub" was Swift's next production, and though not published till 1704, the first sketch of it was written in his college days. While it is impossible to deny the marvellous humour and pungent wit of this satirical masterpiece, one cannot but lament the levity and coarseness, often bordering upon irreverence, with which sacred subjects are handled, nor wonder that it afforded through his life a reasonable ground for objecting to his promotion to the highest place in the Church. It did good service to the

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* In these days Addison, Steele, Arbuthnot, and other wits used to meet at Boulter's coffee-house. A strange clergyman was observed, on several occasions, to come in, lay his hat upon a table, and walk backward and forward for half an hour or more, without speaking to any one or taking notice of anything. Then he would take up his hat, pay his reckoning, and walk away in silence. The wits watched "the mad parson," as they called him; at last they saw him go up to a gentleman in boots who had just arrived from the country. "Pray, sir," asked the parson, abruptly, "do you remember any good weather in the world?" The squire stared at him in amazement, and then replied, "Yes, sir; I thank God, I remember a great deal of good weather in my time." "That's more than I can say," said the other; "I never remember any weather that was not too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry. But, however God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year 'tis all very well." And he took his hat and went away as usual. Arbuthnot, on another occasion, tried a practical joke on "the mad parson," but got a retort so witty, yet disagreeable, that he was glad to cry quits. A little time disclosed to them "the mad parson" as Jonathan Swift.

High Church party, and was eagerly read by every one. "The main purpose of it," says Scott, "is to trace the gradual corruptions of the Church of Rome, and to exalt the English Reformed Church, at the expense both of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian establishments." Though the work was published anonymously, no one doubted who the author was, nor did Swift ever disclaim it.* But the High Church principles of Swift did not prevent his being caressed and courted by the Whigs, who appreciated his talents and sought the aid of his pen. It is but just to him to state that he endeavoured at this period, as he did through life, to moderate between the two great political parties, and to avoid the extremes of both Whig and Tory. With this view, as a High Church Whig, he published in 1808 his "Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to Religion and Government," and shortly after, a "Letter upon the Sacramental Test," to which last may, perhaps, be traced the first coolness between him and the Whigs. Ere long an opportunity offered for Swift to prove his friendship for the Church of Ireland. Some years previously an attempt was made to obtain for that establishment the same exemption from the payment of first-fruits and "twentieth parts" that had been granted by the Queen to the Church in England. The affair then failed, but Archbishop King now revived it, and sought the advocacy of Swift. The exertions of Swift were unremitting, extending over a period of three years, and resulted in a patent, granted in February, 1711, exonerating the Irish clergy from these taxes.† The Irish Church should never forget the deep obligation which she owes to her champion and benefactor.

The progress of this negotiation kept Swift much in London, and he seems to have cultivated the acquaintance of the leading men of both parties, and did not fail to look to his own interests and promotion. But he was in this disappointed, though he had some grounds to expect advancement from Lord Wharton through the influence of Lord Somers. It has been said that Swift stooped to supplicate this interest in a mean and abject manner; but the charge is not supported on good evidence, and refuted by Scott; therefore it is to be regretted that it has been revived by Dr. Cook Taylor, whose predilections, religious or political, were not in sympathy with Swift. Such conduct, every impartial reader must admit, is little in accordance with "that proud and stern tone of independence which rejected the patronage of Temple

* Near the close of his life, when looking over the book, he exclaimed, "What a genius I had when I wrote that book!" He afterwards gave the volume to Mrs. Whiteway, with the inscription, "From her affectionate cousin." "I wish, sir," said she, "you had said, 'The gift of the author.'" Swift smiled and answered significantly, "No, I thank you." The text was corrected by himself.

† Through the kindness of the learned antiquarian, the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., I have been furnished with copies of four interesting letters of Swift to Archbishop King, relating in part to this subject. The originals are in the library at Armagh, and have, I believe, never been published.

in his youth, and vindicated in his age the liberties of Ireland." In 1709 Swift published a "Project for the Advancement of Religion," which, says Scott, "made a deep and powerful sensation on all who considered national prosperity as connected with national morals;" and, upon one of the suggestions contained in it, fifty new churches were, not long afterwards, erected in London.

A subject thoroughly congenial to his humour, the ridiculing the pretensions of astrologers, next attracted his attention; and under the pseudonym of Isaac Bickerstaff, he kept up, with the aid of other literary friends, an incessant series of assaults of wit and satire against John Partridge, as the representative of the fraternity of impostors. Partridge was, of course, utterly extinguished; but a greater benefit to society arose from the pleasantries of the literary conspirators in the establishment (under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, assumed by Steele), of the *Tatler*, "the first of that long series of periodical works which, from the days of Addison to those of Mackenzie, have enriched our literature with so many effusions of genius, humour, wit, and learning." Pleasant as this London life might have been to Swift, it procured him no solid advantages, and so, discontented with his patrons, he left the metropolis in 1709 for Ireland. Once there, he buried himself amongst the willows of Laracor, to enjoy the society of Stella, and to meditate upon new literary achievements. But Swift was not destined to spend his life in seclusion. Ere a year had passed, indications of the fall of the Whig Ministry were visible. The excitement caused by the inflammatory sermon of Dr. Sacheverell accelerated the event; and Swift probably desired again to be amid the scenes of political action. An opportunity arose to take him to London. The Irish clergy thought the time favourable for renewing the solicitation for the remission of first-fruits, and Swift was included in the commission to effect this object. Accordingly, he was again in London on the 9th of September, 1710. And now the incumbent of an obscure parish in Ireland is courted by the leading men of both the Whig and Tory parties, for all knew his power, and desired the accession of his talent. "The Whigs," he writes to Stella, "were ravished to see me, and would lay hold on me as a twig while they are drowning, and the great men making me their clumsy apologies." With the Whigs he had just cause to be dissatisfied. Harley, the Tory leader, received him with the most flattering kindness and respect. There was much in the political views of the moderate Tory and the moderate Whig that approximated. An introduction to St. John, afterwards the famous Lord Bolingbroke, followed, and ere long Swift was enlisted under the banners of the new Ministry. The intercourse between these men and Swift was long, intimate, and, notwithstanding the observations of Lord Orrery, we believe, cordial and confidential. There is abundant evidence that Swift's independent spirit would tolerate

nothing less than full equality, and that both Harley and St. John accorded it. Swift now threw himself earnestly into the work of the new Ministry. He assumed the conduct of the *Examiner*, and assailed without mercy Wharton, Godolphin, Cowper, Walpole, and others in satire and lampoon—in prose and verse. This necessarily brought him into conflict with his former friends, Addison and Steele, the latter of whom he attacked with unbecoming bitterness, while he did not altogether spare the former. The consequence was, of course, an estrangement from the one and an entire break with the other.

We do not intend to enumerate all the aids that the ready pen of Swift during this period afforded the Tories, but we must notice "The Advice to the Members of the October Club"—"a masterpiece," to use the words of Scott, "of Swift's political skill, by which he appeased the discontent and restrained the impetuosity of the country party, whose indiscreet violence was fast leading to the disruption and ruin of their party." More valuable still was the service rendered by his pamphlets, "On the Conduct of the Allies," and "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty," that accomplished an object which was necessary for the very existence of the Ministry, namely, to induce the country to terminate the war with France, even in the midst of their victories. The skill and judgment with which Swift in these treatises addresses himself to the prejudices of the nation, without offending their pride or insulting their good sense, is truly admirable, and the pieces were read with avidity. Four editions of "The Conduct of the Allies" were exhausted in a week. So great was its importance, that in the Parliamentary debates upon the war the Ministerial party in the House of Commons relied upon its facts and reasonings, while the Whigs acknowledged its power by threatening to impeach the author. The result was to render the war so unpopular that the Ministers were able to effect a treaty of peace with France. Swift's power was at this moment as great as that of any man in the nation; his party looked up to him as one whose versatile talents enabled him to support them by his wit, reasoning, satire, sagacity, and eloquence. For all these services he scorned pecuniary remuneration, repelling the proposition with anger. But he did not fail to indemnify himself by an assumption that bordered on arrogance, and must have been sometimes galling to those so much above him in station and birth.*

* Many instances of Swift's conduct in this respect are given by his biographers, and may be collected from his "Journal." "I dined to-day," he says to Stella, "with Mr. Secretary St. John; I went to the Court of Requests at noon, and sent Mr. Harley into the house to call the secretary to let him know I would not dine with him if he dined late." Again, "I took some walks in the park to-day, and then went to Mr. Harley's. Lord Rivers was there before me, and I chid him for presuming to come on a day when only Lord Keeper, the secretary, and I were to be there." "I dined to-day with Mr. Secretary St. John, on condition I might choose my company, which were Lord Rivers, &c. I invited Masham, &c., but they were engaged; and I did it in revenge for his having such bad company

During this period of political labour Swift was not without the relaxation which the intercourse with men of wit and learning affords. A club was formed, called the "Society of Brothers," composed of the most eminent men of the Tory party. "It seems in my absence," he writes to Stella, "they had erected a club and made me one; and we made some laws to-day which I am to digest and add to against next meeting. Our meetings are to be every Thursday; we are but twelve. The end of our club is to advance conversation and friendship, and to reward deserving persons with our interest and recommendation." And, in truth, Swift was true to this object, employing his credit with the Tories in forwarding the interests and relieving the necessities of men of genius, no matter of what party; so that his friends used to say that he seldom came to them without a Whig in his sleeve. "I have taken," he says, "more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place; Congreve I have got to be used kindly, and secured; Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place; Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party-mad, and made me withdraw my recommendation; I set Addison so right at first that he might have been employed, and partly secured him the place he has; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man." Besides these men who were opposed to him in politics, Swift exercised his influence successfully in favour of Berkeley, Pope, Gay, Parnell, and many others. "When I had credit for some years at court," he wrote afterwards to Lady Betty Germaine, "I provided for above fifty people in both kingdoms, of which not one was a relation." But while thus forwarding the interests of every one else, he remained himself without advancement. For a time he disdained to solicit that which he felt to be his right. He did not, however, fail, when occasion offered, to hint his dissatisfaction sufficiently plainly, and told them, when they called him "Jonathan,"

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when I dined with him before." Bishop Kennet, in his diary, writes: "When I came to the antechambers to wait before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business, and acted as a master of requests. He was soliciting the Earl of Arran to speak to his brother, the Duke of Ormonde, to get a chaplain's place established in the garrison of Hull, for Mr. Fiddes. He was promising Mr. Thorold to undertake with my lord treasurer, that, according to his petition, he should obtain £200 per annum as minister of the English church at Rotterdam. He stopped E. Gwynne, Esq., going in with the red bag to the queen, and told him he had something to say to him from my lord treasurer. He talked with the son of Dr. Davenant, to be sent abroad, and took out his pocket-book and wrote down several things as memoranda to do for him. He turned to the fire and took out his gold watch, and telling him the time of the day, complained it was very late. A gentleman said he was too fast. 'How can I help it,' said the doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right?' Then he instructed a young nobleman that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a Papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English verse, for which he must have them all subscribe; for, says he, 'the author shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him.' Lord Treasurer, after leaving the queen, came through the room, beckoning Dr. Swift to follow him; both went just before prayers."

that he supposed they would leave him Jonathan as they found him. In truth, neither Harley nor St. John were unwilling to reward one who, they felt, was the main support of their cause and party ; but the difficulty in the way of that promotion which he coveted—a seat on the episcopal bench—lay with the queen. When the see of Hereford became vacant, the ministers recommended Swift to Her Majesty. But Swift had, unfortunately, committed two offences : he had written the "Tale of a Tub," as was well known ; and to this he had added "The Windsor Prophecy," a bitter satire on one of the queen's favourites, the Duchess of Somerset, whom he accused indirectly of having been privy to the death of her husband, Mr. Thynne ; and, worse still, of having red hair. The anger of the duchess knew no bounds ; she made the Archbishop of York demand an audience of the queen, in which he protested against the appointment in the name of the Church and the clergy, adding that "Her Majesty should be sure that the man she was going to make a bishop was a Christian;" and, in confirmation, quoted some of the most objectionable passages from the "Tale of a Tub." This was followed up by the duchess's own personal entreaties, who, presenting the obnoxious satire to the queen upon her knees, and weeping, implored her not to give the appointment to one who had so maligned her. Anne's sense of decorum and her love of her favourites were both enlisted against Swift, and she passed him over, despite of the cordial support of her ministers.* It is not a little remarkable that Swift was disposed to view the "Tale of a Tub" in a very different light as affecting religion or his own prospects. In his journal he says : "They may talk of *you know what*, but if it had not been for that, I should never have been able to get the access I have ; and if that helps me to succeed, then that same thing will be serviceable to the Church." Swift soon learned that promotion for him in England was out of the question. Three deaneries became vacant, and were filled without his name being suggested. He now plainly told the ministers he would retire to Ireland. An arrangement was made, mainly by Harley, that Dr. Sterne should be promoted from the Deanery of St. Patrick's, in Ireland, to the bishopric of Dromore, in order to confer the former on Swift. The warrant was signed on the 23rd of February, 1713, and in June following he went, deeply disappointed, into what he

* Swift, in his lines upon himself, thus describes the intrigues of the archbishop and the duchess against him :—

"York is from Lambeth sent to tell the queen,
A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen ;
Which, by the style, the matter, and the drift,
'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.
Poor York ! the harmless tool of others' hate ;
He sues for pardon, and repents too late.
Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows
On Swift's reproaches for her murdered spouse ;
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear distils."

considered little better than an honourable exile, and was installed in the cathedral on the 13th of the same month. The reception which he met there was by no means flattering.* The High Church Tory was acceptable to neither Dissenters nor to Whigs, and the clergy, notwithstanding the benefits he had conferred upon the Irish Church, were jealous of his being put over their heads. "I remit them," says he of the latter, "their first-fruits of ingratitude, as freely as I got the others remitted to them." After a fortnight's sojourn in Dublin, during which time his scornful and unconciliating temper widened the breach, sick in body and mind, he fled for refuge to the willows of Laracor.

What a change from the life that for three years past Swift had been leading! Amid the strife of politics, the struggle of parties, the excitement of that fierce literary warfare, in which he was the foremost champion, his weapons ever the keenest, his stroke ever the weightiest; the counsellor of the greatest, the companion of the wittiest, the feared, the courted—from all this he passes into the seclusion and monotony of an obscure country parsonage, to brood over his wrongs in all the bitterness of a proud spirit, conscious of its own power, that had been largely used and poorly requited. "I design," he wrote, in the first tumult of his anger, "to pass the greatest part of the time I stay in Ireland, here in the cabin where I am now writing; neither will I leave the kingdom till I am sent for; and if they have no further service for me, I will never see England again." But he was destined to see it very soon again. The dissensions between Oxford and Bolingbroke, which he alone had been able to restrain, increased the moment he left them. Every day he received letters urging his return to London, till, yielding to these solicitations, he left his retirement and embarked for England, on the 27th of August. Swift's mediation was for a time successful, and he again entered into the arena of political and literary warfare. He assailed Burnet and Steele, and to "The Crisis" of the latter he produced as an answer his celebrated pamphlet, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." In this he spoke of the whole Scottish nation in such offensive terms, that a proclamation was issued by the House of Lords, offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author. But Swift's favour with the Ministry, which was now unbounded, protected him from the consequences. Indeed, such was his influence that he

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* Some extremely bitter verses, by Jonathan Smedley, were said to have been placed on the door of St. Patrick's on the day of Swift's installation. We quote the first and last two :—

"To-day this temple gets a dean,
Of parts and fame uncommon;
Used both to pray and to profane,
To serve both God and Mammon.

"Look down, St. Patrick, look, we pray,
On thine own church and steeple;
Convert thy dean on this great day,
Or else, God help the people.

"And now, whene'er his deanship dies,
Upon his tomb be graven:
A man of God here buried lies,
Who never thought of heaven.'"



"Swift's power was at this moment as great as that of any man in the nation."—*Page* xxi.

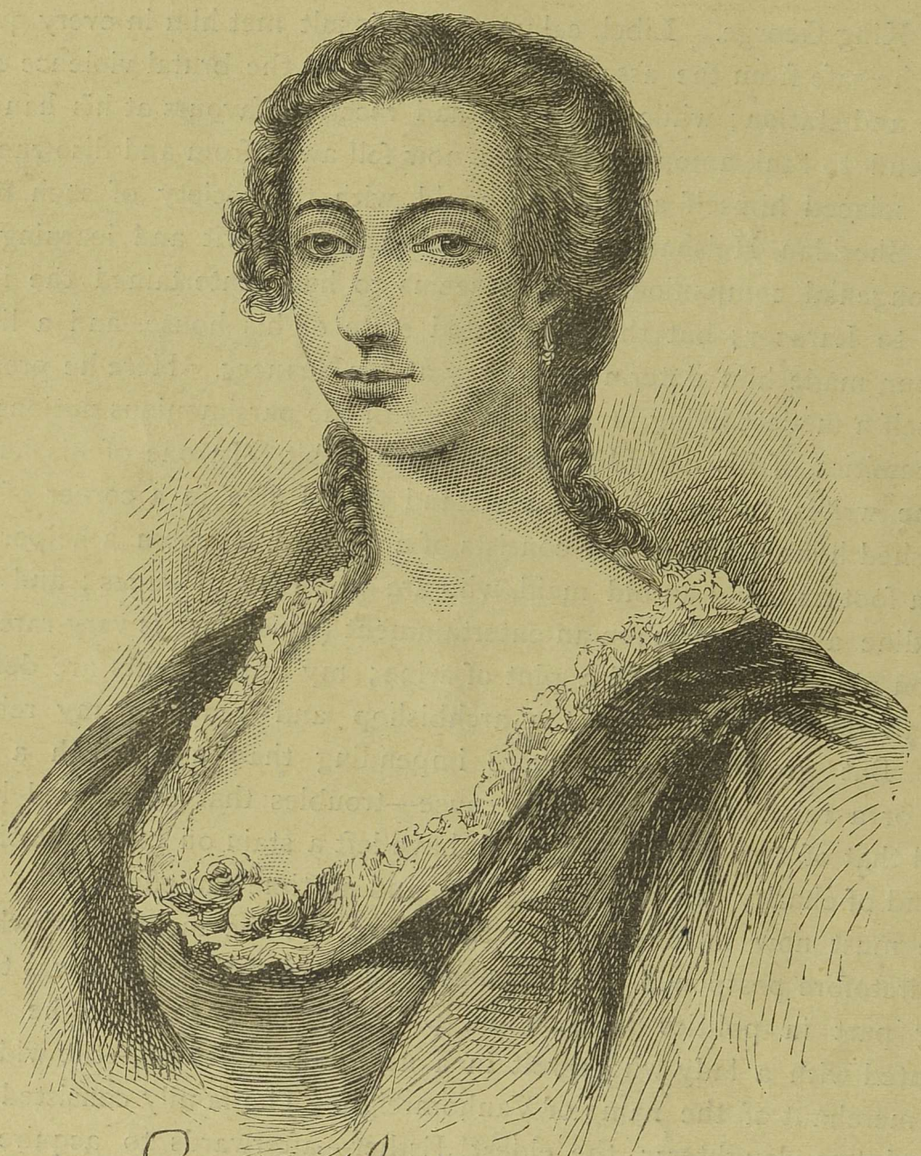
seems to have regulated all the affairs in Ireland, and it was generally believed that he would shortly wear an English mitre. "I tremble," said his enemy, Lord Nottingham, "when I think that a certain divine, who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop; and may one day give licence to those who shall be entrusted with the instruction of youth." In the midst of these engrossments, Swift found time to establish, in conjunction with Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Oxford, and Bolingbroke, that celebrated Scriblerus Club, the papers of which were afterwards given to the world, and will ever be read with delight and admiration for their wit, brilliancy, satire, and scholarship.

At length the differences between Oxford and Bolingbroke became too violent even for Swift to compose, and after exhausting every argument, he retired to the house of a friend in Berkshire, where he passed his time in great seclusion, and composed his "Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs." Great changes were near at hand. Ere long Oxford was degraded, and the star of Bolingbroke was in the ascendant. The most flattering inducements were held out by Mrs. Masham and Bolingbroke to Swift to win him from his retirement, that he might sustain their cause. "Will you," writes the former, "who have gone through so much, and taken more pains than anybody, and given wise advice, will you leave us and go to Ireland? No, it is impossible; your goodness is still the same; your charity and compassion for this poor lady, who has been so barbarously used, would not let you do it." Bolingbroke offered to reconcile him with the Duchess of Somerset, and place him on a right footing with the queen. A few lines from one whom he loved faithfully to the end—the now disgraced and banished Oxford, about to hide his sorrows in his country house in Herefordshire, inviting Swift to join him—outweighs all personal considerations of aggrandisement, and Swift hurries away to the powerless friend, when he might have made any terms with his powerful rival. When men speak of the political infidelity of Swift, let them remember this noble act of self-sacrificing fidelity.

Three days after, the queen's death put an end to the hopes of the Tories. "What a world is this," cried Bolingbroke, "and how does fortune banter us!" Swift sought to rally his friends and raise them from the stupor of despair into which they had fallen. "He keeps up his noble spirit," wrote Arbuthnot; "and though like a man knocked down, you may behold him still with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries." But all his efforts were in vain. The imprisonment of Oxford and others, and the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormonde scattered the party, and Swift, in his retreat in Ireland, learned that all his hopes were at an end. Here, too, he was soon to find what trials await the fallen man. High Church principles were now out of favour: to be a High Churchman was to be a friend to the Pretender, and

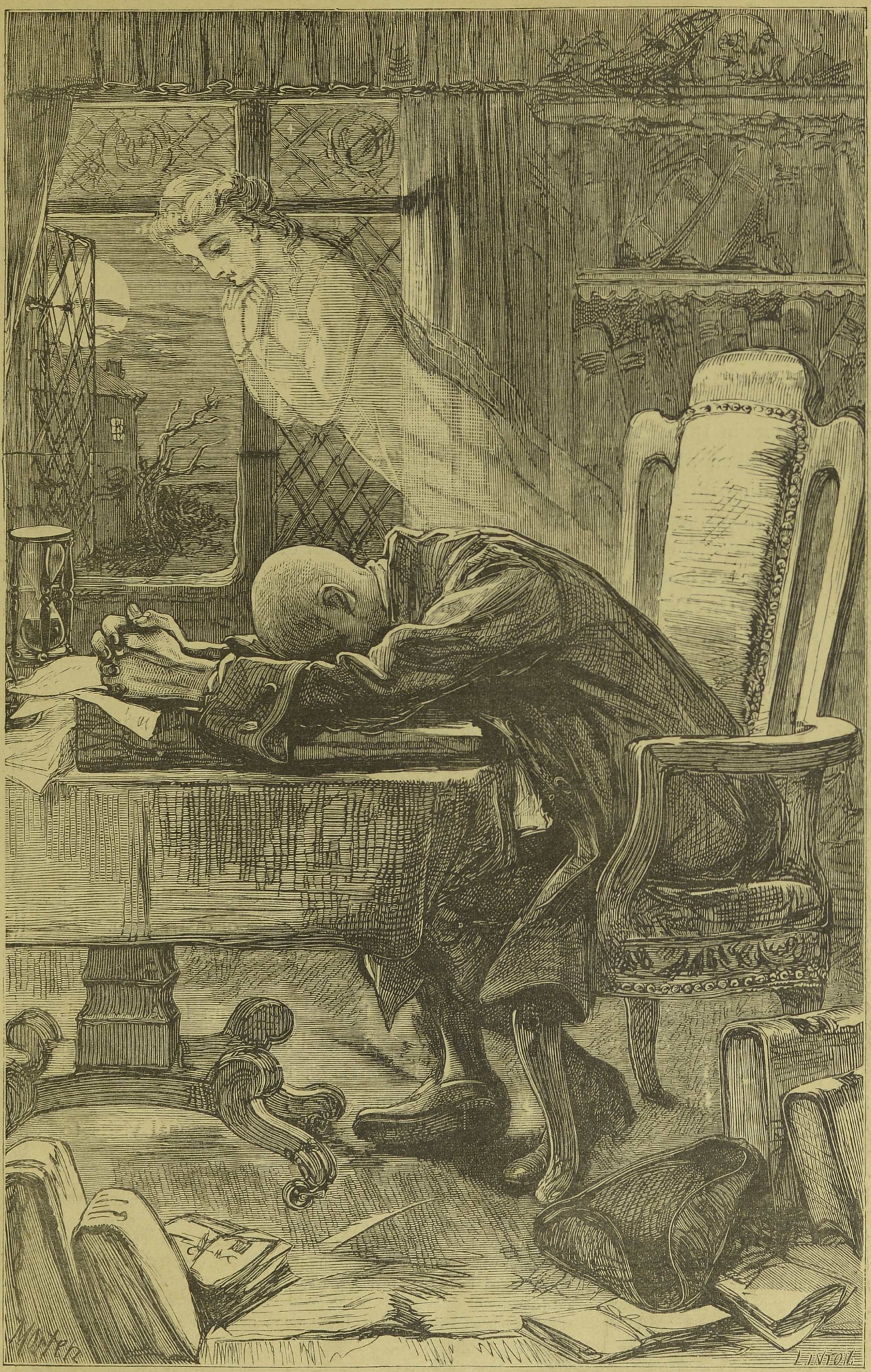
a foe to King George. Libel, calumny, and insult met him in every quarter; nor was he safe from the assaults of the rabble, or the brutal violence of men of birth and station; while some, who had received favours at his hands and been proud to rank among his friends, now fell away from and disowned him. But he solaced himself as best he could, with the society of such men as Delany, Sheridan, Helsham, and the Grattans, whose wit and learning made them congenial companions. Swift seems to have entertained the idea of retiring to Laracor; but the dilapidated state of his house, and a litigious neighbour, made him determine to stay at his deanery. Here he prescribed to himself a modest living in accordance with the parsimonious notions which the necessities of his early life had made a habit. In one of his letters to Pope, he writes, "You are to understand that I live in a corner of a vast unfurnished house; my family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all on board wages; and when I do not dine abroad, or make an entertainment (which last is very rare), I eat a mutton pie and drink half a pint of wine; my amusements are defending my small dominions against the archbishop and reducing my rebellious choir." But greater troubles were impending than any which a hostile people or a rebellious choir could cause—troubles that embittered his own life and that of two others, and which have left a stain on his reputation that the hand of charity can scarcely lighten, and no time can efface.

We must now introduce upon the scene one the mention of whom we have heretofore postponed. It was during the period that Swift was taking a leading part in politics in London, probably in 1700, that he became acquainted with a lady who dwelt in a neighbouring street—the widow of a Dutch merchant of the name of Vanhomreigh. The family consisted of two sons and two daughters; the eldest, Esther—afterwards to acquire a sad immortality under the name of "Vanessa"—young, gay, witty, and accomplished; one whose attractions, added to a competent fortune and a respectable social position, gained her many admirers. As in the case of Stella, so in that of Vanessa, Swift became the guide and teacher, suffered the fascinations of the pupil to engage his heart, and so deported himself as to lead her to believe that the friend had become the lover, and to hope he might yet be the husband. Thus Swift became involved in a double entanglement; trifling with the affections of one, if not of two, and struggling to keep up appearances with each, while he was true to neither. Friends and admirers have sought to apologise for and extenuate his conduct. Enemies have branded it as deliberately base. While we are not called upon to adopt the latter view, we are unable to find anything to qualify the sentiments of disapproval and sorrow, bordering upon indignation, with which we trace his shameful and heartless conduct to its fatal results; and though we abstain from applying to



Esther Johnson

him the name of libertine, we feel he deserves that of a dishonourable, selfish, and reckless man. The letters of Swift to both these ladies have been preserved. Some of those of Vanessa alone have been published. From the whole we may collect that his love for Stella was the stronger and the deeper, expressed more unreservedly and more ardently; while that for Vanessa was more guarded and equivocal. This may, perhaps, in part be explained by the passionate and reproachful ardour with which the latter avowed her sentiments, and sought a full reciprocation of them. Sir Walter Scott is of opinion that at one period, at least, Swift gave a preference to the more youthful and more accomplished Vanessa. This, however, may well be doubted; and while it is plain, so far as his published letters go, that he never held out any hopes beyond that of platonic love to her, his letters to Stella abound with



"That bereaved and miserable man, in his room in the midnight stillness."—*Page* xxxii.

expressions that pointed to a more indissoluble connection. Fate increased Swift's embarrassment by bringing the unconscious rivals almost into proximity. In 1714 Vanessa—her mother and brothers being dead—came with her sister to reside in Dublin, having a small property near the village of Celbridge, about ten miles distant. For a time he contrived to temporise; but the rareness and secrecy of his visits to Vanessa excited her displeasure, which found expression in passionate reproaches; while ere long the suspicions of Stella, now residing on Ormond Quay, were awakened, and grief and jealousy began to do their work upon a frail constitution. So stood matters in 1716. A secret marriage between Swift and Stella is alleged to have taken place in the garden of the deanery, with no one present but the officiating divine, Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher. Whether this be the fact or not remains, and is likely ever to remain, an unsolved mystery. Strong arguments have been urged in proof, as well as in disproof of it. Into the discussion of these we have not space to enter. Scott, following the authority of Lord Orrery, Dr. Delany, and the Sheridans, maintains the affirmative, which, he says, neither Mrs. Whitaway or any of Swift's intimate friends doubted; while Mr. Mason, with great ability, contends, on the testimony of Dr. Lyons and Mrs. Dingley, for the negative. Sir William Wilde, the latest writer on the subject, inclines to the former opinion, and we are disposed to concur with him.* Be the fact as it may, the relation of the parties remained unchanged even in the presence of their most intimate friends. Nor was the secret, if secret there were, ever disclosed.

One thing, however, is certain, that Swift was now in a state of great mental distress; so gloomy and agitated, that his friend, Dr. Delany, went to Archbishop King to speak with him on the matter. On entering the library, Swift rushed by him without speaking, with a countenance of distraction. He found the archbishop in tears. "You have just met," said he, "the most unhappy man on earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." The wretchedness of both those whom he had fascinated was not less than his own; each knew she had a rival in his affections. Vanessa, after refusing eligible offers of marriage, buried herself and her sorrows in the shades of Marley Abbey, her property near Celbridge, and from that period till 1720 never saw Swift except upon her occasional visits to

* A most agreeable and accomplished correspondent, Mr. Edmund Lenthall Swift, a member of the Dean's family, thus writes to me, on the 23rd January, 1865:—"It may be interesting enough to mention that in the year 1791 (you will see that I am anything but young, and perhaps admire the memory of a man now in his eighty-eighth year), when I was fifteen, and tolerably observant of things said or done before me, I heard a then aged man, the Rev. Dr. Ashe, the rector of Clonard, in the county of Meath, and the descendant (lineally or collaterally) of the Bishop of Clogher (ob. 1717), speak of the Dean's marriage to Stella as having been solemnised by the bishop: this on the family tradition of his lordship's *personal statements*."

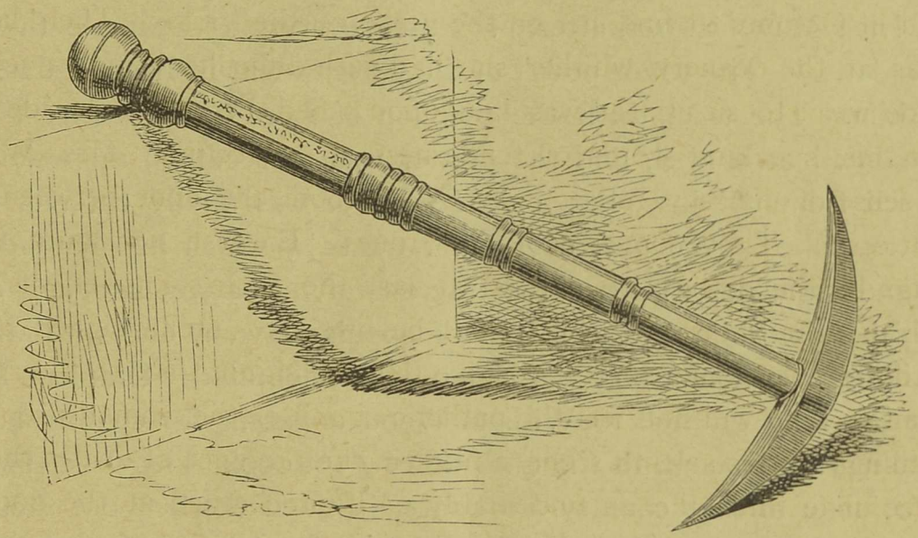
Dublin. From that year till her death he went frequently to see her at Marley. The death of her sister left her now alone in the world, with a competent fortune; and, in 1723, determined to put an end to the suspense that was intolerable, she wrote to her rival to know the nature of her connection with Swift. Stella, justly incensed, informed her that she was the wife of the man whose affections another sought; and sending the letter of Vanessa to the Dean, withdrew herself from Dublin. Let us tell the terrible results in the words of Scott. "Swift, in one of those paroxysms of fury, to which he was liable both from temper and disease, rode instantly to Marley Abbey. As he entered the apartment, the sternness of his countenance, which was peculiarly formed to express the fiercer passions, struck the unfortunate Vanessa with such terror, that she could scarce ask if he would not sit down. He answered by flinging a letter on the table, and, instantly mounting his horse, returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella. It was her death warrant. She sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed yet cherished hopes which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them." It was indeed her death warrant. A few weeks more, and that weary heart, with all its tumultuous, passionate beatings of hope and fear, of tenderness and indignation, rested in the peace of the grave. The tourist who wanders along the exquisite reaches of the Liffey may still see the laurelled bower overlooking the bright waters as they leap down the long weir, and the rustic seats within, where tradition says the ill-starred Esther Vanhomreigh so often sat beside him who was the evil genius of her life.

Let us pursue the life of her rival to its close, though we anticipate somewhat in our narrative. Swift secluded himself for two months in the south of Ireland, none knew where, to expiate in anguish and remorse the crime whose results were irremediable. On his return to Dublin, Stella's love prevailed over her displeasure, and their intercourse was established on the former equivocal terms. Why the marriage, if such there were, was not now acknowledged, has never been satisfactorily explained. In Dublin or at Quilca the same constant companionship, and the same cautious introduction of a third party at all their meetings, continued. His conduct was unjustifiable if they were married, doubly so if they were not: for his acts and attentions could not fail to engage her heart. While his language, in relation to her, was ostentatiously that of friendship alone, his private correspondence to her constantly breathed the ardour of passion. Her frail constitution was gradually broken down by the sorrow and anxiety of her position, and Swift hurried from a visit to England, in 1726, upon the intelligence of her being in a very alarming state. A letter to Sheridan betrays the anguish of his soul. "The very time I am writing, I conclude the fairest soul in the world hath

left its body. I have been long weary of the world, and shall, for my small remainder of days, be weary of life, having for ever lost that conversation which could only make it tolerable." His fears were not realised; Stella rallied for a time; but in the autumn of the following year, while Swift was again in London, the hand of death was visibly descending upon her, and he returned in October to find her on the verge of the grave. Their last interview was at the deanery, whither she had with difficulty been conveyed, and being too weak to sit up, she was laid upon a bed. Swift sat beside her, her hand in his, speaking words of tenderness and affection. Mrs. Whitaway, from a sense of delicacy, retired to the next room, the door between remaining half open. They conversed in low tones. Earnest, no doubt, were the pleadings of the dying woman, and at last the Dean's answer was audible. "Well, my dear, if you wish it, it shall be owned." Stella sighed, and said, "It is too late!" Who can fail to give the true significance to the admission of the man—who will not feel the pathetic agony of the woman's reply? To our thinking, in this solemn scene, almost in the presence of death, they stand confessed man and wife, as undeniably as if proclaimed at the door of the church. Her death now was not far distant. Swift fled from the scene, with that instinctive horror that he had ever expressed of seeing her pass away. On the 28th of January, 1727-8, she "closed her weary pilgrimage, and passed to that land where they neither marry nor are given in marriage."

One turns with a feeling of terror to look in, upon that wintry night, at that bereaved and miserable man, as he sits down in his room in the midnight stillness, in the presence of his mighty sorrow, to meditate upon and write of her with a calm despair that is more pathetic than violent, passionate grief. And there he paints that wonderfully vivid portrait that the world ever since has read with such interest; tells how he knew her from her sixth year; of all her charms of body and of mind; of her "hair blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection;" of the gifts of her mind improved by conversation, her judgment, her dignity, her grace, her affability, her wit; how her servants adored and yet reverenced her; and so he writes on, through the long hours of darkness, outer darkness and inner darkness, till one sad entry tells he has broken down: "January 29th, my head aches, and I can write no more." Who can tell how he spent the dreadful interval, till he resumes: "January 30th, Tuesday. This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bedchamber." And so, while they are committing her body to the grave by the torch light, he continues his sad task, shedding around those virtues and accomplishments a light in which they shall live for ages. That Esther Johnson

was a beautiful woman, no one who looks upon her portrait will deny.* That Swift loved her with all the strength and tenderness of such love as he could feel for woman, no one can doubt. Let the agony of grief and remorse, which thenceforth made his inner life desolate —even when the popular plaudits were



MATTOCK PRESENTED TO STELLA BY SWIFT.

ringing around him, and his voice and his pen were controlling measures and baffling governments—win our pity, though they cannot extenuate his faults.†

Let us return from our digression. From the time of his appointment to the deanery, Swift had applied himself diligently to the discharge of the duties of his station, and to an extensive course of study; enjoying the

* I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Sir W. R. Wilde, for the portrait and medallion of Stella, which are presented to the reader. The former is taken from the picture in the possession of the Honourable Judge Berwick; the medallion is a copy of that at Delville. The cranium of Stella, exhumed from the vaults of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1835, is admirably described by Wilde as a perfect model of symmetry and beauty. "Its outline is one of the most graceful we have ever seen; the teeth, which for their whiteness and regularity were in life the theme of general admiration, were perhaps the most perfect ever witnessed in a skull. On the whole, it is no great stretch of the imagination to clothe and decorate this skull again with its alabaster skin, on which the rose had slightly bloomed; to adorn it with its original luxuriant, dark hair, its white expanded forehead, its level-pencilled eyebrows and dark lustrous eyes, its high prominent nose, its delicately chiselled mouth and pouting upper lip, its full, rounded chin, and long, gracefully swelling neck—when we shall find it realise all that description has handed down to us of an intellectual beauty of the style of those painted by Kneller, and with an outline and form of head accurately corresponding to the pictures of Stella which still exist." Everything connected with Stella is interesting. I have been favoured with the inspection of a mattock presented to her by Swift, now in the possession of Charles Cobbe, Esq., of Newbridge House, Co. Dublin. The handle is of turned *lignum vitæ,* with a silver plate inlaid, bearing the inscription—"*Rident vicini glebas et Saxa moventem.*"

† After Swift's death a paper was found, wrapping up a lock of Stella's hair, inscribed—"*Only a woman's hair.*" Scott looks on these words as designed "to veil his feelings under the mask of cynical indifference." "Do these words," says Thackeray, "indicate indifference, or an attempt to hide feeling? Did you ever hear or read four more pathetic words?" Yet we believe Scott is right; the pathos is due to the association with the name of Stella.

relaxation of the most agreeable society of wits and scholars of the day, including Addison, Tickell, Sheridan, and Delany. But his voice was soon to be heard, like a trumpet, throughout the land, arousing the people to resist the unjust laws which were ruining the woollen manufacture of Ireland. With singular courage he published, in 1720, "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, utterly rejecting everything wearable that comes from England." The whole power of the Government in Ireland was arrayed against him. The tract, upon the coercion of Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, was presented as a libel, and the printer was prosecuted; a special verdict was forced from the jury, but a *nolle prosequi* was finally entered, and the patriot triumphed. We pass over other tracts by which he guarded, with a jealous and sagacious vigilance, the interests of his native land, and come to that which raised him to the height of popular favour, and with which his name will be ever honourably associated—the celebrated "Drapier's Letters." In 1723 the king granted to William Wood a patent for coining halfpence and farthings in Ireland, to the amount of £108,000. The deficiency of the copper coinage in that country, no doubt, justified the act, but then it was obtained corruptly, through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, and without the necessary sanction of the Irish Parliament. This was justly regarded by Swift as an attempt to destroy the national independence of the kingdom; and he determined to throw the whole power of his vigorous and caustic genius into the task of defeating the scheme. Accordingly, in 1724, appeared the first of these celebrated letters. Postponing his main object, that of disputing the right of the king to grant the patent without the consent of the Irish legislature, he adroitly avails himself of every argument which could influence the popular mind; alleging that the coin was so debased that twelve of the pence were worth in reality but one penny,* assailing Wood with bitter scurrility, and alluding to the corrupt influence by which he had procured the patent. Such was the course he pursued in three letters. "Let Wood," said he, "and his accomplices travel about the country with cart loads of their ware, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed, for a highwayman would scorn to touch it." The result was to exasperate the whole nation; politicians of all shades, men of every class, from the highest landed aristocrat to the lowest vender of newspapers, refused to touch the proscribed coinage. Grand juries and trade corporations passed public resolutions against receiving it; and the mob burned the obnoxious Wood in effigy. And so, when with letters, sermons, satires, squibs, and street ballads, he had inflamed the public mind, he threw off the disguise, and

* This statement was incorrect. So far from being debased, the coins were proved, by experiments conducted by Sir Isaac Newton, then Master of the Mint, to equal or exceed, in weight, purity, and value, coins of the same denomination in England.

in his fourth letter he discusses the royal prerogative, and challenges the right to impose upon the independent kingdom of Ireland a contract to which her legislature were no party. "The remedy," he says, "is in your own hands; I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you; and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England." Language so bold could no longer be tolerated by the Government. A reward of £300 was offered for the discovery of the author.* Harding, the printer, was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment sent up against him to the grand jury; but the threats of the unconstitutional Chief Justice Whitshed were impotent, and the bill was ignored; and, to make amends, the next grand jury presented Wood's scheme as a fraud and imposition on the public, and Wood and his coinage disappeared for ever.

The popularity of Swift was now at the highest. Hailed as the undaunted patriot, the liberator of his country, medals were struck with the Drapier's head; his portrait was to be seen everywhere—on sign-boards, on pocket-handkerchiefs, and in print shops. The Drapier's Club sang his praises, lauded his patriotism, and got drunk in toasting him; while the blessings of the people accompanied, wherever he went, the man who, a few years before, scarcely dared to ride out through fear of insult or violence.

In the retirement of Quilca, the residence of his friend, Dr. Delany, Swift completed that wonderful satirical romance which had occupied, at intervals, many an hour of past years; the "Travels into several Remote Nations of the World, by Lemuel Gulliver." In 1726 the first part was given to the world, the authorship carefully concealed, but recognised by every one; "a production," says Dr. Johnson, "so new and so strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was read by the high and the low, the learned and the illiterate." Elsewhere we have offered some critical observations on this singular work, and endeavoured to explain its political, historical, and personal allusions; and have not shrunk from expressing our opinion, both of its merits and its faults. At the time it appeared, "criticism was lost in wonder;" all was praise; the fame of the

* Every one knew that the Dean was the author of the letters, but there was no one that would betray him. A faithful servant, Robert Blakeley, who was the person that brought the manuscript to the printer, being out of the house one evening without leave, the Dean charged him with treachery. The man asserted his innocence, and begged to be confined in the house; but his master would not endure a servant who would treat him with disrespect because he was in his power. "Strip your livery," he said, sternly; "begone from the deanery, instantly, and do the worst to revenge yourself that you dare do." The man went in sorrow, but remained true. When all danger had passed over, the Dean sent for him, and in the presence of all the servants announced that he was now Mr. Blakeley, the verger of St. Patrick's, with a salary of between £30 and £40 a year.

author passed far beyond the bounds of Britain; and the work was translated into French at the suggestion of Voltaire.

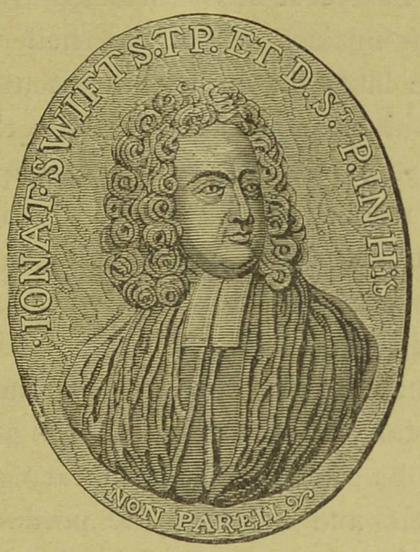
Swift's last visit to England, though it enabled him to renew his happy intercourse with many of his distinguished friends, was productive of no political advantage to him. George I. died, but Walpole continued the minister of his successor, and after an unsatisfactory interview with Walpole, Swift returned to Ireland, never again to leave it. The death of Stella, which followed shortly after, left him desolate, down-stricken, enfeebled in health, with little in the sphere to which he was now confined to stimulate his intellect or to excite his passionate and ardent nature. Henceforth we are to view him misanthropic, irritable, remorseful, the gloom daily and hourly darkening down and closing around him more and more; gleams, no doubt, of cheerfulness, and flashes of his old genius now and then breaking through the darkness and illumining his graveward path; "troops of friends" still around him to honour and respect, but powerless to fill the void in his heart, and often subjected to the bitterness of his savage and capricious temper.

Let us hurry to the close. We do not mean to notice the various literary compositions, both in prose and in verse, which, during the rest of his life, while reason remained, he gave to the world, many of these exhibiting all the pristine vigour of his powerful intellect. Amongst these, one of the best is his celebrated rhapsody "On Poetry," which, for keen, bold, spirited satire, could not be surpassed; and, though his irony spared neither the king, the queen, nor the royal family, we have the authority of Dr. King for believing that it was taken by them in good part. But to the last the interests of Ireland—political, commercial, and agricultural—were watched over by him with a jealous and faithful interest that knew no relaxation, ever arousing the people to a sense of their wrongs, and the Government to the impolicy of their oppressive restrictions. In furtherance of these objects he published a great number of tracts, which were all very popular, and severely resented by the Irish Government. It is highly amusing to observe the skill and temper with which, throughout, Lord Carteret, the viceroy, baffled Swift by his wit, candour, and repartee.* Each thoroughly understood the other, and spoke with a freedom, and administered hard knocks to each other with a heartiness which, perhaps, in the end induced mutual respect. "What, in

* Numerous instances of this warfare are extant. Swift applied for the appointment of trustee to the linen manufactory in the viceroy's gift, and for the commission of the peace. Lord Carteret pleasantly refused both requests, saying he was sure Swift despised such things. The Dean answered, "No, my lord, I do not, as I might be serviceable to the public in both capacities; but, as I would not be governed by your excellency, nor job at the board, nor suffer abuses to pass there or at quarter sessions or assizes, I know that you will not indulge me for the good of this unhappy nation; but if I were a worthless member of parliament, or a bishop, would vote for the court, and betray my country, then you would readily grant my request." "What you say," replied Lord Carteret, with cool frankness, "is literally true, and therefore you must excuse me."

Heaven's name," at last cried Swift, "do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us your boobies again."

Let us turn from the man of letters to the Churchman. As a dignitary of the Irish Church, there is not a little which entitles Swift to our commendation. True, he was not all that a clergyman should be in his outward bearing, or his intercourse with mankind; but his honest scorn of hypocrisy, and his



I am Sr
Your obedient humble
Servt. Jonath: Swift.

peculiarities of temper, often made him seem worse than he really was. But the piety which he cared little to exhibit to the outer world was not wanting in the privacy of his closet, where his devotions were, while reason remained, regular, constant, and fervent,* while family worship was never neglected. For the good of the younger members of his profession he was ever zealous, and exercised all his influence for the promotion of men of

* "Swift's was a reverent, was a pious spirit," says Thackeray. "Through the storms and tempests of his furious mind the stars of religion and love break out in the blue, shining serenely, though hidden by the drifting clouds and the maddened hurricane of his life." He was ever scrupulous, too, in the performance of public worship. Every one knows the story of his reading the entire service when only himself and "dearly beloved Roger," the clerk, were present. "Next Sunday," writes Mrs. Delany, in her autobiography, "the Dean engaged Mr. Pilkington to preach for him in St. Patrick's, when Mrs. Pilkington was struck by observing that Dr. Swift went through the whole service himself, without once looking into a book. After church he was surrounded by poor people, and gave to all but one old woman with dirty hands, to whom he said that, though a beggar, water was not so scarce but that she might have washed them."

The above portrait of Swift, now for the first time published, is taken from a very fine and rare medallion in the possession of my learned and accomplished friend, Dr. R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A., who kindly placed it at my disposal.

virtue and of learning. As Dean of St. Patrick's he was the vigilant and scrupulous guardian of the rights and interests of his office, maintaining its revenues, promoting its welfare, even to his own personal detriment, when he might, without impropriety, have enriched himself at the expense of his successors. He was, too, a Churchman sincere, sturdy, and uncompromising; waging war equally against those whom he considered unsound bishops as against all Dissenters. In one of his satires against the latter he assaulted Serjeant Bettesworth* — against whom he had an old grudge — with such bitterness, that the latter, in a fury, threatened to cut off the Dean's ears, and probably would have accomplished his threat, but that a number of the inhabitants of 'the liberty' signed a paper stating, "That, out of their great love and respect to the Dean, to whom the whole kingdom hath so many obligations, they would endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the said Dean against a certain man, and all his ruffians and murderers." His last effort in public affairs was made in opposing Primate Boulter's scheme for reducing the value of the gold coin. So vigorous was his resistance, both by speech, song, and satire, that Boulter's person and house had to be protected by a military guard. But literature still occupied him at intervals, and amongst the productions of his pen were a lively *jeu d'esprit* on "Polite Conversation," his bitter but humorous "Directions to Servants," and his savage satire on "The Legion Club." While engaged upon this last he was seized with one of his fits of giddiness and deafness, so violent, that he never recovered from the effects of it.

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* The lines occur in a satire published in 1733, which will be found in vol. xii. of Scott's edition of Swift, p. 437—

> "Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
> Though half a crown o'erpays his sweat's worth,
> Who knows in law nor text nor margent,
> Calls Singleton his brother serjeant."

The enraged lawyer sought out Swift at a friend's house, and being shown into a private room haughtily addressed the Dean: "Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, I am Serjeant Bet-tes-worth!" "Of what regiment?" coolly asked the Dean. "Oh, Mr. Dean, we know your powers of raillery; you know well enough that I am one of his majesty's serjeants at law." "What, then, sir?" asked the Dean. "Why, then, sir, I am come to demand of you whether you are the author of this poem, and these villanous lines on me?" "Sir," answered Swift, "it was a piece of advice, given me in my early days by Lord Somers, never to own or disown any writing laid to my charge; because if I did this in some cases, whatever I did not disown afterwards would infallibly be imputed to me as mine. Now, I take this to have been a very wise maxim, and, as such, have followed it ever since; and I believe it will hardly be in the power of all your rhetoric, as great a master as you are of it, to make me swerve from that rule." "Well," said the serjeant, at length, "since you will give me no satisfaction in this affair, let me tell you, your gown is your protection, under the sanction of which, like one of your own Yahoos, who had climbed up to the top of a high tree, you sit secure and throw your filth round on all mankind." This was a home thrust, and Swift felt it. "That fellow," said he, "when relating the interview, showed more wit in this than I thought him possessed of." Another, and more characteristic version of the Dean's reply to the serjeant's charge is thus given:—"Mr. Bettesworth, I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask me such a question as you have put, that I should deny the authorship; and I therefore tell you that I am not the author of these lines."

And now we approach the last scene of his eventful history. The terrible disorder whose shadow first dimmed the sunshine of his early manhood, that through life grew denser and closer to him, now deepened down and darkened the residue of his existence. "Deaf, giddy, helpless,"* and lonely too, for Gay and Arbuthnot, and many another of his loved associates, had passed away, and the few that survived were almost as the dead to him; irritable, miserable, gloomy, and at times almost savage, he brooded over the thought of that awful termination to which he had ever looked forward—the loss of reason; as he had, long years before, said to a friend when looking at an elm tree decayed at the head, "I shall be like that tree—I shall die at the top."

Into that long, dark, terrible night let us not pry with too curious and irreverent an eye. As the light of intellect was passing away from him, on that sad 26th of July, 1740, in his misery, and deafness, and pain, he wrote to her, the tender and accomplished relative who administered to him to the last, Mrs. Whiteway, "I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be." Miserable, indeed, they were, but not few. For five long years he lingered on, his reason overturned,† his physical torture driving him at times into outrageous madness, with but rare intervals of glimmering reason,‡ till worn-out nature could endure no longer, and, on the 19th of October, 1745, he died, "without the least pang or convulsion, in the seventy-eighth year of his age." "It was then," says Scott, "that the gratitude of the Irish showed itself in the full glow of national enthusiasm. The interval was forgotten during which their great patriot had been dead to the world, and he was wept and mourned as if he had been called away in the full career of his public services. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the house, to pay the last tribute of

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* In verses profoundly affecting, Swift described his state in 1734—

"Vertiginosus, inops, surdus, male gratus amicis;
Non campana sonans, tonitru non ab Jove missum,
Quod mage mirandum, saltem si credere fas est
Non clamosa meas mulier jam percutit aures."

† A commission *de lunatico* was issued to inquire into the state of Swift, dated August 12, 1741, and returnable on the 3rd of November following. The inquiry was opened on the 17th of August, and the same day the jury found that Swift was of unsound mind, and the writ with the finding was returned on the 19th of the same month. Dr. Banks, in a very interesting paper in the Dublin *Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, vol. xxxi. (1861), gives a copy of the writ from an inspection of the original.

‡ In one of his intervals of reason he wrote his last composition—an epigram, thoroughly characteristic of his nature. Driving through the park with his physician, he asked what was the new building there. "That," Mr. Dean, said Dr. Kingsbury, "is the magazine for arms." "Oh, ah!" said the Dean, pulling out his pocket-book, "let me make an *item* of that. This is worth remarking. 'My tablets,' as Hamlet says, "my tablets; memory, put down that!'" He then produced the following:

"Behold! a proof of Irish sense;
Here Irish wit is seen:
When nothing's left that's worth defence,
We build a magazine!"

sorrow and of affection. Locks of his hair were so eagerly sought after that Mr. Sheridan happily applied to the enthusiasm of the citizens of Dublin the lines of Shakespeare :

> 'Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
> And dying mention it within their wills,
> Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
> Unto their issue.'"

In the nave of his cathedral the great Dean of St. Patrick was interred privately, and without pomp, by his own desire, but to the great discontent of the nation. Beside the remains of his loved Stella that heart was laid at rest where infuriate indignation could no farther lacerate it, still proclaiming how he had ever laboured for liberty, and warred against oppression.*

Sir William Wilde, in his able and exhaustive memoir,† has, with great acuteness and learning, considered the question of Swift's insanity, both in a medical and legal point of view, aided by a *post-mortem* examination of his skull, which was disinterred in 1835. "The disease," he says, "under which he laboured so long, and which we have ventured to term 'cerebral congestion,' might, from the symptoms, be styled by some pathologists 'epileptic vertigo,' such as that described by Esquirol—an affection to which, it is well known, many men of strong intellect have been subject. For the last few years of his embittered existence, from his seventy-fifth to his seventy-eighth year, his disease partook so much of the nature of senile decay, or the *dementia* of old age, that it is difficult, with the materials now at command, to define by any precise medical term his actual state."

Ere closing this brief memoir we would say a few words of Swift as a politician, a patriot, and a man of letters. In the first of these characters, while we must feel that he possessed an insight into the politics of his times in depth, extent, and accuracy inferior, perhaps, to none of his contemporaries,

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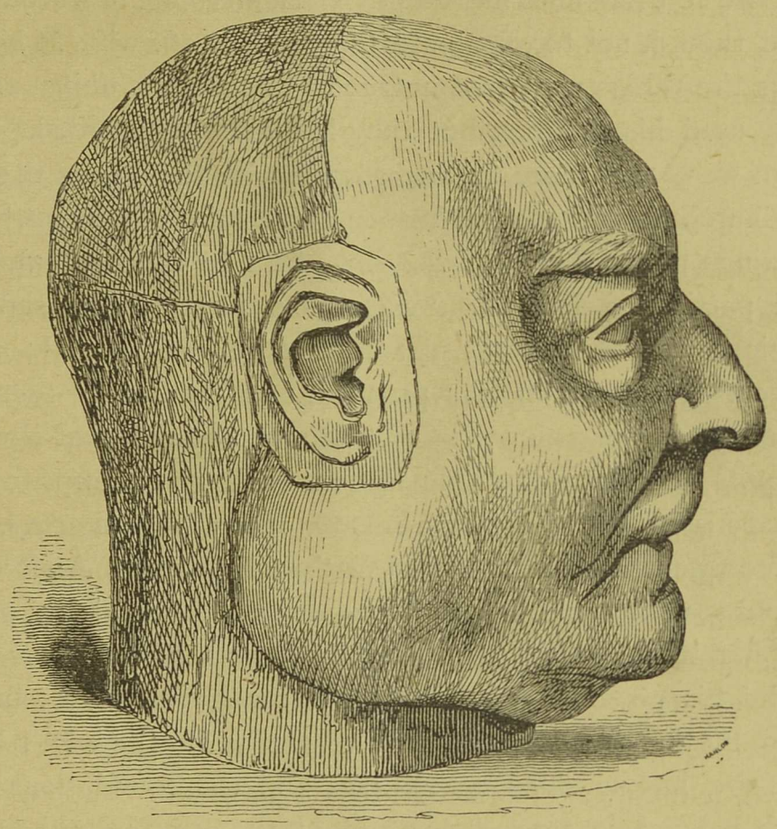
* The mural inscription written by himself expresses his feelings :

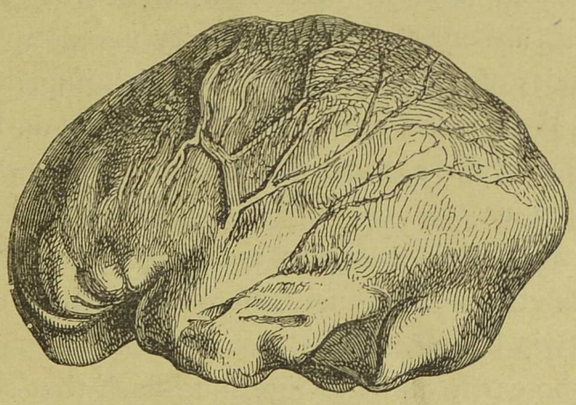
HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S.T.P.
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS
DECANI :
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT
ABI VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIIT ANNO 1745 :
MENSIS OCTOBRIS DIE 19 ;
ÆTATIS ANNO 78.

The black marble slab, upon which this epitaph is written, was originally fixed in the second column from the south-west end of the nave, directly over the place of burial. It is to be regretted that in the recent changes (made during the restoration of the cathedral by the munificence of Mr. B. L. Guinness, M.P.) this slab has been removed, and placed over the door of the vestry, in the southern aisle of the nave, some yards south of its original position.

† "The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life," &c. Dublin : Hodges and Smith. Second Edition, 1849.



SWIFT'S HEAD, TAKEN AFTER DEATH.



CAST OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CRANIUM OF SWIFT.

it is impossible to acquit him of the charge of political infidelity. There is, indeed, but too much truth in the severe strictures of Lord Stanhope:—"We find him bred as a Whig under Sir William Temple, patronised as a Whig by Lord Somers, boasting of himself as a Whig in his writings, and then, without a pretence of principle, without the slightest charge against his friends on public grounds, and merely on an allegation of personal neglect, turning round to the Tory leaders at the very moment when those leaders were coming into office, and having evidently no better reason for deserting his

cause than that he thought it in danger."* Something, however, may be said to extenuate, though not to exculpate, the conduct of Swift. If he were untrue to the Whigs, the Whigs were first untrue to themselves, unjust and ungrateful to him; they used his abilities, but they left him unrewarded. His views as a Churchman were ever more in accordance with the Tories than the Whigs, and to the Church he was ever a true son and a faithful servant.†

With feelings of unalloyed pleasure we turn to the contemplation of the patriot—the patriot of Ireland. "Sagacious, intrepid—he saw, he dared; above suspicions, he was trusted; above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wisdom was practical and prophetic—remedial for the present, warning for the future; he first taught Ireland that she might cease to be a despot. But he was a Churchman. His gown impeded his course, and entangled his efforts. Guiding a senate, or heading an army, he had been more than Cromwell, and Ireland not less than England. As it was, he saved her by his courage, improved her by his authority, adorned her by his talents, and exalted her by his fame. His mission was but of ten years; and for ten years only did his personal power mitigate the government; but though no longer feared by the great, he was not forgotten by the wise; his influence, like his writings, has survived a century; and the foundations of whatever prosperity we have since erected are laid in the disinterested and magnanimous patriotism of Swift."‡ During the period when he fixed his residence permanently in Ireland, and devoted himself heartily to her interests, his influence was almost unbounded, his popularity unexampled. Even then his political sins, his faults of temper, his imperious bearing, and his caprices, were almost forgotten in the general sentiment of gratitude and veneration, and to this day men remember, not so much his failings and his errors, as his services, his power, and his genius.

As a man of letters, Swift occupies a high place. The testimony on this subject is ample, sometimes generously offered, sometimes unwillingly extorted. As a satirist and a wit, his power was tremendous. He wielded the thunderbolt that felled to the earth, and the lightning-flash that scathed, and burned, and shrivelled up its victim. Compared with him Junius is feeble. "What vigour and vivacity of style! How rich is his variety of illustration, how terrible his energy of invective! How powerfully does he cast aside, to the

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* Lord Mahon's "History of England," vol. i., p. 69.

† Dr. Johnson, who cannot be accused of partiality to Swift, puts his conduct in a fairer light than Lord Stanhope: it is well to recollect that the one looked at it from a Tory, the other from a Whig point of view:—"By his political education he was associated with the Whigs; but he deserted them when they deserted their principles, yet without running into the contrary extreme. He continued throughout his life to retain the disposition which he assigns to the 'Church of England man,' of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the State, and with the Tories of the Church."

‡ "A Sketch of the State of Ireland, Past and Present." Dublin, 1810.

right and to the left, all extraneous or subordinate topics, grapple at once with the main matters at issue, and give battle to the whole strength of his opponents!"* Swift, too, was an original genius, and no writer was ever less indebted to others, either for the thoughts that he put forward or the style in which he clothed them. And yet few authors were ever less anxious for fame than he: he wrote for an object totally independent of fame, and that object accomplished, he cared little for the means which he had used. Like a mechanician who has fashioned some exquisite tool to enable him to work out his ideas, and then throws it aside, so Swift flung from him his finest compositions, often anonymous, leaving to the public their ultimate fate, and disdaining to participate in any pecuniary profit which they might realise. Swift wrote a great many rhythmical pieces, but we are inclined to agree with Dryden's estimate of him as a poet, and the very qualified praise of Dr. Johnson. Yet, for the purposes for which he used the vehicle of metre or of rhyme, he was successful. He never attempted the higher regions, never aimed at the sublime, never dealt in the pathetic, but he was most felicitous in the satire, the epigram, and could be caustic, witty, and humorous in verse, as he was in prose.

In person Swift was tall, strong, and well made. In youth he was handsome—dark complexion, blue eyes, expressive of great acuteness, heavy dark eyebrows, and aquiline nose. In age he had contracted an expression stern, haughty, and severe, which, though sometimes relaxed under pleasurable sentiments, oftener darkened under the impulse of passion into something absolutely terrific. His conversation was full of the charms of wit, shrewdness, and fine humour; at times lively, brilliant, and gay; at times rude, petulant, and even savage. He was unrivalled in the quickness of his repartee, and in the stores of anecdotes and information which he poured out from a well-furnished and inexhaustible memory. Let us add that, while he was economical almost to penuriousness, he had no avarice, and while practising severe retrenchment and self-denial in his own household, he was charitable to the full extent of his means, not only to individuals, but to institutions. Such was Swift, a mystery and a problem to others—perhaps even to himself. Who can tell, despite his dealings with loving hearts that he won and broke, what love might yet have been in that very heart, which he dared not indulge in? "Treasures of wit, and wisdom, and tenderness too, must that man have locked up in the caverns of his gloomy heart, and shown fiftfully to one or two whom he took in there. But it was not good to visit that place. People did not remain there long, and suffered for having been there. He shrank away from all affections sooner or later. His laugh jars on one's ears after sevenscore years. An immense genius; an awful downfall and ruin! So great a man,

* Lord Mahon's "History of England," vol. i., p. 70.

that thinking of him is like thinking of an empire falling." A mighty genius, indeed burned, and raged, and flashed forth from that strange, hard, haughty, morose, and savage man—"a genius equally suited to politics and to letters; a genius destined to shake great kingdoms, to stir the laughter and the rage of millions, and to leave to posterity memorials which can perish only with the English language."

JOHN FRANCIS WALLER.



INTRODUCTION.

NO author in the British language has enjoyed a larger or a more enduring popularity than Jonathan Swift, and of all his works "GULLIVER'S TRAVELS" is that upon which that popularity most securely rests. Issued from the press in 1727,* with mysterious secrecy—the publisher not knowing who was the author—it took the world by surprise, and agitated alike the literary and

* The First Part appeared in November, 1726.

political circles with admiration and curiosity. The book was read everywhere and by everybody, "from the highest to the lowest, from the cabinet council to the nursery." In every coterie the authorship was discussed, and though a few of Swift's intimate literary friends were acquainted with the secret, they did not divulge it. A more extraordinary satirical romance the world had never seen. Eccentric, original, vivid, and picturesque, it possesses the charms of a fairy tale or romance, and is written with a skill that cheats one at times, despite its many extravagances, into a belief of its reality. What keen political satire is concealed beneath the fiction! what wit, irony, and ridicule are launched against the men and things of his day through the fabled beings of the tale! "No word," says Sir Walter Scott, "drops from Gulliver's pen in vain. Where his work ceases for a moment to satirise the vices of mankind in general, it becomes a stricture upon the parties, politics, and courts of Britain; where it abandons that subject of censure, it presents a lively picture of the vices and follies of the fashionable world, or of the vain pursuits of philosophy; while the parts of the narrative which refer to the traveller's own adventures form a humorous and striking parody of the manners of old voyagers, their dry and minute style, and the unimportant personal incidents with which their journals are encumbered."

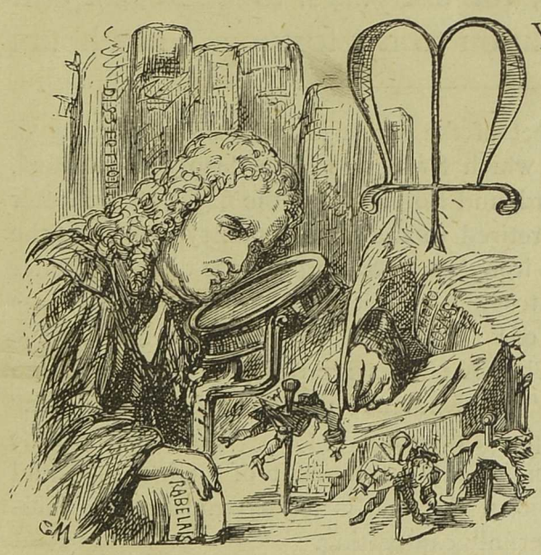
The object of Swift's work is moral and political: through the vehicle of a romantic fiction to exhibit to mankind—viewed, as it were, apart from themselves—their vices, their follies, their meannesses, their political errors, and social faults. "When human actions," Dr. Hawkesworth justly observes, "are ascribed to pigmies and giants, there are few that do not excite either contempt, disgust, or horror; to ascribe them, therefore, to such beings was, perhaps, the most probable method of engaging the mind to examine them with attention and judge of them with impartiality, by suspending the fascination of habit, and exhibiting familiar objects in a new light. Personal strength and beauty, the wisdom and virtue of mankind, become objects, not of pride, but of humility, in the diminutive stature and contemptible weakness of the Lilliputians, in the horrid deformity of the Brobdignagians, in the learned folly of the Laputans, and in the parallel drawn between our manners and those of the Houyhnhnms." We agree with Mr. Thackeray that there is no one who reads it but must admire the humour and conduct of this famous work; we are charmed with the adventures even before we think of their political significance; we wonder at the fine humour, the fierce and trenchant wit, the scathing satire, and the savage invective; and we feel that none but a master-mind could conceive, or a master-hand execute allegories so lengthened and yet so well sustained, so uncommon and yet with so little that is inconsistent. The instinct of Swift, like that of De Foe and of Bunyan, taught him that in the simple, blunt character of his seafaring surgeon lay his safety and his success. The frank, straightforward GULLIVER, like CRUSOE and CHRISTIAN, is ever the same through trial and adventure; they all have become realities to our mind—known once, they are known for ever.



A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.*

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR GIVES SOME ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND FAMILY; HIS FIRST INDUCEMENTS TO TRAVEL. HE IS SHIPWRECKED, AND SWIMS FOR HIS LIFE; GETS SAFE ON SHORE IN THE COUNTRY OF LILLIPUT; IS MADE A PRISONER, AND CARRIED UP THE COUNTRY.



MY father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel College in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the

* The "Voyage to Lilliput," the First Part of the Travels, is founded upon the ancient fiction of the "Pigmies," known to all classical scholars, and familiar to children in their

mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a year to maintain me at Leyden; there I studied physic two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master, Mr. Bates, to be surgeon to the *Swallow*, Captain Abraham Pannell, commander, with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts.* When I came back I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs. Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate Street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having therefore consulted with my wife, and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages, for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours

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modern representatives—the "fairies." The object of the satire is to assail the policy of Walpole and the Ministry of George I., with which Swift was then deeply dissatisfied, especially on account of the impeachment of Oxford and Bolingbroke, the flight of the latter to France, and the banishment of Atterbury, who retired to the same country. Against the Minister, accordingly, the keenest shafts of Swift's irony and stinging wit are directed, under the character of Lord Treasurer Flimnap. The struggles between the Tories and the Whigs are described under the contemptuous epithets of "High-heels" and "Low-heels;" while the religious controversies between the two great Church parties are ridiculed as being of no greater importance than the dispute between the "Big Endians" and the "Little Endians." In Blefuscu, we have France symbolised, as Lilliput is designed to typify England; and the flight of Gulliver to the former is intended to reprobate the treatment of Bolingbroke and Atterbury. Independently of these political allusions, the tale is highly amusing, the incidents happily conceived, and the adventures wonderfully captivating.

* The wonderful skill of Swift is shown in this opening. Gulliver gives a brief notice of himself in a manner so simple and so natural, that the reader is, at the very outset, impressed with a feeling of the reality of the narrative, and thus prepared to believe the narrator. How admirable is the mention, as it were casually, of such minute circumstances as that he was two years and seven months studying physic; that he took *part* of a house in the Old Jewry, and got £400 fortune with his wife.



"I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness."—*Page* 8.

of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language; wherein I had a great facility, by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter Lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors, but it would not turn to account. After three years' expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the *Antelope*, who was making a voyage to the South Seas. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Dieman's Land.* By an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour and ill food; the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seaman spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labour while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was overset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For

* It will be remembered how little was known of the South Pacific Ocean, or the Australian Continent, at the time when Swift wrote. The discoverer of Van Dieman's Land, in 1633—Abel Janson Tasman—gave but a very inaccurate account of the seas he traversed, and so Swift had *sea room* enough in which to place his ideal country of Lilliput. Fortunately, while he states the longitude of the shipwreck, he avoids giving the latitude, and so we have escaped the possibility of finding the scene of his adventures amongst the pigmies upon the coast of Western Australia.

my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by the wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom; but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the storm was so much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least, I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir; for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards; the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me; but in the posture I lay could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high,* with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the meantime, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul;* the others repeated the same words several times, but I then knew not what

* Swift takes the standard of the Lilliputians to be not six inches high, which, compared with the ordinary standard of men, makes an inch of the latter equivalent to a foot of the former This proportion will be found to be pretty accurately preserved in all the measurements, both superficial and solid. Thus we have, a little farther on, the page described as "somewhat larger than my middle finger," or about four feet and a half high.

they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness; at length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground; for by lifting it to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me; at the same time, with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it ceased I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac;* when in an instant I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and besides, they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body (though I felt them not), and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand.



When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself; and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows; but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased; and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a

knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work; when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it; from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro dehul san* (these words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon, immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator,* and I could observe many periods of threatings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness; and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me that I could not forbear showing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency) by putting my finger frequently to my mouth to signify that I wanted food. The *hurgo* (for so they call a great lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above a hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth,

* From the description of this orator, and his being attended by a page, it is evident that Swift designed to allude to some of those Whig nobles of his day who were in the habit of haranguing the people, at public meetings, in favour of their own political views. As a Tory, Swift was ever ready to have a fling at these agitators, who so largely contributed to put his party out of power. There is something intensely ludicrous in representing the pigmy orator perched upon a stage three times the height of himself, squandering all the resources of elocution upon one who could not understand "one syllable of his long speech." Moore, in his "Ode to Sir Hudson Lowe," alludes very humorously to this incident:—

"And how the doughty manikins
Amused themselves with sticking pins
And needles in the great man's breeches;
And how some *very* little things
That passed for lords, on scaffoldings,
Got up and worried him with speeches."

laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but I could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I ate them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time, about the bigness of musket bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, showing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another sign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me; and being a most ingenious people, they slung up, with great dexterity, one of their largest hogsheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint,* and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more, but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times, as they did at first, *Hekinah degul.* They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogsheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mevolah;* and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was a universal shout of *Hekinah degul.* I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive behaviour, soon drove out these imaginations. Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality to a people who had treated me with so much expense and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared

* The Lilliputian liquid measure will, according to the standard already laid down, be (12 × 12 × 12) 1728 times less than our own; consequently the half-pint hogshead, which Gulliver drank off at a draught, contained nearly 108 Lilliputian gallons.

before me a person of high rank from his imperial majesty. His excellency having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue;* and producing his credentials under the signet royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution; often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant; whither it was agreed by his majesty, in council, that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train), and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty. It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hand in a posture to show that I must be carried as a prisoner. However, he made other signs to let me understand that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds; but again, when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this the *hurgo* and his train withdrew, with much civility and cheerful countenances. Soon after I heard a general shout with frequent repetitions of the words, *Peplom selan;* and I felt great numbers of people on my left side relaxing the cords to such a degree that I was able to turn upon my right side. But before this, they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment, very pleasant to the smell, which, in a few minutes, removed all the smart of their arrows. These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the

* How thoroughly ludicrous is the image thus presented to us! The pomp of the manikin *hurgo*, with his dozen followers, traversing the body of Gulliver, from one end to the other, poking his credentials into the eyes of the giant, and being clement enough to address him "without any signs of anger."

"They tied him down—these little men did,
And having valiantly ascended
Upon the mighty man's protuberance,
They did so strut! Upon my soul,
It must have been extremely droll
To see their pigmy pride's exuberance!"

Moore's "Ode to Sir Hudson Lowe."



"Producing his credentials under the signet royal."—*Page* 11.

emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheads of wine.

It seems that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the ground, after my landing, the emperor had early notice of it by an express; and determined, in council, that I should be tied in the manner I have related (which was done in the night while I slept); that plenty of meat and drink should be sent me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city.

This resolution, perhaps, may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion. However, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous: for, supposing these people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears and arrows, while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have roused my rage and strength as to have enabled me to break the strings wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

These people are most excellent mathematicians,* and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince has several machines fixed on wheels, for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men-of-war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood, raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long, and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which it seems set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords, of the bigness of packthread, were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body,

* This is probably a sneer at mathematics, for which and its professors Swift had no great reverence. Like Goldsmith, he thought that proficiency in mathematics did not require the highest order of intellect; nor did he believe, with King James I., that they were altogether beyond human comprehension; for we learn from Sheridan that, on one occasion, Swift solved a very difficult problem in a very short time. The description of the process by which Gulliver is raised is not only amusing, but very ingenious and correct.



"The next morning, at sunrise, we continued our march."—*Page* 15.

and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords, by many pulleys fastened on the poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast.* All this I was told; for, while the operation was

* Dr. Cooke Taylor observes upon this: "The caution of the Lilliputian courtiers is probably designed to ridicule the over-acted solicitude by which the ministers of George I. affected to protect the king from the plots of the Jacobites. The Tories, who hastened to greet the king

performing, I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and a half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopped awhile, to adjust something that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep: they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently; whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my waking so suddenly. We made a long march the remaining part of the day, and rested at night, with five hundred guards on each side me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next morning, at sunrise, we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city gates about noon. The emperor and all his court came out to meet us; but his great officers would by no means suffer his majesty to endanger his person by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopped there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom; which, having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of those people, looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate fronting to the north was about four feet high and almost two feet wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground; into that on the left side, the king's smith conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with

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on his landing, were either refused admittance or harshly dismissed." Lord John Russell says ("Affairs of Europe," vol. i., p. 308)—"Lord Harcourt, who arrived with a patent for the peerage of the Prince of Wales, was abruptly dismissed; the Duke of Ormond, who was hastening to Greenwich, was forbidden to appear in the royal presence; and Lord Oxford, who had shown more joy in proclaiming the king than his friends thought respectful towards the late queen, was hardly admitted in the crowd to kiss the king's hand."

six-and-thirty padlocks. Over against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret, at least five feet high. Here the emperor ascended, with many principal lords of his court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above a hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and, in spite of my guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand, at several times, who mounted my body, by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued to forbid it, upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up, with as melancholy a disposition as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people, at seeing me rise and walk, are not to be expressed. The chain that held my left leg was about two yards long, and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semicircle, but, being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.



CHAPTER II.

THE EMPEROR OF LILLIPUT, ATTENDED BY SEVERAL OF THE NOBILITY, COMES TO SEE THE AUTHOR IN HIS CONFINEMENT.—THE EMPEROR'S PERSON AND HABIT DESCRIBED.—LEARNED MEN APPOINTED TO TEACH THE AUTHOR THEIR LANGUAGE.—HE GAINS FAVOUR BY HIS MILD DISPOSITION.—HIS POCKETS ARE SEARCHED, AND HIS SWORD AND PISTOLS TAKEN FROM HIM.



WHEN I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the enclosed fields, which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a *stang*,* and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scenes of a city in a theatre.

I soon came out of my house, having occasion for fresh air. The emperor was already descended from the tower, and advancing on horseback towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet: but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat till his attendants ran in, and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicle upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took these vehicles, and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest. The empress, and young princes of the blood of both sexes,

* A stang is a pole or perch, sixteen feet and a half in length.

attended by many ladies, sat at some distance in their chairs ; but upon the accident that happened to the emperor's horse they alighted, and came near his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court ; which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders.* His features are strong and masculin , with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three-quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off : however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description.† His dress was very plain and

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* Lord Macaulay, who admits that Swift owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer, suggests that he may have borrowed, perhaps unconsciously, this, which he denominates "one of the happiest touches in his voyage to Lilliput," from Addison's verses :—

> "Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
> Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
> Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
> Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam."

It is possible that Addison's verses may have suggested this comparison to Swift ; but we are disposed to agree with Mr. Thackeray in thinking that such an image came naturally to the mind of the Dean. He was full of his subject, and made the comparison just as one would do it in reality. "What a surprising humour," says Thackeray, "there is in these descriptions ! How noble the satire is here ! how just and honest ! how perfect the image ! "

† Swift, no doubt, designed in the character of the Emperor of the Lilliputians to portray George the First. The portrait, however, is purposely, in many respects, unlike, and the features that resemble are by no means numerous. George was below the middle stature, inelegant in person, ungraceful in deportment, and awkward in address, and at ease only in the privacy of his friends ; phlegmatic, grave, not over-moral, and very parsimonious, he had no taste for literature or the fine arts, and was so ignorant of the English language that Walpole had to converse with him in Latin. He knew as little of our laws or customs, so that Shippen observed, "It was the only infelicity of His Majesty's reign that he was unacquainted with the English language and the English Constitution "—a sarcasm that procured the utterer a lodging in the Tower. Horace Walpole, who, when a child, was introduced to him, describes him as "an elderly man, rather pale, not tall, of an aspect rather good than august, with a dark tie-wig, a plain coat, waistcoat, and breeches, of snuff-coloured cloth, with stockings of the same colour, and a blue riband over all." Thackeray, whose sharp pen has spared none of the Georges, does manly justice to whatever was good in the first of them. After exposing his faults, and ridiculing his failings with all that picturesque and lively vigour of which he was a master, he dismissed him in these kindly words :—"He was not a lofty monarch, certainly ; but he was not a hypocrite, he was not revengeful, he was not extravagant. Though a despot in Hanover, he was a moderate ruler in England. His aim was to leave it to itself as much as possible, and to live out of it as much as he could. * * * He was more than fifty years of age when he came amongst us ; we took him because we wanted him,

simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic* and the European: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold, enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate; and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad; so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver.† His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned



answers; but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present (as I conjectured by their habits), who were commanded to address themselves to me; and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and

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because he served our turn; we laughed at his uncouth German ways, and sneered at him. * * * He kept his compact with his English subjects; and if he escaped no more than other men and monarchs from the vices of his age, at least we may thank him for preserving and transmitting the liberties of ours. * * * There are stains in the portrait of the first George, and traits in it which none of us need admire; but among the nobler features are justice, courage, and moderation." The simplicity and the penuriousness, as well as the justice and moderation, of the British monarch will be found adumbrated in the Lilliputian.

* This may refer to the king's Turkish pages of the Back Stairs, Mustapha and Mahomet, who exercised considerable influence over their master, and made sale of minor offices.

† Perhaps at no period was the dress of the upper classes carried to a higher pitch of extravagance than in the early part of the eighteenth century; and Swift here takes a fling at the



"Pushing them forward with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach."—*Page* 21

Lingua Franca, but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice, of the rabble, who were very

excess. The pictures of Hogarth, and the pens of Addison and Steele, have handed down to us lively pictures of the beaux and belles, the courtiers and the "pretty fellows" of the day. Baron de Pollnitz, writing of this period, says: "The ladies and gentlemen always appear in rich dresses; for the English, who, twenty years ago, did not wear gold lace but in their army,

impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ringleaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper as to deliver them bound into my hands; which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forward with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach. I took them all in my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my penknife: but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I sat him gently on the ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and the people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.*

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time the emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; a hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double; which, however, kept me but very indifferently from the hard-

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are now embroidered and bedaubed as much as the French. I speak of persons of quality; for the citizen still contents himself with a suit of fine cloth, a good hat and wig, and fine linen. Everybody is well clothed here; and even the beggars don't make so ragged an appearance as they do elsewhere."

* The treatment of Gulliver in thus generously pardoning the Lilliputians who assailed him with their arrows, is designed to represent the clemency and forbearance with which the Tory party, under the administration of Harley and Bolingbroke, in the latter years of Queen Anne, dealt with political offenders, and especially political libellers. This was the more creditable to his party at a time when it was the received doctrine in Westminster Hall, that no man might publish a writing reflecting on the Government, or upon the character, or even capacity or fitness of any one employed in it (Hallam, "Constitutional History of England," vol. iii., p. 229). Swift was one of the first who adopted a punishment for libellers more expedient and more effective, namely, retaliation, which he administered unsparingly in the *Examiner* against his political opponents, with the almost avowed countenance of his own Government. Let us be thankful that the advanced principles of true liberty, the spirit of popular independence, and, above all, the influences of a free and enlightened press, have long since exploded a doctrine so incompatible with freedom as the immunity of Government from the fair expression of popular criticism.

ness of the floor, that was of smooth stone.* By the same computation, they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships.

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers—rich, idle, and curious people—to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied; and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued, if his imperial majesty had not provided, by several proclamations and orders of state, against this inconveniency. He directed that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without licence from the court; whereby the secretary of state got considerable fees.

In the meantime the emperor held frequent councils, to debate what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured, by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my diet would be very expensive,† and might cause a famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisonous arrows, which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered that the stench of so large a carcass might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations, several officers of the army went to the door of the great council-chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the six criminals above-mentioned; which

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* "Lemuel Gulliver," says Lord Orrery, in his remarks on the life and writings of Swift, "has observed great exactness in the just proportion and appearances of the several objects thus lessened and magnified." Here we have an illustration of this remark. No fewer than 144 Lilliputian beds would have been enough to form one sufficiently long and broad for the man-mountain. He was, however, but scantily supplied in the depth, having been given four instead of twelve deep. Here we see the king's parsimony in curtailing his guest to the amount of some 1,200 additional beds, to say nothing of putting him to lie on the stones for want of a bedstead. Accordingly, while Gulliver seems contented with the length and breadth of his accommodation, he complains, with some justice, of its shallowness.

† In the dealings of the Lilliputian court and monarch with Gulliver here detailed we have some of the characteristics of George I. brought out with inoffensive pleasantry: the parsimony that was alarmed at the cost of maintaining so expensive a visitor; the generosity and justice that rewarded Gulliver's good conduct; the moderation, simplicity, and shyness of the king, who lived chiefly upon his own demesnes; as, a little further on, we find the ease and freedom of the king in private life, the punctuality in business, the circumspection that requires a pledge of loyalty from the giant and directs a search of his person, and the courage which does not shrink from setting at liberty one endued with such tremendous power.

made so favourable an impression in the breast of his majesty, and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commission was issued out, obliging all the villagers, nine hundred yards round the city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals, for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread, and wine and other liquors; for the due payment of which his majesty gave assignments upon his treasury: for this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes; seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expense. An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics, who had board-wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them, very conveniently, on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred tailors should make me a suit of clothes, after the fashion of the country; that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language; and lastly, that the emperor's horses, and those of the nobility and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these orders were duly put in execution; and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language; during which time the emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learnt were to express my desire "that he would be pleased to give me my liberty;" which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, "that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumos kelmin pesso desmar lon emposa;*" that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom. However, that I should be used with all kindness. And he advised me to "acquire by my patience and discreet behaviour the good opinion of himself and his subjects." He desired, "I would not take it ill if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person." I said, "His majesty should be satisfied; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn out my pockets before him." This I delivered, part in words, and part in signs. He replied, "that by the laws of the kingdom, I must be searched by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; and he had so good an opinion of my generosity and



"These gentlemen made an exact inventory of everything they saw."—*Page* 25.

justice, as to trust their persons in my hands; that whatever they took from me should be returned when I left the country, or paid for, at the rate which I would set upon them." I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs, and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pens, ink, and paper about them, made an exact inventory of everything they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows:—

Imprimis, In the right coat-pocket of the great man-mountain (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*), after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we, the searchers, were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a-sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substance, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court: wherewith we conjecture the man-mountain combs his head; for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket, on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate the word *ranfu-lo*, by which they meant my breeches), we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber larger than the pillar; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we knew not what to make of. In the left pocket, another engine of the same kind. In the smaller pocket on the right side, were several round flat pieces of white and red metal, of different bulk; some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy that, my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped: we could not, without difficulty, reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece: but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was enclosed a prodigious plate of steel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to show us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their cases, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter: these he called his fobs; they were two large slits cut into the tops of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his body. Out of the right fob hung

a great silver chain, with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain; which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal; for, on the transparent side, we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise, like that of a water-mill; and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the god that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understand him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly,) that he seldom did anything without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said it pointed out the time for every action of his life. From the left fob he took out a net almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and served him for the same use: we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

Having thus, in obedience to your majesty's commands, diligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waist made of the hide of some prodigious animal, from which, on the left side, hung a sword of the length of five men; and on the right, a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your majesty's subjects. In one of these cells were several globes, or balls, of a most ponderous metal, about the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them: the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the palms of our hands.

This is an exact inventory* of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your majesty's commission. Signed and sealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your majesty's auspicious reign.

CLEFRIN FRELOCK.
MARSI FRELOCK.

When this inventory was read over to the emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars. He first called for my scimitar, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the meantime, he ordered three thousand of the choicest troops

* How exquisitely ludicrous is this conception of these wise mannikins searching Gulliver's pockets, and gravely noting things, most trivial and ordinary in our estimation, as of the weightiest moment, and of suspicious, if not alarming character! Nothing could have been more happily devised than this mode of bringing into contempt and ridicule the reports of the several committees of secresy which the Whig administration under Walpole appointed, for the purpose of inquiring into the treasonable plots which the Jacobites were suspected of concocting in favour of the Pretender during the early part of the reign of George I. These reports exhibited a great deal of ignorance, a great deal of party spirit, and no small amount of credulity. It was wittily observed that the committees "found nothing suspicious but what they could not understand; and that, as they understood nothing, they suspected everything." In like manner, we have the Lilliputian commissioners understanding very little and suspecting a great deal. They apprehend that Gulliver's knife and razor may be dangerous engines; and their ignorance of a watch makes them suspect it to be some unknown animal, or the god that he worships. Johnson, who was rarely favourable to Swift, "allowed," says Boswell, "very great merit to the inventory of the articles found in the pocket of the 'man mountain,' particularly the description of his watch."

(who then attended him) to surround me at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge; but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed on his majesty.* He then desired me to draw my scimitar, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was in most parts exceedingly bright. I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise; for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the scimitar to and fro in my hand. His majesty, who is a most magnanimous prince, was less daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six feet from the end of my chain. The next thing he demanded was one of the hollow iron pillars; by which he meant my pocket pistols. I drew it out, and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it; and charging it only with powder, which, by the closeness of my pouch, happened to escape wetting in the sea (an inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide), I first cautioned the emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of the scimitar. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself for some time. I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner as I had done my scimitar, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as draymen in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their sight is much more acute than ours. He asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote,

* "Nothing," says Sir Walter Scott, "can be more ridiculous than this formal preparation, which was almost invisible to the person it was intended to intimidate." Swift had, in all probability, a deeper design in this ludicrous incident. He wished to intimate that the numerous precautionary measures taken by the Whig ministry to protect the King and country against Jacobites and Papists were as unnecessary and as absurd as those of the Lilliputians. The reason assigned by Gulliver for his unconsciousness of those formidable preparations—namely, that his eyes were wholly fixed on the King—may have been meant to imply that the loyalty of the persons proscribed by the Whigs made them unconscious of the measures about to be taken against them.



"He asked the opinions of his learned men about it."—Page 27.

as the reader may well imagine without my repeating; although, indeed, I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse, with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My scimitar, pistols, and pouch were conveyed in carriages to his majesty's stores; but the rest of my goods were returned me.*

* Every reader of history is acquainted with the rigid, and often unjustifiable, searches which were, for a considerable period after the accession of the house of Hanover, instituted by the Whigs in the houses of their political opponents wherever they suspected, or affected to suspect, the owners to be favourable to the house of Stuart, or to be Papists, or harbourers of Papists. It is these inquisitorial proceedings that are here the objects of Swift's irony; and no one could better understand than he the vexations and indignities which men endured from these proceedings. "Writing in Ireland," says Dr. Cooke Taylor, "Swift was likely to find an ample supply of searchers and alarmists; for the Cromwellian settlers, deriving their title to their estates from no better source than the English suspicion and hatred of Popery, were anxious to keep alive such feelings; and catalogues of suspicious articles, even more ludicrous than those in the text, may be found in the records of Dublin Castle." One of the objects of

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which escaped their search, wherein there was a pair of spectacles (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes), a pocket perspective, and some other little conveniences; which, being of no consequence to the emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled, if I ventured them out of my possession.

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suspicion in those days, wearied out by constant requisitions to surrender his fire-arms, and by the repeated annoyances which he had experienced, sent his poker, tongs, and shovel to the arsenal, and took a regular receipt for them from the officer in command.



CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHOR DIVERTS THE EMPEROR, AND HIS NOBILITY OF BOTH SEXES, IN A VERY UNCOMMON MANNER.—THE DIVERSIONS OF THE COURT OF LILLIPUT DESCRIBED.—THE AUTHOR HAS HIS LIBERTY GRANTED HIM UPON CERTAIN CONDITIONS.



MY gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came, by degrees, to be less apprehensive of any danger from me; I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my head; and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide and seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking their language. The emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceeded all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread extended about two feet, and twelve inches from the ground; upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great office is vacant, either by death or disgrace (which often happens), five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope; and whoever jumps the highest, without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to show their skill, and to convince the emperor that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap,* the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on

* Under the name of Flimnap, Swift designed to hold up Sir Robert Walpole to odium and ridicule, as he had all his life pursued him with the bitterest enmity and the most

the straight rope, at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the somerset* several times together, upon a trencher fixed on a rope which is no thicker than a common packthread in England. My friend Reldresal,† principal secretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer: the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the ministers themselves are commanded to show their dexterity; for, by contending to excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far that there is

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savage satire both in prose and verse. That Walpole had great faults cannot be denied; that he had great ministerial qualities is equally undeniable. Few political leaders have ever been so lavishly abused, especially by his contemporaries; while his partisans were as extravagant in their praise of him. Indeed, we have to look beyond his own day to form a just estimate of him. Two, who may be said to be almost contemporaries, were, perhaps, the first to do him justice. Johnson, who, though he had in early life written against him, lived to change his opinion, and to give a generous expression of that change. "He was the best minister," said he, "this country ever had, for he would have kept it in perpetual peace if we (meaning the Tories) would have let him." "He was an honourable man," wrote Burke, "and a sound Whig. He was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whigs of his own time have represented him, a prodigal and corrupt minister. They charged him, in their libels and seditious conversations, as having first reduced corruption to a system. Such was their cant. But he was far from governing by corruption. He governed by party attachments. The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the whole period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity which took such rapid strides towards perfection, and which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burthens, the cause, and consequence of that warlike reputation." That this is an over-partial portraiture must be admitted. Let us pass from it to that of a writer of our own days for a fairer estimate. "Every variety of invective," says Mr. Massey, in his "History of England," "which faction, jealousy, and personal hatred could suggest, was heaped upon his head; but the topics principally relied upon, and which could not be disputed, so far from being a reproach, are the very grounds on which his reputation as a wise and faithful minister must ever rest. That he was not scrupulous in the application of public money is undoubted; but the charge of personal peculation, by which the vindictive rage of his enemies sought his life as well as his honour, not only failed, but is discredited by the fact that he died largely in debt (£50,000). The really vulnerable parts of his character were never attacked. The evil example of his private life, his utter contempt of decorum, the proverbial grossness of his conversation, and the periodical debaucheries of Houghton, which were the talk of the whole country, all passed uncensured."

* *Somerset* or *summersault*, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heels over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet.—*Orig.*

† This is probably meant for James Stanhope, who was appointed Secretary of State shortly after the accession of George I., and was created Earl of Stanhope in 1717. His death was singular. An abusive attack made upon him by the profligate Duke of Wharton so agitated him that he burst a blood-vessel, and died the next day, February 4, 1721.



THE DIVERSIONS OF THE COURT OF LILLIPUT.—*Page* 30.

hardly one of them who has not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured that, a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broken his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.*

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress, and first minister, upon particular occasions. The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons whom the emperor has a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the New or Old World. The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backward and forward, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles.†

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* Sir Walter Scott says that Swift here alludes to the retirement of Walpole from office in 1717, through the successful intrigues of Sunderland and Stanhope, who gained the ear of the King while he was in Hanover. On Walpole's resignation Stanhope became First Lord of the Treasury; till whose death, in 1721, Walpole did not return to office. It is said that the Duchess of Kendal, the King's mistress, was mainly instrumental to his restoration to favour—a fact that is indicated by the King's cushion breaking his fall. This lady, Erengard Melesina, Baroness of Schulenburg, exercised a surprising influence over the King, though she was neither handsome nor graceful. Indeed, she was so tall and thin that she was nicknamed the "Maypole;" while the Countess of Darlington, another of the King's favourites, was called from her great obesity, the "Elephant and Castle."

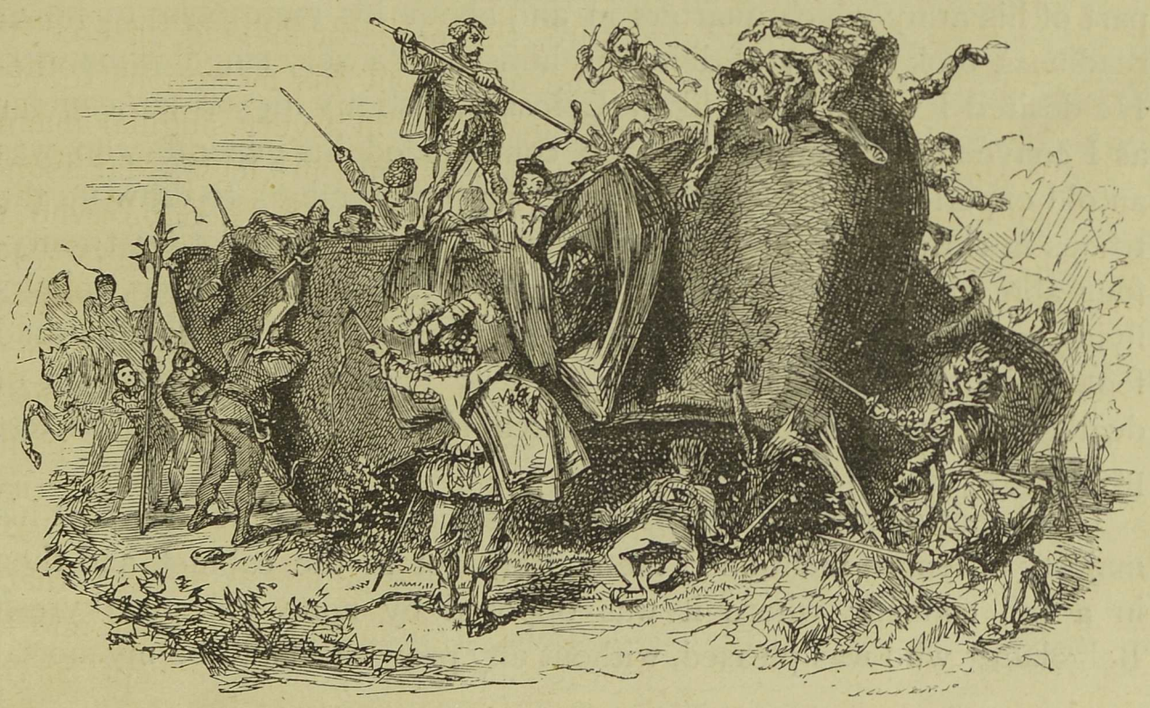
† These decorations are obviously the three orders of knighthood—the blue being the "Garter," the red the "Bath," and the green the "Thistle." Swift here alludes disparagingly to Walpole, on whom the King conferred the order of the Bath (revived for the occasion) a few days before the prorogation of Parliament in 1724. In 1726 he was installed a Knight of the Garter. On the occasion of the revival of the Order of the Bath, Swift wrote some lines in which the germ of the idea in the text is found—

"And he who'll leap over a stick for the king,
Is qualified best for a dog in a string."

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the emperor's huntsmen, upon a large courser, took my foot, shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly; and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet and a half square, I took four other sticks, and tied them parallel at each corner about two feet from the ground; then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect, and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum; and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side. When I had finished my work, I desired the emperor to let a troop of his best horses, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plain. His majesty approved of the proposal, and I took them up, one by one, in my hands, ready mounted and armed with the proper officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and, in short, discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld. The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the emperor was so much delighted that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up, and give the word of command; and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the empress herself to let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage, when she was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune that no ill accident happened in these entertainments; only once, a fiery horse that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder, but

the rider got no hurt; and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could: however, I would not trust the strength of it any more, in such dangerous enterprises.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his majesty that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round, as wide as his majesty's bedchamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for



it lay on the grass without motion; and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found that it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the man-mountain; and if his majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It seems, upon my reaching the shore after our shipwreck, I was in such confusion, that before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture,

breaking by some accident, which I never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I entreated his imperial majesty to give orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and nature of it: and the next day the wagoners arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim, within an inch and a half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes; these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile; but, the ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the emperor, having ordered that part of his army which quarters in and about his metropolis to be in readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a Colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader and a great patron of mine), to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four abreast, and the horse by sixteen,* with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest propriety.

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty, that his majesty at length mentioned the matter, first in the cabinet, and then in a full council; where it was opposed by none, except Skyresh Bolgolam,† who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal

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* The incident was naturally suggested by what is related of the celebrated brazen statue, 105 feet high, placed at the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes, with a foot on each mole, under which the largest ships, with all their sails set, were able to pass. The well-known passion of George I. for military reviews is probably intended here to be ridiculed, and it must be admitted that nothing could exhibit a martial pageant in a more ludicrous light.

† It has been conjectured that Swift meant by this Lilliputian Minister to allude to the Duke of Argyll. The only grounds for this presumption appear to be that Gulliver calls him his mortal enemy—a description which, in relation to Swift, we fear would apply to a great many other persons than the Duke. At one period, previous to the publication of "Gulliver's Travels," Swift and the Duke appear to have been upon very friendly terms; and in a letter which the Dean addressed to the Peer, in 1712, after the estrangement appears to have commenced, he says—"I think few men were ever born with nobler qualities to fill and adorn every office of a subject, a friend, and a protector." The Duke quarrelled with the Ministry, of which Swift was a warm supporter; and this cause of disunion between the quondam friends was not diminished by the antipathy which Swift entertained against all Scotchmen.

enemy. But it was carried against him by the whole board, and confirmed by the emperor. That minister was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm, very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs, but of a morose and sour complexion. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries, and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the performance of them: first in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws; which was, to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and my thumb on the tip of my right ear. But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public:—

GOLBASTO MOMAREM EVLAME GURDILO SHEFIN MULLY ULLY GUE, most mighty Emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs* (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 the winter. His most sublime majesty proposes to the man-mountain, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which, by a solemn oath, he shall be obliged to perform.

I. The man-mountain shall not depart from our dominions, without our licence under our great seal.

II. He shall not presume to come into our metropolis, without our express order; at which time the inhabitants shall have two hours' warning to keep within doors.

III. The said man-mountain shall confine his walks to our principal high-roads, and not offer to walk, or lie down, in a meadow or field of corn.

IV. As he walks the said roads he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands, without their own consent.

Accordingly, he indulged his grudge both against the man and the nation in his pamphlet, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," which gave such offence that the whole Scottish peers went in a body to Court, with the Duke at their head, to demand the punishment of the author, and a reward of £300 was offered by the Queen to any person who would make him known. The Duke was a man of considerable talents and fascinating manners.

V. If an express requires extraordinary despatch, the man-mountain shall be obliged to carry, in his pocket, the messenger and horse a six days' journey, once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our imperial presence.

VI. He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu,* and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

VII. That the said man-mountain shall, at his time of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

VIII. That the said man-mountain shall, in two moons' time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

Lastly, That, upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said man-mountain shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1,728 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign.

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great cheerfulness and content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyresh Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The emperor himself, in person, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his majesty's feet; but he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious expressions, which, to avoid the censure of vanity, I shall not repeat, he added, "that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future."

The reader may please to observe that, in the last article of the recovery of my liberty, the emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1,728 Lilliputians. Some time after, asking a friend at court how they came to fix on that determinate number, he told me that his majesty's mathematicians, having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in proportion of twelve to one, they concluded, from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1,728 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of this people, as well as the prudent and exact economy of so great a prince.

* Lord Orrery says:—"In Swift's description of Lilliput he seems to have had England more immediately in view; in his description of Blefuscu he seems to intend the people and kingdom of France; yet the allegory between these nations is frequently interrupted, and scarce anywhere complete." Scott truly remarks, the parallel is intentionally qualified by changing the relative description of the two countries, making Lilliput the continent, and Bletuscu the island.

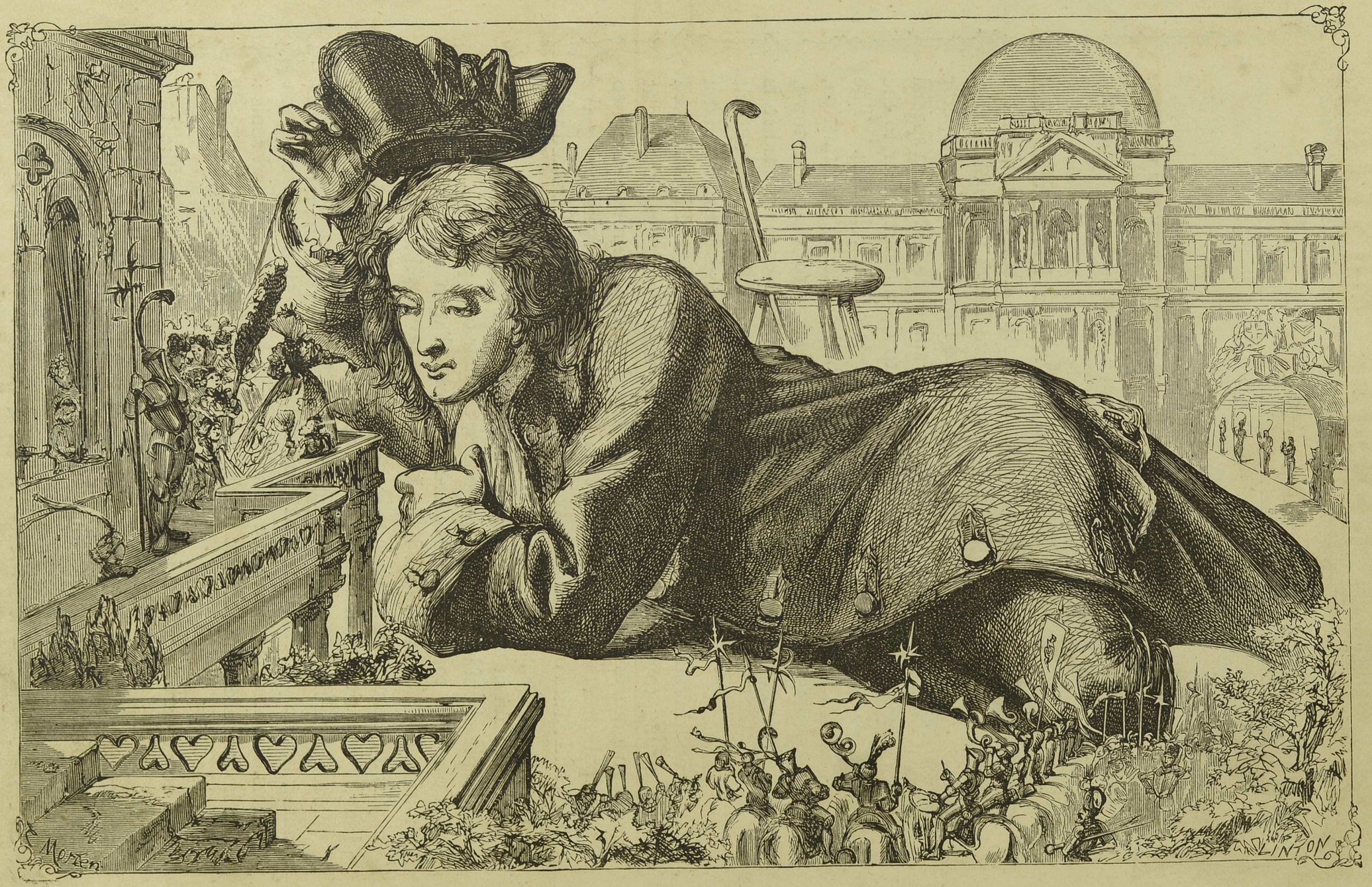
CHAPTER IV.

MILDENDO, THE METROPOLIS OF LILLIPUT, DESCRIBED, TOGETHER WITH THE EMPEROR'S PALACE.—A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND THE PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, CONCERNING THE AFFAIRS OF THAT EMPIRE.—THE AUTHOR OFFERS TO SERVE THE EMPEROR IN HIS WARS.



THE first request I made, after I had obtained my liberty, was, that I might have licence to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the emperor easily granted me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice, by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall which encompassed it is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stepped over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sideling through the two principal streets only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection, to avoid treading on any stragglers who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses, at their own peril. The garret windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run across and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls: the houses are from three to five stories; the shops and markets well provided.

The emperor's palace is in the centre of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is enclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distant from the building. I had his majesty's permission to step over this wall; and the space being so wide between that and



"Her imperial majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me."—*Page* 41.

the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts: in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches high, and seven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, though the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time, the emperor had a great desire that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down, with my knife, some of the largest trees in the royal park, about a hundred yards' distance from the city. Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace, with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court I stood upon one stool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stepped over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked stick. By this contrivance I got into the inner court; and lying down upon my side, I applied my face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that could be imagined. There I saw the empress and the young princes, in their several lodgings, with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.*

But I shall not anticipate the reader with further descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press; containing a general description of this empire, from its first erection, through a long series of princes; with a

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* The Empress of Lilliput is designed to represent Queen Anne, though the character is not brought out with much distinctness. The graciousness of the reception is in accordance with the reputation of the Queen, who was pronounced by Lord Dartmouth to be "the best bred person in her dominions." Her hands were extremely delicate and well-shaped, a fact that may be alluded to in the incident of the empress giving Gulliver her hand to kiss. A good wife, mother, and friend, she was weak, indolent, and easily led by favourites. Punctiliously ceremonious, and jealous of her prerogative, she had little genius for ruling a great people.

particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning and religion; their plants and animals; their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful: my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions as happened to the public or to myself during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

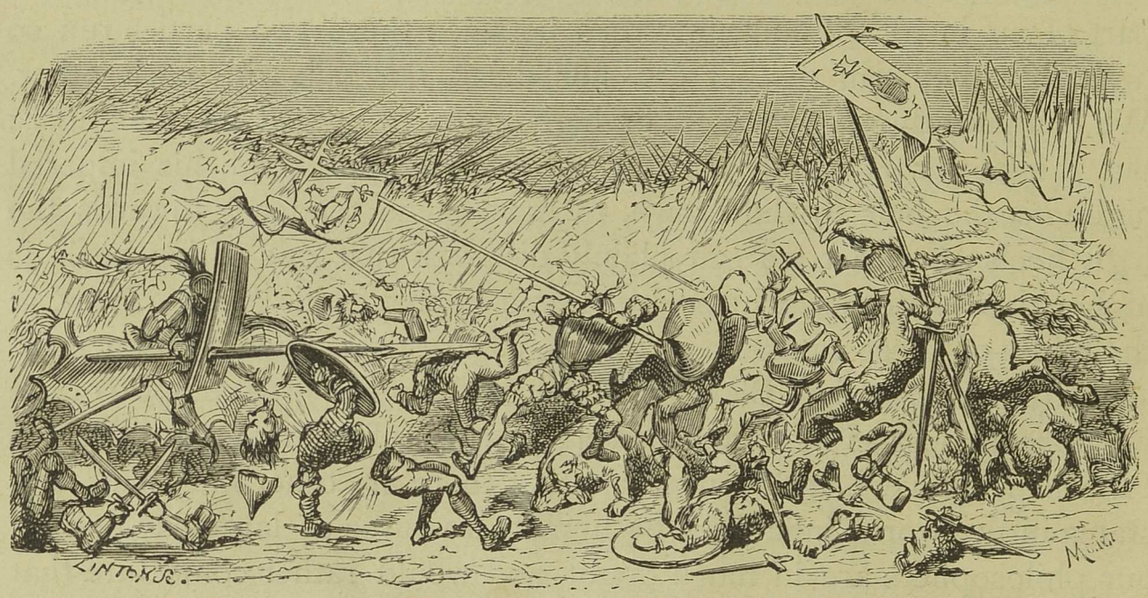
One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they style him) for private affairs, came to my house, attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty, said "he might pretend to some merit in it;" but, however, added, "that if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For," said he, "as flourishing a condition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils—a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion by a most potent enemy from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past there has been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names *Tramecksan* and *Slamecksan*,* from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alleged,

* By these names Swift refers to Whigs and Tories, the two great parties who were then contending for political ascendancy, and shows by this illustration how contemptible and ridiculous those differences are which often keep political parties asunder. Addison, in one of the papers in the "Spectator" (No. 50), presents the two parties in an equally ridiculous light:—"These two creatures, it would seem, are born with a secret antipathy to one another, and engage, when they meet, as naturally as the elephant and rhinoceros." A prominent distinction between the Whigs and Tories was that the latter were willing to have assented to the assumption of the crown by the Pretender if he would embrace the Protestant faith; the former would admit of no compromise, nor agree to his becoming the Sovereign on any terms. The Tories were therefore excluded from the administration, upon the accession of the King, by Townshend and Walpole. The doctrine of "passive obedience" with which the Whigs charged the Tories was also a fruitful source of dispute between them. Swift, writing to Lord Peterborough, remarks on this subject:—"This dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write on each side would plainly tell us what the object of this passive obedience is in our country; for, I dare swear, nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the Prince alone; and I hardly ever saw a Whig and a Tory together whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article, when I made them explain themselves."

indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his majesty has determined to make use only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly that his majesty's imperial heels are lower by at least a *drurr* than any of his court (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch). The animosities between these two parties run so high that they will neither eat, nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the *Tramecksan*, or high heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high heels; at least we can plainly discover that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gait.* Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain that a hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty's dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu, which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: it is allowed on all hands that the primitive mode of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers; whereupon the emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all

* This is a very happy and sarcastic allusion to the political conduct of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. Being in violent hostility to the King's Ministers, he received at his court the discontented of both parties—Whig and Tory—so that he appeared to "halt between two opinions," leaving it a matter of doubt which party he really intended to favour. Scott tells us, on the authority of Mrs. Howard, that the allusion was well understood by the prince, who laughed heartily at the passage in the text. Writing to Swift, she says, in allusion to his Tory principles:—"The princess will take care that you shall have pumps sufficient to serve you till you return to England, but thinks you cannot, in common decency, appear in heels, and therefore advises your keeping close till they appear."

his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs.* The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when



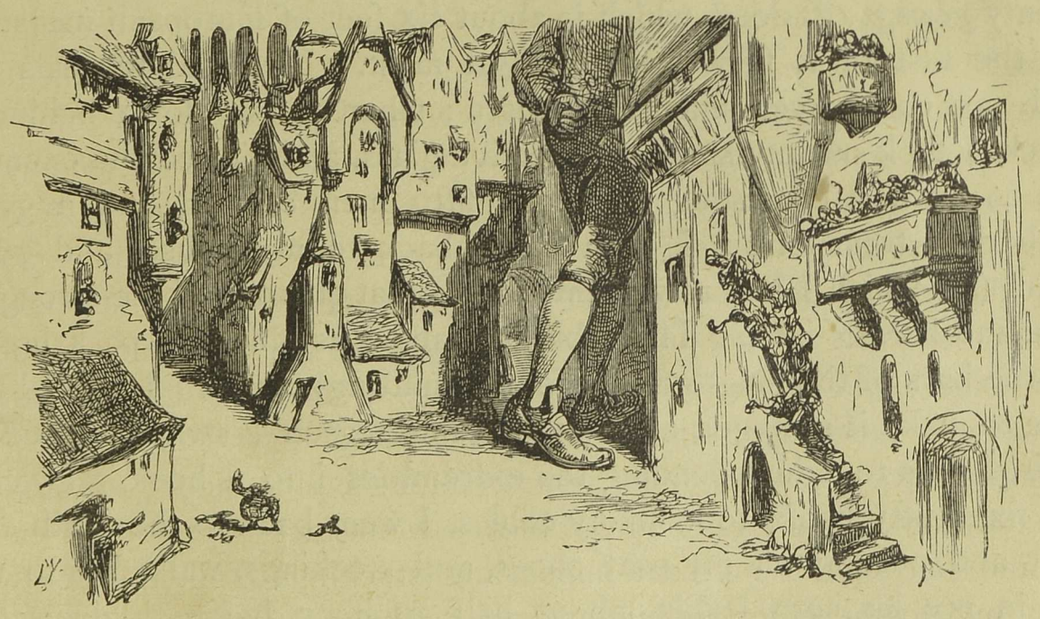
they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy: but the books of the Big Endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion, by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral, which is their Alcoran. This, however, is thought to be a mere strain upon the text; for the words are these: that all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end; and which is the convenient end

* By the Big Endians and Little Endians are humorously designated the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and the dispute as to the end of the egg which should be broken describes the controversy between the two Churches respecting the sacraments. The emperor who cut his fingers is manifestly Henry VIII. "Many disputes have arisen here," writes Mrs. Howard to the Dean, "whether the Big Endians or Lesser Endians ever differed in opinion about the breaking of eggs, when they were to be either buttered or poached, or whether this part of cookery was ever known in Lilliput."

seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine.* Now, the Big Endian exiles have found so much credit in the Emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their private party here at home, that a bloody war has been carried on between the two empires for six-and-thirty moons, with varied success; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us; and his imperial majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and strength, has commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you."

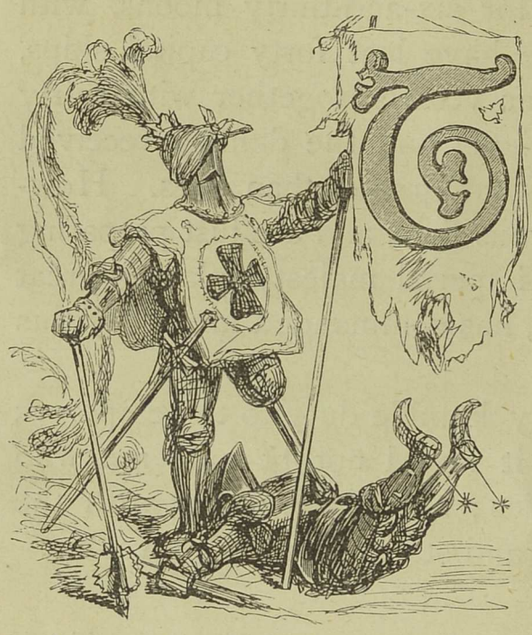
I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the emperor; and to let him know, "that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders."

* The application of the several details in relation to this controversy of the egg-breaking is very obvious. The emperor who lost his crown is James II. We have allusion to the religious persecutions under Elizabeth and Mary; the intrigues of the Court of France, and the endeavour to place Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne, and extirpate the Protestant religion; the support given to the Pretender; and finally, the penal enactments and political disabilities imposed on the Catholics. Swift intimates that the great points of controversy should be left to each man's conscience.



CHAPTER V.

THE AUTHOR, BY AN EXTRAORDINARY STRATAGEM, PREVENTS AN INVASION.—A HIGH TITLE OF HONOUR IS CONFERRED UPON HIM.—AMBASSADORS ARRIVE FROM THE EMPEROR OF BLEFUSCU, AND SUE FOR PEACE.

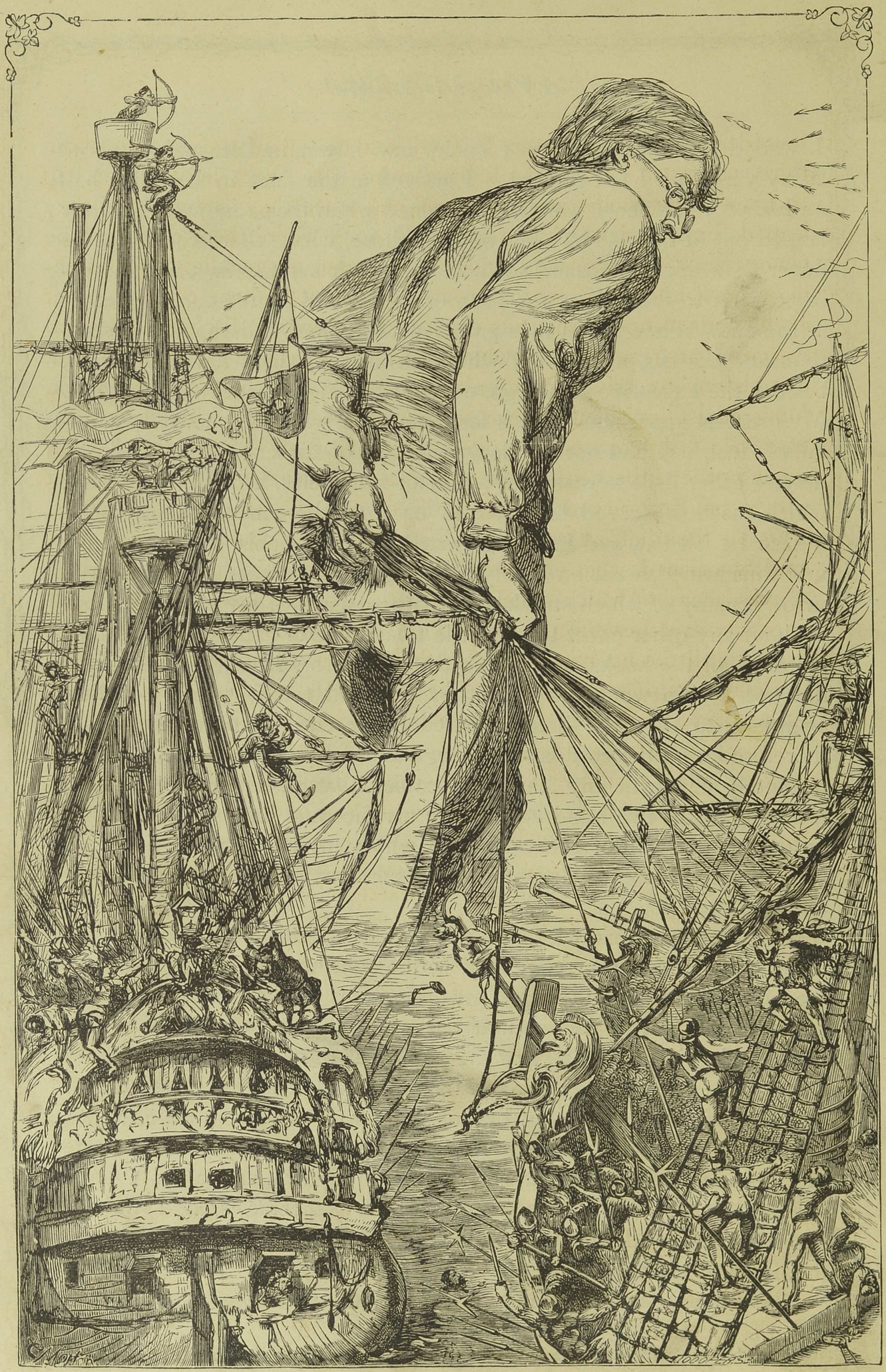


THE empire of Blefuscu is an island situated to the north-east of Lilliput, from which it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me; all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our emperor upon all vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his majesty a project I had formed of seizing the enemy's whole fleet; which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour, ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plumbed; who told me, that in the middle at high water it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty *glumgluffs* at most. I walked towards the north-east coast, over against Blefuscu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my small perspective glass, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men of war, and a great number of transports: I then came back to my house, and gave orders (for which I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as packthread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting-needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and putting off my coat, shoes, and stockings, walked into the sea, in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high water.

I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground. I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy were so frightened when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls : I then took my tackling, and fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face ; and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessaries, a pair of spectacles, in a private pocket which, as I observed before, had escaped the emperor's searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull ; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors ; so that the boldest part of my enterprise remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving about two hundred shots in my face and hands ; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with the greatest ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men of war after me.

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run adrift, or fall foul of each other ; but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopped awhile to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face ; and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was given me on my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the



"I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied."—*Page* 47.

issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet in pain, because I was under water to my neck.* The emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in a hostile manner; but he was soon eased of his fears; for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened; I cried in a loud voice, "Long live the most puissant King of Lilliput!" This great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a *nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.

His majesty desired I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so immeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a viceroy; of destroying the Big Endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world.† But I endeavoured to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice; and I plainly protested, "that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery;" and, when

* "If there be a point," observes Professor De Morgan, "in which Swift has overdrawn the monster, it is when he makes him drag after him fifty line-of-battle ships, which had held 30,000 men. Swift, therefore, supposes that a man up to his neck in water could drag by a rope a mass equal to $\frac{50}{1728}$ of a line-of-battle ship of his own time. Or put it thus: the 30,000 men who jumped out of their ships would amount in weight and bulk to a little more than seventeen men of our size. Could a man, up to his neck in water, drag the boat which would hold seventeen men not closely packed? Probably not; and still less could Gulliver have dragged the ships." The proposition may be put even still more simply:—Could thirty-five average able-bodied men, up to their necks in water, move a line-of-battle ship? Does this, after all, seem so improbable a feat? In the capture of the Blefuscudian fleet we have an allusion to the increase of the maritime power of England over France, gained by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. By its stipulations the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be dismantled, and its harbour filled up, and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and other dependencies ceded by France to England.

† While Marlborough was at the head of the army, and operating with Prince Eugene, many persons were of opinion that the war, if vigorously pushed by Great Britain, might end in the subjugation of France. Undoubtedly, at one period, France was reduced to great extremities, but it was the interest of the Ministry to effect a peace. Marlborough was superseded; Ormond, his successor, granted a four months' armistice to Villars, and by the withdrawal of his troops, left France to re-take, one by one, all her fortified towns.



"And created me a *nardac* upon the spot."—*Page* 49.

the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the Ministry were of my opinion.*

This open, bold declaration of mine was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive me. He mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared, at least by their silence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my enemies, could not forbear some expressions which by a side wind reflected on me; and from this time began an intrigue between his majesty and a junto of ministers, maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arrived a solemn embassy from Blefuscu, with humble offers of a peace; which was soon concluded upon conditions very advantageous to our emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the reader. There were six ambassadors, with a train of about five hundred persons: and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master, and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have, at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generosity, invited me to that kingdom, in the emperor their master's name, and desired me to show them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their excellencies, to their infinite satisfaction and surprise, I desired they would do me the honour to present my most humble respects to the emperor their master, the renown of whose virtues had so justly filled the whole world with admiration, and whose royal person I resolved to attend, before I returned to my own country. Accordingly, the next time I

* "In the debates on the Treaty of Utrecht," says Dr. Cooke Taylor, "the advocates for peace had decidedly the best of the argument, so that Gulliver is justified in saying that the wisest were of his opinion." The arguments in favour of peace will be found put forward in the Representation presented by the House of Commons to the Queen. It is supposed to have been composed by Sir Thomas Hanmer, with the aid of Swift, who says it contains "the sum of all debates and resolutions of the House of Commons in that great affair of the war."



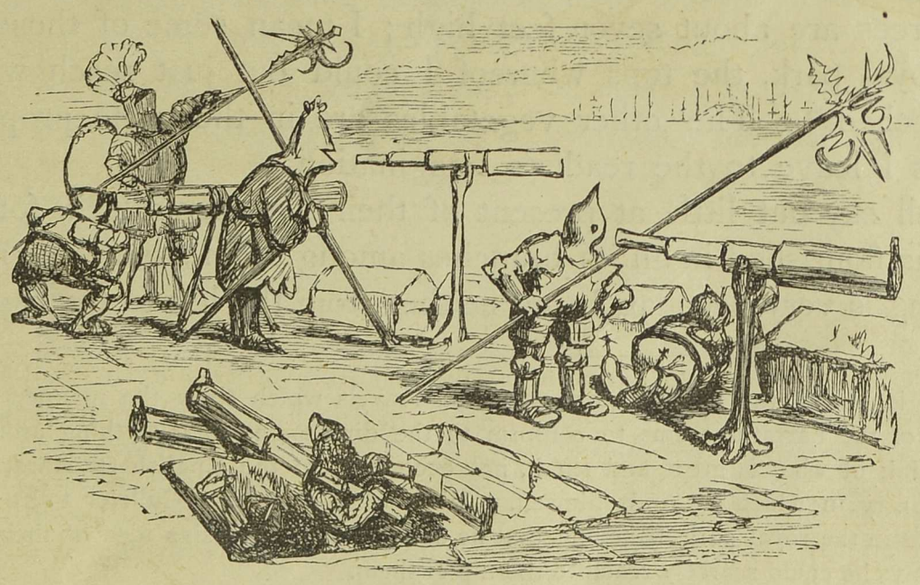
"There arrived a solemn embassy from Blefuscu, with humble offers of a peace."—*Page* 51.

had the honour to see the emperor, I desired his general licence to wait on the Blefuscudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain person, "that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection;" from which I am sure my heart was wholly

free.* And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministers.

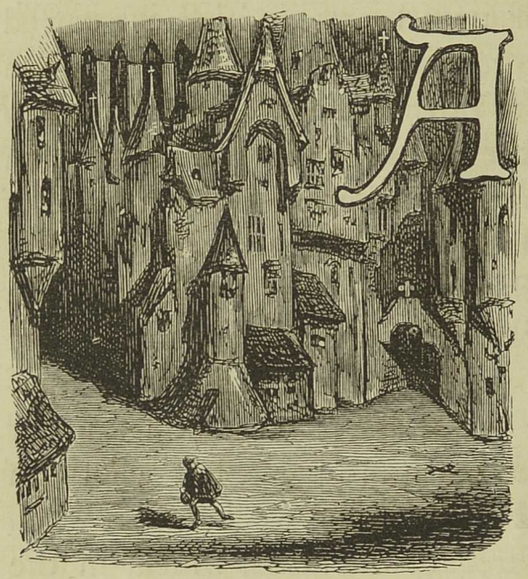
It is to be observed that these ambassadors spoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itself upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongue, with an avowed contempt of that of their neighbour: yet our emperor, standing upon the advantage he had got by the seizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their speech, in the Lilliputian tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great intercourse of trade and commerce between both realms; from the continual reception of exiles, which is mutual among them; and from the custom, in each empire, to send their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves by seeing the world, and understanding men and manners; there are few persons of distinction, or merchants, or seamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold conversation in both tongues; as I found some weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the emperor of Blefuscu, which, in the midst of great misfortunes through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

* We have here a plain reference to the impeachment of Bolingbroke by Walpole. In one of the articles, Bolingbroke is charged with disclosing the instructions given to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to M. Mesnager, the French minister in London, and to the French agent, the Abbe Gaultier. These persons, and Iberville, another agent of Louis in London, are probably meant by the Blefuscudian ministers. Gulliver's protestation of being free from disaffection is little consistent with the undoubted fact that Bolingbroke maintained secret communications with the Court of Versailles, from 1712 till the conclusion of the Treaty.



CHAPTER VI.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF LILLIPUT; THEIR LEARNING, LAWS, AND CUSTOMS; THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.—THE AUTHOR'S WAY OF LIVING IN THAT COUNTRY.—HIS VINDICATION OF A GREAT LADY.



ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet, in the meantime, I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees; for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and a half, more or less; their geese about the bigness of a sparrow; and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which, to my sight, were almost invisible; but Nature has adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view: they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And to show the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a cook pulling a lark which was not as large as the common fly; and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk. Their tallest trees are about seven feet high; I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched.* The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which, for many ages, has flourished in all its branches among them; but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like

* This is one of the many instances in the Travels which show the manner in which the mind of the narrator seems to conform to the dimensions of everything around him, and to think of what is great and small, not according to the English standard, but that of the country in which he finds himself. With what solemnity Gulliver talks of those stately trees in the royal park, believing that he conveys an impressive idea of their altitude when he says he could scarcely reach to the top of them.

the Europeans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant, from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.*

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but, if the person accused makes his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods or lands the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he has been at in making his defence; or, if that fund be insufficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favour, and proclamation of his innocence is made throughout the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with death; for they allege that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves; but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit, where fraud is permitted and connived at, or has no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he had received by order, and ran away with; and happened to tell his majesty, by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of trust, the emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defence the greatest

* Lord Mahon cites this passage in proof of the especial talent which Swift possessed in his manner of implying or assuming the charge he wishes to convey. Here his object is to censure the manner in which (as appears from one of his letters) English ladies then wrote Writing to Mrs. Howard about this time, he says: "When I received your letter, I thought it the most unaccountable one I ever saw in my life, and was not able to comprehend three words of it together. The perverseness of your lines astonished me, which tended downwards to the right in one page, and upwards in the two others. This I thought impossible to be done by any one who did not squint with both eyes, an infirmity I never observed in you. But I continued for days at a loss for your meaning, till a bookseller sent me the travels of one Captain Gulliver, who proved a very good explainer."

aggravation of the crime; and truly I had little to say in return, further than the common answer, that different nations had different customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed.

Although we usually call reward and punishment the two hinges upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof that he has strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, has a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality or condition in life, with a proportionate sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use: he likewise acquires the title of *snilpall*, or legal, which is added to his name, but does not descend to his posterity. And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account that the image of Justice, in their courts of judicature, is formed with six eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to show she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

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 understanding 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 are seldom 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 who had great abilities to manage, to 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 them-

selves 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 relating these and the following laws,* I would only be understood to mean the original institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions into which these people are fallen by the degenerate nature of man.

For, as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favour and distinction by leaping over sticks and creeping under them, the reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the emperor now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.†

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been in some other countries; for they reason thus: that whoever makes ill return to his benefactor must needs be a common enemy to the rest of mankind, from whom he has received no obligation; and therefore such a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children differ extremely from ours. They think that the tenderness of parents towards their young proceeds from natural principle: for which reason, they will never allow that a child is under any obligation to his father 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.‡ Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is

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* "The laws which follow would have been more suitable to the calm and philosophical character of the people of Brobdingnag than to the Lilliputians, whose court and manners are elsewhere represented as resembling what is ascribed by satirists to those of Europe. Indeed, the author afterwards makes a sort of apology for this discrepancy."—SCOTT.

† Our author has already stigmatised the intrigues of his political opponents to obtain offices and honours, under the figure of leaping over sticks and creeping under them. By the grandfather of the emperor is manifestly intended James I. (the great-grandfather of the reigning sovereign), whose profligate distribution of honours and emoluments amongst his favourites was justly censured. That sovereign, it will be remembered, also created the dignity of baronet, principally for the purpose of putting some ready money into the royal treasury. Sir Anthony Shirley (according to his son) suggested this new dignity to the king. "My father," he says, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device of making baronets, which brought to your majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000."

‡ "This idea," says Sir Walter Scott, "seems to be borrowed from Cyrano Bergerac's voyage to the moon, where he finds a people with whom it was the rule that the fathers obeyed their children." Swift, however, does not advocate, even in satire, so monstrous a principle. He is contented with suggesting the freedom from all moral obligation on the part of children to love or obey their parents.

that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children;* and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated, when they come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities, and both sexes. They have certain professors, well skilled in preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own caprices as well as inclinations.

I shall first say something of the male nurseries, and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth are provided with grave and learned professors and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country; they are always employed in some business, except in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions, consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together in smaller or greater numbers to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice to which our children are subject. Their parents are suffered to see them only twice a year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting; but a professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweetmeats, and the like.

The pension from each family for the education and entertainment

* Swift rarely loses an opportunity of expressing himself with bitterness against marriage and the domestic ties. His life is a melancholy commentary upon his aversion to the married state, and on many occasions he shows his dislike to children. One of his "Resolutions when I come to be Old," is, "Not to be fond of children." "Our great satirist," says Thackeray, "was of opinion that conjugal love was unadvisable, and illustrated the theory by his own practice and example—God help him!—which made him about the most wretched being in God's world."

of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the emperor's officers.

The nurseries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old: whereas, those of persons of quality continue in their exercises till fifteen, which answers to twenty-one with us; but the confinement is gradually lessened for the last three years.

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practised by chambermaids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country. Thus, the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools as the men; and despise all personal ornaments, beyond decency and cleanliness: neither did I perceive any difference in their education made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust: and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is, that among people of quality, a wife should always be a reasonable and agreeable companion, because she cannot always be young. When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home, with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without the tears of the young lady and her companions.*

In the nurseries of females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of work proper for their sex, and their several

* The state of education among the people of England at the time was very defective, and engaged the attention of many writers. Swift has left us two essays on the subject: one on modern education, and the other on the education of young ladies. "It is a great pity," writes Addison in 1713 ("Guardian," No. 155), "there should be no knowledge in a family. For my own part, I am concerned when I go into a great house, where, perhaps, there is not a single person that can spell, unless it be, by chance, the butler or one of the footmen. What a figure is the young heir likely to make who is a dunce, both by father and mother's side!" Johnson, alluding to the same period, observes, "Men, not professing learning, were not ashamed of ignorance; and in the female world any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured."

degrees; those intended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old; the rest are kept to eleven.

The meaner families who have children at these nurseries are obliged, beside their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore all parents are limited in their expenses by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjust than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them on the public. As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition: and these funds are always managed with good husbandry and the most exact justice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little consequence to the public: but the old and diseased among them are supported by hospitals; for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.*

And here it may, perhaps, divert the curious reader to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during a residence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park. Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts, and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get; which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The sempstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my middle, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third

* The sketch of the laws and customs of Lilliput is a covert censure upon some of the defects in English jurisprudence, and the administration of justice in Swift's day. Many of these defects have, however, been since remedied, especially by more stringent laws against fraudulent traders and breaches of trust. The allusion to the practice of bestowing rewards and honours upon the meritorious, seems intended as a reproach upon the Government for not having sufficiently promoted him. But the finishing touch to this satire is found in the observation that these laws are not to be justified, being directly contrary to those of his own dear country, and that the original institutions are nullified by the scandalous corruptions into which the people are fallen.



"Three hundred tailors were employed to make me clothes."

measured the length of the cord with the rule of an inch long. Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred tailors were employed in the same manner to make me clothes; but they had another contrivance for

taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plumbline from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat; but my waist and arms I measured myself. When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them), they looked like the patchwork made by ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals, in little convenient huts, built about my house, where they and their families lived, and prepared two dishes a-piece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table: a hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat, and some with barrels of wine and other liquors slung on their shoulders: all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner, by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well in Europe. A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a sirloin so large that I have been forced to make three bites of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkeys I usually ate at a mouthful, and I confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his imperial majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired "that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness," as he was pleased to call it, "of dining with me." They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state, upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high treasurer, attended there likewise with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but ate more than usual, in honour to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe that this visit from his majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the moroseness of his nature. He represented to the emperor "the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a

great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent. below par; that I had cost his majesty above a million and a half of *sprugs* (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle); and, upon the whole, that it would be advisable in the emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me."*

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer upon my account. 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. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous falsehood, without any grounds, further than that her grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship. I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young daughter, and some particular acquaintance: but this was common to many other ladies of the court: and I will appeal to my servants around, whether they at any time saw a coach at my door without their knowing what persons were in it. On those occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the door; and, after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for, if there were six horses, the postilion always unharnessed four), and place them on a table, where I had fixed a movable rim, quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents; and I have often had four coaches and horses at once on my table, full of company, while I sat in my chair leaning my face towards them; and while I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers (I will name them, and let them make the best of it), Clustril and Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his imperial majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this particular, if it had not been a point wherein

* The financial measures of Sir Robert Walpole were the subject of constant censure by Tories. Swift possibly alludes here to his scheme for the reduction of the national debt. The coldness with which the premier received Swift, when introduced to him by the Earl of Peterborough, early in 1726, was no doubt still rankling in the mind of the satirist. The arguments addressed to the emperor in relation to the expense of supporting Gulliver are such as would be suited to so parsimonious a monarch as George I.



"His imperial majesty desired that himself and his royal consort might have the happiness of dining with me."—*p.* 62.

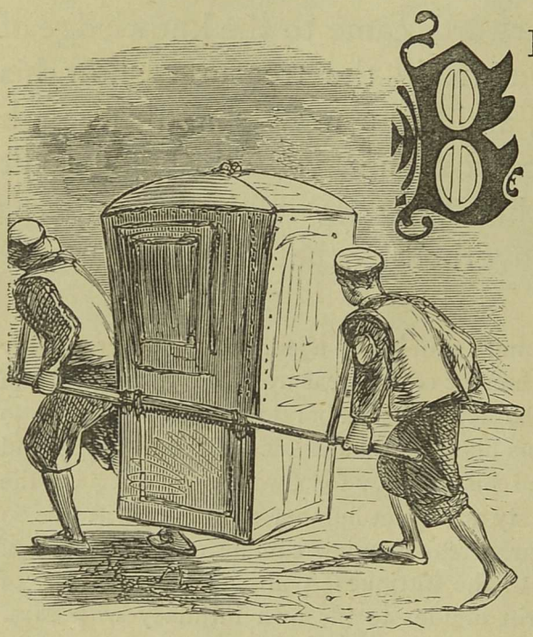
the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned, to say nothing of my own; though I then had the honour to be a *nardac*, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows, that he is only a *glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a marquis is to a duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his post. These false informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treasurer show his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the emperor himself, who was, indeed, too much governed by that favourite.*

* It would be impossible to conceive anything more exquisitely absurd, or more irresistibly comic, than the whole of this episode touching the honour of the treasurer's lady. The solemn earnestness with which Gulliver vindicates her character, the elaborate detail of proofs into which he enters to establish her innocence as well as his own, the defiance of the treasurer and his two informers to show any visits *incognito*, and his apology for dwelling so long on the subject, form the most felicitous exhibition of that sly and quiet humour of which Swift was so great a master. Whether Swift had any particular person in view can be only a matter of conjecture. Dr. Taylor suggests that he refers to the intrigues, political and amatory, of Bolingbroke and Madame Tencin. Perhaps Swift alludes to his own intimacy with Mrs. Masham, the patroness of the Tories, and the staunch friend of himself.



CHAPTER VII.

THE AUTHOR, BEING INFORMED OF A DESIGN TO ACCUSE HIM OF HIGH TREASON, MAKES HIS ESCAPE TO BLEFUSCU. HIS RECEPTION THERE.



BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming against me.

I had been hitherto, all my life, a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had, indeed, heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

While I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable, at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty) came to my house very privately at night, in a close chair, and, without sending in his name, desired admittance. The chairmen were dismissed; I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat-pocket; and, giving orders to a trusty servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience, in a matter that highly concerned my honour and my life. His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me:—

"You are to know," said he, "that several committees of council have lately been called in the most private manner,* on your account; and it is but two days since his majesty came to a full resolution.

* Swift refers to the committee of secrecy appointed by the House of Commons on the 15th of April, 1715, "to inquire into the late peace, and the management of the late Queen's

"You are very sensible that Skyresh Bolgolam (*galbet* or high-admiral) has been your mortal enemy, almost ever since your arrival. His original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory as admiral is much obscured.

"This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap, the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious, on account of his lady; Limtoc, the general; Lalcon, the chamberlain; and Balmuff, the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you for treason and other capital crimes."

The preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt him; when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded:—

"Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I ventured my head for your service."

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN.*

Article I.—That the said Quinbus Flestrin, having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province, to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and to put to death, not only all the Big Endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire who would not immediately forsake the Big Endian heresy; he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, imperial majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people.†

Article II.—That, whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu, to sue for peace in his majesty's court; he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants to a

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Ministry." Sir Robert Walpole was chosen chairman of the committee, and brought up their report on the 3rd of June, which resulted in the impeachment for high treason of Bolingbroke by Walpole, and of Oxford by Lord Coningsby.

* The object of Swift, in these articles against Gulliver, is to satirise the proceedings of the Ministry in impeaching Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond. By the first of the articles in the text, the satirist probably intended to palliate the conduct of the Tory lords, in leaving our allies without aid, and suffering the French to retrieve their losses; while the second and third ridicule the charge against Bolingbroke for visiting France, and holding communication with the agents of Louis.

† Instead of combating the idea that the war, if vigorously prosecuted, might have resulted in the subjugation of France, Swift defends his friends on higher grounds of morality and justice—that we should not be justified in seeking to subjugate that country, and violate those very rights of conscience and liberty for which we were contending.



"The treasurer and admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death."—*Page* 69.

prince who was lately an open enemy to his imperial majesty, and in an open war against his said majesty.

Article III.—That the said Quinbus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he has received only verbal license from his imperial majesty; and, under colour of the said license, does falsely and traitorously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid comfort, and abet the emperor of Blefuscu, so lately an enemy and in open war with his imperial majesty aforesaid.

"There are some other articles; but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract.

"In the several debates upon this impeachment, it must be confessed that his majesty gave many marks of his great lenity; often urging the services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treasurer and admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death, by setting fire to your house at night; and the general was to attend with twenty thousand men, armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face and hands. Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts and sheets, which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture. The general came into the same opinion; so that, for a long time, there was a majority against you; but his majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last bought off the chamberlain.

"Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that there was still room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial: however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give orders to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived that by this expedient justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might

still be useful to his majesty; that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemy's fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.*

"This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam, the admiral, could not preserve his temper; but rising up in a fury, said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor; that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; the same strength which enabled you to bring over the enemy's fleet might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back; that he had good reasons to think that you were a Big Endian in your heart; and, as treason begins in the heart before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

"The treasurer was of the same opinion; he showed to what straits his majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable; that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowls, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat; that his sacred majesty and the council, who are your judges, were, in their own consciences, fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law.

"But his imperial majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other way may be inflicted

* The discussion upon the impeachment of Gulliver—written in the happiest style of Swift's caustic humour and keen irony—is intended to satirise the debates which took place in the House of Commons on the impeachment of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and others. Several members (including Sir Joseph Jekyll, in the case of Oxford) entertained grave doubts that the acts with which they were charged amounted to high treason, and proposed that they should be impeached only for "high crimes and misdemeanours." This lenity, while it would spare the lives of the accused, would doom them to civil death, divest them of their titles, and confiscate their property; a doom which Swift, in bitter derision, likens to the tender mercies that would deliver over Gulliver to a fate worse than death—the deprivation of sight, and gradual starvation.



"This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation."—*Page 70.*

hereafter.* And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected, concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might

* Our author would seem here to refer to the reversal of the sentence of death, and the restoration in blood which Bolingbroke obtained, through the mediation of the Duchess of Kendal, whom he bribed, with a sum of £11,000, to influence the king in his favour. It was not until 1725 that a bill was passed restoring him to his family inheritance: he was never able to accomplish the removal of the disability to sit in the House of Lords.

easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you will grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your death five or six thousand of his majesty's subjects might, in two or three days, cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cart loads, and bury it in distant parts to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

"Thus, upon the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting except Bolgolam, the admiral, who, being a creature of the empress, was perpetually instigated by her majesty to insist upon your death.

"In three days your friend, the secretary, will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of impeachment; and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his majesty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his majesty does not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his majesty's surgeons will attend, in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground

"I leave to your prudence what measures you will take; and to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return in as private a manner as I came."

His lordship did so; and I remained alone, under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

It was a custom introduced by this prince and his ministry (very different, as I have been assured, from the practice of former times), that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favourite, the emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and confessed by all the world. This speech was immediately published throughout the kingdom; nor did anything terrify the people so much as those encomiums on his majesty's mercy; because it was observed that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment,

and the more innocent the sufferer.* Yet as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favour of this sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) to be rather rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial;† for although I could not deny the facts alleged in the several articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies.‡

Once I was strongly bent upon resistance: for while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of *nardac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself that his majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.

At last, I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly; for I confess I owe the preserving of mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals less obnoxious than myself, I should, with great alacrity and readiness, have submitted to

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* There is no doubt that in this passage Swift had in view the proceedings which had been taken against Atterbury and Layer, and some of the royal speeches at that period. Many strokes of satire such as this, the application of which is now often undiscoverable, gave, at the time, infinite delight.

† When Swift makes Gulliver declare that he had sometimes thought of standing his trial, he endeavours to gain credence for the opinion that Bolingbroke at first designed to abide the storm which, from the moment that George I. refused him an interview, he saw was impending. Bolingbroke himself sedulously endeavoured to establish this conviction, though it may be well doubted that he ever for a moment entertained such an intention. He affected in public an unconcerned and confident demeanour, appeared everywhere abroad as usual, attended in his place in the House of Lords, and delivered a masterly harangue on the address in answer to the King's Speech.

‡ This invective is not altogether unjustifiable. Whatever may have been the political offences of Bolingbroke, there can be no doubt that the charges against him, as also against Oxford and Ormond, in the Commons, were prosecuted with great violence and party spirit by Walpole and others.



"I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty and the empress's hands."—*Page* 75.

so easy a punishment.* But hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his imperial majesty's licence to pay my attendance upon the Emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days

* The bitterness of this irony is highly characteristic of the author. It would, indeed, be difficult to present more forcibly Swift's opinion of the severe and cruel manner in which his political friends were treated by the Court and the Ministry, than by stating that had Gulliver thoroughly understood the nature of princes and ministers, he would have thought the punishment designed for him easy in comparison to what he might have expected.

were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man-of-war, and tied the cable to the prow; and, lifting up the anchors, I stripped myself, put my clothes (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing it after me, between wading and swimming arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me.* They lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name: I held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them "to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know I there waited his majesty's commands." I had an answer in about an hour, "that his majesty, attended by the royal family and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me." I advanced a hundred yards. The emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty and the empress's hands. I told his majesty, that I was come according to my promise, and with the licence of the emperor, my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince; not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the emperor would discover the secret while I was out of his power; wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

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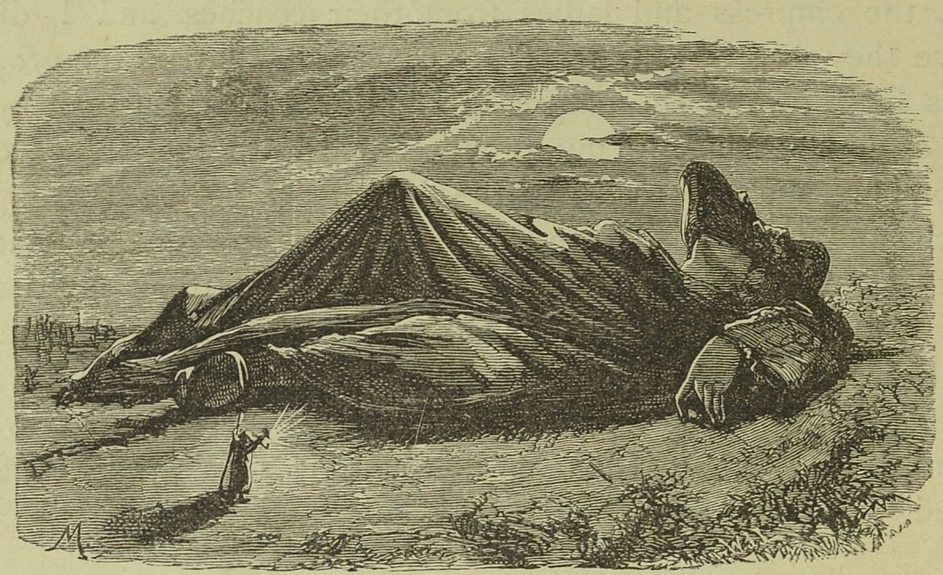
* As Gulliver was expected in Blefuscu, so was Bolingbroke expected in France, having carefully made all his arrangements to escape thither. On the night of the 25th of March, 1715, he attended the performance at Drury Lane Theatre to its close, bespoke the particular play for the ensuing night, then proceeded homewards, disguised himself in a large cloak and black wig, as a servant of M. La Vigne, one of the messengers of the French king, and proceeding to Dover, where he had a narrow escape of detention, crossed over to Calais, where the governor's coach awaited him on his arrival. In a letter which he wrote from Dover, said to have been addressed to Lord Lansdowne, Bolingbroke justified his flight upon reasons similar to those given by Gulliver for leaving Lilliput:—"You will excuse me when you know that I had certain and repeated information, from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. * * * * Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two Houses of Parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination."

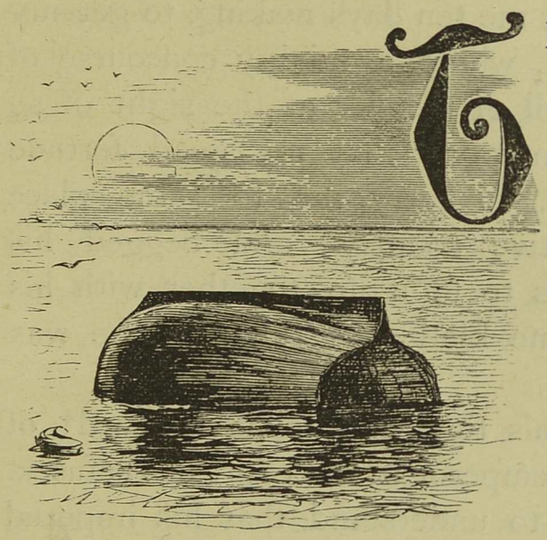
I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapped up in my coverlet *

* The difficulties and privations which Gulliver suffered on his arrival in Blefuscu are probably intended to refer to the bereaved condition in which Bolingbroke found himself when he reached France. Deserted by friends and flatterers, stripped of rank, fortune, and political power, he found himself an impoverished exile in that country where, a short time before, he had been caressed by the king, courted by the nobles, and honoured by the people. Indeed, the change affected his health, for he fell sick shortly after his arrival.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE AUTHOR, BY A LUCKY ACCIDENT, FINDS MEANS TO LEAVE BLEFUSCU; AND, AFTER SOME DIFFICULTIES, RETURNS SAFE TO HIS NATIVE COUNTRY.



THREE days after my arrival, walking, out of curiosity, to the north-east coast of the island, I observed, about half a league off in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and, wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship: whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and desired his imperial majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat. I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stripped myself, and waded till I came within a hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the forepart of the boat, and the other end to a man-of-war; but I found all my labour to little purpose; for, being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forward, as often as I could, with one of my hands; and the tide favouring me, I advanced so far that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was no higher than my arm-pits; and now the most laborious part being over I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels which attended me; the wind being favourable, the seamen towed,

and I shoved, until we arrived within forty yards of the shore, and waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat; and by the assistance of two thousand men, with ropes and engines, made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under, by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat into the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel. I told the emperor "that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place whence I might return to my native country; and begged his majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up, together with his licence to depart;" which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard* of any express relating to me from our emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his imperial majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the licence he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when the ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and, after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with the copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu "the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no further than the loss of mine eyes; that I had fled from justice; and, if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of *nardac*, and declared a traitor." The envoy further added, "that, in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected that his brother of Blefuscu would give orders to

* Sheridan observes upon this sentence, that it is ungrammatical, adding that it should have been written, "I did very much wonder, in all this time, at not having heard, &c." Similar objections have been made by him to many other phrases and expressions throughout the work, which he considers as slovenly writing. I am disposed to think that Swift used such phraseology as in keeping with the character of Gulliver, and the plain provincial style in which he might be supposed to write. Swift prided himself on speaking and writing correctly. Mrs. Delany, in her Autobiography (vol. i., p. 407), writes of Swift:—"The Dean of St. Patrick's was there (at Delville), in very good humour. He calls himself my master, and corrects me when I speak bad English, or do not pronounce my words distinctly."

have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor."

The emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to consult, returned an answer consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, "that as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making the peace. That, however, both their majesties would soon be made easy; for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given orders to fit up, with my own assistance and direction; and he hoped in a few weeks both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance."

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had passed, offering me at the same time (but under the strictest confidence) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his service; wherein, although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due acknowledgment of his favourable intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, "that since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself on the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs." Neither did I find the emperor at all displeased; and I discovered, by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.*

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* The readiness of the monarch and ministry of Blefuscu to get rid of Gulliver denotes the desire of Louis and his ministry to free themselves from the intrigues of Bolingbroke, whose restless mind was the cause of perpetual alarm, as likely to embroil them with the English Court. Ere we take leave of one who has been so constantly alluded to in the voyage to Lilliput, it may not be amiss to say something of so remarkable a man— one lavishly endowed with almost every intellectual and natural gift, improved by education, and adorned by wealth. As a wit, a scholar, a writer, and a speaker, he occupied the highest place; the friend of every man of letters in his day, from Dryden down to Gay. The eulogies of his contemporaries are familiar to all scholars. Swift wrote :—"I think Mr. St. John the greatest young man I ever knew; wit, capacity, beauty, quickness of apprehension, good learning, and an excellent taste; the best orator in the House of Commons." And he praises his vast range of wit and fancy, and his invincible eloquence. "His address," says Lord Chesterfield, "pre-engages, his eloquence persuades, and his knowledge informs all who approach him." Pope pronounces him "the best writer of the age;" while Voltaire, who knew him as a youth, declares, "*J'ai trouvé dans cet illustre Anglais tout l'erudition de son pays et toute la politesse du notre.*" Burke and Pitt made him their model for oratory, and the latter used to say that he would rather recover a speech of Bolingbroke's than any of the lost works of antiquity.



"A mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel."—*Page* 78.

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat according to my directions, by quilting thirteen folds of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables, by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, by the sea-shore, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows for greasing my boat and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber-trees for oars and masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his majesty's ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his majesty's commands, and to take my leave. The emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the empress and the young princes of the blood. His majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred *sprugs* a-piece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with the carcases of a hundred oxen and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready dressed as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed; and to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay, and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the emperor would by no means permit; and, besides a diligent search into my pockets, his majesty engaged my honour "not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire."

Lord Mahon has, with eloquence and skill, drawn the portrait of Bolingbroke at considerable length :—"His genius was vast and lofty, yet able to contract itself at will—scarcely anything too great for its grasp, and scarcely anything too minute for its care. With such splendid abilities, such active ambition, he might have been the greatest and most useful statesman of his, or, perhaps, any age. But he utterly wanted virtue. He was no believer in revealed religion, whose tenets he attempted to sap in his writings, and disregarded in his life." "Upon the whole of this extraordinary character," says Lord Chesterfield, "what can we say but 'Alas! poor human nature.'"



"I set sail at six in the morning."—*Page* 83.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the 24th day of September, 1701, at six in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at the south-east, at six in the evening I descried a small island, about half a league to the north-west. I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee-side of the island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, as I conjecture at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awoke. It was a clear night. I ate my breakfast before the sun was up; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I steered the same course that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the north-east of Van Diemen's Land. I discovered nothing all that day; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had by my computation made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east; my course was due east. I hailed her, but could get no answer; yet I found that I gained upon her, for the wind slackened. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her ancient, and discharged a gun. It is not easy to express the joy I was in, upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September 26th; but my heart leaped within me to see her English colours. I put my cows and sheep into my coat pocket, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchant-man, returning from Japan by the North and South Seas; the captain, Mr. John Biddle, of Deptford, a very civil man, and an excellent sailor. We were now in the latitude 30 degrees south; there were about fifty men in the ship; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentle-man treated me with kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in a few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had undergone had disturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then showed him the gold given me by the emperor of Blefuscu, together with his majesty's picture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses



"I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket."—*Page* 83.

of two hundred *sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in England, to make him a present of a cow and a sheep.

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April, 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep; I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh. The rest of my cattle I got safe ashore, and set them a-grazing in a bowling-green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary; neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder and mingled with water, was their constant food.* The short time I continued in England, I made

* The consistency with which Swift sustains his fiction is everywhere visible. A less careful writer would have put the cattle in a pasture, where the inequalities of the ground and the coarseness and length of the grass would have made it impossible for them to live. Gulliver puts them in the short, fine grass of a smooth bowling-green, after having fed them through the voyage on finely-powdered biscuit. Nor does he forget to comment on the

a considerable profit by showing my cattle to many persons of quality and others; and before I began my second voyage I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of their fleeces.

I stayed but two months with my wife and family, for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortunes. My eldest uncle, John, had left me an estate in land, near Epping, of about thirty pounds a year; and I had a long lease of the "Black Bull" in Fetter Lane, which yielded me as much more; so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish. My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar-school, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took leave of my wife, and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the *Adventure*, a merchant-ship of three hundred tons, bound for Surat; Captain John Nicholas, of Liverpool, commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the second part of my travels.*

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fineness of the fleeces, as calculated to improve the woollen manufacture, a subject which, at the time, occupied the Legislature a good deal. Indeed, the interference with the woollen trade of Ireland, by imposing protective duties in favour of English wool, was very injurious to the former country, and brought down upon the Ministry the indignant remonstrances of Swift.

* A discussion, of little practical value, has arisen as to the origin of the name of Gulliver. Mr. Henry T. Riley ("Notes and Queries," 2nd ser., 229) says: "It appears to me by no means improbable that 'Gulliver' is a hybrid word, coined in the sarcastic corner of Swift's brain, and that its components are the words *gull in verity;* it being his meaning that he gulled the world in telling them the truth." This hypothesis is more ingenious than probable. The account given by a writer in the same volume (p. 423) is more natural:—"The names of Gulliver and Gulliford are quite common in parts of Somerset. . . . Many years ago, I remember passing a cart, in that neighbourhood, with the name of Gulliver on it, and remarked to my father, with whom I was walking, that it was the same name as the hero of Swift's book. Upon which my father told me Swift had met with the name precisely in the same manner; that he was, when contemplating his intended work, much in want of a name, and that, when out walking or riding one day, I know not where, a cart passed him with 'Gulliver' on it, which he at once decided should be the name of his hero, as it was quite uncommon. For the same reason, my father informed me, he also chose 'Lemuel.' I do not know my father's authority for this little history."

[After the first edition of the "Travels" had appeared, Gay wrote a Lilliputian ode, addressed to Quinbus Flestrin, by Titty Tit, Poet-laureate to His Majesty of Lilliput. Pope thus refers to it in a letter to Swift, March 8th, 1726-7 : "You received, I hope, some commendatory verses from a horse, and a Lilliputian, to Gulliver; and an heroic epistle to Mrs. Gulliver. The bookseller would fain have printed them before the second edition of the book, but I would not permit it without your approbation ; nor do I much like them." We concur in the last observation. The ode of the Lilliputian laureate is rather ingenious than clever ; the lines, except the last of each stanza, being trisyllabic, to represent the pigmy proportions of Lilliputian poetry. We subjoin the ode.]

TO QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN.

An Ode,

BY TITTY TIT, ESQ.,

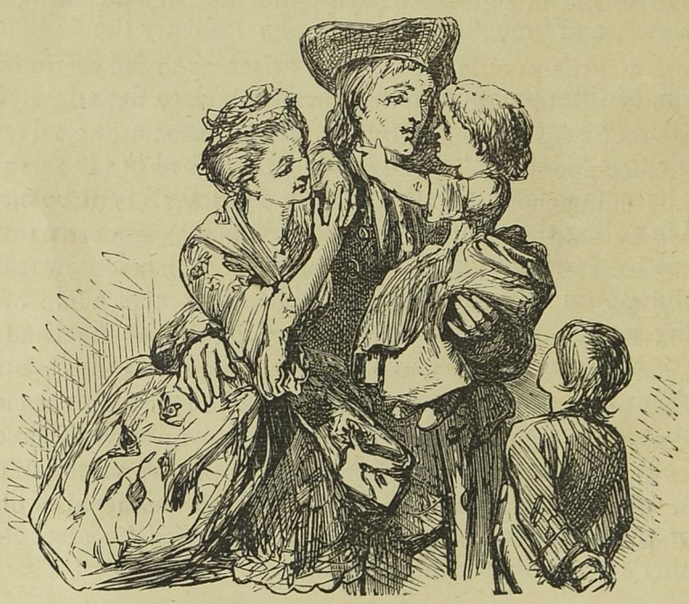
POET-LAUREATE TO HIS MAJESTY OF LILLIPUT.

Translated into English.

In amaze,
Lost, I gaze !
Can our eyes
Reach thy size ?
May my lays
Swell with praise ?
Worthy thee !
Worthy me !
Muse, inspire
All thy fire !
Bards of old
Of him told,
When they said
Atlas' head
Propp'd the skies :
See, and believe your eyes.

See him stride
Valleys wide,
Over woods,
Over floods.
When he treads,
Mountains' heads
Groan and shake ;
Armies quake,
Lest his spurn
Overturn
Man and steed ;
Troops, take heed !
Left and right,
Speed your flight !
Lest an host
Beneath his foot be lost.

Turn'd aside
From his hide,
Safe from wound
Darts rebound :
From his nose
Clouds he blows ;
When he speaks,
Thunder breaks !
When he eats,
Famine threats ;
When he drinks,
Neptune shrinks !
Nigh thy ear,
In mid air,
On thy hand
Let me stand,
So shall I,
Lofty poet, touch the sky.

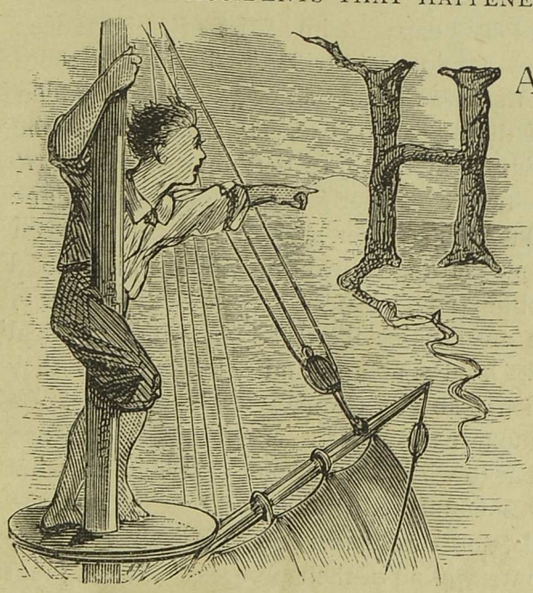




BROBDINGNAG*

CHAPTER I.

A GREAT STORM DESCRIBED; THE LONG-BOAT SENT TO FETCH WATER; THE AUTHOR GOES WITH IT TO DISCOVER THE COUNTRY.—HE IS LEFT ON SHORE, IS SEIZED BY ONE OF THE NATIVES, AND CARRIED TO A FARMER'S HOUSE.—HIS RECEPTION, WITH SEVERAL ACCIDENTS THAT HAPPENED THERE.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE INHABITANTS.



HAVING been condemned, by nature and fortune, to an active and restless life, in two months after my return, I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs, on the 20th day of June, 1702, in the *Adventure*—Captain John Nicholas, a Cornishman, commander—bound for Surat. We had a prosperous gale, till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water; but discovering a leak, we unshipped our goods, and wintered there; for the captain falling

* Hitherto we have been inspecting humanity, as it were, through a telescope reversed, in which every object appears diminished; we are now to use the instrument the other way, and

sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then set sail, and had a good voyage till we passed the Straits of Madagascar; but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together; during which time, we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took the 2nd of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm, whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he, being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened the day following; for the southern wind, called the southern monsoon, began to set in.

Finding it was likely to over-blow, we took in our sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the fore-sail; but, making foul weather, we looked the guns were all fast, and handed the mizen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea, than trying

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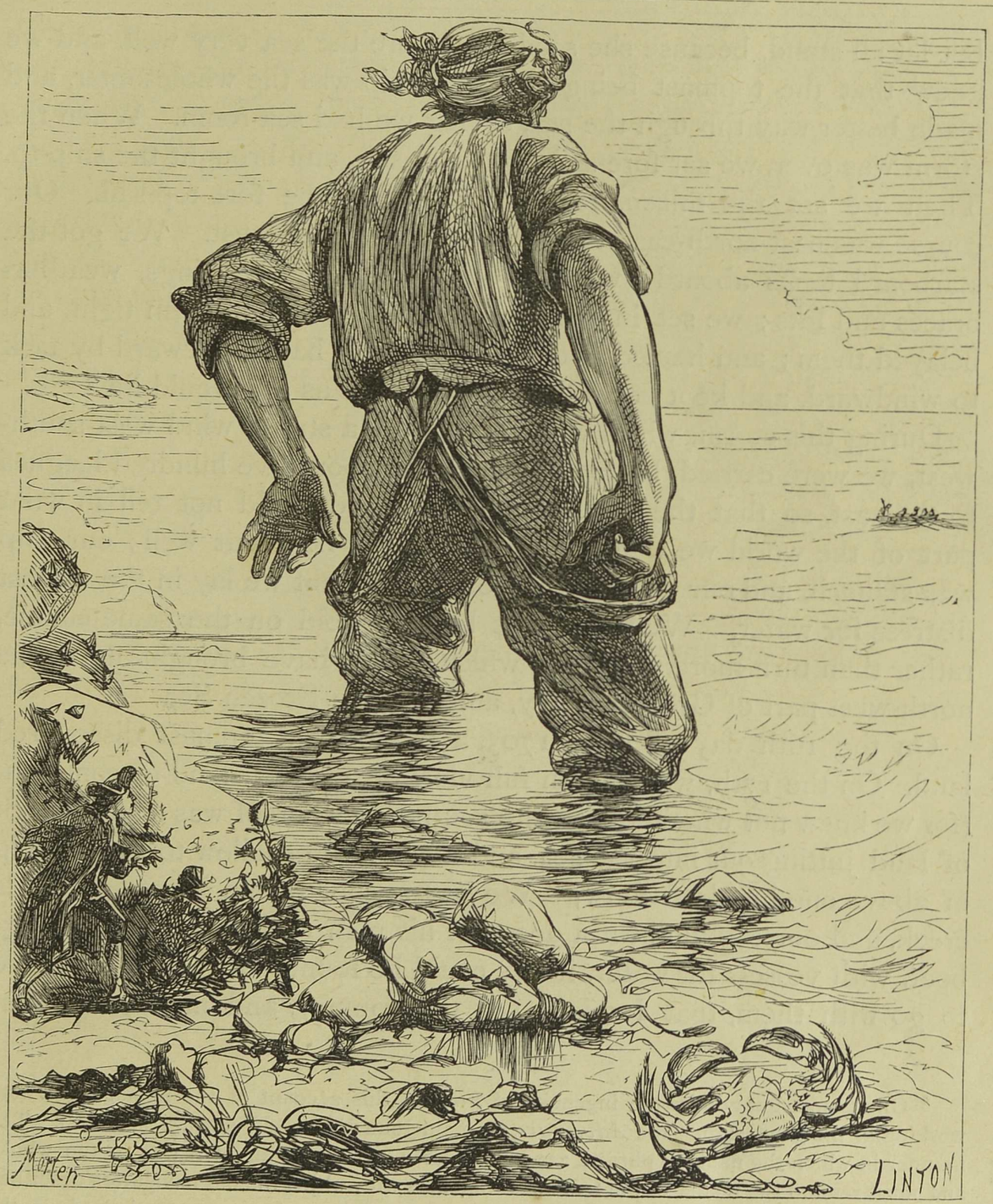
looking through the smaller end, see all things magnified. Or, to use the metaphor of Lord Orrery, "The inhabitants of Lilliput are represented as if reflected from a convex mirror, by which every object is reduced to a despicable minuteness: the inhabitants of Brobdingnag, by a contrary mirror, are enlarged to a shocking deformity. In Lilliput we behold a set of puny insects, or animalcules, in human shape, ridiculously engaged in affairs of importance: in Brobdingnag the monsters of enormous size are employed in trifles." Perhaps a more novel, happy, and ingenious idea never occurred to the mind of any author, than this sudden transposition of the condition of the beholder and of the objects beheld. It comes upon one with a surprise that is absolutely startling, each fiction intensifying the other by the charm and effect of contrast, like those optical toys by which the eye, after gazing a long time on one colour, is suddenly filled with its complementary. There is another striking contrast between the first and second voyages. We pass from personal satire against individuals to general satire against institutions. "In the Voyage to Brobdingnag," observes Scott, "the satire is of a more general character; nor is it easy to trace any particular reference to the political events or statesmen of the period. It merely exhibits human actions and sentiments as they might appear in the apprehension of beings of immense strength, and, at the same time, of a cold, reflecting, and philosophical character. The monarch of these sons of Anak is designed to embody's Swift's ideas of a patriot king, indifferent to what was curious, and cold to what was beautiful, feeling only interest in that which was connected with general utility and the public weal. To such a prince the intrigues, scandals, and stratagems of a European court are represented as equally odious in their origin, and contemptible in their progress." Throughout the "Voyage to Brobdingnag," as throughout that to Lilliput, we have the same wonderful power of making fiction appear like truth, by the minute attention to consistency, the little incidental details of unimportant affairs, and the liveliness and graphic force of narration; we have, too, the bitter invective, the trenchant sarcasm, and the stinging jest which Swift knew how to use with such terrible power.



"I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea."—*Page* 91.

or hulling. We reefed the fore-sail, and set him, and hauled aft the fore-sheet; the helm was hard a-weather. The ship wore bravely. We belayed the fore down-haul; but the sail was split, and we hauled down the yard, and got the sail into the ship, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce storm; the sea broke strange and dangerous. We hauled off upon the lanyards of the whip-staff, and helped the man at the helm. We would not get down our topmast,

but let all stand, because she scudded before the sea very well, and we knew that the topmast being aloft, the ship was the wholesomer, and made better way through the sea, seeing we had sea-room. When the storm was over, we set fore-sail and main-sail, and brought the ship to. Then we set the mizen, main-top-sail, and the fore-top-sail. Our course was east-north-east, the wind was at south-west. We got the starboard tacks aboard; we cast off the weather-bowlings, weather-braces and lifts; we set in the lee-braces, and hauled them tight, and belayed them; and hauled over the mizen and hauled forward by tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lie.*

During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind west-south-west, we were carried, by my computation, about five hundred leagues to the east, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well; our ship was staunch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmost distress for water. We thought it best to hold on the same course, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the north-west part of Great Tartary, and into the Frozen Sea.

On the 16th day of June, 1703, a boy on the topmast discovered land. On the 17th, we came in full view of a great island or continent (for we knew not whether); on the south side whereof was a small neck of land jutting out into the sea, and a creek too shallow to hold a ship of above one hundred tons.† We cast anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain sent a dozen of his men well armed in the long-boat, with vessels for water, if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country, and make what dis-

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* One cannot but admire the ingenuity of Swift in this account of the management and working of the good ship, "the *Adventure*, Captain John Nicholas," during the storm. The manner in which the nautical phrases are used gives a wonderful air of reality to the whole, and must remind the reader of the tedious minuteness with which the old navigators described their voyages, and which Swift probably meant to satirise. So accurate, indeed, is the imitation of the technicalities, that Scott informs us seamen have been known to work hard in order to attain a perfect understanding of those details. There is nothing in the fictions of De Foe that surpasses this description for vividness and verisimility.

† It would be as difficult a task, at the least, to follow Gulliver's vessel, in her course from the Straits of Madagascar to Brobdingnag, as was that of the mariners, who puzzled over the assemblage of sea-phrases in which he narrates the working of the ship. How she traversed the Indian Ocean in her easterly course, and made her way through the groups of islands which separate the Indian from the North Pacific Ocean, till she was "driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line," each reader is at liberty to conjecture for himself; but it is quite within the limits of probability that she might have done so with safety.

coveries I could. When we came to land, we saw no river or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently down towards the creek; and the sea being full in my view, I saw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ship. I was going to holloa after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could; he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides; but our men had the start of him half a league, and the sea thereabouts being full of sharp-pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat.* This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of the

* This first introduction of a Brobdingnagian is very judiciously managed, and is calculated to impress the reader with an undefined but striking idea of his vast stature. In this Swift appears to have followed Virgil, both as to description and situation, when he presents Polyphemus to the Trojans (Æn. iii. 664, 5):—

"Graditurque per æquor
Jam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit."

The belief in giants, as a race, and not merely as exceptional individuals of the species, was very generally entertained in ancient times; and, even when Swift wrote, the accounts of the enormous size of the Patagonians and the Indians of Virginia were not wholly discredited. That mankind was at first of gigantic dimensions is a tradition that obtains in almost all nations. The Mohammedans say that their prophet affirmed that Adam was as tall as a high palm-tree, and that Eve was of such enormous size that when her head lay on one hill, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket-shots asunder. Some of the Rabbins pretend that the stature of Adam was so gigantic that it reached even to the heavens, and extended from one end of the world to the other; and that it was reduced after the transgression—first, to the measure of 100 ells; and as others say, to 1,000 or 900 cubits, which was done at the request of the angels, who were terrified at his enormous stature, or who were envious and jealous on this account (see Sale's "Koran," pt. viii., chap. 2, and notes). In the Island of Ceylon, near Caltura, is a remarkable mountain, called *Pico de Adam*, or Adam's Peak, on the summit of which is a natural hollow, exhibiting the rude outline of a human foot about five feet long, and of proportionate breadth, called the *Sri Pada*, or Sacred Footstep. The Mohammedan tradition is, that when Adam and Eve were cast down from Paradise, Adam fell on the Isle of Ceylon, or Serendib, and Eve near Jeddah (the port of Mecca), in Arabia; and that when Adam set one foot on the top of the hill, he had the other in the sea. A very interesting account of the Pico de Adam will be found in Sir Emerson Tennent's learned work on Ceylon. In the year 1817, M. Nicolas Henrion presented to the Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres "un echelle Chronologique de la difference des tailles humaines depuis la Creation du Monde jusqu'a Jesus Christ." In this scale he assigns to Adam the height of 123 feet 9 inches, and to Eve 118 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, from which he deduces the relative proportion of the height of the sexes as 25 to 24, which is pretty near the truth. Noah he makes 20 feet less than Adam, Abraham is reduced to between 27 and 28 feet, Moses to 13 feet, Hercules to 10 feet, and Alexander to 6 feet (see Eloge de M. Henrion Hist. d'l'Acad. des Inscrps. et Belles Lettres, tom. v, p. 382).

adventure; but ran as fast as I could the way I first went, and then climbed up a steep hill, which gave me some prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a high road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a foot-path through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty feet. I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at least one hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation of their altitude. There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps, and a stone to cross over when you came to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six feet high, and the upper stone about twenty. I was endeavouring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field, advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride,* as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the corn, whence I saw him at the top of the stile looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking-trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him, with reaping-hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or labourers they seemed to be; for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of the corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt

* A definite idea of the stature of the people of Brobdingnag is here for the first time conveyed by our author, and in a very skilful manner, by a comparison which leaves it to the reader to infer the height from the length of the step. Professor de Morgan justly observes that "Swift has masked with so much art the arithmetical questions that arise, that the interest of the reader is well preserved. The first definite indication of the Brobdingnagian stature is conveyed in the description of a monster 'who took about ten yards at every stride.' The average human step is thirty inches, the twelfth part of ten yards."



"Whereupon the huge creature trod short."—*Page* 94.

them. However, I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my clothes into my flesh. At the same time I heard the reapers not above a hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness, in attempting a second voyage, against the advice of all my friends and relations. In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world; where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions which will be recorded for ever in the chronicles of that empire; while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by millions. I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me to appear as inconsiderable in this nation as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the least of my misfortunes; for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians who should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right, when they tell us nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison. It might have pleased Fortune to have let the Lilliputians find some nation where the people were as diminutive with respect to them as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery?

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these reflections, when one of the reapers approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend that with the next step I should be squashed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping-hook. And therefore, when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as fear could make me; whereupon the huge creature trod short, and looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the ground. He considered awhile, with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small, dangerous animal,

in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or bite him, as I myself had sometimes done with a weasel in England. At length he ventured to take me behind, by the middle, between his forefinger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air, above sixty feet from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine eyes towards the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in a humble, melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in : for I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal which we have a mind to destroy. But my good star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them. In the meantime I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears, and turning my head towards my sides ; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger. He seemed to apprehend my meaning ; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person I had first seen in the field.

The farmer having (as I supposed by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking-staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat ; which it seems he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me. He blew my hair aside, to take a better view of my face. He called his hinds about him, and asked them, as I afterwards learned, whether they had ever seen in the fields any little creature that resembled me. He then placed me softly on the ground upon all fours, but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backward and forward, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sat down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions. I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow towards the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could ; I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received

it on the palm of his hand, then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterward turned it several times with the point of a pin (which he took out of his sleeve), but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground. I then took the purse, and opening it, poured all the gold into his palm. There were six Spanish pieces of four pistoles each, beside twenty or thirty smaller coins. I saw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another; but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and the purse again into my pocket, which, after offering it to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The farmer, by this time, was convinced I must be a rational creature. He spoke often to me; but the sound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a water-mill, yet his words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me: but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his servants to their work, and taking his handkerchief out of his pocket, he doubled and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground with the palm upward, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myself at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he wrapped me up to the head for further security; and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and showed me to her; but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider. However, when she had awhile seen my behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me.

It was about twelve at noon, and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat (fit for the plain condition of a husbandman), in a dish of about four-and-twenty feet diameter. The company were, the farmer and his wife, three children, and an old grandmother. When they were sat down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge, for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low

bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eating, which gave them exceeding delight. The mistress sent her maid for a small dram cup, which held about two gallons, and filled it with drink; I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a most respectful manner drank to her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cider, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me a sign to come to his trencher side; but as I walked on the table, being in great surprise all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners), and waving it over my head, made three huzzas, to show I had got no mischief by my fall.* But advancing forward towards my master (as I shall henceforth call him), his youngest son, who sat next to him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air, that I trembled every limb: but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear, as would have felled a European troop of horse to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But being afraid this boy might owe me a spite, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy, made my master to understand as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his seat again, whereupon I went to him and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroke me gently with it.†

* The conduct of the Brobdingnagian farmer is very pleasantly described—poking Gulliver with a straw, blowing aside his hair, and placing him on the ground "on all fours." How ludicrous is the idea of Gulliver presenting the farmer with a purse of gold! and how just the satire upon the vanity of trusting to riches as a panacea for all the ills of life, conveyed by Swift when he makes the farmer motion to Gulliver to put up his money again in his purse! The kindness of the farmer's wife, the bit of minced meat, the stumbling over the crust, and the three huzzas, are all told with inimitable gravity and solemn humour.

† This incident of the young giant-urchin, seizing Gulliver by the legs, is but too true to nature, and conveys a just rebuke to many, both young and old, who—some through thoughtlessness, some from a cruelty of disposition—worry or injure small animals. Let such remember that might is not right; that, with the truly brave and generous, power is ever tempered with gentleness, and weakness is the strongest claim to protection. He who smites the unoffending brute or reptile, if in turn he is smitten by a hand that is stronger than his own, has less than his deserts, and cannot complain. He

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favourite cat leaped into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work; and turning my head, I found it proceeded from the purring of that animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding and stroking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the further end of the table, above fifty feet off; and though my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger, for the cat took not the least notice of me, when my master placed me within three yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or discovering fear before a fierce animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved, in this dangerous juncture, to show no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me. I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmers' houses; one of which was a mastiff, equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound, somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large.

When dinner was almost done, the nurse came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately spied me, and began a squall that you might have heard from London Bridge to Chelsea, after the usual oratory of infants, to get me for a plaything. The mother, out of pure indulgence, took me up, and put me towards the child, who presently seized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth,* where I roared so loud that the urchin was frighted, and let me drop; and I should infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me. The nurse, to quiet her babe, made use of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow vessel filled with great stones, and fastened by a cable to the child's waist: but all in vain; so that she was forced to apply the last remedy by giving it drink.

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gave pain to the unoffending; the pain which he suffers is due to his offence. The conduct of Gulliver, too, is in keeping with our experience of life. They who are most injured are often the readiest to forgive.

"Forgiveness to the injured does belong;
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong."

* This incident is, no doubt, intended as a censure on mothers who often indulge their children at the expense of their fellow-creatures or of other animals. Swift was an accurate observer of life, and not very tolerant of foibles, especially in relation to women and children.

The strange appearance of the spots, pimples, and freckles on this woman's skin made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying glass; where we find by experiment that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough, and coarse, and ill-coloured.

I remember, when I was at Lilliput, the complexions of those diminutive people appeared to me the fairest in the world; and talking upon this subject with a person of learning there, who was an intimate friend of mine, he said that my face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the ground, than it did upon a nearer view, when I took him up in my hand, and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said he could discover great holes in my skin; that the stumps of my beard were ten times stronger than the bristles of a boar, and my complexion made up of several colours altogether disagreeable: although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my sex and country, and very little sunburnt by all my travels. On the other side, discoursing of the ladies in that emperor's court, he used to tell me, "one had freckles, another too large a mouth, a third too large a nose!" nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess, this reflection was obvious enough; which, however, I could not forbear, lest the reader might think those vast creatures were actually deformed: for I must do them the justice to say, they are a comely race of people; and particularly the features of my master's countenance, although he was but a farmer, when I beheld him from the height of sixty feet, appeared very well proportioned.

When dinner was done, my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife a strict charge to take care of me. I was very much tired, and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the mainsail of a man-of-war.

I slept about two hours, and dreamt I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked, and found myself alone in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and about two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Although wishing



"I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself."—*Page* 101.

to get down, I durst not presume to call; and if I had, it would have been in vain, with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family *kept.* While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on my bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his fore-feet at my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet; and the other, seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the blood run trickling from him. After this exploit, I walked gently to and fro on the bed, to recover my breath and loss of spirits. These creatures were of the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce; so that if I had taken off my belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to draw the carcase off the bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some life, but with a strong slash across the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after my mistress came into the room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling, and making other signs to show I was not hurt; whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I showed her my hanger all bloody, and, wiping it on the lappet of my coat, returned it to the scabbard. I was anxious to wash and dress myself, and therefore endeavoured to make my mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the floor; which after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself further than by pointing at the door, and bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and left me to myself for a short time.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like particulars, which, however insignificant they may appear to grovelling, vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge

his thoughts and imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as well as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this and other accounts of my travels to the world; wherein I have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in memory, that in committing it to paper I did not omit one material circumstance; however, upon a strict review I blotted out several passages of less moment, which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travellers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.*

* Swift takes occasion, in this passage, to censure openly, as he had before covertly ridiculed, the tediousness and self-conceit exhibited so frequently in books of travel. Incidents the most trivial are magnified as of importance, and a great deal written that would have been much better omitted.



CHAPTER II.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FARMER'S DAUGHTER. THE AUTHOR CARRIED TO A MARKET TOWN, AND THEN TO THE METROPOLIS. THE PARTICULARS OF HIS JOURNEY.



MY mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardly parts for her age, very dextrous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf, for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I stayed with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language, and make my wants known. This young girl was so handy, that after I had once or twice pulled off my clothes before her, she was able to dress or undress me, though I never gave her that trouble when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my school-mistress, to teach me the language: when I pointed to anything, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little of her age. She gave me the name of *grildrig*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *homunculus;* the Italians, *homunceletion;* and the English, *manikin*. To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country; we never parted while I was there; I called her my *glumdalclitch*, or little nurse; and should be guilty of great ingratitude if I omitted this honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.



"I called her my *glumdalclitch*, or little nurse."—*Page* 103.

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it likewise imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learnt several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a

complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose to inquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him in his own language how he did, and told him he was welcome, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better; at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry and out of countenance.* He had the character of a great miser: and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the bad advice he gave my master, to show me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two-and-twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief abroad contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude, vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money, as a public spectacle, to the meanest of the people. She said her papa and mamma had promised that Grildrig should be hers; but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher. For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope, which never left me,

* The comparison of the dim-sighted giant, looking through his spectacles, to the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows, is very lively and ridiculous; and the idea of his being offended at the conduct of a pigmy is as absurd as what we often see in real life—but not more so—grown men irritated by the jokes of children, and wise men put out of countenance by the jests of fools.

that I should one day recover my liberty : and as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England ; since the king of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box, the next market-day, to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this journey, though it were but of half an hour; for the horse went about forty feet at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent. Our journey was somewhat farther than from London to St. Alban's. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting awhile with the innkeeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the *grultred*, or crier, to give notice through the town of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a *splacnuck* (an animal in that country very finely shaped), about six feet long, and in every part of the body resembling a human creature, which could speak several words, and perform a hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largest room of the inn, which might be near three hundred feet square. My little nurse stood on a low stool close to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My master, to avoid a crowd, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me. I walked about on the table as the girl commanded : she asked me questions, as far as she knew my understanding of the language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the company, paid my humble respects, said they were welcome, and used some other speeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurse gave me a part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learnt the art in my youth. I was that day shown to twelve

sets of company, and as often forced to act over again the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation; for those who had seen me made such wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break down the doors to come in.* My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me except my nurse; and to prevent danger, benches were set round the table at such a distance as put me out of everybody's reach. However, an unlucky school-boy aimed a hazel-nut at my head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise it came with so much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pumpkin; but I had the satisfaction to see the young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room.

My master gave public notice that he would show me again the next market-day; and in the meantime he prepared a more convenient vehicle for me, which he had reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first journey, and with entertaining company for eight

* Swift's description of the exhibition of Gulliver to the Brobdingnagian rustics, and the anxiety of the crowds to see him, is a correct representation of the passion for sight-seeing that prevailed in England in his day. Indeed, at no period was the desire stronger, or the deceits practised on the credulity of the people greater, than in the reign of George the First. Punch was in all his glory—then, as now, an institution of the country. Monsters of all sorts were exhibited at May Fair, till it was broken up, when, as Addison humorously tells us, "A tiger will sell almost as cheap as an ox, and, I am credibly informed, a man may purchase a cat with three legs for very nearly the value of one with four." "Immense crowds assembled to see a man creep into a quart bottle," says Dr. Taylor; "and when they discovered that they had been deceived, were near destroying the house in their rage." Three dwarfs—a little man, a woman equally diminutive, and a horse proportionably so—were exhibited in London at the close of Queen Anne's reign, and were carried about, as Gulliver narrates of himself, in a box upon the exhibitor's back. Addison, in the "Spectator," gives a very pleasant account of them, in a letter from the showman:—"The little man is a bully in his nature, but when he grows choleric, I confine him in his box until his wrath is over, by which means I have hitherto prevented him from doing much mischief. His horse is likewise very vicious, for which reason I am forced to tie him close to his manger with a packthread. The woman is a coquette. She struts as much as is possible for a lady of two feet high, and would ruin me in silks were not the quantity that goes to a large pin-cushion sufficient to make her a gown and petticoat." Swift constantly alludes to those exhibitions, and the placards in which they were puffed off. He celebrates Powell and Stretch, two puppet showmen of his day, whose performances vied with those of the theatres. Goldsmith, in his "Citizen of the World," does not fail to take a hit at this national foible:—"From the highest to the lowest the people seem fond of sights and monsters. I am told of a person here who gets a very comfortable livelihood by making wonders, and then selling or showing them to the people for money. He learned the art of pasting up mummies; was never at a loss for a *lusus naturæ;* nay, it has been reported that he sold seven petrified lobsters of his own manufacture to a noted antiquarian. A cat with four legs is disregarded, though never so useful; but if it has but two, and is consequently incapable of catching mice, it is reckoned invaluable, and every man of taste is ready to raise the auction."



"I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England."—*Page* 106.

hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my legs or speak a word. It was at least three days before I recovered my strength; and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring gentlemen from a hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to see me at my master's own house. There could not be fewer than thirty persons, with their wives and children (for the country is very populous); and my master demanded the rate of a full room whenever he showed me at home, although it were only to a single family; so that for some time I had but little ease every day of the week (except Wednesday, which is their Sabbath), although I were not carried to the town.

My master, finding how profitable I was likely to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities in the kingdom. Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long journey, and settled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and on the 17th of August, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situate near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles' distance from our house. My master made his daughter, Glumdalclitch, ride behind him. She carried me on her lap, in a box tied about her waist. The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made everything as convenient as she could. We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage.

My master's design was to show me in all the towns by the way, and to step out of the road, for fifty or a hundred miles, to any village or person of quality's house, where he might expect custom. We made easy journeys, of not above seven or eight score miles a day: for Glumdalclitch, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the horse. She often took me out of my box at my desire, to give me air, and show me the country, but always held me fast by a leading-string. We passed over five or six rivers, many degrees broader and deeper than the Ganges: and there was hardly a rivulet so small as the Thames at London Bridge.* We were ten

* According to the Brobdingnagian scale, as compared with that of England, we find Swift still keeping within reasonable bounds. Assuming that the sea-coast where Gulliver was cast ashore was at the extremity of the kingdom, we have the metropolis (stated to be situate in the middle) at a distance equivalent to about 250 miles with us. The easy journeys would be from about twelve to fourteen miles a day, and the deviations from the direct course would scarcely exceed nine miles at the most.

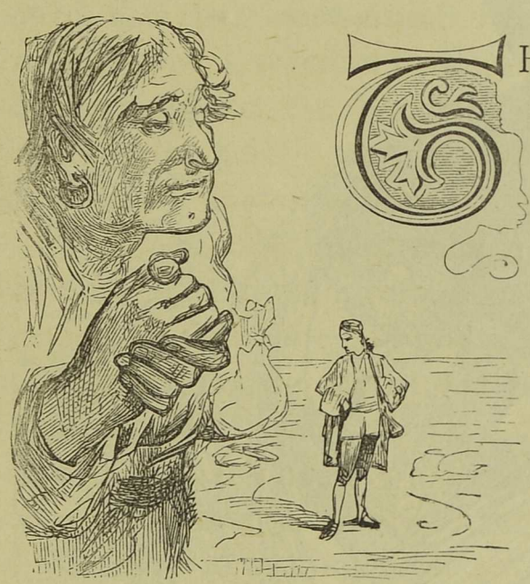
weeks in our journey, and I was shown in eighteen large towns, besides many villages and private families.

On the 26th day of October, we arrived at the metropolis, called in their language *Lorbrulgrud*, or Pride of the Universe. My master took a lodging in the principal street of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the usual form, containing an exact description of my person and parts. He hired a large room, between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a table sixty feet in diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and palisadoed it round three feet from the edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shown ten times a day, to the wonder and satisfaction of all people. I could now speak the language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learnt their alphabet, and could make a shift to explain a sentence, here and there : for Glumdalclitch had been my instructor while we were at home, and at leisure hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than Sanson's Atlas ; it was a common treatise for the use of young girls, giving a short account of their religion : out of this she taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.



CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHOR SENT FOR TO COURT.—THE QUEEN BUYS HIM OF HIS MASTER, THE FARMER, AND PRESENTS HIM TO THE KING.—HE DISPUTES WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GREAT SCHOLARS —AN APARTMENT AT COURT PROVIDED FOR THE AUTHOR.—HE IS IN HIGH FAVOUR WITH THE QUEEN.—HE STANDS UP FOR THE HONOUR OF HIS OWN COUNTRY. —HIS QUARRELS WITH THE QUEEN'S DWARF.



THE frequent labours I underwent every day made, in a few weeks, a very considerable change in my health; the more my master got by me, the more insatiable he grew; I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton. The farmer observing it, and concluding I must soon die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *sardral*, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither, for the diversion of the queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good sense. Her majesty, and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanour. I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kissing her imperial foot; but this gracious princess held out her little finger towards me, after I was set on the table, which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip. She asked me some general questions about my country and my travels, which I answered as distinctly and in as few words as I could. She asked whether I could be content to live at court. I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly answered, that I was my master's slave; but if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote my life to her majesty's service. She then asked my master, whether he was willing to sell me at a good price. He, who apprehended that I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred moidores; but allowing for the proportion of all things



"This gracious princess held out her little finger towards me."—*Page* 111.

between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, this was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England. I then said to the queen, since I was now her majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favour that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and knew how to do it so well, might be admitted into the service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor.

Her majesty agreed to my petition, and easily got the farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herself was not able to hide her joy. My late master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good service : to which I replied not a word, only making him a slight bow.

The queen observed my coldness ; and when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason. I made bold to tell her majesty, that I owed no other obligation to my late master, than his not dashing out the brains of a poor harmless creature, found by chance in his fields ; which obligation was amply recompensed by the gain he had made in showing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for. That the life I had since led was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times my strength. That my health was much impaired, by the continual drudgery of entertaining the rabble every hour of the day ; and that, if my master had not thought my life in danger, her majesty would not have got so cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill-treated under the protection of so great and good an empress, the ornament of Nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her subjects, the phœnix of the creation ; so, I hoped my late master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless ; for I had already found my spirits revive by the influence of her most august presence.*

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* Sir Walter Scott observes that the portrait of the Queen of the Brobdingnags, who is represented as amiable and inquisitive—the protectress of the pigmy stranger—is unquestionably designed as a compliment to the Princess of Wales, whom Swift was then desirous to gratify, though he afterwards seems to have transferred his allegiance to Mrs. Howard. Caroline of Anspach, wife of George, afterwards the second king of that name, was a very remarkable woman. In early life she was extremely handsome ; her hands are described as models of perfect symmetry, her carriage was dignified, her eyes penetrating and expressive, and her voice soft and musical. An attack of small-pox, shortly after her marriage, greatly impaired her beauty. She was a clever, accomplished, worthy, intellectual woman. She loved to surround herself, at her Court in Leicester House, with wits and eminent literary men, with whom she discussed philosophy, divinity, and general literature. Swift, in a letter to the Duchess of Queensbury, says of her—"A nameless person sent me eleven messages before I would yield to a visit." Yet, while she patronised learned men, she suffered Sale to remain in poverty, and rewarded the labours of Gay, whom Swift used to call her "led captain," with a wretched pension ; while she made a poor thresher, of the name of Stephen Duck, who had written some bad verses, the keeper of her library at Richmond. She was an excellent wife and mother, and retained a strong influence to the last over her husband, who mourned the loss of one of whom he said, "I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe ;" whose prudence and sweetness of temper so often moderated or checked his own resentments, and whose counsels and affection conduced to his happiness. "I do not know," said he to the elder Horace Walpole after her death, "what to do or which way to turn myself."

This was the sum of my speech, delivered with great improprieties and hesitation. The latter part was altogether framed in the style peculiar to that people, whereof I learned some phrases from Glumdalclitch, while she was carrying me to court.

The queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveness in speaking, was, however, surprised at so much wit and good sense in so diminutive an animal. She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the king, who was then retired to his cabinet. His majesty, a prince of much gravity and austere countenance,* not well observing my shape at first view, asked the queen, after a cold manner, how long it was since she grew fond of a *splacnuck?* for such, it seems, he took me to be, as I lay upon my breast in her majesty's right hand. But this princess, who has an infinite deal of wit and humour, set me gently on my feet upon the scrutoire, and commanded me to give his majesty an account of myself, which I did in a very few words: and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my arrival at her father's house.

The king, although he is as learned a person as any in his dominions, having been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics, yet when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work (which has in that country arrived to a very great perfection), contrived by some ingenious artist. But when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational,

* "Swift's King of Brobdingnag," says Sir Walter Scott, "is a patriot monarch, governing his people on the principles of reason and philanthropy; separated, by his situation and his subjects' immense superiority in physical force, from either the necessity or the temptation of war and conquest; a stoic in appetite and in ambition; holding everything of little importance, except what directly tended to the real benefit of his subjects. This vision, as vain and improbable as the size of the personage so gifted, is maintained with singular art through the whole section. The monarch's coldness and indifference while he considered the traveller as a mere plaything or subject of idle curiosity, joined to his earnest and anxious colloquies with Gulliver, so soon as he discovered him to be a rational and thinking being, convey some traits of William III. If there be any resemblance in the portrait, it must have escaped the pen of Swift unconsciously; for though his youth was taught to admire that monarch, it is well known William's panegyric was the last the Dean would have drawn in the latter stage of his life." Dr. Taylor thinks that probably the Dean had an eye to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II., "from whom the Tories had formed favourable anticipations." With the exception of his cold and phlegmatic nature, we see little resemblance between him and the monarch of Brobdingnag, the wise and learned man, the patron of scholars. Even the grossest flattery would have shrunk from presenting the one as the portraiture of the other.



"She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the king."—*Page* 114.

he could not conceal his astonishment.* He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words, to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers : no otherwise defective than by a foreign accent and an imperfect knowledge of the language, with some rustic phrases which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in the weekly waiting, according to the custom in that country. These gentlemen, after they had examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of Nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life, either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an over-match for me, and field mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects, which they offered, by many learned arguments, to evince that I could not possibly do. One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an embryo or abortive birth. But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my limbs to be perfect and finished; and that I had lived several years, as it was manifest from my beard, the stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a magnifying-glass. They would not allow me to be a dwarf, because my littleness was beyond all degrees of comparison; for the queen's favourite dwarf, the smallest ever known in the kingdom, was nearly thirty feet high. After much debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *relplum scalcath*, which is, interpreted literally, *lusus naturæ;*† a determination

* Many of our readers are of course acquainted with the famous caricature of the celebrated Gilray, in which he turns to political account the interview of Gulliver with the King of Brobdingnag. The latter is represented by George III., in the costume with which we are all so familiar—the old bob-wig, and the ugly old Windsor uniform. He is peering at the pigmy Gulliver, whom he holds in one hand, while he surveys him through an opera glass, which he brings to bear upon him, with the other. The pigmy is, of course, intended to represent Napoleon.

† In this serio-comic discussion of the three learned philosophers, the Author no doubt ridicules the speculations of some of the naturalists of his own day, and, not improbably, has in view some of the members of the Royal Society, for whom he did not entertain very great



"They concluded unanimously that I was only *relplum scalcath*."—*Page* 116.

exactly agreeable to the modern philosophy of Europe, whose professors, disdaining the old evasion of occult causes, whereby the followers

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reverence. The arguments used by these sages are a just censure on the pride and presumption of those persons who, in every age, are found to put forward their own crude hypotheses and speculative theories, and who would assail the truths of Revelation, and arraign the wisdom of Providence in the creation and government of the world. The device of the *lusus naturæ*, in which these pundits finally take refuge, to conceal their ignorance, is a stroke of satire as happy as it is severe.

of Aristotle endeavoured in vain to disguise their ignorance, have invented this wonderful solution of all difficulties, to the unspeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this decisive conclusion, I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myself to the king, and assured his majesty that I came from a country which abounded with several millions of both sexes, and of my own stature; where the animals, trees, and houses were all in proportion, and where, by consequence, I might be as able to defend myself, and to find sustenance, as any of his majesty's subjects could do here; which I took for a full answer to those gentlemen's arguments. To this they only replied by a smile of contempt, saying that the farmer had instructed me very well in my lesson.* The king, who had a much better understanding, dismissing his learned men, sent for the farmer, who, by good fortune, was not yet gone out of the town. Having therefore first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young girl, his majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the queen to order that a particular care should be taken of me; and was of opinion that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court; she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself. The queen commanded her own cabinet-maker to contrive a box, that might serve me for a bed-chamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist; and according to my direction, in three weeks finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash-windows, a door, and two closets, like a London bed-chamber. The board, that made the ceiling, was to be lifted up and down by two hinges, to put in a bed ready furnished by her majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities,

* This answer of the philosophers is quite natural. How difficult it is to disabuse men, where their self-esteem and their prejudices are engaged in supporting some favourite theory to which they have committed themselves. It is in vain to appeal to their reason. They often prefer to reject the plainest testimony which will account for phenomena, because such account will displace their own hypotheses; and, like the Brobdingnagian wiseacres, they choose to disbelieve facts which they cannot explain, rather than admit their own error.

undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames, of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables, with a cabinet to put my things in. The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and the ceiling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt, when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door, to prevent rats and mice from coming in. The smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have known a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England. I made a shift to keep the key in a pocket of my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might lose it. The queen likewise ordered the thinnest silks that could be gotten, to make me clothes, not much thicker than an English blanket, very cumbrous till I was accustomed to them. They were after the fashion of the kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the Chinese, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The queen became so fond of my company, that she could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the same at which her majesty ate, just at her elbow, and a chair to sit on. Glumdalclitch stood on a stool on the floor, near my table, to assist and take care of me. I had an entire set of silver dishes and plates, and other necessaries, which, in proportion to those of the queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a London toy-shop, for the furniture of a baby-house: these my little nurse kept in her pocket in a silver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herself. No person dined with the queen but the two princesses royal, the eldest sixteen years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a month. Her majesty used to put a bit of meat upon one of my dishes, out of which I carved for myself, and her diversion was to see me eat in miniature; for the queen (who had indeed but a weak stomach) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen English farmers could eat at a meal, which to me was for some time a very nauseous sight. She would craunch the wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown turkey; and put a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelve-penny loaves. She drank, out of a golden cup, above a hogshead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a scythe, set straight upon the handle. The spoons, forks, and other instruments were all in the same proportion. I remember, when Glumdalclitch carried me, out of curiosity, to see some of the tables at court, where

ten or a dozen of those enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a sight.

It is the custom, that every Wednesday (which, as I have observed, is their Sabbath) the king and queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his majesty, to whom I was now become a great favourite; and at these times, my little chair and table were placed at his left hand, before one of the salt-cellars. This prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, inquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe; wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear, and his judgment so exact, that he made very wise reflections and observations upon all I said. But I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade and wars by sea and land, of our schisms in religion and parties in the state, the prejudices of his education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and, stroking me gently with the other, after a hearty fit of laughing, asked me whether I was a Whig or a Tory? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff nearly 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," says 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 and dress in equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray."* And thus he continued, 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 arbitress of Europe; the seat of virtue, piety, honour, and truth; the pride and envy of the world—so contemptuously treated.

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so upon mature thoughts I began to doubt whether I was injured or no. For, after

* What an admirable satire on the vanity and worthlessness of many of those things which mankind set store by, is conveyed in these reflections of the king! Swift had peculiarly the talent of enabling his readers to withdraw themselves, as it were, from the world in which they moved, so as to survey humanity from a distance, and thereby form a juster estimate of it. How contemptible, indeed, must human grandeur have appeared in the eyes of one whose first minister carried a staff "as tall as the mainmast of the *Royal Sovereign!*" With what bitterness and skill, too, does Swift deride the high-sounding terms in which Britons were in the habit of speaking of their country.



"I could only revenge myself by calling him 'brother.'"—*Page* 122.

having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery and birth-day clothes, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating, to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as the king and his grandees did at me. Neither, indeed, could I forbear smiling at myself, when the queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking-glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could be nothing more ridiculous than the comparison; so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the queen's dwarf; who, being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high), became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the queen's ante-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my littleness; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him "brother," challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usually in the mouths of court pages. One day at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and, if I had not been a good swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch at that instant happened to be at the other end of the room, and the queen was in such a fright, that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed; however, I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which were utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and, as a further punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream into which he had thrown me, neither was he ever restored to favour; for soon after the queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him

no more, to my very great satisfaction : for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again on the dish erect, as it stood before; the dwarf, watching his opportunity when Glumdalclitch was gone to the sideboard, mounted the stool that she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out.* But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not scalded, only my stockings and breeches were in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the queen upon account of my fearfulness; and she used to ask me whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myself. The occasion was this : the kingdom is much pestered with flies in summer; and these odious insects, each of them as big as a Dunstable lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about mine ears. They would sometimes alight upon my victuals, and they would fix upon my nose or forehead, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous matter which, our naturalists tell us, enables those creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a ceiling.† I had much ado to defend myself against

* This ludicrous incident was probably suggested to the mind of Swift by an anecdote that is related of a somewhat similar treatment of the celebrated dwarf, Jeffrey Hudson. Shortly after the marriage of Charles I., the Duke of Buckingham, in whose service Jeffrey then was, gave an entertainment to the king and queen, at his mansion at Burleigh-on-the-Hill. The duchess had the little dwarf, who was then young and only eighteen inches high, put into a pie-dish and served up as a cold pie to the queen, who was so much taken with the pleasantry, that she promoted Jeffrey to her own service. Hudson had a large soul in his little body, and was as valiant as a giant. He did battle, it is said, on one occasion, with a turkey-cock—an achievement which was celebrated by the poet-laureate, Sir William Davenant, in a poem entitled "Jeffreidos," and which, not improbably, suggested Gulliver's encounter with the wasps.

† Though the naturalists in Swift's day were of opinion that some viscous matter exuded from flies enabled them to walk upon the ceiling, what enables them so to walk is, nevertheless, to this hour an unsettled question. Not long before Swift wrote these travels,



"Some of them seized my cake, and carried it piecemeal away."—*Page* 125.

these detestable animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my face. It was the common practice of the dwarf to catch a number

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Dr. Hooke for the first time broached the theory that the phenomenon was produced by small bristles or tenters, like the wire-teeth of a wool-card, with which the soles of the insect's feet were furnished. Then came the learned Dr. Derham, in Swift's own day, with a new theory. "Flies," said he, "besides their sharp-hooked nails, have also skinny palms to their feet, to enable them to stick on glass and other smooth bodies by the pressure of the atmosphere;" and he illustrates the process by a common practice of boys, who lift stones by a wet piece of

of these insects in his hand, as schoolboys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my nose, on purpose to frighten me, and divert the queen. My remedy was to cut them in pieces with my knife, as they flew in the air, wherein my dexterity was much admired.

I remember, one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in a box upon a window, as she usually did in fair days, to give me air (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England), after I had lifted up one of my sashes, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake for my breakfast, above twenty wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than the drones of as many bagpipes. Some of them seized my cake, and carried it piecemeal away : others flew about my head and face, confounding me with their noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. However, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and attack them in the air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my window. These insects are as large as partridges : I took out their stings, and found them an inch and a half long, and as sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all ; and having since shown them, with other curiosities, in several parts of Europe, upon my return to England, I gave three to Gresham College, and kept the fourth for myself.

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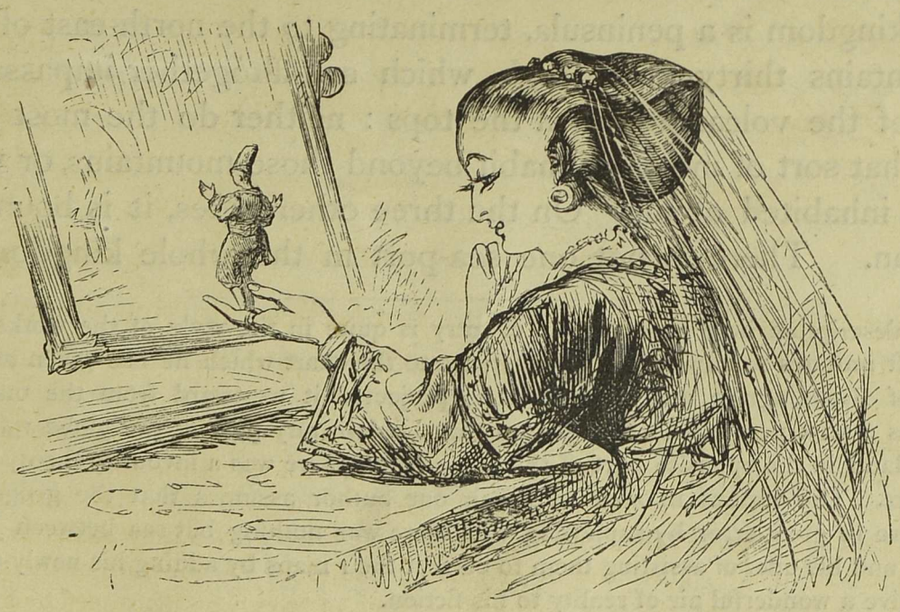
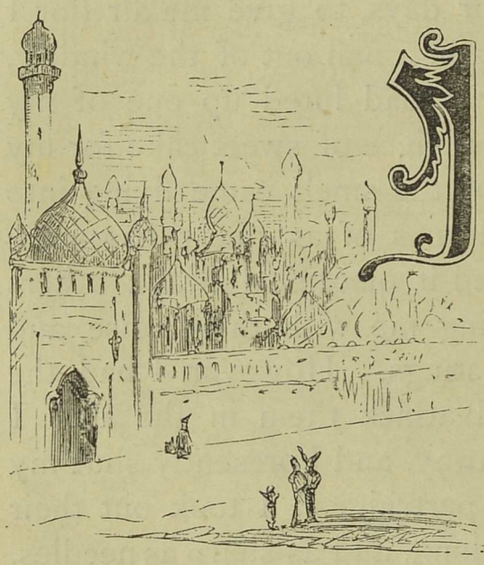
leather applied to their top. Some fifty years ago, however, Mr. Blackwell took to experimenting upon flies, and he found that they could walk up the sides of an exhausted receiver just as freely as if the air had been admitted ; and so he denied the correctness of the vacuum hypothesis, and went back to Dr. Hooke's view in part, and in part to the older hypothesis of the viscous fluid.



CHAPTER IV.

THE COUNTRY DESCRIBED.—A PROPOSAL FOR CORRECTING MODERN MAPS.—THE KING'S PALACE, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE METROPOLIS.—THE AUTHOR'S WAY OF TRAVELLING.—THE CHIEF TEMPLE DESCRIBED.



I NOW intend to give the reader a short description of this country, as far as I travelled in it, which was not above two thousand miles round Lorbrulgrud, the metropolis. For the queen, whom I always attended, never went farther when she accompanied the king in his progresses, and there stayed till his majesty returned from viewing his frontiers. The whole extent of this prince's dominions reaches about six thousand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth: whence I cannot but conclude that our geographers of Europe are in a great error, by supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California; for it was ever my opinion that there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to correct their maps and charts, by joining this vast tract of land to the north-west parts of America, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance.*

The kingdom is a peninsula, terminating to the north-east of a ridge of mountains thirty miles high, which are altogether impassable, by reason of the volcanoes upon the tops: neither do the most learned know what sort of mortals inhabit beyond those mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other sides, it is bounded by the ocean. There is not one sea-port in the whole kingdom; and

* The description here given of the country is quite in the style of the works of travel which Swift imitates so admirably. A reference to the chart which he has given of his ideal kingdom of Brobdingnag will show that he projected it westward from the mainland of America, as a vast peninsula. The notion that land in any part of the globe was counterpoised by land in the opposite part of the same hemisphere was a favourite theory of the old geographers. The serious manner in which our author assumes that the geographers of Europe were in great error by supposing that there was nothing but sea between Japan and California, and his offer of assisting them to correct their maps by adding his newly-discovered territory, give a wonderful air of reality to his fiction.

those parts of the coast into which the rivers issue are so full of pointed rocks, and the sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the rest of the world. But the large rivers are full of vessels, and abound with excellent fish: for they seldom get any from the sea, because the sea-fish are of the same size with those in Europe, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that Nature, in the production of plants and animals of so extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reasons to be determined by philosophers. However, now and then they take a whale that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders; and sometimes, for curiosity, they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud: I saw one of them in a dish at the king's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for, I think indeed, the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty-one cities, near a hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages. To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud. The city stands upon almost two equal parts, on each side the river that passes through. It contains about eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is in length three *glomglungs* (which make about fifty-four English miles), and two and a half in breadth; as I measured it myself in the royal map made by the king's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended a hundred feet: I paced the diameter and circumference several times barefoot, and computing by the scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The king's palace is no regular edifice, but a heap of buildings, about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town, or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out, and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and the people, as we passed along the streets. I reckoned our coach to be about the square of Westminster Hall, but not altogether so high: however, I cannot be very exact.

One day the governess ordered the coachman to stop at several shops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the sides of the coach, and gave me the most horrible spectacle that ever a European eye beheld. There was a fellow with a wen in his neck, larger than five woolpacks; and another with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high. But the most hateful sight of all was the insects crawling on their clothes.

Besides the large box in which I was usually carried, the queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve feet square, and ten high, for the convenience of travelling; because the other was somewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumbersome in the coach; it was made by the same artist, whom I directed in the whole contrivance. This travelling closet was an exact square, with a window in the middle of three of the squares, and each window was latticed with iron wire on the outside, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth side, which had no window, two strong staples were fixed, through which the person who carried me, when I had a mind to be on horseback, put a leathern belt, and buckled it about his waist. This was always the office of some grave and trusty servant, in whom I could confide, whether I attended the king and queen in their progresses, or were disposed to see the gardens, or pay a visit to some great lady or minister of state in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order; for I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest officers, I suppose more upon account of their majesties' favour than any merit of my own. In journeys, when I was weary of the coach, a servant on horseback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cushion before him; and there I had a full prospect of the country on three sides, from my three windows. I had, in this closet, a field-bed and a hammock hung from the ceiling, two chairs and a table, neatly screwed to the floor, to prevent being tossed about by the agitation of the horse or the coach. And having been long used to sea voyages, those motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a mind to see the town, it was always in my travelling closet; which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open sedan, after the fashion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me, were very curious to crowd about the sedan; and

the girl was complaisant enough to make the bearers stop, and to take me in her hand, that I might be more conveniently seen.

I was very desirous to see the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the kingdom. Accordingly, one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple.* But, not to detract from a nation to which, during my life, I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed, that whatever this famous tower wants in height, is amply made up in beauty and strength: for the walls are near a hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of gods and emperors, cut in marble, larger than life, placed in their several niches. I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length. Glumdalclitch wrapped it up in her handkerchief; and carried it home in her pocket, to keep among other trinkets of which the girl was very fond, as children at her age usually are.†

The king's kitchen is indeed a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide, by ten

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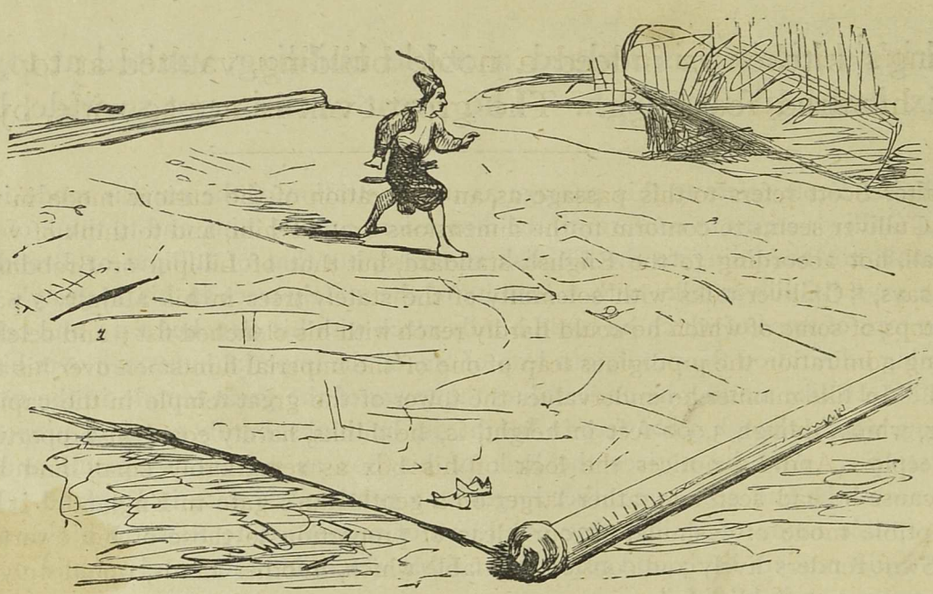
* Sir Walter Scott refers to this passage as an illustration of the curious mode in which the mind of Gulliver seems to conform to the dimensions around him, and to think of what is great or small, not according to the English standard, but that of Lilliput or Brobdingnag. "Thus," he says, "Gulliver talks with solemnity of the stately trees in his Majesty's park at Lilliput, the tops of some of which he could hardly reach with his clenched fist; and celebrates with becoming admiration the prodigious leap of one of the imperial huntsmen over his foot—shoe and all. In like manner he undervalues the tower of the great temple in the capital of Brobdingnag, which, though 3,000 feet in height, is, he thinks, hardly equal in proportion to Salisbury steeple. And he notices the lock of his box as remarkably small and neatly executed, because he had seen one rather larger on a gentleman's gate in England. It is by this imperceptible mode of assimilating our ideas of proportion to those of his dwarfs and giants, that Swift renders lively and consistent a fable which, in other hands, would only have seemed monstrous and childish."

† The gigantic figures, both of men and other animals, which have been described by travellers in Egypt surpass the description that our author here gives us of the statues of Brobdingnag. The famous colossal figure at Rhodes, to which Swift himself alludes in his "Voyage to Lilliput," must have represented a man nearly 120 feet high; consequently the little finger would have been about six feet long—far longer than that which Gulliver found among the rubbish in the temple.

paces, as the cupola at St. Paul's: for I measured the latter on purpose, after my return. But if I should describe the kitchen grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turned on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed: at least, a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extreme; and that if this treatise should happen to be translated into the language of Brobdingnag (which is the general name of that kingdom), and transmitted thither, the king and his people would have reason to complain that I had done them an injury, by a false and diminutive representation.

His majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables: they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high. But when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended, for state, by a militia guard of five hundred horse, which, indeed, I thought was the most splendid sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his army in battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.



CHAPTER V.

SEVERAL ADVENTURES THAT HAPPENED TO THE AUTHOR.—THE EXECUTION OF A CRIMINAL.—THE AUTHOR SHOWS HIS SKILL IN NAVIGATION.



I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents: some of which I shall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the queen, he followed us one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple-trees, I must needs show my wit, by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language as it does in ours. Whereupon, the malicious rogue, watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel, came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation.*

Another day, Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass-plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess. In the meantime there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately, by the force of it, struck to the ground: and when I was down, the hailstones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if

* When once we realise the diminutive dimensions of Gulliver, as compared with those of the people and things around him, we are prepared for the accidents which would continually befall him, narrated so pleasantly and so naturally by our author. The shaking down of the apples by the dwarf is a very happy idea; and though it was in some degree brought on Gulliver by his own conduct, it affords a good illustration of that propensity so natural to man, to dislike those whom he has injured; or, as it has been well expressed by Tacitus, "*Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem læseris.*"



"One of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop."—*Page* 131.

I had been pelted with tennis-balls; however, I made a shift to creep on all fours, and shelter myself, by lying flat on my face, on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme; but so bruised from head to foot, that I could not go abroad for ten days. Neither is this at all to be wondered at, because Nature, in that country, observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hailstone is near eighteen hundred

times as large as one in Europe;* which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious as to weigh and measure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, where my little nurse, believing she had put me in a secure place (which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts), and having left the box at home, to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess and some ladies of her acquaintance. While she was absent, and out of hearing, a small white spaniel that belonged to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay: the dog, following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth, ran straight to his master wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my clothes. But the poor gardener, who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright: he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word. In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who, by this time, had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called. She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court, for the girl was afraid of the queen's anger; and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad, for the future, out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking to the top of a fresh mole-hill, I fell to my neck in the hole through which

* This is another instance of the many to be found throughout these Travels, of Swift's minute attention to the proportions which he has once established between Gulliver and those amongst whom he is cast, whether they be Lilliputians or Brobdingnagians. Taking the latter to be twelve times as large as an ordinary man, and everything in the country on the same scale, we shall, of course, have the hailstones greater than those of England by the cube of 12, that is—1,728, or, as Swift says, "near eighteen hundred times."

that animal had cast up the earth; and coined a reason, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my clothes. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking along and thinking on poor England.

I cannot tell whether I was more pleased or mortified to observe, in these solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to peck my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned, to hunt for worms or snails, as they did before. But one day I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength, so luckily, at a linnet, that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse. However, the bird, who had been only stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings, on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arm's length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner, by the queen's command. This linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English swan.

The maids of honour* often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments,

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* It is very certain that the maids of honour of the English court found but little favour in the eyes of Swift, and he was too keen an observer of manners not to detect any failings or frailties, especially in women. Indeed, his friend, Dr. Delany, remarks that the Dean "made strange reports of the phraseology of the persons about the court, and particularly of the maids of honour," when he visited England. They were certainly "a jolly set," as Thackeray says of them; and the letters of the charming and witty Mary Bellenden—"the most perfect creature ever known," as her admirers said—show how free and easy these ladies were. Pope, too, has some pleasant gossip about them, and says, "Miss Lepell walked with me three or four hours by moonlight, and we met no creature of any quality but the king, who gave audience to the vice-chamberlain all alone under the garden wall." Swift indulged his spleen against them by writing the following epigram in one of their prayer-books:—

"When Israel's daughters mourn'd their past offences,
They dealt in sackcloth, and turned cinder wenches;
But Richmond's fair ones never spoil their locks;
They use white powder, and wear Holland smocks.
Oh, comely church! where females find clean linen,
As decent to repent in as to sin in."

and desired she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me. To me their endearments were very disgusting, which I do not mention or intend to the disadvantage of those excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect; but I conceive that my sense was more acute in proportion to my littleness, and that those illustrious persons were no more disagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the same quality are with us in England. And after all, I found the natural odour of their skin was much more supportable, than when they used perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput took the freedom, in a warm day, when I had used a good deal of exercise, to complain of a strong smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way as most of my sex; but I suppose his faculty of smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point, I cannot forbear doing justice to the queen, my mistress, and Glumdalclitch, my nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any lady in England.

One day, a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurse's governess, came and pressed them both to see an execution. It was of a man, who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch was prevailed on to be of the company, very much against her inclination, for she was naturally tender-hearted: and as for myself, although I abhorred such kind of spectacles, yet my curiosity tempted me to see something that I thought must be extraordinary. The malefactor was fixed in a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow, with a sword of forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the great *jet d'eau* at Versailles was not equal, for the time it lasted; and the head, when it

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There can be no doubt that Swift gave great offence to those ladies by the disrespectful manner in which he spoke and wrote of them, especially in "Gulliver's Travels." In a letter to Mrs. Howard he writes, in the character of Gulliver: "My correspondents have informed me that your ladyship has done me the honour to answer several objections that ignorance, malice, and party have made to my Travels, and been so charitable as to justify the fidelity and veracity of the author. The zeal you have shown for truth calls for my particular thanks, and, at the same time, encourages me to beg you would continue your goodness to me, by reconciling me to the maids of honour, whom they say I have most grievously offended. I am so stupid as not to find out how I have disobliged them. * * * * And I will venture to affirm that if ever the young ladies of your court should meet with a man of as little consequence in this country as I was in Brobdingnag, they would use him with as much contempt."



"The smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me."—*Page* 134.

fell upon the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I was at least half an English mile distant.

The queen, who often used to hear me talk of sea-voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health. I answered that I understood both very well; for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship, yet often, upon a pinch, I was forced to work like a common mariner. But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man-of-war among us; and such a boat as I could manage would never live in any of their rivers. Her majesty said, if I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in. The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by my instructions, in ten days, finished a pleasure-boat, with all its tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished, the queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her lap to the king, who ordered it to be put in a cistern full of water, with me in it, by the way of trial; where I could not manage my two sculls, or little oars, for want of room. But the queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched, to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor along the wall, in an outer room of the palace. It had a tap near the bottom, to let out the water, when it began to grow stale; and two servants could easily fill it in half an hour. Here I often used to row for my own diversion, as well as that of the queen and her ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my skill and agility. Sometimes I would put up my sail, and then my business was only to steer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans; and when they were weary, some of their pages would blow my sail forward with their breath, while I showed my art by steering starboard or larboard as I pleased. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her closet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exercise I once met with an accident, which had like to have cost me my life; for one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governess who attended Glumdalclitch very officiously lifted me up, to place me in the boat; but I happened to slip through her fingers, and should infallibly have fallen down forty feet, upon the floor, if, by

the luckiest chance in the world, I had not been stopped by a corking-pin that stuck in the good gentlewoman's stomacher; the head of the pin passed between my shirt and the waistband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the servants, whose office it was to fill my trough every third day with fresh water, was so careless as to let a huge frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his pail. The frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then, seeing a resting-place, climbed up, and made it lean so much on one side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other, to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and then over my head, backward and forward, daubing my face and clothes with its odious slime. The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I ever underwent in that kingdom was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being very warm, the closet window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency. As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet window, and skip about from one side to the other; whereat, although I was much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat; and then I saw this frolicsome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box; but the monkey, looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me; and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length seized the lappet of my coat (which, being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong), and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to



"The ladies gave me a gale with their fans."—*Page* 137.

suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe; and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good reason to believe that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet-door, as if somebody was opening it: whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up a roof next to ours. I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted: that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar; the servants ran for ladders: the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for without question, the sight was ridiculous enough to everybody but myself. Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down: but this was strictly forbidden, or else, very probably, my brains had been dashed out.

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by several men; which the monkey observing, and finding himself almost encompassed, not being able to make speed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge tile, and made his escape. Here I sat for some time, five hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddiness, and come tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eaves: but an honest lad, one of my nurse's footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his breeches pocket, brought me down safe.*

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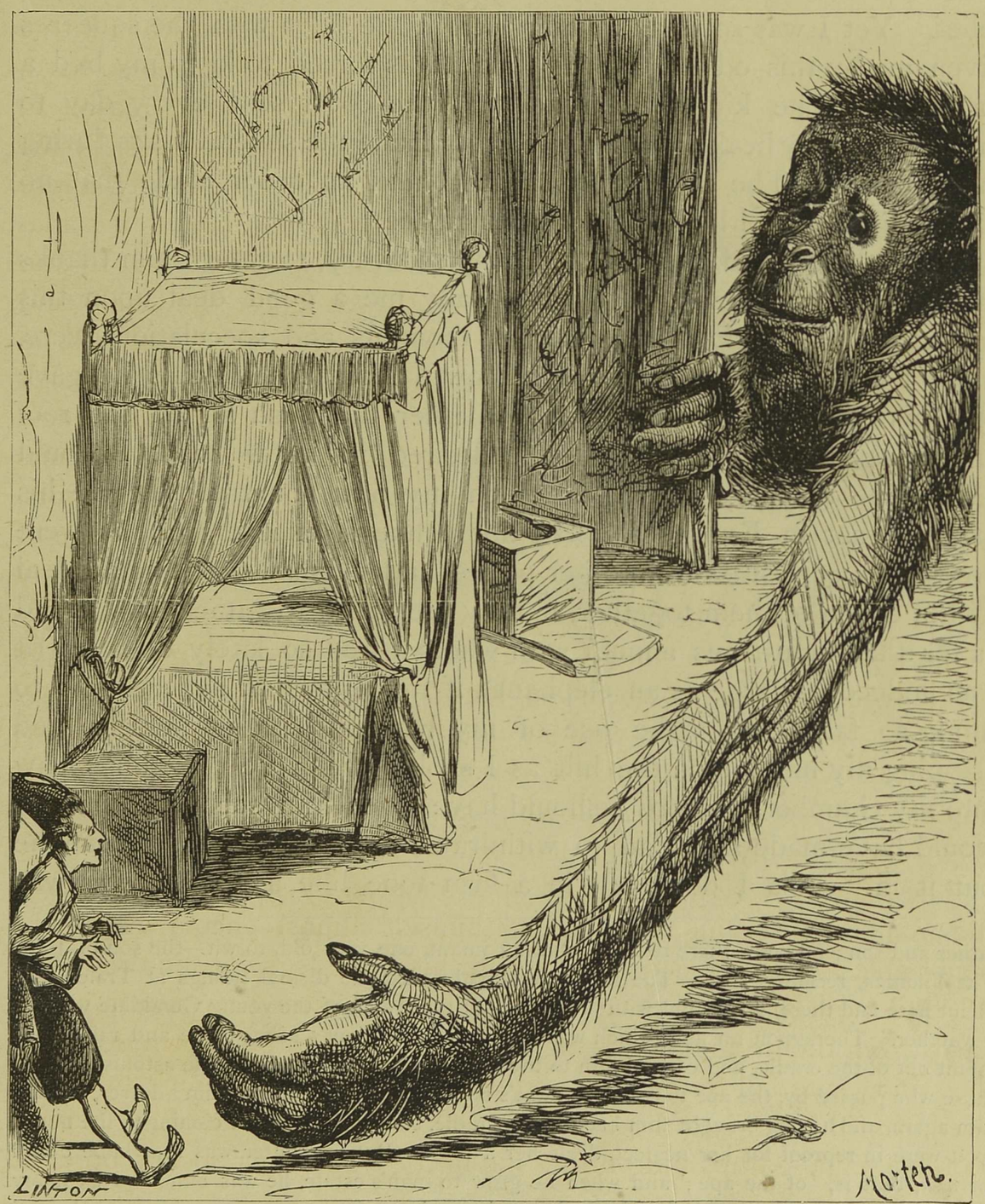
* This very ridiculous and amusing adventure was suggested to the mind of Swift by the traditional story as to the origin of the monkey having been assumed as the crest of the Offaly Geraldines. Indeed, the Marquis of Kildare, in his recent work on "The Earls of Kildare," states that the Dean, at the time that he was engaged in writing these Travels, was on bad terms with the great family of the Fitzgeralds, and, to indulge his spleen, took this singular mode of annoying them, by turning the legend into ridicule. O'Daly, in his "History of the Geraldines," translated into English by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, gives the following version of the tradition:—"Now it so happened that when Thomas, and his son John Fitz-Thomas, were upon an expedition for the king, these McCarthys, with their adherents, surprised them, between Kerry and Desmond. Fitzgerald had but few followers, and seeing no chance of



"Reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse."—*Page* 138.

I was almost choked with the filthy stuff the monkey crammed down my throat: but my dear little nurse picked it out of my mouth with a small needle, and then I fell a-vomiting, which gave me great

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escaping, dashed boldly amongst the enemy; but, after he had given many and signal proofs of valour, slaying many of his foemen, he and his son fell by the swords of those who were allied to him by *most sacred ties*—for McCarthy Mor was the son-in-law of Fitzgerald. Alas! the whole family of the Geraldines had well nigh perished: at one blow they were cut off—

relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the sides with the squeezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight. The king, queen, and all the court sent every day to inquire after my health; and her majesty made me several visits during my sickness. The monkey was killed, and an order made that no such animal should be kept about the palace.

When I attended the king after my recovery, to return him thanks for his favours, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He asked me what my thoughts and speculations were, while I lay in the monkey's paw; how I liked the victuals he gave me; his manner of feeding; and whether the fresh air on the roof had sharpened my stomach. He desired to know what I would have done upon such an occasion in my own country. I told his majesty that in Europe we had no monkeys, except such as were brought as curiosities from other places, and so small that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous animal with whom I was so lately engaged (it was, indeed, as large as an elephant), if my fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt as I spoke), when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a wound as would have made him glad to withdraw it with more haste than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm tone, like a person who was

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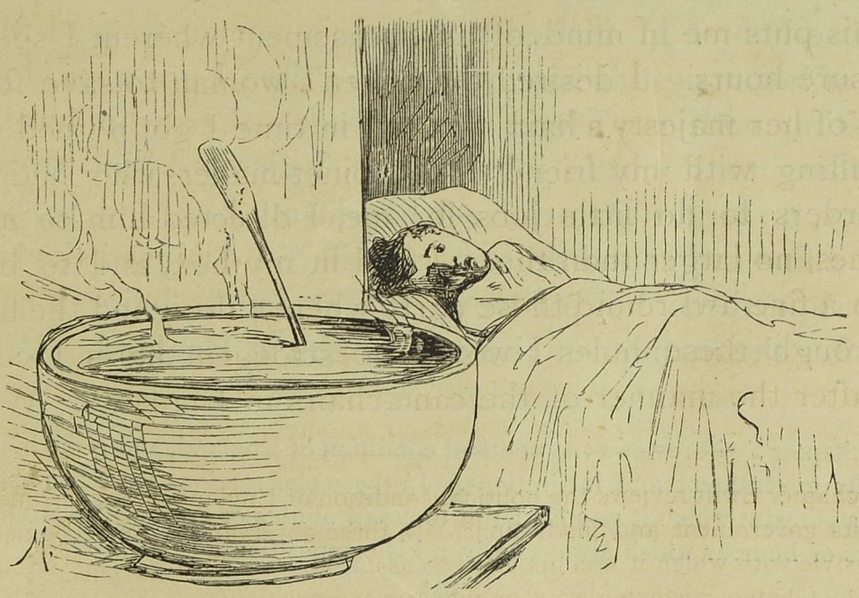
father and son; and now there remained but an infant, one year old, to wit—the son of John Fitz-Thomas, recently slain. The nurse, who had heard the dismal tidings at Tralee, ran about here and there, distraught with grief, and left the cradle of the young Geraldine without a watcher. Thereupon an ape (which was kept for amusement's sake) came and raised the infant out of the cradle, and carried him to the top of the castle. Then, to the astonishment of those who passed by, the ape took off the babe's swaddling-clothes, licked him all over, clothed him again, and having brought him back to his cradle, safe and sound, on coming to the nurse, as it were in reproof for her neglect, dealt her a blow. But ever after was that babe called *an apa*, that is, 'of the ape;' and when he grew to man's estate, he was ennobled by many virtues. I have not been able," adds the learned translator, "to ascertain whether this legend caused the Geraldines to introduce the ape into their armorial ensigns. Certain it is that the Gherardini of Tuscany had no such device on theirs. Nor are we to rely on the story given above, for O'Daly himself seems to throw some doubt on it." Another tradition, of a different person, is also given by the Marquis of Kildare, in his work:—"John Fitz-Thomas, afterwards Earl of Kildare, then an infant, was in the Castle of Woodstock, near Athy, when there was an alarm of fire. In the confusion that ensued the child was forgotten, and when the servants returned to search for him, the room in which he lay was found in ruins. Soon after, a strange noise was heard on one of the towers, and, on looking up, they saw an ape, which they usually kept chained, carefully holding the child in his arms. The Earl afterwards, in gratitude for his preservation, adopted a monkey for his crest and supporters; and some of his descendants, in memory of it, took the additional motto of "*Non immemor beneficii.*"

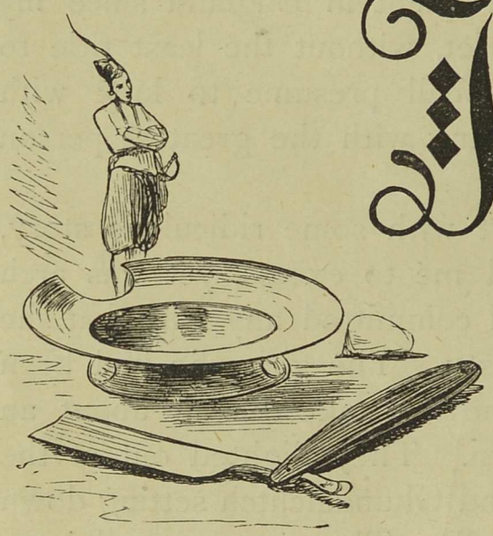
jealous lest his courage should be called in question. However, my speech produced nothing else besides a loud laughter, which all the respect due to his majesty from those about him could not make them contain. This made me reflect how vain an attempt it is for a man to endeavour to do himself honour among those who are out of all degrees of equality or comparison with him. And yet I have seen the moral of my own behaviour very frequent in England since my return; where a little contemptible varlet, without the least title to birth, person, wit, or common sense, shall presume to look with importance, and put himself upon a footing with the greatest person of the kingdom.

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story, and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the queen whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her majesty. The girl, who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small footpath in a field, and Glumdalclitch setting down my travelling box, I went out of it to walk. There was a small heap of dirt in the path, and I must needs try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle, up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief, for I was filthily bemired; and my nurse confined me to my box till we returned home, when the queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court; so that all the mirth for some days was at my expense.



CHAPTER VI.*

SEVERAL CONTRIVANCES OF THE AUTHOR TO PLEASE THE KING AND QUEEN.—HE SHOWS HIS SKILL IN MUSIC.—THE KING INQUIRES INTO THE STATE OF ENGLAND, WHICH THE AUTHOR RELATES TO HIM.—THE KING'S OBSERVATIONS THEREON.

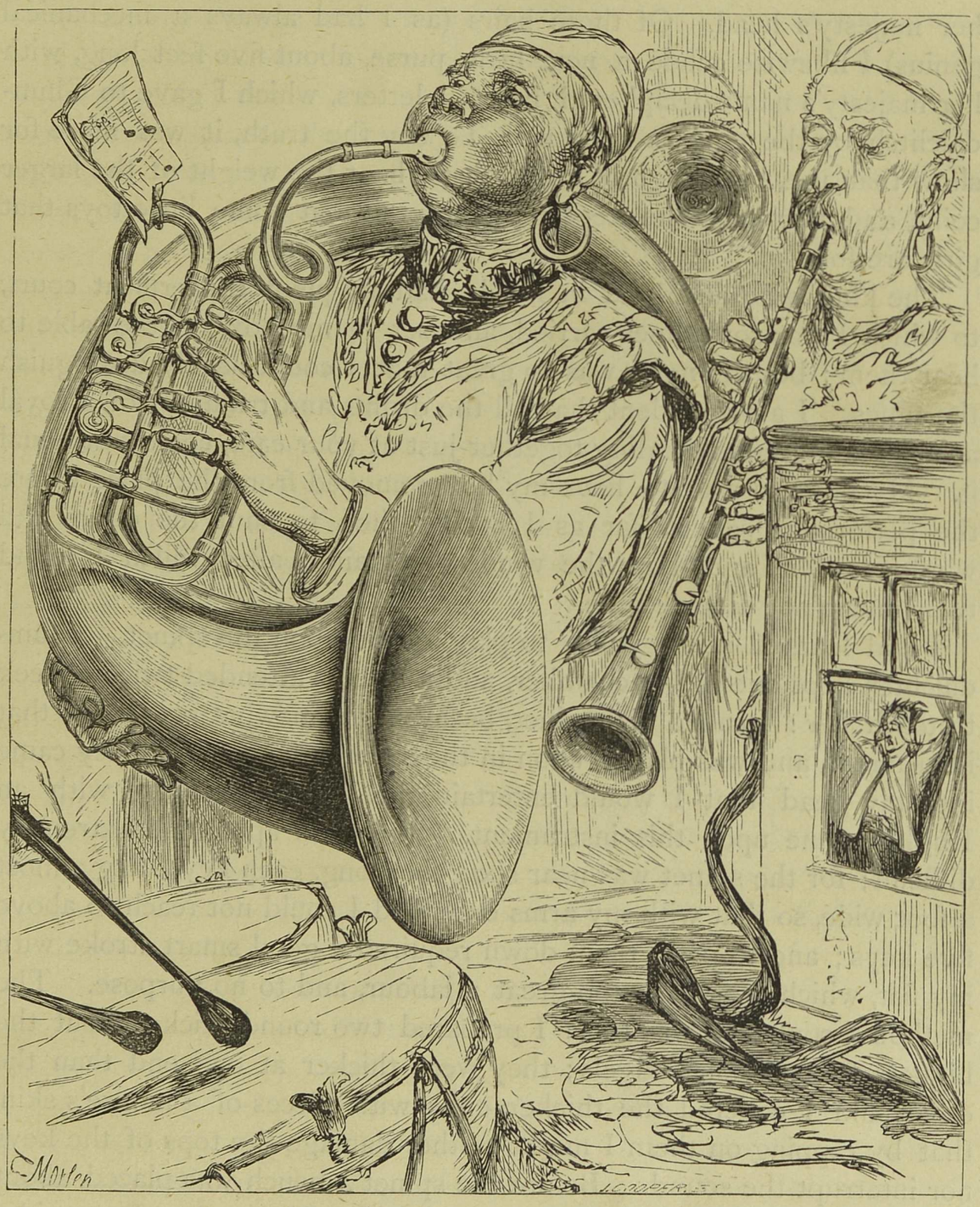


I USED to attend the king's levee once or twice a week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold: for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe.

His majesty, according to the custom of the country, was only shaved twice a week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a comb, making several holes in it at equal distances with as small a needle as I could get from Glumdalclitch. I fixed in the stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my knife towards the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a seasonable supply, my own being so much broken in the teeth that it was almost useless: neither did I know any artist in that country so nice and exact as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an amusement wherein I spent many of my leisure hours. I desired the queen's woman to save for me the combings of her majesty's hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity; and consulting with my friend the cabinet-maker, who had received general orders to do little jobs for me, I directed him to make two chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my box, and to bore little holes with a fine awl round those parts where I designed the backs and seats; through these holes I wove the strongest hairs I could pick out, just after the manner of the cane-chairs in England. When they

* In this chapter Swift reviews the political condition of England, and gives his views upon the state of its government and institutions. In these observations we recognise the severe and pungent style with which it was his habit to assail abuses or errors—the strokes of satire and the sallies of humour which always enliven his compositions.



"I could hardly distinguish the tunes."—*Page* 146.

were finished, I made a present of them to her majesty, who kept them in her cabinet, and used to show them for curiosities, as, indeed, they were the wonder of every one that beheld them. The queen would have had me sit upon one of these chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather die a thousand deaths than sit contemptuously upon those precious hairs that once adorned

her majesty's head. Of these hairs (as I had always a mechanical genius) I likewise made a neat little purse, about five feet long, with her majesty's name deciphered in gold letters, which I gave to Glumdalclitch by the queen's consent. To say the truth, it was more for show than use, being not of strength to bear the weight of the larger coins, and therefore she kept nothing in it but some little toys that girls are fond of.

The king, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my box on the table to hear them; but the noise was so great that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I am confident that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it. My practice was to have my box removed from the place where the performers sat, as far as I could; then to shut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window curtains; after which I found their music not disagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the spinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a master attended twice a week to teach her: I called it a spinet, because it somewhat resembled that instrument, and was played upon in the same manner. A fancy came into my head that I would entertain the king and queen with an English tune upon this instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult; for the spinet was near sixty feet long, each key being almost a foot wide, so that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys; and to press them down required a good smart stroke with my fist, which would be too great a labour, and to no purpose. The method I contrived was this: I prepared two round sticks, about the bigness of common cudgels; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with pieces of a mouse's skin, that by rapping on them I might neither damage the tops of the keys nor interrupt the sound. Before the spinet a bench was placed, about four feet below the keys, and I was put upon the bench. I ran sideling upon it, that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper keys with my two sticks, and made a shift to play a jig, to the great satisfaction of both their majesties; but it was the most violent exercise that I ever underwent; and yet I could not strike above sixteen keys, nor consequently play the bass and treble together, as other artists do; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The king, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent

understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet: he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of my box, and sit down within three yards' distance upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him. I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty that the contempt he discovered towards Europe and the rest of the world did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of; that reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body; on the contrary, we observed in our country that the tallest persons were usually the least provided with it: that among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity than many of the larger kinds; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service. The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an account of the government of England as I possibly could; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses), he should be glad to hear of anything that might deserve imitation.

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country, in a style equal to its merits and felicity.

I began my discourse by informing his majesty that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms, under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America. I dwelt long upon the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate. I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English Parliament; partly made up of an illustrious body, called the House of Peers—persons of the noblest blood, and of the most ancient and ample patrimonies. I described that extraordinary care was always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counsellors both to the king and kingdom; to have a share in the legislature; to be members of the highest court of judicature, whence there can be no appeal; and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity. That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their most renowned



"It was the most violent exercise that I ever underwent."—*Page* 146.

ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate. To these were joined several holy persons, as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops, whose peculiar business is to take care of religion and of those who instruct the people therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counsellors, among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their life and the depth of their erudition; who were, indeed, the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.

That the other part of the Parliament consisted of an assembly, called the House of Commons, who were all principal gentlemen, freely picked and culled out by the people themselves, by their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation. And that these two bodies made up the most august assembly in Europe, to whom, in conjunction with the prince, the whole legislature is committed.*

I then descended to the courts of justice; over which the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided, for determining the disputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury; the valour and achievements of our forces, by sea and land. I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious sect or political party among us. I did not omit even our sports and

* The opening portion of this discourse, in treating of the constitution of Parliament, is conceived in a tone of keen and bitter irony. Swift has a fling at the nobility in almost every line, by representing the whole order as possessed of accomplishments and virtues in which many of them were notoriously deficient—"the ornaments and bulwark of their most renowned ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate." Upon the bishops he is even more severe. The principles upon which the Whigs promoted their friends to the sees were not calculated to maintain the rights of the Church, or to find favour in the eyes of High Churchmen like Swift, who complained that the Church was betrayed by the State, and that the secular power was directly exerted to overthrow episcopal authority. Bishop Warburton assailed this state of things with great severity:—"The Church, like the ark of Noah, is worth saving; not for the sake of the unclean beasts and vermin that almost filled it, and probably made most noise and clamour in it, but for the little corner of rationality that was as much distressed by the stink within as by the tempest without." In representing the members of the House of Commons as "freely picked and culled out by the people themselves," Swift ironically inveighs against the system by which large numbers of that assembly were the nominees of the Court and the great nobles. In his paper on "Public Absurdities in England," our author, amongst other matters, attacks the rotten boroughs, the members for which, he says, represent "nobody at all."

pastimes, or any other particular which I thought might redound to the honour of my country. And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about a hundred years past.

This conversation was not ended under five audiences, each of several hours; and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I spoke, as well as memorandums of what questions he intended to ask me.

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his majesty, in a sixth audience, consulted his notes, proposed many doubts, queries, and objections upon every article. He asked what methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spent the first and most teachable part of their lives; what course was taken to supply that assembly, when any noble family became extinct; what qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords—whether the humour of the prince, a sum of money to a court lady, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be the motive in those advancements; what share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-subjects, in the last resort; whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe, or some other sinister view, could have no place among them; whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank on account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives—had never been compliers with the times, while they were common priests, or slavish, prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow, after they were admitted into that assembly.

He then desired to know what arts were practised in electing those whom I called commoners—whether a stranger, with a strong purse, might not influence the vulgar voters to choose him before their own landlord, or the most considerable gentleman in the neighbourhood; how it came to pass that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expense, often to the ruin of their families, without any salary or pension—because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be

always sincere. And he desired to know whether such zealous gentlemen could have any views of re-funding themselves for the charges and trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry. He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless inquiries and objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.*

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice, his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in Chancery, which was decreed for me with costs. He asked what time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expense; whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive; whether party, in religion or politics, was observed to be of any weight in the scale of justice; whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs; whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they assumed the liberty of interpreting, and glossing upon at their pleasure; whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions; whether they were a rich or a poor corporation; whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading, or delivering their opinions; and

* The pertinent questions which Swift puts into the mouth of the Sovereign of Brobdingnag are meant as severe strictures upon the corrupt practices of the Ministers in securing the return of their own partisans to Parliament. The evil was so great that a Bill was brought into the Commons to secure the freedom of elections, and passed that House; but was thrown out in the Lords by the influence of the Whig Ministry. In his tract on the "Public Absurdities of England," Swift observes—"That the election of senators should be any charge to the candidates is an absurdity; but that it should be so to a Ministry is a manifest acknowledgment of the worst designs. If a Ministry intended the service of their Prince and country, or well understood wherein their own security best consisted (as it is impossible that a Parliament fairly elected, according to the original institution, can do any hurt to a tolerable Prince or a tolerable Ministry), they would use the strongest methods to leave the people to their own free choice; the members would then consist of persons who had the best estates in the neighbourhood or country, or, at least, never of strangers. And surely this is, at least, fully as requisite a circumstance to a legislator as to a jury-man, who ought to be, if possible, *ex vicinio;* since such persons must be supposed to be the best judges of the wants and desires of their several boroughs and counties. To choose a representative for Berwick whose estate is at Land's End would have been thought, in former times, a very great solecism; how much more as it is at present, where so many persons are returned for boroughs who do not possess a foot of land in the kingdom."

particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate.*

He fell next upon the management of our treasury; and said he thought my memory had failed me, because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a year, and when I came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double; for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate, like a private person. He asked me who were our creditors, and where we found money to pay them. He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars; that certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings. He asked what business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade, or treaty, or to defend the coast with our fleets. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army, in the midst of peace and among a free people.

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* Swift's hatred to lawyers, both as a class and to many individuals of the profession, is well known. He had, indeed, by his writings, placed himself on many occasions in the power of the law, and would not be likely to forego any opportunity to assail either the laws themselves or the administration of them. Every query of the king touches some weak point; and though many of his suggestions involve charges more specious than substantial, it cannot be denied that there were, in Swift's day, defects that amounted to crying evils. Chief of those were the tardiness and expense arising from cumbrous and antiquated forms, prolix pleadings, fictions, rules and principles of so technical a nature that decisions, when even at length arrived at, after great expenditure of time and money, were often not consonant with good sense or the merits of the case. One of these suits at law is very pleasantly ridiculed by Pope and Fortescue (afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer) in the case of Stradling *versus* Stiles. And Swift gives us his own opinion of the "glorious uncertainty of the law" in his "Thoughts on Various Subjects:—"I never heard a finer piece of satire against lawyers than that of astrologers, when they pretend, by rules of art, to tell when a suit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff or defendant; thus making the matter entirely depend upon the influence of the stars, without the least regard to the merits of the cause." "It must be confessed," observes Lord Orrery, "that instances of this kind are too frequent in our courts of justice, and they leave us no room to boast of the execution of our present laws, however excellent the laws in their own original foundation may have been. Judgment, when turned into wormwood, is bitter; but delays, as Lord Bacon observes, turn it into vinegar: it becomes sharp and corroding; and certainly it is more eligible to die immediately by the wound of an enemy, than to decay, lingering by poison administered from a seeming friend." Happily for us, the vast reforms that have been already effected, and that are still in progress, in relation to our laws, have removed many, and greatly diminished the rest, of those evils which in Swift's day were the subjects of just complaint.



"My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country."—*Page* 155.

He said, if we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my opinion, whether a private man's house might not be better defended by himself, his children, and family, than by half-a-dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get a hundred times more by cutting their throats.*

He laughed at my odd kind of arithmetic, as he was pleased to call it, in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics. He said, he knew no reason why those who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And as it was tyranny in any government to require the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second: for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them for cordials. †

He observed, that among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming: he desired to know at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed: whether it ever went so high as to effect their fortunes; whether mean, vicious people, by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very

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* The topics here observed upon were favourite subjects of declamation with the Tories, in their assaults upon the Whigs. In 1722 they moved a resolution in the Lords for lessening the national debt. On the question of standing armies, they were staunch opponents of the Ministers, and pressed them very severely. Indeed, on both those questions, they had the best of the arguments, and damaged the popularity of the Whigs. Swift, in treating of the public absurdities in England, repeats the observations he has put into the mouth of the king:—"A standing army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct absurdity; for it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation, otherwise than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern farther than in conjunction with our allies, whom we may either assist by sea, or by foreign troops paid with our money: but mercenary troops in England can be of no use, except to awe senates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy."

† Sir Walter Scott remarks that this doctrine is scarcely reconcilable with the much more philosophical maxim of toleration recommended in the "Voyage to Lilliput." Dr. Cooke Taylor accounts for the illiberality of Swift's sentiments, in advocating the intervention of the State to prevent the avowal of men's opinions, by the fact that there was, at the time, reason to fear that the Presbyterians would obtain the ascendancy in the Irish Parliament, and abolish Episcopacy, if the Test Act were repealed—an experiment which the Whig Ministry seemed to have been determined to try, in Ireland, in 1707-8. This was resisted by the Irish clergy, prominent amongst whom was Swift, whose powerful pen was employed, on various occasions, in opposing the measure.

nobles in dependence, as well as habituate them to vile companions; wholly take them from the improvement of their mind, and force them, by the losses they received, to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others."

He was perfectly astonished with the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century; protesting it was only a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, revolutions, banishments; the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition could produce.

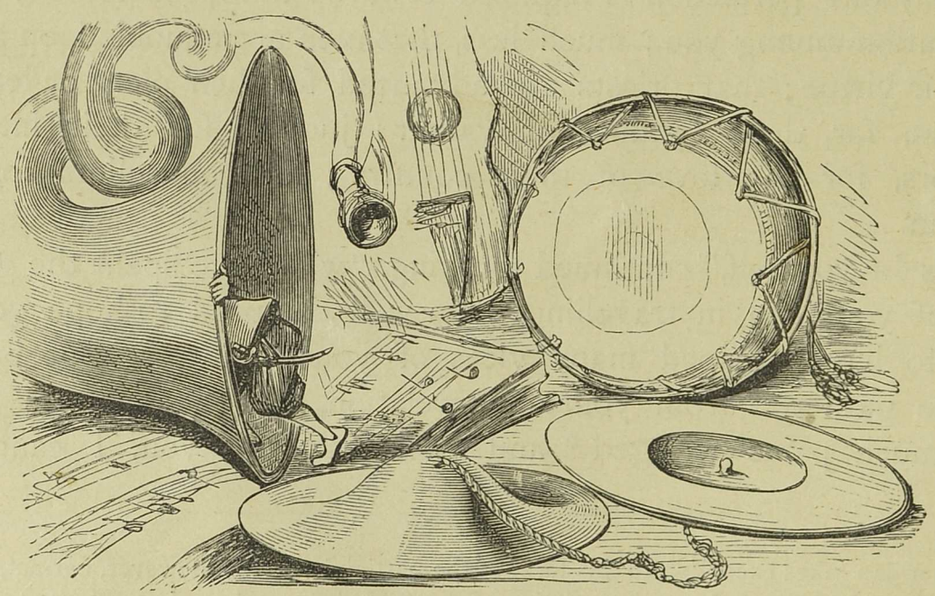
His majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken; compared the questions he made with the answers I had given; then, taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivering himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in: "My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country; you have clearly proved that ignorance, idleness, and vice are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an institution, which in its original might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by corruption. It does not appear, from all you have said, how any one perfection is required towards the procurement of any one station among you; much less, that men are ennobled on account of their virtue; that priests are advanced for their piety or learning; soldiers, for their conduct or valour; judges, for their integrity; senators, for the love of their country; or counsellors for their wisdom.

"As for yourself," continued the king, "who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed * and extorted from you, I cannot but

* Sheridan takes exception to this form of the participle. It is, however, correct, and is to be found in old writers. In our translation of the Bible it is used as the preterite tense of the verb, which is a stronger case—"He rose up early on the morrow, and thrust the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowl full of water" (Judg. vi. 38).

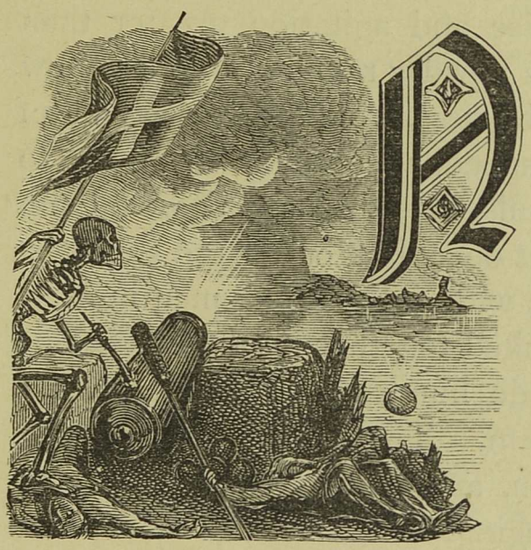
conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth." *

* This opinion, delivered in the person of the philosophic monarch of the Brobdingnagians, as his sentence upon the whole case of the English people and their institutions, is the last and heaviest stroke of Swift's bitter and misanthropic satire. In a letter to Pope, written from Ireland, on the 29th of September, 1725, after stating that he had employed his time in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing "Gulliver's Travels," he adds—"But the chief end I propose in all my labours is, to vex the world rather than divert it; and if I could compass that design, without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen, without reading. . . I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is towards individuals. For instance: I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Counsellor Such-a-one and Judge Such-a-one. It is so with physicians (I will not speak of my own trade), soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest. But principally I hate and detest that animal called man; although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. This is the system upon which I have governed myself many years (but do not tell); and so I shall go on till I have done with them. I have got materials towards a treatise proving the falsity of that definition, *animal rationale*, and to show it should be only *rationis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy (though not in Timon's manner) the whole building of my Travels is erected; and I never will have peace of mind till all honest men are of my opinion: by consequence, you are to embrace it immediately, and procure that all who deserve my esteem may do so too. The matter is so clear that it will admit of no dispute; nay, I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree on the point." Yet, as Sir Walter Scott charitably observes, we must not too hastily adopt these wild and violent invectives against mankind as the real sentiments of Swift. Let it ever be remembered that if his principles were misanthropical, his practice was benevolent. Few have written so much with so little view either to fame or to profit, or aught but benefit to the public.



CHAPTER VII.

THE AUTHOR'S LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY.—HE MAKES A PROPOSAL OF MUCH ADVANTAGE TO THE KING, WHICH IS REJECTED.—THE KING'S GREAT IGNORANCE IN POLITICS.—THE LEARNING OF THAT COUNTRY VERY IMPERFECT AND CONFINED.—THE LAWS, MILITARY AFFAIRS, AND PARTIES IN THE STATE.



NOTHING but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were always turned into ridicule; and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and beloved country was so injuriously treated. I am as heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be, that such an occasion was given: but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn, by many degrees, than the strictness of truth would allow. For I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country which Dionysius Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian: I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavour in those many discourses I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.

But great allowance should be given to a king who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs that most prevail in other nations; the want of which knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowness of thinking, from which we, and the politer countries of Europe, are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to show the miserable

effects of a confined education, I shall here insert a passage, which will hardly obtain belief. In hopes to ingratiate myself further into his majesty's favour, I told him of an invention discovered between three and four hundred years ago, to make a certain powder, into a heap of which the smallest spark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up in the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder. That a proper quantity of this powder rammed into a hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force. That the largest balls thus discharged would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground; sink down ships, with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea; and when linked together by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above a hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment, in turn for so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed how so impotent and grovelling an insect as I (these were his expressions) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation which I had painted, as the common effects of those destructive machines; "whereof," he said, "some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver." As for

himself, he protested that, although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more. *

A strange effect of narrow principles and views! that a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored by his subjects, should, from a nice, unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people. Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will, on this account, be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader: but I take this defect among them to have arisen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For, I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds—to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And he gave it for

* The rejection of this proposition of Gulliver, to make the sovereign of the Brobdingnags absolute over his people by means of physical force, is intended to convey a censure upon the designs attributed to George I. by the Tories, of intending, by means of standing armies, to make himself independent of his people and subvert their liberties. "It is scarcely necessary," observes Dr. Cooke Taylor, "to expose the fallacious reasoning of this passage. Everybody knows that wars have been less sanguinary since the invention of gunpowder than they were before, and that every improvement in the art of destruction has been followed by a saving of human life. Swift, however, knew that the glories of Marlborough's campaigns were the chief source of the popularity of the Whigs; and, as he could not deny the military merits of these victories, he hoped to weaken their influence by declaiming against wars in general." The results of modern warfare are calculated to make us doubt the correctness of the assertion of Dr. Taylor, that wars have been less sanguinary since the invention of gunpowder.



"I have perused many of their books, especially those on history and morality."—*Page* 161.

his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.*

* This aphorism has become celebrated, and is often quoted by statesmen and political economists. It is as wise as it is epigrammatic. To increase the internal resources of a country is the truest means of making it independent, as to strengthen the natural powers of an individual is the best way to make him able to cope with his fellow-men.

The learning of this people is very defective; consisting only of morality, history, poetry, and mathematics, wherein they must be allowed to excel. But the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in life, to the improvement of agriculture, and all mechanical arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. And as to ideas, entities, abstractions, and transcendentals, I could never drive the least conception into their heads.

No law of that country must exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which consists only of two-and-twenty. But, indeed, few of them extend even to that length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to discover above one interpretation: and to write a comment upon any law is a capital crime. As to the decision of civil causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any extraordinary skill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the king, which is reckoned the largest, does not amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleased. The queen's joiner had contrived in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms a kind of wooden machine, five-and-twenty feet high, formed like a standing ladder; the steps were each fifty feet long: it was, indeed, a movable pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten feet distance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read was put up leaning against the wall: I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and so walking to the right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as pasteboard, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those on history and morality. Among the rest, I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bed-

chamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in morality and devotion. The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem, except among the women and the vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, showing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature; how unable to defend himself from the inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts; how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry.* He added, that Nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times. He said it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages:† which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it has been confirmed by huge bones and skulls, casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of men in our days. He argued that the very laws of Nature absolutely required we should have been made, in the beginning, of a size more large and robust; not so liable to destruction from every little accident, of a tile falling from a house, or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook. From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with Nature. And I believe, upon a strict inquiry, those quarrels might be shown as ill-grounded among us as they are among that people.‡

* Lord Orrery remarks that this chapter of the "Voyage to Brobdingnag" contains such sarcasms on the structure of the human body as too plainly shows us that the author was unwilling to lose any opportunity of debasing or ridiculing his own species.

† We have already referred to the theories entertained by different nations in regard to the earlier races of man being of a stature much greater than their descendants. The argument used by Swift, drawn from the bones and skulls which have from time to time been dug up, has been proved to be fallacious, as these bones were ascertained not to be the bones of men.

‡ "The author's zeal," says Dr. Hawkesworth, commenting on this passage, "to justify Providence, has before been remarked; and these quarrels with Nature, or, in other words, with God, could not have been more forcibly reproved than by showing that the complaints

As to their military affairs, they boast that the king's army consists of a hundred and seventy-six thousand foot, and thirty-two thousand horse; if that may be called an army, which is made up of tradesmen in the several cities, and farmers in the country, whose commanders are only the nobility or gentry, without pay or reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their exercises, and under very good discipline, wherein I saw no great merit; for how should it be otherwise, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord, and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city, chosen, after the manner of Venice, by ballot?

I have often seen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exercise, in a great field near the city, of twenty miles square. They were in all not above twenty-five thousand foot, and six thousand horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their number, considering the space of ground they took up. A cavalier, mounted on a large steed, might be about ninety feet high. I have seen this whole body of horse, upon the word of command, draw their swords at once, and brandish them in the air. Imagination can picture nothing so grand, so surprising, and so astonishing; it looked as if ten thousand flashes of lightning were darting at the same time from every quarter of the sky.

I was curious to know how this prince, to whose dominions there is no access from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military discipline. But I was soon informed, both by conversation and reading their histories; for in the course of many ages, they have been troubled with the same disease to which the whole race of mankind is subject; the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the king for absolute dominion :* all

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upon which they are founded would be equally specious among beings of such astonishing superiority of stature and strength." In quoting these remarks, Sir Walter Scott says :—"To this note of Dr. Hawkesworth it may be added that the excellent and judicious remarks in the text ought to have influenced the author himself, when drawing his detestable Yahoo picture." To the reflections of both these commentators let us add, that the misanthropic spirit and disappointed hopes of Swift often led him to repine against Nature, and draw false conclusions in relation to mankind, which his better judgment would have led him to disavow.

* Swift here again exhibits his dislike and jealousy of the maintenance of a standing army, than which, it must be owned, nothing could be more repugnant to the national prejudices of the times. The Tories were unanimous in their protestations against it, both in and out of Parliament; and though their opposition may be, in part, set down to a factious spirit against the Whigs, it arose, no doubt, in a great measure, from their strong attachment to the ancient usages and principles of the Constitution. Nor can it be denied that the most disinterested and zealous lovers of liberty, during the reign of the first and second of the Hanoverian sovereigns, submitted with great suspicion and reluctance to what they considered a very

which, however happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three parties, and have more than once occasioned civil wars; the last whereof was happily put an end to by this prince's grandfather, in a general composition; and the militia, then settled with common consent, has been ever since kept in the strictest duty.

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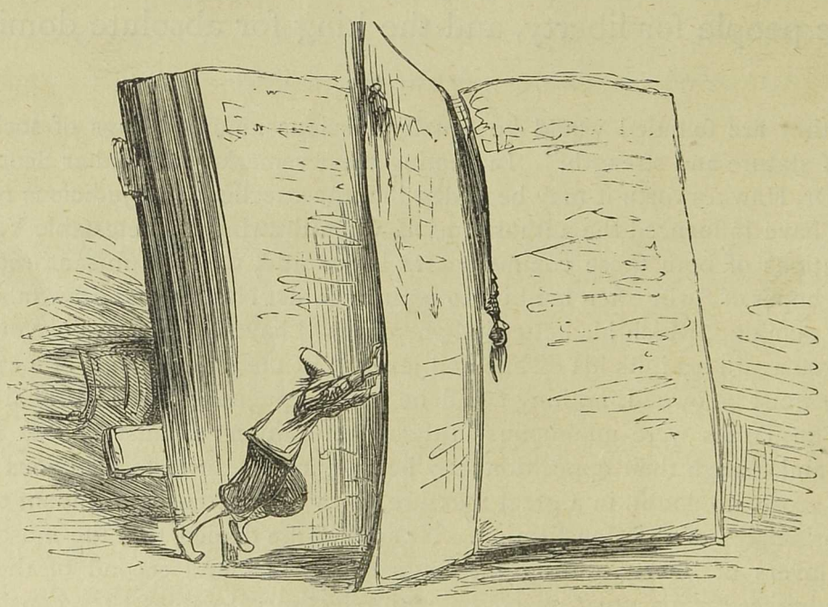
dangerous innovation. In 1732, Mr. Pulteney, a man who could not be suspected of entertaining any disaffected opinions, or of having any democratical leanings, declared, in the House of Commons, that he had "always been, and would always be, against a standing army of any kind. It is impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up." Notwithstanding any theoretical objections which may be urged against the maintenance of a standing army during times of peace, it has gradually and almost insensibly become an institution of the country, against which no one, now-a-days, thinks of entering a protest. It must be remembered, too, that the national spirit of liberty has surrounded this dangerous power with complete safeguards, and maintains them with jealous care. The memorable Bill of Rights declares "that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in times of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;" and the power of maintaining it is granted only by the legislature from year to year, by the re-enactment of the Mutiny Bill, the preamble of which always states that it is kept on foot "for the safety of the United Kingdom, the defence of the possessions of Her Majesty's Crown, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe." Mr. Hallam, in his "Constitutional History of England," makes the following very just observation on this subject:—"Nothing could be more idle, at any time since the Revolution, than to suppose that the regular army would pull the Speaker out of his chair, or in any manner be employed to confirm a despotic power in the Crown. Such power, I think, could never have been the waking dream of either king or minister. But as the slightest inroads upon private rights and liberties are to be guarded against in any nation that deserves to be called free, we should always keep in mind not only that the military power should be subordinate to the civil, but, as this subordination must cease where the former is frequently employed, that it should never be called upon in aid of the peace without sufficient cause."



CHAPTER VIII.

THE KING AND QUEEN MAKE A PROGRESS TO THE FRONTIERS.—THE AUTHOR ATTENDS THEM.—THE MANNER IN WHICH HE LEAVES THE COUNTRY VERY PARTICULARLY RELATED.—HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND.



I HAD always a strong impulse that I should some time recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding. The ship in which I sailed was the first ever known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the king had given strict orders, that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its crew and passengers brought in a tumbril to Lorbrulgrud. I was indeed treated with much kindness: I was the favourite of a great king and queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon such a footing as ill became the dignity of human kind. I could never forget those domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a manner not very common; the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

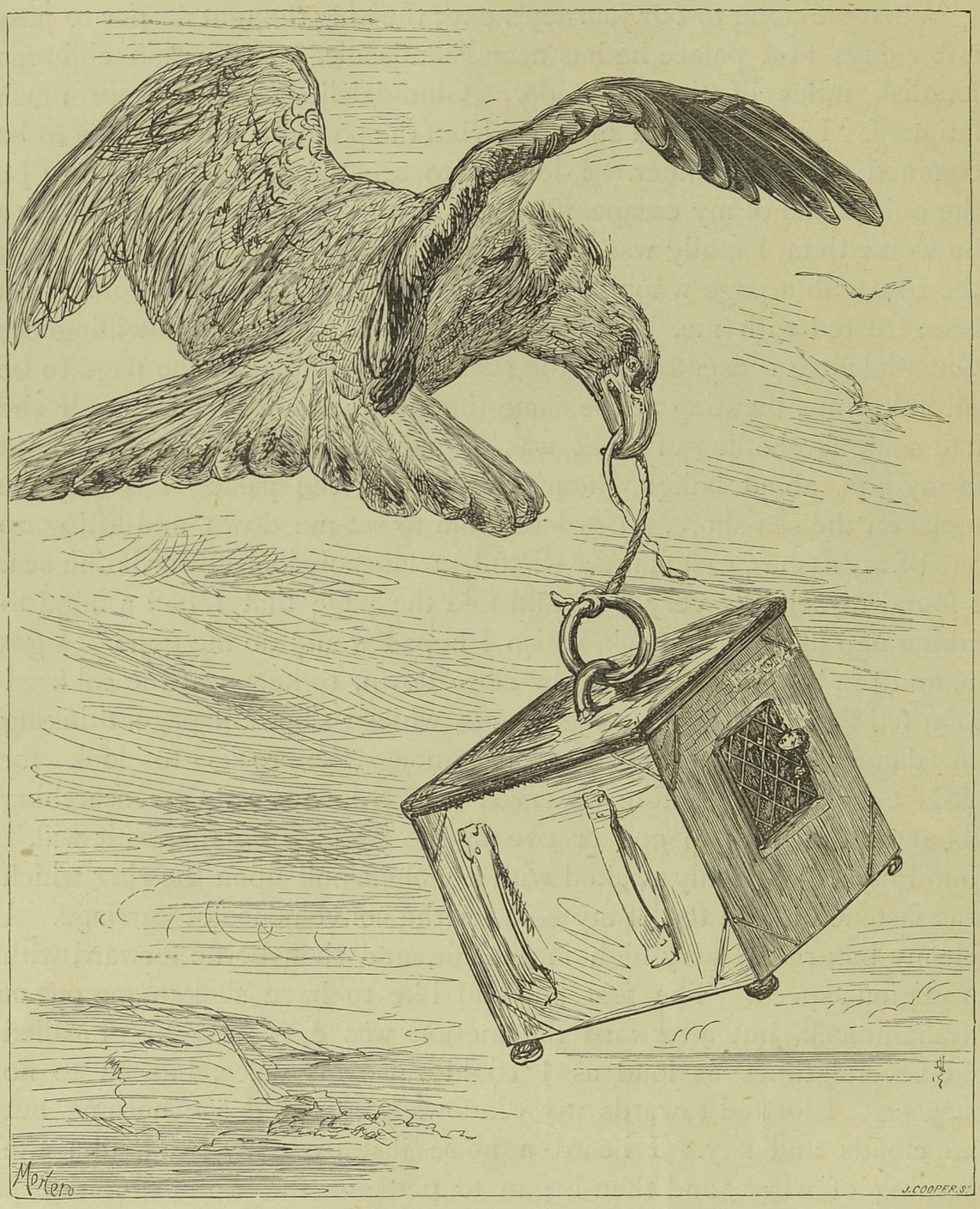
I had now been two years in this country: and about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the king and queen, in a progress to the south coast of the kingdom. I was carried, as usual, in my travelling-box, which, as I have already described, was a very convenient closet, of twelve feet wide; and I had ordered a hammock to be fixed, by silken ropes, from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts, when a servant carried me before him on horseback, as I sometimes desired; and would often sleep in my hammock, while we were upon the road. On the roof of my closet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut out a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather, as I slept; which hole I shut at pleasure with a board that drew backward and forward through a groove.



"She had some foreboding of what was to happen."—*Page* 167.

When we came to our journey's end, the king thought proper to pass a few days at a palace he has near Flanflasnic, a city within eighteen English miles of the sea side. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued. I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea, with a page whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charge she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box, about half an hour's walk from the palace, towards the rocks on the sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful, melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down, to keep out the cold. I soon fell asleep, and all I conjecture is, while I slept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds' eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myself suddenly awaked with a violent pull upon the ring which was fastened at the top of my box, for the convenience of carriage. I felt my box raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed. The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterward the motion was easy enough. I called out several times as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise just over my head, like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woful condition I was in; that some eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock, like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body, and devour it: for the sagacity and smell of this bird enables him to discover his quarry at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board.

In a little time, I observed the noise and flutter of wings to increase very fast, and my box was tossed up and down like a sign on a windy day. I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle



"I observed the noise and flutter of wings."—*Page* 167.

(for such I am certain it must have been that held the ring of my box in his beak), and then, all on a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down, for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by a terrible squash, that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara; after which, I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box

began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived I was fallen into the sea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plate of iron fixed for strength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle which flew away with my box was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop, while he defended himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the prey. The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight that very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having first ventured to draw back the slip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled.

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me! And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own misfortunes I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see my box dashed to pieces, or at least overset by the first violent blast or rising wave. A breach in one pane of glass would have been immediate death: nor could anything have preserved the windows, but the strong lattice wires on the outside, against accidents in travelling. I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it; where I might at least preserve myself some hours longer than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect but a miserable death of cold and hunger? I was four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing, every moment to be my last.

I have already told the reader that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window, and into which the servant who used to carry me on horseback would put a leathern

belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard, or at least thought I heard, some kind of grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed; and soon after I began to fancy that the box was pulled or towed along the sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my chairs, which were always fastened to the floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again, directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the chair, and putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I understood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in the box.*

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* The deliverance of Gulliver from Brobdingnag through the instrumentality of the eagle, is a very ingenious and novel conception. It is more than probable that the idea was suggested to Swift by the incident related in the second voyage of Sinbad the Sailor, in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," when he was left by his companions on the uninhabited island, and contrived to make his escape from it by tying himself by his turban to the foot of the roc. As the first English translation of this celebrated work (being a translation not from the original Arabic, but from the French) was published in 1724, two years before the publication of "Gulliver's Travels," there can be no reason to doubt that Swift had read so remarkable a work. In the last edition of Mr. Lane's able translation of "The Thousand and One Nights," edited by Mr. Poole, a narrative which is supposed to have suggested the aërial voyage is given in one of the notes, and is very curious and interesting:—A native of Ispahan goes to sea with some merchants, and the ship is caught in the whirlpool in the Sea of Persia. In order to save the ship from destruction, he offers to sacrifice his own life. Accordingly, he is placed upon a desolate island, near the whirlpool, and desired to cease not to beat a drum. "And I stood on the shore of the island, and began to beat the drum; whereupon I beheld the waters move, and they bore the ship along, while I looked at it, until it was out of my sight. I then went to and fro upon the island; and, lo! I beheld an island upon which was an enormous tree, such that I have not seen any greater; and upon it was something like a large roof. And at the close of the day I heard a great, vehement, harsh voice; and, lo! a huge bird, than which I have not seen any greater, came and alighted upon the roof on that tree. So I hid myself, fearing lest he should make me his prey, until the light of the morning approached, when he shook his wings and flew away. The next night he came and alighted again upon his nest; and again I was in despair of my life, and was content to meet destruction. I approached him, but he showed no hostility to me, and flew away in the morning. And when the third night came, I sat by him without consternation, until he shook his wings at daybreak; and on his doing so, I laid hold upon his legs, and he flew away with me with a most rapid flight until the daylight rose, when I looked towards the earth, and saw not aught save an abyss of water. Upon this I was about to quit my hold of his legs, by reason of the violence of the pain that affected me; but I constrained myself to have patience, and, looking

I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along; and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no windows, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a rock, and found myself tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up, by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice, in the English tongue, "If there be anybody below, let them speak." I answered, I was an Englishman drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in. The voice replied I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship; and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered that was needless, and would take up too much time; for there was no more to be done, but to let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin. * Some of them, upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it

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again at the earth, I beheld the villages, or towns, and the people looking at the bird; and I beheld the dwellings. Then it approached the earth, and set me down upon a heap of straw, in a threshing-floor belonging to one of the villages, after which it left me, and soared into the sky, and became absent from me. And the people collected, and conveyed me to their chief; and having brought me to a man who understood my language, they said to me, 'Whence art thou?' So I related to them my whole story; whereupon they wondered at me, and they suffered me to remain with them, and the chief gave orders to present me with money."

* The art displayed by Swift in this incident is very remarkable. Gulliver's long habit of associating with beings so much larger than himself makes him refer everything to their enormous standard, and so he forgets himself when he comes among men of his own stature. None but a master of fiction would have made his hero commit a mistake so absurd and yet so natural. "The figure," says Thackeray, commenting on the humour of Swift, "suggests itself naturally to him, and comes out of his subject, as in that wonderful passage when, Gulliver's box having been dropped by the eagle into the sea, and Gulliver having been received into the ship's cabin, he calls upon the crew to bring the box into the cabin and put it on the table, the cabin being only a quarter the size of the box. It is the *veracity* of the blunder that is so admirable. Had a man come from such a country as Brobdingnag he would have blundered so." Indeed, the delusion continues for some time, and he again repeats his desire to have the box brought into the cabin, in his eagerness to have his furniture preserved.



"Somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice, in the English tongue."—*Page* 171.

never came into my head that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage of about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thousand questions which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pigmies, for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine eyes to the monstrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, an honest worthy Shropshire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me turn in upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand that I had some valuable furniture in my box, too good to be lost: a fine hammock, a handsome field-bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet; that my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted, with silk and cotton; that if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into his cabin, I would open it there before him, and show him my goods. The captain, hearing me utter these absurdities, concluded I was raving; however (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give orders as I desired, and going upon deck, sent some of his men down into my closet, whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my goods and stripped off the quilting; but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up by force. Then they knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the sea, which, by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk outright. And, indeed, I was glad not to have been a spectator of the havoc they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former passages into my mind which I would rather have forgot.

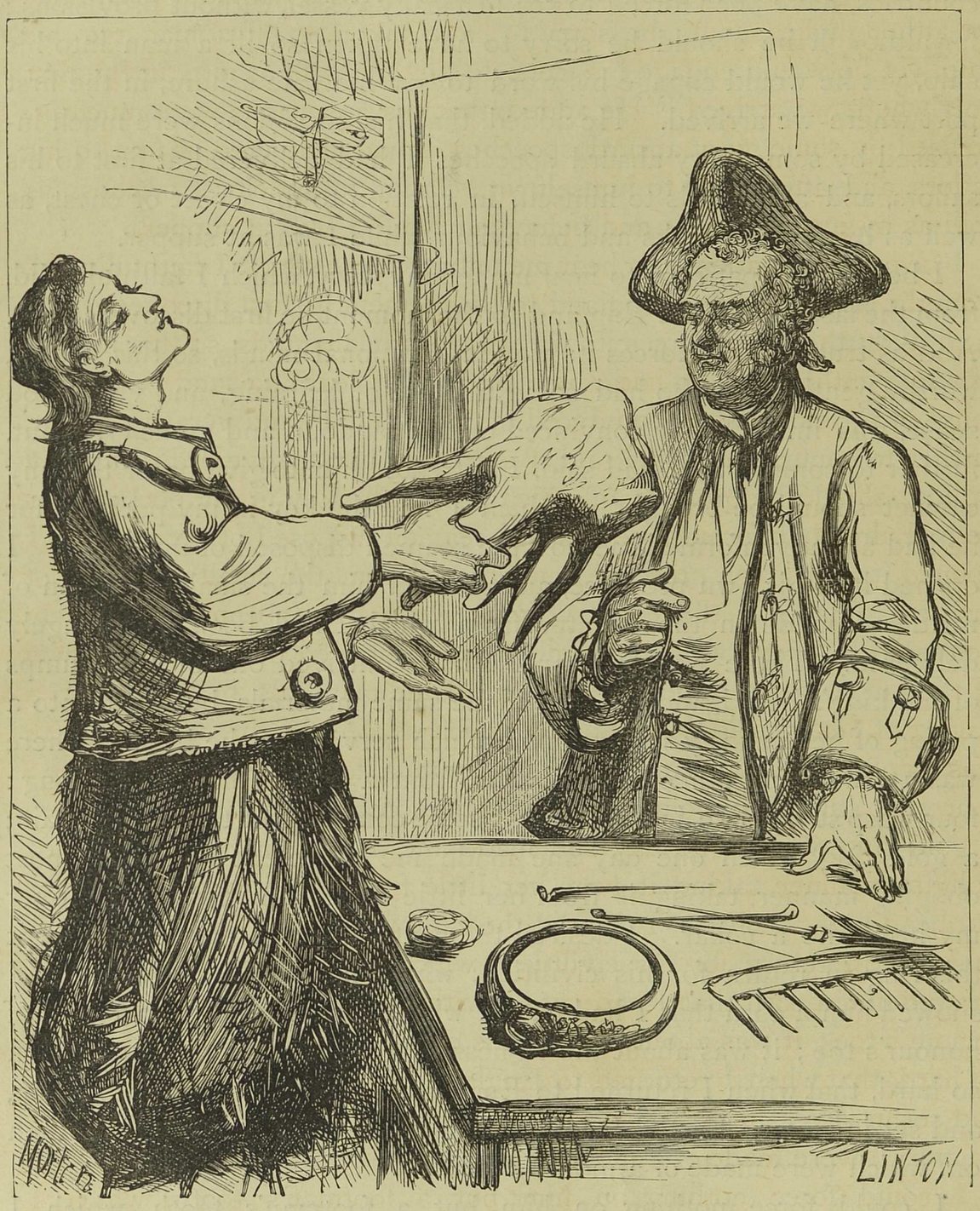
I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking I found myself much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long. He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and, when we were left alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and

by what accident I came to be set adrift, in that monstrous wooden chest. He said, that about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he espied it at a distance, and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuits, his own beginning to fall short. That upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he sent out his long boat, to discover what it was; that his men came back in a fright, saying they had seen a swimming house. That he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them. That the weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observing my windows and wire lattices that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which was all of boards, without any passage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest, as they called it, towards the ship. When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He said they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy man must be shut up in the cavity. I asked whether he or the crew had seen any prodigious birds in the air, about the time he first discovered me. To which he answered, that discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said he had observed three eagles flying towards the north, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size; which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain how far he reckoned we might be from land. He said, by the best computation he could make, we were at least a hundred leagues. I assured him he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country whence I came above two hours before I dropped into the sea. Whereupon he began to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabin he had provided. I assured him I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely whether I were not troubled in my mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished, at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest; as great criminals, in other

countries, have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel, without provisions: for although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a man into his ship, yet he would engage his word to set me safe ashore, in the first port where we arrived. He added, that his suspicions were much increased by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to his sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour while I was at supper.

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did, from the last time I left England to the moment he first discovered me. And as truth always forces its way into rational minds, so this honest, worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning, and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But, further to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket; for he had already informed me how the seamen disposed of my closet. I opened it in his own presence, and showed him the small collection of rarities I made in the country from which I had been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the king's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her majesty's thumb nail, which served for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins, from a foot to half-a-yard long: four wasp stings, like joiners' tacks; some combings of the queen's hair; a gold ring, which one day she made me a present of in the most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this ring in return for his civilities; which he absolutely refused. I showed him a corn that I had cut off with my own hand from a maid of honour's toe; it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard, that when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I observed him to examine with great curiosity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than such a trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful surgeon, in a mistake, from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the toothache, but it was as sound as any in his head. I got it cleaned, and put it into my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.



"I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth."—*Page* 175.

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, he hoped when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public. My answer was, that I thought we were overstocked with books of travels: that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted some authors less consulted truth than their own



"My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her."—*Page* 179.

vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers; that my story could contain little beside common events, without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people, with which most writers abound. However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said he wondered at one thing very much, which was to hear me speak so loud; asking me whether the king or queen of that country were thick of hearing. I told him it was what I had been used to for above two years past, and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the streets to another looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand. I told him I had likewise observed another thing—that when I first got into the ship, and the sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most contemptible little creatures I had ever beheld. For, indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass, after mine eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparisons gave me so despicable a conceit of myself. The captain said that while we were at supper he observed me to look at everything with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain. I answered, it was very true, and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver threepence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nutshell; and so I went on, describing the rest of his household-stuff and provisions after the same manner. For, although the queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me, while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness, as people do at their own faults.

The captain understood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with an old English proverb, that he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day: and continuing in his mirth, protested he would have gladly given a hundred pounds to have seen my chest in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from so

great a height into the sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing object, worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages: and the comparison of Phaëton was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain having been at Tonquin, was, in his return to England, driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and longitude of 143. But meeting a trade wind two days after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New Holland, kept our course west-south-west, and then south-south-west, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and sent in his long-boat for provisions and fresh water; but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the 3rd day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape. I offered to leave my goods in security for the payment of my freight, but the captain protested he would not receive one farthing. We took a kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come and see me at my house in Redriff. I hired a horse and guide for five shillings, which I borrowed of the captain.

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the houses, the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myself in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence.

When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to inquire, one of the servants opening the door, I bent down to go in (like a goose under a gate), for fear of striking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty feet; and then I went to take her up with one hand by the waist. I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies, and I a giant. I told my wife she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing. In short, I behaved myself so unaccountably, that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and

concluded I had lost my wits. This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice.*

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to a right understanding: but my wife protested I should never go to sea any more; although my evil destiny so ordered, that she had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter. In the meantime, I here conclude the second part of my unfortunate voyages.

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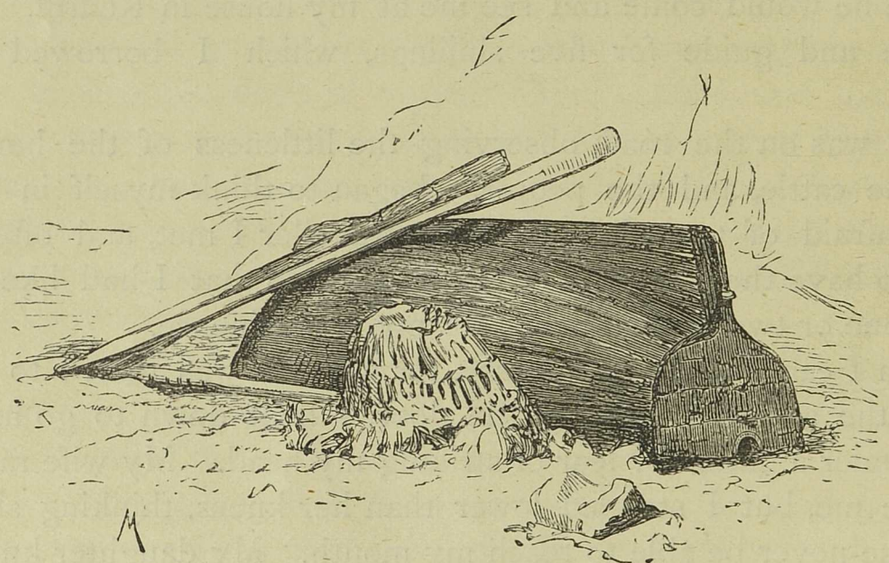
* The conduct of Gulliver upon his return to his native land is thoroughly consistent, and gives wonderful spirit and liveliness to the narrative. His fear of trampling on those whom he met, his bending down to go in at the door like a goose under a gate, his stooping to embrace his wife, and looking over his daughter, are all admirably humorous. "The sort of reaction," observes Scott, "which is produced upon the traveller's mind when restored to persons of his own size (particularly after his return from the land of giants), greatly reconciles us to a deception maintained with such accuracy and truth of description."



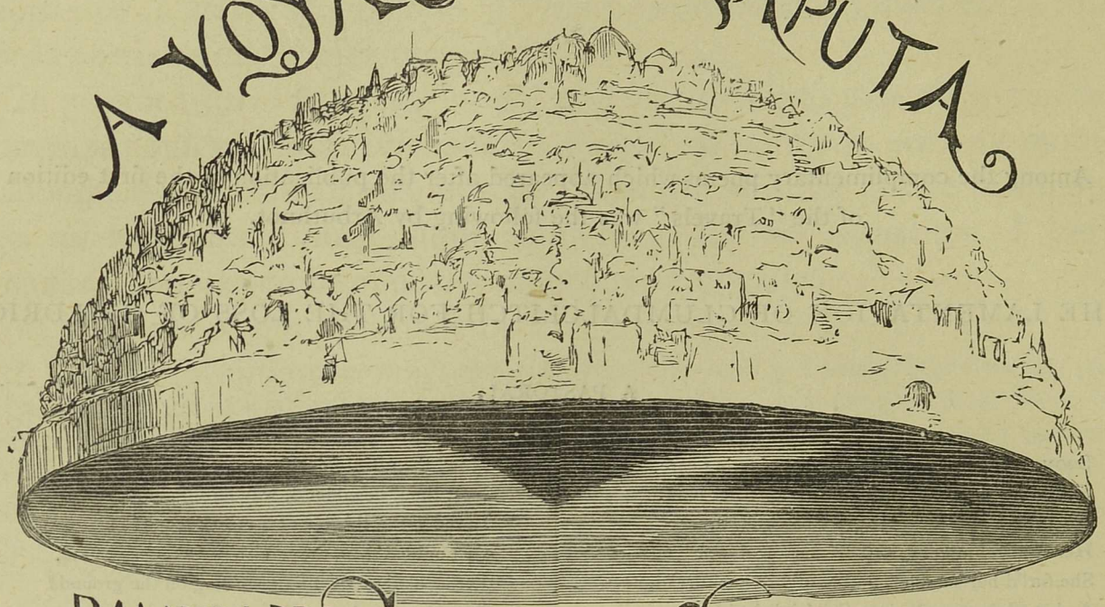
Among the complimentary poems which appeared after the publication of the first edition of the "Travels" was the following by Arbuthnot.

THE LAMENTATION OF GLUMDALCLITCH FOR THE LOSS OF GRILDRIG.

A PASTORAL.

Soon as Glumdalclitch miss'd her pleasing care,
She wept, she blubber'd, and she tore her hair:
No British miss sincerer grief has known,
Her squirrel missing, or her sparrow flown.
She furl'd her sampler, and haul'd in her thread,
And stuck her needle into Grildrig's bed;
Then spread her hands, and with a bounce let fall
Her baby, like the giant in Guildhall.
In peals of thunder now she roars—and now
She gently whimpers like a lowing cow;
Yet lovely in her sorrow still appears;
Her locks dishevelled, and her floods of tears
Seem like the lofty barn of some rich swain,
When from the thatch drips fast a shower of rain.
In vain she searched each cranny of the house,
Each gaping chink impervious to a mouse.
"Was it for this," she cried, "with daily care,
Within thy reach I set the vinegar?
And fill'd the cruet with the acid tide,
While pepper-water-worms thy bait supplied,
Where twined the silver eel around thy hook,
And all the little monsters of the brook;
Sure in that lake he dropp'd:—my Grilly's drown'd!"
She dragg'd the cruet and no Grildrigs found.
"Vain is thy courage, Grilly, vain thy boast;
But little creatures enterprise the most.
Trembling, I've seen thee dare the kitten's paw;
Nay, mix with children as they play'd at taw,
Nor fear the marbles as they bounding flew;
Marbles to them, but rolling rocks to you.
"Why did I trust thee with that giddy youth?
Who from a page can ever learn the truth?
Versed in court-tricks, that money-loving boy,
To some lord's daughter sold the living toy;
Or rent him limb from limb in cruel play,
As children tear the wings of flies away:
From place to place o'er Brobdingnag I'll roam,
And never will return; or bring thee home.
But who hath eyes to trace the passing wind?—
How, then, thy fairy footsteps can I find?
Dost thou, bewilder'd, wander all alone,
In the green thicket of a mossy stone?
Or tumbled from the toadstool's slippery round,
Perhaps all maim'd lie grov'lling on the ground?
Dost thou, embosom'd in the lovely rose,
Or sunk within the peach's down, repose?
Within the king-cup, if thy limbs are spread,
Or in the golden cowslip's velvet head,
Oh, show me, Flora, 'midst those sweets, the flower
Where sleeps my Grildrig in the fragrant bower!
"But, ah! I fear thy little fancy roves
On little females and on little loves
Thy pigmy children and thy tiny spouse;
The baby playthings that adorn thy house—
Doors, windows, chimneys, and the spacious rooms,
Equal in size to cells of honeycombs.
Hast thou for these now ventured from the shore,
Thy bark a bean-shell, and a straw thine oar?
Or, in thy box, now bounding on the main,
Shall I ne'er bear thyself and house again?
And shall I set thee on my hand no more,
To see thee leap the lines, and traverse o'er
My spacious palm? Of stature scarce a span,
Mimic the actions of a real man?
No more behold thee turn my watch's key,
As seamen at a capstan anchor weigh?
"How wert thou wont to walk with cautious tread,
A dish of tea, like milk-pail, on thy head!
How chase the mite that bore thy cheese away,
And keep the rolling maggot at a bay!"
She spoke, but broken accents stopp'd her voice,
Soft as the speaking-trumpet's mellow noise;
She sobb'd a storm, and wiped her flowing eyes,
Which seem'd like two broad suns in misty skies:
Oh, squander not thy grief—those tears command,
To weep upon our cod in Newfoundland;
The plenteous pickle shall preserve the fish,
And Europe taste thy sorrows in her dish.

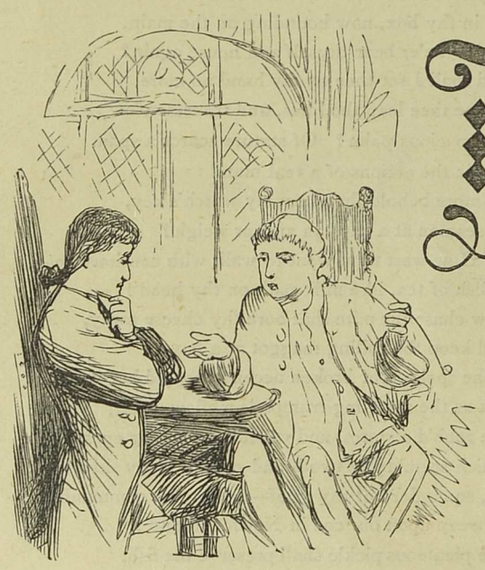
A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA



BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB, AND JAPAN.*

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR SETS OUT ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE.—IS TAKEN BY PIRATES.—THE MALICE OF A DUTCHMAN.—HIS ARRIVAL AT AN ISLAND.—HE IS RECEIVED IN LAPUTA.



I HAD not been at home above ten days when Captain William Robinson, a Cornishman, commander of the *Hopewell*, a stout ship of three hundred tons, came to my house. I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master, and a fourth part owner, in a voyage to the Levant. He had always treated me more like a brother than an inferior officer; and hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended only out of friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences. But repeating his visits often, expressing

* The first two voyages of Gulliver were intended, as we have seen, to satirise the Whig Administration, and the members composing it, especially Sir Robert Walpole; and to com-

his joy to find me in good health, asking whether I were now settled for life, adding that he intended a voyage to the East Indies in two months; at last he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; that I should have another surgeon under me, besides our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and that having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal; the thirst I had for seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only difficulty that remained was to persuade my wife, whose consent, however, I at last obtained, by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out the 5th day of August, 1706, and arrived at Fort St.

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ment on the defects in the political institutions of England. The object of the third voyage, that to Laputa, is to ridicule the mathematicians and philosophers of Swift's day, and in particular the members of the Royal Society, against some of whom he entertained a grudge. The undertaking was a bold one—too bold for even Swift—and accordingly it was neither as successful nor as amusing as the two voyages that preceded it. "His success," Professor de Morgan remarks, perhaps rather too severely, "arises from his readers knowing as little of the class of men whom he ridicules as he does himself. It is dangerous to attempt an attack on any knowledge of which the assailant is ignorant, whether in fictitious representation or sober argument." "Swift's learning as a student of *belles letres*," says Sir Walter Scott, "and even his extensive knowledge of mankind and of the human heart, were insufficient to guide him in a task which required depth of science, and where, above all, the assistance of Arbuthnot was indispensable to success." But Arbuthnot did not approve of an attack on the Royal Society, of which he was a distinguished member, and so, we may presume, gave the author no assistance. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Swift at times displays his own ignorance of the principles which he assails. If, however, in this he is justly censurable, we must remember that he did good service in exposing with pitiless severity a class of men who had in his day done much mischief—those quacks who had just sufficient smattering of scientific knowledge to enable them to gull the public with supposed discoveries, which people of every condition in life received with avidity, to their own ruin. "He ridicules," says Lord Orrery, somewhat affectedly, "the vain attempts and irregular productions of those rash men who, like Ixion embracing a cloud instead of a goddess, plagued the world with centaurs, whilst Jupiter, from the embraces of a Juno and an Alcmena, blessed the earth with an Hebe and an Hercules."

The idea of the flying island would seem to have been borrowed from a romance attributed to the learned Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Francis Godwin, entitled, "The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage Thither, by Domingo Gonzales," written between 1599 and 1603, and re-published, after his death, at Perth, in 1638—a work which Mr. Hallam, in his "Literary History of Europe," notices for "the natural and veracious tone of the author's lies," and the happy conjectures of his philosophy. In it we find men of enormous stature and wonderful longevity, as well as a flying engine or chariot, drawn by birds. Swift also appears to have been indebted to Rabelais for some of his illustrations of the pursuits of the pseudo philosophers.

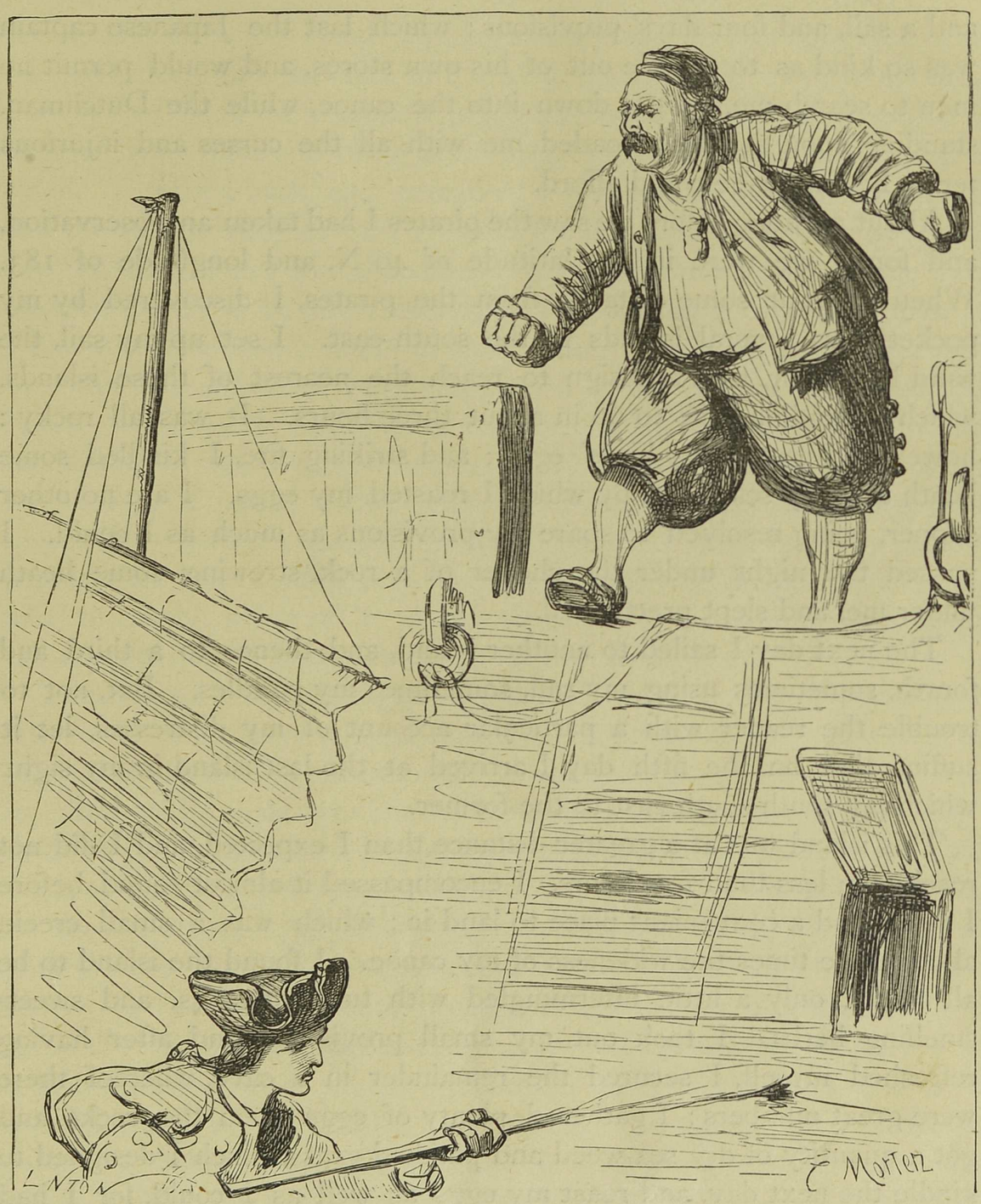
George the 11th of April, 1707. We stayed there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin.

We had not sailed above three days, when a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east, and then to the east: after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west. Upon the tenth day we were chased by two pirates, who soon overtook us; for my sloop was so deeply laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves.

We were boarded about the same time by both the pirates, who entered furiously at the head of their men; but finding us all prostrate upon our faces (for so I gave order), they pinioned us with strong ropes, and setting a guard upon us, went to search the sloop.

I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of either ship. He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and jabbering to us in our own language, swore we should be tied back to back and thrown into the sea. I spoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him, in consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of neighbouring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us. This enflamed his rage; he repeated the threatenings, and turning to his companions, spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain, who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several questions, which I answered in great humility, he said we should not die. I made the captain a very low bow, and then, turning to the Dutchman, said I was sorry to find more mercy in a heathen than in a brother Christian. But I had soon reason to repent those foolish words: for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the captains that I



"I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman loaded me with curses."—*Page* 186.

might be thrown into the sea (which they would not yield to, after the promise made me that I should not die), however prevailed so far as to have a punishment inflicted on me worse, in all human appearance, than death itself. My men were sent by an equal division into both the pirate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined that I should be set adrift in a small canoe, with paddles

and a sail, and four days' provisions; which last the Japanese captain was so kind as to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pirates I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and longitude of 183. When I was at some distance from the pirates, I discovered by my pocket-glass several islands to the south-east. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made a shift to do in about three hours. It was all rocky: however, I got many birds' eggs; and striking fire, I kindled some heath and dry sea-weed, by which I roasted my eggs. I ate no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my sail, sometimes my paddles. But, not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight which lay south-south-east to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round before I could find a convenient place to land in; which was a small creek, about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet-smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers; I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could, for I had about me my flint, steel, watch, and burning-glass. I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions. My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiet of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be: yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise; and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was

far advanced. I walked awhile among the rocks: the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it: when all on a sudden it became obscure, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving forward towards the island; it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes; but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain. As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below. I stood upon a height of about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping; but what those people were doing I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motion of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope that this adventure might, some way or other, help to deliver me from the desolate place and condition I was in. But at the same time the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise or sink, or put it into progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophise upon this phenomenon, I rather chose to observe what course the island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries and stairs, at certain intervals, to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery I beheld some people fishing with long angling-rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap (for my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief towards the island; and upon its nearer approach I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice; and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gathered to that side which was most in my view. I found by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men running in great haste up the stairs, to the top of the island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture that



"I perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun."—*Page* 187.

these were sent for orders, to some person in authority, upon this occasion.

The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour the island was moved and raised in such a manner that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than a hundred yards' distance from the height where I stood. I then put myself in the most supplicating posture, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer. Those who stood nearest over against me seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habits. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian; and therefore I returned an answer in that language, hoping at least that the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did; and the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pulleys.*

* It is not improbable that the whole of this scene, as well as the idea of the flying island was suggested to the mind of Swift by "The Voyage of Domingo Gonzales, the little Spaniard, to the World in the Moon, by the help of several ganzas," to which reference has been already made, and which will be found in the eighth volume of the "Harleian Miscellany," pp. 374 *et seq.* A perusal of this extravaganza will well repay the curious reader.



CHAPTER II.

THE HUMOURS AND DISPOSITION OF THE LAPUTIANS DESCRIBED.—AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR LEARNING.—OF THE KING AND HIS COURT.—THE AUTHOR'S RECEPTION THERE.—THE INHABITANTS SUBJECT TO FEAR AND DISQUIETUDES.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE WOMEN.



AT my alighting, I was surrounded by a crowd of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder: neither, indeed, was I much in their debt; having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits, and countenances. Their heads were all reclined, either to the right or the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith.* Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of suns, moons, and stars; interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guitars, harpsichords, and many other instruments of music, unknown to us in Europe. I observed, here and there, many in the habit of servants, with blown bladders, fastened like a flail to the end of a stick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a small quantity of dried peas, or little pebbles, as I was afterwards informed. With these bladders they now and then flapped the mouth and ears of those who stood near them, of which practice I could not then conceive the meaning. It seems the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they can neither speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by

* In this description of the people of Laputa, Swift intends to satirise, if not philosophers in general, at all events those pretenders to philosophy, and persons who, in his time, as, indeed, in every period of the world, have been found to devote themselves to vain and profitless speculations in science. The description of those people is very ingenious. By making their heads always awry, turned either to the right or left, he indicates pretty plainly that such people never took the right direction or the straight course in their views. The eye turned inward seems evidently to denote the abstraction and absence of mind commonly attributed to those who are occupied with their own cogitations; while the eye that was turned upwards betokens that the owner was engaged in the contemplation of visionary and transcendental schemes, above the ken of ordinary humanity. In neither case was the vision or the intellect directed to the objects that lay before or around the man—the things, as it were, at his feet—the common and necessary concerns of every-day life.

some external action upon the organs of speech and hearing ; for which reason, those persons who are able to afford it always keep a flapper (the original is *climenole*) in their family, as one of their domestics ; nor ever walk abroad or make visits without him. And the business of this officer is, when two, three, or more persons are in company, gently to strike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresses himself. This flapper is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft flap on his eyes ; because he is always so wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post ; and in the streets, of jostling others, or being jostled himself into the kennel.*

It is necessary to give the reader this information, without which he would be at the same loss with me to understand the proceedings of these people, as they conducted me up the stairs, to the top of the island, and from thence to the royal palace. While we were ascending, they forgot several times what they were about, and left me to myself, till their memories were again roused by their flappers : for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign

* This idea of a flapper is as original as it is happy and humorous ; and his office of re-calling the mind of his absorbed master to the affairs of common life, and saving him from knocking his head against everything and everybody, is aimed as a satirical assault against the absence of mind with which philosophers were popularly charged, and especially the great Sir Isaac Newton, whom Swift desired, for his own reasons, to turn into ridicule. The Dean on one occasion assured a relative that Sir Isaac was the worst companion in the world, and that if you asked him a question "he would revolve it in a circle in his brain, round, and round, and round" (here Swift described a circle on his own forehead), "before he could produce an answer." He used also to tell a story of Sir Isaac, says Scott, that his servant having called him one day to dinner, and returning, after waiting some time, to call him a second time, found him mounted on a ladder placed against the shelves of his library, a book in his left hand, and his head reclined upon his right, sunk in such a fit of abstraction, that he was obliged, after calling him once or twice, actually to jog him before he could awake his attention. An incident such as this might easily suggest to the ready mind of Swift the idea of a flapper. Professor de Morgan, with great spirit and force of reasoning, takes up the cause of his order, and vindicates Sir Isaac Newton, and mathematicians in general, from the charge of absence of mind brought so usually against them. "Now, there is no proof that in Swift's time, or in any time, the mathematician, however capable of withdrawing his thoughts while actually engaged in study, was apt to wander into mathematics while employed in other business. No such thing is recorded of Newton, a man of uncommon power of concentration. The truth I believe to be, that the power of bringing the whole man to bear on one subject, which is fostered by mathematical study, is a power which can be, and is, brought into action on any other subject ; so that a person used to mathematical thought is deep in the concern of the moment, *totus in illo*, more than another person, and that he is less likely to wander from the matter in hand."

habit and countenance, and by the shouts of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded to the chamber of presence, where I saw the king seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality. Before the throne was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds. His majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise, by the concourse of all persons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem; and we attended at least an hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him, on each side, a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear; at which he startled like one awakened on a sudden, and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He spoke some words; whereupon, immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the right ear; but I made signs, as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an instrument; which, as I afterward found, gave his majesty and the whole court a very mean opinion of my understanding.* The king, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had. When it was found I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers), where two servants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four persons of quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the king's person, did me the honour to dine with me. We had two courses, of three dishes each. In the first course there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an equilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboid, and a

* The King of Laputa, as sovereign of a philosophical nation, is fitly introduced by Swift as engaged in scientific inquiries, and in solving problems in the midst of his council, and surrounded by all kinds of mathematical instruments, when an ordinary monarch would be occupied in the discussion of politics, or in the administration of the affairs of his empire. Gulliver waits till the problem is solved, and the king is flapped into the exercise of his sight and hearing. The contempt entertained for Gulliver's understanding because he had his senses sufficiently awake and under his own control to dispense with the assistance of flappers, is a happy stroke of ridicule. Indeed, this conduct has its counterpart in the world, where we often see the weaknesses of human nature enlist the sympathy of mankind, while the absence of them creates even aversion. "The faultless monster that the world ne'er saw" would, it is to be feared, be a very unpopular monster if the world should ever see him.



"His majesty was then deep in a problem."—*Page* 192.

pudding into a cycloid. The second course was two ducks trussed up in the form of fiddles, sausages and puddings resembling flutes and hautboys, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and other mathematical figures.*

While we were at dinner, I made bold to ask the names of several things in their language, and those noble persons, by the assistance of their flappers, delighted to give me answers, hoping to raise my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I was soon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a person was sent by the king's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him pens, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to understand, by signs, that he was sent to teach me the language. We sat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns, with the translations over against them : I likewise made a shift to learn several short sentences ; for my tutor would order some of my

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* The absurd idea of representing all the dishes of food served up at the Laputan dinner as having been cut into mathematical forms is, of course, a sneer at men of science, mathematicians in particular ; Swift may also have intended to convey the notion that such men are so devoted to their pursuits that they take them in with their very diet, and, as it were, feed on their favourite occupations. "Swift's technical knowledge," says Professor de Morgan, observing on this passage, "is of a poor kind. According to him beef and mutton were served up in the shape of equilateral triangles, rhomboids, and cycloids. These plane figures have no thickness, and I defy all your readers to produce a mathematician who would be content with mutton of two dimensions. As to the bread, which appeared in cones, cylinders, and parallelograms, the mathematicians would take the cones and cylinders for themselves, and leave the parallelograms for Swift." This criticism seems a little too severe. It cannot be supposed that the Dean was ignorant that besides length and breadth, the third function of depth was necessary in all bodies ; nor (if the story that Scott tells, on the authority of Sheridan, be true) that he was not aware that triangles and parallelograms are only superficies, though he does mix them up with solids. He must be taken to have used those terms in a popular (though inaccurate) sense, describing the shape of one superficies, that which is more prominently before the mind, without alluding to that of the others, as people every day speak of a square box, or a circular table. Still, the remark of the critic is just, that, "in satirising mathematicians, Swift ought to have used strict terms, to prevent their being able to show that he was out of his depth." In describing the second course as consisting of dishes cut into the shapes of musical instruments, Swift probably indulged his irony at the expense of musicians, of whom he did not entertain a very high appreciation. Every one remembers his epigram upon the rivalry between the two great masters Handel and Buonocini, whose respective claims to superiority divided the whole musical world in Swift's day—a contest which the Dean contemptuously disposes of in two lines :

"Strange ! all this difference should be
'Twixt Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee !"

servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a bow, to sit, or to stand or walk, and the like. Then I took down the sentence in writing. He showed me also, in one of the books, the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, the zodiac, the tropics, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many planes and solids. He gave me the names and descriptions of all their musical instruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words, with their interpretations, in alphabetical order. And thus, in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got some insight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the flying or floating island, is in the original *Laputa*, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. *Lap*, in the old obsolete language, signifies high; and *untuh*, a governor; from which they say, by corruption, was derived *Laputa*, from *Lapuntah*. But I do not approve of this derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the learned men among them a conjecture of my own, that Laputa was *quasi lap outed: lap*, signifying properly, the dancing of the sun-beams in the sea; and *outed*, a wing; which, however, I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious reader.*

Those to whom the king had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a tailor to come next morning, and take my measure for a suit of clothes. This operator did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe. He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rule and compasses, described the dimensions and outlines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and in six days brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to make a mistake of a figure in the calculation.† But

* Gulliver's philological disquisition upon the etymology of the word Laputa—both the received derivation amongst the learned men of the island, and that which he suggests to them himself—is a piece of solemn ridicule of the many fanciful conjectures which philologists often hazard as to the derivation of words. It is more than probable Swift had particularly in view the celebrated Dr. Bentley, whose attack upon the "Epistles of Phalaris," some time previously edited by Charles Boyle, afterwards Lord Orrery, offended Sir William Temple, Swift's patron, and brought down on Bentley a severe retaliation from the Dean's bitter genius in the "Battle of the Books." It must be admitted that some of the etymological derivations of Dr. Bentley justly subjected him to the ridicule of Swift; but they are not more extravagant than many of those in which more recent writers have indulged. An abundance of those fanciful roots for words will be found in Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley."

† In this blunder of the Laputan tailor in his calculations, Swift intended, in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, to attack Sir Isaac Newton—whom he had not forgiven for his statement

my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my confinement for want of clothes, and by an indisposition that held me some days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I next went to court, was able to understand many things the king spoke, and to return him some kind of answers. His majesty had given orders that the island should move north-east and by east, to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of the whole kingdom below, upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues distant, and our voyage lasted four days and a half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive motion made in the air by the island. On the second morning, about eleven o'clock, the king himself in person, attended by his nobility, courtiers, and officers, having prepared all their musical instruments, played on them for three hours, without intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; neither could I possibly guess the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He said that the people of their island had their ears adapted to hear the music of the spheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever instruments they most excelled."

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his majesty ordered that the island should stop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his subjects. And to this purpose, several packthreads were let down, with small weights at the bottom. On these packthreads the people strung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the scraps of paper fastened by schoolboys at the end of the string that holds the kite. Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below, which were drawn up by pulleys.

The knowledge I had in mathematics gave me great assistance in acquiring their phraseology, which depended much upon that science, and music; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their ideas are perpetually conversant in lines and figures. If they would, for

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in relation to Wood's halfpence—for an error in the astronomer's printed computation of the sun's distance from the earth. The error, however, was not Newton's, but his printer's, who inadvertently added a cipher to the astronomer's calculations, and thus increased the distance to an incalculable amount. Newton took care to set himself right before the learned men of Europe by publishing a correction of this typographical error in the *Amsterdam Gazette*. But Swift either was not aware of the correction, or, what is more likely, took care not to notice it, as it served his purpose better so to do.



"He brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape."—*Page* 195

example, praise the beauty of a woman, or any other animal, they describe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipses, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from music, needless here to repeat. I observed in the king's kitchen all sorts of mathematical and musical instruments, after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were served at his majesty's table.

Their houses are very ill built, the walls bevel, without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect arises from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanical: those instructions they give being too refined for the intellects of their workmen, which occasion perpetual mistakes. And although they are dextrous enough upon a piece of paper, in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet in the common actions and behaviour of life I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other subjects except those of mathematics and music. They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion, which is seldom their case. Imagination, fancy, and invention they are wholly strangers to, nor have any words in their language by which those ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two fore-mentioned sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the astronomical part, have great faith in judicial astrology, although they are ashamed to own it publicly. But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong disposition I observed in them towards news and politics, perpetually inquiring into public affairs, giving their judgments in matters of state, and passionately disputing every inch of a party opinion. I have, indeed, observed the same disposition among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never discover the least analogy between the two sciences; unless those people suppose, that because the smallest circle has as many degrees as the largest, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities than the handling and turning of a globe: but I rather take this quality to spring from a very common infirmity of human nature, inclining us to be most curious and conceited in matters where we have least concern, and for which we are least adapted by study or nature.*

These people are under continual disquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind: and their disturbances proceed from causes

* "The touch at the belief in astrology, then not uncommon among astronomers, is fair satire; but Swift contradicts himself when he makes his mathematicians strongly addicted to public affairs. He speaks with great contempt of their political opinions, which we may explain if we remember that Swift was a Tory, and the most leading mathematicians were Whigs."—*De Morgan.*

which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies : for instance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the sun towards it, must, in course of time, be absorbed, or swallowed up ; that the face of the sun, will, by degrees, be encrusted with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world ; that the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes ; and that the next, which they have calculated for one-and-thirty years hence, will probably destroy us. For if, in its perihelion, it should approach within a certain degree of the sun (as by their calculations they have reason to dread), it will receive a degree of heat ten thousand times more intense than that of red-hot, glowing iron; and, in its absence from the sun, carrying a blazing tail ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long ; through which, if the earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must in its passage be set on fire, and reduced to ashes : that the sun, daily spending its rays without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the destruction of this earth, and of all the planets that receive their light from it.

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehension of these and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds nor have any relish for the common pleasures and amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is about the sun's health, how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of spirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the island have abundance of vivacity : they contemn their husbands, and are exceedingly fond of strangers, whereof there is always a considerable number from the continent below, attending at court, either upon affairs of the several towns and corporations, or their own particular occasions, but are much despised, because they want the same endowments. Among these the ladies choose their gallants ; for the husband is always so wrapt in speculation, that the mistress and lover may proceed to the greatest familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implements, and without his flapper at his side.

The wives and daughters lament their confinement to the island, although I think it the most delicious spot of ground in the world: and although they live here in the greatest plenty and magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the world, and take the diversions of the metropolis; which they are not allowed to do without a particular license from the king; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the people of quality have found, by frequent experience, how hard it is to persuade their women to return from below. I was told that a great court lady, who had several children —is married to the prime minister, the richest subject in the kingdom, a very graceful person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest palace of the island—went down to Lagado on the pretence of health, there hid herself for several months, till the king sent a warrant to search for her; and she was found in an obscure eating-house all in rags, having pawned her clothes to maintain an old deformed footman, who beat her every day, and in whose company she was taken, much against her will. And although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again, with all her jewels, to the same gallant, and has not been heard of since.

This may, perhaps, pass with the reader rather for a European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of womankind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.*

In about a month's time, I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to answer most of the king's questions, when I had the honour to attend him. His majesty discovered not the least curiosity to inquire into the laws, government, history, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been; but confined his questions to the state of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference, though often roused by his flapper on each side.

* These observations upon the women of Laputa, and the bitter application of their faults and their follies to the women of Europe, is another evidence of Swift's unhappy feelings. With him there was but little sympathy for the domestic ties; he ever carried about in his inmost heart some terrible mystery, never divulged or discovered, that made him shrink from that state which should have made his happiness; and so he was to the end one of the most miserable of men.

CHAPTER III.*

A PHENOMENON SOLVED BY MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND ASTRONOMY.—THE LAPUTIANS' GREAT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE LATTER.—THE KING'S METHOD OF SUPPRESSING INSURRECTIONS.



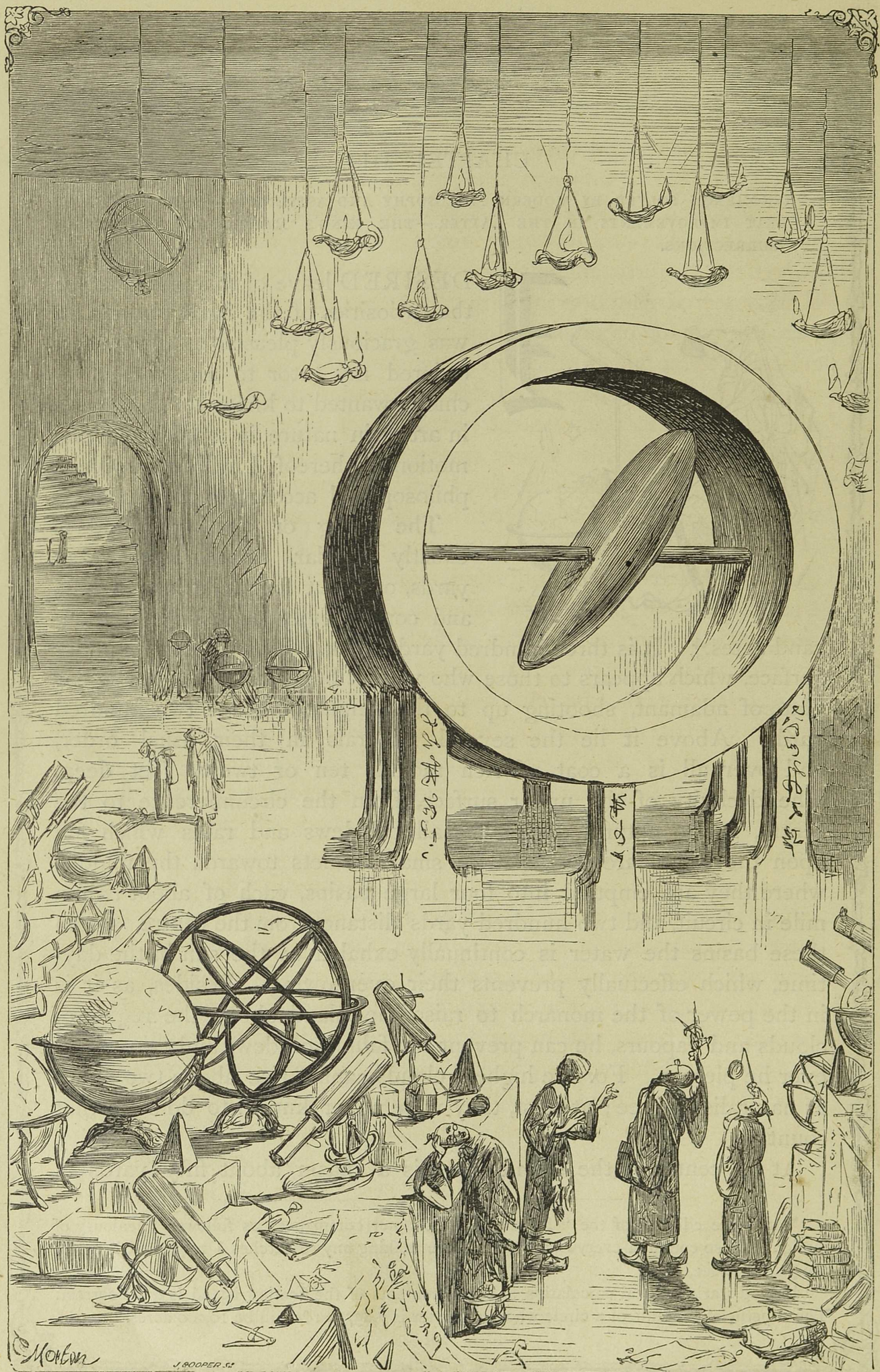
I DESIRED leave of this prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know to what cause in art or in nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The flying or floating island is exactly circular, its diameter 7,837 yards, or about four miles and a half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres.† It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom, or under surface, which appears to those who view it below, is one even regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of about two hundred yards. Above it lie the several minerals in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper surface, from the circumference to the centre, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains which fall upon the island are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basins, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards' distance from the centre. From these basins the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the daytime, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the region of clouds and vapours, he can prevent the falling of dews and rain whenever he pleases. For the highest clouds cannot rise above two miles, as naturalists agree; at least, they were never known to do so in that country.

At the centre of the island there is a chasm about fifty yards in

* In some editions of the "Travels" this chapter commences as follows: "Jealousy of foreigners is so common everywhere, that before making any researches I requested leave of the prince to see," &c.

† Swift's arithmetical calculation as to the contents of the floating island is quite correct. The superficial contents of a circle whose diameter is 7,837 yards will be 10,000 acres.



"By means of this loadstone, the island is made to rise and fall."—*Page* 203.

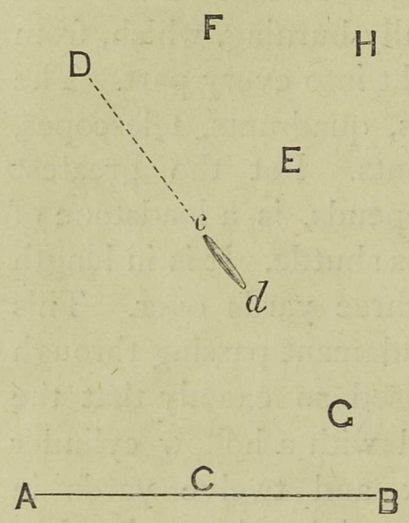
diameter, whence the astronomers descend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the astronomers' cave, situated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the upper surface of the adamant. In this cave are twenty lamps continually burning, which, from the reflection of the adamant, cast a strong light into every part. The place is stored with a great variety of sextants, quadrants, telescopes, astrolabes, and other astronomical instruments. But the greatest curiosity, upon which the fate of the island depends, is a loadstone of prodigious size, in shape resembling a weaver's shuttle. It is in length six yards, and in the thickest part at least three yards over. This magnet is sustained by a very strong axle of adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poised so exactly that the weakest hand can turn it. It is hooped round with a hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by eight adamantine feet, each six yards high. In the middle of the concave side there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occasion.

The stone cannot be removed from its place by any force, because the hoop and its feet are one continued piece with that body of adamant which constitutes the bottom of the island.

By means of this loadstone, the island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the earth over which the monarch presides, the stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the magnet erect, with its attractive end towards the earth, the island descends; but when the repelling extremity points downwards, the island mounts directly upward. When the position of the stone is oblique, the motion of the island is so too: for in this magnet, the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion, the island is conveyed to different parts of the monarch's dominions. To explain the manner of its progress let A B represent a line drawn across the dominions of Balnibarbi; let the line *c d* represent the loadstone, of which let *d* be the repelling end, and *c* the attracting end, the island being over C: let the stone be placed in position *c d*, with its repelling end downward; then the island will be driven upwards obliquely towards D. When it is arrived at D, let the stone be turned upon its axle, till its attracting end points towards E, and then the island will be carried obliquely

towards E; where, if the stone be again turned upon its axle till it stands in the position E F, with its repelling point downwards, the island will rise obliquely towards F, where, by directing the attracting end towards G, the island may be carried to G, and from G to H, by turning the stone so as to make its repelling extremity point directly downward. And thus, by changing the situation of the stone as often as there is occasion, the island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique direction, and by those alternate risings and fallings (the obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the dominions to the other.*



But it must be observed that this island cannot move beyond the extent of the dominions below, nor can it rise above the height of four miles; for which the astronomers (who have written large systems concerning the stone) assign the following reason: that the magnetic virtue does not extend beyond the distance of four miles, and that the mineral, which acts upon the stone in the bowels of the earth, and in the sea about six leagues distant from the shore, is not diffused through the whole globe, but terminates with the limits of the king's dominions; and it was easy, from the great advantage of such a superior situation, for a prince to bring under his obedience whatever country lay within the attraction of that magnet.

When the stone is put parallel to the plane of the horizon, the island stands still; for in that case the extremities of it, being at equal distances from the earth, act with equal force, the one in drawing downwards, and the other in pushing upwards, and consequently no motion can ensue.

This loadstone is under the care of certain astronomers, who, from time to time, give it such positions as the monarch directs. They spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies,

* The whole description of the loadstone in the centre of the island, the mode in which it is fixed and worked, and the details of the manner in which the floating island is raised and lowered, and moved about from place to place, are very ingenious and amusing. The explanation which Gulliver gives of its system of progression, by the assistance of a diagram and letters, which are published in the earlier editions, is exactly in the language and style of mathematical demonstrations, which it is evidently intended to parody.



"They spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies."—*Page* 204.

which they do by the assistance of glasses, far excelling ours in goodness. For, although their largest telescopes do not exceed three feet, they magnify much more than those of a hundred with us, and show the stars with greater clearness. This advantage has enabled them to extend their discoveries much farther than our astronomers in Europe; for they have made a catalogue of ten thousand fixed stars, whereas the largest of ours does not contain above one-third part of that number. 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 a half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very nearly 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.*

* Professor de Morgan observes upon these astronomical statements, that Swift has correctly placed his satellites of Mars so as to have the squares of the times as the cubes of the

They have observed ninety-three different comets, and settled their periods with great exactness. If this be true (and they affirm it with great confidence), it is much to be wished that their observations were made public, whereby the theory of comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same perfection as other parts of astronomy.*

The king would be the most absolute prince in the universe, if he could but prevail on his ministry to join with him; but these having their estates below on the continent, and considering that the office of a favourite has a very uncertain tenure, would never consent to the enslaving of their country.

If any town should engage in rebellion or mutiny, fall into violent factions, or refuse to pay the usual tribute, the king has two methods of reducing them to obedience. The first and the mildest course is by

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distances—one of Kepler's well-known laws. "I have no doubt," he adds, "that he was here helped to the true answers. That Swift could himself extract a cube root, or use logarithms, is more than Apella would have believed, even after twenty years' service in the Marines."

* The subject of comets very much engaged the attention of the learned men of Swift's time, as will be seen by a reference to the transactions of the Royal Society, in which there are many papers upon them, and details of observations made by astronomers in various parts of Europe. Several theories had been broached by the learned from time to time as to the nature of comets, their courses through the cosmical system, and the possibility of their near approach to the sun or to the earth, and the results that might ensue. Whiston had about this time attempted to show that the comet of 1680 had, on a former visit to the earth, been the proximate cause of the Noachian deluge. One of Sir Isaac Newton's conjectures, which he entertained to the end of his life, was that comets were the aliment by which suns were sustained, and he therefore concluded that these bodies were in a state of progressive decline upon the suns round which they respectively swept, and that into these suns they from time to time fell. "I cannot say," he remarked, when in his eighty-third year, to his nephew, "when the comet of 1680 will fall into the sun; possibly after five or six revolutions: but whenever that time shall arrive, the heat of the sun will be raised by it to such a point that our globe will be burnt, and all the animals upon it will perish." These various opinions and conjectures are, no doubt, ridiculed by Swift, as we have seen in the previous chapter. At all times, and in all countries, the appearance of comets has operated powerfully on the superstitious feelings of mankind—scarcely less in modern and enlightened times than in the more remote and darker ages; and scarcely less among the most civilised than among the most barbarous. It cannot be denied that the immersion of the earth in the tail of a comet is a possible event, though it is extremely improbable. What the consequences would be can be only a matter of conjecture. If it be of a vaporous or aëriform nature, it would probably mingle with the terrestrial atmosphere, and would be likely to produce effects very injurious to health—perhaps destructive of life. Plagues have frequently been concurrent with the appearance of comets, and attributed to their influence, as the terrible epidemic in 590, the great plague in 1305, made memorable by Boccaccio, and that of London in 1665, recorded by De Foe. The nearest approach which any comet has been ascertained to have made to the earth was that of the comet of 1684, which came within 216 semi-diameters of the earth, less than four times the distance of the moon.

keeping the island hovering over such a town and the lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases: and if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defence but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop directly upon their heads, which makes a universal destruction both of houses and men. However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven; neither, indeed, is he willing to put it into execution; nor dare his ministers advise him to an action which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would be a great damage to their own estates, which lie all below; for the island is the king's demesne.*

But there is still, indeed, a more weighty reason why the kings of this country have been always averse from executing so terrible an action, unless upon the utmost necessity. For, if the town intended to be destroyed should have in it any tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities—a situation probably chosen at first with a view to prevent such a catastrophe—or if it abound in high spires or pillars of stone, a sudden fall might endanger the bottom or under surface of the island, which, although it consists, as I have said, of one entire adamant, two hundred yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a shock,

* I cannot help thinking that Swift, in the details which he here gives of the different methods to which the King of Laputa had recourse, in order to reduce his subjects to submission when either factious or rebellious, or unwilling to pay tribute, had some political abuses or unconstitutional practices in view, against which he covertly directs his satire. What these were, however, at this distance of time, can be only matter of conjecture, nor can I obtain any assistance from the labours of previous commentators. That which is described as the mildest proceeding may be intended to signify the withdrawal of royal favour from those individuals who resist or thwart the wishes of the sovereign; the severer process of pelting them with stones may refer to the state prosecutions to which so many of Swift's political friends were subjected. The last extremity of punishment for the obstinate and rebellious—that of letting the island drop directly on their heads—is that perhaps of coercing the people by the terror of standing armies, and the opposition of the sovereign, by means of physical force, to his people, and usurping an authority beyond what is constitutionally assigned to him. So violent a course would, as the apologue represents, endanger both the welfare of the sovereign and the ministers who might give him such impolitic advice; and so Swift indicates that even when provoked to extremity, the king proceeds with great gentleness against the people, through regard for his own safety. Whatever be the real significance of the passages in the text, I am strongly inclined to believe that Swift had some political object in view when he wrote them.

or burst by approaching too near the fires from the houses below, as the backs, both of iron and stone, will often do in our chimneys. Of all this the people are well apprised, and understand how far to carry their obstinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the king, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a city to rubbish, orders the island to descend with great gentleness, out of a pretence of tenderness to his people, but, indeed, for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which case, it is the opinion of all their philosophers that the loadstone could no longer hold it up, and the whole mass would fall to the ground.

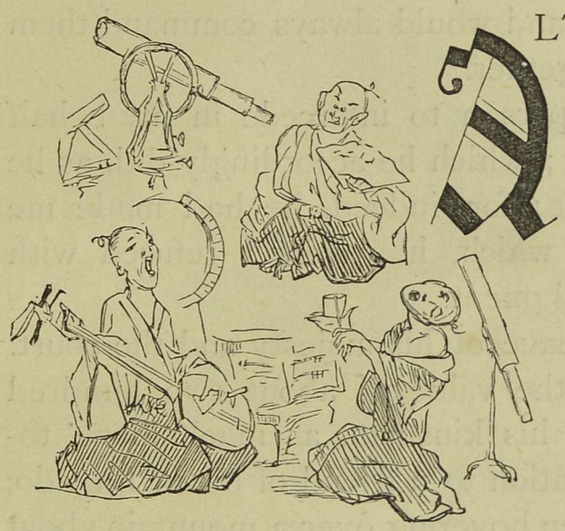
By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the king nor either of his two eldest sons are permitted to leave the island; nor the queen, till she has attained a certain age.*

* The frequent absences of George I. from England, to visit his favourite kingdom of Hanover, were regarded by the people of the former country with natural jealousy. It is likely that Swift alludes to these visits to Hanover, when he states that it was a fundamental law of the Island of Laputa that the king should not leave it.



CHAPTER IV.

THE AUTHOR LEAVES LAPUTA.—IS CONVEYED TO BALNIBARBA.—ARRIVES AT THE METROPOLIS. — A DESCRIPTION OF THE METROPOLIS AND THE COUNTRY ADJOINING.—THE AUTHOR HOSPITABLY RECEIVED BY A GREAT LORD.—HIS CONVERSATION WITH THAT LORD.



ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt; for neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed; but, at the same time, so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, flappers, and court pages, during two months of my abode there, by which, at last, I rendered myself extremely contemptible; yet these were the only people from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained, by hard study, a good degree of knowledge in their language: I was weary of being confined to an island, where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.

There was a great lord at court, nearly related to the king, and for that reason alone treated with respect. He was universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid person among them. He had performed many eminent services for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned with integrity and honour, but so ill an ear for music, that his detractors reported "he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place;" neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to demonstrate the most easy proposition in the mathe-

matics. He was pleased to show me many marks of favour; often did me the honour of a visit; desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manner and learning of the several countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I spoke. He had two flappers attending him for state, but never made use of them, except at court and in visits of ceremony, and would always command them to withdraw when we were alone together.*

I entreated with this illustrious person to intercede in my behalf with his majesty for leave to depart; which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with regret: for, indeed, he had made me several offers, very advantageous, which, however, I refused with expressions of the highest acknowledgment.

On the 16th of February I took leave of his majesty and the court. The king made me a present, to the value of about two hundred pounds English; and my protector, his kinsman, as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis. The island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of the flying island, passes under the general name of *Balnibarbi;* and the metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lagado.* I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend, the grandee, in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival, he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London; but the houses

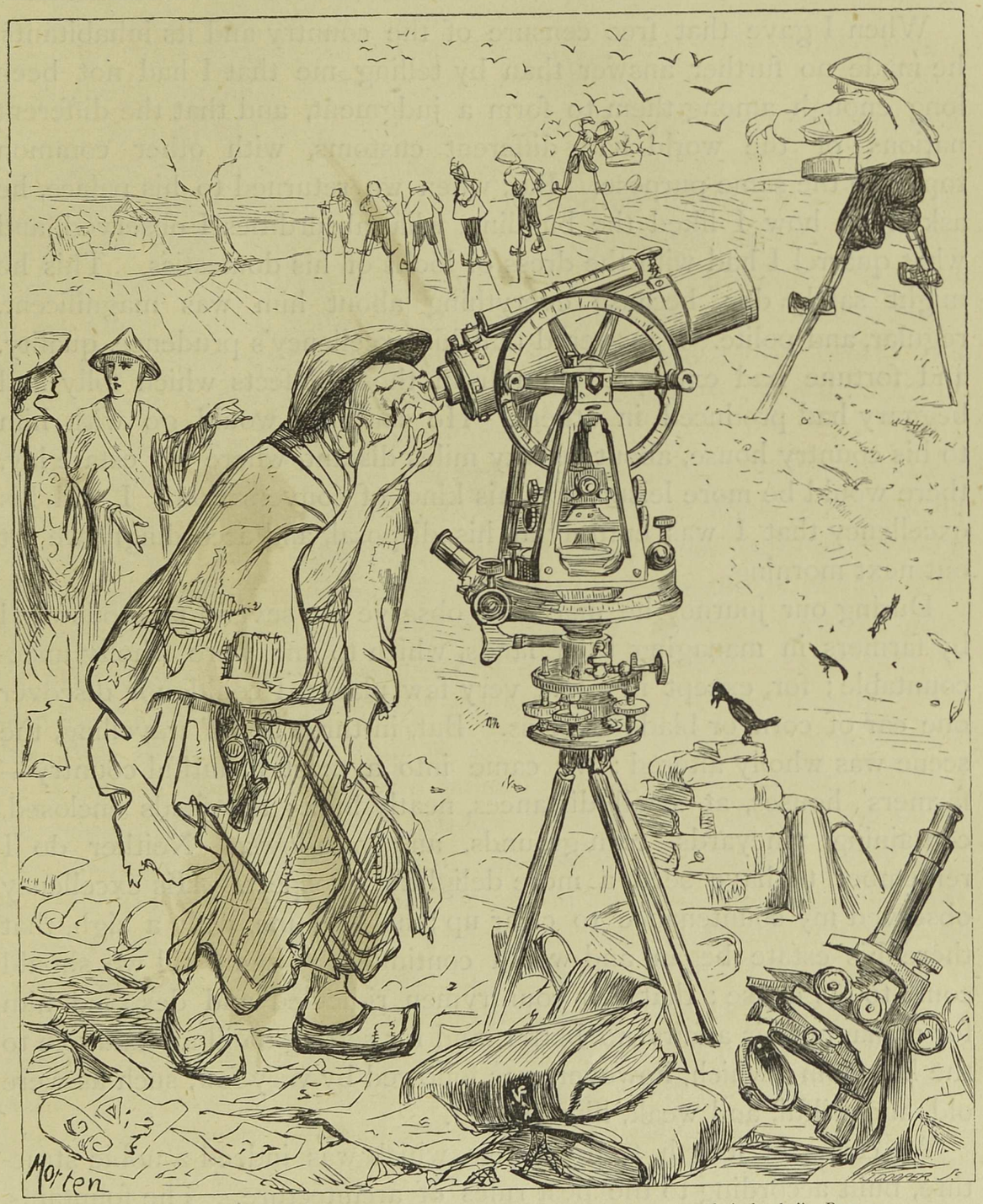
* Whether any particular person is designed by this great lord, a relative of the king, is a question towards the solution of which there is not much to guide us. The allusion to his having so ill an ear for music that he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place, plainly intimates some one who did not understand the arts by which courtiers ingratiate themselves with monarchs, or one who was too honest to flatter. Could Swift, in this character, have alluded to the Prince of Wales, son of George I., whose favour he was about this time desirous of obtaining?



"The people in the streets walked fast, and were generally in rags."—*Page* 212.

were strangely built, and most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances, both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor that he would be pleased to explain to me what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and in the fields, because I did not discover any good effect they produced; but, on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill-contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habits expressed so much misery and want.*

* By Balnibarbi, Swift intends England, and Lagado is designed to represent its capital, London. The condition of the people in the streets, with their wild looks and hurried manner of walking, is an allusion to the state of the public mind under the excitement of the many schemes and speculations which came out during the years 1719, 1720, and 1721, under the name of "bubbles," and were pursued by the people with almost a frenzy. The first, as it was the chief of these, for its enormity, was that gigantic national delusion, which, under the name of "The South Sea Scheme," for a time actually absorbed the attention of every one, high and low, to the neglect of the legitimate pursuits of commerce and agriculture (symbolised by Swift in the state of neglect of the houses, and the absence of corn and grass). "In the summer of that year (1720)," says Knight, in his "History of England," "the South Sea year, 'the dog-star rages' over Exchange Alley with a fury that has never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to the projects recommended by 'one or more persons of known credit' were only required to advance ten shillings per cent." Secretary Scraggs wrote in July to the Earl of Stanhope: "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeemable annuities are so great, that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." The South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription; and declared openly that, after Christmas, their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent. Other schemes and chimerical adventures in trade sprang up almost daily. There were companies not only for fisheries, for insurances, for working mines, and for almost every possible sort of commercial adventure, but even for making wigs and shoes, for making of oil from sunflowers, for importing jackasses from Spain, for trading in human hair, for fatting hogs, and for a wheel for a perpetual motion. The satire of Swift was readily attracted by such fair food, and his good sense and patriotism were alarmed by the mischievous consequences of this empirical frenzy. This induced him to write his "Essay on English Bubbles," addressed to "The Right Reverend, Right Honourable, and Right Worshipful, and to the Reverend, Honourable, and Worshipful, &c., Company of Stockjobbers, whether honest or dishonest, pious or impious, wise or otherwise, male or female, young or old, one with another, who have suffered depredation by the late Bubbles."



"He made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands."—*Page* 214.

This Lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado, but, by a cabal of ministers, was discharged for inefficiency. However, the king treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of low, contemptible understanding.*

* In this character Swift has been supposed to have portrayed his friend Lord Bolingbroke, and there are certainly points of resemblance. The dismission by the intrigues of a cabal of

When I gave that free censure of the country and its inhabitants, he made no further answer than by telling me that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgment, and that the different nations of the world had different customs, with other common topics to the same purpose. But, when we returned to his palace, he asked me how I liked the building, what absurdities I observed, and what quarrel I had with the dress or looks of his domestics. This he might safely do; because everything about him was magnificent, regular, and polite. I answered that his excellency's prudence, quality, and fortune had exempted him from those defects which folly and beggary had produced in others. He said, if I would go with him to his country house, about twenty miles distant, where his estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of conversation. I told his excellency that I was entirely at his disposal, and accordingly we set out next morning.

During our journey he made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands, which to me were wholly unaccountable; for, except in some very few places, I could not discover one ear of corn or blade of grass. But, in three hours' travelling, the scene was wholly altered: we came into a most beautiful country—farmers' houses, at small distances, neatly built; the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His excellency observed my countenance to clear up; he told me, with a sigh, that there his estate began, and would continue the same till we should come to his house; that his countrymen ridiculed and despised him for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom; which, however, was followed by very few, such as were old, and wilful, and weak, like himself.

We came, at length, to the house, which was indeed a noble structure, built according to the best rules of architecture. The fountains, gardens, walks, avenues, and groves were all disposed with exact judgment and taste. I gave due praises to everything I saw, whereof

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ministers, and the tenderness of treatment by the king, would seem to point at the impeachment of Bolingbroke by Walpole and his committee, and the partial removal of the attainder and restoration to favour by George I.; while the description of his country house, and the pleasures enjoyed there, remind us of the retreat of Bolingbroke, first to Dawlish and afterwards to Battersea. In both places he professed to have given up the busy world of politics, and to have betaken himself to the charms of rural life and the cultivation of letters and philosophy.

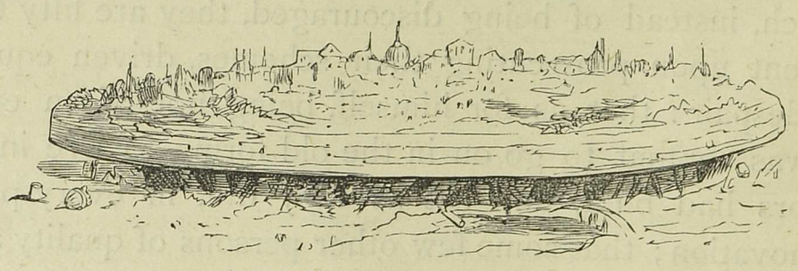
his excellency took not the least notice till after supper, when, there being no third companion, he told me, with a very melancholy air, that he doubted he must throw down his houses in town and country, to rebuild them after the present mode; destroy all his plantations, and cast others into such a form as modern usage required, and give the same directions to all his tenants, unless he would submit to incur the censure of pride, singularity, affectation, ignorance, caprice, and perhaps increase his majesty's displeasure; that the admiration I appeared to be under would cease or diminish when he had informed me of some particulars which, probably, I never heard of at court; the people there being too much taken up in their own speculations to have regard to what passed here below.

The sum of his discourse was to this effect: that about forty years ago, certain persons went up to Laputa, either upon business or diversion; and, after five months' continuance, came back with a very little smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile spirits, acquired in that airy region; that these persons, upon their return, began to dislike the management of everything below, and fell into schemes of putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics upon a new footing. To this end, they procured a royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado; and the humour prevailed so strongly among the people, that there is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without such an academy. In these colleges the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments and tools for all trades and manufactures; whereby, as they undertake one man shall do the work of ten, a palace may be built in a week, of materials so durable as to last for ever without repair. All the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season they think fit to choose, and increase a hundred-fold more than they do at present, with innumerable other happy proposals. The only inconvenience is that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection, and, in the meantime, the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or clothes. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair: that, as for himself, being not of an enterprising spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live in the house his ancestors had built, and act as they did, in every part of life, without innovation; that some few other persons of quality and gentry

had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill commonwealth's men, preferring their own ease and sloth before the general improvement of their country.

His lordship added that he would not, by any further particulars, prevent the pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand academy, whither he was resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined building, upon the side of a mountain about three miles distant, of which he gave me this account: that he had a very convenient mill within half a mile of his house, turned by a current from a large river, and sufficient for his own family, as well as a great number of his tenants; that, about seven years ago, a club of those projectors came to him with proposals to destroy this mill, and build another on the side of that mountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal must be cut, for a repository of water, to be conveyed up by pipes and engines to supply the mill; because the wind and air upon a height agitated the water, and thereby made it fitter for motion; and because the water, descending down a declivity, would turn the mill with half the current of a river, whose course is more upon a level. He said that, being then not very well with the court, and pressed by many of his friends, he complied with the proposal, and, after employing a hundred men for two years, the work miscarried, the projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same experiment, with equal assurance of success, as well as equal disappointment.

In a few days we came back to town; and his excellency, considering the bad character he had in the academy, would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a friend of his to bear me company thither. My lord was pleased to represent me as a great admirer of projects, and a person of much curiosity and easy belief—which, indeed, was not without truth, for I had myself been a sort of projector in my younger days.



CHAPTER V.*

THE AUTHOR PERMITTED TO SEE THE GRAND ACADEMY OF LAGADO.—THE ACADEMY LARGELY DESCRIBED.—THE ARTS WHEREIN THE PROFESSORS EMPLOY THEMSELVES.



THIS academy is not an entire single building, but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days in the academy. Every room has in it one or more projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a very meagre aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged, and singed in several places. His clothes, shirt, and skin were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw, inclement summers. He told me he did not doubt that in eight years more he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sunshine at a reasonable rate; † but he com-

* In this and the following chapter Swift indulges himself in the most unrestrained sallies of ridicule against the professors of speculative learning, representing every sort of absurdity as the concoction of their fantasies. The general idea of this satirical episode is no doubt borrowed from Rabelais' description of the occupations of the courtiers of Quintessence, Queen of Entlechie, as narrated by Pantagruel, when he visited the queendom of Whims. Whoever is curious enough to wish to peruse these recitals, will find them in the 19th, 20th, and 21st chapters of the 5th book of Pantagruel. To our readers in general, we would suggest that they may without any loss spare themselves the trouble of wading through a mass of writing more eccentric than humorous, and whose allusions are not now sufficiently understood to make its coarseness and indecency pardonable.

† There is an amusing paper of Swift's, entitled "The Humble Petition of the Colliers, Cooks, Cookmaids, Blacksmiths, Jackmakers, Braziers, and others," to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, against "certain *virtuosi*, taking upon them the name and title of the Catoptrical Victuallers;" complaining of their "gathering, breaking, folding, and bundling up the sunbeams, by the help of certain glasses, to make, produce, and kindle up several new focuses or fires within these His Majesty's dominions; and there to boil, bake, stew, fry, and dress all sorts of victuals and provisions; to brew, distil spirits, smelt ore, and in general to perform all the offices of culinary fires;" and also stating that "the said Catoptrical

plained that his stock was low, and entreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear year for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gunpowder; who likewise showed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houses, by beginning at the roof and working downwards to the foundation, which he justified to me by the like practice of those two prudent insects, the bee and the spider.

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition. Their employment was to mix colours for painters, which their master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally mistaken. This artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.*

In another apartment I was highly pleased with a projector who had found a device of ploughing the ground with hogs, to save the charges of ploughs, cattle, and labour. The method is this: in an acre of ground you bury, at six inches' distance and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chestnuts, and other mast or vegetables whereof these animals are fondest; then you drive six hundred of them into the field, where, in a few days, they will root up the whole ground in search of their feed, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung. It is true, upon experiment,

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Victuallers have undertaken, by burning-glasses made of ice, to roast an ox on the Thames next winter;" and then setting forth very humorously the evils to result from the operations of the company. This *jeu d'esprit* is of a piece with the satire in the text, and may be supposed with reason to have been directed against similar philosophical absurdities. It was not real science that Swift attacked, but those chimerical and spurious studies with which the name has been too often injuriously associated.

* Swift ridicules the opinions of some learned men, who maintained that it was not impossible for the blind to be taught to distinguish colours by the touch. Indeed, it is said that a Danish sculptor, named Bartolin, possessed that faculty. It is scarcely possible to overestimate the exquisite sensibility of this sense in the blind. The great Nicholas Saunderson, who filled the chair of mathematics in Cambridge (blind from his first year), could not only tell counterfeit from real coins when neither the sight nor touch of others could do so, but was aware of every cloud that passed over the sun; and could, when the air was calm, detect the nearness of objects by the pulsations of the air upon his face.

they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop. However, it is not doubted that his invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and ceiling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance, he called aloud to me not to disturb his webs. He lamented the fatal mistake the world had been so long in of using silkworms while we had such plenty of domestic insects who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin. And he proposed further that, by employing spiders, the charge of dyeing silks should be wholly saved, whereof I was fully convinced when he showed me a vast number of flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us that the webs would take a tincture from them; and as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit everybody's fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies, of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a strength and consistence to the threads.*

There was an astronomer who had undertaken to place a sun-dial upon the great weathercock on the town-house, by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.†

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* It may reasonably be presumed that Swift was aware that a few years previously an ingenious Frenchman, of the name of Bon, had actually succeeded in manufacturing the web of the spider, and had made stockings and gloves of it; and, as a pair of each of these were presented to the Royal Society, our author probably had seen them. In "Rees' Cyclopædia," article "Silk Spider," a full account of the whole process, as well as of the species of spiders which produce the silk, will be found, extracted from the "Memoir of M. Bon," presented to the Société Royale de France in 1710, and the report of M. Reaumur thereon. M. Bon states that the silk spider makes a silk every way as beautiful, glossy, and strong as the silkworm; that it takes all kinds of dyes, and may be worked into all kinds of stuffs. The report, however, of M. Reaumur was not favourable to the process as of commercial value. The spiders, too, were so ferocious, that the larger ones killed all the smaller. M. Bon also asserted that the silk spider contained volatile salt, which might be procured by distillation.

† Swift frequently indulged his desire to assail astronomers. He wrote verses, neither very decent nor very complimentary, against "Wicked Will Whiston," in relation to the method for ascertaining the longitude at sea, proposed by him and the mathematician, Humphrey Ditton. Cornelius Agrippa, in his treatise, "De Vanitate Artium et Scientiarum," handles astronomers and astrologers as roughly as Swift does:—"I omit all their vain disputes about excentricks, concentricks, epicycles, retrogradations, trepidations, accesses, recesses, swift motions and circles of motion, as being the works neither of God nor Nature, but the fiddle-faddles and trifles of mathematicians, taking their beginnings from corrupt philosophy and the fables of the poets, yet which the professors of this art believe as true, created by God, and established by Nature; from these fictions deducing the causes of inferiour accidents, asserting those feigned motions to be the principles of all inferiour motions. These astronomers a



He called aloud to me not to disturb his webs."—*Page* 219.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something, when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them the "Universal Artist." He told us he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life. He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry, tangible substance, by extracting the nitre and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse, to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs: the first, to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetables, outwardly applied, to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped, in a reasonable time, to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said, perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge, by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and he flattered himself that a more noble, exalted thought never sprang in any other man's head. Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas, by his contrivance, the most ignorant person, at a reasonable charge, and with a little bodily labour, might write books in philosophy, poetry, politics, laws, mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from

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servant-maid of Anaximenes very seasonably tax'd with a sharp reply. This maid was wont to walk with her master, who, one day going out a little later than ordinary to look upon the sky, while he was gazing among the stars, ne'er minding the situation of the place, fell into a ditch. 'I wonder, sir, how you can pretend to foreknow things in heaven, that cannot tell those things that are under your nose.'"

genius or study. He then led me to the frame, about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks. It was twenty feet square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness of a die, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered, on every square, with paper pasted on them; and on these papers were written all the words of their language, in their several moods, tenses, and declensions, but without any order. The professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his engine at work. The pupils, at his command, took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six-and-thirty of the lads to read the several lines softly, as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times; and at every turn, the engine was so contrived, that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.*

* In the original edition of the "Travels," a diagram of this ridiculous machine is gravely presented to the reader, that he may the better understand the process of the professor. Sir Walter Scott is of opinion that this idea is intended to ridicule the art invented by Raimond Lully, and advanced by his commentators; the mechanical process by which, according to Cornelius Agrippa, "everye man might plentifullye dispute of what matter he wolde, and, with a certain artificial and huge heap of nounes and verbes, invente and dispute with ostentation, full of trifling deceites upon both sides." "A reader," adds Scott, "might have supposed himself transported to the Grand Academy of Lagado, when he read of this 'brief and great invention of demonstration,' which consisted in adjusting the subject to be treated of according to a machine of divers circles, fixed and movable. The principal arch was fixed, and inscribed with the substances of all things that may be treated of, arranged under general heads, as GOD, ANGEL, EARTH, HEAVEN, MAN, ANIMAL, &c. Another circle was placed within it, which is movable, bearing inscribed thereon what logicians call the accidents, as QUANTITY, QUALITY, RELATION, &c. Other circles again contained the predicates, absolute and relative, &c., and the forms of the questions; and by turning the circles, so as to bring the various attributes to bear upon the question proposed, there was effected a species of mechanical logic, which, it cannot be doubted, was in Swift's mind when he designed the celebrated machine for making books." Lully was not without his followers. The celebrated Athanasius Kircher, in the middle of the seventeenth century, invented several machines of a somewhat similar nature, one of which he called *Specula*, from its resemblance to a lantern, which, Scott says, not only resolved the principal problems of the sphere and the calendar, but gave answers to questions in medicine, in astrology, and even in the cabala. He seems also to have anticipated our own Babbage in a calculating machine. Shortly after the Jesuit Gaspard Knittel composed, at Prague, on the same plan, his "Via Regia ad omnes Artes et Scientias;" and finally came the famous visionary, Quirinus Kahlmann (a constant correspondent of Father Kircher), who announced that he had invented a mechanical instrument, "much

Six hours a day the young students were employed in this labour; and the professor showed me several volumes in large folio already collected of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of those rich materials to give the world a complete body of all arts and sciences; which, however, might be still improved and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me that the invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth; that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the number of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech.

I made my humblest acknowledgment to this illustrious person for his great communicativeness; and promised, if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine; the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate on paper. I told him, although it was the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this advantage, that it became a controversy which was the right owner, yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire, without a rival.

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was, to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles; because in reality all things imaginable are but nouns.*

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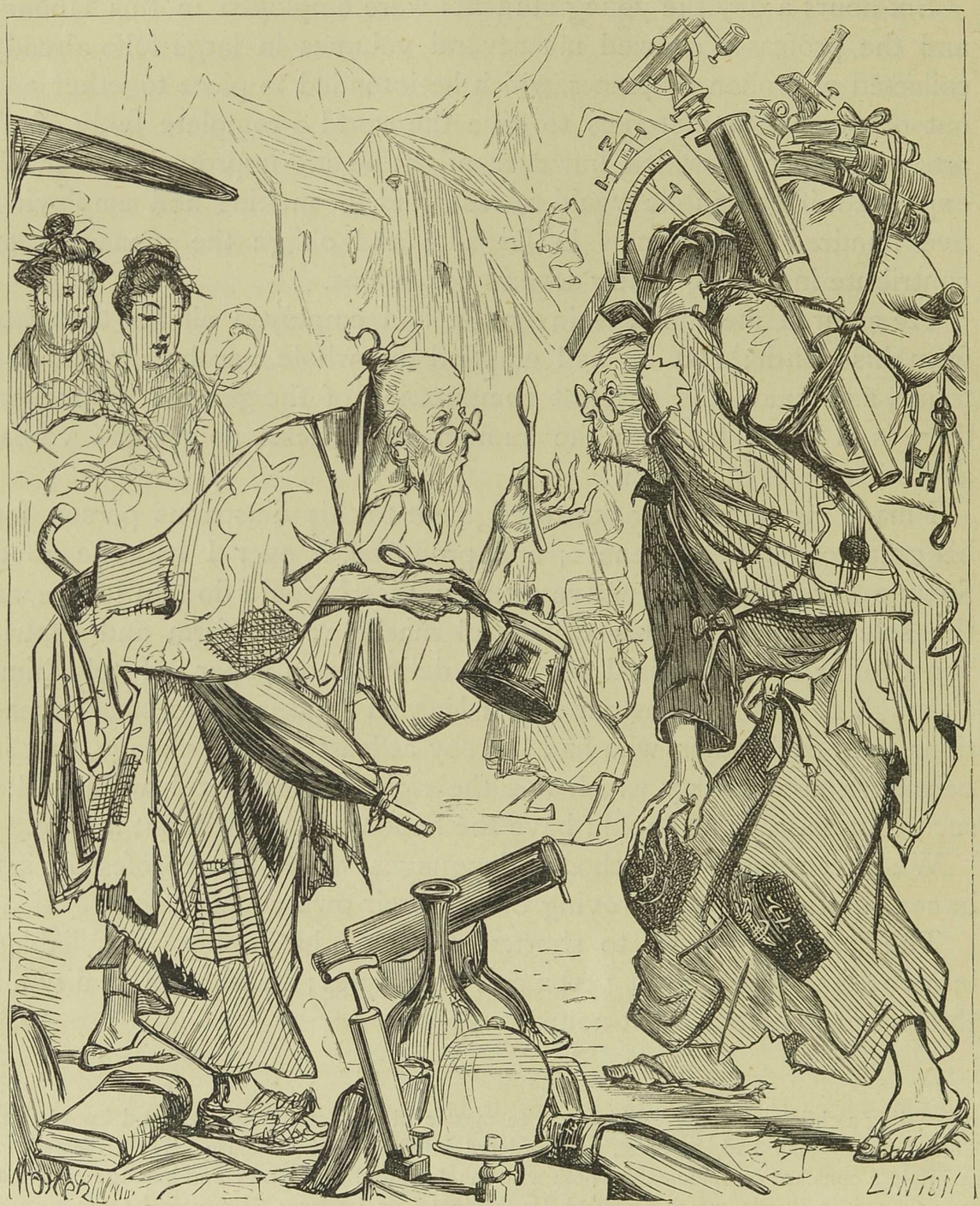
resembling a child's whirligig," which was to master all sciences, languages, and knowledge. This unhappy man had, however, a disordered intellect for his excuse. He professed to maintain a constant communication both with the devil and with God; and having founded a religious sect in Russia, which he called *Doukhobortzi*, or *Lutteurs Spirituels*, he was burned at the stake by Peter I. With him the folly may be said to have reached its climax, happily to be replaced by such noble combinations of real science and mechanical ingenuity as have given the world the calculating machine of Babbage.

* "The project of shortening a discourse," says Lord Orrery, commenting on this passage, "by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles, is pointed at the pernicious custom of contracting the English language, the dialect of which is naturally harsh, and that harshness is still increased by improper contractions. As Swift was scrupulously exact in the pronunciation of his own tongue, not the least improper expression ever escaped his censure; and I remember to have seen in manuscript a dictionary of hard words, composed by him for the use of his female senate."



'A scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever.'

The other project was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain that every word we speak is, in some degree, a diminution of our lungs by corrosion, and consequently contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that 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 a particular business they are to discourse on. And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their forefathers; such constant, irreconcileable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things; which has only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged, in proportion, to carry a greater bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of these sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the street, would lay down their loads, open their packs, and hold conversation for an hour together; and then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets, and under his arms, enough to supply him; and in his house he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room where company meet who practise this art is full of all things, ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention was that it would serve as a universal language, to be understood in all civilised nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

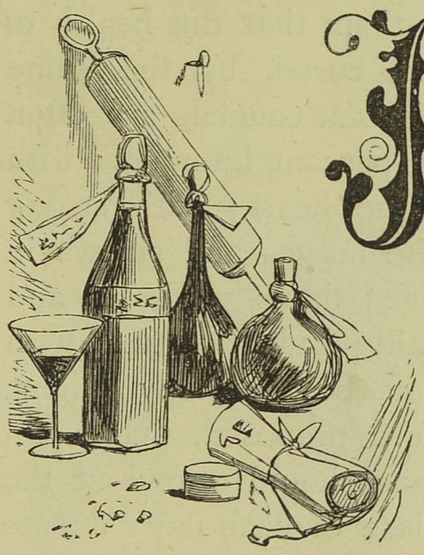
I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarcely imaginable to us in Europe. The proposition and demonstration were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of a cephalic tincture. This the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the proposition along with it. But the success has not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the quantum or

composition, and partly by the perverseness of the lads, to whom this bolus is so nauseous that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards before it can operate; neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.



CHAPTER VI.*

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE ACADEMY.—THE AUTHOR PROPOSES SOME IMPROVEMENTS, WHICH ARE HONOURABLY RECEIVED.



IN the school of political projectors I was but ill entertained, the professors appearing, in my judgment, wholly out of their senses, which is a scene that never fails to make me melancholy. These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to choose favourites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest, by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of choosing for employments persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild, impossible chimeras, that never entered before into the heart of a man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old observation, that "there is nothing so extravagant and irrational which some philosophers have not affirmed for truth."

But, however, I shall so far do justice to this part of the academy as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious doctor, who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole nature and system of government. This illustrious person had very usefully employed his studies in finding out effectual remedies for

*In this chapter Swift deals with the politicians of his own day under the fiction of the political projectors of the Academy of Lagado. As might be expected, his own strong Tory partialities and prejudices exhibit themselves somewhat as they did in the "Voyage to Lilliput," and we have strictures upon the proceedings of the Whigs against Swift's friends after the accession of George I. "The sixth chapter," observes Lord Orrery, "is full of severity and satire. Sometimes it is exerted against the legislative power; sometimes against women; and sometimes it degenerates into filth. True humour ought to be kept up with decency and dignity, or it loses every tincture of entertainment. Descriptions that shock our delicacy cannot have the least good effect upon our minds. They offend, and we fly precipitately from the sight. We cannot stay long enough to examine whether wit, sense, or morality may be couched under such odious appearances. I am sorry to say that these sorts of descriptions, which are too often interspersed throughout all Swift's works, are seldom written with any other view, or from any other motive, than a wild, unbridled indulgence of his own humour and disposition."

all diseases and corruptions to which the several kinds of public administration are subject, by the vices and infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the licentiousness of those who are to obey. For instance:—Whereas all writers and reasoners have agreed that there is a strict universal resemblance between the natural and political body, can there be anything more evident than that the health of both must be preserved, and the diseases cured, by the same prescriptions? It is allowed that senates and great councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humours; with many diseases of the head, and more of the heart; with strong convulsions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and sinews in both hands, but especially the right; with spleen, flatus, vertigoes, and deliriums; with scrofulous tumours, full of fœtid purulent matter; with canine appetites, and crudeness of digestion, beside many others, needless to mention. This doctor therefore proposed, that upon the meeting of the senate, certain physicians should attend at the three first days of their sitting, and at the close of each day's debate feel the pulses of every senator; after which, having maturely considered and consulted upon the nature of the several maladies, and the methods of cure, they should, on the fourth day, return to the senate-house, attended by their apothecaries stored with proper medicines, and before the members sat, administer to each of them lenitives, aperients, abstersives, corrosives, restringents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalalgics, icterics, aphphlegmatics, acoustics, as the several cases required; and, according as these medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them at the next meeting.

This project could not be of any great expense to the public, and might, in my poor opinion, be of much use for the dispatch of business in those countries where senates have any share in the legislative power; beget unanimity, shorten debates, open a few mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the petulancy of the young, and correct the positiveness of the old; rouse the stupid, and damp the pert.

Again: because it is a general complaint that the favourites of princes are troubled with short and weak memories, the same doctor proposed, that whoever attended a first minister, after having told his business, with the utmost brevity and in the plainest words, should, at his departure, give the said minister a tweak by the nose, or tread on his corns, or lug him thrice by both ears, or pinch his arm black and



"Attended by their apothecaries stored with proper medicines."—*Page* 228.

blue, to prevent forgetfulness; and at every levee day repeat the same operation, till the business were done or absolutely refused.

He likewise directed that every senator in the great council of a nation, after he had delivered his opinion and argued in the defence of it, should be obliged to give his vote directly contrary; because, if that were done, the result would infallibly terminate in the good of the public.

When parties in a state are violent, he offered a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The method is this:—You take a hundred leaders of each party; you dispose them into couples of such whose heads are nearest of a size; then let two nice operators saw off the occiput of each couple at the same time, in such a manner that the brains may be equally divided. Let the occiputs thus cut off be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems, indeed, to be a work that requires some exactness, but the professor assured us that if it were dextrously performed, the cure would be infallible. For he argued thus: that the two half brains being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull, would soon come to a good understanding, and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motions: and as to the difference of brains, in quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction, the doctor assured us, from his own knowledge, that it was a perfect trifle.

I heard a very warm debate between two professors about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money without grieving the subject. The first affirmed the justest method would be, to lay a certain tax upon vice and folly; and the sum fixed upon every man to be rated, after the fairest manner, by a jury of his neighbours. The second was of an opinion directly contrary—to tax those qualities of body and mind for which men chiefly value themselves; the rate to be more or less, according to the degrees of excelling; the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breasts. Wit, valour, and politeness were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's giving his own word for the quantum of what he possessed. But as to honour, justice, wisdom, and learning, they shall not be taxed at all; because they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbour or value them in himself.

The women were proposed to be taxed according to their beauty and skill in dressing, wherein they had the same privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgment.

To keep senators in the interest of the crown, it was proposed that the members shall raffle for employments; every man first taking an oath, and giving security, that he would vote for the court, whether he

won or not; after which, the losers had, in their turn, the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus, hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promises, but impute their disappointments wholly to fortune, whose shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a ministry.

Another professor showed me a large paper of instructions for discovering plots and conspiracies against the government. The whole discourse was written with great acuteness, containing many observations, both curious and useful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether complete. This I ventured to tell the author, and offered, if he pleased, to supply him with some additions. He received my proposition with more compliance than is usual among writers, especially those of the projecting species, professing he would be glad to receive further information.

I told him that in the kingdom Tribnia, by the natives called Langden,* where I sojourned some time in my travels, "the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and the pay of ministers of state, and their deputies.† The plots in that kingdom are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinions of public credit, as either shall best answer their private

* Tribnia and Langden, neither of which names are mentioned in the original edition of 1726, are both anagrams, the former for Britain, the latter for England. It is strange that Sir Walter Scott, in which he is followed by Dr. Taylor, gives London as intended by the latter name. This is manifestly erroneous. One is naturally disposed to suspect that many of the other names in these Travels are anagrammatical. I have tried a great number of them, but have been unsuccessful in discovering anagrams for them, if, indeed, there be any such.

† In the passages which follow, Swift assails with bitter ridicule the evidence which satisfied the two Houses of Parliament of the guilt of his friend Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. In 1723 the Bishop was accused of being concerned in a plot to bring in the Pretender. There was no direct evidence against him, but intercepted correspondence and letters in cipher were brought forward to implicate him. A strong feeling, both in the House and outside it, was raised in his favour, and the Ministry dared not bring in a bill of attainder against him; even the mitigated penalty of deprivation and banishment was received with great dissatisfaction. The Tories did not admit the existence of the plot at all, and strenuously denied that, if there were a plot, Atterbury was implicated in it. Swift and Pope, the intimate friends of the Bishop of Rochester, sympathised deeply with him, and excited the popular feeling in his favour; and the harsh treatment which he received in the Tower made the proceedings against him the more unpopular.



"It seems, indeed, to be a work that requires some exactness."—*Page* 230.

advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them what suspected persons should be accused of a plot, then effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dextrous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters: for instance, they can discover a flock of geese to signify a senate; a lame dog,* an invader; the plague, a standing army; a buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a sieve, a court lady; a broom, a revolution; a mouse-trap, an employment; a sink, a court; a cap and bells, a favourite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

"When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams. First, they can decipher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N* shall signify a plot; *B*, a regiment of horse; *L*, a fleet at sea: or secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. And this is the anagrammatic method." †

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* The allusion here is to a piece of circumstantial evidence relied upon by the Commons' Committee against Atterbury, which will be found at length in Howell's "State Trials," vol. xiv., p. 376:—"Some letters having been intercepted, which there is good reason to believe were from the Bishop of Rochester; and one of these letters being signed T. Jones, and another T. Illington, your Committee will now lay before the House the evidence they have found of the Bishop's being designed by those two names, collected from circumstances which, being in themselves seemingly minute and of little consequence, were for this reason more frankly confessed. . . . Mrs. Barnes, being examined before a Committee of Lords of the Council, obstinately refused to make the least discovery relating to George Kelly; but when she came to be asked what she knew about a dog sent over to Kelly from France, not suspecting this could lead to any discovery, she readily owned that a spotted little dog, called Harlequin, which was brought from France, and had a leg broken, was left with her by Mr. Kelly to be cured; that the said dog was not for her, but for the Bishop of Rochester; and that Kelly promised to get the dog of the Bishop of Rochester for her in case it did not recover of its lameness. This declaration she made and signed in the presence of the Committee of Council, and Kelly himself made no difficulty to own the receiving such a dog from France. But it appears to your Committee by letters intercepted between Kelly and his correspondents in France (the proof of which will be set forth in the sequel of this report), that a dog so named, and hurt, was sent over to Kelly from France, to be delivered as a present to the person denoted by the names of Jones and Illington." Swift at once availed himself of this ludicrous circumstance, and turned it to good account against the Whigs, in his humorous verses "Upon the Horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin, the Bishop of Rochester's French Dog."

† We have here a happy ridicule of the manner in which it was sought to criminate Atterbury by the interpretation of writings in cipher. One of the names that occur is Tom, which appears to have puzzled the Committee. "Who is meant by Tom in the said letter the Committee will not take upon them to determine; but they believe it will appear probable to

The professor made me great acknowledgments for communicating these observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his treatise.

I saw nothing in this country that could invite me to a longer continuance, and began to think of returning home to England.

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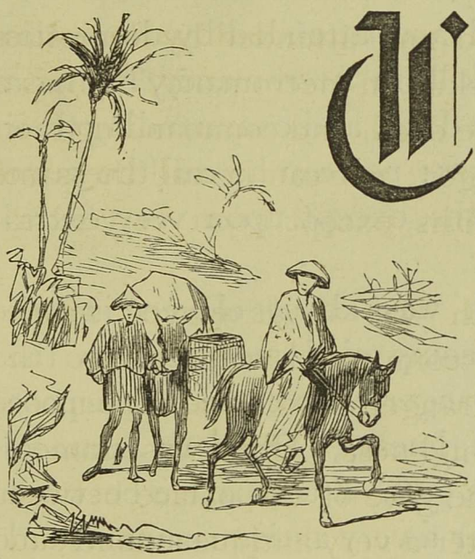
the House, from the connection and other circumstances, that it must mean the late Duke of Ormond." The number 1378 subscribed to one of the letters was said by the decipherers to denote a person whose name begins with an R, from which the Committee inferred that it was the Bishop of Rochester. Mr. Edward Willes, a well-known expert, swore to the meaning of the deciphered letters and to the correctness of the key by which he interpreted them, but he declined to produce the key, on the ground that it would tend to the discovery of his arts, and to instruct ill-designing men to contrive more difficult ciphers; and his objection was allowed.



CHAPTER VII.

THE AUTHOR LEAVES LAGADO ; ARRIVES AT MALDONADA.—NO SHIP READY.—HE TAKES A SHORT VOYAGE TO GLUBBDUBDRIB.—HIS RECEPTION BY THE GOVERNOR.



THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, eastward, to that unknown tract of America westward of California; and north, to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce from the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastward of Japan, about a hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor and the king of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide to show me the way, and carry my small baggage. I took leave of my noble protector who had shown me so much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada (for so it is called), there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor likely to be for some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, that since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubbdubdrib, about five leagues off to the south-west. He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient barque for the voyage.

Glubbdubdrib, as near as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians. It is about one-third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful : it is governed by the head of a

certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor. He has a noble palace, and a park of three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small enclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he has a power of calling whom he pleases from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at this island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen who accompanied me went to the governor, and desired admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honour of attending on his highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace between two rows of guards, armed and dressed after a very antique manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror I cannot express. We passed through several apartments, between servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the chamber of presence; where, after three profound obeisances, and a few general questions, we were permitted to sit on three stools, near the lowest step of his highness's throne. He understood the language of Balnibarbi, although it was different from that of this island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels; and to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with a turn of his finger; at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time, till the governor assured me that I should receive no hurt; and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highness a short history of my several adventures, yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place where I had seen those domestic spectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the morning. I stayed till sunset, but humbly desired his highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the



"A new set of ghosts served up the meat and waited at table."—*Page* 236.

palace. My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island; and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarised to the sight of spirits, that after the third or fourth time they gave me no emotion at all; or if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his highness the governor ordered me to call up whatever persons I might choose to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my question be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world.*

I made my humble acknowledgments to his highness for so great a favour. We were in a chamber from whence there was a fair prospect into the park. And because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela, which, upon a motion of the governor's finger, immediately appeared in a large field, under the window where we stood. Alexander was called up into the room; it was with great difficulty I understood his Greek, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honour that he was not poisoned, but died of a bad fever by excessive drinking.†

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* The idea of introducing his readers into the company of the departed, was probably suggested to Swift by Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead." What his object may have been it is not easy to determine, beyond that general moral design of exhibiting man, his acts and his objects, as they shall appear in their true light, unaffected by the passions and the prejudices which surrounded and obscured them while living. It is possible, too, that under the characters of departed celebrities, Swift may have meant to satirise the conduct of some of the men of his own day; but if this were so, we have lost the key of the interpretation. "I believe," says Lord Orrery, "it would be impossible to find out the design of Dr. Swift in summoning up a parcel of apparitions that, from their behaviour, or from anything they say, are almost of as little consequence as the ghosts in Gay's farce of the 'What d'ye Call It.' Perhaps Swift's general design might be to arraign the conduct of eminent persons after their death, and to convey their names and images to posterity, deprived of those false colours in which they formerly appeared. If these were his intentions, he has missed his aim; or at least has been so far carried away by his disposition to raillery, that the moral which ought to arise from such a fable is buried in obscurity."

† Lord Orrery's criticism on this passage is neither acute nor just. "After a hint from

Next, I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp.*

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their troops, just ready to engage. I saw the former in the last great triumph. I desired that the senate of Rome might appear before me, in one large chamber, and a modern representative in counterview, in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-gods; the other, a knot of pedlars, pickpockets, highwaymen, and bullies.†

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Cæsar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence of mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I observed, with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other; and Cæsar freely confessed to me that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away.‡ I had the honour to

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Gulliver that we have lost the true Greek idiom, the conqueror of the universe is made to declare that he died of excessive drinking, not by poison," which he calls a trifling and improper observation, when he should have spoken of some of the great events of his life. Dr. Hawkesworth has better appreciated the point of Swift's satire. "The appearance of Alexander with a victorious army after the battle of Arbela, produces only a declaration that he died by drunkenness: thus inadequate and ridiculous in the eye of reason is the ultimate purpose for which Alexander with his army marched into a remote country, subverted a mighty empire, and deluged a nation with blood; he gained no more than an epithet to his name, which, after a few repetitions, was no longer regarded even by himself. Thus the purpose of his resurrection appears to be at least equally important with that of his life, upon which it is a satire not more bitter than just." We think there is a higher moral here which even Dr. Hawkesworth has overlooked—namely, that while the deeds that filled the world have perished and are not worth a thought, the truth is eternal and all-important; and so the highest mission for the dead hero was to proclaim the truth, and thus clear the character of Antipater, even at the expense of his own.

* There is here a plain intimation of the author's disbelief in the story told by Livy (Book xxi., chap. 37) of Hannibal having burst a rock which opposed his passage through the Alps, by burning wood upon it till it was heated, and then pouring vinegar upon it. "Milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa in manibus dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt: eamque (quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset) succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt." Polybius makes no mention of this, and modern writers, while admitting that vinegar might produce the effect, doubt the possibility of Hannibal having a sufficient quantity to accomplish such a feat.

† Pompey and Cæsar only appear to grace the entry of Brutus. The placing the senate of Rome in juxtaposition with a modern representative assembly gives Swift an opportunity of satirising the British Parliament, which he handles in a manner more resembling the cynic in his cell than the free-humoured Rabelais in his easy chair.

‡ Brutus is evidently a character high in the estimation of Swift, and by the comparison between him and Cæsar, and the admission which the author puts into the mouth of the



"I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus."—*Page* 239.

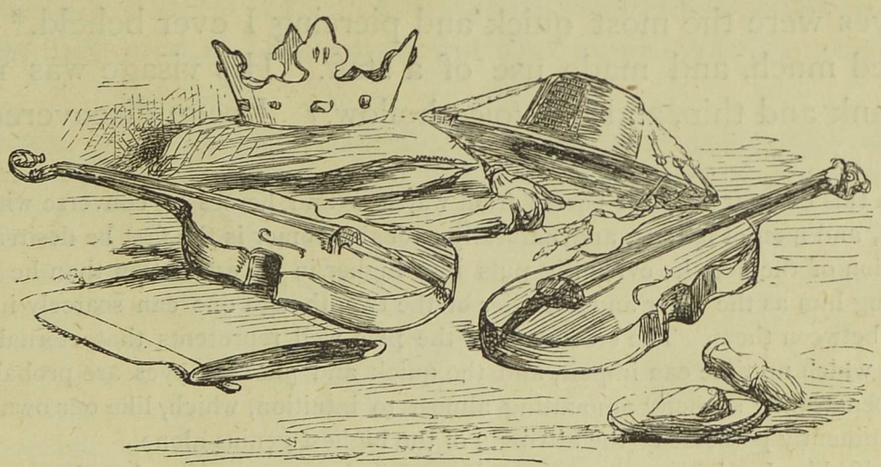
have much conversation with Brutus, and was told that his ancestors, Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger,* Sir Thomas More,

latter, he desires to express his conviction that the inflexible patriot who sacrifices even his friend to the good of his country is greater than the hero who elevates but to enslave it.

* Lord Orrery makes a strange blunder by confounding Cato the younger with Cato the censor, which Dr. Hawkesworth thus observes upon:—"This note of his lordship is an encomium on the judgment of our author, who knew that Cato the *censor* and Cato the *younger* were very different persons, and for good reason preferred the latter."

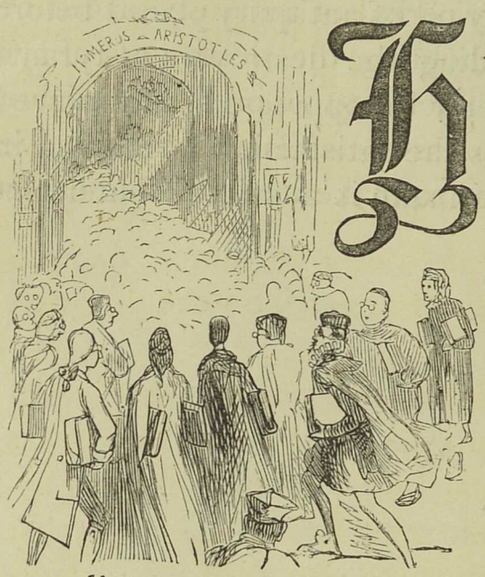
and himself, were perpetually together—a sextumvirate, to which all the ages in the world cannot add a seventh.

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable desire I had to see the world in every period of antiquity placed before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured nations. But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader.



CHAPTER VIII.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF GLUBBDUBDRIB.—ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY CORRECTED.



HAVING a desire to see those ancients who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators; but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court and outward rooms of the palace. I knew and could distinguish those two heroes, at first sight, and not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the comelier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld.* Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff. His visage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow.† I soon discovered that both

* In this chapter Gulliver passes from warriors and heroes to converse with poets, philosophers, and men of letters; and, naturally enough, Homer is the first he desires to see. In his description of the poet he evidently puts him higher in his estimation than he does Aristotle, describing him as the taller and comelier of the two, though one can scarcely institute a comparison between them. The erect walk of the poet well represents that eternal vigour of his writings which no time can impair, and the quick and piercing eyes are probably symbolical of that penetrating sagacity amounting almost to intuition, which, like our own Shakespeare, he so eminently possessed—the attribute of the highest genius alone.

† Swift, like Lord Orrery, seems to have failed to appreciate the character or mind of Aristotle. By representing him as stooping much, and making use of a staff, our author indicates that the reputation of the great philosopher has not stood the test of time. Perhaps Swift and Orrery are both fair exponents of the opinions of their own day. But the philosophers of the age that succeeded, and of the present—Kant, Hegel, Brandis, Cousin, and Sir William Hamilton—have vindicated the greatness of Aristotle, and restored to the high place which he so long occupied one of the most profound and subtle thinkers that the world has ever seen, whose mind has left its impress on all systems of philosophy and all modes of thought since his own time, and of whose "Organon" Kant and Hegel have asserted that no man has added to the logic of Aristotle, or taken anything from it. In a paper at once brilliant and profound, contributed by the late Professor Nichol, of Glasgow, to the "Imperial Dictionary of Biography," the intellectual and personal Aristotle are thus contrasted:—"The Aristotle of common apprehension is simply an austere abstraction—a rugged, titanic intellect, above concern in human interests, and incapable of human emotion. The actual Aristotle, on the contrary, was slender in his make, scrupulous in his dress, one who chose to have rings on his fingers, and preferred a smooth chin, had small eyes, and a feminine voice."

of them were perfect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before; and I had a whisper from a ghost who shall be nameless, that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity. I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet. But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him; and he asked them whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves.*

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle. This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do; and he found that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the vortices of Descartes, were equally to be exploded.† He predicted the same fate to attraction,

* "When Swift," says Professor De Morgan, "brings forward Scotus and Ramus, and presents them to Aristotle as standing to him in the same relation as Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, he shows more ignorance than a scholar ought to have had. Had he written now he might as well have presented M'Culloch and Cobbett as in one and the same relation to Adam Smith. Ramus would have offered to maintain *Quæcunque ab Aristotele, et multo magis a Scoto, dicta essent, Commentitia esse;* while Cobbett would have asked Swift what he meant by bringing him acquainted with two Scotch feelosophers."

† By the introduction of Descartes and Gassendi, and the judgment passed upon them by Aristotle, Swift wishes to express his own unfavourable estimate of both. But the Dean's opinion of philosophers or philosophy is not greatly to be relied on. Descartes, with all his speculations, must be looked on as one of the great pioneers of modern psychology, leading the way for Locke in England, Leibnitz in Germany, and Condillac in France. His doctrine of the vortices, to which Swift alludes, was that the heavens were one vast fluid, revolving like a vortex round the sun. Scherk, one of his best German commentators, says that on these questions of physics his head swam round in one of his own vortices; and that had not his natural genius and powerful understanding hindered it, he would hardly have left behind him, as physical theories went, a single idea that has retained any kind of credit to the present day. Gassendi, the contemporary and opponent of Descartes, on the subject of the origin of our knowledge, was a man of great genius and varied learning, of whom it was said that he was "le meilleur littérateur des philosophes, et le meilleur philosophe des littérateurs." He published two great works, "De Vitâ et Moribus Epicuri," and "Syntagma Philosophiæ Epicuri," in which he endeavoured to re-construct the theory of Epicurus, one which, over-praised by the ancients and over-censured by the moderns, can never be defended. Lord Orrery says, with some truth—"His natural philosophy is absurd; his moral philosophy wants its proper basis, the fear of God." Bayle, though an advocate of that philosopher, admits, "On ne scauroit pas dire assez de bien de l'honneteté de se mœurs, ni assez de mal de ses opinions sur la religion."

whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors. He said that new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary in every age; and even those who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined.*

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the ancient learned. I saw most of the Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Heliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not show us much of their skill, for want of materials. A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen who conducted me to the island were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure for two or three hundred years past, in our own and other countries of Europe; and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governor would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors, in order, for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fiddlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate; in another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquises, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess it was not without some pleasure that I found myself able to trace the particular features by which certain families are distinguished up to

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* Sir Walter Scott says that "this, with other passages, shows that the Dean understood little natural philosophy, and rather undervalued its professors." Yet in the introduction to "Polite Conversation" he pays, in his own indirect and sarcastic way, a handsome compliment to Sir Isaac Newton. I suspect the mathematician lost ground in the philosopher's opinion from his decision upon the essay of "Wood's Halfpence." It may well be doubted that the subjoined passage, to which Scott alludes, is intended as complimentary to the philosopher. "I have been assured by more than one credible person how some of my enemies have industriously whispered about that one Isaac Newton, an instrument maker, formerly living near Leicester Fields, and afterwards a workman in the Mint at the Tower, might possibly pretend to vie with me for fame in future times. The man, it seems, was knighted for making sundials better than others of his trade, and was thought to be a conjuror because he knew how to draw lines and circles upon a slate, which nobody could understand. But adieu to all noble attempts for endless renown, if the ghost of an obscure mechanic shall be raised up to enter into competition with me, only for his skill in making pothooks and hangers with a pencil, which many thousand accomplished gentlemen and ladies can perform as well with pen and ink upon a piece of paper, and in a manner as little intelligible as those of Sir Isaac."



"A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth."—*Page* 244.

their originals. I could plainly discover whence one family derives a long chin; why a second has abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be sharpers: whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house, *Nec vir fortis, nec fœmina casta;* how cruelty, falsehood, and cowardice grew to be characteristics by which certain families are distinguished as much as by their coats of arms. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an interruption of lineages, by pages, lackeys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fiddlers, players, captains, and pickpockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history. For having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes, for a hundred years past, I found how the world had been misled by writers, to ascribe the greatest exploits in war to cowards; the wisest counsel to fools; sincerity to flatterers; Roman virtue to betrayers of their country; piety to atheists; truth to informers: how many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment, by the practising of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions: how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit: how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates might be challenged by parasites and buffoons. How low an opinion I had of human wisdom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprises and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success!

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes, or secret history; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true causes of many great events that have surprised the world. A general confessed, in my presence, that he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill-conduct; and an admiral, that for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy to whom he intended to betray the fleet.* Three kings protested to me that in their whole reigns they

* It is very probable that Swift here alludes, according to the conjecture of Sir Walter Scott, to the conduct of Admiral Russell, previous to the battle off La Hogue, in 1692. Russell, at the time, was in command of the English and Dutch fleets, and though he had received

never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again: and they showed, with great strength of reason, that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.*

I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by what methods great members had procured to themselves high titles of honour, and prodigious estates; and I confined my inquiry to a very modern period: however, without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners; for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I say upon this occasion. A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were among the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I made, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to debauchery; others, to the betraying of their country or their prince; some, to poisoning; more, to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent; I hope I may be pardoned if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states, and desired to see the persons by whom those services were performed. Upon inquiry I was told that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history has represented as the

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many rewards and honours from William III., whom he had invited to come over to England, his ambition and greed were still unsatisfied, and he carried on at the very time a treasonable correspondence with James II. for the purpose of restoring him to the throne, and even proposed to get out of the way with the fleet, so as to give the invaders an opportunity of landing. And yet, with all his readiness to play the traitor, he had enough of English feeling, and perhaps professional spirit, to intimate to the enemy "that if he met the French fleet he would fight it, even though the king himself were on board." In this he was as good as his word. On the 19th of May he engaged the French fleet off La Hogue, and gained a signal victory, which demolished the hopes of the prince whom he was plotting to restore to his kingdom.

* Scott conjectures, what is very likely, that the three monarchs alluded to here are Charles II., James II., and William III., none of whom stood high in Swift's good graces.



"They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habits."

vilest of rogues and traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habits; most of them telling me they died in poverty and disgrace, and the rest on a scaffold or on a gibbet.

Among others, there was one person whose case appeared a little singular. He had a youth about eighteen years old standing by his side. He told me he had for many years been commander of a ship, and in the sea-fight at Actium had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, sink three of their capital ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole cause of Antony's flight, and of the victory that ensued; that the youth standing by him, his only son, was killed in the action. He added, that upon the confidence of some merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome, and solicited at the court of Augustus to be preferred to a greater ship, whose commander had been killed; but, without any regard to his pretensions, it was given to a boy who had never seen the sea, the son of Libertina, who waited on one of the emperor's mistresses. Returning back to his own vessel,

he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ship given to a favourite page of Publicola, the vice-admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor farm at a great distance from Rome, and there ended his life. I was so curious to know the truth of this story, that I desired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in that fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account; but with much more advantage to the captain, whose modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was surprised to find corruption grown so high and so quick in that empire, by the force of luxury so lately introduced; which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, has been engrossed by the chief commander, who, perhaps, had the least title to either.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflections to observe how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us within these hundred years past; how disease, under all its consequences and denominations, had altered every lineament of an English countenance; shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscles, introduced a sallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low, as to desire some English yeomen of an old stamp might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valour, and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all these pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grandchildren, who, in selling their votes and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.*

* Swift rarely loses an opportunity of inveighing against the corrupt practices of Ministers in securing the return of Members of Parliament of their own party by bribery at elections, or of alluding to the vices and intrigues of the Court. In dismissing the ghosts with whom we have been engaged in the last two chapters, we cannot but feel that Swift has not improved the occasion as fully as one of his genius might have done, either as a satirist, a moralist, or a Christian divine.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AUTHOR RETURNS TO MALDONADA.—SAILS TO THE KINGDOM OF LUGGNAGG.—THE AUTHOR CONFINED.—HE IS SENT FOR TO COURT.—THE MANNER OF HIS ADMITTANCE.—THE KING'S GREAT LENITY TO HIS SUBJECTS.



THE day of our departure being come, I took leave of his highness, the governor of Glubbdubdrib, and returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where, after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board. I was a month on this voyage. We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the trade-wind, which holds for about sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1708,* we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a sea-port town, at the south-east point of Luggnagg. We cast anchor within a league of the town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large basin, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town wall.

Some of our sailors, either out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots that I was a stranger, and a great traveller; whereof these gave notice to a custom house officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balnibarbi, which, by the force of much commerce, is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen and those employed in the customs. I gave him a short account of some par-

* In the original edition of the Travels, published in London by La Motte, 1726, this year is given as 1711, which is manifestly incorrect. In the far more accurate edition, published in Dublin by George Faulkner, in 1735, in which, according to some laudatory verses on the occasion, Apollo is said to have

"Had a hand in the work, and corrected the press,"

the date is given correctly as in the text.

ticulars, and made my story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call myself a Hollander: because my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, that having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balnibarbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the flying island (of which he had often heard), and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country. The officer said I must be confined till he could receive orders from court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an answer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient lodging, with a sentry placed at the door; however, I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the king's charge. I was visited by several persons, chiefly out of curiosity, because it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man, who came in the same ship, to be an interpreter; he was a native of Luggnagg, but had lived some years at Maldonada, and was a perfect master of both languages. By his assistance, I was able to hold a conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their questions and my answers.

The despatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my retinue to *Traldragdubh*, or *Trildrogdrib* (for it is pronounced both ways as near as I can remember), by a party of ten horse. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I persuaded into my service, and, at my humble request, we had each of us a mule to ride on. A messenger was dispatched half a day's journey before us, to give the king notice of my approach, and to desire that his majesty would please to appoint a day and hour when it would be his gracious pleasure that I might have the honour to lick the dust before his footstool. This is the court style, and I found it to be more than matter of form: for, upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but, on account of my being a stranger, care was taken to have it made so clean, that the dust was not offensive.* However, this was a peculiar grace, not

* There is here an obvious allusion to the humiliation to which men must submit who seek to rise in courts. Few men knew better than Swift what arts were practised at court, and there were few courts in which patronage was more venal than in that of George I. The



"I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that he was not able to speak a word."—*Page* 253.

allowed to any but persons of the highest rank, when they desire an admittance. Nay, sometimes the floor is strewed with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court; and I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy; because it is capital for those who receive an audience to spit or wipe their mouth in his majesty's presence. There is indeed another custom, which I cannot altogether approve of: when the king has a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle, indulgent maner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly composition, which, being licked up, infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But in justice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he has of his subjects' lives (wherein it were much to be wished that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him), it must be mentioned for his honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after every such execution, which, if his domestics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal displeasure. I myself heard him give directions that one of his pages should be whipped, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it; by which neglect, a young lord of great hopes, coming to an audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the king at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more, without special orders.*

To return from this digression: when I had crept to within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then striking my forehead seven times against the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before: *Inckpling gloffthrobb squw tserumm blhiop mlashnalt zwin tnodbalkuff hsthiophad kurdlubhasht.* This is the compliment, established by the laws of the land, for all persons admitted to the king's presence. It

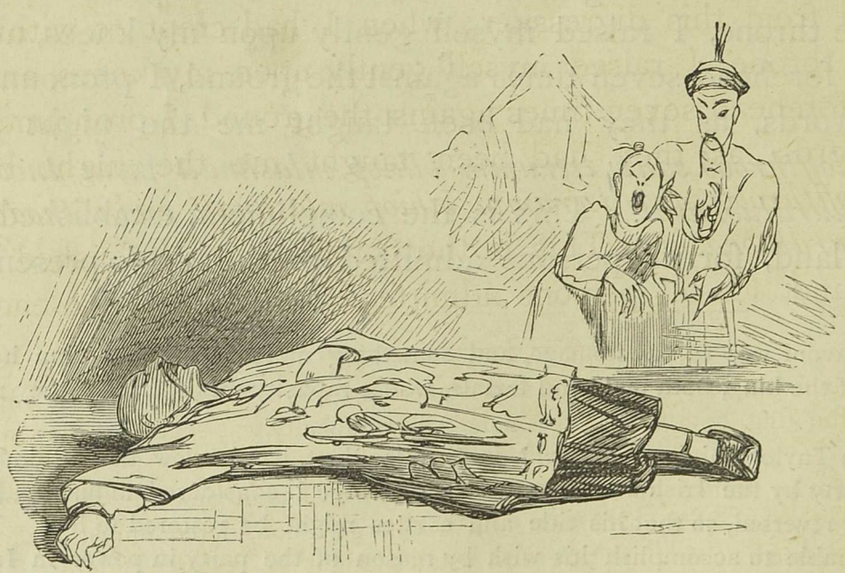
surest road to favour was to pay homage, and something more substantial than homage, to the favourites of the king, both male and female, whose rapacity was such that they made sale of everything.

* Dr. Cooke Taylor thinks that Swift, in this incident, has in view the attainder of the Earl of Clancarty by the Irish Parliament, which George I. considered unjust, and was desirous of having reversed, so that his title and estates might be restored to him. The king, however, was unable to accomplish his wish by reason of the party in power in Ireland refusing to reverse the forfeiture; and after some show of dissatisfaction, he was obliged to acquiesce.

may be rendered into English thus : " May your celestial majesty outlive the sun, eleven moons and a half!"* To this the king returned some answer, which, although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed : *Flute drin yalerick dwuldom prtasrad mirpush ;* which properly signifies, " My tongue is in the mouth of my friend ;" and by this expression was meant that I desired leave to bring my interpreter: whereupon the young man already mentioned was accordingly introduced, by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his majesty could put in about an hour. I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Luggnagg. The king was much delighted with my company, and ordered his *bliffmarklub,* or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter, with a daily allowance for my table, and a large piece of gold for my common expenses.

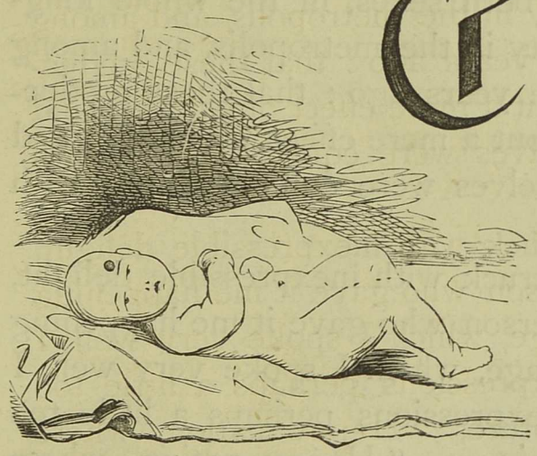
I stayed three months in this country, out of perfect obedience to his majesty, who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

* The description of the ceremonial of the introduction to the King of Luggnagg and the hyperbolical language addressed to him are intended, we may infer, to ridicule and reprove the extravagant and adulatory terms in which the Houses of Parliament were in the habit of addressing the English Sovereign. The old Duchess of Marlborough gives it this application : —" The style of the Lords' address," she says, " puts me in mind of Dean Swift's account, who I am prodigiously fond of, which he gives of the manner in which he was introduced to the King of Luggnagg."—*The Opinions of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.*



CHAPTER X.*

THE LUGGNAGGIANS COMMENDED.—A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE STRULDBRUGS, WITH MANY CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND SOME EMINENT PERSONS UPON THAT SUBJECT.



THE Luggnaggians are a polite and generous people, and although they are not without some share of that pride which is peculiar to all Eastern countries, yet they show themselves courteous to strangers, especially such as are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintances, and among persons of the best fashion; and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality whether I had seen any of their *struldbrugs*, or immortals. I said I had not, and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an appellation, applied to a mortal creature. He told me that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family, with a red circular spot on the forehead, directly over the left eyebrow, which was an infallible mark that it would never die. The spot,

* This chapter is principally occupied by an account of the struldbrugs, or immortals, and is, as Thackeray observes, "perhaps the most melancholy satire in the whole book." It is more: it is a most moving discourse upon the miseries which would attend on human life if protracted beyond the ordinary period which God has assigned to man; the moral of which is pointed with peculiarly touching significance, when we remember the horror, almost prophetic, which Swift felt of old age, and the sorrows and sufferings which it entails. For many years he used to bid his friends adieu with these melancholy words, "God bless you; I hope we shall never meet again." On one occasion, he and another clergyman had just moved from under a heavy mirror, when it fell to the ground, and in reply to his companion's exclamation of thankfulness for their escape, he said, "Had I been alone, I could have wished I had not removed."

"The description of the struldbrugs," says Lord Orrery, "is an instructive piece of morality; for, if we consider it in a serious light, it tends to reconcile us to our final dissolution. Death, when set in contrast to the immortality of the struldbrugs, is no longer the king of terrors; he loses his sting; he appears to us as a friend, and we cheerfully obey his summons, because it brings certain relief to the greatest miseries. It is in this description that Swift shines in a particular manner. He probably felt in himself the effects of approaching age, and tacitly dreaded the period of life in which he might become a representative of those miserable immortals."

as he described it, was about the compass of a silver threepence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its colour: for at twelve years old it became green, so continued till five-and-twenty, then turned to a deep-blue; at five-and-forty it grew coal black, and as large as an English shilling; but never admitted any further alteration. He said these births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred *struldbrugs*, of both sexes, in the whole kingdom; of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and among the rest a young girl born about three years ago: that these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a mere effect of chance; and the children of the *struldbrugs* themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people."

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight, upon hearing this account: and the person who gave it me happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out, as in a rapture, "Happy nation, where every child has at least a chance of being immortal! Happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but happiest, beyond all comparison, are those excellent *struldbrugs*, who, being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death." I discovered my admiration that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: and it was impossible that his majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court: and we often find, by experience, that young men are too opinionated and volatile, to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the king was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved, upon the very first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large, by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or not, yet in one thing I was determined: that his majesty, having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would, with great thankfulness, accept the favour,



'Happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue !"—*Page* 256.

and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings, the *struldbrugs*, if they would please to admit me.

The gentleman to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me, with a sort of a smile, which usually arises from them to the ignorant, that he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission to explain to the company what I had said.

He did so, and they talked together for a long time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence the same person told me that his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know, in a particular manner, what scheme of living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a *struldbrug*.

I answered it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me, who had been often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do, if I were a king, a general, or a great lord: and upon this very case, I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time, if I were sure to live for ever.

"If it had been my good fortune to come into the world a *struldbrug*, as soon as I could discover my own happiness, by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve, by all arts and methods whatsoever, to procure myself riches: in pursuit of which, by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect, in about two hundred years, to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom. In the second place, I would, from my earliest youth, apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action, and event of consequence, that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point. I would exactly set down the several changes and customs, language, fashions of dress, diet, and diversions; by all which acquirements I should be a great treasure of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

"I would never marry after threescore, but live in an hospitable manner, yet still on the saving scale. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them, from my own remembrance, experience, and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public and private life. But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood, among whom I would elect a dozen, from the most ancient down to my own contemporaries. Where any

of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own estate, and have some of them always at my table; only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and treat your posterity after the same manner; just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loss of those which withered the preceding year.

"These *struldbrugs* and I would mutually communicate our observations and memorials, through the course of time; remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind: which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature, so justly complained of in all ages.

"Add to this the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires; the changes in the lower and upper world; ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings; famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks; the ocean leaving one coast dry, and overwhelming another; the discovery of many countries yet unknown; barbarity overrunning the politest nations, and the most barbarous becoming civilised. I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions, brought to the utmost perfection.

"What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own predictions; by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon, and stars!"

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life, and sublunary happiness, could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expense. At last, the same gentleman who had been my interpreter, said, "He was desired by the rest to set me right in a few mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecility of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of *struldbrugs* was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balnibarbi or Japan, where he

had the honour to be ambassador from his majesty, and found the natives in both these kingdoms very hard to believe that the fact was possible: and it appeared from my astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above-mentioned, where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat. Only in this island of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the *struldbrugs* before their eyes.

"That the system of living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust; because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, which no man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes.* That the question therefore was not whether a man would choose to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health; but how he would pass a perpetual life, under all the usual disadvantages which old age brings along with it; for although few men will avow their desires of being immortal, upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before-mentioned, of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death some time longer, let it approach ever so late: and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether in those countries I had travelled, as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition." †

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* "To this it may possibly be objected, that the perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour would be less a prodigy than the perpetuity of life in a body subject to gradual decay, and might therefore be hoped without greater extravagance of folly; but the sentiment here expressed is that of a being to whom immortality, though not perpetual youth, was familiar, and in whom the wish of a perpetual youth only would have been extravagant, because that only appeared from the facts to be impossible."—*Hawkesworth.*

† "If it be said, that although the folly of desiring life to be prolonged under the disadvantages of old age is here finely exposed, yet the desire of terrestrial immortality, upon terms on which alone in the nature of things it is possible—an exemption from disease, accident, and decay—is tacitly allowed; it may be answered, that as we grow old by imperceptible degrees, so for the most part we grow old without repining; and every man is ready to profess himself willing to die, when he shall be overtaken by the decrepitude of age in some future period: yet when every other eye sees that this period is arrived, he is still tenacious of life, and

After this preface, he gave me a particular account of the *struldbrugs* among them. He said they commonly acted like mortals till about thirty years old; after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession; for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionated, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative; but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grandchildren. "Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to a harbour of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of anything but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle-age, and even that is very imperfect; and for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on common tradition than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

"If a *struldbrug* happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved, of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to the fourscore; for the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence, that those who are condemned, without any fault of their own, to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their miseries doubled by the load of a wife.

"As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates; only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period, they

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murmurs at the condition upon which he received his existence. To reconcile old age, therefore, to the thoughts of a dissolution, appears to be all that was necessary in a moral writer for practical purposes."—*Hawkesworth.*

are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit; they cannot purchase lands, or take leases; neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

"At ninety, they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without increasing or diminishing. In talking, they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect they are deprived of the only entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.

"The language of this country being always upon the flux, the *struldbrugs* of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able after two hundred years to hold any conversation (further than by a few general words) with their neighbours, the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country."

This was the account given me of the *struldbrugs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends; but although they were told that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world, they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired I would give them *slumskudash*, or a token of remembrance, which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly: so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are is by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.



"They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld."—*Page* 264.

They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld ; and the women were more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described ; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.*

The reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed ; and thought no tyrant could invent a death into which I would not run with pleasure, from such a life.† The king heard of all that had passed between

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* The melancholy and appalling picture here drawn of the struldbrugs, reminds one forcibly of the masterly one which Juvenal has left us of the "labour and sorrow" of extreme old age, when reproving, in his tenth Satire, those who pray earnestly for a life extended through many years :—

"Deformem et tetrum ante omnia vultum,
Dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
Pendentesque genas, et tales aspice rugas,
Quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,
In velula, scalpit jam mater simia bucca.
Una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra,
Et jam læve caput, madidique infantia nasi.
Frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi."

And, worse than these physical sufferings, the loss of mind and memory :

"Sed omni
Membrorum damno major dementia, quæ nec
Nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici
Cum quo præterita cœnavit nocte, nec illos.
Quos genuit, quos eduxit."

Even Christian sages have looked on extreme old age as little to be desired. "Quum si homines optant senectutem," says St. Augustine ; "quod aliud optant nisi longam infirmitatem." And Petrarch, in his eighty-third Dialogue, "De Senectute," observes, that "the traveller should indeed be senseless, who, when exhausted with the labour of life's journey, could desire to commence it again : to the weary man nothing is more grateful than the rest in his inn."

† It is a pleasurable relief to turn from Swift's gloomy picture of old age to the philosophic reflections of a distinguished man of his own times, even while contemplating Gulliver's "immortals." Horace Walpole, writing to the Countess of Ossory, from his retreat in Strawberry Hill (June 7th, 1785), alluding to himself as a struldbrug who has outlived all his passions and pursuits, and detailing his physical sufferings, says : "But I beg your pardon, madam, though I cannot but smile with thinking how you will be disappointed on receiving, instead of a letter, the reflections of a struldbrug on his own inanity. When Swift drew the character, he did not know it. Poor man ! the turbulence of his own temper, and the apprehensions of his own decay, made him conceive it a miserable condition : on the contrary, it is almost a gay one, when one can be sensible of it and of all its enjoyments." Let us dismiss this subject with the noble and touching reflections of Dr. Johnson :—"It cannot surely be supposed that old age, worn with labours, harassed with anxieties, and tortured with diseases, should have any gladness of its own, or feel any satisfaction from the contemplation of the present. All the comfort that can now be expected must be recalled from the past, or borrowed from the future : the past is very soon exhausted, all the events or actions of which

me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly; wishing I could send a couple of *struldbrugs* to my own country to arm our people against the fear of death; but this, it seems, is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expense of transporting them.

I could not but agree that the laws of this kingdom relative to the *struldbrugs* were founded upon the strongest reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting, in the like circumstances. Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engross the civil power, which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

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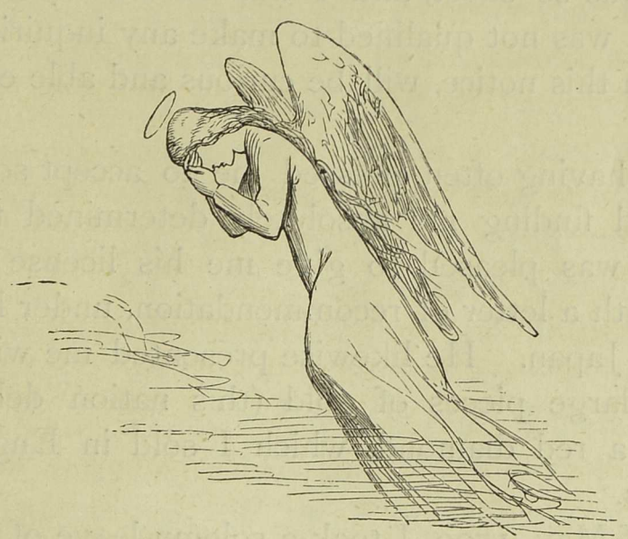
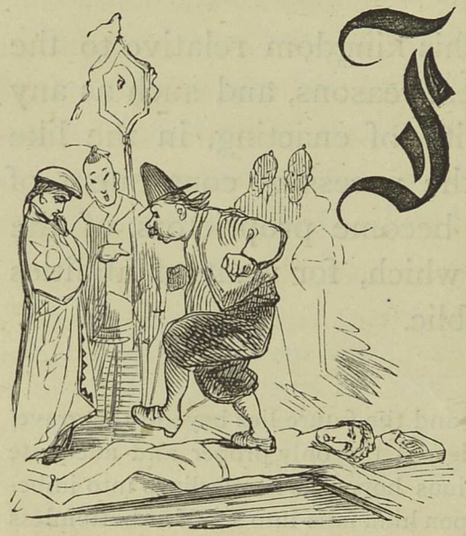
the memory can afford pleasure are quickly recollected; and the future lies beyond the grave, where it can be reached only by virtue and devotion. Piety is the only proper and adequate relief of decaying man. He that grows old without religious hopes, as he declines into imbecility, and feels pains and sorrows incessantly crowding upon him, falls into a gulf of bottomless misery, in which every reflection must plunge him deeper, and where he finds only new gradations of anguish and precipices of horror."



CHAPTER XI.

THE AUTHOR LEAVES LUGGNAGG, AND SAILS TO JAPAN—FROM THENCE HE RETURNS IN A DUTCH SHIP TO AMSTERDAM, AND FROM AMSTERDAM TO ENGLAND.



I THOUGHT this account of the *struldbrugs* might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that has come to my hands: and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary for travellers who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan; and it is very probable that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the *struldbrugs;* but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so entirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any inquiries. But I hope the Dutch, upon this notice, will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His majesty, having often pressed me to accept some employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me his license to depart; and honoured me with a letter of recommendation, under his own hand, to the Emperor of Japan. He likewise presented me with four hundred and forty-four large pieces of gold (this nation delighted in even numbers), and a red diamond, which I sold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the 6th of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his majesty, and all my friends. This prince was so gracious as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenstald, which is a royal port to the south-west part of the island. In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan, and spent fifteen days in the voyage. We landed at a small

port-town, called Xamoschi, situated on the south-east part of Japan; the town lies on the western point, where there is a narrow strait leading northward into a long arm of the sea, upon the north-west part of which Yedo, the metropolis, stands. At landing I showed the custom-house officer my letter from the King of Luggnagg to his imperial majesty. They knew the seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impression was, "A king lifting up a lame beggar from the earth." The magistrates of the town, hearing of my letter, received me as a public minister; they provided me with carriages and servants, and bore my charges to Yedo, where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the emperor by an interpreter; who then gave me notice, by his majesty's order, that I should signify my request, and, whatever it were, it should be granted, for the sake of his royal brother of Luggnagg. This interpreter was a person employed to transact affairs with the Hollanders: he soon conjectured, by my countenance, that I was a European, and therefore repeated his majesty's commands in Low Dutch, which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, as I had before determined, that I was a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote country, whence I had travelled by sea and land to Luggnagg, and then took shipping for Japan; where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe. I therefore most humbly entreated his royal favour, to give order that I should be conducted in safety to Nangasac. To this I added another petition, that for the sake of my patron, the King of Luggnagg, his majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of trampling upon the crucifix; because I had been thrown into this kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading. When this latter petition was interpreted to the emperor, he seemed a little surprised, and said he believed I was the first of my countrymen who ever made any scruple on this point, and that he began to doubt whether I was a real Hollander or not; but rather suspected I must be a Christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the King of Luggnagg by an uncommon mark of his favour, he would comply with the singularity of my humour; but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass, as it were by forgetfulness; for he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my



"They knew the seal perfectly well."—*Page* 267.

countrymen, the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the voyage. I returned my thanks, by the interpreter, for so unusual a favour; and some troops being at that time on the march to Nangasac, the commanding officer had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instructions about the business of the crucifix.*

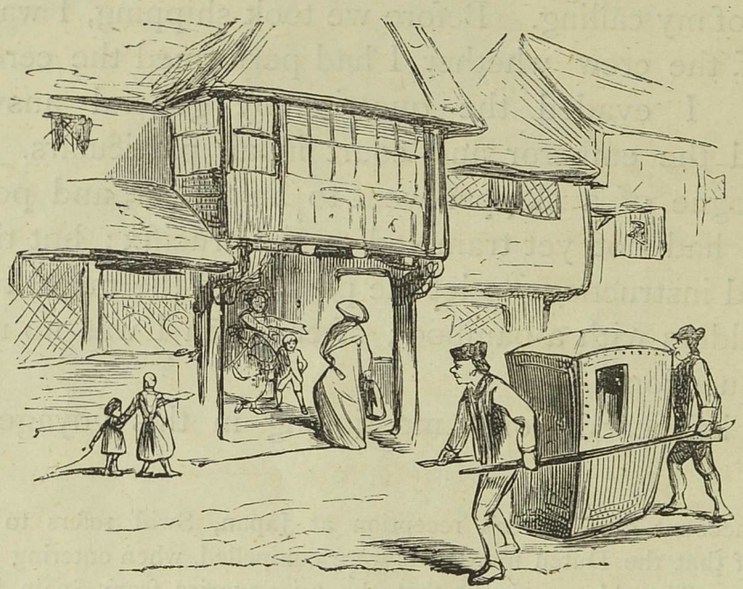
On the 9th of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac, after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into the company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the *Amboyna* of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies in Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well. The seamen soon knew whence I came last; they were curious to inquire into my voyages and course of life. I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many persons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obscure people in the province of Guelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland; but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way of my calling. Before we took shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned. I evaded the question by general answers—that I had satisfied the emperor and court in all particulars. However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him I had not yet trampled on the crucifix; but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.

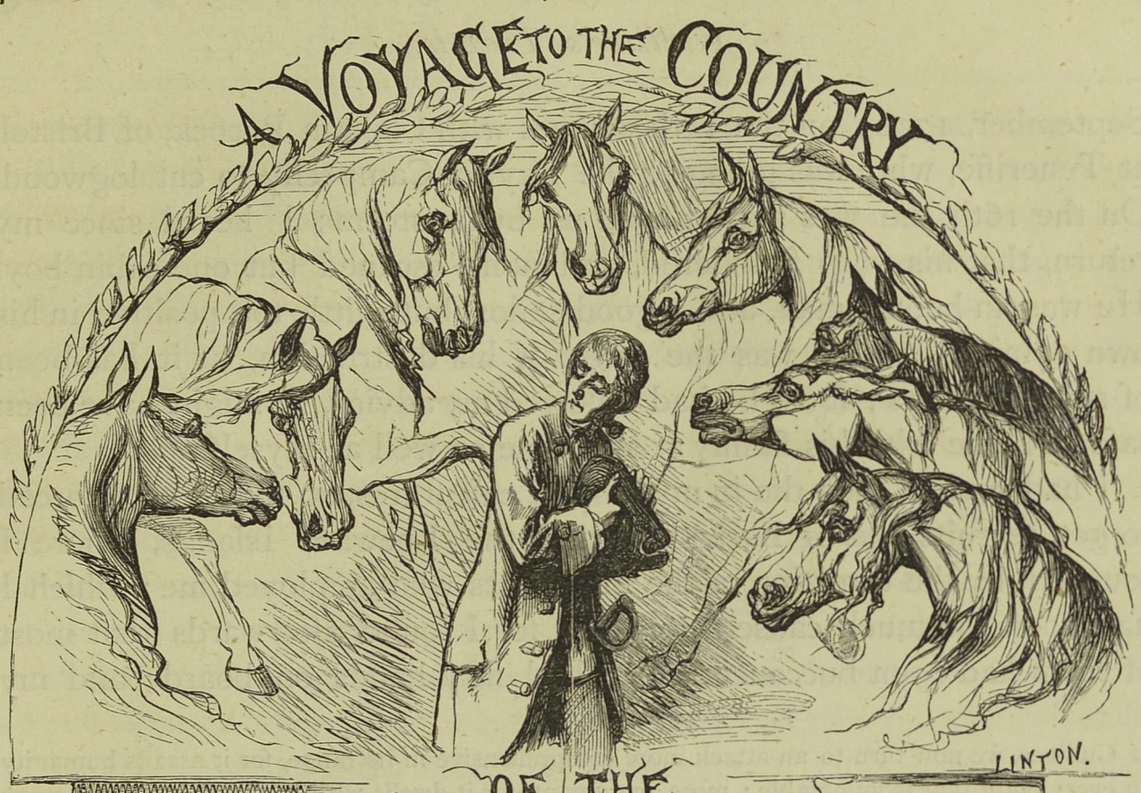
Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We sailed

* In this account of Gulliver's reception at Japan, Swift refers to the popular but erroneous belief that the Dutch merchants were compelled, when entering Japan, to trample on the crucifix. There is no doubt that the missionaries from Spain had excited great jealousy and resentment against the Christian religion, so much so that every Japanese official at the Dutch factory was bound, twice or thrice a year, to take a solemn oath of renunciation and hatred of the Christian religion, and was made to trample the cross and crucifix under his feet, which probably gave rise to the opinion above referred to. The Dutch, through whom the entire European trade was carried on, were subjected to great indignities. They were confined to the small island of Dezima, in the harbour of Nagazuki. When a ship arrived, her guns and ammunition were first taken out, and she was afterwards searched in every part, and an exact list made of everything on board. The crew were then permitted to land on the island, where they were kept under the inspection of guards as long as the ship remained.

with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we stayed only to take in fresh water. On the 10th of April, 1710, we arrived safe at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness in the voyage, and a fourth, who fell from the foremast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guinea. From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England, in a small vessel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and saw once more my native country, after an absence of five years and six months complete. I went straight to Redriff, where I arrived the same day, at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health.

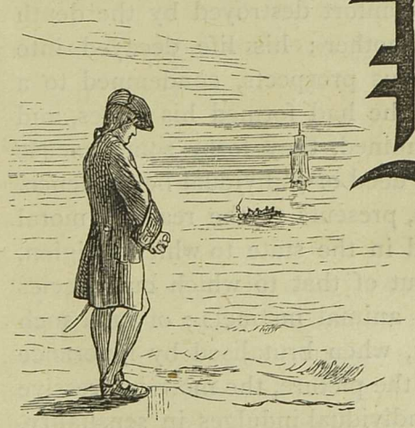




OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR SETS OUT AS CAPTAIN OF A SHIP.—HIS MEN CONSPIRE AGAINST HIM, CONFINE HIM A LONG TIME TO HIS CABIN, AND SET HIM ON SHORE IN AN UNKNOWN LAND.—HE TRAVELS UP INTO THE COUNTRY.—THE YAHOOS, A STRANGE SORT OF ANIMAL, DESCRIBED.—THE AUTHOR MEETS TWO HOUYHNHNMS.



I CONTINUED at home with my wife and children about five months in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife once more, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain of the *Adventure*, a stout merchantman of 350 tons: for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, which, however, I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship. We set sail from Portsmouth upon the 7th day of

* From satires against individuals, institutions, and philosophers—against kings and courts, ministers and politicians—which have occupied us during the three preceding voyages

September, 1710; on the 14th we met with Captain Pocock, of Bristol, at Teneriffe, who was going to the Bay of Campechy to cut logwood. On the 16th, he was parted from us by a storm; I heard since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped but one cabin boy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it has been of several others; for if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time as well as myself.

I had several men die in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched, by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards that most of them had been buccaneers.* I had fifty hands on board; and my

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of Gulliver, we now turn to an attack more comprehensive in its range, for it assails humanity on every point that is vulnerable; more malignant, for it dwells with malicious pleasure upon all that is loathsome and degrading; and more unjustifiable, as it tends but little to any good purpose. If we are frequently forced to admire the genius and power of Swift when thus unworthily employed, a feeling of regret is ever present with us that he has so prostituted his talents. Whatever can be pleaded in excuse, or in favour of the "Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms," Sir Walter Scott has put forward, with all the ingenuity of an advocate, and all the charity of a kindly nature:—"The source of such a diatribe against human nature could only be that fierce indignation which he has described in his epitaph as long gnawing his heart. Dwelling in a land where he considered the human race as divided between petty tyrants and oppressed slaves, and being himself a worshipper of that freedom and independence which he beheld daily trampled upon, the unrestrained violence of his feelings drove him to loathe the very species by which such iniquity was done and suffered. To this must be added his personal health, broken and worn down by the recurring attacks of a frightful disorder; his social comfort destroyed by the death of one beloved object, and the daily decay and peril of another; his life decayed into autumn; and its remainder, after so many flattering ambitious prospects, condemned to a country which he disliked, and banished from that in which he had formed his hopes, and left his friendships. When all these considerations are combined, they form some excuse for that general misanthropy which never prevented a single deed of individual benevolence. The picture of the Yahoos, utterly odious and hateful as it is, presents to the reader a moral use. It was never designed as a representation of mankind in the state to which religion, and even the lights of nature, encourage man to aspire; but of that to which our species is degraded by too wilful subservience of mental qualities to animal instincts; of man such as he may be found in the degraded ranks of every society, when brutalised by ignorance and gross vice. In this view, the more coarse and disgusting the picture, the more impressive is the moral to be derived from it, since, in proportion as an individual indulges in sensuality, cruelty, or avarice, he approaches in resemblance to the detested Yahoo." To approve of this terrible libel on human nature is impossible; to extenuate it is difficult; and it is only the sense that an entire omission of this fourth voyage would be unwarrantable which induces us to present it, dealing with it, however, in such a manner as shall make it as suitable for general reading as any of the former ones.

* This society of freebooters, one of the most extraordinary that ever existed, had been completely broken up in the early part of the eighteenth century, and its remaining members

orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up, debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me overboard if I offered to stir. I told them I was their prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain, near my bed, and placed a sentry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty. They sent me down victuals and drink, and took the government of the ship to themselves. Their design was to turn pirates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do till they got more men. But first they resolved to sell the goods in the ship, and then go to Madagascar* for recruits, several among them having died since my confinement. They sailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what course they took, being kept a close prisoner in my cabin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th day of May, 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabin, and said he had orders from the captain to set me ashore. I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new captain was. They forced me into the long-boat, letting me put on my best suit of clothes, which were as good as new, and take a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with some other little necessaries. They rowed about a league, and then set me down on a strand. I desired them to tell me what country it was. They all swore they knew no more than myself; but said that the captain (as they called him) was resolved,

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dispersed through the world, so that Swift very naturally supplies Gulliver's crew with them. Originally the name was applied to the first French settlers in St. Domingo, who hunted animals for their skins, supporting themselves on fish and flesh, which they used to dry and smoke (boucaner). The term was subsequently assumed by those famous piratical adventurers, chiefly English and French, who joined together to commit depredations on the Spaniards of America. Their last great exploit was in 1697, when 1,200 of them, in seven ships, under the command of Pointis, assaulted and took Carthagena, and gained a booty of £1,750,000. Without any regular system, without laws, without subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of the age in which they lived, as they will be of posterity.

* The Island of Madagascar was a principal rendezvous of the buccaneers. Every one of their chiefs had, at one period, a sort of settlement upon the island.

after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place where they could discover land. They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste, for fear of being overtaken by the tide, and so bade me farewell.

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys, with which sailors usually provide themselves in those voyages, and whereof I had some. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind or on either side. I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting on trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel, for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their heads, but none on their faces. Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so strong an antipathy; so that thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not gone far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief I could not tell; but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst not strike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the smart, he drew

back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making hideous faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger.

In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the tree, and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field; which my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder. He viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time: at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck, with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of jockeys, when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself, in some language of his own.

When he and I were thus employed, another horse came up, who applying himself first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right hoof before, neighing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backward and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts, and concluded with myself, that if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth. This thought gave me so much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a dapple grey, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I



"This animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain."—*Page* 275.

turned back, and came near to him to expect his further commands; but concealing my fear as much as I could; for I began to be in some pain how this adventure might terminate; and the reader will easily believe I did not much like my present situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The grey steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better by taking it off, and settling it again, whereat both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder. He stroked my right hand, seeming to admire the softness and colour; but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness. They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.*

Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must needs be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way, resolved to divert themselves with him; or perhaps were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion from those who might probably live in so remote a climate. Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: "Gentlemen, if you be conjurers, as I have good cause to believe, you can understand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worships know that I am a poor distressed Englishman, driven by

* Our first introduction to the Yahoos and the Houyhnhnms discloses to us the strange and painful design of the author—that of degrading humanity to the level of the brute, and even elevating the brute above man. We have already seen the spirit of bitter misanthropy in which he expressed himself to Pope, and his desire to vex the world rather than to divert it. The description of the Yahoos shocks our feelings, while that of the Houyhnhnms outrages our notions of probability. While the satire on humanity offends by its horrible travesty, the idea of the rational brute transcends the fictions of the old fables of Greece and Rome, presenting us with a nation of horses which can not only reason (an hypothesis that may be conceded to the writer of an apologue), but can dwell in houses which they could not build, can have corn which they could neither sow nor reap, possess cows which they could not milk, deposit the milk in vessels which they could not make, and, in short, perform a variety of acts of rational and social life for which they were altogether unsuited by their physical construction.



"Gentlemen, if you be conjurers, you can understand any language"—*Page 277.*

my misfortunes upon your coast; and I entreat one of you to let me ride on his back, as if he were a real horse, to some house or village where I can be relieved. In return for which favour, I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet;" taking them out of my pocket. The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention: and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation. I

plainly observed that their language expressed the passions very well, and the words might, with little pains, be resolved into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese.

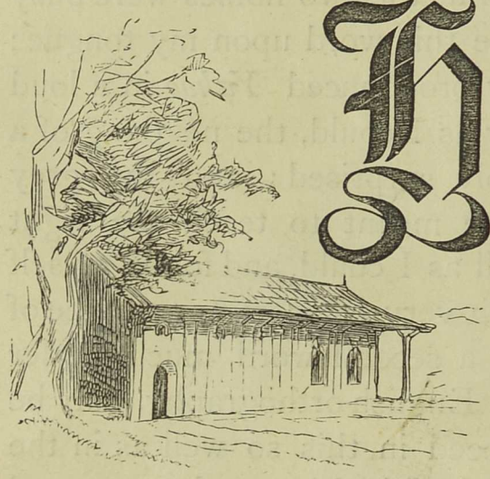
I could frequently distinguish the word *Yahoo*,* which was repeated by each of them several times; and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavoured to practise this word upon my tongue; and as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo* in a loud voice, imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse; at which they were both visibly surprised; and the grey repeated the same words twice, as if he meant to teach the right accent; wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a second word, much harder to be pronounced; but reducing it to the English orthography, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm.* I did not succeed in this so well as in the former; but after two or three further trials, I had better fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After some further discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves, with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof; and the grey made me signs that I should walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun, hhuun:* I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faster; upon which he would stand awhile, to let me rest.

* Here, for the first time, occurs a name that, like "Lilliputian," has grown so universally into use that it has attained a permanent place in our literature, and is to be found in our modern dictionaries as expressing a degraded and brutal person. The name and the character seems from the very first to have attracted the wits of the day, especially those of Swift's party, who were disposed, like him, to be out of sorts with the order of things and the men who were at the head of affairs. Even so early as July, 1726, Lord Bolingbroke, who must have been in the secret of Gulliver, writes from Dawley Farm to Swift, Pope, and Gay under the designation of "the three Yahoos of Twickenham—Jonathan, Alexander, and John." Mrs. Howard, too, in writing to Swift in allusion to an imposter of the name of Mary Tofts, calls her a Yahoo, and subscribes herself "Sieve Yahoo;" and Gay writes, "We are afraid that B—— hath been guilty of that crime that you (like a Houyhnhnm) have treated him as a Yahoo." It is the highest evidence of the hold which an author has taken of the popular mind when words of his invention are, like "Yahoo," "Quixotic," and "Utopian," adopted into his language.

CHAPTER II.

THE AUTHOR CONDUCTED BY A HOUYHNHNM TO HIS HOUSE.—THE HOUSE DESCRIBED.—THE AUTHOR'S RECEPTION.—THE FOOD OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.—THE AUTHOR IN DISTRESS FOR WANT OF MEAT.—IS AT LAST RELIEVED.—HIS MANNER OF FEEDING IN THIS COUNTRY.



HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled across; the roof was low, and covered with straw. I now began to be a little comforted; and took out some toys, which travellers usually carry for presents to the savage Indians of America, and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horse made me a sign to go in first; it was a large room, with a smooth clay floor, and a rack and manger, extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business: these seemed but ordinary cattle; however, this confirmed my first opinion, that a people who could so far civilise brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world. The grey came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a style of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room there were three others, reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista; we went through the second room towards the third. Here the grey walked in first, beckoning me to attend. I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house: they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearls, a small looking-glass, and a bead necklace. The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this house must belong to some person of great note among them,



"I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal."—*Page* 282.

because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses, was beyond my comprehension; I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes: I roused myself, and looked about me in the room where I was left alone: this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred. I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream. I then absolutely concluded that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic. But I had no time to pursue these reflections; for the grey horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room, where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon mats of straw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

The mare, soon after my entrance, rose from her mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look; and turning to the horse, I heard the word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it was the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting mortification; for the horse, beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the *hhuun*, *hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building at some distance from the house. Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable creatures, which I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs, and now and then a cow, dead by accident or disease. They were all tied by the neck with strong withes fastened to a beam; they held their food between the claws of their fore-feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together, and our countenances diligently compared both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word *Yahoo*. My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure :* the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the

* In thus placing Gulliver in juxtaposition with the Yahoo, and making the former express his horror and astonishment at their resemblance, Swift points, with the bitterest

lips large, and the mouth wide; but the differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted, by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their face against the mother's shoulders. The fore-feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences; which I knew very well, though the horses did not, because of my shoes and stockings: the same in every part of our bodies, except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described.

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two horses was to see the rest of my body so very different from that of a *Yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception.

About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four *Yahoos*. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be of quality; he alighted with his hind feet forward, having by accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled with milk for the second course, which the old horse ate warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches, upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger; so that each horse and mare ate their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity.* The

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ingenuity, his satire against human nature. If his object was to present mankind in the most degraded and odious light, he could scarcely have selected a more malignly appropriate mode of doing so—an apter vehicle of conveying his idea of human brutality—than by instituting this comparison, and making man himself behold it with loathing and dismay. The degradation of man, thus symbolised, is not alone physical, but moral; he is not only placed, under the similitude of the Yahoo, in subjection to the beast—filthy, squalid, vicious—but he is deprived of reason itself, and represented as acting solely in obedience to animal instincts and passions. The moral to be drawn from this, such as it is, will no more justify the fable, than will the practice of the ancients in brutalising their slaves by making them drunk, in order to warn their children against a vice that would temporarily deprive them of their reason.

* The details which are given in this chapter of the manners and mode of life of the Houyhnhnms, however they may delight the child who does not stop to consider their absurdity, must, to the grown reader, appear extravagant and inconsistent beyond even the license accorded to a fable. "The state of the Houyhnhnms," says Sir Walter Scott, "is not only morally, but physically impossible, and, as Dr. Beattie has remarked, self-contradictory

behaviour of the young colt and foal appeared very modest, and that of the master and mistress extremely cheerful and complaisant to their guest. The grey ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the stranger often looking on me, and the frequent repetition of the word *Yahoo*.

I happened to wear my gloves, which the master grey observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of wonder what I had done to my fore-feet; he put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify that I should reduce them to their former shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket.

This occasioned further talk, and I saw the company were pleased with my behaviour, whereof I soon found the good effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood; and while they were at dinner, the master taught me the names for oats, milk, fire, water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great facility in learning languages.

When dinner was done, the master horse took me aside, and by signs and words made me understand the concern he was in that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnh*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet upon second thoughts I considered that I could contrive to make of them a kind of bread, which might be sufficient, with milk, to keep me alive, till I could make my escape to some other country, and to creatures of my own species. The horse immediately ordered a white mare-servant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a sort of wooden tray. These I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the husks came off, which I made a shift

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also, since these animals are represented with attributes inconsistent with their natural structure. We may grant to the framer of an apologue that beasts may be endued with reason, but we can hardly conceive a horse riding in a carriage, and, much less, milking cows, building houses, and performing other functions of the same kind, to which its limbs are not adapted. This circumstance is sufficient of itself to refute the reflections thrown upon the human body, since the meanest and most simple of the works which our configuration enables us to execute cannot, without the grossest violation of probability, be imputed to almost any species of the inferior creation." Swift might, to a great extent, have avoided this incongruity by making the Yahoos perform many of those works which their physical formation would have enabled them to accomplish, without assigning to them any greater reasoning powers than what are possessed by our own domestic animals—leaving the guiding intelligence still in the sovereign Houyhnhnms.



"Our countenances diligently compared both by master and servant."—*Page* 282.

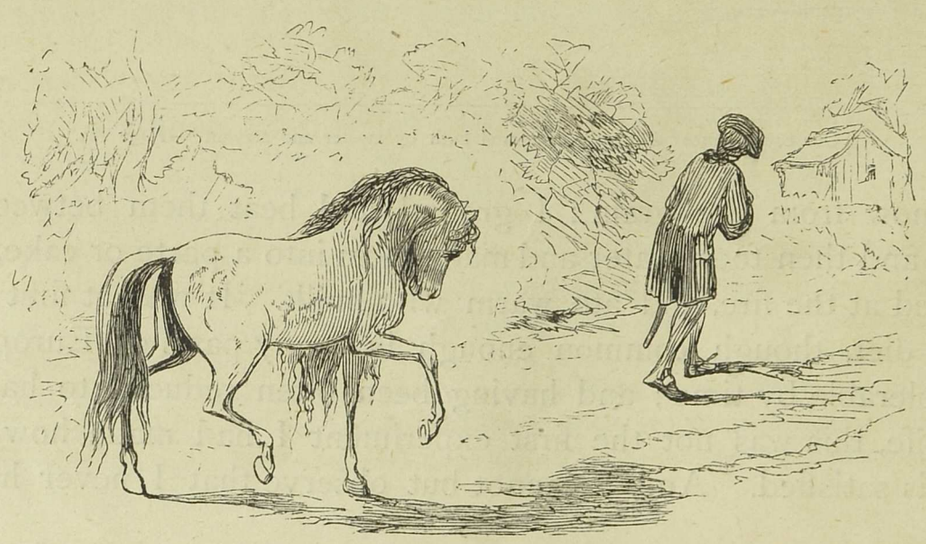
to winnow from the grain: I ground and beat them between two stones, and then took water and made them into a paste or cake, which I toasted at the fire, and ate warm with milk. It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often reduced to hard fare in my life, this was not the first experiment I had made how easily nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe that I never had one

hour's sickness while I stayed in this island. It is true I sometimes made a shift to catch a rabbit, or bird, by springs made of *Yahoos'* hairs; and I often gathered wholesome herbs, which I boiled, and ate as salads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter, and drank the whey. I was at first at a great loss for salt, but custom soon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident that the frequent use of salt among us is an effect of luxury, and was first introduced only as a provocative to drink, except where it is necessary for preserving flesh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets; for we observe no animal to be fond of it but man;* and as to myself, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taste of it in anything that I ate.

This is enough to say upon this subject of my diet, wherewith other travellers fill their books, as if the readers were personally concerned whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this matter, lest the world should think it impossible that I could find sustenance for three years in such a country, and among such inhabitants.

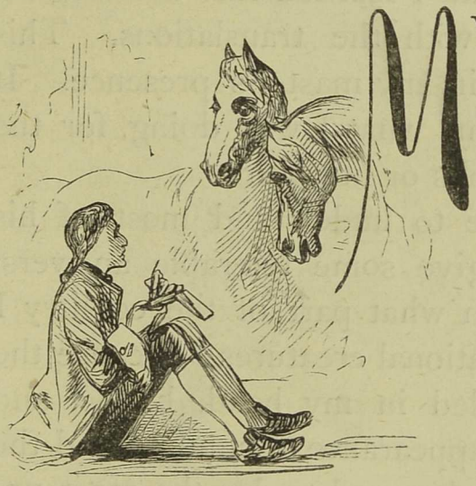
When it grew towards evening, the master horse ordered a place for me to lodge in; it was but six yards from the house, and separated from the stable of the *Yahoos*. Here I got some straw, and covering myself with my own clothes, slept very sound. But I was in a short time better accommodated, as the reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

* It is surprising that Swift should have fallen into so great an error as to state that no animal but man is fond of salt. The contrary is a fact well known. Horses not only like salt but thrive upon it, and its fattening qualities are very well known. It is a very usual thing to mix salt with the food of horses and other animals, and the former are often put out on salt marshes when ill or out of condition. Animals that refuse to eat hay that is musty will take it readily when salt is sprinkled through it.



CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHOR STUDIES TO LEARN THE LANGUAGE.—THE HOUYHNHNM, HIS MASTER, ASSISTS IN TEACHING HIM.—THE LANGUAGE DESCRIBED.—SEVERAL HOUYHNHNMS OF QUALITY COME OUT OF CURIOSITY TO SEE THE AUTHOR.—HE GIVES HIS MASTER A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE.



MY principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him), and his children, and every servant of his house, were desirous to teach me: for they looked upon it as a prodigy that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to everything, and inquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my journal-book when I was alone, and corrected my bad accent by desiring those of the family to pronounce it often. In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under-servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking, they pronounce through the nose and throat, and their language approaches nearest to the High Dutch, or German, of any I know in Europe; but it is much more graceful and significant. The Emperor Charles V. made almost the same observation when he said that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High Dutch.* The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great, that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *Yahoo;* but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness astonished him, which were qualities altogether opposite to those animals.† He was most perplexed about my clothes, reasoning sometimes with himself whether they were a part of my body; for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep,

* This observation of Charles V. is well known: that he would address his God in Spanish, his mistress in Italian, and his horse in German. Swift may here have taken occasion to show his distaste for the new order of things under the Hanoverian dynasty and German influences.

† Sheridan observes upon this passage that it is a strange mode of expressing the author's meaning, and rightly suggests that it should have been written, "which were qualities altogether opposite to such as belonged to those animals." We have already suggested that Swift probably assumed this appearance of negligent writing designedly, as being consonant to the homely character of a seafaring man like Gulliver.

and got them on before they woke in the morning. My master was eager to learn whence I came; how I acquired those appearances of reason which I discovered in all my actions; and to know my story from my own mouth, which he hoped he should soon do by the great proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences. To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and wrote the words down, with the translations. This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my master's presence. It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing, for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature.

In about ten weeks' time I was able to understand most of his questions, and in three months could give some tolerable answers. He was extremely curious to know from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate rational creatures; because the *Yahoos* (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hands, and face, which were only visible), with some appearance of cunning and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes. I answered that I came over the sea from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel, made of the bodies of trees; that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not, for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood.* He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water. He was

* When Swift makes the Houyhnhnm incapable of conceiving the possibility of wilfully stating what is false, and tells us there is no word in their language to express lying, he rebukes man for a sin which strikes at the root of all that is good and noble in his nature, and degrades him indeed below the brute. In a fine sermon of Archbishop Tillotson's—the last which he ever preached—he makes the following excellent observations when showing the folly as well as the sin of lying:—"Whatever convenience may be thought to be in falsehood and dissimulation, it is soon over; but the inconvenience of it is perpetual, because it brings a man under an everlasting jealousy and suspicion, so that he is not believed when he speaks truth, nor trusted when, perhaps, he means honestly. When a man has once forfeited the reputation of his integrity, he is set fast, and nothing will then serve his turn, neither truth nor falsehood." As falsehood degrades and enslaves, so truth elevates and makes us free. St. Bernard, in one of his discourses, pithily observes of truth—"Veritas sola liberat, sola salvat, sola lavat." Plato considered truth as the very essence of God, of whom he sublimely said that "truth is his body, and light his shadow;" and he taught that truth was no less necessary than virtue to qualify a human soul for the enjoyment of a separate state.



"They looked upon it as a prodigy that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature."—*Page* 287.

sure no *Houyhnhnms* alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust *Yahoos* to manage it.

The word *Houyhnhnm*, in their tongue, signifies a horse, and, in its etymology, the perfection of nature. I told my master, that I was at a loss for expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped, in a short time, I should be able to tell him wonders. He was pleased to direct his own mare, his colt, and foal, and the servants of the family, to take all opportunities of instructing me; and every day, for two or three hours, he was at the same pains himself. Several horses and mares of quality in the neighbourhood came often to our house, upon the report spread of "a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed, in his words and actions, to discover some glimmerings of reason." These delighted to converse with me: they put many questions, and received such answers as I was able to return. By all these advantages I made so great a progress, that, in five months from my arrival, I understood whatever was spoken, and could express myself tolerably well.

The *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit my master out of a design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *Yahoo*, because my body had a different covering from others of my kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face, and hands; but I discovered that secret to my master upon an accident which happened about a fortnight before.

I had hitherto concealed the secret of my dress, in order to distinguish myself, as much as possible, from that cursed race of *Yahoos;* but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my clothes and shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and must be supplied by some contrivance from the hides of *Yahoos*, or other brutes; whereby the whole secret would be known. I therefore told my master that, in the country whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency as to avoid the inclemencies of the air, both hot and cold: of which, as to my own person, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleased to command me: whereupon I first unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my waistcoat. I drew off my shoes, stockings, and breeches. I let my shirt down to my waist, and drew up the bottom, fastening it like a girdle about my middle.

My master observed the whole performance with great signs of curiosity and admiration. He took up all my clothes in his pastern, one piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then stroked my body very gently, and looked round me several times; after which, he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *Yahoo;* but that I differed very much from the rest of my species, in the softness, whiteness, and smoothness of my skin, the shape and shortness of my claws behind and before, and my affectation of walking continually on my two hinder feet. He desired to see no more; and gave me leave to put on my clothes again, for I was shuddering with cold.

I expressed my uneasiness at his giving me so often the appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious animal, for which I had so utter a hatred and contempt. I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and make the same order in his family and among his friends whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise that the secret of my having a false covering to my body might be known to none but himself, at least as long as my present clothing should last; for, as to what the sorrel nag, his valet, had observed, his honour might command him to conceal it.

All this my master very graciously consented to, and thus the secret was kept till my clothes began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several contrivances that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the meantime he desired I would go on with my utmost diligence to learn their language, because he was more astonished at my capacity for speech and reason than at the figure of my body, whether it were covered or not; adding, that he waited with some impatience to hear the wonders which I promised to tell him.

Thenceforward he doubled the pains he had been at to instruct me; he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility, because, as he told them privately, this would put me into good humour and make me more diverting.

Every day, when I waited on him, besides the trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps by which I advanced to a more regular conversation; but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose:—

That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to



"He took up all my clothes in his pastern, one piece after another."—*Page* 291.

tell him, with about fifty more of my own species; that we travelled upon the seas in a great, hollow vessel, made of wood, and larger than his honour's house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained, by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind; that, upon a quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the persecutions of those

execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me who made the ship, and how it was possible that the *Houyhnhnms* of my country would leave it to the management of brutes. My answer was that I durst proceed no further in my relation, unless he would give me his word of honour that he would not be offended. He agreed; and I went on by assuring him that the ship was made by creatures like myself, who, in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing rational animals, and that upon my arrival hither I was as much astonished to see the *Houyhnhnms* act like rational creatures as he or his friends could be in finding some marks of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*, to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature. I said further, that if good fortune ever restored me to my native country to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, everybody would believe that I said the thing that was not, that I invented the story out of my own head, and (with all possible respect to himself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended) our countrymen would hardly think it probable that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a *Yahoo* the brute.*

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* This discourse between Gulliver and the Houyhnhnm contains a summary of Swift's design—namely, to make man the unreasoning, and the brute the reasoning animal. In his poem of "The Logicians Refuted," he deals with the idea of the superiority of the brute over the man, of instinct over reason, in his usual vein of bitter and sarcastic humour:—

Logicians have but ill defined
As rational the human kind;
Reason, they say, belongs to man,
But let them prove it if they can.
Wise Aristotle and Smiglesius
By ratiocinations specious,
Have strove to prove with great precision,
With definition and division,
Homo est ratione præditum;
But for my soul I cannot credit 'em,
And must, in spite of them, maintain
That man and all his ways are vain;
And that this boasted lord of Nature
Is both a weak and erring creature;
That instinct is a surer guide
Than reason, boasting mortals' pride;
And that brute beasts are far before 'em,
Deus est anima brutorum.
Who ever knew an honest brute
At law his neighbour prosecute,
Bring action for assault and battery,
Or friends beguile with lies and flattery?
O'er plains they ramble unconfined,
No politics disturb their mind;
They eat their meals and take their sport,
Nor know who's in or out at court.
They never to the levée go
To treat as dearest friend a foe;
They never importune his grace,
Nor never cringe to men in place;
Nor undertake a dirty job,
Nor draw the quill to write for Bob.
Fraught with invective, they ne'er go
To folks at Paternoster Row.
No judges, fiddlers, dancing-masters,
No pickpockets, or poetasters,
Are known to honest quadrupeds:
No single brute his fellow leads.
Brutes never meet in bloody fray,
Nor cut each other's throats for pay.
Of beasts, it is confessed, the ape
Comes nearest us in human shape;
Like man, he imitates each fashion,
And malice is his lurking passion:
But both in malice and grimaces,
A courtier any ape surpasses.
Behold him, humbly cringing, wait
Upon the minister of state;
View him soon after to inferiors
Aping the conduct of superiors:
He promises with equal air,
And to perform takes equal care.
He in his turn finds imitators
At court, the porters, lacqueys, waiters,
Their masters' manners still contract,
And footmen lords and dukes can act;
Thus at the court both great and small
Behave alike, for all ape all."

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUYHNHNM'S NOTION OF TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD.—THE AUTHOR'S DISCOURSE DISAPPROVED BY HIS MASTER.—THE AUTHOR GIVES A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND THE ACCIDENTS OF HIS VOYAGE.



DURING my relation, my master's countenance indicated great appearance of uneasiness; because doubting, or not believing, are so little known in this country that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances; and I remember, in frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of lying and false representation, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute judgment. For he argued thus: that the use of speech was to make us understand one another and to receive information of facts; now, if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him, and I am so far from receiving information that he leaves me worse than in ignorance, for I am led to believe a thing black when it is white, and short when it is long. And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood and so universally practised among human creatures.*

* The remark that speech was given to us to express our thoughts, while language is often used to conceal them, has been, in many epigrammatic forms, attributed to different wits and philosophers. "Dieu a donné," says Cardinal Bona, in the seventeenth century, "le don de la parole pour cacher les pensées;" and Talleyrand repeats it in the nineteenth. Goldsmith has the same thought in the *Bee*—"The true end of speech is not so much to express our wants as to conceal them;" and Voltaire observes, "Ils n'emploient les paroles que pour déguiser les pensées." Swift recurs more than once to the sin of lying with peculiar poignancy. In one respect he exhibited in his own conduct a manly sincerity—namely, in the public avowal of his political opinions, even when most obnoxious to those in power, often bringing him into peril, and exposing him to persecution. In his sermon "On False Witness" he deals with this subject in a very forcible manner. The moralists of his time, too, were instant and frequent in their endeavours to denounce and check falsehood and insincerity. "Amongst too many other instances of the great corruption and degeneracy of the age wherein we live," writes Sir Richard Steele in 1711, "the great and

To return from this digression. When I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing animals in my country, which my master said was altogether past his conception, he desired to know whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their employment. I told him we had great numbers; that in summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where *Yahoo* servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds. "I understand you well," said my master; "it is now very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your masters; I heartily wish our *Yahoos* would be so tractable." I begged his honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any further, because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing. But he insisted in commanding* me to let him know the best and the worst. I told him he should be obeyed. I owned that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called "horses," were the most generous and comely animals we had; that they excelled in strength and swiftness, and, when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing chariots; they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases or became foundered in the feet; but then they were sold and used to all kind of drudgery till they died, after which their skins were stripped and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers, and carriers, and other mean people, who put them to greater labour and fed them worse.

I described, as well as I could, our way of riding, the shape and

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general insincerity in conversation is none of the least. The world is grown so full of dissimulation and compliment that men's words are hardly any signification of their thoughts; and if any man measure his words by his heart, and speak as he thinks, and do not express more kindness to every man than men usually have for any man, he can hardly escape the censure of want of breeding. The old English plainness and sincerity, that generous integrity of nature and honesty of disposition which always argues true greatness of mind, and is usually accompanied with undaunted courage and resolution, is in a great measure lost amongst us. There hath been a long endeavour to transform us into foreign manners and fashions, and to bring us to a servile imitation of none of the best of our neighbours in some of the worst of their qualities."

* Sheridan censures this form of expression, "insisted in commanding," as not being English. It is at all events unusual, but it may be a provincialism. One might suspect that *in* was a typographical error for *on*, but that it is found in all the editions.

use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip, of harness and wheels. I added that we fastened plates of a certain hard substance, called iron, at the bottoms of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways, on which we often travelled.

My master, after some expressions of great indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm's* back, for he was sure that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo;* or, by lying down and rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death. I answered that our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for; that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments: but his honour would please to consider that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the *Yahoos* in this country.

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions to give my master a right idea of what I spoke; for their language does not abound in variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* race. He said, if it were possible there could be any country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal, because reason, in time, will always prevail against brutal strength. But, considering the frame of our bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill-contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life; whereupon he desired to know whether those among whom I lived resembled me or the *Yahoos* of this country. I assured him that I was as well shaped as most of my age, but the younger and the females were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter generally as white as milk. He said I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly and not altogether so deformed; but, in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse; that my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet; as to my fore-feet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground; that I generally went with them uncovered; neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them of the same shape or so strong as that on my feet behind; that I could

"Used to all kind of drudgery till they died."—*Page* 295.

not walk with any security, for if either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find fault with other parts of my body—the flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, my eyes placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either side without turning my head; that I was not able to feed myself without lifting one of my fore-feet to my mouth, and therefore Nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones without a covering made from the skin of some other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day, with tediousness and trouble; and, lastly, that he observed every animal in this country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the weaker avoided, and the stronger drove from them. So that, supposing us to have the gift of reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy which every creature discovered against us, nor, consequently, how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, he would, as he said, debate the matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own story, the country where I was born, and the several actions and events of my life before I came hither.

I assured him how extremely desirous I was that he should be satisfied on every point; but I doubted much whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several subjects, whereof his honour could have no conception, because I saw nothing in his country to which I could resemble them; that, however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his assistance when I wanted proper words, which he was pleased to promise me.

I said, my birth was of honest parents, in an island called England, which was remote from this country as many days' journey as the strongest of his honour's servants could travel in the annual course of the sun; that I was bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body, gotten by accident or violence; that my country was governed by a female man, whom we called queen; that I left it to get riches, whereby I might maintain myself and family when I should return; that, in my last voyage, I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others, picked

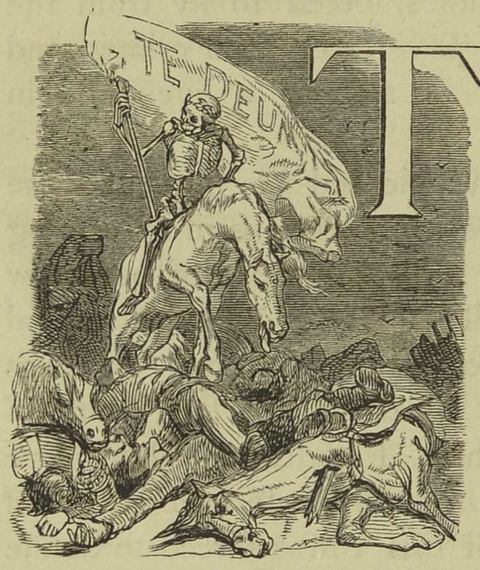
out from several nations; that our ship was twice in danger of being sunk, the first time by a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock. Here my master interposed by asking me how I could persuade strangers, out of different countries, to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained and the hazards I had run. I said, they were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes, and therefore they were under the necessity of seeking a livelihood in other places.

During this discourse my master was pleased to interrupt me several times. I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes for which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country. This labour took up several days' conversation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loss to know what could be the use or necessity of practising those vices. To clear up which, I endeavoured to give some ideas of the desire of power and riches; of the terrible effects of lust, intemperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting cases and making suppositions; after which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things, had no term wherein that language could express them, which made the difficulty almost insuperable to give my master any conception of what I meant. But being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature, in our parts of the world, is capable to perform, and desired I would give him some particular account of that land which we call Europe, but especially of my own country.*

* The discourse between the Houyhnhnm and the human Yahoo is very happily conceived, as well as very amusing. The simplicity and purity of the former, his sense of honour and truth, his almost total incapacity to conceive vice, or the temptations which assail and so often overcome man with all his boasted power of reasoning, are well contrasted with the catalogue of crimes of mankind which Gulliver details, to the indignation and amazement of his auditor. The conviction of the horse that the physical construction of the man was the worst possible that could be contrived for discharging the common offices of life, and the reasonings upon which that opinion was founded, present a not uninstructive commentary upon ignorance and self-conceit.

CHAPTER V.*

THE AUTHOR, AT HIS MASTER'S COMMAND, INFORMS HIM OF THE STATE OF ENGLAND.—THE CAUSES OF WAR AMONG THE PRINCES OF EUROPE.—THE AUTHOR BEGINS TO EXPLAIN THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.



THE reader may please to observe that the following extract of many conversations I had with my master contains a summary of the most material points which were discoursed, at several times, for above two years. His honour often desiring fuller satisfaction as I farther improved in the *Houyhnhnm* tongue, I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe; I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences; and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the substance of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it in order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is that I shall hardly be able to do justice to my master's arguments and expressions, which must needs suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English.

In obedience, therefore, to his honour's commands, I related to him the revolution under the Prince of Orange; the long war with France, entered into by the said prince, and renewed by his successor, the

* As in his former voyages Gulliver gave accounts of the manners and customs of his own country, so in this chapter, and those that follow, we have some notices, not only of the history of Swift's own time and country, but of European politics, of wars and their causes, and of laws and their administration. We may compare this narrative with that given by Gulliver to the King of Brobdingnag, to be found in the sixth chapter of the voyage to that country. No man was more profoundly skilled in the politics of his own day than Swift. He has left us three tracts upon these subjects, of great ability—"The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," which he considered the best work he had ever written, and on which he bestowed more than ordinary labour; "Some Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs," written in 1714; and "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry." No one can form an adequate estimate of Swift's power as a political writer who has not read these able papers.

present queen, wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still continued; I computed, at his request, that about a million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progress of it, and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk.

He asked me what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered, they were innumerable, but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinion has cost many millions of lives; for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine; whether whistling be a vice or virtue; whether it be better to kiss a post or throw it into the fire; what is the best colour for a coat, whether black, white, red, or grey, and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean, with many more.* Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference of opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right; sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes because he is too weak; sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight till they take ours or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation

* Swift here alludes to the wars which arose out of religious differences after the Reformation—such as the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the "Tale of a Tub" this tenet is assailed with more wit than decency, where Peter gives Martin and Jack a brown loaf at dinner, and tells them it is "excellent good mutton." The kissing of the cross, and the colours and make of the vestments used by the priests in the Church of Rome are here also alluded to as subjects of quarrel.

where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilise and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one king desires the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel: poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud, and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons the trade of a soldier is held the most honourable of all others, because a soldier is a *Yahoo* hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as he possibly can.*

There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations for so much a day to each man, of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance; such are those in many northern parts of Europe.†

"What you have told me," said my master, "upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to; however, it is happy that the shame is greater than the danger, and that Nature has left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent. Then as to

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* The various causes here assigned by Swift for war will readily find their illustration in the mind of every person acquainted with history. Goldsmith, in the "Citizen of the World," has some very good remarks on this subject, especially in relation to England. It was obviously the wish of our author to place war in the most odious light, in order to reconcile the nation to the peace of Utrecht. In his history of Martin he gives "A Digression on the Nature, Usefulness, and Necessity of Wars and Quarrels," in which the difference between the brute and man in this respect is pointed out with sarcastic humour. "Brutes, having but narrow appetites, are incapable of carrying on or perpetuating wars against their own species, or of being led out in troops and multitudes to destroy one another.—These prerogatives proper to man alone.—The excellency of human nature demonstrated by the vast train of appetites, passions, wants, &c., that attend it."

† The conduct of George I. in hiring German mercenaries from Hesse, at the expense of England, in order to provide for the defence of his Hanoverian dominions, created great dissatisfaction among the people, and is here assailed by Swift, to whom that policy was particularly distasteful. Immediately after the king's death a grant of £230,923 for 12,000 Hessians was moved for in Parliament, and met with a vigorous, though unsuccessful, opposition.

the claws upon your feet, before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him. And, therefore, in recounting the numbers of those who had been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have said the thing which is not."

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance; and, being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses' feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcases left for food to dogs and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, burning, and destroying. And, to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.

I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said, whoever understood the nature of the *Yahoos*, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might, by degrees, admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the *Yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities than he did a *gnnayh* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But, when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed confident that, instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality fitted to increase our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only larger but more distorted.*

* "It would perhaps be impossible, by the most laboured argument or forcible eloquence, to show the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light. With war, including every species of iniquity and every

He added, that he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this and some further discourses. There was another point, which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be further satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country: because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal as we pretended to be, in showing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his honour that law was a science, in which I had not much conversed, further than by employing advocates in vain, upon some injustice that had been done me: however, I would give him all the satisfaction I was able.

I said there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid.* To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbour has a mind to my cow, he has a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be

art of destruction, we become familiar, by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed. Thus it happens that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity, we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If, when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover with astonishment that when the same events have occurred in history we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have commenced for such causes, and to have been carried on by such means, let him not be censured for too much debasing his species who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up in their native deformity the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed."—*Hawkesworth.*

* "As in every cause," says Dr. Hawkesworth, commenting on this passage, "council are fee'd on both sides, it cannot be pretended that this account is much exaggerated." Were the right and the wrong of every case a matter of demonstration, and ascertainable without legal investigation, this statement might be considered as but little exaggerated. But it is to be remembered that such cases are rare. There is ordinarily much that is right and much that is wrong on each side of the subject of litigation, and justice has to be ultimately evolved from a nice weighing of these questions, as the right shall preponderate in the one scale or the other. Even the decision of honest and enlightened judges is often arrived at with doubt, and sometimes reversed by a higher tribunal.

allowed to speak for himself. "Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages: first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill-will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary: and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers, who have grown old or lazy; and having been biassed all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty by doing anything unbecoming their nature or their office.

"It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever has been done before may legally be done again; and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions; and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

"In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned, they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow, but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue.

"It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant

and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations belongs to me or to a stranger three hundred miles off.*

"In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law."†

Here my master interposing, said it was a pity that creatures endowed with such prodigious abilities of mind, as these lawyers by the description I gave of them must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge. In answer to which I assured his honour that in all points out of their own trade they were usually the most ignorant and stupid gene-

* While every one must admit that this picture of law and lawyers is grossly distorted and over-coloured, it is impossible not to be amused with its ingenuity and humour. The manner in which Swift enumerates, as disadvantages, the very points which should be in the litigant's favour, is intensely bitter. Yet, with all the extravagance and injustice of the invective, some of the matters assailed by Swift were, as the state of the law was in his day, fairly open to grave censure. A too servile adherence to precedents—a system of pleading intricate and embarrassing, by means of which the merits of the case were often lost sight of, or excluded by the subtlety of the pleader, justice frustrated, and the decision obtained on some collateral point of minor importance, or, it might be, on purely technical grounds opposed to the right of the case—and a dilatoriness that deprived justice of half its value when it was at length arrived at—all these made the law and the professors of the law proverbially unpopular. The barbarous jargon in which both pleadings and arguments were conducted was an additional cause of disfavour and ridicule. In the admirable burlesque report of Stradling *versus* Stiles, to which we have already alluded, many of these defects are most happily ridiculed. The reforms that have taken place in every branch of the law have done much to remove these various defects and grievances. Above all, the reproach of the tardiness of justice is no longer warranted—at least, to any great extent—and instead of a suit taking thirty years to bring it to a close (as sometimes happened in Swift's time), there are few that are not terminated long before the expiration of three.

† In this severe stricture upon judges Swift was, no doubt, influenced by his animosity to Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, who had proceeded with great violence against Waters, the printer of the Dean's proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, and who showed the same indecorous eagerness to induce the grand jury to find the bill against Harding, the printer of the Drapier's letters. He demanded, with passion, the reasons upon which the jury founded their verdict of *Ignoramus*, although it was, in fact, requiring them, contrary to the oath they had taken, to disclose their fellows' counsel and their own. And finally, when he could make no impression upon the jurors, he discharged them in great wrath. Let us be thankful that judges now hold their office for life, and being thus made independent of the influence of the crown, are rarely, if ever, found to depart from the strict line of their duty.

ration among us ; the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession.



CHAPTER VI.

A CONTINUATION OF THE STATE OF ENGLAND UNDER QUEEN ANNE.—THE CHARACTER OF A FIRST MINISTER OF STATE IN EUROPEAN COURTS.



MY master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow-animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying they did it for hire. Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials it was made of, and the value of the metals; that when a *Yahoo* had got a great store of this precious substance he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to—the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks. Therefore, since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our *Yahoos* thought they could never have enough of it to spend or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent, either to profusion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live very miserably by labouring every day for small wages to make a few live plentifully.

I enlarged myself much on these and many other particulars to the same purpose; but his honour did not understand, for he went upon a supposition that all animals had a title to their share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink as for sauces and innumerable other conveniences. I assured him that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone



"Since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our *Yahoos* thought they could never have enough of it to spend."—*Page* 308.

round before one of our better female *Yahoos* could get her breakfast or a cup to put it in. He said that must needs be a miserable country which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants; but what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground as I described should be wholly without fresh water, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink. I replied that England, the dear place of my nativity, was computed to produce three times the quantity of food more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruits of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But, in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves.

That wine was not imported among us from foreign countries to supply the want of water or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes and banished our fears, suspended every office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep, although it must be confessed that we always awoke sick or dispirited, and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases which made our lives uncomfortable and short.*

But beside all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniences of life to the rich and to each other. "For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of a hundred tradesmen; the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife."

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people, who get their

* We cannot agree with Dr. Hawkesworth in his remark that this account excites ideas of drunkenness very different from those which are conceived under the terms by which it is generally expressed. The description of the effects of intoxication is not exaggerated—least of all, was it overdrawn when written by our author, in whose day the vice was very general amongst even the better classes of society. A contemporary writer, Sir Richard Steele, says, "The common amusement of our young gentlemen, especially of such as are at a distance from those of the first breeding, is drinking;" and adds, "It is very common that evils arise from a debauch which are fatal, and always such as are disagreeable." Burton's enumeration of the evils which drunkards work upon themselves is even more deplorable than Swift's.

livelihood by attending the sick, having, upon some occasions, informed his honour that many of my crew had died of diseases. But here it was with the utmost difficulty that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive that a *Houyhnhnm* grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or by some accident might hurt a limb; but that Nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies, he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil.

I told him we fed on a thousand things which operated contrary to each other; that we ate when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors, without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion; that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies, for they would not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every limb and joint—in short, every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself. To remedy which, there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, or pretence, of curing the sick.

But, besides real diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures. These have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female *Yahoos* are always infested.

"One great excellency in this tribe is their skill at prognostics, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they rise to any degree of malignity, generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is not; and, therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment, after they pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world by a seasonable dose."*

* Swift is almost as hard upon the physicians as he is upon the lawyers, and seems to have had as little love for the one profession as for the other. In his "Thoughts on Various Subjects" he remarks that "physicians ought not to give their judgment of religion, for the same reason that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death." Indeed, in his day, it must be admitted that a vast number of quacks and impostors brought into great disrepute that honourable and indispensable profession, of which Burton quaintly says, "Next to God, in all our extremities (for of the Most High cometh healing), we must seek to and rely upon the physician, who is *manus Dei*, and to whom he hath given knowledge that he might be glorified in his wondrous works." Many of the writers of his time handled the profession, especially the unworthy members of it, as severely as Swift did. Addison calls them a most formidable body of men, and says, "The sight of them is enough to make a man serious, for

I had formerly upon occasions discoursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a minister of state, he commanded me, some time after, to inform him what species of *Yahoo* I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him that a first or chief minister of state, who was the person I intended to describe, was "a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger; at least he makes use of no other passions but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his word to all uses, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth but with an intent that you should take it for a lie; nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs are in the surest way of preferment; and when he begins to praise you to others or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath, after which every wise man retires and gives over all hopes.

"There are three methods by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is by knowing how, with prudence, to dispose of

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we may lay it down as a maxim that when a nation abounds in physicians it grows thin of people. This body of men in our own country may be described like the British army in Cæsar's time. Some of them slay in chariots, and some on foot. If the infantry do less execution than the charioteers, it is because they cannot be carried so soon into all quarters of the town, and dispatch so much business in so short a time. Besides this body of regular troops, there are stragglers, who, without being duly listed and enrolled, do infinite mischief to those who are so unlucky as to fall into their hands." Another writer assures us that "about twenty years ago it was impossible to walk the streets without having an advertisement thrust into your hand of a doctor who had arrived at the knowledge of the green and red dragon, and had discovered the female fern-seed." The excessive use of drugs and medicines, formerly so general, is justly made the subject of Swift's irony. In a humorous and sarcastic paper on the right of precedency between physicians and civilians, he thus concludes some ironical observations on medicine: "The force of physic goes farther than the body, and is of use in relieving the mind under most of its disorders; and this I dare venture to affirm, having frequently made the experiment upon my own person with never-failing success; and this I did by the direction of my worthy parish minister, who is indeed an excellent divine, and withal an able physician, only to be the better divine. That good man has often quieted my conscience with an emetic, has dissipated troublesome thoughts with a cordial or exhilarating drops, has cured me of a love fit by breathing a vein, and removed anger and revenge by the prescription of a draught, thence called bitter; and in these and other instances has convinced me that physic is of use to the very soul, as far as that depends on the crasis of the body. And I am so fully persuaded of this, that I never see a wretch go to execution but I lament that he had not been in the hands of a good physician, who would have corrected these peccant humours of his body, which brought him to that untimely death."

a wife, a daughter, or a sister; the second, by betraying or undermining his predecessors; and the third is by a furious zeal, in public assemblies, against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would rather choose to employ those who practise the last of these methods; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master. That these ministers, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power by bribing the majority of a senate or great council; and, at last, by an expedient called an act of indemnity (whereof I described the nature to him), they secure themselves from after-reckonings, and retire from the public laden with the spoils of the nation.*

"The palace of a chief minister is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade: the pages, lackeys, and porter, by imitating their master, become ministers of state in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of insolence, lying, and bribery. Accordingly, they have a subaltern court paid to them by persons of the best rank; and sometimes, by the force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through several gradations, to be successors to their lord.

"He is usually governed by a decayed wench or favourite footman, who are the channels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, in the last resort, the governors of the kingdom."

One day, in discourse, my master, having heard me mention the

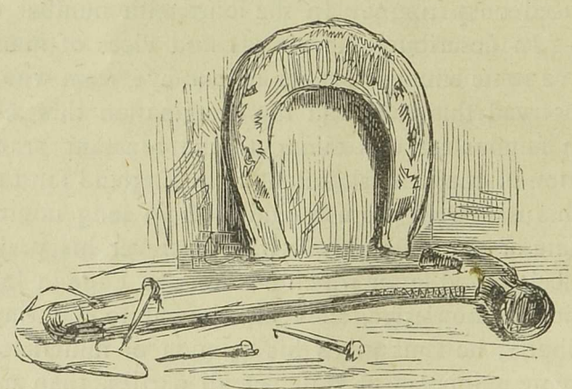
* In this description of a minister Swift indulges in all the acrimony of a man who has himself suffered political disappointment, and wreaks his vengeance on those who have slighted him. It is not improbable that in attributing the quality of lying to a minister, our author intended to characterise Thomas, Earl of Wharton, whom he seems to have intensely hated, and certainly abused unsparingly. In the fourteenth number of the *Examiner*, upon political lying, he says, "In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have some eminent person in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule, and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain great man famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years' reputation of the most skilful head in England for the management of nice affairs." Few men of his day were more qualified, from long intercourse with politicians, to form a correct estimate of them than Swift was, wherever his prejudices did not obscure his judgment. In that celebrated letter which he wrote to Pope in January, 1720, and which displays such great political knowledge, such attachment to the English Constitution, and such love of rational liberty, he thus gives his opinion of ministers:—"I have conversed in some freedom with more ministers of state, of all parties, than usually happens to men of my level; and I confess, in their capacity as ministers, I look upon them as a race of people whose acquaintance no man would court, otherwise than upon the score of vanity or ambition."

nobility of my country, was pleased to make me a compliment which I could not pretend to deserve : that he was sure I must have been born of some noble family, because I far exceeded in shape, colour, and cleanliness, all the *Yahoos* of his nation, although I seemed to fail in strength and agility, which must be imputed to my different way of living from those other brutes ; and, besides, I was not only endowed with the faculty of speech, but likewise with some rudiments of reason, to a degree that, with all his acquaintance, I passed for a prodigy.

I made his honour the most humble acknowledgments for the good opinion he was pleased to conceive of me ; but assured him, at the same time, that my birth was of the lower sort, having been born of plain honest parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable education ; that nobility, amongst us, was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it ; that "our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury, and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some women of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution (merely for the sake of money), whom they hate and despise. The imperfections of the mind run parallel with those of the body, being a composition of spleen, dulness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

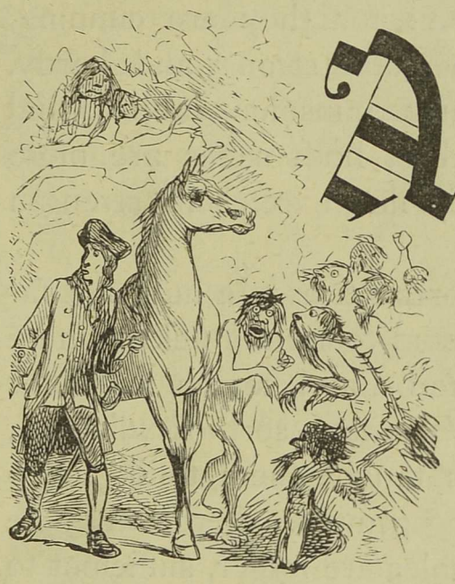
"Without the consent of this illustrious body no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered ; and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions, without appeal."*

* As in the Voyage to Brobdingnag, Swift ironically attributes every virtue to the nobility of England, so here he openly denounces those vices to be found amongst that class, and to which it is peculiarly exposed from its wealth and position. In both cases he would seem to insinuate that such a body are not the best qualified to form the ultimate tribunal of appeal in all matters of law.



CHAPTER VII.

THE AUTHOR RELATES SEVERAL PARTICULARS OF THE YAHOOS.—THE GREAT VIRTUES OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.—THE EDUCATION AND EXERCISE OF THEIR YOUTH.—THEIR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.



AS I ought to have understood human nature much better than I supposed it possible for my master to do, so it was easy to apply the character he gave of the *Yahoos*, from time to time, to myself and my countrymen; and I believed I could yet make further discoveries from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honour to let me go among the herds of *Yahoos* in the neighbourhood, to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honour ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my guard, without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures. For I have already told the reader how much I was pestered by these odious animals upon my first arrival; and I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species, which I often assisted myself by stripping up my sleeves, and showing my naked arms in their sight, when my protector was with me; at which times they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my actions after the manner of monkeys, but ever with great signs of hatred, as a tame jackdaw with cap and stockings is always persecuted by the wild ones when he happens to get among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their infancy. However, I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavoured, by all marks of tenderness, to make it quiet; but the little imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting with such violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time, for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noise, but finding the cub was safe (for

away it ran), and my sorrel nag being by, they durst not venture near us.

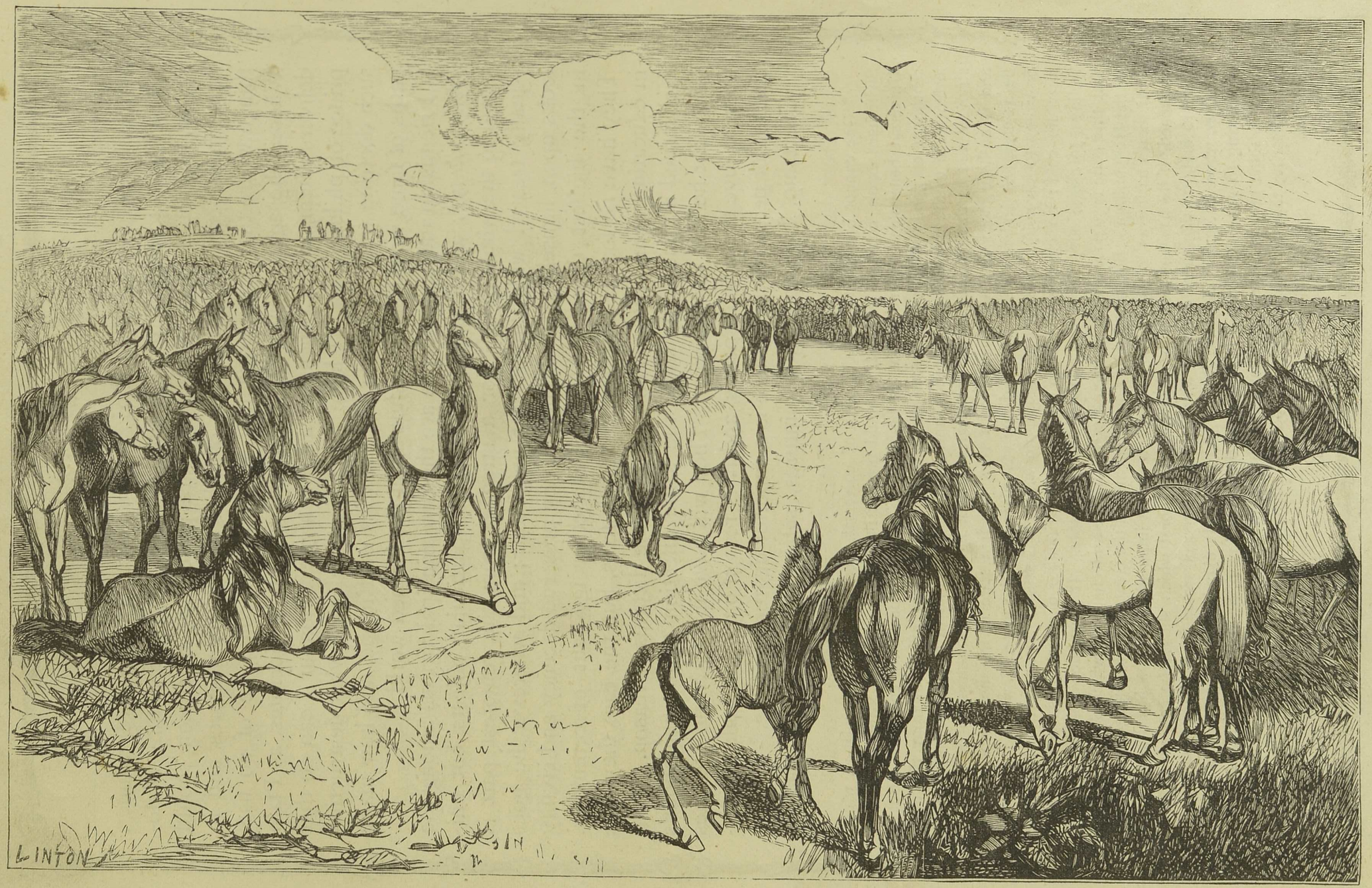
By what I could discover, the *Yahoos* appear to be the most unteachable of all animals; their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion this defect arises chiefly from a perverse, restive disposition: for they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful; they are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject, and cruel. It is observed that the red-haired of both sexes are more mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much excel in strength and activity.

The *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present use in huts not far from the house; but the rest are sent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat several kinds of herbs, and search about for carrion, or sometimes catch weasels and *luhimuhs* (a sort of wild rat), which they greedily devour. Nature has taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the side of a rising ground, wherein they lie by themselves, only the kennels of the females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They swim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fish, which the females carry home to their young.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect that I should, like other travellers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal study to learn.

As these noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature, so their grand maxim is to cultivate reason and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reason among them in a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question, but strikes you with immediate conviction, as it must needs do where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured by passion and interest. I remember it was with extreme difficulty that I could bring my master to understand the meaning of the word "opinion," or how a point could be disputable; because reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either. So that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious propositions,



"A representative council of the whole nation."—*Page* 320.

are evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms.* In the like manner, when I used to explain to him our several systems of natural philosophy, he would laugh, that a creature pretending to reason should value itself upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them, which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected what destruction such doctrine would make in the libraries of Europe, and how many paths of fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues among the *Houyhnhnms;* and these not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest part is equally treated with the nearest neighbour; and wherever he goes looks upon himself as at home. They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees, but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foals, but the care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the dictates of reason. And I observed my master to show the same affection to his neighbour's issue that he had for his own. They will have it that Nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that makes a distinction of persons where there is a superior degree of virtue.*

Courtship, love, presents, jointures, settlements, have no place in

* One cannot but feel that if this idea of universal friendship and benevolence, which Swift here extols, could be realised, it would present little to attract, and little to ennoble. Universal benevolence is no doubt to be desired, as it is constantly enjoined. But a sentiment of good will which reduces all kinds and degrees of affection, from the most ardent love to the calmest complacency, and which is the same in degree to the greatest stranger and to those connected by the nearest ties of blood, ceases almost to be a virtue, and is nothing more than the absence of a vice. Such a state in the moral world would be as cheerless and monstrous as would one vast plain be in the material, with no mountain or valley to diversify, no forest to adorn, no water to refresh; no light, no shade; no heat, no cold; no change of season; nothing to stimulate our exertions, to evoke our feelings, to excite our interest, or to make life delectable. It must, however, be admitted that this state is a necessary consequence of the nature and character which Swift has given to the Houyhnhnm. But, in so doing, he has removed the creature of his imagination so far from man's nature as to make any comparison almost impossible, and he has thus infinitely weakened, if he has not altogether destroyed, the moral which should be conveyed. It is hard to imagine that there could be any superior degree of virtue in one Houyhnhnm over another, where all equally obey the dictates of reason. It may be observed, too, that in thus attempting to raise the rational brute above the rational man, Swift has in reality degraded him, in some respects, below the irrational brute, which displays a stronger affection for its own offspring than for that of others, and will guard its young ones at the expense of its own life.

their thoughts, or terms whereby to express them in their language. The young couple meet, and are joined merely because it is the determination of their parents and friends; it is what they see done every day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary actions of a reasonable being. But the violation of marriage, or any other unchastity, was never heard of; and the married pair pass their lives with the same friendship and mutual benevolence that they bear to all others of the same species who come in their way, without jealousy, fondness, quarrelling, or discontent.

In educating the youth of both sexes, their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old; nor milk, but very rarely; and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewise observe; but the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes; and my master thought it monstrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world: and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality.*

* The subject of education—which was at the time very defective for both sexes—had engaged the attention of Swift. He has left us an admirable treatise on the education of men, entitled, "An Essay on Modern Education," in which he zealously maintains the necessity of sound classical learning. It is much to be regretted that he never completed his paper on "The Education of Ladies." The question which he there commenced to discuss was one of the controversies of the day, namely, "Whether it be prudent to choose a wife who has good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, sufficiently versed in her own natural language, able to read and relish history, books of travel, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties of poetry." What his views on this subject were we may, in some degree, collect from a letter addressed by him to a young lady on her marriage. In speaking of her being in the company of learned men, he says, "If they talk of the manners and customs of the several kingdoms of Europe, of travels into remoter nations, of the state of your own country, or of the great men and actions of Greece and Rome; if they give their judgment upon English and French writers, either in verse or prose, or of the nature and limits of virtue and vice, it is a shame for an English lady not to relish such discourses, not to improve by them, and endeavour, by reading and information, to have her share in those entertainments, rather than turn aside—as it is the usual custom—and consult with the woman who sits next her about a new cargo of fans." Addison, in a paper in the *Guardian*, says,

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their youth to strength, speed, and hardiness, by exercising them in running races up and down steep hills, and over hard, stony grounds; and when they are all in a sweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river. Four times a year the youth of a certain district meet to show their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of strength and agility, where the victor is rewarded with a song in his or her praise. On this festival, the servants drive a herd of *Yahoos* into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast for the *Houyhnhnms*, after which these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the assembly.

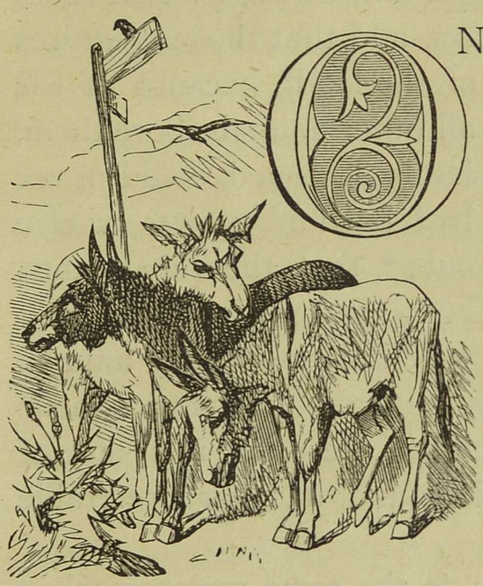
Every fourth year, at the vernal equinox, there is a representative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our house, and continues about five or six days. Here they inquire into the state and condition of the several districts: whether they abound or be deficient in hay, or oats, or cows, or *Yahoos;* and wherever there is any want (which is but seldom), it is immediately supplied by unanimous consent and contribution.

"I have often wondered that learning is not thought a proper ingredient in the education of a woman of quality or fortune, since they have the same improvable minds as the male part of the species. Why should they not be cultivated by the same method? Why should reason be left to itself in one of the sexes, and be disciplined with so much care in the other?" And he proceeds to offer some excellent reasons for a high-class education for the sex.



CHAPTER VIII.

A GRAND DEBATE AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS, AND HOW IT WAS DETERMINED.—THE LEARNING OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.—THEIR BUILDINGS.—THEIR MANNER OF BURIALS.—THE DEFECTIVENESS OF THEIR LANGUAGE.



ONE of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and, indeed, the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master, after his return, gave me a very particular account.

The question to be debated was, whether the *Yahoos* should be exterminated from the face of the earth. One of the members for the affirmative offered several arguments of great strength and weight, alleging "that as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animals which Nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocile, mischievous and malicious; they would ill treat and destroy the *Houyhnhnms'* cows, kill and devour their cats, trample down their oats and grass if they were not continually watched, and commit a thousand other extravagances." He took notice of a general tradition that *Yahoos* had not been always in their country, but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known; that these *Yahoos* engendered, and their brood in a short time grew so numerous as to overrun and infest the whole nation;* that the

* When the reader has become reconciled to the absurdity of the Apologue, this debate of the Houyhnhnms in grand council is not a little amusing. Whether in the particular subject of discussion, or the mode of discussing it, Swift had any special question or persons in view, it would be very difficult—perhaps impossible—now to discover, as there does not appear to be any clue in the narrative itself to afford grounds for probable conjecture. The tradition put forward as to the origin of the Yahoos, and the manner in which they came into the country, is, no doubt, intended to ridicule the various hypotheses put forward as to the creation of man, as well as the speculations of ethnologists upon the migrations of peoples. The idea that man was allied to the monkey was, it is plain, known to and used by Swift as the foundation of his

Houyhnhnms, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at last enclosed the whole herd; and, destroying the elder, every *Houyhnhnm* kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to such a degree of tameness as an animal so savage by nature can be capable of acquiring, using them for draught and carriage: that there seemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that those creatures could not be *ylnhniamshy* (or *aborigines* of the land), because of the violent hatred the *Houyhnhnms*, as well as all other animals, bore them, which, although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree if they had been *aborigines*, or else they would have been long since rooted out; * that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of the *Yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of asses, which are a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell; strong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the *Yahoos*.

Several others declared their sentiments to the same purpose, when my master proposed an expedient to the assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me. He approved of the tradition mentioned by the honourable member who spoke before, and affirmed

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Yahoo, though the theory of man's progressive development from the lower animal was not seriously put forward till half a century later by Lord Monboddo, who, following the classification of Linnæus, maintained that man at first walked on all fours; that he then learned to walk upright—as may be seen in the ourang-outang, which he declared to be of the human race—and in due time made use of his hands, and acquired the art of swimming. This theory is ridiculed by Horne with grave humour in a paper contributed to the "Olla Podrida," who argues that man went originally upon all fours from the universal habit of children, and the strong propensity he shows to return to it again. Nor does the want of a tail—a want alike common to the Yahoo and the man—escape his pleasantry. "The period is altogether unknown when our nature was first despoiled of an appendage equally useful and ornamental —I mean a *tail*; for, with an eminently learned philosopher of North Britain, I am most firmly persuaded that it was originally a part of our constitution; and that, in the eye of superior beings, man, when he lost that, lost much of his dignity. If a conjecture might be indulged upon the subject (and, alas! what but conjectures can we indulge?) I should be inclined to suppose that the defalcation now under consideration was coeval with the change of posture discussed above. No sooner had man unadvisedly mounted on *two*, but his tail dropped off; or rather, perhaps, in the confusion occasioned by the change, it hitched in a wrong place, and became suspended from his head."

* In arguing that Yahoos could not be aborigines because of the violent hatred the Houyhnhnms bore to them, and of the fact of their not having been rooted out of the country, Swift probably intends a censure upon the cruel manner in which the European discoverers treated the natives of America, first invading their territories, then hunting, enclosing, and subjugating them, and finally exterminating them.

that the two *Yahoos*, said to be seen first among them, had been driven thither over the sea; that coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and degenerated by degrees, became in process of much time more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came. The reason of this assertion was that he had now in his possession a certain wonderful *Yahoo* (meaning myself), which most of them had heard of and many of them had seen. He then related to them how he first found me; that my body was all covered with an artificial composure of the skins and hairs of other animals; that I spoke in a language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs; that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that when he saw me without my covering I was an exact *Yahoo* in every part, only a whiter colour, less hairy, and with shorter claws. He added how I had endeavoured to persuade him that in my own and other countries the *Yahoos* acted as the governing rational animal, and held the *Houyhnhnms* in servitude; that he observed in me all the qualities of a *Yahoo*, only a little more civilised by some tincture of reason, which, however, was in a degree as far inferior to the *Houyhnhnm* race as the *Yahoos* of their country were to me; that among other things, I mentioned a mode we had of dealing with *Houyhnhnms* when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was easy and safe; that it was no shame to learn wisdom from brutes, as industry is taught by the ant and building by the swallow (for so I translate the word *lynhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl); that this invention might be practised upon the younger *Yahoos* here, which, besides rendering them tractable and fitter for use, would in an age put an end to the whole species, without destroying life; that in the mean-time the *Houyhnhnms* should be exhorted to cultivate the breed of asses, which, as they are in all respects more valuable brutes, so they have this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve.

This was all my master thought fit to tell me at that time of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The *Houyhnhnms* have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few events of any moment

among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations, the historical part is easily preserved without burdening their memories. I have already observed that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines, composed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolutions of the sun and moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motions of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of eclipses; and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy.

In poetry they must be allowed to excel all other mortals, wherein the justness of their similes, and the minuteness as well as exactness of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable.* Their verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those who were victors in races and other bodily exercises. Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all injuries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree which at forty years old loosens in the root and falls with the first storm; it grows very straight, and being pointed like stakes, with a sharp stone (for the *Houyhnhnms* know not the use of iron), they stick them erect in the ground, about ten inches asunder, and then weave in oat straw, or sometimes wattles between them. The roof is made after the same manner, and so are the doors.

The *Houyhnhnms* use the hollow part, between the pastern and the hoof of the fore-foot, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white mare of our family thread a needle (which I lent her on purpose) with that joint. They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands in the same manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which, by grinding against other stones, they form into instruments that serve instead of wedges, axes, and hammers. With tools made

* This is a sneer at the poetasters of his day, most of whom his friend and contemporary, Pope, has condemned to never-ending punishment and exposure in the pillory of his immortal verse. Just at this very time Swift assailed them, in his advice to the Grub Street verse writers, with bitter pleasantry. One of the best of Swift's poetical productions is his "Rhapsody on Poetry," in which he lashes all the tribe, from Colly Cibber, the laureate, down to Welsted.

of these flints, they likewise cut their hay and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in several fields; the *Yahoos* draw home the sheaves in carriages, and the servants tread them in certain covered huts to get out the grain, which is kept in stores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden vessels, and bake the former in the sun.

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found, their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their departure; nor does the dying person discover the least regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbours. I remember my master having once made an appointment with a friend and his family to come to his house upon some affair of importance. On the day fixed, the mistress and her two children came very late; she made two excuses, first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *lhnuwnh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English; it signifies, "to retire to his first mother." Her excuse for not coming sooner was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid; and I observed she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest: she died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore. Some weeks before their death they feel a gradual decay, but without pain. During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by *Yahoos*, which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by any accident: and therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.*

* The light in which death is regarded by the Houyhnhnm, and the manner in which he prepares for it, and finally meets it, are, it must be admitted, quite in keeping with the character as drawn by Swift. A creature cold, passionless, without hope or fear, without joy or sorrow, could find little attractive in life, and as little formidable in death. If death brings

I know not whether it may be worth observing that the *Houyhnhnms* have no word in their language to express anything that is evil, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the *Yahoos*. Thus they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child, a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of *Yahoo*. For instance, *hhum Yahoo*, *whnaholm Yahoo*, *ynlhmndwiklma Yahoo*, and an ill-contrived house, *ynholmhnmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could, with great pleasure, enlarge further upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people; but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither; and, in the meantime, proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

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him no gain, neither does it bring him any loss. He "retires to his first mother," his dust returns to the earth as it was, but no spirit "shall return unto God who gave it." How cheerless and miserable is this picture! If all is calm, both with the being that dies and the friends that survive, it is like the calmness of that sea where there are no waves to agitate its surface. It is not easy to say whether the account of the departing Houyhnhnm, or of the complacent relatives who remain behind, is most repulsive to human feelings. It is very probable that Swift borrowed some of those details from the account of the death scene in Bishop Godwin's "Man in the Moon." But, in one respect at least, the picture of death amongst the lunar inhabitants differs from that in the land of the Houyhnhnms. It is relieved by light that enlivens and brightens the whole scene—the hope of immortality and happiness. Let us put it in juxtaposition with the sketch by Swift. "But the time assigned to them by Nature being spent, they die without the least pain; or rather cease to live, as a candle does to give light when what nourishes it is consumed. I was once at the departure of one of them, and was much surprised that notwithstanding the happy life he had lived, and the multitude of friends and children he should forsake, yet, as soon as he understood his end approaching, he prepared a great feast, and inviting all whom he esteemed, exhorted them to be merry and rejoice with him, since the time was come he should now leave the counterfeit pleasures of that world, and be made partaker of true joy and perfect happiness."

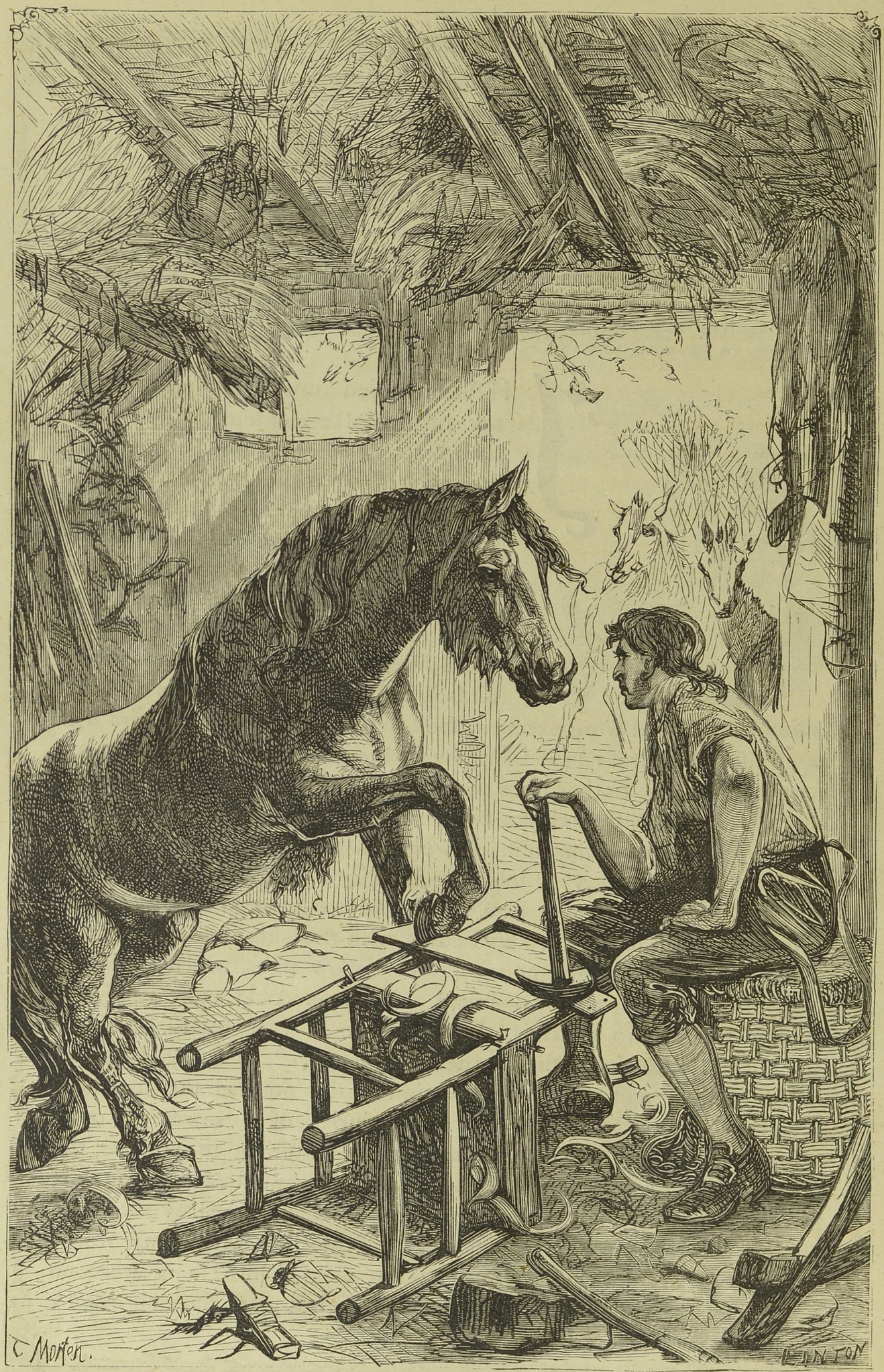


CHAPTER IX.

THE AUTHOR'S ECONOMY AND HAPPY LIFE AMONG THE HOUYHNHNMS.—HIS GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN VIRTUE BY CONVERSING WITH THEM.—THEIR CONVERSATIONS.—THE AUTHOR HAS NOTICE GIVEN HIM BY HIS MASTER THAT HE MUST DEPART FROM THE COUNTRY.—HE FALLS INTO A SWOON FOR GRIEF, BUT SUBMITS.—HE CONTRIVES AND FINISHES A CANOE BY THE HELP OF A FELLOW-SERVANT, AND PUTS TO SEA AT A VENTURE.



I HAD settled my little economy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me, after their manner, about six yards from the house, the sides and floors of which I plastered with clay, and covered with rush mats of my own contriving. I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking; this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springs made of *Yahoos'* hairs, and were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part. When my clothes were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal, about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *Yahoos* dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow trees, which I mingled with water or ate with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, that "Nature is very easily satisfied," and that "Necessity is the mother of invention." I enjoyed perfect health of body and tranquillity of mind; I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing or flattering, to procure the favour of any great man or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression; here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire; here were no gibers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, housebreakers,



"I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel nag helping me."—*Page* 327.

attorneys, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, murderers, robbers, virtuosoes; no leaders or followers of party and faction; no encouragers to vice by seducement or examples; no dungeons, taxes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shopkeepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, or drunkards; no ranting or expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fiddlers, judges, or dancing-masters.*

I had the favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms* who came to visit or dine with my master, when his honour graciously suffered me to wait in the room and listen to their discourse. Both he and his company would often condescend to ask me questions and receive my answers. I had also sometimes the honour of attending my master in his visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a question; and then I did it with inward regret, because it was a loss of so much time for improving myself; but I was infinitely delighted with the station of an humble auditor in such conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant words; where, as I have already said, the greatest decency was observed without the least degree of ceremony; where no person spoke without being pleased himself and pleasing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediousness, heat, or difference of sentiments. They have a notion that when people are met together, a short silence does much improve conver-

* The enumeration of the evils from which Gulliver rejoices that he is exempt in the land of the Houyhnhnms, and the absence of those vicious characters to be found in the land which he had left, is, after all, but a statement that civilised life has vices and defects attendant on it which are not found in a state of nature. But a state of nature is not therefore to be preferred. It must not be forgotten that if civilisation has its necessary evils, so has it also its concomitant comforts and blessings, which elevate and dignify human nature. As well might one strike all the lights out of a picture, and assert that it was a true representation of a summer landscape, as to omit all that is good in a view of the state of man as he exists in a civilised community, and present us only with what is bad. To exalt the Houyhnhnm above the man by such a process is as unjust as to prefer the life of the savage to that of the civilised being. "A state of nature," writes Canning, "however, when divested of its poetical ornaments, will be found to be by no means a state of innocence; and we shall perceive, upon a more accurate inspection, that civilisation, far from being prejudicial to the virtues of mankind, is in reality that fine polish which displays his exalted endowments to advantage, and effects the grand distinction between brute and human nature."

sation. This I found to be true; for, during those little intermissions of talk, new ideas would arise in their minds, which very much enlivened the discourse. Their subjects are generally on friendship and benevolence, on order and economy; sometimes upon the visible operations of Nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bounds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reason, or upon some determination to be taken at the next great assembly, and often upon the various excellences of poetry. I may add, without vanity, that my presence often gave them sufficient matter for discourse, because it afforded my master an occasion of letting his friends into the history of me and my country, upon which they were all pleased to descant, in a manner not very advantageous to human kind; and for that reason I shall not repeat what they said; only I may be allowed to observe that his honour, to my great admiration, appeared to understand the nature of *Yahoos* much better than myself. He went through all our vices and follies, and discovered many which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what qualities a *Yahoo* of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, "how vile as well as miserable such a creature must be."

I freely confess that all the little knowledge I had of any value was acquired by the lectures I had received from my master and from hearing the discourses of him and his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe. I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration. At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural awe which the *Yahoos* and all other animals bear towards them: but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or the human race in general, I considered them, as they really were, *Yahoos* in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilised, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason than to improve and multiply those vices whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that nature allotted them.* When I

* This sentiment is palpably unjust. To assert that man makes no other use of reason than to improve and multiply the vices of nature, is to charge against Reason the acts which

happened to see the reflection of my own form in a lake or fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself, and could better endure the sight of a common *Yahoo* than of my own person. By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gait and gesture, which is now grown into a habit; and my friends often tell me, in a blunt way, that I trot like a horse; which, however, I take for a great compliment: neither shall I disown that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manners of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the least mortification.

In the midst of all this happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour. I observed by his countenance that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short silence, he told me he did not know how I would take what he was going to say: that in the last general assembly, when the affair of the *Yahoos* was entered upon, the representatives had taken offence at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning myself) in his family, more like a *Houyhnhnm* than a brute animal; that he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company; that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them; the assembly did therefore exhort him either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place whence I came: that the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms* who had ever seen me at his house or their own; for they alleged that because I had some rudiments of reason, added to the natural gravity of those animals, it was to be feared I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the *Houyhnhnms'* cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labour.

My master added that he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the neighbourhood to have the assembly's exhortation executed,

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men do in despite of Reason herself. That no act would be a sin if man had no reason is true; but this is quite a different proposition. As well might it be contended that laws are the origin of crimes, as that reason is the promoter of vices. The one is the no less calculated to repress our offences against society than the other to restrain our natural passions, and check our transgressions against morality.



"I fell to imitate their gait and gesture."—*Page* 331.

which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country; and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of vehicle resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea; in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours. He concluded that for his own part, he could have been content to

keep me in his service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate *Houyhnhnms.*

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country is expressed by the word *hnhloayn*, which signifies an exhortation, as near as I can render it: for they have no conception how a rational creature can be compelled, but only advised or exhorted; because no person can disobey reason, without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse; and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet. When I came to myself, he told me that he concluded I had been dead; for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature. I answered, in a faint voice, that death would have been too great a happiness: that although I could not blame the assembly's exhortation, or the urgency of his friends, yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it might consist with reason to have been less rigorous: that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above a hundred: that many materials necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off were wholly wanting in this country; which, however, I would attempt, in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction; that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils; for, supposing I should escape with life by some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old corruptions, for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue? that I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable *Yahoo;* and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servants' assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve a wretched being; and if ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of mankind.*

* When Swift makes Gulliver swoon at the prospect of being banished from the society of the Houyhnhnms, and condemned once more to associate with his own now hated species, to

My master, in a few words, made me a very gracious reply; allowed me the space of two months to finish my boat: and ordered the sorrel nag, my fellow-servant—for so at this distance I may presume to call him—to follow my instructions; because I told my master that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me.

In his company, my first business was to go to that part of the coast where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be set on shore. I got upon a height, and looking on every side into the sea, fancied I saw a small island towards the north-east; I took out my pocket-glass, and could then clearly distinguish it about five leagues off, as I computed: but it appeared to the sorrel nag to be only a blue cloud; for as he had no conception of any country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote objects at sea, as we who so much converse in that element.

After I had discovered this island, I considered no further; but resolved it should, if possible, be the first place of my banishment, leaving the consequence to fortune.

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a sharp flint, fastened very artificially after their manner to a wooden handle, cut down several oak wattles, about the thickness of a walking-staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics; let it suffice to say, that in six weeks' time, with the help of the sorrel nag, who performed the parts that required most labour, I finished a sort of Indian canoe, but much larger, covering it with the skins of *Yahoos*, well stitched together with hempen threads of my own making. My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick: and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh, of rabbits and fowls; and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk, and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond, near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the chinks with *Yahoos'*

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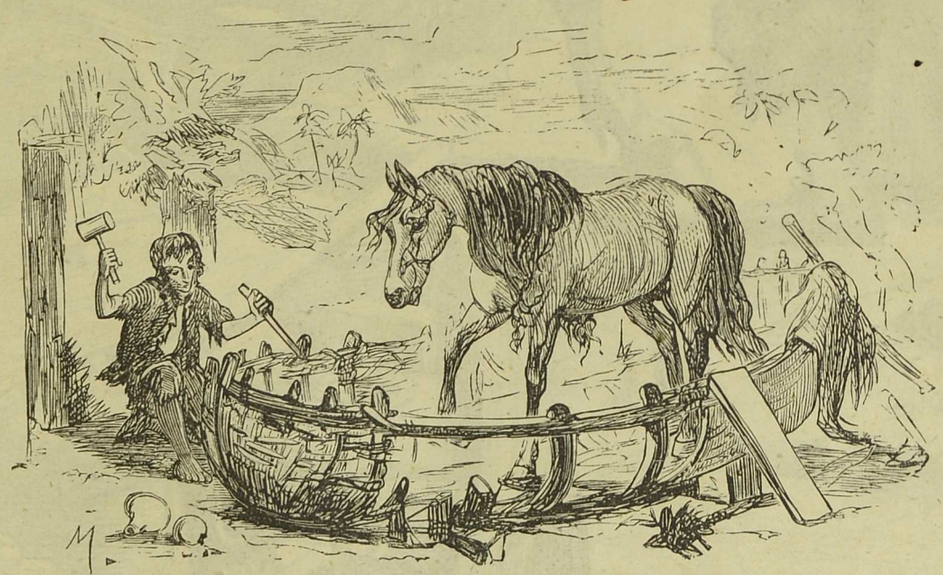
whom he was to propose the virtues of the former for imitation, he reaches in intensity the climax of that bitter, misanthropic spirit with which he is so painfully animated throughout the entire of this voyage. The speech of the human Yahoo, presenting, as it does, the nature of man in so degrading a light, is yet, it must be confessed, thoroughly consistent with the design of Swift in this fable, as expressed to Pope—to "vex the world rather than divert it."

tallow, till I found it staunch, and able to bear me and my freight; and, when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by *Yahoos* to the sea-side, under the conduct of the sorrel nag and another servant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master and lady and the whole family, my eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honour, out of curiosity, and perhaps (if I may speak it without vanity) partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe, and got several of his neighbouring friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then, observing the wind very fortunately bearing towards the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master; but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they have received. But if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his honour's company; then getting into my canoe, I pushed off from shore.





"He did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth."—*Page* 335.

CHAPTER X.

THE AUTHOR'S DANGEROUS VOYAGE.—HE ARRIVES AT NEW HOLLAND, HOPING TO SETTLE THERE.—IS WOUNDED WITH AN ARROW BY ONE OF THE NATIVES.—IS SEIZED AND CARRIED BY FORCE INTO A PORTUGUESE SHIP.—THE GREAT CIVILITIES OF THE CAPTAIN.—THE AUTHOR ARRIVES AT ENGLAND.



I BEGAN this desperate voyage on February 15th, 1714-15, at nine o'clock in the morning. The wind was favourable; however, I made use at first only of my paddles; but considering I should be weary, and that the wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little sail: and thus, with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess. My master and his friends continued on the shore till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the sorrel nag (who always loved me) crying out, *Hnuy illa nyha, majah Yahoo* ("Take care of thyself, gentle *Yahoo*").

My design was, if possible, to discover some small island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my labour to furnish me with the necessaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happiness than to be first minister in the politest court of Europe; so horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the society and under the government of *Yahoos*. For in such a solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of those inimitable *Houyhnhnms*, without an opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own species.

The reader may remember what I related when my crew conspired against me, and confined me in my cabin; how I continued there several weeks without knowing what course we took; and when I was put ashore in the long-boat, how the sailors told me with oaths, whether true or false, that they knew not in what part of the world we were. However, I did then believe us to be about ten degrees southward of the Cape of Good Hope, or forty-five degrees southern latitude, as I gathered from some general words I overheard among them, being, as I supposed, to the south-east in their intended voyage to Madagascar. And although this were little better than a conjecture, yet I resolved

to steer my course eastward, hoping to reach the south-west coast of New Holland, and perhaps some such island as I desired lying westward of it. The wind was full west, and by six in the evening I computed I had gone eastward at least eighteen leagues; when I spied a very small island about half a league off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a rock, with one creek naturally arched by the force of tempests. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly discover land to the east, extending from south to north. I lay all night in my canoe; and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in seven hours to the south-east point of New Holland. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the maps and charts place this country at least three degrees more at the east than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to my worthy friend, Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my reasons for it, although he has rather chosen to follow other authors.

I saw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found some shell-fish on the shore, and ate them raw, not daring to kindle a fire, for fear of being discovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oysters and limpets, to save my own provision; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out early a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty natives upon a height not above five hundred yards from me. They consisted of men, women, and children, sitting round a fire, as I could discover by the smoke. One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest; five of them advanced towards me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haste I could to the shore, and getting into my canoe, pushed off; the savages, observing me retreat, ran after me; and before I could get far enough into the sea, discharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left knee: I shall carry the mark to my grave. I apprehended the arrow might be poisoned, and paddling out of the reach of their darts (being a calm day), I made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same landing-place, but stood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind, though very gentle, was against me, blowing north-west. As

I was looking about for a secure landing-place, I saw a sail to the north-north-east, which appearing every minute more visible, I was in some doubt whether I should wait for them or not; but at last my detestation of the *Yahoo* race prevailed; and turning my canoe, I sailed and paddled towards the south, and got into the same creek whence I set out in the morning, choosing rather to trust myself among these barbarians than live with European *Yahoos*. I drew up my canoe as close as I could to the shore, and hid myself behind a stone by the little brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent water.

The ship came within half a league of this creek, and sent her long-boat with vessels to take in fresh water (for the place, it seems, was very well known); but I did not observe it till the boat was almost on shore, and it was too late to seek another hiding-place. The seamen at their landing observed my canoe, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the owner could not be far off. Four of them, well armed, searched every cranny and lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my face behind the stone. They gazed awhile in admiration at my strange, uncouth dress—my coat made of skins, my wooden-soled shoes, and my furred stockings; whence, however, they concluded I was not a native of the place, who all go naked. One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked who I was. I understood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, said I was a poor *Yahoo* banished from the *Houyhnhnms*, and desired they would please to let me depart. They wondered to hear me answer them in their own tongue, and saw by my complexion I must be a European; but were at a loss to know what I meant by *Yahoo* and *Houyhnhnms;* and at the same time fell a-laughing at my strange tone in speaking, which resembled the neighing of a horse. I trembled all the while betwixt fear and hatred. I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe; but they laid hold of me, desiring to know what country I was of, whence I came, with many other questions. I told them I was born in England, whence I came about five years ago, and then their country and ours was at peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, since I meant them no harm; but was a poor *Yahoo* seeking some desolate place where to pass the remainder of his unfortunate life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw anything more unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a dog or a cow should speak in England, or a *Yahoo* in *Houyhnhnmland*. The

honest Portuguese were equally amazed at my strange dress, and the odd manner of delivering my words, which, however, they understood very well. They spoke to me with great humanity, and said they were sure the captain would carry me free to Lisbon, whence I might return to my own country; that two of the seamen would go back to the ship, inform the captain of what they had seen, and receive his orders. In the meantime, unless I would give my solemn oath not to flee, they would secure me by force. I thought it best to comply with their proposal. They were very curious to know my story, but I gave them very little satisfaction, and they all conjectured that my misfortunes had impaired my reason. In two hours the boat, which went laden with vessels of water, returned, with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preserve my liberty, but all was in vain; and the men, having tied me with cords, lifted me into the boat, whence I was taken to the ship, and thence to the captain's cabin.*

I gave the captain, Pedro de Mendez, a very short relation of my voyage, of the conspiracy against me by my own men, of the country where they set me on shore, and of my five years' residence there—all which he looked upon as if it were a dream or a vision; whereat I took great offence, for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, so peculiar to *Yahoos*, in all countries where they reside, and, consequently, the disposition of suspecting truth in others of their own species. I asked him whether it were the custom in his country to say the thing which was not. I assured him I had almost forgot

* As during his former residence in Lilliput and Brobdingnag, Gulliver was so habituated to a standard of humanity so physically different from his own, that he was for a long time after leaving those regions unable to disabuse his mind of the false impressions of size that he had received, so here his estimate of the intellectual and moral standard of mankind is so debased, and his hatred and contempt of his race, as identified in his mind with the odious, irrational, and vicious Yahoo, are so intense, that he cannot endure the thought of returning to their society; that his earnest desire is to seek some desolate place where he may never meet his kind again; and that, if forced to trust himself amongst them, he prefers the society of the savage to that of the civilised man. From the other countries, it will be remembered too, that he always desired to escape, and ever cherished the hope of returning to his family and his native land. But he leaves the Houyhnhnms upon compulsion, and with profound sorrow; and when forcibly saved by the Portuguese seamen, he supplicates for permission to depart, and can only be restrained from escaping by their threat that if he attempts to do so he will be secured by force; and then he has finally to be tied with cords, and so taken into the ship, and placed a prisoner in the captain's cabin. All this is consistent with the character of Gulliver as drawn throughout—a man at once simple and shrewd, of an honest and very impressible nature. The delusion, too—the *mentis gratissimus error*—to which he clings so tenaciously, is highly amusing and admirably well sustained, and gives great liveliness to the narrative.



"One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked who I was."—*Page* 339.

what he meant by falsehood, and if I had lived a thousand years in *Houyhnhnmland*, I should never have heard a lie from the meanest servant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or not: but, however, in return for his favours, I would give so much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to answer any objection he might please to make, and then he might easily discover the truth.

The captain, a wise man, after many endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my story, at last began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added, that since I professed so inviolable an attachment to truth, I must give him my word and honour to bear him company in this voyage, without attempting anything against my life; or else he would continue me a prisoner till we arrived at Lisbon. I gave him the promise he required; but at the same time protested that I would suffer the greatest hardships, rather than return to live among *Yahoos*.

Our voyage passed without any considerable accident. We arrived at Lisbon, November 5, 1715. At our landing, the captain forced me to cover myself with his cloak, to prevent the rabble from crowding about me. I was conveyed to his own house; and at my earnest request he led me up to the highest room backward. I conjured him to conceal from all persons what I had told him of the *Houyhnhnms;* because the least hint of such a story would not only draw numbers of people to see me, but probably put me in danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the Inquisition. The captain persuaded me to accept a suit of clothes newly made; but I would not suffer the tailor to take my measure; however, Don Pedro being almost of my size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other necessaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours before I would use them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three servants, none of which were suffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was so obliging, added to very good human understanding, that I really began to tolerate his company. He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room, whence I peeped into the street, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he seduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually lessened, but my hatred and contempt seemed to increase.*

* When the delusions created in the mind of Gulliver during his former voyages had passed away, his estimate of his own species was also restored. But Swift makes him act otherwise

In ten days, Don Pedro, to whom I had given some account of my domestic affairs, put it upon me, as a matter of honour and conscience, that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children. He told me there was an English ship in the port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary. It would be tedious to repeat his arguments, and my contradictions. He said it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary island as I desired to live in; but I might command in my own house, and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased.

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left Lisbon the 24th day of November, in an English merchantman, but who was the master I never inquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ship, and lent me twenty pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During this last voyage I had no commerce with the master or any of his men; but, pretending I was sick, kept close in my cabin.* On December 5th, 1715, we cast anchor in the Downs, about nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon I got safe to my house at Redriff.

My wife and family received me with great surprise and joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess the sight

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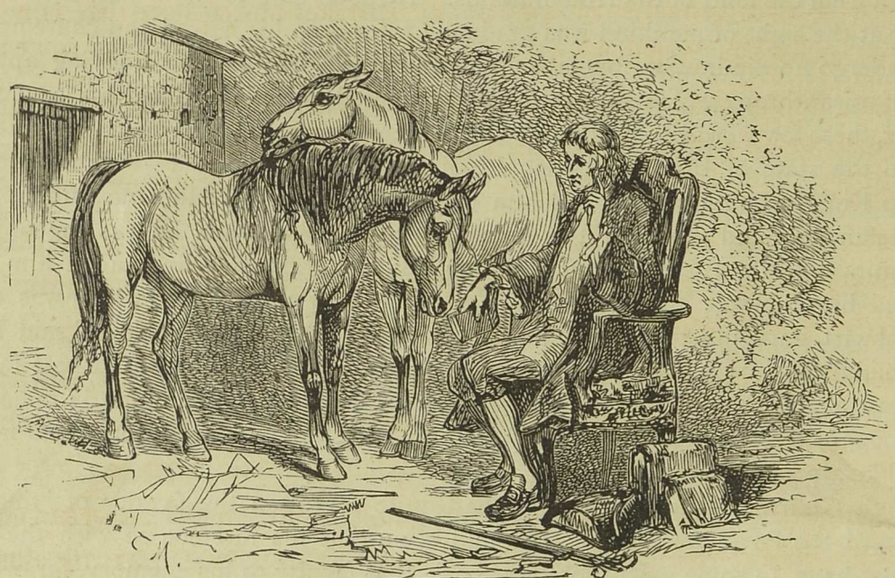
on his return from the land of the Houyhnhnms. He takes care to show that, even when Gulliver's terror at the sight of mankind was gradually subsiding, his hatred and contempt for them not only undergo no diminution, but absolutely increase, so bitter and undying appears to be the spirit of misanthropy which animated his great intellect and darkened his soul. Slight as they appear, these few words, "My hatred and contempt seemed to increase," give us a terrible insight into the state of that mind—soured, disappointed, maddened—which made him what Archbishop King feelingly pronounced him to Dr. Delany to be, "the most unhappy man on earth." Melancholy and shocking it is, indeed, to reflect, that while he was the object of the world's admiration, while statesmen feared him, while literary men applauded him, and while wits courted him, he was all the time a prey to that *sæva indignatio* which was eating into brain and heart, enraging the one and embittering the other. "My health," said he, writing to Lord Bolingbroke, "('a thing of no moment'), is somewhat mended, but at best I have an ill head and an aching heart." And in a subsequent letter to him he bitterly remarks, "You think, as I ought to think, that it is time for me to have done with the world, and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole."

* Though Gulliver assures us that he had quite forgotten the faculty of lying when he went on board the Portuguese vessel, it would seem that his intercourse with the European Yahoos must have, to some extent, brought back that faculty to his memory, for we find that in his voyage from Lisbon to England he did not scruple, at all events, to act a falsehood; and it must be presumed that he went even farther, and ventured "to say the thing that was not," when he pretended to be sick and kept close to his cabin. Whether, in making Gulliver thus act, Swift did so inadvertently, or with the design of showing that his hero was already again contracting the vices of humanity when he began to mix with his species, it would not be easy to decide.

of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt; and the more, by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, since my unfortunate exile from the *Houyhnhnms'* country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms.**

* We close the voyage to the Houyhnhnms with very different feelings from those which we entertained after reading the voyages that preceded it. In them there is much to reprove the failings, errors, and vices of man in general, as well as the corruptions of courts, the mal-administration of statesmen, the misgovernment of princes, the vagaries of philosophers, the schemes of speculators, and the vanity of many of those things on which we are accustomed to set store. All this may humble while it instructs and admonishes us; but we rise from this last allegory with a sense that the author has intended, not to humble and improve, but to mortify and insult us—to avenge himself against humanity by degrading that nature which he possesses in common with ourselves. Like Samson, he is content, in his blind rage, to put forth his gigantic power in pulling down the fabric, and to perish himself beneath it, if only those whom he hates perish with him. The last idea that he takes care to leave upon our mind is his irrevocable alienation from his own species, and his abiding preference for the brute.



CHAPTER XI.

THE AUTHOR'S VERACITY.—HIS DESIGN IN PUBLISHING THIS WORK.—HIS CENSURE OF THOSE TRAVELLERS WHO SWERVE FROM THE TRUTH.—THE AUTHOR CLEARS HIMSELF FROM ANY SINISTER ENDS IN WRITING.—AN OBJECTION ANSWERED.—THE METHOD OF PLANTING COLONIES.—HIS NATIVE COUNTRY COMMENDED.—THE RIGHT OF THE CROWN TO THOSE COUNTRIES DESCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR IS JUSTIFIED.—THE DIFFICULTY OF CONQUERING THEM.—THE AUTHOR TAKES HIS LAST LEAVE OF THE READER.—PROPOSES HIS MANNER OF LIVING FOR THE FUTURE.—GIVES GOOD ADVICE, AND CONCLUDES.



THUS, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months: wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth. I could, perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange, improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter of fact, in the simplest manner and style; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen, or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land; whereas a traveller's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better, and improve their minds by the bad as well as good example of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

I could heartily wish a law was enacted, that every traveller, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the Lord High Chancellor that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is, while some writers, to make their works pass the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader.* I have perused several books of travels with great delight in my younger days; but having since gone

* This wish of Gulliver that every traveller should be obliged to swear to the truth of his narration, before publishing it, which, under the circumstances, is most amusingly audacious, conveys a well-merited reproof to those travellers who take such liberties with truth in the relation of their adventures, that the phrase of "travellers' tales" has become a synonyme for falsehoods.

over most parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it has given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation to see the credulity of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my acquaintance were pleased to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself as a maxim never to be swerved from, that I would strictly adhere to truth; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble master, and the other illustrious *Houyhnhnms* of whom I had so long the honour to be an humble hearer.

"Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque improba finget."

I know very well how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning, nor indeed any other talent except a good memory, or an exact journal. I know likewise that writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are sunk into oblivion by the weight and bulk of those who come last, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable that such travellers, who shall hereafter visit the countries described in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors (if there be any), and adding many new discoveries of their own, justle me out of vogue, and stand in my place, making the world forget that ever I was an author. This indeed would be too great a mortification, if I wrote for fame; but as my sole intention was the public good, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious *Houyhnhnms* without being ashamed of his own vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning, governing animal of his country? I shall say nothing of those remote nations where *Yahoos* preside, among which the least corrupted are the *Brobdingnagians;* whose wise maxims in morality and government it would be our happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting further, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and application.

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. Besides, I meddle not the least with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-

will against any man or number of men whatsoever. I write for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind; over whom I may, without breach of modesty, pretend to some superiority, from the advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished *Houyhnhnms.* I write without any view to profit or praise. I never suffer a word to pass that may look like reflection, or possibly give the least offence, even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope I may with justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflectors, Detectors, Remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess it was whispered to me that I was bound in duty, as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a secretary of state at my first coming over; because whatever lands are discovered by a subject belong to the Crown. But I doubt whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Fernando Cortez over the native Americans. The *Lilliputians*, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians;* or whether an English army would be at their ease, with the Flying Island over their heads. The *Houyhnhnms* indeed appear not to be so well prepared for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially missive weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of a European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors' faces into mummy by terrible yerks from their hinder hoofs; for they would well deserve the character given to Augustus—*Recalcitrat undique tutus.* But, instead of proposals for conquering that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilising Europe, by teaching us the first principles of honour, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity: the names of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern as well as ancient authors; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his majesty's dominions by my discoveries. To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon these occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither; at last a boy discovers land from the topmast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see a harmless people; are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king; they set up a rotten plank, or a stone, for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more, by force, for a sample; return home and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion acquired with a title by divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants: and this execrable crew of butchers, employed in so pious an expedition, is a modern colony, sent to convert and civilise an idolatrous and barbarous people.*

But this description, I confess, does by no means affect the British nation, who may be an example to the whole world for their wisdom, care, and justice in planting colonies; their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning; their choice of devout and able pastors to propagate Christianity; their caution in stocking their provinces with people of sober lives and conversations from this the mother kingdom; their strict regard to the distribution of justice, in supplying the civil administration through all their colonies with officers of the greatest abilities, utter strangers to corruption; and, to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happiness of the people over whom they preside, and the honour of the king their master.

But as those countries, which I have described, do not appear to have any desire of being conquered and enslaved, murdered or driven out, by colonies, nor abound either in gold, silver, sugar, or tobacco,

* These observations are a just and eloquent stricture upon the indefensible conduct of the Spanish and Portuguese in their invasion and subjugation of America. The course of their proceeding in that country, and their inhuman treatment of the native races, are here briefly but truly and forcibly described. The reader of history will remember, above all, the cruelties perpetrated, partly through policy, but principally through fanaticism, upon a noble and unoffending people, under the plea of converting them to Christianity.



"They give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king."—*Page* 348.

I did humbly conceive they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valour, or our interest. However, if those whom it more concerns, think fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no European did ever visit those countries before me. I mean if the inhabitants ought to be believed, unless a dispute may arise concerning the two *Yahoos* said to have been seen many years ago upon a mountain in *Houyhnhnmland.*

But as to the formality of taking possession in my sovereign's name, it never came once into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then stood, I should perhaps, in point of prudence and self-preservation, have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus answered the only objection that can ever be raised against me as a traveller, I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply those excellent lessons of virtue which I learned among the *Houyhnhnms;* to instruct the *Yahoos* of my own family, as far as I shall find them docile animals; to behold my figure often in a glass, and thus, if possible, habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human creature; to lament the brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own country, but always treat their persons with respect, for the sake of my noble master, his family, his friends, and the whole *Houyhnhnm* race, whom these of ours have the honour to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me, at the farthest end of a long table; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few questions I asked her. And, although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes, in some time, to suffer a neighbour *Yahoo* in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or his claws.

My reconcilement to the *Yahoo* kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only which nature has entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pickpocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, 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 body and mind, 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.* The wise and virtuous *Houyhnhnms*, who abound in all the excellences that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language; which has no terms to express anything that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable qualities of the *Yahoos;* among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride, for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it shows itself in other countries where that animal presides. But I, who had more experience, could plainly observe some rudiments of it among the wild *Yahoos.*

But the *Houyhnhnms*, who live under the government of reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm; which no man in his wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject from the desire I have to make the society of an English *Yahoo* by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here entreat those who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight.†

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* In this indignant denunciation of pride, the wounded spirit of Swift finds full utterance. He had suffered too much and too often from the arrogance and supercilious coldness of those in power not to feel that suffering deeply, and express it strongly.

† There is nothing finer in the volume which we have just finished than this concluding chapter. For vigour of reasoning, for clearness of style, for excellence of composition, and for its moral tone, it is a masterpiece; while in its sarcastic humour it is not unworthy of its author. In reviewing the scenes of his fabled journeyings, Swift declares his motives in bringing them before the world. "I write," he says, "for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind: my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse." How far this is a correct account of his object in these travels, and how far he was occasionally animated by a different spirit, we have already endeavoured to show in our annotations upon this work. It must ever be a subject of regret that, true to his misanthropic feelings, he, to the last, seeks to elevate the brute nature and to degrade the human. We have already endeavoured to account for this, and thus to excuse it, so far as it can be excused. No doubt, it conveys a moral lesson. "It is a probable delineation," says Dr. Cooke Taylor, "of what humanity might become if exposed to the brutalising influences of ignorance and unregulated passions; it pictures the triumph of sensuality over intelligence, and consequently sets forth in the strongest light the necessity of moral training and religious instruction."

Accepting this statement as correct, we cannot admit that the conclusion which Swift arrives at is legitimate—namely, that man has so abused and perverted his reason as to be lower than the irrational animal. "Severe, unjust, and degrading as this satire is," says Sir Walter Scott, "it was hailed with malignant triumph by those whose disappointed hopes and expectations had thrown them into the same state of gloomy misanthropy which it argues in its author." Amongst those the old Duchess of Marlborough, though Swift's political enemy, was not the least enthusiastic in her admiration. "I most heartily wish," she says, "that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures Swift speaks of and calls Houyhnhnms, which I understand to be horses so extremely polite, and which had all manner

of good conversation, good principles, and that never told a lie, and charmed him so that he could not endure his own country when he returned. He says there is a sort of creature called Yahoos of the same species with us, only a good deal uglier ; but they are kept tied up, and by that glorious creature, the horse, are not permitted to do any mischief. I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes."

In concluding our task, we would say a word or two on "Gulliver's Travels" as a whole. Despite of its faults—occasional inconsistencies in the fables themselves, its too frequent indelicacies (which we have presumed to correct), and its too virulent attacks upon political enemies—it is a marvellous work ; one which, in its own class, has never been equalled. The general favour and admiration with which it was received at its first appearance, when every allusion, personal and political, was well understood and keenly relished, prove that it was a masterpiece. That its popularity has not diminished, nor its interest grown less, now that many of those allusions have either ceased to be understood or ceased to be appreciated, is the best proof of its enduring merit.

