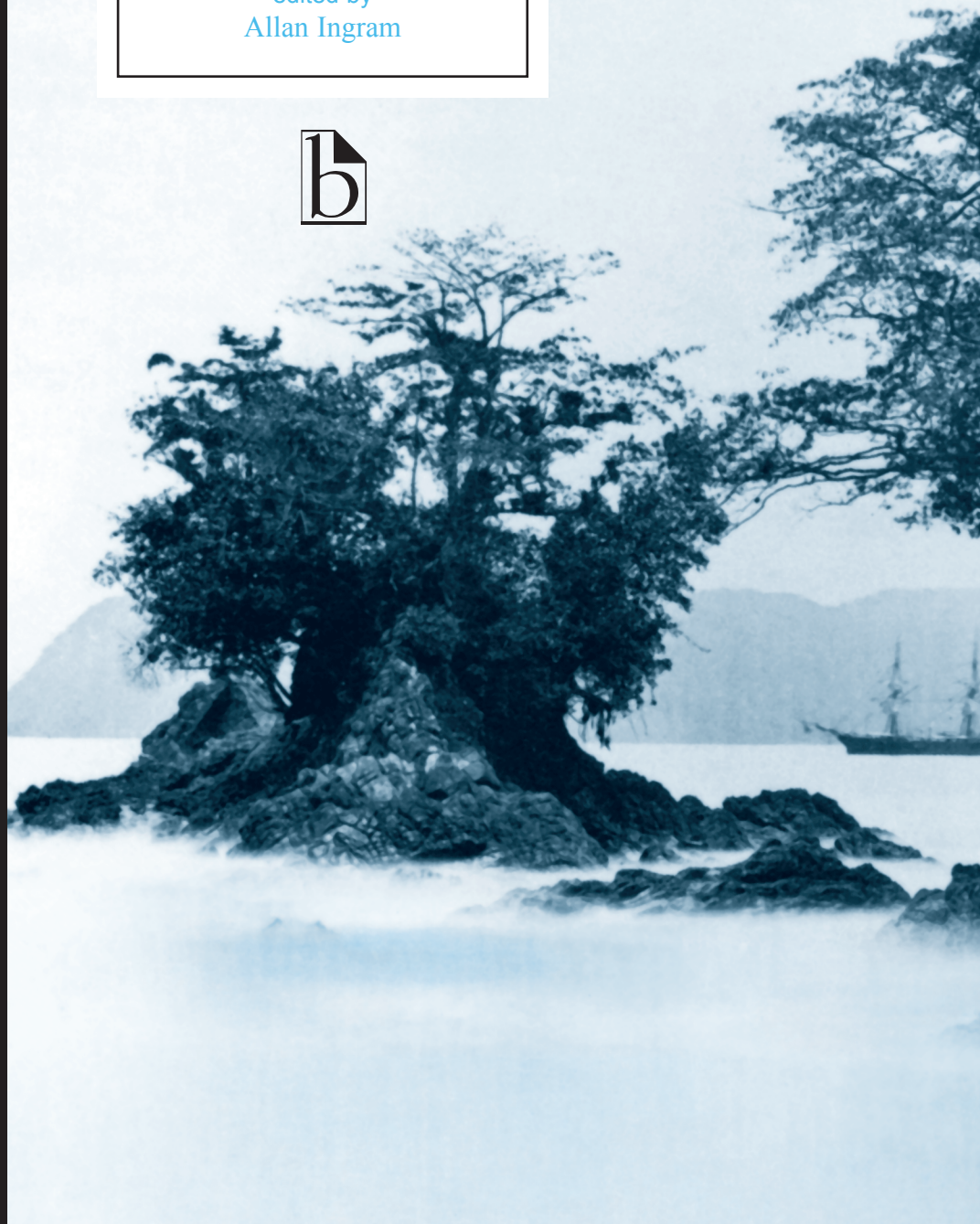


Gulliver's Travels

Jonathan Swift

edited by
Allan Ingram





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Allan Ingram is Professor of English at Northumbria University. He is currently Director of a major research project, "Before Depression: The Culture and Representation of the English Malady, 1660-1800."

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GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

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Jonathan Swift

edited by Allan Ingram



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To Maddy and Molly

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1 These are all taken from Volume III of the octavo edition of the *Works* published by Faulkner in 1735 (Teerink-Scouten 302).

2 The portrait is the work of the designer and engraver John Sturt (1658-1730) and the engraver Robert Sheppard (fl. 1720-40). The motto, "Splendide Mendax," means splendidly untrue, or untruthful for a good cause, and is from Horace, *Odes*, III xi 35. Portraits of Gulliver changed quite considerably between successive editions of *Gulliver's Travels*. (See Rawson xliv-xlvi.)

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I am grateful to Peter Lang for permission to reprint in the Appendices the selections from David Woolley’s edition of Swift’s *Correspondence*.

Introduction

No British satirist has had deception at the very heart of his work to a greater extent than Swift. Deceptiveness, subterfuge, sleight of hand, masks, disguise, disguise within disguise—these are all very much part of Swift's stock in trade as a satirist, and if many of the devices he employs were also familiar from other satirical works of his time, Swift not only took them to a new level of intensity and bewilderment, he also managed to ingrain them within the actual concept of his satire. There is the assured voice of the spoof astrologer Isaac Bickerstaff, who, in one of his earliest works, *The Bickerstaff Papers*, published between January 1708 and April 1709, first predicts and then, from various pieces of "evidence," proves the "death" of the real astrologer John Partridge, a voice picked up and borrowed by several of Swift's friends who contributed to the papers as the joke gathered momentum. There is the multiplicity of voices that constitute the telling of *A Tale of a Tub* in 1704, a work that ends by virtually denying its own authenticity. There is the measured sanity of the proposer of *A Modest Proposal* in 1729, calmly suggesting that the Irish poor should sell their own infants at a year old for the dinner table as a means of reducing poverty. And there is the voice of "Swift" who anticipates his own death in *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift* in 1739 (a poem written in 1731), and then proceeds to describe that "death" and the reaction to it. Swift seemed unable to conceive of a satirical work that did not involve throwing doubt upon the basis of its own existence, either by manipulation of the teller, or by in some way disrupting and casting doubt over what was being told. All writing, of course, and even all art, involves some degree of deception, most fundamentally the shared assumption that the materials of the work, be they sounds, paint, or words, constitute a reality beyond their existence as vibrations, pigments, or patterns in ink. We learn to read these things as part of a shared immersion within a culture. Swift, almost alone in the western tradition, chooses to demolish that assumption while simultaneously appearing to adhere to it to the letter—and even beyond.

At the same time, Swift's satire remains firmly embedded in the world in which he wrote. He was supremely a political and

social satirist as well as one with a sophisticated sense of form and language. Contemporary issues, from the state of culture and of religion, to the vicissitudes of political and scientific life and of individual personalities, actions, and reputations, were the immediate and essential topics of his writing. *The Battle of the Books*, published in 1704 (but written between 1697 and 1699), was to do with the state of contemporary learning, *A Tale of a Tub* with degeneration in religion and religious fanaticism, and with pseudo-science, while increasingly after his return to Dublin as Dean of St Patrick's in 1714 Swift turned his attention to Ireland and its appalling treatment by successive English governments. Nor was he reticent in attacking readily identifiable individuals in his work, including the former first minister the Earl of Godolphin, successive Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, such as the Earl of Wharton, rogues and conmen such as Partridge and the coiner William Wood, and even the greatest in the land, not least the all-powerful Whig first minister Sir Robert Walpole, and, as in *Gulliver's Travels*, the monarch George I. Satire in Swift's hands was a real and challenging force: it addressed real issues, such as poverty and fraud, and it did not hesitate to apportion blame.

Satire, in Swift's hands, was a dangerous business, both for its targets and for its author. *Gulliver's Travels*, which was first published in October 1726, is no exception.

Swift's Life and Works up to 1726

Jonathan Swift was born on 30 November 1667, in Dublin, to a widowed mother, Abigail Swift, her husband, also Jonathan, having died the previous spring.¹ The family was English and Protestant in background—Swift's parents had only moved to Ireland some seven years earlier. The boy Jonathan was largely brought up by his wet nurse. There is a story, possibly anecdotal, that she virtually kidnapped him and took him home with her to Whitehaven in Cumbria, where he spent around three years

1 The standard life of Swift is that by Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, published in three volumes in 1983 by Methuen (though the first two volumes had appeared initially in 1962 and 1967 respectively). Like all other Swift scholars, I am indebted to Ehrenpreis's work and legacy.

before returning to his mother. We know that he was with Abigail until he was six, when he went away to school in Kilkenny. She then moved back to England, to Leicester, along with Swift's elder sister Jane, who had been born in 1666. From Kilkenny he went to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was admitted in April 1682, and where he stayed for six years, graduating BA *speciali gratia* ("by special favour," Swift not having completed all its requirements in the usual way) in 1686. He then began his studies for MA, but moved to Leicester¹ in 1689 because of the political disturbances around the time of the Glorious Revolution, when the Catholic James II was forced from the English throne and took refuge in Ireland.

In 1689, in a crucial move, Swift entered the household of the retired diplomat Sir William Temple, with whom the family had a history of friendship, as his secretary, and for the next six years worked and lived first at Sheen in Surrey and then at Moor Park, also in Surrey. It would be hard to overstate the importance of Temple, or of this period, in Swift's life. Far more than his time at Trinity, it formed his literary, cultural, and ethical standards, as well as giving him a role model for learning, principles, and conduct. Moreover, he had access to Temple's library, and his active encouragement to read in areas previously less familiar to him. His friend Patrick Delaney later claimed that he had it on Swift's own authority that at this period he "studied at least eight hours a day, one with another, for seven years" (Delaney, 50). Swift's duties included dealing with Temple's literary works, with a view to publication. Many of them being in manuscript, this therefore involved a good deal of transcription, leading to an intimate knowledge of Temple's views, reasoning, and literary style. Swift, quite simply, would have been a different writer, if a writer at all, had it not been for Sir William Temple.

He also met at Moor Park an eight-year old girl, Esther Johnson, the daughter of Temple's housekeeper. In a curious companionship, she became until her death in 1728 Swift's closest friend, his protégée and confidante, moving to Ireland in August 1701 to be close to him after he became vicar of Laracor in 1700 and, as Stella, the recipient of his *Journal to Stella*, the series of

1 See James Woolley, "Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*" for Swift's movements between England and Ireland at this time.

letters he wrote to her from England between 1710 and 1713 before leaving for Ireland himself. Stella was also the recipient of a string of poems, many addressed to her on successive birthdays. The exact nature of the relationship remains uncertain, with rumours of a secret marriage circulating both during their lifetimes and since, and inevitably therefore suppositions of a sexual side to their friendship.¹ More important, though, was the extent to which friendship with Stella allowed Swift to cultivate an affectionate and tender side to his personality while at the same time enjoying an intellectual and literary relationship with a girl, and then a woman, he valued and respected for her mental as well as her feminine qualities.

While at Moor Park, Swift also registered at Oxford University for an MA, which was conferred in 1692, allowing him to become ordained as a clergyman in the Church of Ireland. This took place in 1695, with Swift then moving to become vicar of Kilroot in Northern Ireland. Within a year, however, he was back at Moor Park (having in the meantime proposed marriage to the daughter of a Belfast family, Jane Waring, nicknamed Varina by Swift, which came to nothing). This second period as secretary lasted until Temple's death in 1699, and was especially significant in that it saw the real beginning of Swift's writing career, with the composition of *Battle of the Books*, in which Temple himself features as the champion of the ancients in their battle with the modern books in St James's Library (the King's Library at St James's palace, Westminster), and *A Tale of a Tub*, his extended satire on religion, in which the true church, in the form of a family of three brothers, splits and degenerates into factions, each displaying different shades of lunatic beliefs and behaviour.

One more legacy of the Moor Park years, and a less welcome one, was Ménières disease, which Swift developed around this time, a condition then unrecognised. Swift distinguished between his giddiness and his deafness, blaming the first on eating too much fruit and the second on having caught cold. Ménières, a condition of the inner ear, was not identified until the nineteenth century, and is still incurable; its symptoms include not only giddiness, or vertigo, but also deafness and tinnitus (a persistent ringing in the ears), from all three of which Swift suffered. It has periods of remission, which allowed Swift for long periods to

1 On this, see Maxwell B. Gold, *Swift's Marriage to Stella*.

live and work normally, but can also be totally disabling, as Swift discovered, especially during his later years in Dublin, when for periods of up to nine months he was virtually a prisoner in his Deanery at St Patrick's.¹

Swift entered a more public phase of his career after the death of Temple and the relative seclusion of Moor Park. He took the position of chaplain and private secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, the new Chief Justice of Ireland (an English appointment, owing to Ireland's subservient position), and left for Dublin with him in the summer of 1699. Inevitably this brought him into contact with a wider range of people, both in legal and political circles, and in England as well as Ireland. He published a political allegory in 1701, *A Discourse of the Contests & Dissensions between the Nobles & Commons in Athens & Rome*, and began to make acquaintances among contemporary writers, including, during London visits, the essayists Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, the poet Matthew Prior, and the dramatist William Congreve, whom Swift had known at Kilkenny and at Trinity. He was also, in 1700, presented to the small living of Laracor, some twenty miles from Dublin, where Stella then came to live, and made prebend of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin.

In 1704, *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub* were published anonymously in London in a single volume, along with the religious and philosophical satire *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*. The book was a great success (it went into ten editions during Swift's lifetime), albeit a controversial one, partly because of the eccentricities of the structure, especially of *A Tale of a Tub*, with its multiplicity of voices and of digressions, but also because of its treatment of religion. As such, in fact, it caused something of a scandal, and once it was known to be by Swift, it inevitably attached a reputation for danger, for risk-taking, and for unpredictability to his name.

Almost all of Swift's time from 1707 through to 1714 was spent in London, first, from 1708 to 1709, and again in 1710, as representative of the Church of Ireland, and of The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr William King, to try to persuade the government to grant to the Church the same beneficial financial arrangements (remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts, which were taxes levied by the Crown on Church income) that had been given

1 On this, see Wanda J. Creaser, "The most mortifying malady."

to the Church of England. Living in London, especially at such a critical time (the Act of Union between England and Scotland, for example, became law on 1 May 1707) brought him into close contact with numbers of politicians and writers. He became closer to Addison and Steele,¹ and was involved in the beginnings of their influential periodical, *The Tatler*, in 1709. Some of his friends, such as Congreve and Nicholas Rowe, contributed papers to the Partridge spoof under the name of “Isaac Bickerstaff,” which was adopted for the supposed editor of *The Tatler*. Among the politicians were the Whig Charles Montagu, former first minister and later Earl of Halifax, as well as Tories Robert Harley, later Earl of Oxford, and Henry St John, later Viscount Bolingbroke.

In 1710, Swift went to work for the new Tory administration, and specifically for Harley, who became first minister,² as editor and main writer of a new pro-government periodical, *The Examiner*, which he continued from November of 1710 through to June 1711, supporting, on behalf of the government, among other objectives, the ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, which had been in progress since 1701. The years 1710 to 1714 consolidated Swift's career as a writer and confirmed him as above all a political, rather than simply a literary and cultural, satirist. Not only did *The Examiner* oblige him to concentrate intently on political topics, it also, as a basically propagandist organ, obliged him to focus his written style on modes of sophisticated deception. As propaganda, *The Examiner* is unsurpassed, while as an instrument of political infighting it was deadly. Moreover, the years during which Swift worked for Harley were ones that he mined over the remainder of his writing career, working over again and again in different forms—in pamphlets, in histories, fables, prophecies, and in *Gulliver's Travels*—the events and controversies of the four years up to the death of Queen Anne and the fall of the Oxford administration with the arrival of her successor, George I, Elector of Hanover.

In working with the Tories, Swift strained his friendships with the Whig men of letters, specifically with Addison and Steele, particularly the latter, with mutual attacks in print, but it did bring

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- 1 See especially Bertrand Goldgar, *The Curse of Party: Swift's Relations with Addison and Steele* for the shifting relations among the three writers.
 - 2 J.A. Downie, *Jonathan Swift: Political Writer* is a standard work on Swift's relations with Harley.

him into the circle of Tory literati, not least with John Arbuthnot, physician to Queen Anne and writer, with John Gay and Alexander Pope, and, by 1713, with Thomas Parnell. Together, as the Scriblerus Club (named after their fictitious persona, Martin Scriblerus), they produced various satires and spoofs concerning literature, learning, and culture, adding a more playful side to Swift's satiric skills. With these people, individually and collectively, Swift remained friends until the end of their lives—he outlived the last of them, Pope, by seventeen months.

In 1713 he was made Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, mainly as a reward for political services, the highest position he was to reach in the Church. Slightly disgruntled, believing himself entitled to a bishopric, Swift remained in London for the present, though by then aware of the tensions within the Oxford administration and of the likely aftermath of the death of the Queen, whenever that should come. He finally left London and went into hiding in Letcombe Bassett in Berkshire, before leaving for Dublin on 24 August 1714. Queen Anne had died on 1 August. Oxford, having resigned in July, retired from public life but was charged with high treason by the new Whig administration and imprisoned in the Tower from July 1715 until 1 July 1717, when he was acquitted. Bolingbroke, by then first minister, was dismissed on the accession of George I and, to escape prosecution, fled in March 1715 to Paris. There he remained until 1723, when he received permission to return to England.

Swift, for his part, began what he regarded as his exile in Dublin, with no visible prospect of a return to England. He remained Dean of St Patrick's until his death in 1745, and, with only two visits to London, he also remained in Dublin. A little while after his arrival, he was followed by the second (or third, if we count the brief relationship with Varina) major female friend of his life, Esther Vanhomrigh, Vanessa, daughter of a former late mayor of Dublin, with whom Swift had formed a close relationship during his years in London. As with Stella, it is unlikely that there was a sexual side to their friendship, but clearly Vanessa felt sufficiently involved with Swift to spend the rest of her life (she died in June 1723) living close to Dublin at Celbridge in the house built by her father. It is not known whether she and Stella ever actually met, in spite of living in the same city, attached to the same man.

The years in London saw Swift become a major force in political, polemical, and satiric writing. Among the major works he

published were *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* (1709), *A Short Character of His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton*, a satire on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1710), *The Conduct of the Allies*, on the war with France (1711), *Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* (1711), *The Importance of The Guardian Considered*, part of the battle with Steele and the Whigs (1713), and *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* (1714), as well as *The Examiner*, the non-satiric *A Proposal for Correcting ... the English Tongue* (1712), and a string of satiric poems. Away from the political heart of things, though, and excluded from the hub of power to which he enjoyed access when Oxford and Bolingbroke were in government, he gradually turned as a writer to Irish affairs, particularly the condition of the Irish poor and the nation's impoverished status in relation to England, virtually the colonial power during the whole of the eighteenth century.¹

His first Irish tract was published in 1720, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. This set the tone for an important feature of many of the following tracts: it is sarcastic and aggressive in tone, but in practical terms concentrates on basic actions that the people of Ireland can take in order to improve their economy and therefore their living standards. At a time when Ireland was allowed no export market apart from England, and when imported English goods dominated in Ireland, Swift saw that the expansion of Irish manufacturing was one possible way forward. Some of the Irish works, certainly, were satirical, such as *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1728; see Appendix D3), and, above all, his most famous, and infamous, pamphlet, *A Modest Proposal*, but more of them are straightforward and practical, addressed to the Irish public, and therefore written in clear and unsophisticated prose: *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers* (1729), *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures* (1729), *A Proposal ... to Pay Off the Debts of the Nation* (1732), *Advice to the Freemen of Dublin* (1733), *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars* (1737), and, above all, *The Drapier's Letters* (1724-25; see Appendix D2).

This extraordinary series of seven letters (the final two were only published in 1735) was supposedly written by a Dublin shop-keeper, "M.B. Drapier," a draper. In them he proposed and co-

1 On this, see, for example, Oliver W. Ferguson, *Swift and Ireland*.

ordinated the boycott of a debased coinage, “Wood’s halfpence,” currently being produced for Ireland under an English patent by William Wood, an iron manufacturer from Wolverhampton. The pamphlets had a dramatically widespread effect, causing the patent eventually to be withdrawn, but not before the involvement of two Lord Lieutenants (the Duke of Grafton and Lord Carteret), the Irish Privy Council, the courts, a declaration that the pamphlets were illegal and seditious, the arrest of the printer of the *Letters* and his wife, John and Sarah Harding, and a reward of £300 being offered for the identification of the author. Swift in fact had been in this position before, both in 1714, when his *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* was declared a “false, malicious and factious libel” in a resolution passed by the House of Lords,¹ and in 1720 when his *Proposal* on Irish manufactures was also declared seditious and illegal. On neither occasion was he identified, and the *Drapier’s Letters* confirmed his position both as an effective and popular Irish patriot and as a major annoyance to the English authorities.

This is the context for the publication in October of 1726 of *Gulliver’s Travels*.

The Composition and Publication of *Gulliver’s Travels*

Swift had begun *Gulliver* by 1721 at the latest, and a letter to him from Vanessa in June 1722 makes reference to the monkey episode² of the “Voyage to Brobdingnag.” Its composition, therefore, coincided at least partly with the Wood’s halfpence affair, and its latter stages with the writing and publication of the *Drapier’s Letters* and their aftermath. It also coincided with the emergence of one of its chief political targets, Robert Walpole, as first minister to George I (and subsequently, after 1727, to George II). Moreover, the bulk of the work on it was carried out between the two prosecutions for illegal publications, in 1720 and 1724. Certainly it was finished by March 1726, when Swift left Dublin for London, taking with him the manuscript—or rather, transcript—for publication.

“I am now writing a History of my Travels,” wrote Swift to his friend Charles Ford, “which will be a large Volume, and gives

1 See Ehrenpreis, II, 709.

2 On this particular episode and its political significance, see Hermann J. Real, “Allegorical Adventure and Adventurous Allegory.”

Account of Countryes hitherto unknown.” This, on 15 April 1721, is the earliest known reference to the composition of *Gulliver*, and even here Swift laments that “they go on slowly for want of Health and Humor.”¹ Clearly he had written the Brobdingnag journey, or a large part of it by June 1722, and in January 1724 he reported to Ford: “I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island, where I shall not stay long, and my two last Journeys will be soon over.”² He was finished by April 1725, as he wrote to Ford: “I have finished my Travells, and am now transcribing them; they are admirable Things, and will wonderfully mend the World.”³ On 29 September he wrote to Pope on his progress: “I have employd my time (besides ditching) in finishing correcting, amending, and Transcribing my Travells, in four Parts Compleat newly Augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a Printer shall be found brave enough to venture his Eares.”⁴

The printer brave enough (and cutting off ears was a common punishment, along with standing in the pillory and having one’s nose slit, for publishing material offensive to the Government) turned out to be Benjamin Motte, Jr, who had taken over the house of an earlier publisher of Swift’s work, Benjamin Tooke. By this time Swift was in London, arriving in the middle of March and staying first of all with Pope and Gay. Not until 8 August did he write to Motte proposing publication of a book of travels, and then his letter was not only written from “Richard Sympson” on behalf of his cousin, “Lemuel Gulliver,” but copied and sent by Gay, though later letters from “Sympson” to Motte were actually in Ford’s handwriting: as David Woolley puts it, “We are to marvel at the endless possibilities of who was fooling whom.”⁵ The deal was for £200 in advance, paid within six months, and the book to be out by Christmas. (See Appendix A.) It was published on 28 October 1726 in two octavo volumes at a price of eight

1 *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, DD*, ed. David Woolley, 4 volumes (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), II, 372.

2 *Correspondence*, II, 487.

3 *Correspondence*, II, 586.

4 *Correspondence*, II, 606.

5 David Woolley, “The Stemma of *Gulliver’s Travels*: A First Note,” 52, note 9. For further steps in the story, see Michael Treadwell, “The Text of *Gulliver’s Travels*, Again” and Woolley, “The Stemma of *Gulliver’s Travels*: A Second Note.”

shillings and sixpence.¹ It proved a great financial success, and Motte published two more octavo editions before the end of the same year, in November and December,² with the designated second and third editions following in 1727.³ A Dublin edition was published by John Hyde in December 1726.⁴

Motte, however, no doubt mindful of his ears, had not published the text exactly as he found it in Swift's transcript. Not only was the book riddled with errors, but Motte had sought guidance from a scholar and school-master, Andrew Tooke, as to the advisability of printing certain sections, or passages on certain topics. After Tooke had vetted it, Motte's edition had the paragraphs allegorizing Wood's halfpence removed from Part III, other passages, not least those concerning first ministers, substantially toned down, and in one case, in Part IV Chapter VI, the chapter heading expanded to include "*A Continuation of the State of England, so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister,*" with an additional unauthorized paragraph inserted in praise of Queen Anne. While Swift ensured that Hyde's Dublin edition corrected the most obvious mistakes in Motte, he was partly hampered by not having access to the manuscript,⁵ either while the Hyde edition was being prepared or when he wrote to Motte on 3 January 1727. This was a letter copied by Ford and signed by him, demanding that corrections be made for the next edition.

There were, apparently, two copies of the manuscript of *Gulliver*, one of which, the original, was in Swift's own hand and the other a transcript in an unknown hand. Swift took the transcript with him to London in March 1726, and that was the copy from which Motte took his text. This might explain some of the errors of the first edition. The original manuscript, or holograph, was kept, David Woolley argues, by Charles Ford in Dublin, who left with it for London later in March. When Swift returned to Dublin in August, after the deal with Motte, he left both copies behind, the transcript with Motte, who probably took the precaution of destroying it once the book was published,

1 In H. Teerink and Arthur H. Scouten, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift*, the standard classification system for Swift's works, the publication is identified as Teerink-Scouten 289.

2 These are Teerink-Scouten 290 and 291 respectively.

3 Teerink-Scouten 293 and 294 respectively.

4 Teerink-Scouten 297.

5 Woolley, "The Stemma of *Gulliver's Travels*: A First Note," 51-54.

and the original manuscript in the keeping of Ford, who stayed on until Christmas. Even when Ford returned to Dublin he left the holograph in London, thus making an accurate collation with the first edition impossible. The reasons there were errors, therefore, were both political caution and editorial carelessness, but the reason for their taking so long to correct is the uniquely secretive mode whereby the book came to be published.

To complete the story, Motte's second edition, in May 1727,¹ corrected many errors, but left other passages still corrupt. Ford then wrote into an interleaved copy of the first edition all correct readings and passages—a text that still exists, unlike (so far) Swift's original manuscript, though there is no reference anywhere to its having been destroyed. (Indeed, David Woolley notes that “the original manuscript” was declared by Faulkner to be in his possession in 1768.²) The first publication, though, to incorporate the majority of the corrections and reinsertions was that printed in Dublin in 1735 by George Faulkner as the third volume in a four-volume *Works*.³ Certainly, Swift had Ford's help in establishing the text, and also took the opportunity to make fresh modifications of his own, partly assisted by the annotations he had written himself into his copy of the earlier Hyde edition (a volume rediscovered in Armagh public library in Northern Ireland in the 1930s and finally authenticated in 1976). Faulkner, therefore, while probably using the first edition as his basic copy text, was able to incorporate readings, either directly or indirectly, via authorial instruction, from both Ford's corrected copy and Swift's own, though even then certain passages remained in a censored or incorrect form, most conspicuously the Wood's halfpence episode in Part III, which remained unprinted until 1884. However, it seems that Faulkner's edition gives the text that is closest to Swift's final intentions—that is, his intentions in 1735, though not necessarily in 1726!

The Nature of Swift's Satire: Models, Traditions, and Targets

That Swift had his eye very much on contemporary events while writing *Gulliver* is shown by, most obviously, his including the

1 Teerink-Scouten 293.

2 Woolley, “The Stemma of *Gulliver's Travels*: A First Note,” 54.

3 Teerink-Scouten 302.

Lindolando revolt in Part III, which was the last of the four parts to be composed, as an unmistakable version of Wood's halfpence—written, in fact, virtually as it happened. Equally, given that Robert Walpole had only been first minister since 1721, the specificity of Swift's attacks on his personal life, for example the behaviour of his first wife, Catherine Shorter, in Chapter II of Part III, shows how up to the minute Swift was prepared to be in finding material for satirising political immorality. He also, of course, was intensely interested in the political events of his own lifetime, especially those in which he was more closely involved. Hence, Gulliver in Lilliput is at times cast in the roles of both Oxford, in being brought to face charges of treason, and of Bolingbroke, in seeking exile in a neighbouring country. Allusion, moreover, to the politics of the last years of Queen Anne, as well as slighting portrayals of Hanoverian monarchy, are widespread.¹

Nevertheless, *Gulliver's Travels* has its roots in far older and more varied models and traditions than recent British politics. Tales of travel constitute one of the oldest narrative forms, with the Homeric *Odyssey* the most ancient surviving example, and representing too the shift from oral to written in the development of a literate culture. Encounters with strange peoples and creatures were inevitably sources of huge interest, whether those encounters were mainly factual, as with the thirteenth-century Venetian, Marco Polo, or the Elizabethan English explorer Richard Hakluyt, or wholly fictitious, as the notorious travel liar Sir John Mandeville in the fourteenth century. Swift had specific recent books of travel in mind when writing *Gulliver*, including William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, published in 1697; he mocks Dampier both for the pedestrian trivialities that he includes and for his stylistic characteristics (see Appendix B4). But books of mock travel, or in spoof of actual travellers, also have a long lineage. The second-century Greek writer, Lucian, wrote his *True History* partly in mockery of accounts of the most fantastic travel adventures (see Appendix B1), and more recently the genre had been taken up by the French writer Cyrano de Bergerac. In his *History Comique de la Lune*, published in 1657, de Bergerac, like Lucian, took his supposed travel account to the

1 See, for example, Arthur E. Case, *Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels"*, 69-96, and Ehrenpreis, "The Allegory of *Gulliver's Travels*," 13-28.

absurd length of a journey to the moon and a period of residence there (see Appendix B3). While there is no hard evidence that Swift knew de Bergerac's work, he certainly owned a copy of Lucian.

From books of mock travel it is a short step to the Utopian tradition, another major form that Swift is indebted to. Early examples here include, most obviously, the first of all Utopias, Plato's *Republic*, particularly its discussion of systems of government and its detail on the education of the young among the different classes of the Republic. The most celebrated English example, though, is Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in Latin in 1516, in which the fictitious traveller Raphael Hythloday visits the island of Utopia, off the eastern coast of South America, and, during a residence of five years, becomes familiar with its social structure, institutions, laws, system of education, and customs, very much as Gulliver does (see Appendix B2). In fact in certain aspects, such as its strict social hierarchy, Utopia is very close to Houyhnhnmland. Equally, the ambiguity of More's work—is he unequivocally applauding the Utopian model, or is he simply offering it as the example of an alternative way of doing things, or even using it to satirise English society, or all three at once?—is itself a precursor of Swift's work, though More does not ask the same fundamentally uncomfortable questions of his readers that Swift does.¹

Other models, though less structural, were nevertheless a considerable influence on *Gulliver's Travels*. Rabelais' series of novels on the giants Pantagruel and Gargantua, published in France during the first part of the sixteenth century, was clearly a significant predecessor to Gulliver in Lilliput and in Brobdingnag, and Swift appears to have taken several suggestions from Rabelais, not least Gulliver's huge appetite as it appears to Lilliputian eyes. Rabelais, too, was a wider influence on the grosser aspects of the humour of *Gulliver*, particularly those parts to do with bodily functions, which again are so much more prominent in Lilliput and Brobdingnag than elsewhere.

The historian Plutarch was, in a completely different way, another important source. Born a Greek, in the middle of the

1 On the relations between Swift's work and More's, see, for example, Real, "Voyages to Nowhere: More's *Utopia* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*." For broader parallels between Lilliput and versions of utopia, see Dirk F. Passmann, "The Lilliputian Utopia."

first century CE, Plutarch became a Roman citizen and one of the most significant biographers of the ancient world. His *Parallel Lives* and his biographies of the Roman emperors gave Swift details about not only Greek and Roman history but the individual quirks and characteristics of significant figures, especially for the sorcerers' island in Part III.¹ Equally, details of Spartan practices and educational codes, features of which the Houyhnhnms share, derive from Plutarch's life of Lysander, the supposed ruler of Sparta in the fifth century BCE.

Other less tangible models include the legendary figure Tom Thumb, tales of the giant race who once inhabited Britain until they were expelled by Brutus, and all manner of animal fables from Aesop onwards, where speaking beasts are called upon to instruct, or warn, foolish mankind, or to serve as an alternative mode of existence. Then there are the questing heroes, Cervantes' melancholy mad knight, Don Quixote, from the two-part novel published in Spain in 1605 and 1615, a man who is convinced that the world is in need of his strict code of knightly chivalry, and Samuel Butler's poetic hero Hudibras, from the long work of the same name, published in England in three parts between 1663 and 1678, a knight who prides himself upon his logic and his religion, but who is wrong-headed, arrogant, and mistaken from start to finish. Gulliver's travels are not undertaken either as a knightly duty or in order to set the world to rights, but he does share the distorted vision and something of the arrogance of these figures, and he is certainly subject to the mockery of his creator.

Some of these models are satiric, others of a historical or a philosophical nature, and yet others are factual accounts of personal experience. *Gulliver's Travels*, of course, has its philosophical implications, and implies a view about human nature, though it is disputable what that view actually is. But its main function is satiric, and as a satire it has a range of targets. One of these, quite straightforwardly, is to make fun of models such as Dampier, and to undermine the credibility of travellers' tales. More seriously, Swift is inviting a reinterpretation both of recent English political events and of the wider scientific, religious, and political history of the country, not least by belittling it. Can we still look in the same way at the English Reformation, for example, and the reign of Henry VIII, after we have been induced to see the

1 See, for example, Passmann, "Gulliver's 'Temple of Fame.'"

break with Rome as a dispute about which end of a boiled egg should be broken first? We must, because so many people died for their beliefs, but at the same time we need to question the sense of proportion that left no alternatives but hatred, persecution, and death.

More serious, too, is the attack on contemporary figures, partly for personal corruption and for self-interest in office—so, over and over again, the attacks on Walpole in particular, and on specific members of the Whig hierarchy of past and present—and partly for engaging in the kind of persecution and vindictiveness that in an earlier age brought about unnecessary death and division. Among those attacked on political grounds in *Gulliver* are individuals against whom Swift had a personal as well as a political grudge, and most of these are those with whom he had come into conflict over Irish affairs.

Here is perhaps the most important of all the targets for attack in the book: England in terms of its treatment of Ireland and the Irish people. Here, we see the true ruthlessness of a colonial power exploiting a subject people to the utmost of its capacity, a history that fully justifies, in Swift's account, the bitterness of Gulliver's remarks on claiming new lands for the Crown in Chapter XII of Part IV. Ireland had been a main target of English subjugation since at least early Tudor times, and indeed Poyning's Law, named after Sir Edward Poyning, Lord Deputy of Ireland under Henry VII, and passed in 1484, was still in force for most of the eighteenth century. Under this law, which had recently been endorsed by the Declaratory Act of 1720, no legislation could be passed by the Irish parliament without the prior approval of the English Privy Council. Not only was a series of exploitative legislation from the British parliament subsequently applied to Ireland, and only to Ireland, with no official body empowered to oppose it, but a succession of punitive military expeditions throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods had brought widespread bloodshed and land confiscation to Ireland, culminating in the savagery of Oliver Cromwell's campaign in 1649–50. Swift, as Dean of St Patrick's, of course, was witnessing at first hand the consequences of English exploitation, and though himself Anglo-Irish rather than native Irish he was increasingly concerned both by Irish poverty and by what he saw as Anglo-Irish indifference towards it. Many of his Irish pamphlets are aimed in large part at the extravagance and wastefulness of long-term resident English

families—the kind of market for whom he speculates that child-flesh would be a welcome addition to a gracious table in *A Modest Proposal*. Too serious, in a way, for satire, certainly for comic satire, *Gulliver's Travels* takes its place within a series of attacks on England and English administrations, along with the tracts and poems that Swift also devoted to the Irish cause.

Finally, in terms of significant satiric targets, there is the attack on the New Science through the Academy at Lagado in Part III. The Royal Society, of course, on whose activities several of the experiments are based, had been in existence since the early 1660s, and included some of the very first names in the sciences, both of their time and in influence—Robert Hooke, Robert Boyle, and Sir Christopher Wren as well as Sir Isaac Newton, one of the most significant and influential of all British scientists (see Appendix C1). Pope, in his published work, was to express the highest regard for Newton and the scientific breakthroughs of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, being concerned above all to reconcile the Newtonian universe with Christian orthodoxy. As he put it in his *Essay on Man*, first published in 1733:

Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known,
 'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.
 He, who thro' vast immensity can pierce,
 See worlds on worlds compose one universe,
 Observe how system into system runs,
 What other planets circle other suns,
 What vary'd being peoples ev'ry star,
 May tell why Heav'n has made us as we are.¹

For Swift, however, Newtonian physics allows the bizarre island of Laputa to fly and to change course, mathematical speculation obliges the Laputans to have “flappers” to remind them to speak and to avoid falling into the gutter, and the telescope permits the Brobdingnagian scholars to see the stubble on Gulliver's chin: hardly a triumph of science. Precise observation of nature, meanwhile, turns Gulliver's stomach when they are the lice and flies of Brobdingnag, while scientific experiment is a source of comedy. Meddling in the minutiae of nature is not the business

1 Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, Epistle I, lines 21-28.

of rational creatures: it will help no one. Equally, change for the sake of change, that promises much but, having destroyed what already was, delivers nothing, can only ever diminish the welfare of mankind. Experimental science in the debased form that Swift portrays it is the occupation of lunatics to whom we listen at our peril. The cultivation of proper moral, cultural, and religious values, on the other hand, and the preventing of self-interest and faction from causing degeneration in once sound institutions, is what human energies in a civilised society should be directed towards. It is the business of satire, moreover, to make sure that this happens.

The Nature of Swift's Satire: Deception

But it is not, of course, as simple as that—nothing in Swift is. *Gulliver's Travels* is not what it claims to be. No one went anywhere, there was never anyone to go in the first place. The name is a fiction, the portrait at the front of the book is not of Gulliver, or even of Swift, and the whole editorial apparatus, including the letters of complaint and response, is a sham—or at least a sort of sham, both lying like the truth and, in that Swift was genuinely angry at what Motte had done, telling the truth as if it were part of the fiction. In a book where handwriting in distant, tiny fictitious Lilliput is more peculiar than any ever seen, except perhaps from ladies in England, and where the Houyhnhnms have no concept of a written language, or of lying, what is to be made of the very act of telling a story? Indeed, when we reach the end of the final part and find that the supposed narrator now prefers to spend his time in the stable talking with his horses, having turned his back not only on human kind, as far as he can, but on human discourse, human literature, the very means of human communication, how can we in such circumstances put any faith in the narrative he has finished giving us, or declare that it endorses anything at all, let alone something as clearly stateable as civilised values—unless we conclude that they are to be found only in horses? By the end of *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver, and therefore his travels, has virtually ceased to be, certainly ceased to be anything we might attach value to. Yet, we remember, Gulliver's reputation for truthfulness in his home neighbourhood of Rotherhithe was proverbial. So how can we dismiss him, or disregard his story as the ramblings of a lunatic?

Such issues are inevitably raised by a text that insists on undermining its own credibility as it goes on. For all its weight of detail, of dates, courses, and winds, of nautical and geographical matters, and of creatures, material objects, ways of life, and languages that Gulliver claims to have met with, and the mechanics of his survival among them, the book will not let us believe them, not because they are incredible, which they usually are, but because the mode of narration that Swift gives to Gulliver is one that progressively dismantles the foundations of its own existence. “This is written language: it says the thing that is not: humans lie, only horses speak the truth.”

Swift’s satire, to put it another way, has the probably unique capacity to make us question not only those individuals and institutions under specific attack but our own assumptions and gullibilities, including our readiness, when we read, to suspend our incredulity and to give ourselves, albeit sometimes only for a short while, to the control of the author. Few writers, having been granted that control, choose, as Swift does, both to play fast and loose with it and ultimately to demolish it altogether. In doing so, though, Swift aspires to ensure that his reader eventually recognises that he is not only being looked to by the author as a member of the bench in judging this or that specific charge, but is himself a subject of judgement, by the author, and by the text he has been reading. This, rather than the sometimes unsavoury details, or the frequent absurdities entered into by the first-person narrator, is what makes Swift so uncomfortable, and finally so dangerous a satirist. He asks the kinds of questions of his readers to which we have few answers.

Critical Reception

Perhaps unsurprisingly, though, this is not the aspect of the book that received attention after its publication in 1726. Responses were mixed, but generally extreme. Those who were positive were very positive, but not necessarily in the same way, while those who were negative found it hateful and loathsome. The most enthusiastic readers, of course, included Swift’s friends, especially those in the former Scriblerus Club (see Appendix E1). John Arbuthnot wrote to Swift on 5 November 1726: “I will make over all my profits to yow, for the property of Gullivers

Travells, which I believe will have as great a Run as John Bunian.¹ Gulliver is a happy man that at his age can write such a merry book.”² Gay and Pope, in a joint letter written on 7 November, run through the range of reactions they have been aware of, from the “Duchess Dowager of Marlborough” who is “in raptures at it” to an unnamed lord (in fact Lord Bolingbroke) who criticises it “as a design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature.” Tongue in cheek, they predict that, if Swift has not yet read it, he will soon have the benefit of a “variety of commentators, to explain difficult passages to you.”³ Nine days later, Pope adds, in a letter of his own: “I find no considerable man very angry at the book: some indeed think it rather too bold, and too general a Satire: but none that I hear of accuse it of particular reflections.”⁴

There were certainly keys to the book published swiftly after its appearance, itself a measure of how much it took London by storm. The first, in four instalments between November and December 1726, was from the scurrilous bookseller Edmund Curll, who had previously published a key to *A Tale of a Tub*. Supposedly written by a “Signor Corolini, a noble *Venetian* now residing in *London*,” it comprises chapter summaries, often with long quotations from the text itself, with a few obvious glosses on the most glaring of the satiric targets. A second key, *Gulliver Decypher’d*, appeared early in December 1726, published by James Roberts, consisting, as Irvin Ehrenpreis puts it, of “an attack on Swift’s character, with generous sideswipes at Arbuthnot, Pope, and Gay, all composed in a fumbling imitation of *A Tale of a Tub*.”⁵ Along similar lines, the anonymous pamphlet *A Letter from a Clergyman*, which was also published in December 1726, attacks both Swift’s obscenity and his blasphemy, and in particular is appalled by the assaults on Robert Walpole, who is praised lavishly over large sections of the work (see Appendix E2).

In general, the early responses, while missing the full implications for the twin acts of writing and reading in Swift’s deceptive text, tended to set the pattern of debate for succeeding commen-

1 This, of course, is John Bunyan (1628–88) whose *Pilgrim’s Progress*, published in two parts in 1678 and 1684, remained enormously popular from its first appearance.

2 *Correspondence*, III, 44.

3 *Correspondence*, III, 47–48.

4 *Correspondence*, III, 52.

5 Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, III, 504.

tators: it was funny, it was inventive, it was clever in its attacks, but it was also sordid, low in aspects of its humour, the third part was the least satisfactory, and the whole tended towards irreverence. Dr Johnson, writing over half a century later, catches the mood in his *Life of Swift*:

This important year sent likewise into the world *Gulliver's Travels*, a production so new and strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was received with such avidity, that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made; it was read by the high and the low, the learned and the illiterate. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder; no rules of judgement were applied to a book written in open defiance of truth and regularity. But when distinctions came to be made, the part which gave least pleasure was that which describes the *Flying Island*, and that which gave most disgust must be the history of the *Houyhnhnms*.¹

Bolingbroke's reported concern that human nature was depreciated by it, was also part of the disgust that significant numbers of readers continued to feel at Part IV. This was particularly the case in the nineteenth century, when the image of the gloomy Dean tended to dominate responses to Swift. Probably the most infamous judgement on both Swift and *Gulliver* was that of the comic novelist William Makepeace Thackeray in his 1851 work, *English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*:

As for the humour and conduct of this famous fable, I suppose there is no person who reads but must admire; as for the moral, I think it horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous; and giant and great as this Dean is, I say we should hoot him. Some of this audience mayn't have read the last part of *Gulliver*, and to such I would recall the advice of the venerable Mr. Punch to persons about to marry, and say, "Don't." When Gulliver first lands among the Yahoos, the naked howling wretches clamber up trees and assault him, and he describes himself as "almost stifled with the filth which fell about him." The reader of the fourth part of *Gulliver's Travels* is like the hero himself in this

1 Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, I, 204.

instance. It is Yahoo language: a monster gibbering shrieks, and gnashing imprecations against mankind—tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in word, filthy in thought, furious, raging, obscene.¹

Few critics would share Thackeray's views today, and none would write in such terms, but for many years during the twentieth century Swift criticism tended to centre around the issue of whether Swift was straightforwardly attacking mankind, as deducible from Part IV of *Gulliver*, and whether he genuinely felt disgust at the human body and its functions, or whether, on the contrary, he is holding the Houyhnhnms up as racist and fascist, matching or pre-empting in their attitudes and behaviour the excesses of the age of the slave trade and of empire.

Big Men and Little Men

Johnson was no great admirer of Swift, allowing grudging merit to certain aspects of *Gulliver's Travels*, and wholeheartedly endorsing only *A Tale of a Tub*. James Boswell reports in the *Life of Johnson* remarks made in conversation in March 1775: "I wondered to hear him say of 'Gulliver's Travels,'" writes Boswell, "'When once you have thought of big men and little men, it is very easy to do all the rest.'" ² Johnson, characteristically, identified something very profound about the book, and also very simple. And, characteristically, he has made the remark virtually in dismissal of what Swift had achieved.

The little men, followed by the big men, are the crucial device whereby Swift first hooks his reader, and it is this feature of the first two parts that continues, on one level, to make the book so appealing to so many kinds of reader, and that makes it so tempting as a children's story. The voyage to Lilliput, where Gulliver is the giant, makes the second voyage, where Gulliver is minute, virtually a structural necessity: being big when others are little also demands being little when others are big. But of course both of these states are completely relative. Gulliver does not change size at all; rather he, and the reader, is obliged to think of himself

1 William Makepeace Thackeray, *English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*, 38-39.

2 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, LL.D, I, 462.

through a different perspective depending on his surroundings. Where we might well differ from Johnson is in the declaration that “it is very easy to do all the rest.”

“All the rest,” in fact, is what makes the book more than a children’s story and renders it one of the most significant satires of world literature. “All the rest” includes the dizzying extent to which Gulliver’s in-between status with regard to size, apparently changing yet staying the same, becomes transformed, in other parts of the book, to issues of both psychology and species. “Is Gulliver mad?” and “Is Gulliver a Yahoo?” are misleading and ultimately unhelpful questions. He is shown in contexts where he might well be concluded to be mad, and part of that madness might well be his conviction that he is indeed a Yahoo.¹ More important, though, is the extent to which Gulliver is the glass through which Swift chose to blur various boundaries and thereby to cast certain basic assumptions in a new perspective. The Brobdingnagian wise men might see through their telescope that Gulliver has stubble, but it leaves them no wiser what to make of him: indeed, if anything it complicates the issue. Equally, readers might find evidence in Gulliver’s behaviour, his language, thought processes, and convictions, to lead them to conclude that his wits are gone, but to do so is to miss the point that it is the very norms that otherwise would decide on boundaries of madness and sanity, human and animal, that are being scrutinized. “All the rest,” in other words, in *Gulliver’s Travels*, really is all the rest, including how we habitually look at and attempt to understand “all the rest.”

Looking and the perspectives of what is seen have come very much to the fore since the advent, in the latter part of the twentieth century, of historicist criticism, and of historical approaches of all kinds. Unlike those readers brought up on New Criticism, where seeing the wholeness of the text was everything, more recent researches have concentrated on recovering the detail of those demanding issues of the contemporary world to which Swift chose to expose Gulliver, including the

1 On the topic of Swift’s manipulation of images of madness in relation to Gulliver, see Allan Ingram and Michelle Faubert, *Cultural Constructions of Madness in Eighteenth-Century Writing*, particularly Chapter 1, “Speaking It Like a Horse: *Gulliver’s Travels* and the Contexts of Insanity,” 1-24.

political, the intellectual and scientific, the psychological, the religious and, increasingly, the colonial. Gulliver's own state of mind is a factor in the interpretation of what is looked at in these fields, but they are as much under examination as he is, and we misread the book if we downgrade the forces of Swift's world to the level of contextual material against which a single fictitious mind may be witnessed in the process of breaking down. *Gulliver's Travels*, after all, is a satire, and satire is historically rooted or it is nothing: little men and big men provide the mechanics, they catch the eye and set the scale, but what the book is looking at is "all the rest."

Swift's Life after 1726

The publication of *Gulliver's Travels* brought Swift fame, to go with that already attached to him from the *Drapier's Letters* triumph, and financial reward unsurpassed in his previous career (though there were some problems in receiving the money due to him from Motte). One particular accolade was an invitation in 1727 from Voltaire, the famous French satirist and literary figure, to visit him in France. Pope, too, was to pay handsome tribute to his standing in his new poem, published in 1728, *The Dunciad*, which has Swift inscribed as the addressee at the opening of Book I:

O thou! whatever Title please thine ear,
Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!
Whether thou chuse Cervantes' serious air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais' easy Chair,
Or praise the Court, or magnify Mankind,
Or thy griev'd Country's copper chains unbind....¹

Swift did not go to France, but he did travel to London in 1727 to enjoy the company and congratulations of his friends and their circle, staying with Pope, but left suddenly in mid-September and headed back to Dublin. This was partly because of a crisis in Stella's health (Swift had been receiving regular written reports during his stay), and partly because of his own. It was also,

1 Pope, *The Dunciad*, Book I, lines 17-22. (The quotation is taken from the second edition, *The Dunciad Variorum*, first published in 1729.)

though, marking something of a change in his overall mood, from one of celebration to a much darker perspective, especially on things Irish. He was delayed for a wretched week by bad weather at Holyhead, the Welsh port of departure for Ireland, and arrived home, from what was to be his final visit to England, at the end of September.

Stella's illness was devastating. Vanessa had been dead for some years by this time. There had been a coolness between Swift and her in the summer of 1722, after which he seems to have corresponded with her no more, and she died at the age of thirty-three in June of the following year, heartbroken. Stella, however, was in a different category, both of trust and of centrality, apparently, to his emotional life. She died on 28 January 1728, two months short of her forty-seventh birthday. They had been the closest of friends for thirty-eight years, and a significant part of Swift's writing, poetry as well as prose, is addressed to her. Himself ill throughout the winter with deafness and vertigo, he was not well enough to attend her funeral, and even went so far as to change the room where he slept at St Patrick's Deanery on the night of her burial on 30 January because it overlooked the cathedral and he did not wish to witness what was going on. As Ehrenpreis suggests, "He felt—I think—that his real life was over."¹

Not that Swift stopped writing or publishing. Apart from those Irish pamphlets of the late 1720s and early 1730s, the Swift-Pope *Miscellanies* came out in three volumes in London, the first volumes in 1727, with one further volume delayed until 1732, though these were driven more by Pope than by Swift. He also wrote, in 1731, his extraordinary "posthumous" poem, *Verses of the Death of Dr Swift*, and the satire on social behaviour, *Directions to Servants*, which he claimed to have begun over a quarter of a century earlier. This eventually became one of his very last publications, in 1745, finally appearing in November, a month after his death. He was also working on *A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation* (commonly known as *Polite Conversation*), a set of dialogues aimed at mocking polite social idioms. This was published in 1738.

A significant part of Swift's work throughout the 1730s was in the form of poetry. Some poems were in the relatively playful mode of *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift*, and its reworked

1 Ehrenpreis, III, 549.

version, *The Life and Genuine Character of Dr Swift*, published in 1733. Many, though, are in a much harsher style, the style that enabled Swift to come up with the devastating, and devastatingly effective, satiric device of selling one's children for the table in the pamphlet *A Modest Proposal*. Poems such as "The Lady's Dressing-Room," written in 1730 and published in London two years later, and "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," "Strephon and Chloe," and "Cassinus and Peter," all written 1731, and published together in a single pamphlet in London in 1734, develop the scatological side of Swift's humour that was seen in *Gulliver's Travels*, and earlier in *A Tale of a Tub*, and combine it with what, misleadingly, looks like a strong anti-female slant. These poems pick up where the amusingly misnamed Brobdingnagian maids of honour left off, except that now the focus is not the manners of a fictitious royal court but a range of English (and Irish) women from the wealthy and marriageable down to a decaying impoverished prostitute. Swift, of course, is mining a distinct tradition here, one that includes Chaucer and Rabelais, as well as classical writers such as Juvenal, but the style of Swift's poetry, with its jauntily shortened lines, comic rhymes and straightforward diction—"Twelve Cups of Tea, (with Grief I speak) / Had now constrain'd the Nymph to leak. / This Point must needs be settled first; / The Bride must either void or burst"¹—tends to make the bluntness of his subject matter much more unforgiving. Inevitably, public reaction to the poems included shock and disgust, as well as amusement and appreciation. They still have the capacity to shock, though in different ways, and readers can still be disgusted by them, though close reading can reveal that they are not quite so anti-female as they at first appear. Swift, for example, has been careful in all of them to set the perspective for what is being described through a male intermediary: "Strephon" in "The Lady's Dressing-Room," who is so naively shocked by what he finds there, and another "Strephon" and "Cassinus" in their respective poems, expecting goddesses and finding human beings. "A Beautiful Young Nymph" in particular not only addresses "Corinna" in all her fakery, assumed to please the male market, but ends by successfully showing a piti-

1 Swift, "Strephon and Chloe," lines 163-66, in *Swift: Poetical Works*, 523.

able suffering creature once her working world is left behind.¹ The poems will always be hard to stomach for many readers, but nothing is quite that clear-cut in Swift.

Nevertheless, clearly Swift's energies for writing were diminishing. He played an active part in helping George Faulkner with the four-volume edition of his *Works* that appeared in Dublin in 1735 (it in fact appeared in 1734, with 1735 on the title page), and which corrected, as far as was possible, errors in previous editions, not least in *Gulliver's Travels*, which comprised the third volume of the *Works*. This, though, was a huge effort, and he relied heavily on help from friends such as Charles Ford in finding materials to allow him to compare texts. In the early part of 1728, shortly after Stella's funeral, he wrote the pamphlet *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (see Appendix D3), in which he undertakes a mock hymn of praise for Ireland's good fortune and prosperity, but suddenly breaks off—"But my Heart is too heavy to continue this Irony longer."² It is a remarkable moment, of great impact in the satire itself, but much more widely indicative. Swift's illness, his increasing isolation in a country he fought for but hated, and his loss of companionship all took their toll.

In his last years his illness gave him little remission. Swift made his will in May 1740 and for a while carried on something like a normal life. From 1742, though, he was virtually incapacitated, not only suffering a series of minor strokes that impeded his speech, but also restricted in his movements and needing constantly to be cared for. In August 1742 he was declared of unsound mind and memory, and incapable of taking care either of his affairs or of himself. Guardians were then appointed. It was widely believed that he had degenerated into madness, which is possible, though Ehrenpreis argues convincingly that the physical damages he had undergone and the conditions he was suffering from were quite enough to explain his apparent mental state.³ His death occurred on 19 October 1745, at the age of seventy-eight. He was laid in state in the hall of his deanery for three days, in an open coffin, and was then buried in St Patrick's, alongside Stella, privately.

1 Here see my own *Intricate Laughter in the Satire of Swift and Pope*, 40–47.

2 Swift, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, Volume XII, *Irish Tracts*, 1728–1733, 8.

3 Ehrenpreis, III, 918.

Conclusion

Gulliver's Travels is one of the truly iconic texts of the eighteenth century. Controversial in its own time and much debated ever since, it remains pre-eminent among those works of English literature that entrap and challenge readers in every period. It is deeply embedded within the political and philosophical issues of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and not least in Swift's own experience working for the Oxford administration. It was written as part of a satiric agenda and took its place in a productive and dangerous period in Swift's prose publications. But in constructing the narrative of the gullible ship's doctor and his extraordinary travels, Swift not only utilised the fashion for travel narrative, and mocked it, and the tradition of utopia fantasies, and perverted it, he also gave to literature an enduring model of mankind's follies and vulnerabilities, vanities, and self-destructiveness. Yet all this is achieved through the apparently child-like fantasy worlds of little people and big people, floating islands and talking horses.

Gulliver's Travels has never been out of print and it is widely studied, featuring on a large proportion of undergraduate English literature courses in the world, certainly in the English-speaking world, and appearing frequently on school examination syllabuses. It is not only a supremely suitable text for giving insights into the culture of the early eighteenth century but also poses uncomfortable challenges for our sense of ourselves and our assumptions, as well as for our reading practices. Changes in critical approaches, moreover, during the latter part of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, continue to modify what we expect literature to be and do. No matter how it is read, though, *Gulliver's Travels*, of all texts, retains its capacity to excite controversy and to refuse to provide easy answers and straightforward understandings.

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Jonathan Swift: A Brief Chronology

- 1667 Born 30 November, in Dublin, to Abigail and the late Jonathan Swift.
- 1673-82 Educated at Kilkenny Grammar School.
- 1682-89 At Trinity College Dublin, graduating BA *speciali gratia* in 1686 and registering for MA.
- 1689 Leaves Dublin for England because of the troubles in Ireland following the expulsion of James II from the English throne in 1688.
- 1689-90 In secretarial service for Sir William Temple at Moor Park, Surrey. Begins to suffer from dizziness.
- 1690-91 Returns to Ireland seeking alternative employment.
- 1691-94 Working again at Moor Park. Meets Esther Johnson (Stella).
- 1692 Receives MA degree from Oxford, by incorporation (as a transferred member of a different university). Publishes *Ode to the Athenian Society*, his first published poem.
- 1694 Returns to Ireland.
- 1695 Takes Holy Orders in the Church of Ireland. Appointed vicar of Kilroot, in County Antrim, Northern Ireland.
- 1695-96 Meets Jane Waring (Varina) and proposes marriage by letter, leaving Kilroot when she rejects him.
- 1696-99 Returns to Moor Park to work with Temple. Begins writing *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub*. Increasingly troubled by dizziness and tinnitus.
- 1699 Leaves Moor Park after Temple dies on 27 January. Appointed chaplain and private secretary to Earl of Berkeley, Chief Justice of Ireland, and returns to Dublin.
- 1700 Appointed Vicar of Laracor in County Meath, and prebend of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin.
- 1701 Visits England with Berkeley after Berkeley's dismissal. Begins to meet leading English writers, including Addison, Steele, and Congreve. Publishes *A Discourse of the Contests & Dissensions between the Nobles & Commons in Athens & Rome*. Stella moves to Dublin. Swift takes up living of Laracor.

- 1702 Becomes DD (Doctor of Divinity) of Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1704 Publishes (anonymously) *The Battle of the Books*, *A Tale of a Tub*, and *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* in a single volume.
- 1707 Moves to London on behalf of the Church of Ireland. Becomes engaged in literary and political circles.
- 1708-09 Publishes *The Bickerstaff Papers*.
- 1709 Returns to Ireland. Publishes *A Project for the Advancement of Religion*.
- 1710 Back in London on Church of Ireland business, commissioned to negotiate financial relief. Begins long series of letters to Stella, later collected (first in 1766) as *Journal to Stella*. Begins to work for the new Tory administration as a journalist and propagandist. Meets Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa).
- 1710-11 Between November 1710 and June 1711 edits and writes *The Examiner* in support of the Tories.
- 1711 Publishes *Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man*, *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity* (both as part of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*), and *The Conduct of the Allies*.
- 1712 Publishes *A Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue*.
- 1713 Made Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Returns to his work in London after being installed in the post. Publishes *The Importance of The Guardian Considered*, marking the low point of relations with the Whig men of letters, Addison and Steele. Joins with Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, and Parnell in forming the Scriblerus Club.
- 1714 Publishes *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, which is declared a libel by the House of Lords. Between May and August, goes into hiding in Letcombe Bassett in Berkshire at the living of a clergyman friend, John Gere, as the administration of Oxford and Bolingbroke falls apart amid internal wrangling. Departs for Dublin on 24 August following the death of Queen Anne on 1 August. He is followed by Vanessa, who moves to a house close to Dublin.
- 1720 Publishes *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Entered into Holy Orders* and *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, which is declared seditious and illegal.

- 1721 Has begun work on *Gulliver's Travels*.
- 1722 Breaks off contact with Vanessa.
- 1723 Vanessa dies on 2 June without having any renewed contact from Swift.
- 1724-25 Publishes *The Drapier's Letters* in five parts (two more follow in 1735) against the circulation of debased currency in Ireland by William Wood, the government patentee, "Wood's halfpence." The *Letters* are declared seditious and illegal and a reward offered for identifying the author. "Wood's halfpence" are eventually withdrawn.
- 1726 Completes *Gulliver's Travels*. In England between March and August, visiting friends and arranging, through intermediaries, for the anonymous publication of *Gulliver*. It is published on 28 October by Benjamin Motte. Publication in Dublin of the long poem *Cadenus and Vanessa*. *Gulliver's Travels* published in Dublin by John Hyde in December.
- 1727 In England from April to September for what is to be his last visit. Publishes with Pope the first volumes of the Swift-Pope *Miscellanies*. Stella is seriously ill.
- 1728 Is ill over winter with deafness and vertigo. Stella dies on 28 January and is buried in St Patrick's Cathedral. Publishes *A Short View of the State of Ireland*.
- 1729 Publishes *A Modest Proposal*, *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers*, and *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*.
- 1730 Writes "The Lady's Dressing-Room" (published 1732).
- 1731 Writes *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift* (published 1739) and *Directions to Servants* (published 1745, posthumously). Working on *Polite Conversation* (published 1738). Writes "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," "Strephon and Cloe," and "Cassinus and Peter" (all published 1734).
- 1732 Publishes *A Proposal ... to Pay off the Debts of the Nation*.
- 1733 Publishes *Advice to the Freemen of Dublin*.
- 1734 Working on corrections to *Gulliver's Travels* for new four-volume edition of his *Works* to be published in Dublin by George Faulkner.

- 1735 Publication of *The Works of J.S., D.D., D.S.P.D. In Four Volumes*.
- 1736 Publishes *The Legion Club*, satirising members of the Irish Parliament.
- 1737 Publishes *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars*.
- 1738 Health deteriorating.
- 1742 Declared of unsound mind and memory and guardians appointed with power over his affairs. Rumours circulate of his madness.
- 1745 Dies on 19 October. Lies in state for three days in the deanery before being privately buried, alongside Stella, in St Patrick's Cathedral. His will leaves money to build a hospital for the insane, St Patrick's, now a major independent psychiatric facility near Phoenix Park, Dublin.

A Note on the Text

There are good reasons for adopting both the 1726 text of *Gulliver*, or subsequently corrected variations of it, and the 1735 version. The present edition uses Faulkner's 1735 text from his four-volume *Works*, published in Dublin. Obvious errors have been corrected, and any significant changes are explained in the notes. I have consulted major modern editions, particularly that by Herbert Davis in volume IX of Swift's *Prose Writings* (Oxford: Blackwell, repr. 1965). My main reason for adopting 1735 is that this text requires fewer additions of previously excluded or censored material than any of Motte's versions based on the first edition and is therefore the closest possible reproduction of a text that we know Swift approved. (For a discussion of the composition and publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, see Introduction, pp. 21-24.)

VOLUME III.

Of the AUTHOR'S

WORKS.

the CONTAINING, *some*

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote Nations of the WORLD.

In FOUR PARTS, *viz.*

I. A Voyage to LIL-
LIPUT.

PUTA, BALNIBARBI,
LUGGNAGG, GLUBB-
DUBDRIB and JAPAN.

II. A Voyage to BROB-
DINGNAG.

IV. A Voyage to the
COUNTRY of the
HOUYHNHMS.

III. A Voyage to LA-

By *LEMUEL GULLIVER*, first a Surgeon,
and then a CAPTAIN of several SHIPS.

Retroq;
Vulgus abhorret ab his.

In this Impression several Errors in the *London* and *Dublin*
Editions are corrected.

DUBLIN:

Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, Printer
and Bookfeller, in *Essex-Street*, opposite to the
Bridge. MDCCLXXXV.



Advertisement.

MR. Sympson's *Letter to Captain Gulliver*, prefixed to this Volume, will make a long Advertisement unnecessary.¹ Those Interpolations complained of by the Captain, were made by a Person since deceased,² on whose Judgment the Publisher relied to make any Alterations that might be thought necessary. But, this Person, not rightly comprehending the Scheme of the Author, nor able to imitate his plain simple Style, thought fit among many other Alterations and Insertions, to compliment the Memory of her late Majesty, by saying, That she governed without a Chief Minister.³ We are assured, that the Copy sent to the Bookseller in London, was a Transcript of the Original, which Original being in the Possession of a very worthy Gentleman in London,⁴ and a most intimate Friend of the Authors; after he had bought the Book in Sheets, and compared it with the Originals, bound it up with blank Leaves, and made those Corrections, which the Reader will find in our Edition. For, the same Gentleman did us the Favour to let us transcribe his Corrections.

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- 1 "The Advertisement" was written for the 1735 edition. "MR. Sympson's *Letter to Captain Gulliver*" is clearly a mistake for "Captain Gulliver's Letter to Mr. Sympson."
 - 2 The Reverend Andrew Tooke (1673-1732) was a scholar, school-master and partner of Benjamin Motte (1693-1738), publisher of the first edition, and Swift blamed him for those changes and omissions in the original edition of *Gulliver's Travels* that Motte made to reduce the chances of legal prosecution.
 - 3 The passage in question, which was written as a strong attack on Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), Chief Minister for much of George I's reign (1660-1727, reigned 1714-27), was depersonalised in the first edition and pushed into the relative security of the past, the reign of Queen Anne (1665-1714, reigned 1702-14). Because an attack on Walpole could also be construed as an attack on George I, Motte's caution is perhaps understandable.
 - 4 This was Charles Ford (1682-1741), one of Swift's closest friends. His copy, as described here, is now in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to His Cousin Sympson.¹

I HOPE you will be ready to own publicly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent Urgency you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect Account of my Travels; with Direction to hire some young Gentlemen of either University to put them in Order, and correct the Style, as my Cousin *Dampier* did by my Advice, in his Book called *A Voyage round the World*.² But I do not remember I gave you Power to consent, that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: Therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that Kind; particularly a Paragraph about her Majesty the late Queen *Anne*, of most pious and glorious Memory; although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human Species. But you, or your Interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my Inclination, so was it not decent to praise any Animal of our Composition before my Master *Houyhnhnm*: And besides, the Fact was altogether false; for to my Knowledge, being in *England* during some Part of her Majesty's Reign, she did govern by a chief Minister; nay, even by two successively; the first whereof was the Lord of *Godolphin*, and the second the Lord of *Oxford*.³

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- 1 The date of the Letter suggests that Swift wrote it for an earlier edition, but it was first published in 1735. Its existence is part of the authenticating machinery of *Gulliver's Travels*. It seems to give the supposed author a voice of complaint against his publisher, and provides an apparent third party with a role in the proceedings. Richard Sympson, in fact, was the name Swift used when first dealing with Motte for publication in 1726, while a real Richard Sympson had been one of the copyright holders for Sir William Temple's (1628-99) writings.
 - 2 William Dampier (1651-1715) had published *A New Voyage Round the World* in 1697 (see Appendix B4). He was a pirate and explorer who circumnavigated the globe three times. His work is among the travel books that Swift parodies.
 - 3 Sidney Godolphin, first Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712), was Lord Treasurer under Queen Anne from 1702 to 1710. He had also served under Charles II (1630-85, reigned 1660-85), James II (1633-1701, reigned 1685-88) and William (1650-1702, reigned 1688-1702) and Mary (1662-94, reigned jointly 1688-94). Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford (1661-1724) succeeded Godolphin as Lord Treasurer in 1710 and served until the Queen's death in 1714. During this time he attracted Swift to work for him as a writer.

so that you have made me *say the thing that was not*. Likewise, in the Account of the Academy of Projectors, and several Passages of my Discourse to my Master *Houyhnhnm*, you have either omitted some material Circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a Manner, that I do hardly know mine own Work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a Letter, you were pleased to answer, that you were afraid of giving Offence; that People in Power were very watchful over the Press;¹ and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an *Inuendo* (as I think you called it.) But pray, how could that which I spoke so many Years ago, and at about five Thousand Leagues distance, in another Reign, be applyed to any of the *Yahoos*, who now are said to govern the Herd; especially, at a time when I little thought on or feared the Unhappiness of living under them. Have not I the most Reason to complain, when I see these very *Yahoos* carried by *Houyhnhnms* in a Vehicle, as if these were Brutes, and those the rational Creatures? And, indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a Sight, was one principal Motive of my Retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in Relation to your self, and to the Trust I reposed in you.

I do in the next Place complain of my own great Want of Judgment, in being prevailed upon by the Intreaties and false Reasonings of you and some others, very much against mine own Opinion, to suffer my Travels to be published. Pray bring to your Mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the Motive of *publick Good*; that the *Yahoos* were a Species of Animals utterly incapable of Amendment by Precepts or Examples: And so it hath proved; for instead of seeing a full Stop put to all Abuses and Corruptions, at least in this little Island, as I had Reason to expect: Behold, after above six Months Warning, I cannot learn that my Book hath produced one single Effect according to mine Intentions: I desired you would let me know by a Letter, when Party and Faction were extinguished; Judges learned and upright; Pleaders honest and modest, with some Tincture of com-

1 Persecution of writers, booksellers and printers was common, with punishments including imprisonment, fines, standing in the stocks, as Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) did after the publication in 1702 of his pamphlet *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*, or the loss of one's ears. At the height of the political row following the fourth of his *Drapier's Letters* in 1724, the government had offered a reward of £300 for anyone who was prepared to identify Swift as its author.

mon Sense; and *Smithfield*¹ blazing with Pyramids of Law-Books; the young Nobility's Education entirely changed; the Physicians banished; the Female *Yahoos* abounding in Virtue, Honour, Truth and good Sense: Courts and Levees of great Ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; Wit, Merit and Learning rewarded; all Disgracers of the Press in Prose and Verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own Cotten,² and quench their Thirst with their own Ink. These, and a Thousand other Reformatations, I firmly counted upon by your Encouragement; as indeed they were plainly deducible from the Precepts delivered in my Book. And, it must be owned, that seven Months were a sufficient Time to correct every Vice and Folly to which *Yahoos* are subject; if their Natures had been capable of the least Disposition to Virtue or Wisdom: Yet so far have you been from answering mine Expectation in any of your Letters; that on the contrary, you are loading our Carrier every Week with Libels, and Keys, and Reflections, and Memoirs, and Second Parts;³ wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great States-Folk; of degrading human Nature, (for so they have still the Confidence to stile it) and of abusing the Female Sex. I find likewise, that the Writers of those Bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be Author of mine own Travels; and others make me Author of Books to which I am wholly a Stranger.

I find likewise, that your Printer hath been so careless as to confound the Times, and mistake the Dates of my several Voyages and Returns; neither assigning the true Year, or the true

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- 1 Smithfield was a large open area of around three acres to the north-west of the City. It was where Bartholomew Fair was traditionally held from the early twelfth century onwards, and was also where the stake was erected for public executions and especially for the religious burnings of the sixteenth century.
 - 2 Paper was generally made of cotton rags, so Gulliver is saying that such writers should be made to eat only their own publications—to eat, in fact, their own words.
 - 3 This was standard practice of the period, when any popular work might well be followed by other publications attempting to profit by deception. The first appearance of *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726 led to a string of keys, interpretations, guides and continuations, including a series printed under the name of “Corolini di Marco,” in reality the notorious bookseller and literary forger Edmund Curll (1675–1747). Equally, well-known authors could find themselves accredited, or saddled, with works they had not written.

Month, or Day of the Month: And I hear the original Manuscript is all destroyed, since the Publication of my Book.¹ Neither have I any Copy left; however, I have sent you some Corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second Edition: And yet I cannot stand to them, but shall leave that Matter to my judicious and candid Readers, to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our Sea-Yahoos find Fault with my Sea-Language, as not proper in many Parts, nor now in Use. I cannot help it. In my first Voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest Mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the Sea-Yahoos are apt, like the Land ones, to become new fangled in their Words; which the latter change every Year; insomuch, as I remember upon each Return to mine own Country, their old Dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any Yahoo comes from London out of Curiosity to visit me at mine own House, we neither of us are able to deliver our Conceptions in a Manner intelligible to the other.²

If the Censure of Yahoos could any Way affect me, I should have great Reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a meer Fiction out of mine own Brain; and have gone so far as to drop Hints, that the *Houyhnhnms*, and Yahoos have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of *Utopia*.³

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- 1 Swift was generally dissatisfied with the appearance of the 1726 first edition of his work, and found fault with the number of mistakes, though some of them were probably his own rather than the printer's errors. The 1735 edition was a mainly correct one with fewer inconsistencies of the kind Swift complains of here. Motte did destroy his copy of the manuscript once *Gulliver's Travels* was published, on safety grounds, not an uncommon precaution amongst booksellers who dealt with sensitive or controversial works.
 - 2 Swift was perennially interested in topics to do with language, and especially in its changes. This is particularly an issue with the Struldbruggs in Part III of *Gulliver's Travels*, but other publications are devoted to the state of the language, most notably his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* of 1712, and his *Polite Conversation* of 1738.
 - 3 The word was coined by Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) for his 1516 publication *Utopia* (see Appendix B2), which was also one of the influences on Swift's writing of *Gulliver's Travels*. While the word is now usually taken as meaning an ideal state, its actual meaning is "nowhere," which serves to underline Swift's joke.

Indeed I must confess, that as to the People of *Lilliput*, *Brobdin-grag*, (for so the Word should have been spelt, and not erroneously *Brobdingnag*) and *Laputa*; I have never yet heard of any *Yahoo* so presumptuous as to dispute their Being, or the Facts I have related concerning them; because the Truth immediately strikes every Reader with Conviction. And, is there less Probability in my Account of the *Houyhnhnms* or *Yahoos*, when it is manifest as to the latter, there are so many Thousands even in this City, who only differ from their Brother Brutes in *Houyhnhnmland*, because they use a Sort of a *Jabber*, and do not go naked. I wrote for their Amendment, and not their Approbation. The united Praise of the whole Race would be of less Consequence to me, than the neighing of those two degenerate *Houyhnhnms* I keep in my Stable; because, from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some Virtues, without any Mixture of Vice.

Do these miserable Animals presume to think that I am so far degenerated as to defend my Veracity; *Yahoo* as I am, it is well known through all *Houyhnhnmland*, that by the Instructions and Example of my illustrious Master, I was able in the Compass of two Years (although I confess with the utmost Difficulty) to remove that infernal Habit of Lying, Shuffling, Deceiving, and Equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very Souls of all my Species; especially the *Europeans*.

I have other Complaints to make upon this vexatious Occasion; but I forbear troubling myself or you any further. I must freely confess, that since my last Return, some Corruptions of my *Yahoo* Nature have revived in me by conversing with a few of your Species, and particularly those of mine own Family, by an unavoidable Necessity; else I should never have attempted so absurd a Project as that of reforming the *Yahoo* Race in this Kingdom; but, I have now done with all such visionary Schemes for ever.

April 2, 1727.

The Publisher to the Reader¹

THE AUTHOR of these Travels, Mr. *Lemuel Gulliver*, is my antient and intimate Friend; there is likewise some Relation between us by the Mother's Side. About three Years ago Mr. *Gulliver* growing weary of the Concourse of curious People coming to him at his House in *Redriff*, made a small Purchase of Land, with a convenient House, near *Newark*, in *Nottinghamshire*, his native Country; where he now lives retired, yet in good Esteem among his Neighbours.²

Although Mr. *Gulliver* were born in *Nottinghamshire*, where his Father dwelt, yet I have heard him say, his Family came from *Oxfordshire*; to confirm which, I have observed in the Church-Yard at *Banbury*, in that County, several Tombs and Monuments of the *Gullivers*.³

Before he quitted *Redriff*, he left the Custody of the following Papers in my Hands, with the Liberty to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three Times: The Style is very plain and simple; and the only Fault I find is, that the Author, after the Manner of Travellers, is a little too circumstantial. There is an Air of Truth apparent through the whole; and indeed the Author was so distinguished for his Veracity, that it became a Sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at *Redriff*, when any one affirmed a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr. *Gulliver* had spoke it.

By the Advice of several worthy Persons, to whom, with the Author's Permission, I communicated these Papers, I now venture to send them into the World; hoping they may be, at least for some time, a better Entertainment to our young Noblemen, than the common Scribbles of Politicks and Party.

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- 1 This note, supposed to be from Richard Sympson, was published in the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726. "Publisher" in this context means editor.
 - 2 "Redriff" is Rotherhithe, an area on the south bank of the Thames below Tower Bridge between Bermondsey and Deptford. As a riverside parish it had long been part of London's dockland. Newark is a market town in Nottinghamshire, some twenty miles to the north-east of Nottingham.
 - 3 Banbury, like Emmanuel College Cambridge, has a strong Puritan tradition. It is a town twenty miles north of Oxford. Apparently there is indeed a series of Gullivers buried in St Mary's churchyard (see Turner, 309), though none from Swift's period.

This Volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable Passages relating to the Winds and Tides, as well as to the Variations and Bearings in the several Voyages; together with the minute Descriptions of the Management of the Ship in Storms, in the Style of Sailors: Likewise the Account of the Longitudes and Latitudes;¹ wherein I have Reason to apprehend that Mr. *Gulliver* may be a little dissatisfied: But I was resolved to fit the Work as much as possible to the general Capacity of Readers. However, if my own Ignorance in Sea-Affairs shall have led me to commit some Mistakes, I alone am answerable for them: And if any Traveller hath a Curiosity to see the whole Work at large, as it came from the Hand of the Author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further Particulars relating to the Author, the Reader will receive Satisfaction from the first Pages of the Book.

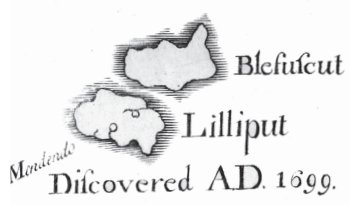
Richard Sympson.

1 This is in direct parody of William Dampier, who makes similar claims about his 1697 work.

PART ONE

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT

Plate 1 Part 1 Page 1



Dimana Land

CHAPTER I

The Author giveth some Account of himself and Family; his first Inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life; gets safe on shoar 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 my self close to my Studies:¹ 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;² and my Father now and then sending me small Sums of Money, I laid them out in learning Navigation, and other Parts of the Mathematicks, 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*.³ There I studied Physick two Years and seven Months, knowing it would be useful in long Voyages.

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- 1 Emmanuel College was founded in 1584 and included amongst its earlier members William Sancroft (1617-93), who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1677, and Sir William Temple, Swift's own patron as a young man. Temple was sixteen when he entered Emmanuel.
 - 2 Surgeon was a lower status of medical professional than physician, though higher than an apothecary. Dr Johnson (1709-84) defines a surgeon in his *Dictionary* (1755) as "One who cures by manual operation; one whose duty is to act in external maladies by the direction of the physician" (*Dictionary*, 1799 edition). While study at a university was usual for a physician, an apprenticeship was the normal route to becoming a surgeon.
 - 3 Leiden in the Netherlands, south-east of Amsterdam, was a famous university, founded in 1575, with a distinguished medical school. Gulliver is adding something of a physician's knowledge to his practical skills as a surgeon.

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*,¹ 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*;² 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.³

But, my good Master *Bates*⁴ 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

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- 1 This is the eastern part of the Mediterranean, where the trade in spices, dyes, sugar and pearls provided rich opportunities for European merchants. Fabrics from the silk route from the Far East entered Europe through the Levant.
 - 2 Old Jewry, so called because of being a street of Jewish settlement, is in the heart of the City of London. Just north of Cheapside, between St Paul's Cathedral and the Bank of England, it is part of the financial district.
 - 3 Gulliver's marriage to the daughter of a manufacturer and retailer of stockings confirms his middle-class status and horizons. Newgate Street is just to the other side of St Paul's from Old Jewry, in the legal district. The Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court, is close by. The style, "Mrs.," indicates not that she was a widow but that she was no longer a young girl. £400, while not a fortune, was a substantial sum, over thirteen times the amount that Gulliver had as a yearly allowance while in Leiden.
 - 4 The delicate shifts in the styling of James Bates reach their inevitable climax here, in announcing his death, and the joke finally culminates in "Master *Bates*." Rawson (p. 288) relates this to contemporary public concern about masturbation, and to works such as the anonymous pamphlet *Onania; or, The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution*, first published in London in 1710.

Voyages, for six Years, to the *East* and *West-Indies*;¹ by which I got some Addition to my Fortune. My Hours of Leisure I spent in reading the best Authors, antient 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 Jury* to *Fetter-Lane*, and from thence to *Wapping*,² 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-Sea*.³ We set sail from *Bristol*, May 4th, 1699, and our Voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper for some Reasons, to trouble the Reader⁴ 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*

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- 1 The East Indies included south-east Asia and the Malay archipelago. Its trade was described by Charles D'Avenant (1656-1714) in *An Essay on the East-India Trade* in 1696: "Our Chief Investments or Importations from the *East-Indies* have been in Callicoecs, Wrought Silks, Drugs, Salt-Petre, Raw Silks, Cottons, and Cotton Yarn, Goats Wooll, or Carmania Wooll, and other Products of those Countries" (8-9). The West Indies, which D'Avenant styles "The Plantation Trade," comprised "Tobacco, Cotton, Ginger, Sugars, Indico" (8), to which should be added rum and, of course, slaves.
 - 2 Fetter Lane is to the north of Fleet Street and, like Newgate Street, is in the legal district. Wapping is on the north bank of the Thames, opposite Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, and centre of the shipping trades.
 - 3 The South Sea could refer in this period to any of the oceans of the southern hemisphere, though the infamous South Sea Company had the lucrative rights to trade with the Atlantic side of South America with its plantations, as well as the Pacific. Because Gulliver is heading once again to the East Indies he is presumably rounding the Cape of Good Hope in order to enter the Indian Ocean.
 - 4 This is a favourite phrase of Dampier's. In June 1699 Dampier reports meeting a ship, the *Antelope*, off the Cape of Good Hope that was going from London to the East Indies.

Diemen's Land.¹ 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 fifth of *November*, which was the beginning of Summer in those Parts, the Weather being very hazy, the Seamen spyed a Rock, within half a Cable's² length of the Ship; but the Wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately 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 as of those who escaped on the Rock, or were left in the Vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own Part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by 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 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,

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- 1 Strictly speaking, Van Diemen's Land is modern Tasmania. Abel Tasman (1603-c. 59), the first European to explore the island, named it after Anthony van Diemen (1593-1645), the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies who had commissioned Tasman's voyage in 1642. The name was changed in 1856 when Tasmania became a self-governing British colony. North-west of Tasmania, of course, is the mainland of Australia, which is an unlikely setting for the islands of Lilliput and Belfuscu, even in 1699. If, as Turner suggests (310), and as seems much more likely, Swift is referring not to Tasmania but, as was sometimes the case in the period, to north-western Australia, which has sea to its north-west, then the latitude given as 30° south would need to be around 15° south.
 - 2 A cable is one tenth of a nautical mile, 600 feet or 183 metres. A league, a few lines later, is three nautical miles, or 3.456 statute miles (5.556 kilometres).

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 remember to have done in my Life, and as I reckoned, above 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 Armpits to my Thighs. I could only look upwards; the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine 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 mine Eyes downwards as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high,¹ with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back. In the mean time, 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*:² The others repeated the same Words several times, but I then knew not what 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 up to my Face, I discovered the Methods they had taken to bind me; and, at the same time, with a violent Pull, which gave me excessive Pain, I a little loosened the Strings that tied down my

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- 1 The scale in Lilliput is one twelfth of normal human size. This works fairly consistently throughout the book. Swift, wisely, avoids considering the physiological difficulties such dimensions might bring about, just as he does in Brobdingnag, where the scale is reversed.
 - 2 Swift distinguishes between the invented languages of the various places Gulliver visits. Lilliputian is probably the closest to different combinations of European languages and various critics have attempted to decipher what is said and written there.

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 an 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 Volly 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,¹ 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 Armies 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 increasing, I knew their Numbers were greater; and about four Yards from me, over-against my right Ear, I heard a Knocking for above an Hour, like 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, *Lango 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 who was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle Age, and taller than any of the other

1 Buff is a leather from which the surface has been removed, giving it a lighter feel and a yellower appearance. Originally from buffalo skin, it was particularly used for military wear. As a jerkin, Gulliver's would be very close-fitting.

three who attended him; whereof one was a Page, who 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 Threatnings, 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 mine 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 shewing my Impatience (perhaps against the strict Rules of Decency) by putting my Finger frequently on 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 an Hundred of the Inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my Mouth, 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 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 eat 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, shewing 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;¹ 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 hardly held 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

1 A hogshead is a large cask of different quantity depending what is in it. It is fifty-two-and-a-half imperial gallons (238 litres), but of beer it is fifty-four gallons (245 litres) and of claret forty-six gallons (209 litres). In general the quantities that Gulliver consumes, in the eyes of the Lilliputians, speak for themselves. Swift no doubt also has in mind the eating habits of the giant Gargantua in Rabelais' (1494?-1553?) work *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-52).

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 Hogs-heads, but first warned the People below to stand out of the Way, crying aloud, *Borach Mivola*; and when they saw the Vessels in the Air, there was an 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 those Imaginations. Besides, I now considered my self as bound by the Laws of Hospitality to a People who had treated me with so much Expence 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 on 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 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 mine 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 shew 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 chearful Countenances. Soon after I heard a general Shout, with frequent Repetitions of the Words, *Peplom Selan*, and I felt great Numbers of the People on my Left Side relaxing the Cords to such a Degree, that I was able to turn upon my Right, and to ease my self with making Water;¹ which I very plentifully did, to the great Astonishment of the People, who conjecturing by my Motions what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that Side, to avoid the Torrent which fell with such Noise and Violence from me. But before this, they had dawbed 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 Emperor's Order, had mingled a sleeping 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 tyed 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 enable me to break the Strings wherewith I was

1 With this event, Swift signals to the reader, as surely as Gulliver does to his audience, that this travel book will be departing from some of the norms established by earlier examples of the genre. The urination by Gulliver begins a thread upon which Swift will play for both of the first two books, and will return to in the final book.

tyed; 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 hath several Machines fixed on Wheels, for the Carriage of Trees and other great Weights. He often buildeth his largest Men of War, whereof some are Nine Foot 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 Foot 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, and my Legs. Nine Hundred of the strongest Men were employed to draw up these Cords by many Pullies fastned on the Poles; and thus, in less than three Hours, I was raised and slung into the Engine, and there tyed fast. All this I was told; for while the whole Operation was 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 stopt a while 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 awaking so suddenly. We made a long March the remaining Part of the Day, and rested at Night with Five

Hundred Guards on each Side of me, half with Torches, and half with Bows and Arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next Morning at Sun-rise 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 stopt, there stood an antient Temple,¹ 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 Prophanes, 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 Foot high, and almost two Foot 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 Smiths 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 six and thirty Padlocks. Over against this Temple, on the other Side of the great Highway, at twenty Foot Distance, there was a Turret at least five Foot 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 an 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 upon 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 melancholly 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 Chains that held my left Leg were about two Yards long, and gave me not only the Liberty of walking

1 This would seem to be an allusion to the Banqueting-Hall at Whitehall (so Curll thought in the first of his keys to *Gulliver's Travels*), outside of which Charles I (1600-49), whom Swift admired, was beheaded on 30 January 1649.

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 round appeared like a continued Garden; and the inclosed Fields, which were generally Forty Foot square, resembled so many Beds of Flowers. These Fields were intermingled with Woods of half a Stang,¹ and the tallest Trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven Foot high. I viewed the Town on my left Hand, which looked like the painted Scene of a City in a Theatre.

I had been for some Hours extremely pressed by the Necessities of Nature; which was no Wonder, it being almost two Days since I had last disburthened myself. I was under great Difficulties between Urgency and Shame. The best Expedient I could think on, was to creep into my House, which I accordingly did; and shutting the Gate after me, I went as far as the Length of my Chain would suffer; and discharged my Body of that uneasy Load. But this was the only Time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an Action; for which I cannot but hope the candid Reader will give some Allowance, after he hath maturely and impartially considered my Case, and the Distress I was in. From this Time my constant Practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that Business in open Air, at the full Extent of my Chain; and due Care was taken every Morning before Company came, that the offensive Matter should be carried off in Wheel-barrows, by two Servants appointed for that Purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a Circumstance, that perhaps at first Sight may appear not very momentous; if I had not thought it necessary to justify my Character in Point of Cleanliness to the

1 A stang is an archaic measurement of land, equalling one quarter of an acre.

World; which I am told, some of my Maligners have been pleased, upon this and other Occasions, to call in Question.

When this Adventure was at an End, I came back 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, although 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, until 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 Chains. He ordered his Cooks and Butlers, who were already prepared, to give me Victuals and Drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of Vehicles upon Wheels until 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, attended by many Ladies, sate 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.¹ 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 masculine, 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

1 The appearance of the Emperor of Lilliput both resembles and contrasts with that of the British monarch, George I, at the time of *Gulliver's Travels* first publication. George was neither well proportioned nor graceful, and nor was he erect in bearing. He did, however, have the characteristic arched lip of the Habsburgs (though he was not in fact a Habsburg), and he was certainly past his prime, being sixty-six in 1726. His voice was not articulate and clear, in fact the small amount of English he had was spoken with a thick German accent. Swift is both mocking some of the known features of his monarch and contrasting others with their opposite, as exemplified in the Emperor. The difference in scale, as so often in Lilliput, with the Emperor able to strike awe into his beholders through being "almost" the breadth of Gulliver's fingernail taller than others, underlines the ridiculousness of human grandeur.

majestick. 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 simple, the Fashion of it between the *Asiatick* 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 Lingua Franca*;¹ 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 impatient to croud about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the Impudence to shoot their Arrows at me as I sate 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 forwards with the But-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,

1 *Lingua Franca* was a mixed trade jargon in use in the Levant region, where Gulliver had traded. It is based on Italian, with the addition of French, Greek, and Spanish.

looking mildly, and immediately cutting the Strings he was bound with, I set 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 People were highly obliged 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 Fort-night; during which time the Emperor gave Orders to have a Bed prepared for me.¹ Six Hundred Beds of the common Measure were brought in Carriages, and worked up in my House; an Hundred and Fifty of their Beds sown together made up the Breadth and Length, and these were four double, which however kept me but very indifferently from the Hardness 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 enured to Hardships as I.

As the News of my Arrival spread through the Kingdom, it brought prodigious Numbers of rich, idle, and curious People to see me; so that the Villages were almost emptied, and great Neglect of Tillage and Houshold 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 Court; whereby the Secretaries of State got considerable Fees.

In the mean time, 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 poisoned Arrows, which would soon dispatch me: But again they considered, that the Stench of so large a Carcase might produce a Plague in the

1 By "Bed" Gulliver means here mattress, which is contrived from the 600 Lilliputian mattresses. If it is only four deep, that provides very little substance between Gulliver and the stone floor of his house.

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 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 Villages nine hundred Yards round the City, to deliver in every Morning six Beeves,¹ 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;² seldom, except upon great Occasions raising any Subsidies upon his Subjects, who are bound to attend him in his Wars at their own Expence. An Establishment was also made of Six Hundred Persons to be my Domesticks, 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 Taylors should make me a Suit of Cloaths 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 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 please to give me my Liberty; which I every Day repeated on my Knees.³ 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

1 That is, carcasses of beef.

2 The Emperor's income is from the estates owned by the crown rather than based on a general taxation of the population of Lilliput.

3 Scale, again, is part of the effect: Gulliver, as so often, is ready to fall in with the existing hierarchies of the places he visits, while the reader's image of a huge man kneeling to a very tiny one renders the whole exchange ridiculous, especially as Gulliver himself seems to have overlooked this discrepancy.

his Council; and that first I must *Lumos Kelmin pesso desmar lon Emposo*; 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;¹ 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 my self, and turn up 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; that he had so good an Opinion of my Generosity and 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 of no Consequence to any but my self. 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 Pen, Ink, and Paper about them, made an exact Inventory of every thing 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.

1 While searching an alien for dangerous weapons is a perfectly reasonable thing to do, one would have thought that Gulliver's person posed far more danger to the Lilliputians than any concealed weapon. Scale, once again, renders normal behaviour ludicrous. At the same time, this search of Gulliver's person is likely to be an allusion to the committee of investigation into the Jacobite sympathies of members of the previous Tory administration, with which Swift was closely associated, set up by the Whig government after their sweeping general election victory in 1715. Of Swift's friends from the Tory government, Harley was confined in the Tower awaiting trial, while Bolingbroke (1678-1751) and Ormond (1665-1746) actually fled to France to join the Pretender.

IMPRIMIS,¹ 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 Substances, 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 Palisado's 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 know 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 inclosed a prodigious Plate of Steel; which, by our Orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous Engines. He took them out of their

1 "Imprimis" means in the first place and is generally used only in legal documents.

Cases, and told us, that in his own Country his Practice was to shave his Beard with one of these, and to 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 Top of his middle Cover, but squeezed close by the Pressure of his Belly. Out of the right Fob hung a great Silver Chain, with a wonderful kind of Engine at the Bottom.¹ 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, until we found our Fingers stopped with 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 understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any Thing 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 of 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 Hyde 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

1 Because the earliest mechanical clocks in Europe were recorded in the tenth century, and the first known watch was probably made by a German, Peter Henlein (1479?-1542), in the first decade of the sixteenth century, it seems unlikely that the Lilliputians in 1699 had no knowledge of timepieces, particularly given their excellence in mathematics and their "great Perfection in Mechanicks." Swift, of course, is more interested here in mocking modern man's obsession with time.

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.

Clefren Frelock, Marsi Frelock.

When this Inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me to deliver up the several Particulars. He first called for my Scymiter, which I took out, Scabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thousand of his choicest Troops, 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 upon his Majesty. He then desired me to draw my Scymiter, which, although it had got some Rust by the Sea-Water, was in most Parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the Troops gave a Shout between Terror and Surprise; for the Sun shone clear, and the Reflexion dazzled their Eyes, as I waved the Scymiter 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 Foot 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 that all prudent Mariners take special Care to provide against) 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 my Scymiter. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the Emperor, although he stood his Ground, could not recover himself in some time. I delivered up both my Pistols in the same Manner as I had done my Scymiter, 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 com-

manded two of his tallest Yeomen of the Guards to bear it on a Pole upon their Shoulders, as Dray-men 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 him, which were various and remote, 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 Scymiter, Pistols, and Pouch, were conveyed in Carriages to his Majesty's Stores; but the rest of my Goods were returned me.

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,¹ and several other little Conveniences; which being of no Consequence to the Emperor, I did not think my self bound in Honour to discover; and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled if I ventured them out of my Possession.

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 hath 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 Hand. 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

1 This is a pocket telescope.

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,¹ performed upon a slender white Thread, extended about two Foot, 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 practiced 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 shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty. *Flimnap*,² the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Cap on the strait Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire. I have seen him do the Summerset several times together, upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope,³ which is

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- 1 Rope-dancing is tightrope-walking where the performer executes dance steps while balancing on the rope. It was a popular entertainment of the period. Signora Violante (1682-1741), a well-known rope-dancer, "and her Troupe of Dancers" appeared at the Theatre Royal in Dublin in December 1729 and went on to play for two seasons in the rival Dame Street Booth in 1731 and 1732 ("Signora Violante and Her Troupe of Dancers 1729-32," Grainne McArdle, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, Vol. 20 [2005], 55-78).
 - 2 While *Flimnap* is the very epitome of the daring political manipulator, he is specifically a satiric portrait of the Whig politician Sir Robert Walpole, First Lord of the Treasury from 1715 under George I and, apart from a brief period out of office between 1717 and 1720, effective Prime Minister under both George I and George II (1683-1760, reigned 1727-60) until his final resignation in 1742. Walpole was a political heavyweight of the first order and his period of power was widely associated with corruption and thuggishness. He was opposed by Swift and the other Tory satirists, not least because of his part in the impeachment of Bolingbroke after the general election of 1715.
 - 3 A trencher is a heavy plate made of metal or wood, and a summerset is a somersault.

no thicker than a common Packthread in *England*. My Friend *Reldresal*,¹ 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 my self have seen two or three Candidates break a Limb. But the Danger is much greater, when the Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Dexterity: For, by contending to excel themselves and their Fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a Fall; and some of them two or three. I was assured, that a Year or two before my Arrival, *Flimnap* would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the *King's Cushions*,² that accidentally lay on the Ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall.

There is likewise another Diversion, which is only shewn before the Emperor and Empress, and first Minister, upon particular Occasions. The Emperor lays on a Table three fine silken Threads of six Inches long. One is Blue, the other Red, and the third Green.³ These Threads are proposed as Prizes, for those Persons whom the Emperor hath 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 Tryal of Dexterity very different from the former;

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- 1 *Reldresal* is probably Lord Carteret (1690-1763), the Whig politician who, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1724 and 1730, was actually good friends with Swift, in spite of the furore over the *Drapier's Letters* and Wood's halfpence (see Appendix D2). The Earl of Stanhope (1675-1721) and Lord Townshend (1674-1738), both prominent Whigs but, like Carteret, less violently opposed to the Tories than Walpole, are also possible models. *Reldresal*, while Gulliver's "friend," is nevertheless a politician first, and second most skilful rope-dancer after *Flimnap*, and therefore not to be completely trusted.
 - 2 The "cushion" that saved *Flimnap* is usually taken to refer to the Duchess of Kendal, George I's German mistress Ehrengard von der Schulenberg (1667-1743), who is credited with protecting Walpole after his resignation in 1717 and with easing his way back to power in 1721.
 - 3 The threads correspond to the three British Orders of Chivalry, the Garter (blue), the Bath (red) and the Thistle (green). One of *Motte's* changes in 1726 was to give these as purple, yellow and white, no doubt as part of his toning down of satiric details that he considered too dangerous.

and such as I have not observed the least Resemblance of in any other Country of the old or the new 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 backwards and forwards 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.

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 Foot 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 Foot and a half square; I took four other Sticks, and tyed them parallel at each Corner, about two Foot from the Ground; then I fastened my Handkerchief to the nine Sticks that stood erect; and extended it on all Sides, till it was as 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 Horse, 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 her self to let me hold her in her close Chair,¹ within two Yards of the Stage, from whence 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: For 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 to the Strength of it any more in such dangerous Enterprizes.

About two or three Days before I was set at Liberty, as I was entertaining the Court with these Kinds 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 others Shoulders, they had got to the Top, which was flat and even; and stamping upon it, they found 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.² I presently knew what they meant; and was glad at Heart to receive this Intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the Shore, after our Shipwreck, I

1 A close chair is a sedan chair, which would normally be carried on poles by two servants.

2 This is another example of the immense labour the Lilliputians undertake in order to accomplish something that would otherwise take a matter of minutes.

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 intreated his Imperial Majesty to give Orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the Use and the Nature of it:¹ And the next Day the Waggoners 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 a Readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular Manner. He desired I would stand like a *Colossus*,² 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 in a Breast, 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 Decency, with regard to my Person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger Officers from turning up their Eyes as they passed under me. And, to confess the Truth, my Breeches were at that Time in so ill a Condition, that they afforded some Opportunities for Laughter and Admiration.

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

1 Even more than with his watch, it seems unlikely that Gulliver would have needed to spend time describing to the Emperor what a hat is and the use to which it is put.

2 The Colossus was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. An enormous statue, it is believed to have stood astride the entrance to the harbour of the Greek island of Rhodes in the third century BCE.

none, except *Skyresh Bolgolam*,¹ who was pleased, without any Provocation, to be my mortal 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 Complection. 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, 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 perhaps 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 Publick.²

GOLBASTO MOMAREN 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 Winter. His

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- 1 The most likely model for Bolgolam is Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham (1647-1730), who had been First Lord of the Admiralty from 1680 to 1684 and who, though a Tory, had opposed the peace policy at the end of Queen Anne's reign. Swift regarded him as a turn-coat, and used his nickname, "Dismal," in several poems about him.
 - 2 What the reader would be curious to know, of course, is just how Gulliver performed this outlandish and, for the spectators, dangerous swearing procedure, but Swift characteristically gives us instead an example of something less compelling, the prose style of their official documents.

most sublime Majesty proposeth to the *Man-Mountain*, lately arrived at our Celestial Dominions, the following Articles, which by a solemn Oath he shall be obliged to perform.

FIRST, The *Man-Mountain* shall not depart from our Dominions, without our Licence under our Great Seal.

SECONDLY, 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 their Doors.

THIRDLY, 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.

FOURTHLY, 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 said Subjects into his Hands, without their own Consent.

FIFTHLY, If an Express require extraordinary Dispatch; 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.

SIXTHLY, 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.

SEVENTHLY, That the said *Man-Mountain* shall, at his Times 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 [of] our Royal Buildings.

EIGHTHLY, 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 1728¹ 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.

1 This had been given as 1724 in the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* and was not changed until the third edition in 1728, when the calculation given in the last paragraph was worked through.

I swore and subscribed to these Articles with great Chearfulness 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 for the Recovery of my Liberty, the Emperor stipulates to allow me a Quantity of Meat and Drink, sufficient for the support of 1728 *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 the Proportion of Twelve to One, they concluded from the Similarity of their Bodies, that mine must contain at least 1728 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 that People, as well as the prudent and exact Oeconomy of so great a Prince.

CHAPTER IV

Mildendo, the Metropolis of Lilliput, described, together with the Emperor's Palace. A Conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire: The Author's 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 Foot and an 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 Foot Distance. I stept 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 Eves 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 Foot long. The two great Streets which run cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five Foot 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.¹ The Houses are from three to five Stories. The Shops and Markets well provided.

The Emperor's Palace is in the Center of the City, where the two great Streets meet. It is inclosed by a Wall of two Foot high, and Twenty Foot distant from the Buildings. I had his Majesty's Permission to step over this Wall; and the Space being so wide between that and the Palace, I could easily view it on every Side. The outward Court is a Square of Forty Foot, 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 Foot high; and it was impossible for me to stride over them, without infinite Damage to the Pile, although 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 an Hundred Yards distant from the City. Of these Trees I made two Stools, each about three Foot high, and strong enough to bear my Weight. The People having received Notice a second time, I went

1 This was roughly the size of the population of London at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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 Foot wide. I then stept over the Buildings 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 inmost 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 can 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 farther 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 particular Account of their Wars and Politicks, 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 Publick, or to my self, 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) of 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 Sollicitations 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 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 have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of *Tramecksan*, and *Slamecksan*,¹ from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves.

It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution: But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only 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 at least by 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 one of his Heels 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.² 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 your self, our Philosophers are in much Doubt; and would rather conjecture that you dropt from the Moon, or one of the Stars; because it is certain, that an hundred Mortals of your Bulk, would, in a short Time, destroy all the Fruits and Cattle of his Majesty's

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- 1 These represent respectively the Tories, with their High Church tradition, their belief in the sanctity of authority in church and state and their insistence on the preservation of the constitution, and the Whigs, who were more representative of Low Church views and committed to a liberalising and reforming agenda. (See Appendix C2.) The Whigs had been completely dominant since the accession of George I, though the future George II was for a while believed to incline towards the Tories.
 - 2 Britain and France were the major European powers and by the time of the first publication of *Gulliver's Travels* had been at war for twenty-four of the previous forty years. The period of peace that had followed the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713 (itself a matter of major dispute between Tories and Whigs) was, by 1726, the longest for half a century.

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 Way of breaking Eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger End: But his present Majesty's Grand-father, 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 his Subjects, upon great Penalties, to break the smaller End of their Eggs.¹ 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 Comotions 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-Indians* have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments.² 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

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- 1 Big-Indian is Roman Catholicism, from which Henry VIII (1491-1547, reigned 1509-47) broke over the affair of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) and his marriage to Anne Boleyn (c. 1504-36), thus leading to the establishment of the Church of England, the Little-Indians, with the monarch himself as its constitutional head. The martyrdoms and rebellions of the sixteenth century, culminating in the English Civil War of the seventeenth, and the execution of Charles I, are seen as the consequence of this religious schism. The emperor who lost his crown was James II, brother and successor to Charles II, who was deposed in 1688 after the Glorious Revolution, almost entirely due to James's Catholicism.
 - 2 Catholic writings were forbidden in 1550, while in the eighteenth century Catholics had since the Restoration been legally excluded from public office unless they were prepared to take the Anglican sacrament. These requirements were laid down by the Test Acts of 1661, 1672, and 1678.

of our great Prophet *Lustrog*, in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the *Brundrecal*, (which is their *Alcoran*.) This, however, is thought to be a meer Strain upon the Text:¹ For the Words are these; *That all true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End*: and which is the convenient End, 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;² and so much private Assistance and Encouragement from their Party here at home, that a bloody War hath been carried on between the two Empires for six and thirty Moons with various 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, hath 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.

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- 1 Swift had satirised elsewhere the straining of different, and sometimes contradictory, meanings out of religious texts, not least in *A Tale of a Tub*, where the three brothers, who represent Catholicism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, disagree violently over various interpretations of their father's will (the Bible). *Alcoran* is a variation of Qur'an, or Koran, the Moslem scriptures in Arabic, believed to be the word of God as received through the prophet Mohammed.
 - 2 The reference is predominantly to the exiled Jacobites, supporters of James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the Old Pretender, whose claim as son of James II by his second wife to the English throne was supported by Louis XIV (1638-1715) of France. James himself, a Catholic, lived in Rome under the protection of the Pope, but Jacobites tended to gather in France. One Jacobite invasion had taken place in 1708, and a major uprising in 1715 (the 'Fifteen), on behalf of James. He died in 1766, but his claims had by then been taken up by his son, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88) ("Bonnie Prince Charlie") with a serious invasion supported by French forces in 1745.

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 Empress's Apartment on fire by an Accident; the Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace.

THE Empire of *Blefuscu*, is an Island situated to the North North-East Side of *Lilliput*, from whence 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 Enemies 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 Enemies 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 plummed; who told me, that in the Middle at high Water it was seventy *Glumgluffs* deep, which is about six Foot of *European* Measure; and the rest of it fifty *Glumgluffs* at most. I walked to the North-East Coast over against *Blefuscu*; where, lying down behind a Hillock, I took out my small Pocket 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 Order (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, binding 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 Jerken, about half an Hour before high Water. I waded with what Haste I could, and swam in the Middle about thirty Yards until I felt the Ground; I arrived to the Fleet in less than half an Hour. The Enemy was 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 fastning a Hook to the Hole at the Prow of each, I tyed 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, further 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 Enterprize 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 above two hundred Shots in my Face and Hands: Then I took up the knotted End of the Cables to which my Hooks were tyed; and with great Ease drew fifty of the Enemy's largest Men of War after me.¹

The *Blefuscutians*, 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

1 This is usually taken to allude to the demolition of the French defences at the port of Dunkirk, which was a condition placed upon the French by the Peace of Utrecht that ended the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713. The issue was a politically controversial one, with the Tory administration in favour of the peace and reluctant fully to insist on the demolition once the series of treaties had been signed, and the then Whig opposition, who had favoured the continuation of the war, pressing for the terms of the Peace to be fulfilled to the letter. Swift, as a writer for Oxford, supported the Tory line. At the same time, Gulliver's daring raid cannot but have recalled to contemporary readers the humiliating incursion by the Dutch fleet that had effectively brought to an end the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1667. The Dutch entered the Thames, and then the Medway as far as the port of Chatham, where they burnt thirteen ships of the British fleet and towed away both the *Unity* and the British flagship, the *Royal Charles*.

let the Ships run a-drift, or fall foul on 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 Dispair, that it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of Danger, I stopt a while to pick out the Arrows that stuck in my Hands and Face, and rubbed on some of the same Ointment that was given me at my first Arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my Spectacles, and waiting about an Hour until the Tyde 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 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 more 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 Emperor 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 unmeasurable 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;¹ of destroying the *Big-Endians* Exiles, and compelling that People to break the smaller End of their Eggs; by which he would remain sole Monarch of the whole World. But I endeavoured to divert him from this Design, by many Arguments drawn from the Topicks 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 the Matter was debated in Council, the wisest Part of the Ministry were of my Opinion.

1 Ireland was a British province at the time and was governed by a Viceroy. Ireland was also, of course, a Catholic (or Big-Endian) nation with an enforced Protestant (or Little-Endian) established church. (See Appendix D.)

This open bold Declaration of mine was so opposite to the Schemes and Politicks 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 secret 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 Junta 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 *Blefuscus*, 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.¹ 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 shew them some Proofs of my prodigious Strength, of which they had heard so many Wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not interrupt 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,² and whose Royal Person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own Country. Accordingly, the next time I had the Honour to see our Emperor, I desired his general Licence to wait on the *Blefuscudian* Monarch, which he was pleased

1 That is, a formal visit.

2 Gulliver, as so often, is very ready with exaggerated compliments to someone in authority, even when, as here, that person is only six inches tall.

to grant me, as I could plainly 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.¹ 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 Tongues, with an avowed Contempt for 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.

The Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon Account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a *Nardac*, of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity; and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service. I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many Hundred People at my Door;

1 After the Whig election victory of 1715 a number of leading Tories were accused of treasonable communication with the exiled Pretender and his supporters, including Bolingbroke, who had made a visit to France in 1712. Bolingbroke and Ormond, of course, actually did defect to the Jacobites.

by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some Kind of Terror. I heard the word *Burghum* repeated incessantly; several of the Emperor's Court, making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the Carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a Romance.¹ I got up in an Instant; and Orders being given to clear the Way before me; and it being likewise a Moon-shine Night, I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People. I found they had already applied Ladders to the Walls of the Apartment, and were well provided with Buckets, but the Water was at some Distance. These Buckets were about the Size of a large Thimble, and the poor People supplied me with them as fast as they could; but the Flame was so violent, that they did little Good. I might easily have stifled it with my Coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my Leathern Jerkin. The Case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable; and this magnificent Palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the Ground, if, by a Presence of Mind, unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient. I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called *Glimigrim*, (the *Blefuscutians* call it *Flunec*, but ours is esteemed the better Sort) which is very diuretick. By the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not discharged myself of any Part of it. The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by my labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished;² and the rest of that noble Pile, which had cost so many Ages in erecting, preserved from Destruction.

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- 1 A romance was a fiction, usually in prose, dealing with love and, generally, with outlandish exploits and adventures. They were very much looked down on as an inferior form of writing, and throughout the century were regarded as having a particularly pernicious influence on female readers, a view that Swift shared. Some authorities, though not Swift, even looked upon all reading as bad for women.
 - 2 A similar exploit is found in Rabelais, where the giant Gargantua urinates on Paris. One interpretation of the passage, and especially of the Empress's subsequent disgust, is that it alludes to Queen Anne's refusal ever to allow Swift to be considered for a bishopric after the publication of *A Tale of a Tub* in 1704, a work she deplored for its apparently anti-religious sentiments.

It was now Day-light, and I returned to my House, without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent Piece of Service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the Manner by which I had performed it: For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital in any Person,¹ of what Quality soever, to make water within the Precincts of the Palace. But I was a little comforted by a Message from his Majesty, that he would give Orders to the Grand Justiciary for passing my Pardon in Form; which, however, I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, that the Empress conceiving the greatest Abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant Side of the Court, firmly resolved that those Buildings should never be repaired for her Use; and, in the Presence of her chief Confidants, could not forbear vowing Revenge.

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,² yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious Reader with some general Ideas. As the common Size of the Natives is somewhat under six Inches, 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 hath 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

1 That is, it is a capital offence.

2 This is a characteristic Swiftian joke of the kind he used widely in *A Tale of a Tub*. Gulliver's intention to write a separate work about Lilliput is as much a fiction as the *Travels* themselves. It is part of Swift's delight in blurring the lines between fiction and reality.

observing a Cook pulling a Lark,¹ which was not so large as a common Fly; and a young Girl threading an invisible Needle with invisible Silk. Their tallest Trees are about seven Foot high; I mean some of those in the great Royal Park, the Tops whereof I could but just reach with my Fist clinched. 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 hath flourished in all its Branches among them: But their Manner of Writing is very peculiar; being neither from the Left to the Right, like the *Europeans*; nor from the Right to the Left, like the *Arabians*; nor from up to down, like the *Chinese*; nor from down to up, like the *Cascagians*; but aslant from one Corner of the Paper to the other, like Ladies in *England*.²

They bury their Dead with their Heads directly downwards; because they hold an Opinion, that in eleven Thousand Moons they are all to rise again; in which Period, the Earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this Means they shall, at their Resurrection, be found ready standing on their Feet.³ The Learned among them confess the Absurdity of this Doctrine; but the Practice still continues, in Compliance to the Vulgar.

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, that they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relateth to Informers. All Crimes against the State, are punished here with the utmost Severity; but if the Person accused make his Innocence plainly to appear upon his

1 To pull a lark is to pluck it.

2 Similar passages are found in earlier works, including Sir William Temple's "Of Heroick Virtue" (1687), John Ovington's (1653-1731) *A Voyage to Suratt* (1696) and the pseudonymous William Symson's *A New Voyage to the East-Indies* (1715), which was plagiarised from Ovington. What Swift has added is the reference to the Cascagians, who are an invented people, and the neat twist at the end bringing the increasingly remote set of nations back home to England.

3 While Swift is satirising literal-mindedness in the observation of religious ceremonies, he might, as Dirk Passmann has shown ("Jean De Thevenot and Burials in Lilliput," *Notes and Queries*, New Series 33 [March 1986], 50-51), also have had in mind certain practices amongst some of the peoples of whom he had read.

Tryal, 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 hath been at in making his Defence. Or, if that Fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the Crown. The Emperor doth also confer on him some publick Mark of his Favour; and Proclamation is made of his Innocence through the whole City.

They look upon Fraud as a greater Crime than Theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with Death: For they alledge, that Care and Vigilance, with a very common Understanding, may preserve a Man's Goods from Thieves; but Honesty hath 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;¹ where Fraud is permitted or connived at, or hath no Law to punish it, the honest Dealer is always undone, and the Knave gets the Advantage. I remember when I was once interceeding 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 happening 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 Aggravation of the Crime: And truly, I had little to say in Return, farther 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 hath strictly observed the Laws of his Country for Seventy-three Moons, hath a Claim to certain Privileges, according to his Quality and Condition of Life, with a proportionable Sum

1 Swift, writing still in the aftermath of the South Sea Bubble of 1720, is touching here upon one of the major issues of his period. Paper money itself, with its promise to "pay the bearer on demand" a certain sum, rather than being, like a coin, actually worth the amount on its face, only appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Bubble had shown what frauds, with immense sums at stake, could be practised when credit was taken at face value. As so often, Gulliver's travels reflect pressing concerns at home.

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 doth 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 shew she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In chusing Persons for all Employments, they have more Regard to good Morals than to great Abilities: For, since Government is necessary to Mankind, they believe that the common Size of human Understandings, is fitted to some Station or other; and that Providence never intended to make the Management of publick Affairs a Mystery, to be comprehended only by a few Persons of sublime Genius, of which there seldom are three born in an Age: But, they suppose Truth, Justice, Temperance, and the like, to be in every Man's power; the Practice of which Virtues, assisted by Experience and a good Intention, would qualify any Man for the Service of his Country, except where a Course of Study is required. But they thought the Want of Moral Virtues was so far from being supplied by superior Endowments of the Mind, that Employments could never be put into such dangerous Hands as those of Persons so qualified; and at least, that the Mistakes committed by Ignorance in a virtuous Disposition, would never be of such fatal Consequence to the Publick Weal, as the Practices of a Man, whose Inclinations led him to be corrupt, and 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 publick Station: For, since Kings avow themselves to be the Deputies of Providence, the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more absurd than for a Prince to employ such Men as disown the Authority under which he acteth.¹

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

1 This feature of Lilliputian society is taken from one of Swift's models, *Utopia* (see Appendix B2).

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 Grand-father of the Emperor now reigning; and grew to the present Height, by the gradual Increase of Party and Faction.¹

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 Returns to his Benefactor, must needs be a common Enemy to the rest of Mankind, from whom they have 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. For, since the Conjunction of Male and Female is founded upon the great Law of Nature, in order to propagate and continue the Species; the *Lilliputians* will needs have it, that Men and Women are joined together like other Animals, by the Motives of Concupiscence; and that their Tenderness towards their Young, proceedeth from the like natural Principle: For which Reason they will never allow, that a Child is under any Obligation to his Father for begetting him, or to his Mother for bringing him into the World; which, considering the Miseries of human Life, was neither a Benefit in itself, nor intended so by his Parents, whose Thoughts in their Love-encounters were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like Reasonings, their Opinion is, that Parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the Education of their own Children:² And

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- 1 As in Chapter IV, Swift seems to have Henry VIII in mind rather than George I's actual grandfather. Henry was notoriously ruthless with those ministers who failed to deliver his personal, as distinct from political, goals. Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475-1530) fell from favour for failing to secure the divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Sir Thomas More was executed over the break from Rome, and Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540) after arranging the disastrous marriage to Anne of Cleves (1515-57).
 - 2 In this Swift is following both Plato's (c. 427-c. 347 BCE) *Republic* and Plutarch's (c. 46-120) *Life of Lycurgus*, which deals with life in ancient Sparta. In both, parents are considered unfit to oversee the education of their children. Much of what follows, particularly of the education of the nobility, bears similarity with the system in Sparta.

therefore they have in every Town publick 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 to 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 Capacities 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 until 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 small 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 not to last above an Hour; they are allowed to kiss the Child at Meeting and Parting; but a Professor, who always standeth by on those Occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling Expressions, or bring any Presents of Toys, Sweet-meats, and the like.

The Pension from each Family for the Education and Entertainment of a Child, upon Failure of due payment, is levied by the Emperor's Officers.¹

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 seven Years old; whereas those of Persons of Quality continue in their Exercises until Fifteen, which answers

1 A pension here is a regular payment made by the parents.

to One and Twenty 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,¹ only they are dressed by orderly Servants of their own Sex, but always in the Presence of a Professor or Deputy, until 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 Chamber-Maids among us; they are publicly whipped thrice about the City, imprisoned for a Year, and banished for Life to the most desolate Parts 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 domestick Life, and a smaller Compass of Learning was enjoined them: For, their Maxim is, that among People of Quality, a Wife should be always 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 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 Works proper for their Sex, and their several 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, besides 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 Expences by the Law. For the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more unjust, than that People, in Subservience to their own Appetites, should bring Children into the World, and leave the Burthen of supporting them on the Publick. As to Persons of Quality, they give Security to appropriate a certain Sum for

1 As is clear from such works as *A Letter to a Young Lady, on her Marriage* (1723), Swift strongly approved of a good education for girls. This was also the case in ancient Sparta.

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 Publick; 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 Domestick, 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 Linnen 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.¹ Their Linnen is usually three Inches wide, and three Foot make a Piece. The Sempstresses took my Measure as I lay on the Ground, one standing at my Neck, and another at my Mid-Leg, with a strong Cord extended, that each held by the End, while the third measured the Length of the Cord with a 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 the Waist;² 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 Taylors 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 Plum-Line from my Collar to the Floor, which just answered the Length of my Coat; but my Waist and Arms I measured myself. When my Cloaths 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 Patch-work made by the Ladies in *England*, only that mine were all of a Colour.

1 Lawn is a particularly fine linen or cotton fabric.

2 Swift is credited with inventing this rather random rule of thumb.

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 me two Dishes a-piece. I took up twenty Waiters in my Hand, and placed them on the Table; an 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*.¹ 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 Bits 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 eat at a Mouthful, and I must 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 upon Chairs of State on 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 eat 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, although 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 great Discount; that Exchequer Bills would not circulate under

1 Gulliver by this time in his stay has entered fully within the Lilliputian mode of contriving procedures by the most complex methods: it would be far simpler for him to reach down and pick things up.

No doubt to do so would also have been considered beneath the dignity of a "Nardac."

nine *per Cent.* below Par;¹ 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.² This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous Falshood, without any Grounds, farther 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 still appeal to my Servants round, whether they at any Time saw a Coach at my Door without 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 Postillion always unharnessed four) and place them on a Table, where I had fixed a moveable 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 when I was engaged with one Sett, the Coachmen

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- 1 Here is another insight into the national finances of Swift's period. To raise cash ministers issued government bonds, which no one considered worth buying except at a generous discount which would ensure them a profit when they cashed them back.
 - 2 Again, Gulliver has so fully embraced the Lilliputian perspective that he disproves any illicit behaviour with the wife of Flimnap by disputing that they were ever alone together, rather than by pointing to the obvious disparity in their sizes. A further dimension of the satire is that Walpole's first wife, Catherine Shorter (1682-1737) (whose name has to be part of Swift's joke), was notoriously unfaithful to him, while Walpole himself, unlike Flimnap, appeared to be indifferent.

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 their 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 Reputation of a great Lady is so nearly concerned; to say nothing of my own; although I had the Honour to be a *Nardac*, which the Treasurer himself is not; for all the World knows he is only a *Clumglum*, a Title inferior by one Degree, as that of a Marquess is to a Duke in *England*;¹ 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 shew his Lady for some Time an ill Countenance, and me a worse: For although he were 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.

CHAPTER VII

*The Author being informed of a Design to accuse him of High Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu. His Reception there.*²

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

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- 1 The English order of precedence among the nobility is Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron.
 - 2 Gulliver's threatened impeachment for high treason and his fleeing to Blefuscu in order to avoid it mirrors the incoming Whig action against the leading Tories in 1715. Bolingbroke and Ormonde escaped to France while Oxford remained and was imprisoned in the Tower of London. Swift himself, though not a leading politician, felt it expedient to retire from London and subsequently to remove himself to Dublin.

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*.

When 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)¹ came to my House very privately at Night in a close Chair, and without sending his Name, desired Admittance: The Chair-men 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 enquiring 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 been lately called in the most private Manner on your Account: And it is but two Days since his Majesty came to a full Resolution.

You are very sensible that *Skyris Bolgolam* (*Galbet*, or High Admiral) hath been your mortal Enemy almost ever since your Arrival. His original Reasons I know not; but his Hatred is much increased since your great Success against *Blefuscu*, by which his Glory, as Admiral, is 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,² have prepared Articles of Impeachment against you, for Treason, and other capital Crimes.

This Preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own Merits and Innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he intreated me to be silent; and thus proceeded.

Out of Gratitude for the Favours you have done me, I pro-

1 It is possible that this represents the Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), on whose confidential advice Bolingbroke decided to cross to France.

2 These figures have not been convincingly identified.

cured Information of the whole Proceedings, and a Copy of the Articles, wherein I venture my Head for your Service.¹

Articles of Impeachment against Quinbus Flestrin
(the Man-Mountain.)

ARTICLE I.

Whereas, by a Statute made in the Reign of his Imperial Majesty *Calin Deffar Plune*, it is enacted, That whoever shall make water within the Precincts of the Royal Palace, shall be liable to the Pains and Penalties of High Treason: Notwithstanding, the said *Quinbus Flestrin*, in open Breach of the said Law, under Colour of extinguishing the Fire² kindled in the Apartment of his Majesty's most dear Imperial Consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his Urine, put out the said Fire kindled in the said Apartment, lying and being within the Precincts of the said Royal Palace; against the Statute in that Case provided, &c. against the Duty, &c.

ARTICLE II.

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 Vice-Roy from hence; and to destroy and 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.

1 The articles, like Gulliver's behaviour towards Blefuscu that so upsets the Emperor, are mock versions of the actual articles levied against Oxford and Bolingbroke with regard to their conduct relating to the French war. Bearing in mind the Lilliputian fondness for exacting "pain of death" for some of the most trivial offences, Gulliver's informer is literally, as he says, venturing his head.

2 Using the fire as a pretence.

ARTICLE III.

That, whereas certain Embassadors 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 Embassadors; although he knew them to be Servants to a Prince who was lately an open Enemy to his Imperial Majesty, and in open War against his said Majesty.

ARTICLE IV.

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 hath received only verbal Licence from his Imperial Majesty; and under Colour of the said Licence, doth falsely and traitorously intend to take the said Voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, so late 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 on 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.¹ 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 brought off the Chamberlain.²

Upon this Incident, *Reldresal*, principal Secretary for private

1 The suggestion, rather appropriately, matches the eventual death of Hercules, who was poisoned by covering his shirt in the poisoned blood of Nessus, the Centaur, whom Hercules himself had previously killed with a poisoned arrow.

2 The Emperor dissuaded, or bribed in some way, the Chamberlain.

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 still there was 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 order 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 Fury, said, he wondered how the Secretary durst presume to give his Opinion for preserving the Life of a Traytor: That the Services you had performed, were, by all true Reasons of State, the great Aggravation of your Crimes; that you, who were able to extinguish the Fire, by discharge of Urine in her Majesty's Apartment (which he mentioned with Horror) might, at another time, raise an Inundation by the same Means, to drown the whole Palace; and 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 you were a *Big-Indian* in your Heart; and as Treason begins in the Heart before it appears in Overt-Acts; so he accused you as a Traytor on that Account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

The Treasurer was of the same Opinion; he shewed to what Streights 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 it is manifest from the common Practice of blinding some Kind of Fowl, 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*.¹

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 may be inflicted 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 easily provide against this Evil, by gradually lessening your Establishment; by which, for want of sufficient Food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your Appetite, and consequently decay 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 by 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; she having born perpetual

1 In 1722, the Whig government had brought to trial Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (1663-1732), on charges of high treason as a Jacobite sympathiser. Because there was insufficient evidence to convict in court, he was prosecuted in the House of Lords under a special bill, found guilty and exiled to France.

Malice against you, on Account of that infamous and illegal Method you took to extinguish the Fire in her Apartment.

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 doth 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 Practices 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*.¹ This Speech was immediately published through the Kingdom; nor did any thing 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 *Sufferer more innocent*. 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) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my Tryal; for although I could not deny the Facts alledged in the several Articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some Extenuations. But having in my Life perused many State-Tryals, which I ever observed to terminate as the Judges thought fit to direct; I durst not

1 This was an assertion made notorious after being used by George I, and the government more widely, with regard to the Jacobite rebels who surrendered after the uprising of 1715, and many of whom were executed.

rely on so dangerous a Decision, in so critical a Juncture, and against such powerful Enemies.¹ 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 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 so *easy* a Punishment. But hurried on by the Precipitancy of Youth;² and having his Imperial Majesty's Licence to pay my Attendance upon the Emperor of *Blefuscu*; I took this Opportunity, before the three Days 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, tied a Cable to the Prow, and lifting up the Anchors, I stript myself, put my Cloaths (together with my Coverlet,³ which I carryed 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 until I came within two Hundred Yards

1 Again, Gulliver has lost sight of the fact that these people are only six inches high.

2 An addition of the years in the narrative of Gulliver's early life means that he must at this stage be in his late thirties or early forties.

3 Gulliver has the foresight to take his Lilliputian bed cover with him.

of the Gate;¹ 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's and the Empress's Hand. 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.

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; wrapt up in my Coverlet.

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

1 Gulliver's sense of practicality appears to have returned with the exertion of his escape from Lilliput. While in Lilliput, he would have consented to follow the guides on foot, slowly, rather than carry them himself.

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 the 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 stript myself, and waded till I came within an 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 fore-part 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 forwards 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 fastening 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 till 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, I 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 to 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 from whence I might return into 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 that 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;¹ 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 farther than with 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 have me sent back to *Lilliput*, bound Hand and Foot, to be punished as a Traitor.²

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 order 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 past; offering me

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- 1 A cabal is a small group sharing in some policy or scheme, often of an underhand nature. The best-known recent example was the group that formed the so-called “cabal ministry” between 1667 and 1672 under Charles II, largely because the initial letters of the surnames of the leading figures—Sir William Clifford (1630-73), Lord Arlington (1618-85), the Duke of Buckingham (1627-87), Lord Ashley (1621-83), and Lord Lauderdale (1616-82)—made up the word itself.
 - 2 The pattern for these diplomatic moves concerning Gulliver is again the protected presence of English Jacobites in the French court and the protests made to France by the English government.

at the same time (but under the strictest Confidence) his gracious Protection,¹ 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 Acknowledgments for 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 in 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.

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 quilting² thirteen fold of their strongest Linnen 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.³ 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 young Princes of the Blood. His Majesty presented me with fifty Purses of two hundred *Sprugs* a-piece, together with his Picture

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- 1 Again, the normal language of government and of the relations between emperor and subject is rendered absurd by the difference in size.
 - 2 That is, sewing them together in a patchwork fashion as if making a quilt.
 - 3 Tallow, or rendered animal fat, was in high demand. Apart from its use as a water repellent and generally for greasing purposes, it was made into candles, into soap, was cooked with and could even, in poorer families, be eaten instead of meat.

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 Carcasses of an 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 Yews 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.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able; I set sail on the Twenty-fourth Day of *September* 1701, at six in the Morning; and when I had gone about four Leagues to the Northward, the Wind being at 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, and as I conjecture at least six Hours; for I found the Day broke in two Hours after I awaked. It was a clear Night; I eat 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 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 Antient,¹ 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.² The Ship slackned her Sails, and

1 Her flag, or colours.

2 By "Pledges," Gulliver means his children.

I came up with her between five and six in the Evening, *September 26*; but my Heart leapt within me to see her *English Colours*. I put my Cows and Sheep into my Coat-Pockets, 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*; ¹ the Captain, Mr. *John Biddle* of *Deptford*, a very civil Man, and an excellent Sailor. We were now in the Latitude of 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 Gentleman 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 few Words; but he thought I was raving, and that the Dangers I underwent 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 shewed 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 of two Hundred *Sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in *England*, to make him a Present of a Cow and a Sheep big with Young.

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*. ² 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 on Shore, and set them a grazing in a Bowling-Green at *Greenwich*, where the Fineness of the Grass made them feed very heartily, although 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

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- 1 That is, by way of the North and South Pacific, rounding Cape Horn to cross the Atlantic and so to reach home.
 - 2 The Downs are the seaway off the Kent coast, immediately after the Straits of Dover. Ships are offered a degree of protection by the close presence of the Goodwin Sands and the coast itself. Named after the range of hills in that part of Kent, the North Downs, they lead to the Thames estuary and so to London. The ship has taken from 26 September until 13 April, almost seven months, to reach this spot since leaving the region of Australia.

Bisket,¹ which rubbed to Powder, and mingled with Water, was their constant Food. The short Time I continued in *England*, I made considerable Profit by shewing 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 the Fleeces.²

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*.³ 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:⁴ So that I was not in any Danger of leaving my Family upon the Parish.⁵ 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

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- 1 Ship's biscuit, or hard tack, was a staple of naval diet. Biscuits could be made in a variety of modes, not least depending on whether they were for officers or for crew. The basic ingredients were coarse wholemeal flour, water and salt, made into a dough and baked in a very hot oven.
 - 2 Swift is glancing here at the controversial topic of the woollen industry. Wool was one of the products in which Ireland excelled, yet under the Wool Act of 1699 it, along with other English overseas possessions, was forbidden to process its own wool or to sell it anywhere but to England. Indeed, English manufactures from Irish wool were sold back to the Irish market at a large profit to English traders. Swift's pamphlets, including *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720) and *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1728; see Appendix D3), protest against these restrictions.
 - 3 Rotherhithe is a Thameside district of London, south of the river, between Bermondsey and Deptford.
 - 4 Epping is an area, then largely countryside, to the north of London; Fetter Lane is a turning off Fleet Street in the middle of London's legal district. There was a Black Bull tavern round the corner in Holborn, which featured in Dickens's (1812-70) novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*. It was demolished in 1904.
 - 5 The destitute depended on the parish for charity. This would usually mean being sent to the workhouse.

then at her Needle-Work.¹ 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*,² Captain *John Nicholas* of *Liverpool*, Commander. But my Account of this Voyage must be referred to the second Part of my Travels.

The End of the First Part.

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- 1 A grammar school, so called because their original purpose was to teach Latin, would instruct boys until the age of about fourteen. By the early eighteenth century the curriculum had broadened and the intention was to give a more rounded education to boys of generally middle-class family. By “towardly” Gulliver means promising. His daughter being at her needlework would mean that she was being taught household skills. She would probably be educated at home by her mother who, as daughter of a successful merchant, would be expected to have a reasonable education herself together with a range of domestic accomplishments. The date of Gulliver’s marriage is approximately eleven years before his departure to Lilliput and he is away for three years. Johnny and Betty, therefore, are likely to be between about thirteen and eight, the latter an appropriate age then for a middle-class girl to be learning needlework.
 - 2 Surat is on the west coast of India, to the north of Bombay. It was an important trading port.

PART TWO

A VOYAGE TO 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 Shoar, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's House. His Reception there, 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 two¹ 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*, Capt. *John Nicholas*, a *Cornish* Man,² Commander, bound for *Surat*. We had a very prosperous Gale³ till we arrived at the *Cape of Good-hope*,⁴ where we landed for fresh Water; but discovering a Leak we unshipped our Goods, and wintered there; for the Captain falling sick of an *Ague*,⁵ we could not leave the *Cape* till the End of *March*. We then set sail, and had a good Voyage till we passed the *Streights 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,⁶ and about three Degrees Northward of the Line, as our

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- 1 The 1735 text reads ten, but is changed to tally with what Gulliver tells us at the end of the previous chapter.
 - 2 At the end of the previous chapter he is described as “of *Liverpool*.” Both, of course, may be true.
 - 3 This then meant a good strong breeze, rather than the storm-force wind we think of today.
 - 4 To reach the Indian Ocean, ships would sail down the west coast of Africa before going round the Cape of Good Hope, the most southern tip of the continent, and turning north through the Straits of Madagascar to reach the Indian sub-continent, by then considerably further to the north.
 - 5 While an ague was any fever, it was particularly applied to malarial fever, especially in the climes Gulliver has now reached.
 - 6 The Moluccas are part of the East Indies, to the east of Borneo and close to New Guinea. They are exactly on the Equator. In other words, the *Adventure*, living up to its name, has been driven across the entire width of the Indian Ocean, some 6,000 miles in two weeks (Gulliver’s “twenty Days” does not quite add up), missing India by around 2,000 miles and somehow steering between Sumatra and Java without spotting land.

Captain found by an Observation he took the 2d 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 a Southern Wind, called the Southern *Monsoon*, began to set in.¹

Finding it was like to overblow,² we took in our Sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the Fore-sail; but making foul Weather, we

1 The monsoon season in the Indian Ocean is in fact usually a little later, beginning in early June. From as early as the first century CE it was known that navigators could use the monsoons to speed their passage across this ocean. Hippalos, the Greek (1st century BCE), is credited with being the discoverer and first utiliser of this.

2 This entire paragraph is a parody of the tendency in travel books to overuse nautical terms. It is copied, more or less word for word, from a 1669 article in *The Mariner's Magazine ... By Capt. Samuel Sturmy* (Book I, Chapter II, pages 17-18). This is a rough paraphrase: "Finding that the storm was likely to be too strong for the topsails, we took in the bowsprit sail and got ready to furl the forward sail, but meeting with foul weather we made sure that the guns were all secured, and took in the rearmost sail. The ship was heading away from the wind, so we thought it better to go with the direction of the sea rather than facing against it or sailing with no sails at all. We reduced the size of the forward sail and set it, and pulled hard at the line attached to it. The steering gear was at the windward side. The ship came round well. We fastened down the rope attached to the forward sail, but the sail was split and we pulled down the beam it was attached to and took the sail into the ship, untying everything so that it was clear. It was a very fierce storm; the sea broke strangely and dangerously. We pulled on the rope attached to the rudder, helping the steersman. We left the topmast in place because the ship was moving on before the sea very well, and we knew that with the topmast in place the ship was steadier and made her way better, given that we were in open sea. When the storm was over, we set the forward sail and the main sail and brought the ship to a halt. Then we set the rear sail and the top sails of the mainmast and the forward mast. The course we wanted was east north-east and the wind blew from south-west. We pulled the sail ropes and secured them on the starboard side, where the wind blew from, loosened the ropes between the beams on the windward side and tightened those on the other side, and pulled tight and secured the ropes attached to the sides of the sails on the windward side, pulling and securing the ropes of the rear mast on the same side. So we kept her sailing as well as she would in the right direction."

looked the Guns were all fast, and handed the Misen. The Ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the Sea, than trying or hulling. We reefed the Foresail and set him, we hauled aft the Fore-sheet; the Helm was hard a Weather. The Ship wore bravely. We belay'd the Fore-down-hall; but the Sail was split, and we hawl'd 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 hawl'd off upon the Lanniard of the Wipstaff, and helped the Man at Helm. We would not get down our Top-Mast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the Sea very well, and we knew that the Top-Mast 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 Misen, Maintop-Sail and the Foretop-Sail. Our Course was East North-east, the Wind was at South-west. We got the Star-board Tack aboard, we cast off our Weather-braces and Lifts; we set in the Lee-braces, and hawl'd forward by the Weather-bowlings, and hawl'd them tight, and belayed them, and hawl'd over the Misen Tack to Windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lye.

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,¹ 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 Parts of great *Tartary*, and into the frozen Sea.²

On the 16th Day of *June* 1703, a Boy on the Top-mast 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

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- 1 A league is three international nautical miles, or 3.456 statute miles. This means that the ship has travelled a further 1,700 or so miles to the east from the Moluccas, taking it deep into the equatorial part of the Pacific.
 - 2 Tartary was the whole of the north-east part of the Asian continent, including Manchuria and Mongolia as well as Russia all the way from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific. The frozen sea is the Arctic Ocean. North-west is clearly an error for north-east.

was a small Neck of Land jutting out into the Sea,¹ and a Creek too shallow to hold a Ship of above one hundred Tuns. 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 Discoveries 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 hollow 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:² 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,³ for I durst not stay to see the Issue of that Adventure; but run 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 above twenty Foot high.

I fell into a high Road, for so I took it to be, although it served to the Inhabitants only as a foot Path through a Field of Barley. Here I walked on for sometime, but could see little on either Side, it being now near Harvest, and the Corn rising at least forty Foot. 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

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- 1 Holding their course east north-east has brought them, six weeks after the Moluccas, to the west coast of North America, with Brobdingnag jutting out from the north-west corner, rather like Alaska above Canada.
 - 2 The Cyclops, Polyphemus, does exactly the same pursuing Aeneas' men in Virgil's (70-19 BCE) *Aeneid* (iii, 664-65). Like Gulliver's shipmates, they also escape.
 - 3 He is told it by the Brobdingnagians, that is, rather than by the men themselves.

Foot 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 utmost. It was impossible for me to climb this Stile, because every Step was six Foot high, and the upper Stone above 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.¹ I was struck with the utmost Fear and Astonishment, and ran to hide my self in the Corn, from 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 extream Difficulty; for the Stalks of the Corn were sometimes not above a Foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my Body betwixt 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 Cloaths into my Flesh. At the same time I heard the Reapers not above an 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

1 Thus giving the scale of difference: the Brobdingnagians are approximately twelve times the size of Gulliver, just as he was twelve times the size of the Lilliputians.

Voyage¹ 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?² Undoubtedly Philosophers are in the Right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwise than by Comparison: It might have pleased Fortune to 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?³

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

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- 1 Strictly speaking this is not Gulliver's second voyage, as he has already spent nine-and-a-half years making voyages before the one that takes him to Lilliput.
 - 2 Gulliver can perhaps be excused this misjudgement of the nature of the Brobdingnagians: he has, after all, just witnessed his ship-mates being pursed into the sea by an apparently ferocious giant, while myth and literary precedent all conspire to depict giants in a bad light.
 - 3 The implication of this truly staggering thought is that there is in fact no standard of size, and therefore nothing unique, in terms of the human body. Larger or smaller, the race at each point on the scale thinks of itself as the norm, and all are wrong.

on the Ground. He considered a while 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 to bite him; as I my self have sometimes done with a *Weasel* in *England*. At length he ventured to take me up behind by the middle between his Fore-finger 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 Foot 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 an 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 mean time 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 Lappet¹ 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 Hairs 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 four; but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backwards and forwards, to let those People see I had no Intent to run away. They all sate

1 A lapel or, as here, a flap to the pocket.

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 afterwards 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 Pistoles¹ each, besides 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 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;² 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 Hand, which he placed flat on the Ground with the Palm upwards, 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 my self at full Length upon the Handkerchief, with the Remainder of which he lapped me up to the Head for further Security; and in this Manner carried me home to his House. There he called his Wife, and shewed 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 a while seen my Behaviour, and how well I

1 Spanish gold coins worth around three-quarters of the English pound sterling.

2 A reminder that Swift suffered from Ménières disease, which includes tinnitus, as well as deafness and intense dizziness, among its symptoms. He described the sound as like “seven water-mills” (Ehrenpreis, III, 320).

observed the Signs her Husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by Degrees grew extreamly 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 an Husband-Man¹) in a Dish of about four and twenty Foot Diameter. The Company were the Farmer and 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 Foot 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 eat; which gave them exceeding Delight. The Mistress sent her Maid for a small Dram-cup, which held about two Gallons;² 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 Lady-ship'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 Cyder,³ 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 surprize 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 Huzza's, to shew I had got no Mischief by the Fall. But advancing forwards toward my Master (as I shall henceforth call him)⁴ his youngest Son who sate next 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 an *European* Troop of Horse to the Earth; ordering him

1 A farmer; someone who tills the soil.

2 A dram is a small drink, usually of something strongly alcoholic like whisky. A dram is one-eighth fluid ounce, so in Brobdingnagian terms the quantity would be rather less than two gallons.

3 Very weak cider.

4 As in Lilliput, Gulliver is very ready to accept the status quo, putting himself in a position of servitude.

to be taken from the Table. But, being afraid the Boy might owe me a Spight; and well remembring 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 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 stroak me gently with it.

In the Midst of Dinner my Mistress's favourite Cat leapt 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 this 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 stroaking her. The Fierceness of this Creature's Countenance altogether discomposed me; although I stood at the further End of the Table, above fifty Foot off; and although 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 shew 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 her self 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 Grey-hound somewhat taller than the Mastiff, but not so large.

When Dinner was almost done, the Nurse¹ 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*;² after the usual Oratory of Infants, to get me

1 She is clearly a wet-nurse, who suckles an infant on behalf of its mother, an indication that the farmer's family is one of some substance.

2 Meaning from one end of London to the other, London Bridge being towards the east end of the city and Chelsea the west. The actual walking distance is just over three-and-a-half miles.

for a Play-thing. The Mother out of pure Indulgence took me up, and put me towards the Child, who presently¹ seized me by the Middle, and got my Head in his Mouth, where I roared so loud that the Urchin was frightened, 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 fastned 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 suck. I must confess no Object ever disgusted me so much as the Sight of her monstrous Breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious Reader an Idea of its Bulk, Shape and Colour. It stood prominent six Foot, and could not be less than sixteen in Circumference. The Nipple was about half the Bigness of my Head, and the Hue both of that and the Dug so varified with Spots, Pimples and Freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: For I had a near Sight of her, she sitting down the more conveniently to give Suck, and I standing on the Table. This 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 my self, 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 wide a Mouth, a third too large a Nose; nothing of which I was able to distinguish.

1 Immediately.

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 Justice to say they are a comely Race of People; and particularly the Features of my Master's Countenance, although he were but a Farmer, when I beheld him from the Height of sixty Foot, 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, larger and coarser than the Main Sail of a Man of War.

I slept about two Hours, and dreamed I was at home with my Wife and Children, which aggravated my Sorrows when I awaked and found my self alone in a vast Room, between two and three Hundred Foot wide, and above 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. Some natural Necessities required me 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 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 the Bed: One of them came up almost to my Face; whereupon I rose in a Fright, and drew out my Hanger¹ to defend my self. 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

1 A short sword.

two Yards long, wanting an Inch; but it went against my Stomach to drag the Carcass off the Bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some Life, but with a strong Slash cross 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 shew I was not hurt; whereat she was extremely rejoyced, 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 shewed her my Hanger all bloody, and wiping it on the Lappet of my Coat, returned it to the Scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one Thing, which another could not do for me; 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 my self farther than by pointing to the Door, and bowing several Times. The good Woman with much Difficulty at last perceived what I would be at; and taking me up again in her Hand, walked into the Garden where she set me down. I went on one Side about two Hundred Yards; and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid my self between two Leaves of Sorrel, and there discharged the Necessities of Nature.¹

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 publick as well as private Life; which was my sole Design in presenting this and other Accounts of my Travels to the World;² wherein I have been chiefly studious of Truth, without affecting any Ornaments of Learning, or of Style.³ But the whole Scene of this Voyage made so strong an Impression on my Mind, and is so deeply fixed in my Memory, that in committing it to Paper, I did not omit one material

1 This is one of the incidents in which the comparison with Lilliput is particularly striking. What in Lilliput was an undignified display involving huge amounts of matter and wheelbarrows is in Brobdingnag a delicate little manoeuvre conducted in the privacy of a medium-sized garden herb.

2 Swift clearly has his tongue in his cheek here, though Dampier makes a similar assertion at the beginning of his narrative.

3 Again, Dampier asserts the plainness of his style as a simple seaman.

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.

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.¹ 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, although 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 Cloaths before her, she was able to dress and undress me, although I never gave her that Trouble when she would let me do either my self. She made me seven Shirts, and some other Linnen of as fine Cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than Sackcloth;² 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 any thing, 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 Foot high, being little for 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 *Nanunculus*, the *Italians* *Homunculetino*, and the *English* *Mannikin*.³ To her I chiefly owe my Preservation in that Country: We never parted while I

1 Baby here means doll.

2 Very coarse cloth, used to make sacks. Traditionally garments of sackcloth were worn as a mark of penance or of mourning.

3 Apart from mannikin, meaning dwarf, or little man, these are invented words constructed to sound as though they would mean the same thing in the languages mentioned.

was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little Nurse:¹ And I 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.

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 *Splacknuck*, 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 learned 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 enquire 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 Reverence² 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 cursed Advice he gave my Master, to shew 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.³ I guessed there was some Mischief contriving, when I observed my Master and his Friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my Fears made

1 Various suggestions have been made as to a model for *Glumdalclitch*, including Swift's own nurse as a child, and his close friend Esther Johnson (Stella) (1681-1728).

2 He makes a bow.

3 Gulliver here and elsewhere clearly means English miles, not Brobdingnagian ones.

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 a 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 publick 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, that I should one Day recover my Liberty; and as to the Ignominy of being carried about for a Monster,¹ I considered my self 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 Pillion² behind me. The Box was close on every Side, with a little Door for me to go in and out, and a few Gimlet-holes³ to let in Air. The Girl had been so careful to put the Quilt of her Baby's Bed into it, for me to lye down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this Journey, although it were but of half an Hour. For the Horse went about forty Foot 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 further than from *London* to *St. Albans*.⁴

1 Here meaning freak rather than a creature of enormous size.

2 A "Pillion" is a cushion placed behind a horseman to allow a second passenger, usually a woman or a child, to ride with him.

3 A gimlet is a small, sharply pointed hand-held tool used for boring holes.

4 Which is indeed twenty-two miles.

My Master alighted at an Inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting a while with the Inn-keeper, and making some necessary Preparations, he hired the *Grultrud*, or Cryer, 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 Foot long) and in every Part of the Body resembling an human Creature; could speak several Words, and perform an Hundred diverting Tricks.

I was placed upon a Table in the largest Room of the Inn, which might be near three Hundred Foot 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 Croud, 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 it after the Manner of Fencers in *England*. My Nurse gave me Part of a Straw, which I exercised as a Pike, having learned the Art in my Youth.¹ I was that Day shewn to twelve Sets of Company; and as often forced to go over again with 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 every Body's Reach. However, an unlucky School-Boy aimed a Hazel Nut directly 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:² But I had the Satisfaction to see the young Rogue well beaten, and turned out of the Room.

1 He performs a military-style drill such as local militias performed. Whereas they traditionally exercised with the pikestaff, Gulliver uses a piece of Brobdingnagian straw.

2 A pumpkin.

My Master gave publick Notice, that he would shew me again the next Market-Day: And in the mean time, 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 eight 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 an 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 shewed 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 like to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable Cities of 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 upon the 17th of *August* 1703, about two Months after my Arrival, we set out for the Metropolis, situated near the Middle of that Empire, and about three Thousand Miles distance from our House:¹ 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 Linnen and other Necessaries; and made every thing 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 shew me in all the Towns by the Way, and to step out of the Road for Fifty or an Hundred Miles, to any Village or Person of Quality's House where he might expect Custom. We made easy Journies 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 own Desire, to give me Air,

1 Again, English miles are clearly intended. Nevertheless, the scale of Brobdingnagian distance clearly places strains upon the narrative: 3,000 miles from "our House" would place Gulliver halfway back across the Pacific.

and shew me the Country; but always held me fast by Leading-strings.¹ We passed over five or six Rivers many Degrees broader and deeper than the *Nile* or the *Ganges*; and there was hardly a Rivulet so small as the *Thames* at *London-Bridge*. We were ten Weeks in our Journey; and I was shewn 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 Foot wide. He provided a Table sixty Foot in Diameter, upon which I was to act my Part; and pallisadoed² it round three Foot from the Edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shewn 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 learned 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 a *Sanson's Atlas*;³ 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

1 A child's walking reins.

2 A palisade is a fence of stakes, usually a perimeter fence.

3 Nicolas Sanson (1600-67) produced a series of very large atlases during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Master got by me, the more unsatiable he grew. I had quite lost my Stomach,¹ and was almost reduced to a Skeleton. The Farmer observed it; and concluding I soon must die, resolved to make as good a Hand of me as he could.² While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself; a *Slardral*, or Gentleman Usher, came from Court, commanding my Master to bring 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 Demeanor. 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 a Table) which I embraced in both my Arms, and put the Tip of it, with the utmost Respect, to my Lip. She made 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 would 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 were willing to sell me at a good Price. He, who apprehended 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 Moydores:³ But, allowing for the Proportion of all Things between that Country and *Europe*, and the high Price of Gold among them; 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 understood to do it so well, might

1 He has lost all appetite.

2 That is, to make what profit he can while Gulliver is still alive. The allusion would seem to be to card games, where one plays the best one can with the cards dealt.

3 A moidore (from the Portuguese "money of gold") was a Portuguese coin that for a while had been current in England. It was worth twenty-seven shillings and its name came to be used for that amount after it ceased to be current. A guinea, still in use in the twentieth century, was worth twenty-one shillings (105 p in today's British currency, or 170 cents in USD).

be admitted into her 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 Field; which Obligation was amply recompensed by the Gain he had made in shewing 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 Phoenix of the Creation;¹ so, I hoped my late Master's Apprehensions would appear to be groundless; for I already found my Spirits to revive by the Influence of her most August Presence.

This was the Sum of my Speech, delivered with great Improproprieties 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

1 Because the phoenix is the legendary bird that destroys itself in flames in order to be reborn in the same form, it is difficult to see the aptness of Gulliver's compliment. However, no doubt he is borrowing, as he says later, from what he has been taught of "the Style peculiar to that People."

after a cold Manner, how long it was since she grew fond of a *Splacknuck*; 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 hath an infinite deal of Wit and Humour, set me gently on my Feet upon the Scrutore;¹ and commanded me to give His Majesty an Account of my self, 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 be as learned a Person as any in his Dominions; had been educated in the Study of Philosophy, and particularly Mathematicks; 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 is 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, 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 Sett of Words to make me sell at a higher 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 in the Language; with some rustick 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 their weekly waiting² (according to the Custom in that Country.) These Gentlemen, after they had a while examined my Shape with much Nicety, were of different Opinions concerning me.³ 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 Swiftmess, 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

1 An anglicisation of *escritoire*, or writing-desk.

2 Their attendance at court awaiting the king's pleasure.

3 Just as the Lilliputians prefer to do things their own way, mechanically, even though Gulliver could have accomplished them in a fraction of the time and with minimal effort, the Brobdingnagian scholars go their own way intellectually rather than simply asking Gulliver.

Animal; yet most Quadrupeds being an Overmatch for me; and Field-Mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support my self, unless I fed upon Snails and other Insects;¹ which they offered by many learned Arguments to evince that I could not possibly do. One of them seemed to think that I might be an Embrio, 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 manifested 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 that Kingdom, was near thirty Foot high. After much Debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *Relplum Scalath*, which is interpreted literally *Lusus Naturæ*; a Determination exactly agreeable to the Modern Philosophy of *Europe*: whose Professors, disdaining the old Evasion of *occult Causes*, whereby the Followers of *Artistotle* endeavour in vain to disguise their Ignorance; have invented this wonderful Solution of all Difficulties, to the unspeakable Advancement of human Knowledge.²

After this decisive Conclusion, I entreated to be heard a Word or two. I applied my self 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 my self, and to find Sustenance, as any of his Majesty's Subjects could do here; which I took for a full Answer to those Gentlemens Arguments. To this they only replied with a Smile of Contempt; saying, that the Farmer had

1 "Insects" formerly, and still popularly in Swift's time, included not only snails but earthworms, frogs and even tortoises.

2 A "*Lusus Naturæ*" is literally a sport or amusement of nature, and therefore something that cannot be explained according to natural laws but nevertheless is so. Swift may well be glancing at Isaac Newton (1642-1727), who in his *Opticks* of 1704 asserted that a science based on the laws of nature was more useful than the "occult Qualities" that Aristotelianism relied on. Either position, Swift seems to imply, still has to find a way of explaining the unexplainable and both amount to the same kind of "Evasion." As his earlier *Battle of the Books* (1704) makes clear, Swift always tended to side with the Ancients against the Moderns.

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 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 a 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 her self. 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;¹ and according to my Directions, in three Weeks finished for me a wooden Chamber of sixteen Foot square, and twelve High; with Sash Windows, a Door, and two Closets, like a *London* Bed-chamber. The Board that made the Cieling 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,² who was famous for little Curiosities, 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 Cieling, 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 was ever seen among them; for I have known a larger at the Gate of a Gentleman's House in *England*.³ I made a shift to keep the Key in a Pocket of my own,

1 Meaning craftsman in this context.

2 Nice here means exact or precise, so one capable of very fine and delicate work.

3 There is a hint here of Swift's perception of the strength of social divisions in England, where gentlemen might well have Brobdingnagian-sized locks on their gates to keep out unwelcome callers and to protect their property.

fearing *Glumdalclitch* might lose it. The Queen likewise ordered the thinnest Silks that could be gotten, to make me Cloaths; not much thicker than an *English* Blanket, very cumbersome 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 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 eat, just at her left Elbow; and a Chair to sit on. *Glumdalclitch* stood upon 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:¹ These my little Nurse kept in her Pocket, in a Silver Box, and gave me at Meals as I wanted them; always cleaning them her self. No Person dined with the Queen but the two Princesses Royal; the elder 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 my self; and her Diversion was to see me eat in Minia-ture. 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 Loves.² She drank out of a golden Cup, above a Hogshead at a Draught. Her Knives were twice as long as a Scythe set strait 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 these enormous Knives and Forks were lifted up together; I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a Sight.

1 A doll's house. While the later eighteenth century saw a dramatic increase in the numbers of toy shops and toy manufacturers in London, there were already several outlets for those who could afford them. See, for example, *The British Toy Business: A History Since 1700* by Kenneth Douglas Brown (Continuum, 1996).

2 Twelve pennies constituted one shilling, which bought a very large loaf.

It is the Custom, that every *Wednesday*, (which, as I have before observed, was 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 Favourite; and at these Times my little Chair and Table were placed at his left Hand before one of the Salt-sellers. This Prince took a Pleasure in conversing with me; enquiring 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 Reflexions 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 stroaking me gently with the other; after an hearty Fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Then turning to his first Minister, who waited behind him with a white Staff, near as tall as the Main-mast of the Royal *Sovereign*;¹ he observed, how contemptible a Thing was human Grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive Insects as I: And yet, said he, I dare engage, these Creatures have their Titles and Distinctions of Honour; they contrive little Nests and Burrows, that they call Houses and Cities; they make a Figure in Dress and Equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my Colour came and went several Times, with Indignation to hear our noble Country, the Mistress of Arts and Arms, the Scourge of *France*, the 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 were injured or no. For, after 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 first conceived from their Bulk and Aspect was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a Company of *English*

1 This was Charles I's warship, which was launched in 1637 and was notorious for its over-elaborate ornamentation.

Lords and Ladies in their Finery and Birth-day Cloaths,¹ acting their several Parts in the most courtly Manner of Strutting, and Bowing and Prating;² to say the Truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as this King and his Grandees did at me. Neither indeed could I forbear smiling at my self, 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 nothing be more ridiculous than the Comparison: So that I really began to imagine my self dwindled many Degrees below my usual Size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the Queen's Dwarf,³ who being of the lowest Stature that was ever in that Country, (for I verily think he was not full Thirty Foot 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 Antichamber, 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 my self by calling him *Brother*, challenging him to wrestle; and such Repartees as are usual in the Mouths of *Court Pages*. One Day at Dinner, this malicious little Cubb⁴ 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* in 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.⁵ I was put to Bed; however I received no other Damage

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- 1 Especially fine suits of cloths worn for the monarch's birthday celebrations.
 - 2 To prate is to talk foolishly, boastfully or loquaciously.
 - 3 Keeping a dwarf at court for amusement had been a favourite medieval custom and had not entirely died out in England by the seventeenth century.
 - 4 A "Cubb" is the young of certain animals, from which it also means a young boy or girl, particularly one that is ill-mannered or churlish.
 - 5 A quart is two pints.

than the Loss of a Suit of Cloaths, which was 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 to 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 were heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him,¹ 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 in the Dish erect as it stood before; the Dwarf watching his Opportunity, while *Glumdalclitch* was gone to the Side-board, 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,² my Legs were not scalded, only my Stockings and Breeches 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 my self. 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*,³ 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 leave their loathsome Excrement or Spawn behind, which to me was very visible, although not to the Natives of that Country, whose large Opticks were not so acute as mine in viewing smaller Objects.

1 To cashier is to dismiss from one's service in disgrace, particularly in a military context. The word derives from the French, meaning to dismiss or break.

2 Because the royal dining rooms are generally so far from the kitchens.

3 Larks were sold for consumption in London markets and were generally taken on Dunstable Downs, in Bedfordshire, close to the capital.

Sometimes 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 my self against 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 of these Insects in his Hand, as School-boys 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 my 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-Cake¹ 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 piece-meal away; others flew about my Head and Face, confounding me with the 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 were as large as Partridges; I took out their Stings, found them an Inch and a half long, and as sharp as Needles. I carefully preserved them all, and having since shewn them with some other Curiosities in several Parts of *Europe*; upon my Return to *England* I gave three of them to *Gresham College*,² and kept the fourth for my self.

1 Simply a cake that has sugar as a principal ingredient.

2 Gresham College was founded in 1597 in Bishopsgate, London, under the will of Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-79) in order to give free public lectures in the various branches of learning. It still exists and performs the same function, though it is now based at Barnard's Inn Hall, Holborn. When Charles II established the Royal Society in 1660 its first home was courtesy of Gresham College. Swift is mocking the collectors of the Society and their minute interests, rather than the College itself. (See Appendix C1.) One of the first two books published by the Society was Robert Hooke's (1635-1703) *Micrographia* (1665), which contained drawings of various insects enormously magnified.

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 further when she accompanied the King in his Progresses; and there staid till his Majesty returned from viewing his Frontiers. The whole Extent of this Prince's Dominions reacheth about six thousand Miles in Length, and from three to five in Breadth. From 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, terminated to the North-east by a Ridge of Mountains thirty Miles high which are altogether impassable by Reason of the Volcanoes upon the Tops.¹ 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 those Parts of the Coasts 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.² 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

1 At thirty miles, or 158,400 feet, the mountains are truly Brobdingnagian. Mount Everest is only 29,000 feet high, while most commercial aircraft fly at around 30,000 feet.

2 Many countries, including Lycurgus' (9th century BCE?) Sparta, have pursued a policy of exclusion in order to preserve an existing ideology or way of life. Brobdingnag is unusual in being unaware of other races beyond their borders.

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 an hundred walled Towns, and a great Number of Villages. To satisfy my curious Reader, it may be sufficient to describe *Lorbrulgrud*. This City stands upon almost two equal Parts on each Side the River that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand Houses. It is in Length three *Glonglungs* (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 an hundred Feet; I paced the Diameter and Circumference several times Bare-foot, and computing by the Scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The King's Palace is no regular Edifice, but an Heap of Buildings about seven Miles round: The chief Rooms are generally two hundred and forty Foot 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 a Square of *Westminster-Hall*,¹

1 Westminster Hall is the great medieval hall where state trials were held as well as the largest official banquets. When not in use in its entirety it was divided by partitions into separate courts, including the Court of Common Pleas, King's Bench, the Lord Chancellor's Court, and the Master of the Rolls. It is 290 feet long by sixty-eight broad and its roof rises to ninety-two feet. By "Square" Gulliver may well mean 290 feet squared, making for a very large coach.

but not altogether so High; however, I cannot be very exact. One Day the Governess ordered our Coachman to stop at several Shops; where the Beggars watching their Opportunity, crouded to the Sides of the Coach,¹ and gave me the most horrible Spectacles that ever an *European* Eye beheld. There was a Woman with a Cancer in her Breast, swelled to a monstrous Size, full of Holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole Body. There was a Fellow with a Wen in his Neck, larger than five Woolpacks;² and another with a couple of wooden Legs, each about twenty Foot high. But, the most hateful Sight of all was the Lice crawling on their Cloaths: I could see distinctly the Limbs of these Vermin with my naked Eye, much better than those of an *European* Louse through a Microscope; and their Snouts with which they rooted like Swine. They were the first I had ever beheld; and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had proper Instruments (which I unluckily left behind me in the Ship) although indeed the Sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my Stomach.

Beside the large Box in which I was usually carried, the Queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve Foot Square, and ten high, for the Convenience of Travelling; because the other was somewhat too large for *Glumdalclitch's* Lap, and cumbersom 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 that carried me, when I had a Mind to be on Horseback, put in a Leathern Belt, and buckled it about his Waist. This was always the Office of some grave trusty Servant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the King and Queen in their Progresses, or were

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- 1 While Swift, as Ehrenpreis describes, was extremely charitable to beggars in Dublin, he also attempted from 1726 onwards to have imposed a scheme by which all beggars in the city would be licensed by an official name badge and not allowed to leave their own vicinity (III, 812-17).
 - 2 A wen is a kind of cyst; woolpacks were large bags in which wool was sold.

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 Majesty's Favour, than any Merit of my own. In Journeys, when I was weary of the Coach, a Servant on Horseback would buckle my Box, and place it on 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-Bed¹ 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,² after the Fashion of the Country, born 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 croud 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 Foot, 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.³ 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

1 A camp-bed.

2 A sedan was a chair, usually closed, in which one would be carried through the streets by two chairmen.

3 Salisbury Cathedral was built in the first half of the thirteenth century. Its steeple, at 404 feet, is the tallest in the country.

an hundred Foot thick, built of hewn Stone, whereof each is about forty Foot square, and adorned on all Sides with Statues of Gods¹ and Emperors cut in Marble larger than the 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 Foot and an Inch in Length. *Glumdalclitch* wrapped it up in a 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 Foot high. The great Oven is not so wide by ten Paces as the Cupola at St. *Paul's*:² 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 turning on the Spits, with many other Particulars; perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe Critick 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 Extream; 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 Foot 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;³ whereof I shall find another Occasion to speak.

1 We are, in fact, told nothing about the gods, the religion or the system of worship of the Brobdingnagians.

2 The cupola is 122 feet in diameter. The first stone for the new St Paul's was laid in 1675 and its dome was completed in 1710, two years later than Gulliver's supposed return from Brobdingnag.

3 In order of battle.

CHAPTER V

Several Adventures that happened to the Author. The Execution of a Criminal. The Author shews his Skill in Navigation.

I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that Country, if my Little-ness 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 need shew my Wit by a silly Allusion between him and the Trees, which happens to hold in their Language as it doth 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,¹ 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 my self while she walked at some Distance with her Governess. In the mean time, 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 Hail-stones gave me such cruel Bangs all over the Body, as if I had been pelted with Tennis-Balls; however I made a Shift to creep on all four, and shelter my self by lying flat on my Face on the Lee-side of a Border of Lemmon Thyme;² but so bruised from Head to Foot, that I could not go abroad in 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 Hail-stone is near Eighteen Hundred Times as large as one in *Europe*; which I can assert upon Experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them.

1 Presumably a barrel made in, or of the kind used in, the port of Bristol.

2 Thyme is a small herb with several varieties, including lemon-scented.

But, a more dangerous Accident happened to me in the same Garden, when 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 my Box at home to avoid the Trouble of carrying it, went to another Part of the Gardens with her Governess and some Ladies of her Acquaintance. While she was absent and out of hearing, a small white Spaniel belonging to one of the chief Gardiners, 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 strait 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 Cloaths. But, the poor Gardiner, 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 my self, 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 Gardiner 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 my self, I thought it would not be for my Reputation that such a Story should go about.

This Accident absolutely 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 my self. Once a Kite hovering over the Garden, made a Stoop at me,¹ and if I had not resolutely drawn my Hanger, and run under a thick Espalier,² 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 that Animal had cast up the Earth; and coined some Lye not worth remembring, to excuse my self for spoiling my Cloaths. I

1 Swooped down in order to take him up as prey.

2 A wooden lattice-work over which garden trees, either fruit or ornamental, are trained.

likewise broke my right Shin against the Shell of a Snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone, and thinking on poor *England*.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe in those solitary Walks, that the smaller Birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me; but would hop about within a Yard 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 pick 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 only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many Boxes with his Wings on both Sides of my Head and Body, although I held him at Arms 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, and desired she would bring me along with her, on Purpose to have the Pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from Top to Toe, and lay me at full Length in their Bosoms; wherewith I was much disgusted; because, to say the Truth, a very offensive Smell came from their Skins; 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 their natural Smell 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:¹ 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*.

That which gave me most Uneasiness among these Maids of Honour, when my Nurse carried me to visit them, was to see them use me without any Manner of Ceremony, like a Creature who had no sort of Consequence. For, they would strip themselves to the Skin, and put on their Smocks in my Presence, while I was placed on their Toylet² directly before their naked Bodies; which, I am sure, to me was very far from being a tempting Sight, or from giving me any other Motions³ than those of Horror and Disgust. Their Skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured when I saw them near, with a Mole here and there as broad as a Trencher, and Hairs hanging from it thicker than Pack-threads; to say nothing further concerning the rest of their Persons. Neither did they at all scruple while I was by, to discharge what they had drunk, to the Quantity of at least two Hogsheads, in a Vessel that held above three Tuns.⁴ The handsomest among these Maids of Honour, a pleasant frolicksome Girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her Nipples; with many other Tricks, wherein the Reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But, I was so much displeased, that I entreated *Glumdalclitch* to contrive some Excuse for not seeing that young Lady any more.

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 my self, although I

1 An occurrence of the belief that women were more prone to excessive perspiration than men.

2 Dressing-table.

3 The primary meaning is emotions, but with an allusion to physical sexual arousal.

4 A tun is 216 gallons of ale, or 252 gallons of wine.

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 the Purpose; and his Head cut off at one Blow with a Sword of about forty Foot 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*¹ was not equal for the Time it lasted; and the Head when it fell on the Scaffold Floor, gave such a Bounce, as made me start, although I were at least an *English* Mile distant.

The Queen, who often used to hear me talk of my 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 Wherry² 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 Joyner 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 Cistern³ full of Water, with me in it, by way of Tryal; 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 Joyner to make a wooden Trough of three Hundred Foot long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched⁴ to prevent leaking, was placed on the Floor along the Wall, in an outer Room of the Palace. It had a Cock near the Bottom, to let out the Water when it began to grow

1 This famous fountain at Louis XIV's magnificent chateau was able to project up to 100 feet in the air.

2 A small, shallow rowing boat.

3 Any kind of tank or reservoir for holding quantities of water.

4 That is, coated with pitch, or tar.

stale; and two Servants could easily fill it in half an Hour. Here I often used to row for my Diversion, as well as that of the Queen and her Ladies, who thought themselves agreeably 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 the Pages would blow my Sail forward with their Breath, while I shewed 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 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 have infallibly fallen down forty Foot upon the Floor, if by the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not been stop'd by a Corking-pin that stuck in the good Gentlewoman's Stomacher;¹ 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 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 seeking 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, backwards and forwards, dawbing my Face and Cloaths 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

1 A corking-pin is a very large pin, and a stomacher a covering or ornament for the chest, worn below the bodice.

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 were 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 my self under the Bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espyed 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 doth a Child she is going to 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 stroaking my Face very gently with his other Paw. In these Diversions he was interrupted by a Noise at the Closet Door, as if some Body were opening it; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the Window at which he had come in, and thence upon the Leads¹ and Gutters, walking upon three Legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a Roof that was 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

1 "Leads" are sheets of lead used for covering roofs, particularly in larger public buildings, such as churches.

laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed; for without Question, the Sight was ridiculous enough to every Body but my self. 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-Tyle, 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 Eves. But an honest Lad, one of my Nurse's Footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his Breeches Pocket, brought me down safe.

I was almost choaked with the filthy Stuff the Monkey had 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 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 enquire 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 railly 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 for 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 jeal-

ous 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 doing himself Honour among those who are out of all Degree 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 Foot with the greatest Persons of the Kingdom.

I was every Day furnishing the Court with some ridiculous Story; and *Glumdalclitch*, although she loved me to Excess, yet was arch¹ 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 Foot-path in a Field; and *Glumdalclitch* setting down my travelling Box, I went out of it to walk. There was a Cow-dung 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 my self 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 until we returned home; where 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 Expence.

CHAPTER VI

Several Contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen. He shews his Skill in Musick. The King enquires into the State of Europe, which the Author relates to him. The King's Observations thereon.

I USED to attend the King's Levee² once or twice a Week, and had often seen him under the Barber's Hand, which indeed was

1 Shrewd, knowing.

2 An early reception of guests by a person of distinction.

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 Distance, with as small a Needle as I could get from *Glumdalclitch*. I fixed in the Stumps so artificially,¹ 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 Jobbs for me; I directed him to make two Chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my Box, and then to bore little Holes with a fine Awl² 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 Cane-chairs in *England*. When they were finished, I made a Present of them to her Majesty, who kept them in her Cabinet, and used to shew them for Curiosities;³ as indeed they were the Wonder of every one who 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 dye a Thousand Deaths than place a dishonourable Part of my Body on 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

1 Artfully, skilfully.

2 A sharp pointed handtool for making small holes.

3 Cabinets of curiosities were fashionable amongst the wealthy from the Renaissance onwards. They frequently contained a mixture of items from natural history, pieces of art or handicraft, and things of personal or sentimental value. Some even became the basis for notable or major national collections, as Sir Hans Sloane's (1660-1753) did in the founding of the British Museum.

little Purse about five Foot long, with her Majesty's Name decyphered¹ in Gold Letters; which I gave to *Glumdalclitch*, by the Queen's Consent. To say the Truth, it was more for Shew 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 Musick, had frequent Consorts at Court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my Box on a 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 Places 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 Musick not disagreeable.

I had learned in my Youth to play a little upon the Spinnet;² *Glumdalclitch* kept one in her Chamber, and a Master attended twice a Week to teach her: I call it a Spinnet, because it somewhat resembled that Instrument, and was play'd 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 Spinnet was near sixty Foot 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 stroak 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 End with a Piece 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 Spinnet, a Bench was placed about four Foot below the Keys, and I was put upon the Bench. I ran sideling³ 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 Jigg to the great Satisfaction of both their Majesties: But, it was the most

1 Represented in the form of a cipher, code or monogram.

2 A keyboard instrument like a small harpsichord.

3 From side to side.

violent Exercise 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 the 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 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 any thing that might deserve Imitation.

Imagine with thy self, 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.¹

I began my Discourse by informing his Majesty, that our Dominions consisted of two Islands, which composed three

1 Two of the most renowned orators of the ancient world, Demosthenes (c. 383-322 BCE) in Athens and Cicero (106-43 BCE) in Rome. The tone of the following eulogy, of course, is heavily tongue in cheek, with Swift generally holding quite opposite views to those he gives here to Gulliver, which are heavily Whiggish.

mighty Kingdoms under one Sovereign,¹ 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 always taken of their Education in Arts and Arms, to qualify them for being Counsellors born to the King and Kingdom; to have a Share in the Legislature, to be Members of the highest Court of Judicature from whence there could 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 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 it 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 wisest Counsellors, among such of the Priesthood, as were most deservedly distinguished by the Sanctity of their Lives, 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, for their great Abilities, and Love of their Country, to represent the Wisdom of the whole Nation. And, these two Bodies make 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

1 England, Scotland and Ireland were not strictly under one sovereign. England ruled Ireland by force, while Scotland and England were only united by the Act of Union of 1707, a year after Gulliver's supposed return from Brobdingnag. Part of the joke is that Gulliver, in the land of the giants, can speak of "three mighty Kingdoms." The "Plantations in *America*" would include slave plantations in both North and South America.

mentioned the prudent Management of our Treasury; the Valour and Atchievements of our Forces by Sea and Land.¹ 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 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 an 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 consulting his Notes, proposed many Doubts, Queries, and Objections, upon every Article.² 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 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 Prime Minister; or a Design of strengthening a Party opposite to the publick Interest, ever happened to be Motives 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 constantly promoted to that Rank upon 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

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- 1 This was the period that saw the beginnings of English, and then British, land and sea dominance. The Duke of Marlborough's series of victories in Europe was taking place while Gulliver was in Brobdingnag.
 - 2 The King's questions and interpretation are a statement of the broad Tory political position and reflect Swift's own.

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 chuse him before their own Landlords, 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 Expence, often to the Ruin of their Families, without any Salary or Pension: Because this appeared such an exalted Strain of Virtue and publick 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 refunding themselves for the Charges and Trouble they were at, by sacrificing the publick 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;¹ proposing numberless Enquiries 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.² He asked, what Time was usually spent in determining between Right and Wrong; and what Degree of Expence. Whether Advocates and Orators had Liberty to plead in Causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive. Whether Party in Religion or Politicks were 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

1 To sift is to question minutely; "Head" is a section of Gulliver's previous speech.

2 No further information is given elsewhere about this curious experience, though there is an equally elusive reference in Chapter V of Part IV; see p. 304.

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 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;¹ 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.² 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 extensive 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 Coasts with our Fleet. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing Army in the Midst of Peace, and among a free People.³ 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 better be 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 an Hundred Times more by cutting their Throats.

He laughed at my odd Kind of Arithmetick (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 Politicks. He said, he knew no Reason, why those who entertain Opinions prejudicial to the Publick, should be obliged to change,

1 A reference to the recently instituted National Debt: "the Issues" are the expenditure, which of course exceeds the income from taxes.

2 Live beyond its means.

3 This too was a favourite Tory argument and one on which Swift had strong views. It also reflects the position described in *Utopia*.

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:¹ For, a Man may be allowed to keep Poisons in his Closet, but not to vend them about as Cordials.

He observed, that among the Diversions of our Nobility and Gentry, I had mentioned Gaming.² 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 affect their Fortunes. Whether mean vicious People, by their Dexterity in that Art, might not arrive at great Riches, and sometimes keep our very Nobles in Dependance, as well as habituate them to vile Companions; wholly take them from the Improvement of their Minds, and force them by the Losses they received, to learn and practice 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, delivered 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 Panegyrick³ 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 Corruptions. It doth not appear from all you have said, how any one Perfection is required towards the

1 Again reflecting Swift's own view. The Occasional Conformity Act (or Toleration Act) was passed in 1711 and prevented nonconformists and Catholics from conforming in religion by occasional acts of communion in order to obtain public office, from which they were otherwise barred. It was repealed in 1719.

2 Gambling.

3 A song or speech of elaborate praise.

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 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.

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 Politicks. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined. Their Laws, and 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 most beloved Country was so injuriously treated. I am 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 born that laudable Partiality to my own Country, which *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* with so much Justice recommends to an Historian.¹ I would hide the

1 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century BCE) was a Greek historian, critic and rhetorician. He wrote a history of Rome in Greek, *Archaeologia*, covering constitution, religion, laws and private life down to 264 BCE, of which nine books survive. He recommends a historian to be attentive to his country's good points as well as its bad. He died in Rome.

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 Allowances 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 shew the miserable Effects of a *confined Education*; I shall here insert a Passage which will hardly obtain Belief. In hopes to ingratiate my self farther into his Majesty's Favour, I told him of an Invention discovered between three and four hundred Years ago, to make a certain Powder;¹ into an 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 an 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;² divide Hundreds of Bodies in the Middle, and lay all Waste before them. That we often put this

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- 1 Gunpowder, as far as Europe is concerned, was invented in the early fourteenth century, but records of its use in China date back as far as the ninth century.
 - 2 Chain-shot, which was two cannonballs, or half-balls, joined together with chain, was developed in the late sixteenth century and was most often used in naval encounters. Admiral John Benbow (1653-1702), famously, lost his right leg through chain-shot fighting a French fleet near the West Indies in 1702, of which he died three months later.

Powder into large hollow Balls of Iron, and discharged them by an Engine into some City we were besieging; which would rip up the Pavement, 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 two hundred Foot 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 return of 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 groveling 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 in 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 *short Views!* that a Prince possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love, and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom and profound Learning; endued with admirable Talents for Government, 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 risen from their Ignorance; by not having hitherto reduced

Politicks 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 Topicks which are not worth considering. And, he gave it for 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.

The Learning of this People is very defective; consisting only in Morality, History, Poetry and Mathematicks; 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,¹ 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.² And, to write a Comment upon any Law, is a

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- 1 Ideas, in Plato, are those perfect patterns of which material objects are rough copies. Entities, in scholasticism, are the essences of things. Abstractions are concepts or theories as opposed to practicalities. Transcendentals are from the philosophy of Aristotle (384-322 BCE) and refer to concepts that cross the boundaries between specific categories. For Swift, of course, their inability to master these is a matter of high praise for the severely practical Brobdingnagians.
 - 2 Again the influence of *Utopia*, with its stress on few and simple laws, is clear. Mercurial here means of active intelligence, with a hint of changeability, as if such a quality would mean a reduction in the reliability of law and justice.

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.¹ But their Libraries are not very large; for that of the King's, which is reckoned the largest, doth not amount to above a thousand Volumes; placed in a Gallery of twelve hundred Foot long; from whence I had Liberty to borrow what Books I pleased. The Queen's Joyner had contrived in one of *Glumdalclitch's* Rooms a Kind of wooden Machine five and twenty Foot high, formed like a standing Ladder; the Steps were each fifty Foot long: It was indeed a moveable Pair of Stairs, the lowest End placed at ten Foot 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 a Paste-board, and in the largest Folio's not above eighteen or twenty Foot long.²

Their Stile is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not Florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary Words, or using various Expressions.³ I have perused many of their Books, especially those in History and Morality. Among the latter I was much diverted with a little old Treatise, which always lay in *Glumdalclitch's* Bedchamber, and belonged to her Governess, a grave elderly Gentlewoman, who dealt in Writings

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- 1 The mechanical printing press was developed by Johannes Gutenberg (1397-1468) in Strasbourg in around 1439/1440, but printing by means of woodblock was in use in China by the ninth century.
 - 2 Pasteboard is stiff board made from pasting together several sheets of paper. A folio book is one in which the sheet of paper has been folded only once before binding. The size of the page therefore depended on the size of the original sheet being used.
 - 3 Swift energetically promoted a clear and plain prose style. See, for example, his *Letter to a Young Gentleman* (1721), which is about preaching style.

of Morality and Devotion. The Book treats of the Weakness of Human kind; and is in little Esteem except among 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 Topicks of *European* Moralists; shewing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an Animal was Man in his own Nature; how unable to defend himself from 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 Man 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 hath been confirmed by huge Bones and Skulls casually dug up in several Parts of the Kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled Race of Man in our Days.¹ 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 an House, or a Stone cast from the Hand of a Boy, or of 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 Enquiry, those Quarrels might be shewn as ill-grounded among us, as they are among that People.

1 The belief in the degeneracy of nature had become especially popular during the seventeenth century. Shortly after Swift's own time it was to be given a considerable boost by the work of the French naturalist George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-88), whose *Histoire naturelle* was published in successive volumes from 1749 onwards. The fifth volume, published in 1766, dealt with the smaller dimensions of quadrupeds in the Americas as opposed to those in the Old World. Reports of giant fossilised skulls and bones, including human, from different parts of the world seemed to confirm the theory as well as strengthening surviving traditions and myths concerning former races of giants.

As to their military Affairs; they boast that the King's Army consists of an 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 and 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*?¹

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 Foot 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 Figure 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 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 hath been ever since kept in the strictest Duty.²

1 The Great Council of Venice was elected by secret ballot from 1297 onwards.

2 A composition in this context is a settlement or agreement; "settled" means established.

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, although it were 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 Tumbril¹ to *Lorbrulgrud*. He was strongly bent to get me a Woman of my own Size, by whom I might propagate the Breed: But I think I should rather have died than undergone the Disgrace of leaving a Posterity to be kept in Cages like tame Canary Birds; and perhaps in time sold about the Kingdom to Persons of Quality for Curiosities.² 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 Foot as ill became the Dignity of human Kind. I could never forget those domestick 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 Fear of being trod to Death like a Frog or 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 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 Foot wide. 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

1 A cart with two wheels that therefore tips backwards to unload. Often used for carrying dung on farms, but also in military use.

2 This is exactly what Gulliver has done, of course, to the Lilliputian, or Blefuscian, sheep. He would also have taken some Blefuscians home with him, had he been permitted.

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, set not directly over the Middle of the Hammock, I ordered the Joyner 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 backwards and forwards through a Groove.

When we came to our Journey's End, the King thought proper to pass a few Days at a Palace he hath 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 can conjecture is, that 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 my self suddenly awaked with a violent Pull upon the Ring which was fastned at the Top of my Box, for the Conveniency of Carriage. I felt the Box raised very high in the Air, and then born forward with prodigious Speed. The first Jolt had like to have shaken me out of my Hammock; but afterwards 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.¹ For the Sagacity and Smell of this Bird enable him to discover his Quarry at a great Distance, although better concealed than I could be within a two Inch Board.

In a little time I observed the Noise and flutter of Wings to encrease very fast; and my Box was tossed up and down like a Sign-post in a windy Day.² I heard several Bangs or Buffets, as I thought, given to the Eagle (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 my self 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 mine Ears than the Cataract of *Niagara*;³ 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 my Windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the Sea. My Box, by the Weight of my Body, the Goods that were in, and the broad Plates of Iron fixed for Strength at the four Corners of the Top and Bottom, floated about five Foot 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 was defending himself against the Rest, who hoped to share in the Prey. The Plates of Iron fastned at the Bottom of the Box, (for those were the strongest) preserved the Balance while it fell; and hindred 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 my self almost stifled.

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- 1 Eagles have been known to do this in certain parts of the world. The Greek dramatist Aeschylus (c. 525-456 BCE) was famously supposed to have been killed when an eagle dropped a tortoise onto his bald head from a great height, apparently mistaking it for a rock.
 - 2 A signpost such as those outside inns in Britain, or above road junctions in North America, rather than a direction indicator.
 - 3 Niagara Falls had only been known to Europeans since earlier in the seventeenth century, possibly as late as 1677 when the Belgian Louis Hennepin (1626-c. 1701) went there and published a description. Thereafter knowledge of them became widespread across Europe. Swift is thus considerably up-to-date in making this comparison.

How often did I then wish my self 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 Misfortune, 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 in Pieces, or at least upset by the first violent Blast, or a rising Wave. A Breach in one single Pane of Glass would have been immediate Death: Nor could any thing have preserved the Windows but the strong Lattice Wires placed 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 from 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 the 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 in 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 were not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my Chairs, which were always fastned 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 fastned 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.

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 Window, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a Rock, and found my self 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 my self hoisted up by Degrees at least three Foot 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 any Body 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 fastned to their Ship; and the Carpenter should immediately come, and saw an 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 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 Cabbin. Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it 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 about four Foot square; then let down a small Ladder, upon which I mounted, and from 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;¹ for such I

1 While pygmies had been described by Homer, by the historian Herodotus (c. 485-425 BCE), and even by Aristotle, there was a strong current of opinion in seventeenth-century Europe that they were mythical, or a species of monkey. Nevertheless, slavers and traders were at the same time bringing back eye-witness accounts of them and in consequence belief in their existence became gradually more established. (See, for example, *Strange and Secret Peoples* by Carole G. Silver, Oxford UP, 1999.)

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 Cabbin, 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, an 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 Cabbin, I would open it before him, and shew him my Goods. The Captain hearing me utter these Absurdities, concluded I was raving: However, (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give Order as I desired; and going upon Deck, sent some of his Men down into my Closet, from whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my Goods, and stripped off the Quilting; but the Chairs, Cabinet and Bed-sted 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 Hulk drop into the Sea, which by Reason of many Breaches made in the Bottom and Sides, sunk *to rights*.¹ And indeed I was glad not to have been a Spectator of the Havock they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former Passages into my Mind, which I had rather forget.

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 my self much recovered. It was now about eight a 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 a Clock at Noon, as he was looking through his Glass, he spied 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 Biscuit, his own

¹ That is, sunk completely.

beginning to fall short. That, upon coming nearer, and finding his Error, he sent out his Long-boat to discover what I was; that his Men came back in a Fright, swearing 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, observed my Windows, and the 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 fastning a Cable to one of the Staples, ordered his Men to tow my Chest (as he 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 Pullies, which all the Sailors were not able to do above two or three Foot. 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 an hundred Leagues. I assured him, that he must be mistaken by almost half; for I had not left the Country from whence I came, above two Hours before I dropt into the Sea. Whereupon he began again 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 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 on Shore 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 the 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 forceth 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 Candor 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 kept the Key in my Pocket, (for he had already informed me how the Seamen disposed of my Closet) I opened it in his Presence, and shewed him the small Collection of Rarities I made in the Country from whence 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 Joyners Tacks: Some Combings of the Queen's Hair: A Gold Ring which one Day she made me a Present of in a 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 of his Civilities; which he absolutely refused. I shewed 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,¹ 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 Tooth-ach; 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.

The Captain was very well satisfied with this plain Relation I had given him; and said, he hoped when we returned to *England*,

1 An old variety of English eating apple, medium-sized with yellow to brownish red skin and very juicy, sweet, slightly acidic flesh.

I would oblige the World by putting it in Paper, and making it publick. My Answer was, that I thought we were already 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 Vanity or Interest, or the Diversion of ignorant Readers. That my Story could contain little besides common Events, without those ornamental Descriptions of strange Plants, Trees, Birds, and other Animals; or the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with 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.¹ 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 Street 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 little contemptible Creatures I had ever beheld.² 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 Comparison gave me so despicable a Conceit of my self. The Captain said, that while we were at Supper, he observed me look at every thing 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 Three-pence, 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 Houshold-stuff and Provisions after the same Manner. For although the Queen had ordered a little Equipage of

1 Deaf.

2 Gulliver here, of course, is echoing both the remark of the King of Brobdingnag in Chapter III (p. 156) and his devastating pronouncement at the end of Chapter VI (p. 182).

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.¹ The Captain understood my Raillery very well, and merrily replied with the 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 an Hundred Pounds to have seen my Closet in the Eagle's Bill, and afterwards in its Fall from so great an 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 *Phaeton* was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the Conceit.²

The Captain having been at *Tonquin*,³ was in his Return to *England* driven North Eastward to the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and of Longitude 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*.⁴ 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

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- 1 He turned a blind eye to. The expression "winked at" is particularly apt in relation to "littleness," where it is easy to miss something on account of its size.
 - 2 In Greek mythology, Phaeton was the son of Helios the sun god. He drove his father's chariot (the sun), failed to control its powerful horses and almost caused the destruction of the earth. Zeus halted him with a thunderbolt, and he fell to his death in the river Eridanus. The story generally illustrates pride going before a fall.
 - 3 Tonking was the northern part of Vietnam, the area surrounding the Gulf of Tonking. Traditionally fertile, it specialised in rice production, though the country also developed mining for coal and minerals. The port of Tonking was therefore a trading destination for Europeans.
 - 4 The ship had progressed through the Sea of Japan and into the Pacific where it picked up Gulliver. It was then taken south on the Trade Wind as far as Australia and across the Indian Ocean to round the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of South Africa and make its way north through the Atlantic to reach England after nine months, a journey of some 16,000 miles.

out of the Ship till we came into the *Downs*, which was on the 3d Day of *June* 1706, about nine Months after my Escape. I offered to leave my Goods in Security for Payment of my Freight; but the Captain protested he would not receive one Farthing. We took kind Leave of each other; and I made him promise he would come to 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 my self 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.¹

When I came to my own House, for which I was forced to enquire, one of the Servants opening the Door, I bent down to go in (like a Goose under a Gate)² 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 me 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 Foot; 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 my self 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 mean Time, I here conclude the second Part of my unfortunate Voyages.

The End of the Second Part.

1 Cracked on the head once or twice.

2 Geese, with their long necks, tend to bow low to pass under anything, even if, as with a gate, there is not actually anything there to pass under.

PART THREE

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA,
BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG,
GLUBBDUBDRIB, AND JAPAN

Parts Unknown



CHAPTER I

*The Author sets out on his Third Voyage. Is taken by Pyrates. The Malice of a Dutchman. His Arrival at an Island. He is received into Laputa.*¹

I HAD not been at home above ten Days, when Captain *William Robinson*, a *Cornish* Man, Commander of the *Hopewell*, a stout Ship of three Hundred Tuns, came to my House. I had formerly been Surgeon of another Ship where he was Master, and a fourth Part Owner,² 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 Absence. But repeating his Visits often, expressing 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, although with some Apologies, to be Surgeon of the Ship. That I should have another Surgeon under me, besides our two Mates; that my Sallary 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 Share 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 of 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 proposed³ to her Children.

1 In Spanish “La Puta” is “the whore.” Turner (337) quotes a proverb from Swift’s own Spanish dictionary: “Beware of a whore, who leaves the purse empty.” Much of Part III is about the relations between England and Ireland, particularly in terms of Britain’s policy of deliberately exploiting the Irish economy. (See Appendix D.)

More widely, it is an attack on the political and personal morality of England under George I and under the Walpole administration.

2 Many voyages were financed by individuals taking shares in a vessel, thereby sharing the final profits proportionately, or indeed the losses. It was not uncommon for the ship’s captain to be in this position.

3 Anticipated.

We set out the 5th Day of *August*, 1706, and arrived at Fort St. *George*,¹ 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,² loaded it with several Sorts of Goods, where-with 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 traffick, 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 Pyrates, who soon overtook us; for my Sloop was so deep loaden, that she sailed very slow; neither were we in a Condition to defend our selves.

We were boarded about the same Time by both the Pyrates, 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, although he were not Commander of either Ship. He knew us by our Countenances to be *Englishmen*, and jabbering to us in his own Language, swore we should be tyed 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,³ that he would move the Captains to take some Pity on us. This inflamed his Rage; he repeated his Threatnings,

1 Fort St George was founded in south-east India as a trading base by the East India Company in 1640. It became known as Madras in the later seventeenth century, and officially reverted to the preferred Indian name of Chennai in 1996.

2 A sloop is a light boat with one mast and relatively small sails.

3 The fact that England and Holland had since 1701 both been members of the Grand Alliance against France did not conceal their fierce commercial rivalry.

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 Pyrate 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 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 it self. My Men were sent by an equal Division into both the Pyrate-Ships, and my Sloop new manned. As to my self, it was determined that I should be set a-drift, in a small Canoe, with Paddles and a Sail, and four Days Provisions; which last the *Japanese* Captain was so kind 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 Pyrates, I had taken an Observation, and found we were in the Latitude of 46 N. and of Longitude 183.¹ When I was at some Distance from the Pyrates, 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 Heath² and dry Sea Weed, by which I roasted my Eggs. I eat no other Supper, being resolved to spare my Provisions as much as I could. I passed the Night under the Shelter of a Rock, strowing some Heath under me, and slept pretty well.

1 At longitude 183 Gulliver is several hundred miles to the east of Japan, far into the Pacific ocean.

2 Heath is any shrub of the genus *Erica*, sometimes including heather. It can be both dry and flammable and soft and downy at different stages.

The next Day I sailed to another Island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my Sail, and sometimes my Paddles. But not to trouble the Reader with a particular Account of my Distresses; let it suffice, that on the 5th 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, Match, and Burning-glass.¹) 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 Disquiets of my Mind prevailed over my Wearyness, 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 I found my self 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 a while 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 obscured, 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 forwards 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.

1 Gulliver's match would have been a length of cord treated to render it inflammable and slow-burning, normally used for firing cannon. His burning-glass was a small convex mirror used to concentrate the sun's rays to produce a flame. His flint and his steel were alternative ways of producing a flame by striking a spark.

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 Reflexion of the Sea below. I stood upon a Height about two Hundred Yards from the Shoar, 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 Motions of Joy; and I was ready to entertain a Hope, that this Adventure¹ 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 a progressive Motion, as they pleased. But not being, at that Time, in a Disposition to philosophise upon this Phænomenon, 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,²) 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 these were sent for Orders to some Person in Authority upon this Occasion.

1 Occurrence, or chance event.

2 Gulliver's hat would most likely have been the traditional tricorne hat of the period, used not only by sailors but by most males who could afford it. Sailors also wore caps, either of leather or, more commonly, knitted woollen ones, such as the Monmouth cap, which looked very like a modern knitted hat. Sailors are often depicted wearing a tricorne on top of a head scarf or kind of skull cap.

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 an Hundred Yards Distance from the Height where I stood. I then put my self into the most supplicating Postures, 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 Habit. 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 Shoar, 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 fastned to the Bottom, to which I fixed my self, and was drawn up by Pullies.

CHAPTER II

The Humours¹ and Dispositions of the Laputians described. An Account of their Learning. Of the King and his Court. The Author's Reception there. The Inhabitants subject to Fears 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;² 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.³ Their outward Garments were

1 Humours are idiosyncracies, not sense of humour.

2 That is, Gulliver was as amazed by their appearance as they were by his.

3 The point in the heavens directly above the observer's head.

adorned with the Figures of Suns, Moons, and Stars, interwoven with those of Fiddles, Flutes, Harps, Trumpets, Guittars, Harpsicords, and many more Instruments of Musick, unknown to us in *Europe*. I observed here and there many in the Habit of Servants, with a blown Bladder fastned like a Flail to the End of a short Stick, which they carried in their Hands. In each Bladder was a small Quantity of dried Pease, or little Pebbles, (as I was afterwards informed.) With these Bladders they now and then flapped the Mouths 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 neither can speak, or attend to the Discourses of others, without being rouzed by some external Taction¹ 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 Domesticks; nor ever walk abroad or make Visits without him. And the Business of this Officer is, when two 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 addresseth 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.²

It was 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 my self, till their Memories were again rouzed by their *Flappers*; for they appeared altogether unmoved by the Sight of my foreign Habit and Countenance, and by the Shouts of the Vulgar, whose Thoughts and Minds were more disengaged.

1 Touch.

2 The gutter at the side of the road, which would, especially in a busy city, generally be filled with debris and fluids of various kinds, often including sewage.

At last we entered the Palace, and proceeded into 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 were 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 started like one awakened on the 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 flapt 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 afterwards 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 my self to him in all the Languages I had. When it was found, that 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,¹) 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 *Æquilateral Triangle*; a Piece of Beef into a *Rhomboides*; and a Pudding into a *Cycloid*.² The second Course was two Ducks, trussed up into the Form of Fiddles; Sausages and Puddings resembling Flutes and Haut-boys,³ and a Breast of Veal in the Shape of a Harp. The

1 Here, and in general in this chapter, Swift is satirising George I and the number of Germans whom he welcomed to his court, often, like the musician Handel (1686-1759), with generous pensions.

2 An equilateral triangle is one with all three sides of equal length; a rhomb, or rhombus, is an equilateral parallelogram; a cycloid is a figure like a circle.

3 An old name for an oboe.

Servants cut our Bread into Cones, Cylinders, Parallelograms, and several 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 to me by the King's Order, attended by a *Flapper*. He brought with him Pen, 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 one of my Servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a Bow, to sit, or stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the Sentence in Writing. He shewed me also in one of his Books, the Figures of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, the Zodiack, the Tropics, and Polar Circles, together with the Denominations of many Figures of Planes and Solids. He gave me the Names and Descriptions of all the 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.¹ *Lap* in the old obsolete Language signifieth *High*, and *Untuh* a *Governor*; from which they say by Corruption was derived *Laputa* from *Lapuntuh*. But I do not approve of this Derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the Learned 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.

1 Gulliver's attempt at etymology is a parody of learned and often far-fetched scholarship, of the kind practised by the well-known critic Richard Bentley (1662-1742), into the origins of words and terms.

Those to whom the King had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a Taylor to come next Morning, and take my Measure for a Suit of Cloths. This Operator did his Office after a different Manner from those of his Trade in *Europe*. He first took my Altitude by a Quadrant,¹ and then with Rule and Compasses, described the Dimensions and Out-Lines of my whole Body; all which he entred upon Paper, and in six Days brought my Cloths very ill made, and quite out of Shape, by happening to mistake a Figure in the Calculation. But my Comfort was, that I observed such Accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my Confinement for want of Cloaths, and by an Indisposition² that held me some Days longer, I much enlarged my Dictionary; and when I went next 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*,³ the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom, below upon the firm Earth. It was about Ninety Leagues distant, and our Voyage lasted four Days and an 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 Musick of the Spheres,⁴ which always played at certain Periods; and the Court was now prepared to bear their Part in whatever Instrument 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.

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- 1 An instrument constructed around a right angle and used for calculating the height of objects, including mountains and, with mixed success, the sun, moon and stars.
 - 2 We are told nothing more of this.
 - 3 Lagado is a version of London. Again, a ruler who visits occasionally but prefers to remain apart from his capital is a glance at the habits and disposition of George I.
 - 4 Traditionally, each planet was supposed to emit a note as it moved, but the sound could not be heard by human ears.

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 fastned by School-boys at the End of the String that holds their Kite. Sometimes we received Wine and Victuals from below, which were drawn up by Pullies.

The Knowledge I had in Mathematicks gave me great Assistance in acquiring their Phraseology, which depended much upon that Science and Musick; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their Ideas are perpetually conversant in Lines and Figures. If they would, for Example, praise the Beauty of a Woman, or any other Animal, they describe it by Rhombs, Circles, Parallelograms, Ellipses, and other Geometrical Terms; or else by Words of Art drawn from Musick, 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 Joynts that were served to his Majesty's Table.

Their Houses are very ill built, the Walls bevil,¹ without one right Angle in any Apartment; and this Defect ariseth from the Contempt they bear for practical Geometry; which they despise as vulgar and mechanick, those Instructions they give being too refined for the Intellectuals² of their Workmen; which occasions 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 Mathematicks and Musick. 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 forementioned Sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the Astronomical Part, have great Faith in judicial Astrology,³ although they

1 To bevil is to slant, to fail to form a right angle.

2 The mental capacities.

3 As today, this refers to foretelling events on earth from the movements of heavenly bodies.

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 Politicks; perpetually enquiring into publick 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 hath 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 Infirmary of human Nature, inclining us to be more curious and conceited in Matters where we have least Concern, and for which we are least adapted either by Study or Nature.

These People are under continual Disquietudes, never enjoying a Minute's Peace of Mind; and their Disturbances proceed from Causes 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 Perihelion¹ it should approach within a certain Degree of the Sun, (as by

1 The perihelion is the point in the orbit of a planet or comet when it is closest to the sun. All of these concerns were raised as issues during the period, arising in part from greater knowledge about the movement of celestial bodies after the work of Newton. William Derham (1657-1735) believed that sunspots might eventually deface the surface of the sun; Edmund Halley (1656-1742), famously, calculated the return of the comet named after him; William Whiston (1667-1752) blamed the Biblical flood on a comet; and the scientist Robert Hooke (1635-1703) suggested that the sun might burn itself out. (See Turner, 342-43 for greater detail on these.)

their Calculations they have Reason to dread) it will conceive a Degree of Heat ten Thousand Times more intense than that of red hot glowing Iron; and in its Absence from the Sun, carry 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 Apprehensions of these and the like impending Dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their Beds, nor have any Relish for the common Pleasures or 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 Stroak 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 Sprites 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 condemn¹ 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 chuse their Gallants: But the Vexation is, that they act with too much Ease and Security; for the Husband is always so wrapped 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

1 Despise.

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 Licence 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 her self 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 Cloths 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 hath not been heard of since.¹

This may perhaps pass with the Reader rather for an *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.²

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 enquire into the Laws, Government, History, Religion, or Manners of the Countries where I had been; but confined his Questions to the State of Mathematicks, and received the Account I gave him, with great Contempt and Indifference, though often roused by his *Flapper* on each Side.

1 As in Part I, Swift is mocking the behaviour of Robert Walpole and his wife Catherine Shorter.

2 Gulliver rarely, while on his travels, thinks of his own wife or, here, pauses to reflect on whether she might, or might not, fit with his generalisation.

CHAPTER III

A Phænomenon 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 7837 Yards, or about four Miles and an 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 from below, is one even regular Plate of Adamant, shooting up to the Height of about two Hundred Yards. Above it lye the several Minerals in their usual Order;¹ and over all is a Coat of rich Mould ten or twelve Foot deep. The Declivity of the upper Surface,² from the Circumference to the Center, 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 Basons, each of about Half a Mile in Circuit, and two Hundred Yards distant from the Center. From these Basons the Water is continually exhaled by the Sun in the Day-time, 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 Rains whenever he pleases. For the highest Clouds cannot rise above two Miles, as Naturalists agree,³ at least they were never known to do so in that Country.

At the Center of the Island there is a Chasm about fifty Yards in Diameter, from whence the Astronomers descend into a large Dome, which is therefore called *Flandona Gagnole*, or the *Astronomers Cave*; situated at the Depth of an Hundred Yards

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- 1 That is, in the order in which they are found, when present, elsewhere on the earth.
 - 2 The tendency of features of the landscape to slope downwards.
 - 3 According, that is, to contemporary understanding, but modern observation has confirmed that clouds can rise much higher, sometimes as far as eight miles, depending on the kind of cloud.

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 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 Load-stone of a 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.¹ 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 an hollow Cylinder of Adamant, four Foot 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.²

This Stone cannot be moved 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 Load-stone, 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 attracting End towards the Earth, the Island descends; but when the repelling Extremity points downwards, the Island mounts directly upwards. 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.³

By this oblique Motion the Island is conveyed to different Parts of the Monarch's Dominions. To explain the Manner of its Progress, let *AB* represent a Line drawn cross the Dominions of

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- 1 Swift's account of the magnetism at the heart of the island, as has been pointed out, may derive from William Gilbert's (1540-1603) *De Magnete* (1600), which deals with the effects of a spherically shaped magnetic loadstone in terms of movement.
 - 2 Swift's style and tone here parodies the kind of writing demonstrated in contemporary scientific and mathematical papers, not least those published by the Royal Society.
 - 3 Unlike conventional magnets, where force lines act in every direction.

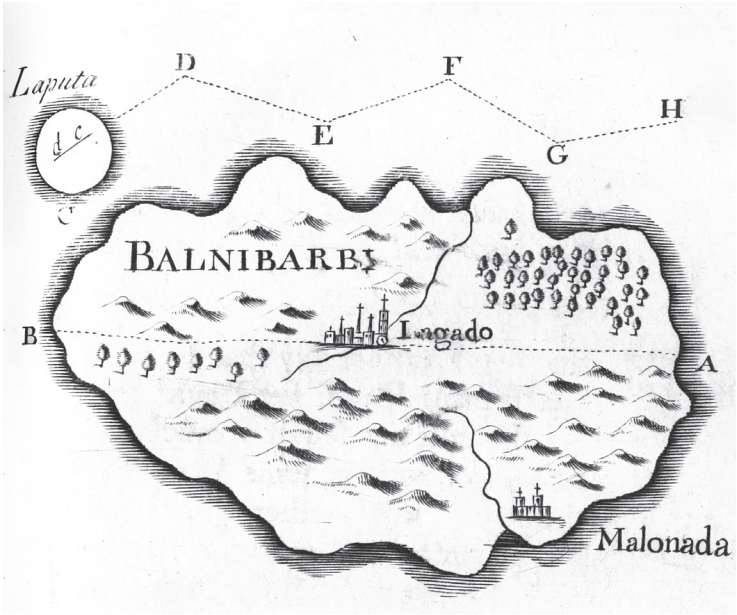
Balnibarbi; let the Line $c d$ represent the Load-stone, of which let d be the repelling End, and c the attracting End, the Island being over C ; let the Stone be placed in the Position $c d$ with its repelling End downwards; then the Island will be driven upwards obliquely towards D . When it is arrived 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 downwards. 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.¹

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 Magnetick 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 Shoar, is not diffused through the whole Globe, but terminated with the Limits of the King's Dominions:² 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 standeth still; for in that Case, the Extremities of it being at equal Distance from the Earth, act with equal Force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in pushing upwards; and consequently no Motion can ensue.

1 Part of Swift's joke here is that Gulliver's diagram and explanation actually complicate the process for the reader.

2 In each voyage, Swift makes some effort to give a reason why the people encountered have never moved beyond their own realm. In Part III, with the proximity of Laputa to Japan, and a flying island for travel, the issue is more pressing.



This Load-stone 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, 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 shew the Stars with greater Clearness. This Advantage hath enabled them to extend their Discoveries much farther than our Astronomers in *Europe*. They have made a Catalogue of ten Thousand fixed Stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one third Part of that Number.¹ They have likewise discovered two lesser Stars, or *Satellites*, which revolve about *Mars*;² whereof the innermost is distant from the Center of the primary Planet exactly three of his Diameters, and the outermost five; the former revolves in the space of ten Hours, and the latter in Twenty-one and an Half; so that the Squares of their periodical Times, are very near in the same Proportion with the Cubes of their Distance from the Center of *Mars*; which evidently shews them to be governed by the same Law of Gravitation, that influences the other heavenly Bodies.

They have observed Ninety-three different Comets, and settled their Periods with great Exactness.³ If this be true, (and they affirm it with great Confidence) it is much to be wished that their Observations were made publick; whereby the Theory of Comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same Perfection with other Parts of Astronomy.

The King would be the most absolute Prince in the Universe, if he could but prevail on a Ministry to join with him; but these having their Estates below on the Continent, and considering that the Office of a Favourite hath a very uncertain Tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their Country.

If any Town should engage in Rebellion or Mutiny, fall into

1 John Flamsteed (1646-1719), in his *British Catalogue of Stars* (1725), listed 2,935 known stars.

2 The moons of Mars, Phobos, and Deimos were first observed in 1877, so Swift is pre-empting astronomy here. Indeed, the orbits of the moons even resemble what is given here.

3 There is, of course, a virtually infinite number of comets: Edmund Halley had calculated the orbits of twenty-four comets by 1704.

violent Factions, or refuse to pay the usual Tribute; the King hath two Methods of reducing them to Obedience. The first and the mildest Course is by 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.¹ 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 in 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 that lie all below; for the Island is the King's Demesn.

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 consist as I have said, of one entire Adamant two hundred Yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a Choque, 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 apprized, 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,

1 In general terms, Laputa's practice of depriving rebellious towns of natural resources mirrors England's exploitation of Ireland.

that the Load-stone could no longer hold it up, and the whole Mass would fall to the Ground.

[About three Years before my Arrival among them, while the King was in his Progress over his Dominions, there happened an extraordinary Accident which had like to have put a Period to the Fate of that Monarchy, at least as it is now instituted.¹ Lindalino² the second City in the Kingdom was the first his Majesty visited in his Progress. Three Days after his Departure, the Inhabitants who had often complained of great Oppressions, shut the Town Gates, seized on the Governor, and with incredible Speed and Labour erected four large Towers, one at every Corner of the City (which is an exact Square) equal in Height to a strong pointed Rock that stands directly in the Center of the City.³ Upon the Top of each Tower, as well as upon the Rock, they fixed a great Load-stone, and in case their Design should fail, they had provided a vast Quantity of the most combustible Fewel,⁴ hoping to burst therewith the adamantine Bottom of the Island, if the Loadstone Project should miscarry.

It was eight Months before the King had perfect Notice that the Lindalinians were in Rebellion. He then commanded that the Island should be wafted over the City. The People were unanimous, and had laid in Store of Provisions, and a great River runs through the middle of the Town. The King hovered over them several Days to deprive them of the Sun and the Rain. He ordered many Packthreads to be let down, yet

1 These paragraphs were not published in the 1726 edition of *GT*, or in 1735, even though they exist in the handwritten additions to Ford's copy. They refer to the Wood's halfpence affair and to Swift's role in defeating the patent granted to William Wood (1671-1744) to refurnish Ireland with copper coinage, which he was carrying out at a debased level (see Appendix D3). Presumably the omission was on safety grounds.

2 Represents Dublin.

3 The rock is the church, foundation of truth and justice, surrounded by the four towers of state—the two houses of the Irish Parliament, the Privy Council and the Grand Jury. St Patrick's Cathedral, of which Swift had been Dean since 1713, is seen as the focus for Christianity.

4 The combustible fuel represents Swift's pamphlets on the Wood affair, the *Drapier's Letters* (1724), in which he organised the boycott of the new coinage.

not a Person offered to send up a Petition, but instead thereof, very bold Demands, the Redress of all their Greivances, great Immunitys, the Choice of their own Governor, and other the like Exorbitances. Upon which his Majesty commanded all the Inhabitants of the Island to cast great Stones from the lower Gallery into the Town; but the Citizens had provided against this Mischief by conveying their Persons and Effects into the four Towers, and other strong Buildings, and Vaults under Ground.

The King being now determined to reduce this proud People, ordered that the Island should descend gently within fourty Yards of the Top of the Towers and Rock. This was accordingly done; but the Officers employed in that Work found the Descent much speedier than usual, and by turning the Loadstone could not without great Difficulty keep it in a firm Position, but found the Island inclining to fall. They sent the King immediate Intelligence of this astonishing Event and begged his Majesty's Permission to raise the Island higher; the King consented, a general Council was called, and the Officers of the Loadstone ordered to attend. One of the oldest and expertest among them obtained leave to try an Experiment. He took a strong Line of an hundred Yards, and the Island being raised over the Town above the attracting Power they had felt, He fastened a Piece of Adamant to the End of his Line which had in it a Mixture of Iron mineral, of the same Nature with that whereof the Bottom or lower Surface of the Island is composed, and from the lower Gallery let it down slowly towards the Top of the Towers. The Adamant was not descended four Yards, before the Officer felt it drawn so strongly downwards, that he could hardly pull it back. He then threw down several small Pieces of Adamant, and observed that they were all violently attracted by the Top of the Tower. The same Experiment was made on the other three Towers, and on the Rock with the same Effect.

This Incident broke entirely the King's Measures and (to dwell no longer on other Circumstances) he was forced to give the Town their own Conditions.

I was assured by a great Minister, that if the Island had descended so near the Town, as not to be able to raise it self, the Citizens were determined to fix it for ever, to kill the King and all his Servants, and entirely change the Government.]

By a fundamental Law of this Realm, neither the King, nor either of his two elder Sons, are permitted to leave the Island;¹ nor the Queen, till she is past Child-bearing.

CHAPTER IV

The Author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, 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 my self too much neglected, not without some Degree of Contempt. For neither Prince nor People appeared to be curious in any Part of Knowledge, except Mathematicks and Musick, 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 my self 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;² 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 used with Respect. He was universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid Person

1 This refers to the Act of Settlement of 1701, passed during the reign of William III, prohibiting the monarch from leaving the kingdom without the permission of Parliament. When George I succeeded Queen Anne in 1714 he persuaded Parliament to repeal the provision in order to allow him to spend lengthy periods in Hanover.

2 Where he received so little approbation.

among them. He had performed many eminent Services for the Crown, had great natural and acquired Parts, adorned with Integrity and Honour;¹ but so ill an Ear for Musick, 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 Mathematicks. He was pleased to shew 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 Manners 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 intreated 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 Day 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*, passeth under the general Name of *Balnibarbi*; and the Metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lagado*. I felt some little Satisfaction in finding my self 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

1 Few commentators attempt to suggest a model for this person, particularly as he is more or less duplicated in the character of his friend, Lord Munodi, later in the chapter, and who has more claim to the probable role models. This “great Lord” is most likely a representation of the traditional Tory aristocrat, honourable and loyal, sensible and down-to-earth, without being given to flights of fanciful speculation: he has all the virtues of what Swift saw as the old school.

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*,¹ 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 very 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 the Fields, because I did not discover any good Effects 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 Habit expressed so much Misery and Want.

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 Insufficiency. However the King treated him with Tenderness, as a well-meaning Man, but of a low contemptible Understanding.

When I gave that free Censure of the Country and its Inhabitants, he made no further Answer than by telling me, that I

1 Lord Munodi has been identified as Bolingbroke, as Oxford, as Sir William Temple, and as Lord Middleton (c. 1656-1728), the Whig Lord Chancellor of Ireland who had Swift's approval for his opposition to Wood's halfpence. The fact that he was, as we are told later, removed as Governor by a "Cabal of Ministers" would seem to make Oxford or Bolingbroke more likely. He could well be, like his friend on Laputa, an amalgam of aristocratic qualities drawn from several figures admired by Swift. The name Munodi suggests hatred for the world, implying Oxford's withdrawal from public life, but could alternatively suggest hatred received from the world, which is more appropriate in Munodi's case.

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 Topicks 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 and Looks of his Domesticks. This he might safely do; because every Thing 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, Corngrounds 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 ancient Architecture. The Fountains, Gardens, Walks, Avenues, and Groves were all disposed with exact Judgment and Taste.¹ I gave due Praises to every Thing I saw, whereof his Excellency took not the least

1 It is likely that Swift has the poverty of Dublin and of the Irish countryside under English rule in mind here, something he returns to several times in successive Irish pamphlets. Rawson (326) suggests that the country house could be based on the houses of Swift's friends Robert Cope (c. 1679-c. 1753) and Thomas Sheridan (1687-1738), with whom he stayed while composing *Gulliver's Travels*.

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 encrease 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 Mathematicks, but full of Volatile Spirits acquired in that Airy Region. That these Persons upon their Return, began to dislike the Management of every Thing below; and fell into Schemes of putting all Arts, Sciences, Languages, and Mechanicks upon a new Foot. To this End they procured a Royal Patent for erecting an Academy of PROJECTORS¹ 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

1 The Academy is a very specific satire on the Royal Society, as well as a general mockery of fanatical and visionary schemes and of swindling innovators. The Royal Society was established by Royal Charter in 1662, shortly after Charles II's return from France, and by a second charter in 1663. (See Appendix C1.) If this appears to complicate the politics of Swift's satire by blaming a Stuart innovation for what is understood to be a feature of Hanoverian England, it is also the case that several leading figures of the Society, including Newton, were closely identified with Whig governments. A projector, however, was not just a scientific innovator, but could refer to unrealistic or cheating schemes in politics, finance and even social organisation. Rabelais portrays a similarly ludicrous academy in *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Book 5, Chapters 21 and 22.

be built in a Week, of Materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing. All the Fruits of the Earth shall come to Maturity at whatever Season we think fit to chuse, and increase an 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 mean time, the whole Country lies miserably waste, the Houses in Ruins, and the People without Food or Cloaths. 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 enterprizing Spirit, he was content to go on in the old Forms; to live in the Houses 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 Commonwealths-men,¹ preferring their own Ease and Sloth before the general Improvement of their Country.

His Lordship added, that he would not by any further Particulars prevent² 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

1 That is, people wishing ill to the common good. The Commonwealth was the period of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) and Swift may well be alluding to the pressure for uniformity exerted during those years.

2 That is, anticipate, or prevent by telling him in advance.

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 an Hundred Men for two Years, the Work miscarried, the Projectors went off, laying the Blame intirely upon him; railing at him ever since, and putting others upon¹ 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 my self been a Sort of Projector in my younger Days.²

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.³

I was received very kindly by the Warden, and went for many Days to the Academy. Every Room hath 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 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 Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers, which were to be put into Vials

1 Urging others to the same course of action.

2 We are not told elsewhere of Gulliver's "projecting" activities: Swift certainly published several mock "projector" pamphlets, as well as several seriously proposing schemes or courses of action, including the *Drapier's Letters* mentioned above. Gulliver's very name, of course, implies gullible, or of "easy Belief."

3 The Royal Society was first housed in Gresham College, and then in Arundel House before moving to two properties in Crane Court, at the corner of Fleet Street, in October 1710, where it remained until 1780, when George III (1738-1820, reigned 1760-1820) provided it with free accommodation at Somerset House.

hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the Air in raw inclement Summers.¹ He told me, he did not doubt in Eight Years more, that he should be able to supply the Governors Gardens with Sun-shine at a reasonable Rate; but he complained that his Stock was low, and intreated me to give him something as an Encouragement to Ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear Season 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 went into another Chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible Stink. My Conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a Whisper to give no Offence, which would be highly resented; and therefore I durst not so much as stop my Nose. The Projector of this Cell was the most ancient Student of the Academy. His Face and Beard were of a pale Yellow; his Hands and Clothes dawbed over with Filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a very close Embrace, (a Compliment I could well have excused.) His Employment from his first coming into the Academy, was an Operation to reduce human Excrement to its original Food, by separating the several Parts, removing the Tincture which it receives from the Gall, making the Odour exhale, and scumming off the Saliva. He had a weekly Allowance from the Society, of a Vessel filled with human Ordure, about the Bigness of a *Bristol* Barrel.²

I saw another at work to calcine Ice into Gunpowder; who likewise shewed me a Treatise he had written concerning the Malleability of Fire,³ 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.⁴

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- 1 Stephen Hales (1677-1761) had recently read papers to the Royal Society concerning respiration in plants and the effects of sunlight.
 - 2 This seems to be based on an incident in Rabelais, Book 5, Chapter 22, of *The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, rather than any work presented to the Society.
 - 3 Again, Rabelais seems to be the source for this project, in Book 5, Chapter 22, of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.
 - 4 Because neither begins to build its colony, or its web, from the bottom. Both bees and spiders were generally in good moral standing in classical and eighteenth-century literature, being regarded as productive and useful creatures, unlike fleas, lice, etc.

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.¹ 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 plowing the Ground with Hogs, to save the Charges of Plows, Cattle, and Labour.² 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 Masts³ or Vegetables whereof these Animals are fondest; then you drive six Hundred or more of them into the Field, where in a few Days they will root up the whole Ground in search of their Food, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their Dung. It is true, upon Experiment they found the Charge and Trouble very great, and they had little or no Crop. However, it is not doubted that this 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 Silk-Worms, while we had such plenty of domestick Insects, who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin. And he proposed farther, that by employing Spiders, the Charge of dying Silks would be wholly saved; whereof I was fully convinced when he shewed 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 every Body's Fancy, as soon as he could find proper Food for the Flies, of certain

1 Robert Boyle (1627-91) had reported a similar case in Maastricht, and indeed had at first thought the colours were distinguished by smell.

2 Again this bears a similarity to a reference in Rabelais in Book 5, Chapter 22, of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

3 Mast is the fruit of trees such as oak, beech and chestnut and is much prized by pigs.

Gums, Oyls, and other glutinous Matter, to give a Strength and Consistence to the Threads.¹

There was an Astronomer who had undertaken to place a Sun-Dial upon the great Weather-Cock 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.²

I was complaining of a small Fit of the Cholick;³ upon which my Conductor led me into a Room, where a great Physician resided, who was famous for curing that Disease by contrary Operations from the same Instrument. He had a large Pair of Bellows, with a long slender Muzzle of Ivory. This he conveyed eight Inches up the Anus, and drawing in the Wind, he affirmed he could make the Guts as lank as a dried Bladder. But when the Disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the Muzzle while the Bellows was full of Wind, which he discharged into the Body of the Patient; then withdrew the Instrument to replenish it, clapping his Thumb strongly against the Orifice of the Fundament; and this being repeated three or four Times, the adventitious⁴ Wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like Water put into a Pump) and the Patient recovers. I saw him try both Experiments upon a Dog, but could not discern any Effect from the former. After the latter, the Animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a Discharge, as was very offensive to me and my Companions. The Dog died on the Spot, and we left the Doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same Operation.⁵

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- 1 There had been contemporary experiments on the use of spiders for silk, and a Frenchman, François Xavier Bon de Saint Hilaire (1678-1761) had written a paper on the subject.
 - 2 That is, to keep the sun-dial at the correct angle to the sun, whatever the wind direction, by making the earth shift in relation to the sun whenever the wind changed. The Town-House is the town hall.
 - 3 A spasmodic pain and windy distension of the stomach or bowel.
 - 4 Accidental, foreign, or found in an unusual place.
 - 5 While this bears some relation to a reference in Rabelais (in Book 5, Chapter 22, of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*), and also matches an incident in Cervantes' (1547-1616) *Don Quixote*, it more closely recalls the experiment carried out by Robert Hooke in 1667 in which he forced air into a dissected dog's windpipe with bellows, thereby enabling observation of the action of the lungs. This, like many of Swift's scientific details, is taken from Thomas Sprat's (1635-1713) book, *History of the Royal Society*, published in 1667. (See Appendix C1.)

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*.¹ 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,² 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 foundring. 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,³ 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.⁴

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

1 This is probably based on Robert Boyle, whose interests were wide-ranging and included the subjects Swift goes on to mock.

2 Strictly this is potassium nitrate, or saltpetre, but was thought at the time to be an element in the air, and also in plants.

3 That is, the fertilising potency of the plant. Reproduction in plants was of increasingly strong scientific interest in the period, as indeed was the whole field of botany. Linnaeus (Carl Linné) (1707-78) published his classification system in 1735, which ordered plants in terms of family and species.

4 We recall Gulliver's pride at the end of Part I that his breed of Lilliputian sheep is thriving.

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, may write Books in Philosophy, Poetry, Politicks, Law, Mathematicks and Theology, without the least Assistance from Genius or Study. He then led me to the Frame, about the Sides whereof all his Pupils stood in Ranks. It was Twenty Foot square, placed in the Middle of the Room. The Superficies was composed of several Bits of Wood, about the Bigness of a Dye,¹ 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.²

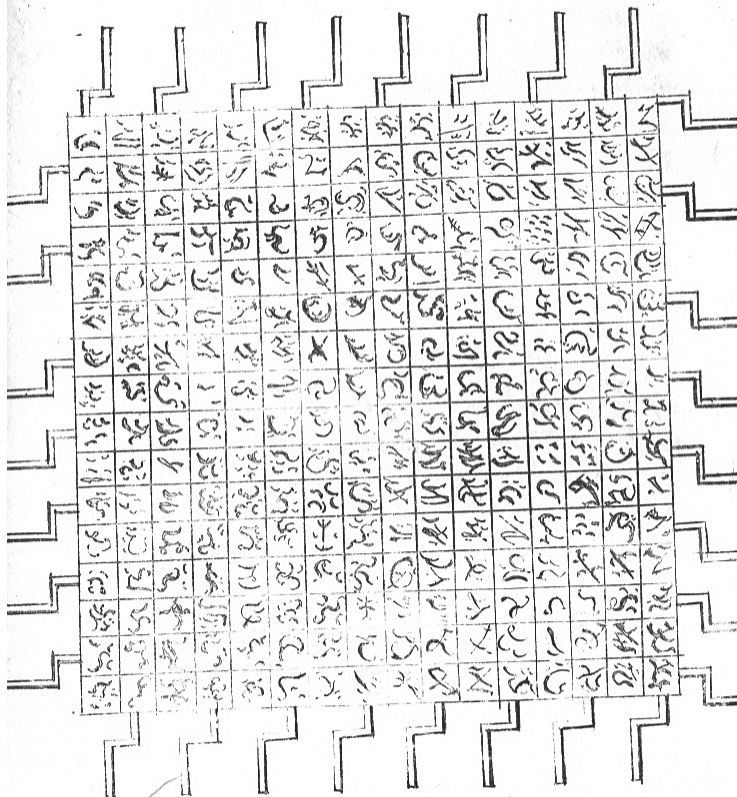
Six Hours a-Day the young Students were employed in this Labour; and the Professor shewed me several Volumes in large Folio already collected, of broken Sentences, which he intended to piece together; and out of those rich Materials to give the World a compleat Body of all Arts and Sciences; which however might be still improved, and much expedited, if the Publick 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.

1 That is, a die such as is used in games of chance.

2 Fascination with the random elements in language reached its height in the Dadaist movement of the early twentieth century, with the words of poems, for example, being drawn from a hat.

Plate 5 Part 3.

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He assured me, that this 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 Numbers of Particles, Nouns, and Verbs, and other Parts of Speech.

I made my humblest Acknowledgments 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 Inventer of this wonderful Machine; the Form and Contrivance of which I desired Leave to delineate upon Paper as in the Figure here annexed. I told him, although it were 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;¹ 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.

The other, 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 shortning 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 the 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,² if the Women in conjunction with the Vulgar and Illiterate had not threatned to raise a Rebellion, unless they might be allowed the Liberty to speak with their Tongues, after the Manner of their Forefathers:³ Such constant irreconcilable Enemies to Science

1 Swift undoubtedly has in mind the famous controversy between Newton and the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), dating from 1699, over who had first discovered differential calculus.

2 That is, of each member of the kingdom.

3 A slightly jarring note, given that Swift is imagining a right that is supposed to descend through the female line.

are the common People. However, many of the most Learned and Wise adhere to the new Scheme of expressing themselves by *Things*; which hath 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 those Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs, like Pedlars among us; who when they met in the Streets would lay down their Loads, open their Sacks, and hold Conversation for an Hour together; then put up their Implements, help each other to resume their Burthens, 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 practice 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 an universal Language to be understood in all civilized Nations,¹ whose Goods and Utensils are generally of the same Kind, or nearly resembling, so that their Uses might easily be comprehended. And thus, Embassadors 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 scarce imaginable to us in *Europe*. The Proposition and Demonstration were fairly written on a thin Wafer, with Ink composed of a Cephalick Tincture.² 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 hath not hitherto been answerable, partly by some Error in the *Quantum*³ or

1 Again, interest in the possibility of a universal language was strong, particularly at the end of the seventeenth century.

2 Cephalic is pertaining to the head, therefore a medicinal preparation for the head. At the same time, the whole process is a parody of the Eucharist, with the symbolic eating of Christ's body transferred to the supposed power of words.

3 Meaning quantity, but adopting the Latin form of medical prescriptions.

Composition, and partly by the Perverseness of 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 proposeth 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 chuse Favourites upon the Score of their Wisdom, Capacity and Virtue; of teaching Ministers to consult the publick 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 chusing for Employments Persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible Chimæras,¹ that never entered before into the Heart of Man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old Observation, that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational which some Philosophers have not maintained 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 all Diseases and Corruptions, to which the several Kinds of publick Administration are subject by the Vices or 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

1 Mythologically a fabulous monster that had the head of a lion, a serpent's tail and the body of a goat, and that spouted fire from its mouth. It has come to mean any wild or fanciful idea.

the political Body;¹ can there be any thing 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;² 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;³ With Spleen, Flatus, Vertigoes and Deliriums; with scrophulous Tumours full of fœtid purulent Matter; with sower frothy Ructations; with Canine Appetites and Crudeness of Digestion;⁴ besides many others needless to mention. This Doctor therefore proposed, that upon the meeting of a 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

1 Hence the body politic, a figure that had been popular since at least the sixteenth century and is exploited in many texts and illustrations of the following periods. For example, the cover to Thomas Hobbes's (1588-1679) famous book, *Leviathan, or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*, first published in 1651, shows the giant form of a king whose robe is made up entirely of the bodies of his subjects.

2 According to the medieval theory of humours, the health of the human body depended upon the balance maintained between the four humours. Medical treatment, therefore, generally consisted of attempting to reduce or encourage certain humours, often by bleeding or through forcing other forms of evacuation. A redundant humour meant a superfluity in one of them, ebullience meant causing excessive heat or agitation, and peccant was morbid or unhealthy.

3 Because the right hand is normally used to take bribes.

4 Spleen is peevishness or bad temper; flatus is windiness, and therefore implying overblown speech-making; vertigo is dizziness, especially at heights; delirium is any derangement of the mind brought about by the heat of a fever or intense excitement; scrophula is a tubercular disease marked by gross enlargement of the lymph glands, and also known as the King's Evil, and fœtid and purulent are stinking and full of pus, all suggesting, therefore, the secret plotting of discontents within a state; ructations are belching, again associated with a certain kind of political or religious rhetoric, as Swift had previously satirised in *A Tale of a Tub*. Canine appetites are particularly voracious hungers, such as tend to be associated with dogs and often seen in persons as a symptom of madness or idiocy.

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, Aperitives, Abstersives, Corrosives, Restringtons, Palliatives, Laxatives, Cephalalgicks, Ictericks, Apophlegmatics, Acousticks,¹ as their 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 Expence to the Publick; 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; rouze 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 a Kick in the Belly, or tread on his Corns, or lug him thrice by both Ears, or run a Pin into his Breech, or pinch his Arm black and 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 Publick.

When Parties in a State are violent, he offered a wonderful Contrivance to reconcile them. The Method is this. You take an Hundred Leaders of each Party; you dispose of them into

1 Lenitives are soothing medicines; aperitives are laxatives; abstersives are cleansing or purging medicines; corrosives are medicines with a burning or corroding effect; restringtons are medicines that operate to restrain the bowels; palliatives are for pain relief; cephalalgicks are specifically for headaches; icttericks are used to treat jaundice; apophlegmatics are to promote the discharging of phlegm and mucus; acousticks are to treat deafness.

Couples of such whose Heads are nearest of a Size; then let two nice Operators saw off the *Occiput*¹ of each Couple at the same Time, in such a Manner that the Brain 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 requireth 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 Scull, 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 came into the World only to watch and govern its Motion: 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 Vices 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 Breast. The highest Tax was upon Men, who are the greatest Favourites of the other Sex; and the Assessments according to the Number and Natures of the Favours they have received; for which they are allowed to be their own Vouchers. Wit, Valour, and Politeness were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same Manner, by every Person giving his own Word for the Quantum of what he possessed. But, as to Honour, Justice, Wisdom and Learning, they should 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

1 The occiput is the back part of the head.

Privilege with the Men, to be determined by their own Judgment. But Constancy, Chastity, good Sense, and good Nature were not rated, because they would not bear the Charge of Collecting.

To keep Senators in the Interest of the Crown, it was proposed that the Members should raffle for Employments; every Man first taking an Oath, and giving Security that he would vote for the Court, whether he won or no; 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 shewed me a large Paper of Instructions for discovering Plots and Conspiracies against the Government. He advised great Statesmen to examine into the Dyet of all suspected Persons; their Times of eating; upon which Side they lay in Bed; with which Hand they wiped their Posteriors; to take a strict View of their Excrements, and from the Colour, the Odour, the Taste, the Consistence, the Crudeness, or Maturity of Digestion, form a Judgment of their Thoughts and Designs: Because Men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at Stool;¹ which he found by frequent Experiment: For in such Conjectures, when he used merely as a Trial to consider which was the best Way of murdering the King, his Ordure would have a Tincture of Green; but quite different when he thought only of raising an Insurrection, or burning the Metropolis.

The whole Discourse was written with great Acuteness, containing many Observations both curious and useful for Politicians, but as I conceived not altogether compleat. This I ventured to tell the Author, and offered if he pleased to supply him with some Additions. He received my Proposition with

1 Physicians of the period were becoming more interested in the body's evacuations as indicators of health or illness. At the same time, Swift doubtless has in mind the trial of his friend the Bishop of Rochester, Francis Atterbury, who was charged with plotting with Jacobites in 1722 and found guilty by the House of Lords, resulting in his exile to France. Part of the evidence presented, and widely believed to have been fabricated, consisted of papers found in the Bishop's close-stool.

more Compliance than is usual among Writers, especially those of the Projecting Species; professing he would be glad to receive farther Information.

I told him, that in the Kingdom of *Tribnia*, by the Natives called *Langden*,¹ where I had long sojourned, the Bulk of the People consisted wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers;² together with their several subservient and subaltern Instruments; all under the Colours, the Conduct, and pay of Ministers 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;³ and raise or sink the Opinion of publick Credit, as either shall best answer their private Advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected Persons shall be accused of a Plot: Then, effectual Care is taken to secure all their Letters and other 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.⁴ For Instance, they can decypher a Close-stool to signify a Privy-Council; a Flock of Geese, a Senate; a lame Dog, an Invader;⁵ the Plague, a standing Army;⁶ a Buzard, a Minister; the Gout, a High Priest; a Gibbet, a Secretary of State; a Chamber pot, a Committee of Grandees; a Sieve, a Court

1 Britain and England.

2 Evidences are people bearing witness, and swearers those taking an oath as a witness, often with the implication of swearing falsely.

3 Those convicted of rebellion would normally have their estates confiscated by the Crown.

4 The three brothers, Peter, Jack and Martin, in *A Tale of a Tub*, similarly twist and jumble the words of their Father's will (The Bible) in order to find loopholes allowing them to do things apparently forbidden.

5 Part of the evidence in Atterbury's trial related to references in letters to and from him concerning a small lame dog, Harlequin, a present to him from France.

6 In Ford's manuscript corrections the words "a Codshead, a —" are inserted between "Invader" and "the Plague." A codshead is an ignoramus, and the missing word was undoubtedly "King." Unsurprisingly, the phrase was not printed.

Lady;¹ a Broom, a Revolution; a Mouse-trap, an Employment; a bottomless Pit, the Treasury; a Sink, a C—t;² a Cap and Bells, a Favourite; a broken Reed, a Court of Justice; an empty Tun,³ a General; a running Sore, the Administration.

When this Method fails, they have two others more effectual; which the Learned among them call Acrosticks, and Anagrams. *First*, they can decypher 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. So for Example, if I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother Tom has just got the Piles*; a Man of Skill in this Art would discover how the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist,—a Plot is brought home—The Tour*.⁴ And this is the Anagrammatick Method.

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*.

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

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- 1 A sieve meant someone who could not keep a secret. However, from the Renaissance onwards women in general, and prostitutes in particular, were associated with leaky vessels. Thomas Dekker's (c. 1570–c. 1641) play, *The Honest Whore (Part 2)* (1608), explicitly compares a prostitute to a sieve because she cannot hold onto her money.
 - 2 A sink is a cesspit or sewer, and "C—t" is court.
 - 3 A tun is a large cask of over 200 gallons.
 - 4 The first edition reads "has" but the 1735 has substituted "hath," which prevents the anagram from working, which it does exactly, taking "i" and "j" as interchangeable, as they often were in the eighteenth century. "*The Tour*" is a particularly pointed alias, being an English translation of the name Bolingbroke wished to be addressed by during part of his exile in France, "La Tour."

America, Westward of *California*, and North to the Pacifick Ocean, which is not above an hundred and fifty Miles from *Lagado*; where there is a good Port and much Commerce with the great Island of *Luggnagg*, situated to the North-West about 29 Degrees North Latitude, and 140 Longitude. This Island of *Luggnagg* stands South Eastwards of *Japan*, about an hundred Leagues distant.¹ 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 shew me the Way, and carry my small Baggage. I took leave of my noble Protector, who had shewn 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*,² (for so it is called) there was no Ship in the Harbour bound for *Luggnagg*, nor like to be in some Time. The Town is about as large as *Portsmouth*.³ 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 *Glubbudubdrib*, 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 Barque⁴ for the Voyage.

Glubbudubdrib, as nearly 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*,⁵ and extremely fruitful: It is governed by the Head of a

1 This does indeed place Gulliver in the Pacific some 350 miles directly south of Tokyo.

2 The map at the beginning of Part III makes Maldonada an island south-west of Luggnagg, rather than a port on the south-east coast of Balnibarbi, as the map in Chapter III shows.

3 Portsmouth is an important naval port in Hampshire on the south coast of England opposite the Isle of Wight. A garrison town and dockyard, at one time it had the largest naval establishment in the world. Its population grew from about 3,000 in the middle of the seventeenth century to over 30,000 by the end of the eighteenth.

4 A small three-masted sailing ship.

5 The Isle of Wight is fourteen miles from north to south and twenty-seven miles from east to west. It is between three and five miles from the mainland, the discrepancy being because of the varied nature of the English coastline around Portsmouth.

certain Tribe, who are all Magicians. This Tribe marries only among each other; and the eldest in Succession is Prince or Governor. He hath a noble Palace, and a Park of about three thousand Acres, surrounded by a Wall of hewn Stone twenty Foot high. In this Park are several small Inclosures for Cattle, Corn and Gardening.

The Governor and his Family are served and attended by Domesticks of a Kind somewhat unusual. By his Skill in Necromancy, he hath Power of calling whom he pleaseth 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 the 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 antick¹ 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 Obeysances, 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 were different from that of his 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 domestick Spectres. I had the Honour to dine with the Governor, where a new Set of Ghosts served up the Meat, and

1 Fantastic or crazy.

waited at Table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the Morning. I stayed till Sun-set, but humbly desired his Highness to excuse me for not accepting his Invitation of lodging in the 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 familiarized 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 would chuse 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 Questions must be confined within the Compass of the Times they lived in. And one Thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me 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*;¹ 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 that I understood his *Greek*, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his Honour that he was not poisoned, but dyed of a Fever by excessive Drinking.²

1 Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) was King of Macedonia and one of the greatest conquerors of the ancient world. His long campaign against the Persians culminated in his defeat of Darius (d. 330 BCE), King of the Persians, at Arbela in 331 BCE.

2 It was believed that he died from poison, assassinated like his father, Philip of Macedon (382–336 BCE), and Plutarch repeats the story in his *Life of Alexander*, but only to give it as his opinion that he in fact died after excessive drinking.

Next I saw *Hannibal* passing the *Alps*, who told me he had not a Drop of Vinegar in his Camp.¹

I saw *Cæsar* and *Pompey* at the Head of their Troops just ready to engage. I saw the former in his last great Triumph.² 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 Demy-Gods;³ the other a Knot of Pedlars, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen and Bullies.

The Governor at my Request gave the Sign for *Cæsar* and *Brutus*⁴ 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 for 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 have much

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- 1 Hannibal (247-182 BCE), the Carthaginian military leader who waged continuous war against Rome. In 218 BCE he took his army across the Alps in only fifteen days in order to enter Italy and to march on Rome. The reference to vinegar refers to a report in the historian Livy (59 BCE-17 CE) that he lit fires on rocks that obstructed his progress in order to soften them, then split them by pouring on vinegar.
 - 2 Julius Caesar (c. 100-44 BCE) and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 BCE). Formerly in alliance in the ruling of Rome, Pompey became opposed to Caesar and their forces met at the Battle of Pharsalia in 48 BCE, where Pompey was decisively defeated. He fled to Egypt where he was subsequently murdered. Caesar's last triumph (that is, his officially awarded march through Rome at the head of his troops in celebration of military victory) was after the Battle of Munda in Spain in 45 BCE, when he defeated the sons of Pompey.
 - 3 A demigod was someone whose nature was supposed to be part divine. It was often used of heroes who, it was felt, had to be the offspring of a mortal and a god.
 - 4 Marcus Junius Brutus (85-42 BCE) was an ally of Pompey who submitted to Caesar after Pharsalia and was appointed to high office. However, he joined the conspiracy against Caesar and participated in his assassination in 44 BCE. After being defeated by Mark Antony (c. 83-30 BCE) and Octavian (63 BCE-14 CE) at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE he committed suicide. His name had traditionally been revered as a champion for liberty against tyranny.

Conversation with *Brutus*; and was told that his Ancestor *Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato* the Younger, Sir *Thomas More* and himself,¹ were perpetually together: A *Sextumvirate*² to which all the Ages of 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 Glubbdbudrib. Antient and Modern History corrected.

HAVING a Desire to see those Antients, who were most renowned for Wit and Learning, I set apart one Day on pur-

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- 1 Lucius Junius Brutus (c. 500 BCE) is credited with establishing Republican government in Rome by expelling the monarchy of Tarquin (534-510 BCE) after a tide of public outrage. He was elected one of the first two consuls in 509 BCE. Like the later Brutus, his name is associated with championing liberty against tyranny. Socrates (c. 469-399 BCE) was one of the most famous philosophers of the ancient world and a model of the self-responsible individual. Epaminondas (c. 418-362 BCE) was the great Theban general and statesman who was particularly eminent in the campaigns against the Spartans. Marcus Porcius Cato (95-46 BCE), called "The Younger," was a statesman and stoic who was prominent in the opposition to Caesar and his perceived tyranny. As tribune he denounced Caesar and eventually sided with Pompey. After Pharsalia he escaped to Africa, where he committed suicide rather than be taken by Caesar. Joseph Addison's (1672-1719) immensely popular play, *Cato* (1713), had brought his reputation to particular heights in Swift's time. Sir Thomas More, author of *Utopia* and Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII, opposed Henry's break with Rome and the establishment of the monarch as head of the English Church. His continuing refusal to accept this led to his being found guilty of high treason. He was beheaded on 7 July 1535.
 - 2 Any group of six people in some degree of alliance.

pose. I proposed that *Homer* and *Aristotle* might appear at the Head of all their Commentators;¹ 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, not only from the Croud, but from each other. *Homer* was the taller and 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 meager, his Hair lank and thin, and his Voice hollow.² I soon discovered, that both 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.³ But *Aristotle* was out of all Patience with the Account I gave him of *Scotus* and *Ramus*, as I presented them

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- 1 Homer is usually thought to have lived some time around the seventh century BCE. His attributed works, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, are the earliest surviving poems and are seen as the founding texts of western civilisation. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, scientist and physician, was, with Plato, one of the key figures in the establishment of the major branches of knowledge in the western world. As two of the earliest recognised writers, Homer and Aristotle inevitably have a large number of later commentators.
 - 2 There is no evidence of what Homer actually looked like. The earliest depictions in bust form show him with a beard and a headband, and these features tend to remain in later representations. He was thought to have been blind, and is always represented as such, though Lucian (117-80 BCE), who also meets and asks Homer about his critics in the *New History*, like Swift asserts that his eyes were sharp and penetrating. Aristotle, from the busts that exist and that were created in or shortly after his lifetime, seems a more robust figure than Swift imagines him, bearded and with a full head of hair.
 - 3 Didymus of Alexandria (c. 65 BCE-10 CE) was a scholar who wrote a commentary on Homer, and Eustathius, who died around 1198, was Archbishop both of Thessalonica and of Myra and a commentator on Homer. Part of his commentary includes remarks on works that are now lost. To have “wanted a Genius” means that they lacked the ability to enter into the true spirit of poetry.

to him; and he asked them whether the rest of the Tribe were as great Dunces as themselves.¹

I then desired the Governor to call up *Descartes* and *Gassendi*,² 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 exploded. He predicted the same Fate to *Attraction*,³ whereof the present Learned are such zealous Asserters. 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 antient

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- 1 Duns Scotus (c. 1265-1308) was a Scottish scholar and theologian who wrote on the Bible, on Thomas Aquinas (1226-74) and on Aristotle. Petrus Ramus (1515-72) was a French humanist who lectured and wrote on Greek and Latin authors, and on Aristotelian logic, often controversially. He died in the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris. Scotus' name, in fact, gave rise to the word "dunce" so "Aristotle's" remark is particularly pointed.
 - 2 René Descartes (1596-1650) was a French rationalist philosopher and mathematician, founder of Cartesian philosophy and of enormous influence in moving thought forwards from Aristotelian models, particularly in terms of his view of the cosmos, where Descartes conceived of heavenly bodies moving in vortices (mentioned a few lines later), or whirlpool-like motions. Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655) was also a French philosopher and mathematician who turned to physics and astronomy, opposing both the Aristotelian system and the vortices of Descartes. He tried instead to develop the atomic philosophy of the ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus (c. 347-270 BCE), who saw the universe as a collection of whirling atoms, colliding and combining. Epicurus' writings on natural philosophy are now lost, but are known through the influential poem of his follower, Lucretius (c. 99-55 BCE), *De Rerum Natura*. Because Epicurus also identified pleasure as the chief good, his ideas were often regarded as objectionable.
 - 3 This is the Newtonian view of the universe, to which Swift was unsympathetic, not least because Newton was a Whig. The contention is that the Newtonian universe will go out of fashion just as the Aristotelian, Epicurean, and Cartesian before it.

Learned. I saw most of the first *Roman* Emperors. I prevailed on the Governor to call up *Eliogabalus*'s¹ Cooks to dress us a Dinner; but they could not shew us much of their Skill, for want of Materials. A *Helot* of *Agesilaus* made us a Dish of *Spartan* Broth,² 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, Marquesses, Dukes, Earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess it was not without some Pleasure that I found my self able to trace the particular Features, by which certain Families are distinguished up to their Originals. I could plainly discover from whence one Family derives a long Chin; why a second hath 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 Fæmina Casta*.³ How

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- 1 Heliogabalus, whose real name was Varius Avitus Bassianus (204-22), was Roman emperor from 218 until his murder by praetorian guards. He ruled under the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and his reign was notorious for his gluttony and debaucheries. His extravagant feasts became legendary.
 - 2 The famous black broth of Sparta, it was supposedly seen as a test of being a true Spartan to be able to eat it. Its basic ingredients seem to have been pig's blood, pork, and vinegar. Agesilaus (444-360 BCE) was King of Sparta at the beginning of the fourth century BCE.
 - 3 Polydore Vergil (c. 1470-c. 1555) was an Italian historian who spent most of his life in England, becoming a cleric and, in 1513, prebendary of St Paul's. The Latin sentence means "no man was brave nor a woman chaste." Apparently it does not exist in the works of Virgil.

Cruelty, Falshood, and Cowardice grew to be Characteristicks by which certain Families are distinguished as much as by their Coat of Arms. Who first brought the Pox into a noble House, which hath lineally descended in scrophulous Tumours to their Posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an Interruption of Lineages¹ by Pages, Lacqueys, Valets, Coachmen, Gamesters, Fiddlers, Players, Captains, and Pick-pockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern History. For having strictly examined all the Persons of greatest Name in the Courts of Princes for an Hundred Years past, I found how the World had been misled by prostitute 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, Chastity to Sodomites,² 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 Bawds, Whores, Pimps, 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 Enterprizes 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;³ 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 Embassadors and Secretaries of State; and have the perpetual

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- 1 That is, the true blood line is disrupted by the intervention of outside males.
 - 2 Sodomy, from the Biblical city of Sodom, and therefore the crime of Sodom, is strictly anal intercourse which, when between two males, was a capital crime during parts of the eighteenth century in Britain. Its meaning, however, tended to extend to include all sexual acts that were regarded as unnatural.
 - 3 Swift's remarks were no doubt made with the example of Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), Bishop of Salisbury's *History of My Own Time* (1724-34) in mind. Swift regarded Burnet's work as made up of gossip, scandals, and anecdotes.

Misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true Causes of many great Events that have surprized the World: How a Whore can govern the Back-stairs, the Back-stairs a Council, and the Council a Senate. 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.¹ Three Kings protested to me, that in their whole Reigns they 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 shewed 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 Man, was a perpetual Clog to publick Business.

I had the Curiosity to enquire in a particular Manner, by what Method great Numbers had procured to themselves high Titles of Honour, and prodigious Estates; and I confined my Enquiry 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,² Fraud, Pandarism,³ and the like *Infirmities* were amongst the most excusable Arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, due Allowance. But when some confessed, they owed their Greatness and Wealth to Sodomy or Incest; others to the prostituting of their own Wives and Daughters; others to the betraying their Country or their Prince; some to

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- 1 Admiral Edward Russell (1683-1727) defeated the French at La Hogue in 1692 in spite of his wish to avoid an engagement, being in secret negotiations with the exiled James II, who was under the protection of the French court.
 - 2 To suborn is to bribe or procure someone to commit perjury.
 - 3 Pandarism, or panderism, from Shakespeare's (1564-1616) Pandarus in *Troilus and Cressida*, is procuring for another person the means to satisfy sexual desire, as Pandarus procures his niece Cressida for Troilus.

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.¹

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 Enquiry I was told, that their Names were to be found on no Record, except a few of them whom History hath represented as the vilest Rogues and Traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected Looks, and in the meanest Habit; most of them telling me they died in Poverty and Disgrace, and the rest on a Scaffold or 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:² 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*³ 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 a *Libertina*,⁴ 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

1 Gulliver's behaviour in Lilliput and Brobdingnag bears this out.

2 The combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra (69-30 BCE) were defeated at the naval Battle of Actium in 31 BCE by Octavian. According to Plutarch, Antony fled the battle because Cleopatra suddenly withdrew her ships.

3 Octavian, on becoming the first Roman emperor in 27 BCE, took the name Augustus, which means "sacred" or "venerable."

4 That is, a freedwoman, one who had once been a slave. Such women often ended up in prostitution, though nevertheless sometimes achieving influence and position.

of *Publicola*¹ 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,² 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 surprized to find Corruption grown so high and so quick in that Empire, by the Force of Luxury so lately introduced;³ 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 hath 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 degenerate among us, within these Hundred Years past.⁴ How the Pox 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

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- 1 Lucius Gellius Publicola (d. 31 BCE) had been consul in 36 BCE. With a history of disloyalty, having at one time been a supporter of Brutus, he sided with Antony against Octavian and commanded the right wing of his fleet at Actium. It seems probable that he died during the action.
 - 2 Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12 BCE) was the Roman general and admiral who commanded Octavian's fleet at Actium.
 - 3 The damage to the nation's health, manners and moral fibre of increasing luxury, including many items, foods, and drinks brought in from abroad, became a matter of serious concern for writers during the eighteenth century. Pope (1688-1744) mocks the expensive substances to be found on Belinda's dressing-table in *The Rape of the Lock*, while in 1733 the society physician George Cheyne (1671-1743) published his influential book *The English Malady*, which was in part a sustained assault on the deleterious effects of luxury.
 - 4 Concerns over the degeneracy of the race went hand in hand with the luxury debate, though it was during the latter part of the nineteenth century that the development of gene theory enabled eugenics to be more accurately propounded and to gather influential support.

Muscles, introduced a sallow Complexion, and rendered the Flesh loose and *rancid*.¹

I descended so low as to desire that some *English* Yeomen of the old Stamp, might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the Simplicity of their Manners, Dyet and Dress; for Justice in their Dealings; for their true Spirit of Liberty; for their Valour and Love of their Country.² 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 Grand-children; who in selling their Votes, and managing³ at Elections have acquired every Vice and Corruption that can possibly be learned in a Court.

CHAPTER IX

The Author's Return 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 *Glubbudubdrib*, 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 in this Voyage. We had one violent Storm, and were under a Necessity of steering Westward to get into the Trade-Wind, which holds for above

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- 1 It is conceivable that untreated or inherited syphilis could produce any or all of these effects. In the individual it is possible for syphilis to remain latent for up to fifty years. Inherited syphilis can produce thinness, sallowness, diseases of the skin and mucous membranes, of the bones and joints, and can also damage the eyes, mouth and nose.
 - 2 Nostalgia for a national golden age was a feature particularly of the Tory perspective in the age of Walpole and the Whig hegemony. It received perhaps its most eloquent poetic statement in Oliver Goldsmith's (1728-74) poem *The Deserted Village* (1770) and feeds into English Romanticism, particularly into the work of Wordsworth (1770-1850) and, in rather a different way, of Byron (1788-1824).
 - 3 To manage an election is to ensure a particular result, usually by underhand and corrupt means, such as bribery.

sixty Leagues. On the 21st of *April*, 1708, we sailed in 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,¹ where a Fleet may ride in Safety within a Cable's Length of the Town-Wall.

Some of our Sailors, whether 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 Particulars, and made my Story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my Country, and call my self a *Hollander*; because my Intentions were for *Japan*, and I knew the *Dutch* were the only *Europeans* permitted to enter into that Kingdom.² 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*, from whence I might find a Convenience³ 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 Centry 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 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

1 A basin is a dock or any enclosed area of water for the mooring of boats.

2 After suppressing a revolt by Japanese Christians in 1638, Japan entered a long period of self-imposed isolation. The Dutch, who had given assistance against the uprising, were exempted.

3 That is, a convenient means of returning.

Years at *Maldonada*, and was a perfect Master of both Languages. By his Assistance I was able to hold a Conversation with those that came to visit me; but this consisted only of their Questions and my Answers.

The Dispatch came from Court about the Time we expected. It contained a Warrant for conducting me and my Retinue to *Traldragdubb* 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. 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 so clean that the Dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar Grace, not 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 Mouths in his Majesty's Presence. There is indeed another Custom, which I cannot altogether approve of. When the King hath a Mind to put any of his Nobles to Death in a gentle indulgent Manner; he commands to have the Floor 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 hath 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 Domesticks neglect, they are in Danger of incurring his Royal Displeasure. I my self heard him give

Directions, that one of his Pages should be whipt, 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 Page his Whipping, upon Promise that he would do so no more, without special Orders.

To return from this Digression; when I had crept within four Yards of the Throne, I raised my self 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, *Ickpling Gloffthrobb Squutserumm blhiop Mlashnalt Zwin tnodbalkguffh Slhiophad Gurdlubh Asht*. This is the Compliment established by the Laws of the Land for all Persons admitted to the King's Presence. It may be rendered into *English* thus: *May your cælestial Majesty out-live the Sun, eleven Moons and an half*. To this the King returned some Answer, which although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed; *Fluft drin Yalerick Dwuldum prastrad mirplush*, 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 above 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 Purse of Gold for my common Expenses.

I stayed three Months in this Country¹ 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.

1 In fact, Gulliver at the beginning of this chapter tells us that he arrived in Luggnagg on 21 April 1708, and in Chapter XI that he sailed for Japan on 6 May 1709.

CHAPTER X

The Luggnuggians commended. A particular Description of the Struldbrugs, with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject.

THE *Luggnuggians* 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 shew themselves courteous to Strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the Court. I had many Acquaintance 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, applyed to a mortal Creature. He told me, that sometimes, although very rarely, a Child happened to be born in a Family with a red circular Spot in the Forehead, directly over the left Eye-brow, which was an infallible Mark that it should never dye. The Spot, 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 farther 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 meer Effect of Chance; and the Children of the *Struldbruggs* 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 hath at least a Chance for being immortal! Happy People who enjoy so many

living Examples of antient Virtue, and have Masters ready to instruct them in the Wisdom of all former Ages! But, happiest beyond all Comparison are those excellent *Struldruggs*, 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 Admiration¹ that I had not observed any of these illustrious Persons at Court; the black Spot on the Fore-head, 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 opinionative 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 no, yet in one Thing I was determined, that his Majesty having frequently offered me an Establishment² in this Country, I would with great Thankfulness accept the Favour, and pass my Life here in the Conversation of those superiour Beings the *Struldruggs*, 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 ariseth from Pity 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 spoke. He did so; and they talked together for some 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

1 His surprise.

2 That is, the means of establishing himself.

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 *Struldrugg*.

I answered, it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a Subject, especially to me who have 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.¹

That, if it had been my good Fortune to come into the World a *Struldrugg*; 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 the 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 Publick, 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 in Customs, Languages, Fashions, Dress, Dyet and Diversions. By all which Acquirements, I should be a living Treasury 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 Side.² 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 publick and private Life. But, my choise and constant Companions should be a Sett of my own immortal Brotherhood, among whom I would elect a Dozen from the most ancient down to my own Contemporaries.

1 In this, as elsewhere, Gulliver is living up to the gullibility his name suggests.

2 That is, not needlessly spending his money.

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 *Struldbruggs* 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 all this, the Pleasure of seeing the various Revolutions of States and Empires; the Changes in the lower and upper World;¹ antient 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 civilized. 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.²

What wonderful Discoveries should we make in Astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own Predictions;³ by observing the

1 The earth and the sky.

2 Navigation had long suffered in accuracy from the lack of a sure means of calculating the longitude at sea. In 1714 the British Parliament offered a £10,000 prize (later increased to £20,000) for the inventor who produced a reliable method. It was not until John Harrison (1693-1776) developed the marine chronometer in 1759 that the prize was awarded. Perpetual motion, that is a machine that once started will go on for ever, was a favourite scientific topic in the seventeenth century, and the search for a universal medicine, or panacea, which would cure all diseases and prolong life, had preoccupied a certain school of medicine, and especially of medical quackery, since the days of the alchemists.

3 They would live to see the accuracy or inaccuracy of their predictions.

Progress and Returns of Comets, with the Changes of Motion in the Sun, Moon and Stars.

I enlarged upon many other Topicks, which the natural Desire of endless Life and sublunary Happiness¹ 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 Expencc. 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 Imbecility² of human Nature, and upon that Allowance was less answerable for them. That, this Breed of *Struldruggs* 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 those Kingdoms very hard to believe³ 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 *Struldruggs* 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 might be in his Wishes. That, the Question therefore was not whether a Man would chuse 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

1 Happiness beneath the moon, so therefore on earth as opposed to heavenly happiness.

2 In this context, imbecility means weakness.

3 It was difficult for them to believe such a thing.

along with it.¹ For although few Men will avow their Desires of being immortal upon such hard Conditions, yet in the two Kingdoms beforementioned of *Balnibarbi* and *Japan*, he observed that every Man desired to put off Death for sometime 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.

After this Preface, he gave me a particular Account of the *Struldbruggs* 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 opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative; but incapable of Friendship, and dead to all natural Affection, which never descended below their Grand-children. 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 an Harbour of Rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no Remembrance of any thing 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 Traditions 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 *Struldbrugg* happen to marry one of his own Kind, the

1 The Sybil, famously, in Chapter 48 of Petronius' (1st century CE) work, *Satyricon*, has asked for long life but not for perpetual youth: she therefore yearns to die.

Marriage is dissolved of Course by the Courtesy of the Kingdom,¹ as soon as the younger of the two comes to be 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 Misery doubled by the Load of a Wife.

As soon as they have compleated 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 publick Charge. After that Period they 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.²

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 encreasing 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 *Struldruggs* of one Age do not understand those of another; neither are they able after two Hundred Years to hold any Conversation (farther than by a few general Words) with their Neighbours the Mortals; and thus they lye under the Disadvantage of living like Foreigners in their own Country.

This was the Account given me of the *Struldruggs*, 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 me at several Times by some of my Friends; but although they

1 It is dissolved as a matter of course. "Courtesy of the Kingdom" refers to a legal tenure involving the right of a widower to hold property belonging to his former wife under certain conditions.

2 A meer, or mere, or mear, is a landmark or boundary.

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 *Slumskudask*, 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 Publick, 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 Registry, which however hath not been kept above a Thousand Years past, or at least hath been destroyed by Time or publick 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; and the Women 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 were 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 me and my Friends upon this Occasion, and raillied me very pleasantly; wishing I would send a Couple of *Struldbruggs* 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 Expence of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the Laws of this Kingdom relating to the *Struldbruggs*, 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 Publick.

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 *Struldbruggs* 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 hath 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 *Struldbruggs*; 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 Enquiries. 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 Licence 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 forty-four large Pieces of Gold (this Nation delighting in even Numbers) and a red Diamond¹ which I sold in *England* for Eleven Hundred Pounds.

On the 6th Day 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*,² situated on the *South-East* Part of *Japan*. The Town

1 Red diamonds have always been among the rarest and therefore the most expensive of stones.

2 There is no port of this name in Japan, but eighteenth-century maps identify a Shimosa.

lies on the *Western* Part, where there is a narrow Streight, leading *Northward* into a long Arm of the Sea, upon the *North-West* Part of which *Yedo* the Metropolis¹ stands. At landing I shewed the Custom-House Officers 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 publick 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 gave me Notice of 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 an *European*, and therefore repeated his Majesty's Commands in *Low-Dutch*,² which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, (as I had before determined) that I was a *Dutch* Merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote Country, from whence I 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*.³ 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

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- 1 This is Tokyo, which was known as Edo until it became the imperial capital in 1868. Edo means "estuary."
 - 2 "Low-Dutch" is Dutch, as opposed to High Dutch (hochdeutsch), which is German.
 - 3 Nagasaki, which since the sixteenth century had been a major trading port, especially for the Portuguese and the Dutch. The small Dutch enclave at this time was situated close by. Because Nagasaki is at the very south-western tip of Japan, it means that Gulliver has travelled from his first landing place, in the south east, up to Tokyo, probably some 400 miles, and then back along a parallel route to "Nangasac," another 600 miles.

trampling upon the Crucifix;¹ because I had been thrown into his 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 in this Point; and that he began to doubt whether I were a real *Hollander* or no; 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 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 their 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 Day of *June*, 1709, I arrived at *Nangasac*, after a very long and troublesome Journey. I soon fell into Company of some *Dutch* Sailors belonging to the *Amboyne* of *Amsterdam*,² a stout Ship of 450 Tuns. I had lived long in *Holland*, pursuing my studies at *Leyden*, and I spoke *Dutch* well: The Seamen soon knew from whence I came last; they were curious to enquire 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

1 This requirement was imposed upon European visitors to Japan as a means of ensuring that no Christians were permitted to enter. In Voltaire's (1694-1778) satire of 1759, *Candide*, the drunken sailor in Chapter V boasts that he has been to Japan four times and trampled on the crucifix each time.

2 Swift is reminding readers of a sensitive subject by calling this Dutch ship the "Amboyne." "Amboyne," or Ambon, was an Indonesian island some 200 miles west of New Guinea where both the British and the Dutch had trading rights. In 1623, twenty Britons, ten of whom were in the service of the British East India Company, were taken, tortured, tried for treason, and executed by agents of the rival Dutch East India Company. The incident, known as the Massacre of Amboyne, became a byword for Dutch barbarity. In 1673 John Dryden (1631-1700) wrote a play, *Amboyne*, on the atrocity.

Parents, whom I pretended to be obscure People in the Province of *Guelderland*.¹ I would have given the Captain (one *Theodorus Vangrult*)² 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 abovementioned? I evaded the Question by general Answers, that I had satisfied the Emperor and Court in all Particulars. However, a malicious Rogue of a Skipper³ 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;⁴ after which I was no more troubled with such Questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this Voyage. We sailed with a fair Wind to the *Cape of Good Hope*, where we staid only to take in fresh Water. On the 6th⁵ of *April* we arrived safe at *Amsterdam*, having lost only three Men by Sickness in the Voyage, and a fourth who fell from the Fore-mast into the Sea, not far from the Coast of *Guinea*.⁶ From *Amsterdam* I soon after set sail for *England* in a small Vessel belonging to that City.

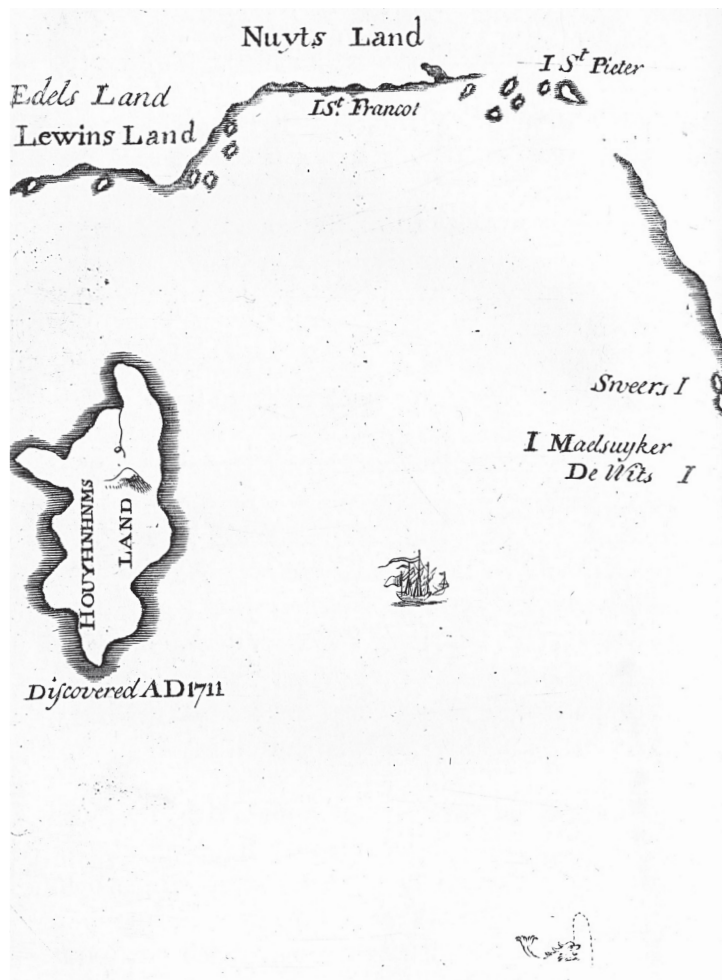
On the 10th of *April*, 1710, we put in at the *Downs*. I landed the next Morning, and saw once more my Native Country after an Absence of five Years and six Months compleat.⁷ I went strait to *Redriff*, whither I arrived the same Day at two in the Afternoon, and found my Wife and Family in good Health.

The End of the Third Part.

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- 1 Guelderland is a largely rural and agricultural province in the central region of the Netherlands.
 - 2 An ironic name, given all that Swift has written against the Dutch: "Theodorus" (Greek) means "the gift of God."
 - 3 Skipper here means shipman or seaman, rather than the ship's captain.
 - 4 Canes, including canes of office, were made from bamboo, which is very light and strong.
 - 5 Both the 1726 and the 1735 texts read the 16 of April, but this has to be an error, in that Gulliver tells us in the following paragraph that he arrives in the Downs on 10 April and lands the next morning. The 6th, therefore, makes perfect sense.
 - 6 Guinea is on the north-western part of Africa's Atlantic coast, approximately 500 miles north of the Equator.
 - 7 In fact, Gulliver left home on 5 August 1706, so he has been away four months short of four years.

PART FOUR

A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF
THE HOUYHNHNMS



CHAPTER I

*The Author sets out as a Captain of a Ship. His Men conspire against him, confine him a long Time to his Cabbins, 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.*¹

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 poor² Wife big with Child, and accepted an advantageous Offer made me to be Captain of the *Adventure*, a stout Merchant-man of 350 Tuns: 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 *September*, 1710; on the 14th we met with Captain *Pocock* of *Bristol*, at *Tenariff*, who was going to the Bay of *Campeachy*, to cut Logwood.³ 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 hath been of several

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- 1 Various explanations have been offered for the names chosen by Swift for the creatures in the final part of *Gulliver's Travels*. The most straightforward, and most likely, are that "Houyhnhnm" is intended to resemble the whinnying of a horse, while "Yahoo" is a combination of sounds usually associated with meaningless noises of abuse and disgust.
 - 2 It is unclear why Gulliver refers to his pregnant wife as "poor." Presumably it is not because of the fact of her pregnancy, so perhaps it is because, he thinks, of his own departure.
 - 3 Tenerife is the largest of the Canary Islands off the coast of north-west Africa, and a frequent stopping place for vessels on the trade routes. Captain Pocock resembles Dampier, in that he too spent some years with logwood-cutters at the Bay of Campeche, which forms the southern rim of the Gulf of Mexico. Logwood is the heartwood of the tropical American flowering tree known as "bloodwood." It was exported as logs, but an extract was also used in dyeing. Since the seventeenth century the English had been at the forefront of logging activity and had built many settlements.

others. For if he had followed my Advice, he might at this Time have been safe at home with his Family as well as my self.

I had several Men died in my Ship of Calentures,¹ so that I was forced to get Recruits out of *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, where I touched² 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 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 Cabbin, 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 unbound me, only fastening one of my Legs with a Chain near my Bed and placed a Centry at my Door with his Piece charged,³ 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,⁴ 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 close Prisoner in my Cabbin, 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 Cabbin; 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 Cloaths,

1 The calentures are a tropical fever, or a delirium caused by heat.

2 Many pirates were attracted to the West Indies and the Caribbean region by the increasing prosperity of colonies there, with their successful plantations, including British Barbados, and by the sea traffic involved in trade that kept them supplied with luxury goods. By “touched” Gulliver means landed.

3 His “Piece” is his gun or pistol.

4 Madagascar was a notorious stronghold for pirates.

which were as good as new, and a small Bundle of Linnen, 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:¹ They all swore, they knew no more than my self, but said, that the Captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the Lading,² to get rid of me in the first Place where they discovered 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 my self, and consider what I had best to do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the Country, resolving to deliver my self to the first Savages I should meet; and purchase my Life from them by some Bracelets, Glass Rings, and other Toys,³ which Sailors usually provide themselves with in those Voyages, and whereof I had some about me: The Land was divided by long Rows of Trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great 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,⁴ 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 in 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

1 Swift is far vaguer in the text about the location of Houyhnhnmland than of the other places Gulliver visits. However, the map places it some way to the south of Lewins Land, which is part of the south coast of New Holland, or Australia, and to the west of Sneers Island, off the west coast of the South Island of New Zealand. Given that Australia and New Zealand are some 1,500 miles apart, Houyhnhnmland would have to be about 1,000 miles from each, though the map shows it as rather more compressed.

2 The "Lading" is the cargo.

3 "Toys" here would mean trinkets, things of little use or value.

4 These can only be Yahoo tracks, even though Gulliver's description of them as having long claws makes that seem implausible.

lay, gave me an Opportunity of distinctly marking their Form. Their Heads and Breasts were covered with a thick Hair, some frizzled and others lank; they had Beards like Goats, and a long Ridge of Hair down their Backs, and the fore Parts of their Legs and Feet; but the rest of their Bodies were bare, so that I might see their Skins, which were of a brown Buff Colour. They had no Tails, nor any Hair at all on their Buttocks, except about the *Anus*; which, I presume Nature had placed there to defend them as they sat on the Ground; for this Posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind Feet. They climbed high Trees, as nimbly as a Squirrel, for they had strong extended Claws before and behind, terminating on sharp Points, 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, and only a Sort of Down on the rest of their Bodies, except about the *Anus*, and *Pudenda*. Their Dugs hung between their fore Feet, and often reached almost to the Ground as they walked. The Hair of both Sexes was of several Colours, brown, red, black and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld in all my Travels so disagreeable an Animal, nor 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 Cabbin of some *Indian*.¹ I had not got 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 him 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.² 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 odious Faces; but I ran to the Body of a Tree, and

1 A "Cabbin" in this context is a hut, while "*Indian*" simply means native.

2 In other words, Gulliver strikes the first blow, and his not using the blade of his weapon is due to his not wishing to upset the owners rather than to his being unwilling to inflict pain or injury.

leaning my Back against it, kept them off, by waving my Hanger. Several of this cursed Brood getting hold of the Branches behind, leaped up into the Tree, from whence they began to discharge their Excrements on my Head: However, I escaped pretty well, by sticking close to the Stem of the Tree, but was almost stifled with the Filth, which fell about me on every Side.

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 stroak it; using the common Style and Whistle of Jockies when they are going to handle a strange Horse. But, this Animal seeming to receive my Civilities with Disdain, shook his Head, and bent his Brows, softly raising up his Left 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.

While He and I were thus employed, another Horse came up; who applying himself to the first in a very formal Manner, they gently struck each others 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.¹ This

1 As at the beginning of his visit to Brobdingnag, Gulliver immediately jumps to the wrong conclusion about the nature of his hosts.

Thought gave me so much Comfort, that I resolved to go forward untill 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 turned back, and came near him, to expect his farther 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)¹ appeared to be much surprized; 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,² 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,³ when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult Phænomenon.

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, were 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

1 A bay horse is usually brown or chestnut in colour but with a black mane and tail.

2 A horse's pastern is in between the fetlock and the hoof.

3 "Philosopher" here means natural philosopher, and therefore scientist. Again, Swift is glancing at the Royal Society and some of its more prominent members.

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 his Misfortunes upon your Coast; and I entreat one of you, to let me ride upon his Back, as if he were a real Horse, to some House or Village, where I can be relieved. In return of which Favour, I will make you a Present of this Knife and Bracelet, (taking them out of my Pocket.)¹ 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 were impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet while the two Horses were busy in Conversation, I endeavoured to practice 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 surprized, and the Grey repeated the same Word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right Accent, wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, although 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 the former, but after two or three farther Trials, I had better Fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my Capacity.

After some farther 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

1 Gulliver, having made the staggeringly wrong assumption that these are magicians, goes from bad to worse in asking to ride on one of their backs, and then offering them a bribe of what we already know to be worthless trinkets.

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 a while to let me rest.

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 that Country.

HAVING travelled about three Miles, we came to a long Kind of Building, made of Timber, stuck in the Ground, and wattled a-cross;¹ 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 Manger² extending the whole Length on one Side. There were three Nags,³ 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 domestick Business: The last seemed but ordinary Cattle;⁴ however this confirmed my first Opinion, that a People who could so far civilize 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.

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- 1 Wattles are long pieces of wood in the shape of rods. A "wattled" wall is therefore one made up of interwoven wattles, or of wattles gathered together in bunches.
 - 2 A "Rack" is a shelf with grating allowing animals to pull out pieces of dry fodder. A "Manger" is a trough for holding animal food.
 - 3 "Nags" are usually smaller, inferior horses. Their "Hams" are their haunches.
 - 4 "Cattle" here is used in its wider sense of animals of pasture, rather than specifically cows and oxen. Gulliver is confirming that these seem inferior kinds of horses.

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:¹ 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 Pearl, 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, 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:² I roused my self, and looked about me in the Room where I was left alone; this was furnished as the first, only after a more elegant Manner. I rubbed mine Eyes often, but the same Objects still occurred. I pinched my Arms and Sides, to awake my self, hoping I might be in a Dream. I then absolutely concluded, that all these Appearances could be nothing else but Necromancy and Magick. 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 Fole,³ 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; then 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 were the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting Mortification: For the

1 That is in the form of a long passage through the centre of a building.

2 With this sentence, Swift strikes a definite note of warning with regard to Gulliver's state of mind, even though his stay in Houyh-nhmmland actually confirms all that he now sees before him.

3 A "Colt" is a young male horse of under four years old (the female equivalent is filly), while a "Fole," or foal, is a young horse of either sex below the age of a year.

Horse beckoning to me with his Head, and repeating the Word *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 Wyths,¹ 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,² to untie the largest of these Animals, and take him into a 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;³ the Face of it indeed was flat and broad, the Nose depressed, the Lips large, and the Mouth wide: But these 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, although the Horses did not, because of my Shoes and

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- 1 "Wyths," or withes, are twisted bands of flexible twigs, often of willow, used among other things to restrain unruly animals.
 - 2 A "Sorrel" horse is one of a reddish-brown, or chestnut, colour. The fact that this horse is both a nag and a servant emphasises the racially hierarchical nature of Houyhnhnm society.
 - 3 This represents a striking change from Gulliver's first sight of the Yahoos, when he described them as "very singular, and deformed." If part of the reason for the change in perspective might be, as above, his now doubting his own reason, it could also be due to his becoming accustomed to being associated in the Houyhnhnm mind with the word "Yahoo"—in other words, he is learning to see himself as a horse sees him.

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 Cloaths, whereof they had no Conception: The Sorrel Nag offered me a Root, which he held (after their Manner, as we shall describe in its proper Place) between his Hoof and Pastern; I took it in my Hand, and having smelt it, returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *Yahoo's* Kennel a Piece of Ass's Flesh, but it smelt so offensively that I turned from it with loathing; he then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured. He afterwards shewed me a Wisp of Hay, and a Fettlock full of Oats; but I shook my Head, to signify, that neither of these were Food for me. And indeed, I now apprehended, that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own Species: For as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater Lovers of Mankind, at that time, than myself; yet I confess I never saw any sensitive Being so detestable on all Accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that Country. This the Master Horse observed by my Behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his Kennel. He then put his Fore-hoof to his Mouth, at which I was much surprized, although he did it with Ease, and with a Motion that appear'd perfectly natural; and made other Signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an Answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself Nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a Cow passing by; whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a Desire to let me go and milk her. This had its Effect; for he led me back into the House, and ordered a Mare-servant to open a Room, where a good Store of Milk lay in Earthen and Wooden Vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly Manner. She gave me a large Bowl full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

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 in Milk for the second Course, which the old Horse eat

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 eat their own Hay, and their own Mash of Oats and Milk, with much Decency and Regularity. The Behaviour of the young Colt and Fole appeared very modest; and that of the Master and Mistress extremely chearful 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's 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 farther Talk, and I saw the Company was 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 to winnow from the Grain; I ground and beat them between two Stones, then took Water, and made them into a Paste or Cake, which I toasted at

the Fire, and eat 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 staid in this Island. It is true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a Rabbet, or Bird, by Springes¹ made of *Yahoos* Hairs; and I often gathered wholesome Herbs, which I boiled, or eat as Salades with my Bread; and now and then, for a Rarity, I made a little Butter, and drank the Whey.² I was at first at a great Loss for Salt; but Custom soon reconciled 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;³ except where it is necessary for preserving of Flesh in long Voyages, or in Places remote from great Markets. For we observe no Animal to be fond of it but Man:⁴ And as to myself, when I left this Country, it was a great while before I could endure the Taste of it in any thing that I eat.

This is enough to say upon the Subject of my Dyet, 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 Cloaths, 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.

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- 1 "Springes" are simple animal traps consisting of a noose and a spring.
 - 2 "Whey" is the watery part of milk that is left after making butter or cheese.
 - 3 While salt does increase thirst, Gulliver's assertion about its introduction is quite untrue. Salt was seen as a fundamental requirement in early civilisations.
 - 4 Again, this is untrue. Many creatures, from farm animals to domestic pets, are fond of salt.

CHAPTER III

The Author studious 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)¹ and his Children, and every Servant of his House were desirous to teach me. For they looked upon it as a Prodigy,² that a brute Animal should discover such Marks of a rational Creature. I pointed to every thing, and enquired 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 is much more graceful and significant.³ 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*.⁴

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 so opposite to those Animals. He was most perplexed about my Cloaths, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a Part of my Body; for I never pulled them off till the Family were asleep, and got them on

1 Nothing better illustrates the extreme lengths to which Gulliver is prepared to go to fit in with the societies he encounters than his readiness to put himself in the position of servant, or slave, to a horse.

2 A "Prodigy" today usually refers to a child genius, but Swift is using it in its original wider meaning of anything or any person that causes wonder or amazement.

3 By "significant" he means expressive.

4 This remark, or versions of it, has been attributed to various European monarchs, but most consistently to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-58).

before they waked in the Morning. My Master was eager to learn from where 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 writ 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.¹

In about ten Weeks time I was able to understand most of his Questions; and in three Months could give him some tolerable Answers. He was extremely curious to know from what Part of the Country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational Creature; because the *Yahoos*, (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my Head, Hands and Face, that 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 Falshood.) 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 sure no *Houyhnhnm* alive could make such a Vessel, or would trust *Yahoos* to manage it.

The Word *Houyhnhnm*, in their Tongue, signifies a *Horse*; and in its Etymology, *the Perfection of Nature*.² I told my Master, that I was at a Loss for Expression, but would improve as fast as I

1 The Houyhnhnms, in other words, would have no conception of the form through which we as readers are learning about them. Swift, through Gulliver, through the Houyhnhnms, is obliging us to question the very nature of the book.

2 The Houyhnhnms are by no means exempt from the narrow-minded pride displayed by each of the peoples that Gulliver meets in his travels.

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 Fole, 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 which Advantages, I made so great a Progress, that in five Months from my Arrival, I understood whatever was spoke, 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 have already told the Reader, that every Night when the Family were gone to Bed, it was my Custom to strip and cover myself with my Cloaths: It happened one Morning early, that my Master sent for me, by the Sorrel Nag, who was his Valet; when he came, I was fast asleep, my Cloaths fallen off on one Side, and my Shirt above my Waste. I awakened at the Noise he made, and observed him to deliver his Message in some Disorder; after which he went to my Master, and in a great Fright gave him a very confused Account of what he had seen: This I presently discovered; for going as soon as I was dressed, to pay my Attendance upon his Honour, he asked me the Meaning of what his Servant had reported; that I was not the same Thing when I slept as I appeared to be at other times;¹ that his Valet assured him, some Part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown.

I had hitherto concealed the Secret of my Dress, in order to distinguish myself as much as possible, from that cursed Race of

1 In attempting to preserve one of the only features that distinguishes him in *Houyhnhnm* eyes from the *Yahoos*, his clothing, Gulliver has been guilty of deceit, a characteristic that ironically helps to identify him with the very creatures he abhors.

Yahoos; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my Cloaths 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;¹ whereby the whole Secret would be known. I therefore told my Master, that in the Country from whence I came, those of my Kind always covered their Bodies with the Hairs of certain Animals prepared by Art, as well for Decency, as to avoid Inclemencies of Air both hot and cold; of which, as to my own Person I would give him immediate Conviction, if he pleased to command me; only desiring his Excuse, if I did not expose those Parts that Nature taught us to conceal. He said, my Discourse was all very strange, but especially the last Part; for he could not understand why Nature should teach us to conceal what Nature had given. That neither himself nor Family were ashamed of any Parts of their Bodies; but however I might do as I pleased. Whereupon, I first unbuttoned my Coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my Wastecoat; I drew off my Shoes, Stockings and Breeches. I let my Shirt down to my Waste, and drew up the Bottom, fastening it like a Girdle about my Middle to hide my Nakedness.

My Master observed the whole Performance with great Signs of Curiosity and Admiration.² He took up all my Cloaths in his Pastern, one Piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then stroaked 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 Whiteness, and Smoothness of my Skin, my want of Hair in several Parts of my Body, the Shape and Shortness of my Claws behind and before, and my Affectation³ of walking continually on my two hinder Feet. He desired to see no more, and gave me leave to put on my Cloaths again, for I was shuddering with Cold.

I expressed my Uneasiness at his giving me so often the

1 Gulliver's intention to make new clothes from the skins of those he is recognising, mistakenly or not, as his kin places him in a strangely inhumane position.

2 "Admiration" is here used in its broadest sense of amazement or wonder.

3 While "Affectation" usually means a pretence or pose, it is likely that here it merely indicates a characteristic or preference.

Appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious Animal, for which I had so utter an Hatred and Contempt. I begged he would forbear applying that Word to me, and take 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 Cloathing 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 Cloaths began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several Contrivances, that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean Time, 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 no; adding, that he waited with some Impatience to hear the Wonders which I promised to tell him.

From 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, beside the Trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several Questions concerning my self, which I answered as well as I could; and by those Means he had already received some general Ideas, although 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 my self in any Order and Length, was to this Purpose:

That, I came from a very far Country, as I already had attempted to 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,¹ how it was driven forward by the Wind. That, upon a Quarrel among us, I was set on Shoar on this Coast, where I walked forward without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the Persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me, Who made the Ship, and how it was possible that the

1 That is, held out, shown fully unfolded, presumably as if it were a sail.

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 and Honour that he would not be offended; and then I would tell him the Wonders I had so often promised. 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 Beings, 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 farther, That if good Fortune ever restored me to my native Country, to relate my Travels hither, as I resolved to do; every Body would believe that I *said the Thing which was not*; that I invented the Story out of my own Head:¹ 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.

CHAPTER IV

The Houyhnhnms Notion of Truth and Falshood. The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master. The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage.

MY Master heard me with great Appearances of Uneasiness in his Countenance; 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,² in other Parts of the World; having Occasion to talk of *Lying*, and *false Representation*, it was with much Difficulty that he

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- 1 Again, Swift is obliging the reader to question the status of the narrative, and in doing so is coming close to declaring that this traveller's tale, like some features of the actual tales he makes fun of, is utter fabrication, which of course it is.
 - 2 That is, the nature of being human.

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.

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,¹ 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 farther, 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 generous² and comely Animal we had; that they excelled in Strength and Swiftmess; and when they belonged to Persons of Quality, employed in Travelling, Racing, and drawing Chariots, they were treated with much Kindness and Care, till they fell into Diseases, or became foundered in the Feet;³ 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

1 Remove pieces of stone or grit from their feet.

2 Anyone familiar with horses, of course, knows that they can also be peevish, mischievous, spiteful against each other, and obsessive about routine and habit.

3 A horse that founders is either one that stumbles or, as here, that goes lame.

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 feed them worse. I described as well as I could, our Way of Riding; the Shape and 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 Bottom 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 meanest Servant in his House would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*; or by lying down, and rouling upon 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 the Males, designed for the common Use of Riding or Draught, were generally *castrated* about two Years after their Birth, to take down their Spirits, and make them more tame and gentle: 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 doth 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; particularly after I had explained the Manner and Use of *Castrating* Horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their Kind, and to render them more servile. 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 will in Time 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 his 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 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, mine 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 my self, 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 in every Point; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain my self 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 my self 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 is to cure Wounds and Hurts in the Body, got by Accident or Violence. That my Country was governed by a Female Man,¹ whom we called *Queen*. That I left it to get Riches, whereby I might maintain my self 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. Some were undone by Law-suits; others spent all they had in Drinking, Whoring and Gaming; others fled for Treason; many for Murder, Theft, Poysoning, Robbery, Perjury, Forgery, Coining false Money; for committing Rapes or Sodomy; for flying from their Colours,² or deserting to the Enemy; and most of them had broken Prison. None of these durst return to their native Countries for fear of being hanged, or of starving in a Jail; and therefore were under a Necessity of seeking a Livelihood in other Places.

During this Discourse, my Master was pleased often to interrupt me. 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 of Cases, and making Suppositions. After which, like one whose Imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his Eyes with Amazement and Indignation.

1 It is curious that Gulliver chooses to employ the construction "Female Man" to describe the Queen, when one thing that Houyhnhnms do understand perfectly well is gender.

2 Deserting from the army, especially in time of battle.

Power, Government, War, Law, Punishment, and a Thousand other Things had no Terms, 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*, especially, of my own Country.

CHAPTER V

The Author at his Master's Commands 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 into 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*.¹

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

1 Gulliver, composing his *Travels* after his return to England, reverses the position in Houyhnhnmland: it is now the English language that is inadequate to express the force of Houyhnhnm argument rather than the Houyhnhnm tongue that has insufficient terms to describe European affairs.

Successor the present Queen;¹ 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;² 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 Opinions hath 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 a 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.³ Neither are any Wars so furious and bloody, or of so long Continuance, as those occasioned by Difference in Opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.⁴

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- 1 Gulliver is here revisiting the recent historical events already covered in his narratives in Lilliput and Brobdingnag. The “Prince of *Orange*” is William III, who became King of England in 1689, ruling jointly with his wife, Mary II, daughter of the deposed Catholic monarch James II, until her death in 1694. The “present Queen” is Anne, sister of Mary, who succeeded her brother-in-law in 1702. The wars with France included the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13).
 - 2 Death tolls of past conflicts are extremely difficult to establish with any certainty. Estimates of those killed during the War of the League of Augsburg vary between 600,000 and 700,000 men, with perhaps another 500,000 killed during the War of the Spanish Succession, giving a rough total of something over a million. However, Gulliver is supposed to be in conversation with the Houyhnhnm master in 1711, two years before the end of the war, so his slightly lower figure may well be right.
 - 3 The instances given all refer to issues of religion and religious worship, including transubstantiation, the presence of music during church services, the use of images and crucifixes, and to disputes about clerical, and possibly even monastic, vestments.
 - 4 Things of no real consequence.

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 quarrelleth 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 War to invade a Country after the People have been wasted by Famine, destroyed by Pestilence, or embroiled by Factions amongst themselves. It is justifiable to enter into a 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 send Forces into a Nation, 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 civilize and reduce them from their barbarous Way of Living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent Practice, when one Prince desires the Assistance of another to secure him against an Invasion, that the Assistant, when he hath 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 sufficient Cause of War between Princes; and the nearer the Kindred is, the greater is 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 possibly he 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*.¹

What you have told me, (said my Master) upon the Subject

1 The use of mercenaries was particularly prevalent in the German states, including in Hanover, where George I employed them. Swift seems to have originally included a reference to Germany in the manuscript, which was deleted from the published texts in the interests of caution.

of War, doth 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 hath 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 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 have been killed in Battle, I cannot but think that 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, Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, Undermines, Countermines, Bombardments, Sea-fights;¹ Ships sunk with a Thousand Men; twenty Thousand killed on each Side; dying Groans, Limbs flying in the Air: Smoak, 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, Ravishing, 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 all the Spectators.²

I was going on to more Particulars, when my Master commanded me Silence. He said, whoever understood the Nature of *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

1 “Culverins” are cannons with a long, thin muzzle; “Carabines” are short muskets, especially for use on horseback; “Undermines” are carried out by mining beneath the walls of an attacked town or fortress, and “Countermines” are made by the defenders in an attempt to intercept the underminers.

2 While it was quite usual for battles to attract spectators among the local population, Gulliver’s vivid portrayal of raining body parts seems an exaggeration.

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 therefore 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*.

He added, That he had heard too much upon the Subject of War, both in this, and some former Discourses. There was another Point which a little perplexed him at present. I had said, 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 farther 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 shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his Honour, that *Law* was a Science wherein I had not much conversed, further than by employing Advocates, in vain, upon some Injustices that had been done me.¹ 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 hath a mind to my *Cow*, he hires 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 allowed to speak for

1 This might be a further reference to Gulliver's experience at law, alluded to in his conversations with the King of Brobdingnag in Chapter VI of Part II.

himself. Now in this Case, I who am the true Owner lie under two great Disadvantages. First, my Lawyer being practiced almost from his Cradle in defending Falshood; is quite out of his Element when he would be an Advocate for Justice, which as an Office unnatural, 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 who 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 hath 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 Tryal of Criminals; and picked out from the most dextrous Lawyers who are grown old or lazy: And having been byassed 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 to have refused a large Bribe from the Side where Justice lay, rather than injure the *Faculty*,¹ by doing any thing unbecoming their Nature or their Office.

It is a Maxim among these Lawyers, that whatever hath 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 hath 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 were

1 The professional body of lawyers.

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 hath 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 Falshood, of Right and Wrong; so that it will take Thirty Years to decide whether the Field, left me by my Ancestors for six Generations, belong to me, or to a Stranger three Hundred Miles off.

In the Tryal 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 the Criminal, strictly preserving all the 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 Generation¹ 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 in the Courts of Europe.*²

MY Master was yet wholly at a Loss to understand what Motives could incite this Race of Lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves by engaging in a Confederacy of Injustice, merely for the Sake of injuring their Fellow-Animals; neither could he

1 "Generation" here means breed.

2 This is the section referred to in "Captain Gulliver's Letter" at the beginning of *Gulliver's Travels*.

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*,¹ 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 Cloathing, the noblest Houses, great Tracts of Land, the most costly Meats and Drinks; and have his Choice of the most beautiful Females. 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 was forced to live 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 was still to seek:² 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.³ I assured him, that this whole Globe of Earth must be at least three Times gone 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

1 Gulliver in Houyhnhnmland, uniquely in his travels, is obliged to go back to the most basic assumptions of western human civilisation in his explanations to the Houyhnhnm Master.

2 He was still unable to understand.

3 Again, Gulliver is entering the debate about luxury that became such a feature of social and medical discussion through the course of the eighteenth century.

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 Fruit 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, from whence in Return we brought the Materials of Diseases, Folly, and Vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of Necessity, that vast Numbers of our People are compelled to seek their Livelihood by Begging, Robbing, Stealing, Cheating, Pimping, Forswearing, Flattering, Suborning, Forging, Gaming, Lying, Fawning, Hectoring, Voting, Scribbling, Stargazing, Poysoning, Whoring, Canting, Libelling, Free-thinking, and the like Occupations:¹ Every one of which Terms, I was at much Pains to make him understand.

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, untill we fell into a profound Sleep; although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and 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 an Hundred Tradesmen; the Building and Furniture of my House employ as many more; and five Times the Number to adorn my Wife.²

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- 1 Several of these terms feature in Gulliver's lists of human activities earlier in *Gulliver's Travels*. Here, "Hectoring" is bullying, "Stargazing" is making astrological predictions, "Canting" is to talk hypocritically or affectedly, and "Free-thinking" is the rejection of authority in religion and proceeding instead upon purely rational principles, so effectively to become an atheist.
 - 2 As on earlier occasions, Gulliver insists on seeing his wife in terms of conventional female stereotypes, even though there is no evidence of her being especially vain of her appearance and dress.

I was going on to tell him of another Sort of People, who get their 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 worketh 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 eat 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, enflamed our Bodies, and precipitated or prevented Digestion. That, prostitute Female *Yahoos* acquired a certain Malady, which bred Rottenness in the Bones of those, who fell into their Embraces: That this and many other Diseases, were propagated from Father to Son; so that great Numbers come into the World with complicated Maladies upon them: That, it would be endless to give him a Catalogue of all Diseases incident to human Bodies; for they could not be fewer than five or six Hundred, spread over every Limb, and Joynt: In short, every Part, external and intestine, having Diseases appropriated to each. To remedy which, there was a Sort of People bred up among us, in the Profession or Pretence of curing the Sick. And because I had some Skill in the Faculty, I would in Gratitude to his Honour, let him know the whole Mystery and Method by which they proceed.

Their Fundamental is, that all Diseases arise from *Repletion*; from whence they conclude, that a great *Evacuation* of the Body is necessary, either through the natural Passage, or upwards at the Mouth.¹ Their next Business is, from Herbs, Minerals, Gums, Oyls, Shells, Salts, Juices, Sea-weed, Excrements, Barks

1 Their "Fundamental" is their basic principle, though no doubt with a pun on fundament, or anus. Certainly, a great deal of medical practice of the period, while no longer confined by earlier humoral theory, nevertheless retained contact with the humoral insistence on balance within the body, and therefore attempted to correct what was diagnosed as either too much or too little, and to prescribe accordingly. Curiously, both too much and too little always seemed to require evacuation of some kind, often of blood, but also frequently in the ways Gulliver describes.

of Trees, Serpents, Toads, Frogs, Spiders, dead Mens Flesh and Bones, Beasts and Fishes, to form a Composition for Smell and Taste the most abominable, nauseous and detestable, that they can possibly contrive, which the Stomach immediately rejects with Loathing: And this they call a *Vomit*.¹ Or else from the same Store-house, with some other poysonous Additions, they command us to take in at the Orifice *above* or *below*, (just as the Physician then happens to be disposed) a Medicine equally annoying and disgusting to the Bowels; which relaxing the Belly, drives down all before it: And this they call a *Purge*, or a *Clyster*.² For Nature (as the Physicians alledge) having intended the superior anterior Orifice only for the *Intromission* of Solids and Liquids, and the inferior Posterior for Ejection; these Artists ingeniously considering that in all Diseases Nature is forced out of her Seat; therefore to replace her in it, the Body must be treated in a Manner directly contrary, by interchanging the Use of each Orifice, forcing Solids and Liquids in at the *Anus*, and making Evacuations at the Mouth.³

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.

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- 1 Eighteenth-century vomits were indeed made from an extraordinary range of substances, many of them dangerous to health, and even to life. Such practices continued throughout the whole period, partly because it was an age of such energy and liberation in medicine, as medieval assumptions and understanding gave way to unfettered scientific inquiry. Doctors, like other scientists, were increasingly ready to question everything, and to try anything.
 - 2 A "*Clyster*" is an enema. Many physicians reported excellent results from purging: given the eating habits of many well-to-do eighteenth-century families, these results may well be true. Like vomits, purges remained standard practice throughout the period, though the ingredients used tended to be of a narrower range, possibly because of patient resistance.
 - 3 Some medical reasoning of the period, sadly, was genuinely as literal-minded as this. It was held, for example, that the mad should not be given bedding with feathers because it would make them more light-headed—hence the insistence on hard boards and straw.

One great Excellency in this Tribe is their Skill at *Prognosticks*,¹ 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 have pronounced their Sentence, rather than be accused as false Prophets, they know how to approve their Sagacity to the World by a seasonable Dose.

They are likewise of special Use to Husbands and Wives, who are grown weary of their Mates; to eldest Sons, to great Ministers of State, and often to Princes.

I had formerly upon Occasion 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.²

I told him, that a *First* or *Chief Minister of State*, whom I intended to describe, was a Creature wholly exempt from Joy and Grief, Love and Hatred, Pity and Anger; at least makes use of no other Passions but a violent Desire of Wealth, Power, and Titles: That he applies his Words 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 *Lye*; nor a *Lye*, 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 to Preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others or to your self, 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 a Wife, a Daughter, or a Sister: The second, by betraying or undermining his Predecessor: And the third is, by a *furious Zeal* in publick Assemblies against the Corruptions of the Court. But

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- 1 That is, at predicting the future course of a disease. Gulliver's point is that such predictions are self-fulfilling, even when the physician has warned of the death of the patient.
 - 2 As explained in the earlier reference, Walpole is clearly in Swift's mind as he writes this, even though Gulliver's description is safely located in the period of this journey, the reign of Queen Anne.

a wise Prince would rather chuse 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)¹ they secure themselves from After-reckonings, and retire from the Publick, 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, Lacquies, 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;² 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 Tunnels through which all Graces are conveyed,³ and may properly be called, *in the last Resort*, the Governors of the Kingdom.

One Day, my Master, having heard me mention the *Nobility* of my Country,⁴ 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.

He made me observe, that among the *Houyhnhnms*, the *White*,

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- 1 Such an act, for example, was passed by the Whig administration in 1708 to shield ministers from prosecution for their acts in the event of a change of government.
 - 2 A Subaltern is a military rank inferior to a Captain. Here, the sense is that persons of rank pay court to the junior in order to gain a route to the superior.
 - 3 A “Wench” here is a prostitute; “Tunnels” are the means for the passing of “Graces” such as bribes and favours.
 - 4 “*Nobility*” is something with which the Houyhnhnms, with their strictly hierarchical social structure, are unproblematically familiar.

the *Sorrel*, and the *Iron-grey*, were not so exactly shaped as the *Bay*, the *Dapple grey*, and the *Black*; nor born with equal Talents of Mind, or a Capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the Condition of Servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own Race, which in that Country would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural.¹

I made his Honour my 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* among 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; that, as soon as Years will permit, they consume their Vigour, and contract odious Diseases among lewd Females; and when their Fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some Woman of mean Birth, disagreeable Person, and unsound Constitution, merely for the sake of Money, whom they hate and despise. That, the Productions of such Marriages are generally scrophulous, rickety² or deformed Children; by which Means the Family seldom continues above three Generations, unless the Wife take Care to provide a healthy Father among her Neighbours, or Domesticks, in order to improve and continue the Breed. That, a weak diseased Body, a meager Countenance, and sallow Complexion, are the true Marks of *noble Blood*; and a healthy robust Appearance is so disgraceful in a Man of Quality, that the World concludes his real Father to have been a Groom or Coachman. The Imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body; being a Composition of Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality and Pride.

Without the Consent of this illustrious Body,³ no Law can be enacted, repealed, or altered: And these Nobles have likewise the Decision of all our Possessions without Appeal.

1 As in all racist societies, the notion of sexual relations and procreation between those regarded as being of different breed is abhorrent to the Houyhnhnms.

2 Scrofula is tuberculosis of the lymphatic glands: it was also known as the King's Evil and for some time into the eighteenth century was believed to be curable by the touch of a monarch. Rickets is a disease, usually of children, caused by a deficiency of Vitamin D and results in a softness of the bones.

3 The House of Lords is meant here.

CHAPTER VII

The Author's great Love of his Native Country. His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, as described by the Author, with parallel Cases and Comparisons. His Master's Observations upon human Nature.

THE Reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on my self to give so free a Representation of my own Species, among a Race of Mortals who were already too apt to conceive the vilest Opinion of Human Kind, from that entire Congruity betwixt me and their *Yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many Virtues of those excellent *Quadrupeds* placed in opposite View to human Corruptions, had so far opened mine Eyes, and enlarged my Understanding, that I began to view the Actions and Passions of Man in a very different Light; and to think the Honour of my own Kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do before a Person of so acute a Judgment as my Master, who daily convinced me of a thousand Faults in my self, whereof I had not the least Perception before, and which with us would never be numbered even among human Infirmities. I had likewise learned from his Example an utter Detestation of all Falsehood or Disguise; and *Truth* appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the Reader, as to confess, that there was yet a much stronger Motive for the Freedom I took in my Representation of Things. I had not been a Year in this Country, before I contracted such a Love and Veneration for the Inhabitants, that I entered on a firm Resolution never to return to human Kind, but to pass the rest of my Life among these admirable *Houyhnhnms* in the Contemplation and Practice of every Virtue; where I could have no Example or Incitement to Vice.¹ But it was decreed by Fortune, my perpetual Enemy, that so great a Felicity should not fall to my Share. However, it is now some Comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my Countrymen, I *extenuated* their Faults as much as I durst before so strict an Examiner; and upon every Article, gave as *favourable*

1 This determination is anticipated, of course, in Part III, where Gulliver suddenly forgets his affection for family and country in his spontaneous decision to spend the rest of his life amongst the Struldbrugs.

a Turn as the Matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his Byass and Partiality to the Place of his Birth?

I have related the Substance of several Conversations I had with my Master, during the greatest Part of the Time I had the Honour to be in his Service; but have indeed for Brevity sake omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his Questions, and his Curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied; he sent for me one Morning early, and commanding me to sit down at some Distance, (an Honour which he had never before conferred upon me) He said, he had been very seriously considering my whole Story, as far as it related both to my self and my Country: That, he looked upon us as a Sort of Animals to whose Share, by what Accident he could not conjecture, some small Pittance of *Reason* had fallen, whereof we made no other Use than by its Assistance to aggravate our *natural* Corruptions, and to acquire new ones which Nature had not given us. That, we disarmed our selves of the few Abilities she had bestowed; had been very successful in multiplying our original Wants, and seemed to spend our whole Lives in vain Endeavours to supply them by our own Inventions. That, as to my self, it was manifest I had neither the Strength or Agility of a common *Yahoo*; that I walked infirmly on my hinder Feet; had found out a Contrivance to make my Claws of no Use or Defence, and to remove the Hair from my Chin, which was intended as a Shelter from the Sun and the Weather. Lastly, That I could neither run with Speed, nor climb Trees like my *Brethren* (as he called them) the *Yahoos* in this Country.

That, our Institutions of *Government* and *Law* were plainly owing to our gross Defects in *Reason*, and by consequence, in *Virtue*; because *Reason* alone is sufficient to govern a *Rational* Creature; which was therefore a Character we had no Pretence to challenge, even from the Account I had given of my own People; although he manifestly perceived, that in order to favour them, I had concealed many Particulars, and often *said the Thing which was not*.

He was the more confirmed in this Opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every Feature of my Body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to my real Disadvantage in point of Strength, Speed and Activity, the Shortness of my Claws, and some other Particulars where Nature had no Part; so, from the

Representation I had given him of our Lives, our Manners, and our Actions, he found as near a Resemblance in the Disposition of our Minds. He said, the *Yahoos* were known to hate one another more than they did any different Species of Animals; and the Reason usually assigned, was, the Odiousness of their own Shapes, which all could see in the rest, but not in themselves. He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to *cover* our Bodies, and by that Invention, conceal many of our Deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But, he now found he had been mistaken; and that the Dissensions of those Brutes in his Country were owing to the same Cause with ours, as I had described them. For, if (said he) you throw among five *Yahoos* as much Food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the Ears, each single one impatient to *have all to it self*; and therefore a Servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a Distance from each other. That, if a Cow died of Age or Accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the Neighbourhood would come in Herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a Battle as I had described, with terrible Wounds made by their Claws on both Sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient Instruments of Death as we had invented. At other Times the like Battles have been fought between the *Yahoos* of several Neighbourhoods without any visible Cause: Those of one District watching all Opportunities to surprise the next before they are prepared. But if they find their Project hath miscarried, they return home, and for want of Enemies, engage in what I call a *Civil War* among themselves.

That, in some Fields of his Country, there are certain *shining Stones* of several Colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond; and when Part of these *Stones* are fixed in the Earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their Claws for whole Days to get them out, and carry them away, and hide them by Heaps in their Kennels; but still looking round with great Caution, for fear their Comrades should find out their Treasure. My Master said, he could never discover the Reason of this unnatural Appetite, or how these *Stones* could be of any Use to a *Yahoo*; but now he believed it might proceed from the same Principle of *Avarice*, which I had ascribed to Mankind. That he had once, by way of Experiment, privately removed a Heap of these *Stones* from the

Place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it: Whereupon, the sordid Animal missing his Treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole Herd to the Place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest; began to pine away, would neither eat nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a Servant privately to convey the *Stones* into the same Hole, and hide them as before; which when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his Spirits and good Humour; but took Care to remove them to a better hiding Place; and hath ever since been a very serviceable Brute.

My Master farther assured me, which I also observed my self; That in the Fields where these *shining Stones* abound, the fiercest and most frequent Battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual Inroads of the neighbouring *Yahoos*.

He said, it was common when two *Yahoos* discovered such a *Stone* in a Field, and were contending which of them should be the Proprietor, a third would take the Advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my Master would needs contend to have some Resemblance with our *Suits at Law*; wherein I thought it for our Credit not to undeceive him; since the Decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many Decrees among us: Because the Plaintiff and Defendant there lost nothing beside the *Stone* they contended for; whereas our *Courts of Equity*,¹ would never have dismissed the Cause while either of them had any thing left.

My Master continuing his Discourse, said, There was nothing that rendered the *Yahoos* more odious, than their undistinguished Appetite to devour every thing that came in their Way, whether Herbs, Roots, Berries, the corrupted Flesh of Animals, or all mingled together: And it was peculiar in their Temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by Rapine² or Stealth at a greater Distance, than much better Food provided for them at home. If their Prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst, after which Nature had pointed out to them a certain *Root* that gave them a general Evacuation.

There was also another Kind of *Root* very *juicy*, but something rare and difficult to be found, which the *Yahoos* sought

1 Cases that could not be settled under Common Law were referred to "*Courts of Equity*" or Chancery Courts, which decided each case on general principles of justice and without setting precedents.

2 "Rapine" is used here as plunder rather than in the sexual sense.

for with much Eagerness, and would suck it with great Delight: It produced the same Effects that Wine hath upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another; they would howl and grin, and chatter, and reel,¹ and tumble, and then fall asleep in the Mud.

I did indeed observe, that the *Yahoos* were the only Animals in this Country subject to any Diseases; which however, were much fewer than Horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill Treatment they meet with, but by the Nastiness and Greediness of that sordid Brute. Neither has their Language² any more than a general Appellation for those Maladies; which is borrowed from the Name of the Beast, and called *Hnea Yahoo*, or the *Yahoo's-Evil*; and the Cure prescribed is a Mixture of *their own Dung* and *Urine*, forcibly put down the *Yahoo's* Throat. This I have since often known to have been taken with Success: And do here freely recommend it to my Countrymen, for the publick Good, as an admirable Specifick³ against all Diseases produced by Repletion.

As to Learning, Government, Arts, Manufactures, and the like; my Master confessed he could find little or no Resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that Country and those in ours. For, he only meant to observe what Parity there was in our Natures. He had heard indeed some curious *Houyhnhnms* observe, that in most Herds there was a Sort of ruling *Yahoo*, (as among us there is generally some leading or principal Stag in a Park) who was always more *deformed* in Body, and *mischievous* in Disposition, than any of the rest. That, this *Leader* had usually a Favourite as *like himself* as he could get, whose Employment was to *lick his Master's Feet and Posteriors*, and *drive the Female Yahoos to his Kennel*; for which he was now and then rewarded with a Piece of Ass's Flesh. This *Favourite* is hated by the whole Herd; and therefore to protect himself, keeps always *near the Person of his Leader*. He usually continues in Office till a worse can be found; but the very Moment he is discarded, his Successor, at the Head

1 1735 has "roul" (an addition to 1726, which also has "Dirt" for "Mud"). This is conventionally emended to "reel," as in the present text.

2 That is, Houyhnhnm language, not Yahoo language, which seems not to exist as such.

3 A "Specifick" is a remedy that precisely acts upon a particular ailment or condition.

of all the *Yahoos* in that District, Young and Old, Male and Female, come in a Body, and discharge their Excrements upon him from Head to Foot. But how far this might be applicable to our *Courts* and *Favourites*, and *Ministers of State*, my Master said I could best determine.

I durst make no Return to this malicious Insinuation, which debased human Understanding below the Sagacity of a common *Hound*, who hath Judgment enough to distinguish and follow the Cry of the *ablest Dog in the Pack*, without being ever mistaken.

My Master told me, there were some Qualities remarkable in the *Yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the Accounts I had given him of human Kind. He said, those Animals, like other Brutes, had their Females in common;¹ but in this they differed, that the *She-Yahoo* would admit the Male, while she was pregnant; and that the Hees would quarrel and fight with the Females as fiercely as with each other. Both which Practices were such Degrees of infamous Brutality, that no other sensitive Creature ever arrived at.

Another Thing he wondered at in the *Yahoos*, was their strange Disposition to Nastiness and Dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural Love of Cleanliness in all other Animals. As to the two former Accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any Reply, because I had not a Word to offer upon them in Defence of my Species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own Inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated human Kind from the Imputation of Singularity upon the last Article, if there had been any *Swine* in that Country, (as unluckily for me there were not) which although it may be a *sweeter Quadruped* than a *Yahoo*, cannot I humbly conceive in Justice pretend to more Cleanliness; and so his Honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy Way of feeding, and their Custom of wallowing and sleeping in the Mud.

My Master likewise mentioned another Quality, which his Servants had discovered in several *Yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, a Fancy would sometimes take a *Yahoo*, to retire into a Corner, to lie down and howl, and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, and

1 As is the system both in Lycurgus' Sparta and in Plato's *Republic*. Julius Caesar in the first book of his *Gallie Wars*, on the conquest of Britain, observes that the Britons have their wives in common.

wanted neither Food nor Water; nor did the Servants imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only Remedy they found was to set him to hard Work, after which he would infallibly come to himself. To this I was silent out of Partiality to my own Kind; yet here I could plainly discover the true Seeds of *Spleen*, which only seizeth on the *Lazy*, the *Luxurious*, and the *Rich*; who, if they were forced to undergo the *same Regimen*, I would undertake for the Cure.¹

His Honour had farther observed, that a Female-*Yahoo* would often stand behind a Bank or a Bush, to gaze on the young Males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antic^t² Gestures and Grimaces; at which time it was observed, that she had a most *offensive Smell*; and when any of the Males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit Shew of Fear, run off into some convenient Place where she knew the Male would follow her.

At other times, if a Female Stranger came among them, three or four of her own Sex would get about her, and stare and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over; and then turn off with Gestures that seemed to express Contempt and Disdain.

Perhaps my Master might refine a little in these Speculations,³ which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others: However, I could not reflect without some Amazement, and much Sorrow, that the Rudiments of *Lewdness*, *Coquetry*, *Censure*, and *Scandal*, should have Place by Instinct in Womankind.

I expected every Moment, that my Master would accuse the *Yahoos* of those unnatural Appetites in both Sexes, so common among us. But Nature it seems hath not been so expert

1 "Spleen" was a fashionable psychological ailment, near allied to melancholy, wherein the individual became withdrawn, self-absorbed, peevish and low-spirited without any obvious cause. These effects were believed to arise from an excess of black bile, the melancholic humour, which was produced by the spleen. While there were certainly genuinely depressed people, as in any period, spleen was often taken as an affectation of the idle rich. Remedies, as with most eighteenth-century medicine, could take a bewildering variety of forms, depending upon your choice of physician or quack.

2 That is, crazy or as if mad.

3 He might be a little over-ingenious in his conclusions.

a School-mistress; and these politer Pleasures are entirely the Productions of Art and Reason, on our Side of the Globe.¹

CHAPTER VIII

The Author relateth 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* to myself and my Countrymen; and I believed I could yet make farther 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 those 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 those odious Animals upon my first Arrival. 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 shewing my naked Arms and Breast 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 *Jack Daw* with Cap and Stockings, is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.²

They are prodigiously nimble from their Infancy; however, I

1 In other words, so-called sexual perversion is a product of civilisation and is not found in nature—something that many pet owners will quickly recognise as untrue.

2 Various kinds of birds were often kept, partly based on their teachability, and jackdaws were considered particularly adept at learning and mimicking. Equally, many pet birds, if they escape, tend to be persecuted and driven away by their wild counterparts.

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. I observed the young Animal's Flesh to smell very rank, and the Stink was somewhat between a *Weasel* and a *Fox*, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another Circumstance, (and perhaps I might have the Reader's Pardon, if it were wholly omitted) that while I held the odious Vermin in my Hands, it voided its filthy Excrements of a yellow liquid Substance, all over my Cloaths; but by good Fortune there was a small Brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could; although I durst not come into my Master's Presence, until I were sufficiently aired.

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 Burthens. Yet I am of Opinion, this Defect ariseth 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 libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in Strength and Activity.¹

The *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present Use² 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 hath 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

1 This derives from the medical theory that red-headed people had an excess of blood in their constitution, leading them to display greater energy and unpredictability in most activities.

2 That is, for immediate use.

Females carry home to their Young. And upon this Occasion, I hope the Reader will pardon my relating an odd Adventure.

Being one Day abroad with my Protector the Sorrel Nag, and the Weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a River that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the Stream. It happened that a young Female *Yahoo* standing behind a Bank, saw the whole Proceeding; and inflamed by Desire, as the Nag and I conjectured, came running with all Speed, and leaped into the Water within five Yards of the Place where I bathed. I was never in my Life so terribly frightened; the Nag was grazing at some Distance, not suspecting any Harm: She embraced me after a most fulsome Manner; I roared as loud as I could, and the Nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her Grasp, with the utmost Reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite Bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my Cloaths.

This was Matter of Diversion to my Master and his Family, as well as of Mortification to my self. For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real *Yahoo*, in every Limb and Feature, since the Females had a natural Propensity to me as one of their own Species: Neither was the Hair of this Brute of a Red Colour, (which might have been some Excuse for an Appetite a little irregular) but black as a Sloe, and her Countenance did not make an Appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of the Kind; for, I think, she could not be above Eleven Years old.¹

Having already 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.

1 Her age comes as a shock, as does Gulliver's admission that he found her less hideous in appearance. His status as "a real *Yahoo*," apparently, is in danger of being confirmed not merely by their sexual attraction to him, but by the beginnings of his ability to distinguish degrees of attractiveness in them. A similar age difference existed between Swift himself and Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa) (c. 1688-1723), who was nineteen when they first met in 1707. Swift was then just forty. They had an intense and mutually admiring relationship that lasted until Swift fell out with her in 1722. Stella, too, of course was a young girl when Swift first met her at Moor Park.

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 a Point problematical as with us, where Men can argue with Plausibility on both Sides of a Question; but strikes you with immediate Conviction;¹ 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, 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 Peoples 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;² which I mention as the highest Honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers. I have often since reflected what Destruction such a Doctrine would make in the Libraries of *Europe*; and how many Paths to 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

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- 1 In this, the Houyhnhnm Master is echoing those early Enlightenment philosophers, such as John Locke (1632-1704), who declared that certain kinds of knowledge come with the full force of their own correctness.
 - 2 The Master's point is that human knowledge of the universe can only ever be conjectural and therefore natural philosophy consists of opinions about the opinions of others. Moreover, even if such knowledge were certain it would bring us no benefit: things would remain as they are. The opinions of *Socrates*, who declared philosophers for that reason fools who should instead spend their time thinking about ethics, are particularly reported in *The Republic* (c. 380 BCE).

where-ever he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve *Decency* and *Civility* in the highest Degrees, but are altogether ignorant of *Ceremony*.¹ They have no Fondness² for their Colts or Foles; but the Care they take in educating them proceedeth entirely from the Dictates of *Reason*. And, I observed my Master to shew 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 maketh a Distinction of Persons, where there is a superior Degree of Virtue.

When the Matron *Houyhnhnms* have produced one of each Sex, they no longer accompany with their Consorts, except they lose one of their Issue by some Casualty, which very seldom happens: But in such a Case they meet again; or when the like Accident befalls a Person, whose Wife is past bearing, some other Couple bestows on him one of their own Colts, and then go together a second Time, until the Mother be pregnant. This Caution is necessary to prevent the Country from being over-burthened with Numbers. But the Race of inferior *Houyhnhnms* bred up to be Servants is not so strictly limited upon this Article; these are allowed to produce three of each Sex, to be Domesticks in the Noble Families.

In their Marriages they are exactly careful to chuse such Colours as will not make any disagreeable Mixture in the Breed.³ *Strength* is chiefly valued in the Male, and *Comeliness* in the Female; not upon the Account of *Love*, but to preserve the Race from degenerating: For, where a Female happens to excel in *Strength*, a Consort is chosen with regard to *Comeliness*. Courtship, Love, Presents, Joyntures, Settlements,⁴ have no place in 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

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- 1 Both the welcome given to Houyhnhnm strangers and the avoidance of ceremony are features of More's *Utopia*.
 - 2 That is, foolish and sentimental affection, something Swift himself found intolerable.
 - 3 The Houyhnhnms' use of eugenic principles in marriage arrangements echo those of Lycurgus' Sparta and those in *The Republic*.
 - 4 A jointure is property or estate legally settled upon a woman at her marriage to be enjoyed by her in the event of her husband's death; a settlement is the entire legal agreement concerning property and money involved in a marriage contract.

they look upon it as one of the necessary Actions in 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 deserveth 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 the 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,¹ except in some Articles of Domestick 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 their Children to such useless Animals, he said was yet a greater Instance of Brutality.

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their Youth to Strength, Speed, and Hardiness, by exercising them in running Races up and down steep Hills, or 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 a River. Four times a Year the Youth of certain Districts meet to shew their Proficiency in Running, and Leaping, and other Feats of Strength or Agility; where the Victor is rewarded with a Song made 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 to the *Houyhnhnms*; after which, these Brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome² to the Assembly.

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- 1 As did Swift himself, complaining on various occasions about the numbers of young women who were unfitted for marriage with an intelligent man through want of a proper education. Equality of education for male and female is a feature both of *The Republic* and of *Utopia*.
 - 2 That is, disgusting or offensive, particularly to sight or to smell.

Every fourth Year, at the *Vernal Equinox*,¹ there is a Representative Council of the whole Nation,² which meets in a Plain about twenty Miles from our House, and continueth 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 where-ever there is any Want (which is but seldom) it is immediately supplied by unanimous Consent and Contribution. Here likewise the Regulation of Children is settled: As for instance, if a *Houyhnhnm* hath two Males, he changeth one of them with another who hath two Females: And when a Child hath been lost by any Casualty, where the Mother is past Breeding, it is determined what Family shall breed another to supply the Loss.

CHAPTER IX

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.³ One of the *Members* for the Affirmative offered several Arguments of great Strength and Weight; alledging, That, as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed Animal which Nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocible,⁴ mischievous and malicious: They would privately suck the Teats of the *Houyhnhnms* Cows; kill and devour their Cats, trample down their Oats and Grass, if

1 The spring equinox, one of the two occasions in the year when days and nights are of equal length. The "*Vernal Equinox*" is around 21 March.

2 As there is in *Utopia*.

3 The "Question," in spite of the known antipathy of the Houyhnhnms for the *Yahoos*, comes as a shock, especially to modern readers familiar with the events of the Nazi years in the twentieth century.

4 That is, unteachable.

they were not continually watched; and commit a Thousand other Extravagancies. 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.¹ That these *Yahoos* engendered, and their Brood in a short time grew so numerous as to over-run and infest the whole Nation. That the *Houyhnhnms* to get rid of this Evil, made a general Hunting, and at last inclosed the whole Herd; and destroying the Older, 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 *Ylnhniamsky* (or *Aborigines* of the Land) because of the violent Hatred the *Houyhnhnms* as well as all other Animals, bore them;² 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 long since been 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 were 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*,³ who spoke before; and affirmed, that the two *Yahoos* said to be first seen among them, had been driven thither over the Sea; that coming to Land, and being forsaken by their Companions, they

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- 1 The Houyhnhnms cling to a kind of creation myth in order to help justify their enmity towards the Yahoo kind: they were the result of an accident of nature and therefore of inferior heritage to the genetically pure Houyhnhnms.
 - 2 The violence of the hatred the Houyhnhnms bear towards them proves that they must be foreigners.
 - 3 Swift mimics the form of address traditionally adopted in parliamentary debates in the British House of Commons.

retired to the Mountains, and degenerating by Degrees, became in Process of Time, much more savage than those of their own Species in the Country from whence these two Originals came. The Reason of his 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 of 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 civilized 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 Custom we had of *castrating 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 *Lyhannh*, although it be a much larger Fowl) That, this Invention might be practiced 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 from 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 burthening 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 Foot¹ by sharp Stones, as well as other Maims and Hurts in the several Parts of the Body.

They calculate the Year by the Revolution of the Sun and the 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.² 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 strait, 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 betwixt 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 their Fore-feet, 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 Joynt. 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

1 The "Frog" of a horse's foot is a band of horn in the shape of a "V" on the underside.

2 With the extraordinary idea of horse poetry, which undoubtedly would be "inimitable," Swift is pushing the boundaries of the pretence almost as far as they will go.

other Stones, they form into Instruments, that serve instead of Wedges, Axes, and Hammers. With Tools made of these Flints, they likewise cut their Hay, and reap their Oats, which there groweth naturally in several Fields: The *Yahoos* draw home the Sheaves in Carriages, and the Servants tread them in certain covered Hutts, 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 *Lhnuzwnh*. 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 chearfully as the rest: She died about three Months after.¹

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

1 The suddenness of the revelation of her death, so soon after her husband's, is perhaps intended to give the lie to the Houyhnhnm ideal of stoicism where emotions are concerned.

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.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the *Houyhnhnms* have no Word in their Language to express any thing 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, *Hhnm Yahoo*, *Whnaholm Yahoo*, *Ynlhmnawihlma Yahoo*, and an ill contrived House, *Ynholmhnmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could with great Pleasure enlarge farther 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 mean time, proceed to relate my own sad Catastrophe.¹

CHAPTER X

The Author's Oeconomy² and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms. His great Improvement in Virtue, by conversing with them. Their Conversations. The Author hath 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 Canoo, by the Help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a Venture.

I HAD settled my little Oeconomy 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 plaistered 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;³ This I filled with the Feathers of several Birds I had taken with Springes made of *Yahoos*

1 The "Catastrophe" of a story is its final climactic outcome, and therefore not solely to do with something that is a complete and utter disaster, though Gulliver clearly takes this view as well as meaning the conclusion to his travels.

2 By "*Oeconomy*" Gulliver means the organised regularity of his life style.

3 "Ticking," or tick, is the covering of a mattress.

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 Cloaths were worn to Rags, I made my self 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 likewise made very tolerable Stockings. I soaled 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 eat it 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 Tranquility 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, flattering or pimping, 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 Gibbers,¹ Censurers, Backbiters, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen, House-breakers, Attorneys, Bawds, Buffoons, Gamesters, Politicians, Wits, Spleneticks,² tedious Talkers, Controvertists,³ Ravishers, Murderers, Robbers, Virtuoso's;⁴ no Leaders or Followers of Party and Faction; no Encouragers to Vice, by Seducement or Examples: No Dungeon, Axes, Gibbets, Whipping-posts, or Pillories: No cheating Shop-keepers or Mechanics:⁵ No Pride, Vanity or Affectation: No Fops, Bullies,⁶ Drunkards, strolling Whores, or Poxes:⁷ No ranting, lewd, expensive Wives: No stupid, proud Pedants: No importunate, over-bearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing Companions: No Scoundrels raised from the Dust upon the Merit of their Vices; or Nobility thrown into

1 Scoffers.

2 Those suffering from the spleen.

3 Those who delight to engage in controversy.

4 Scientific dabblers.

5 Workers with their hands.

6 Pimps.

7 Venereal disease, and particularly syphilis.

it on account of their Virtues: No Lords, Fidlers,¹ Judges or Dancing-Masters.

I had the Favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit or dine with my Master; where his Honour graciously suffered me to wait in the Room, and listen to their Discourse. Both he and his Company would often descend² 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 my self: 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 doth much improve Conversation: 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 Oeconomy; 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 Determinations, to be taken at the next great Assembly; and often upon the various Excellencies 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 discant 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 my self. 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

1 A violinist, but with the implication of being a dabbler.

2 That is, condescend.

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 have of any Value, was acquired by the Lectures I 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 human Race in general, I considered them as they really were, *Yahoos* in Shape and Disposition,¹ perhaps a little more civilized, 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 happened to behold the Reflection of my own Form in a Lake or Fountain, I turned away my Face in Horror and detestation of my self;² 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 manner of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear my self ridiculed on that Account without the least Mortification.

In the Midst of this Happiness, when I looked upon my self to be fully settled for Life, my Master sent for me one Morning a little

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- 1 This marks the ultimate step in Gulliver's betrayal of his own kind: the belief that his own wife and children are in fact Yahoos.
 - 2 Unlike Narcissus in the myth, who fell in love with his own reflection and remained, transformed into the flower, leaning over the pool in admiration of himself, Gulliver is so appalled by his own Yahoo appearance that he cannot bear to look at himself. This self-revulsion goes hand in hand with his revulsion at his own kind.

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 my self) 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 from 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 alledged, That because I had some Rudiments of Reason, added to the natural Pravity¹ 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,² as being naturally of the ravenous³ 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, 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 the *Houyhnhnms*.

I should here observe to the Reader, that a Decree of the general Assembly in this Country, is expressed by the Word

1 That is, depravity.

2 It is a shock to find the *Houyhnhnms* ascribing Yahoo motives to Gulliver and therefore giving the least sympathetic turn to why he should not be released among the *Yahoos*.

3 By "ravenous" Gulliver means by nature given to acts of plundering.

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 Imbecillities of Nature) I answered, in a faint Voice, that Death would have been too great an 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 an 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 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,¹ 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.

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,

1 "Temper" here means composure or equanimity.

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 converse¹ in that Element.

After I had discovered this Island, I considered no farther; 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 Mechanicks: 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* Canoo, 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,² 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 Canoo in a large Pond near my Master's House, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the Chinks with *Yahoos* Tallow, till I found it stanch,³ and able to bear me, and my

1 That is, are conversant with.

2 Gulliver does not say whether the phrase "I could get" refers to what he could get from among those that had died naturally or by accident, but the possibility remains that he had slaughtered some of the young of a creature he acknowledged to be his own kin, simply in order to make better sails.

3 Stanch is watertight.

Freight. And when it was as compleat 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, mine 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 Canoo; 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.¹ 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 forgot, 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 Canoo, I pushed off from Shore.

CHAPTER XI

The Author's dangerous Voyage. He arrives at New-Holland, hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an Arrow by one the Natives. Is seized and carried by Force into a Portugueze Ship. The great Civilities of the Captain. The Author arrives at England.

I BEGAN this desperate Voyage on *February 15, 1714/5*,² at 9 o'Clock in the Morning. The Wind was very favourable; however,

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- 1 An instance of Gulliver perversely mistaking why he might be censured for this detail: naturally most readers would find it absurd for a man to kiss, in deference, the hoof of a horse.
 - 2 Because the legal year in England began on 25 March, dates between 1 January and the new year were expressed giving both the old and the new year. The modern calendar was introduced in 1752.

I made use at first only of my Paddles; but considering I should soon be weary, and that the Wind might probably 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,¹ as near as I could guess. My Master and his Friends continued on the Shoar, till I was almost out of Sight; and I often heard the Sorrel Nag (who always loved me) crying out, *Hmuy illa nyha maiah Yahoo*, Take Care of thy self, gentle *Yahoo*.

My Design was, if possible, to discover some small Island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my Labour to furnish me with 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 any 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 to my Cabbín. 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 about 45 Degrees *Southern* Latitude, as I gathered from some general Words I overheard among them, being I supposed to the *South-East* in their intended Voyage to *Madagascar*. And although this were but little better than 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.² 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

1 Gulliver is therefore progressing at around four-and-a-half miles per hour.

2 Swift is not always scrupulously careful about the consistency of his geographical locations, and what Gulliver now tells us is a little different from the information concerning his arrival at Houyhnhnmland.

reached. It was nothing but a Rock with one Creek, naturally arched by the Force of Tempests. Here I put in my Canoo, 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 Canoo; 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 to the *East* than it really is; which Thought I communicated many Years ago to my worthy Friend Mr. *Herman Moll*,¹ and gave him my Reasons for it, although he hath 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 eat them raw, not daring to kindle a Fire, for fear of being discovered by the Natives. I continued three Days feeding on Oysters and Limpits, to save my own Provisions; 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 were stark naked, Men, Women and Children 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 Canoo, shoved 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 to² 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 to³ the *North*, and was forced to paddle;

1 Herman Moll (1654?-1732) was a Dutch cartographer who opened a map shop in London around 1678 and produced a series of maps of his own, though they tended to be based on the work of previous cartographers. His comprehensive atlas, *A New and Correct Map of the Whole World*, was published in 1719 and is likely to have been Swift's basis for Gulliver's journeys.

2 I contrived to.

3 By "stood to" Gulliver means steered to.

for the Wind, although 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 no; but at last my Detestation of the *Yahoo* Race prevailed; and turning my Canoo, I sailed and paddled together to the *South*, and got into the same Creek from whence I set out in the Morning; choosing rather to trust my self among these *Barbarians*, than live with *European Yahoos*. I drew up my Canoo as close as I could to the Shore, and hid my self 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 out 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 until the Boat was almost on Shore; and it was too late to seek another Hiding-Place. The Seamen at their landing observed my Canoo, 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 a while in Admiration at my strange uncouth Dress; my Coat made of Skins, my wooden-soled Shoes, and my furred Stockings; from 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 admired to hear me answer them in their own Tongue, and saw by my Complexion I must be an *European*; but were at a Loss to know what I meant by *Yahoos* 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 Canoo; but they laid hold on me, desiring to know what Country I was of? whence I came? with many other Questions. I told them, I was born in *England*, from 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 any

thing so 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 their Captain would carry me *gratis*¹ to *Lisbon*, from whence I might return to my own Country; that two of the Seamen would go back to the Ship, to inform the Captain of what they had seen, and receive his Orders; in the mean Time, unless I would give my solemn Oath not to fly, 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.² In two Hours the Boat, which went loaden with Vessels of Water, returned with the Captain's Commands 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, heaved me into the Boat, from whence I was taken into the Ship, and from thence into the Captain's Cabbin.

His Name was *Pedro de Mendez*;³ he was a very courteous and generous Person; he entreated me to give some Account of my self, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, I should be used as well as himself, and spoke so many obliging Things, that I wondered to find such Civilities from a *Yahoo*. However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very Smell of him and his Men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own Canoo; but he ordered me a Chicken and some excellent Wine, and then directed that I should be put to Bed in a very clean Cabbin. I would not undress my self, but lay on the Bed-cloaths; and in half an Hour stole out, when I thought the Crew was at Dinner; and getting to the Side of the Ship, was going to leap into the Sea, and swim for my Life, rather than continue among *Yahoos*. But one of the Seamen prevented me, and having informed the Captain, I was chained to my Cabbin.

1 That is, without charge.

2 As Gulliver himself feared at the beginning of his visit to Houyhnhnmland.

3 There seems to have been no actual model for Captain de Mendez. Rather, he is the pattern of decent humanity whose generosity and sensitive understanding act as a stark contrast to Gulliver's own behaviour at this stage in the narrative.

After Dinner *Don Pedro* came to me, and desired to know my Reason for so desperate an Attempt; assured me he only meant to do me all the Service he was able; and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an Animal which had some little Portion of Reason. I gave him a very short Relation of my Voyage; of the Conspiracy against me by 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 preside, 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 that was not*? I assured him I had almost forgot what he meant by Falshood; 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 no; 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 would please to make; and 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 of Honour to bear him Company in this Voyage without attempting any thing 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. In Gratitude to the Captain I sometimes sate with him at his earnest Request, and strove to conceal my Antipathy against human Kind, although it often broke out; which he suffered to pass without Observation. But the greatest Part of the Day, I confined myself to my Cabbins, to avoid seeing any of the Crew. The Captain had often intreated me to strip myself of my savage Dress, and offered to lend me the best Suit of Cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the Back of a *Yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean Shirts, which having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not

so much defile me. These I changed every second Day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at *Lisbon*, Nov. 5, 1715. At our landing, the Captain forced me to cover myself with his Cloak, to prevent the Rabble from crouding about me. I was conveyed to his own House; and at my earnest Request, he led me up to the highest Room backwards.¹ 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*.² The Captain persuaded me to accept a Suit of Cloaths newly made; but I would not suffer the Taylor to take my Measure; however, Don *Pedro* being almost of my Size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred³ 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, from 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. I was at last bold enough to walk the Street in his Company, but kept my Nose well stopped with Rue,⁴ or sometimes with Tobacco.

In ten Days, Don *Pedro*, to whom I had given some Account of my domestick Affairs, put it upon me as a Point 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

1 That is, at the back of the house, so not overlooking the main street.

2 The Inquisition was the body charged by the Catholic Church with seeking out and punishing heresy of all kinds. It was established in the thirteenth century by Pope Gregory IX (1148-1241) and had been highly active, including the burning of offenders, and much feared, during the succeeding centuries. It was still a force in many Catholic countries. Gulliver's anxiety may be due to his story overturning the orthodox Christian view of the natural order of things.

3 He dressed or equipped him.

4 A particularly pungent herb that was also used medicinally.

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 had desired to live in; but I might command in my own House, and pass my time in a Manner as recluse¹ as I pleased.

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left *Lisbon* the 24th Day of *November*, in an *English* Merchant-man, 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 Cabbin. On the Fifth of *December*, 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 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 *Houyhnhnm* Country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the Sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with Don *Pedro de Mendez*; yet my Memory and Imaginations were perpetually filled with the Virtues and Ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms*. And when I began to consider, that by copulating with one of the *Yahoo*-Species, I had become a Parent of more; it struck me with the utmost Shame, Confusion and Horror.

As soon as I entered the House, my Wife took me in her Arms, and kissed me; at which, having not been used to the Touch of that odious Animal for so many Years, I fell in a Swoon for almost an Hour. At the Time I am writing, it is five Years since my last Return to *England*:² During the first Year I could not endure my Wife or Children in my Presence, the very Smell of them was intolerable; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same Room. To this Hour they dare not presume to touch my Bread, or drink out of the same Cup; neither was

1 As reclusively.

2 Thus dating the supposed time of Gulliver's writing as 1720.

I ever able to let one of them take me by the Hand. The first Money I laid out was to buy two young Stone-Horses,¹ which I keep in a good Stable, and next to them the Groom is my greatest Favourite; for I feel my Spirits revived by the Smell he contracts in the Stable. My Horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four Hours every Day.² They are Strangers to Bridle or Saddle; they live in great Amity with me, and Friendship to each other.

CHAPTER XII

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; proposeth his Manner of Living for the future; gives good Advice, and concludeth.

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 to improve their Minds by the bad, as well as good Example of what they deliver concerning foreign Places.

I could heartily wish a Law were enacted, that every Traveller, before he were permitted to publish his Voyages, should be

1 Uncastrated males.

2 This, at the very end of Gulliver's last journey, can be seen as either the ultimate vindication of his narrative, because his horses understand him, or the final confirmation of his insanity.

obliged to make Oath before the *Lord High Chancellor*,¹ 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 Publick, 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 over most Parts of the Globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous² Accounts from my own Observation; it hath 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.*³

I know very well, how little Reputation is to be got by Writings which require neither Genius nor Learning, nor indeed

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- 1 The highest legal office in England, although technically second to the largely ceremonial Lord High Steward, dating back at least as far as the Norman Conquest in 1066. The Lord High Chancellor, also known simply as Lord Chancellor, has responsibility for the functioning of the courts.
 - 2 Strictly speaking, “fabulous” means as found in fables, and therefore necessarily untrue.
 - 3 “Though Fortune has made Sinon miserable, she will not also make him false and a liar.” The lines, from Book II (79–80) of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, are spoken by Sinon, the Greek, who has allowed himself to be captured by the Trojans in order to give them a false account of affairs in the Greek camp and thereby induce them to take the wooden horse into Troy and thus bring about their downfall. Gulliver’s adoption of the lines, of course, throws both his own narrative personality and his narration into grave doubt. We are reminded, perhaps, of the motto to Gulliver’s portrait which is the frontispiece to the 1735 text: “Splendide Mendax,” “splendidly false” or “nobly false,” from Horace, *Odes*, III, xi, 35.

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, jostle 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 PUBLICK GOOD, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For, who can read 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; amongst 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 Applications.

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*,¹ 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 towards 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,

1 One has only to think back to the attacks on political parties in Parts I and II to question this assertion.

Observers, Reflecters, Detectors, Remarkers,¹ 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,² 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 *Ferdinando Cortez* over the naked *Americans*.³ 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 *Brobdignagians*: Or, whether an *English* Army would be much 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 against 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 an *European* Army, confounding the Ranks, overturning the Carriages, battering the Warriors Faces into Mummy, by terrible Yerks from their hinder Hoofs:⁴ For they would well deserve the Character given to *Augustus*; *Recalcitrat undique tutus*.⁵ But instead of Proposals for conquering that

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- 1 Many successful publications in the period would find themselves followed by a train of works purporting to answer, refute, explain or even to continue them.
 - 2 There were, until 1782, two Secretaries of State, one for the Southern Department and one for the Northern, which was the junior post. Both had jurisdiction for their respective geographical areas, but additionally for a proportion of foreign affairs. The Northern covered relations with Protestant North Europe while the Southern dealt with the Catholic and Muslim states and with the American colonies.
 - 3 Ferdinando (or Hernán) Cortés (1485-1547) led the Spanish expedition to Mexico from Cuba in 1519, which resulted in considerable destruction and loss of life and brought about the end of the Aztec empire.
 - 4 "Mummy" is pulp, and "Yerks" are kicks.
 - 5 The line, from the Roman satirist Horace's (65-8 BCE) second book of *Satires* (1.20) means "He kicks backwards, protected on all sides." Horace's point is that he does not need to write poems in praise of the Emperor Augustus because he is well able to take care of himself.

magnanimous Nation, I rather wish they were in a Capacity or Disposition to send a sufficient Number of their Inhabitants for civilizing *Europe*; by teaching us the first Principles of Honour, Justice, Truth, Temperance, publick 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 those Occasions. For Instance, A Crew of Pyrates are driven by a Storm they know not whither; at length a Boy discovers Land from the Top-mast; they go on Shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless People, are entertained with Kindness, they give the Country a new Name, they take formal Possession of it for the 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 civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People.¹

But this Description, I confess, doth 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;² the liberal Endowments for the Advancement of Religion and Learning; their Choice of devout and able Pastors to propagate *Christianity*;

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- 1 From the time of the Spanish conquerors of the New World, who included Cortés and Francisco Pizarro (c. 1478-1541), who brought about the end of the Incan empire, colonisation, in which the leading European nations were by now engaged, was widely seen as a bloody, destructive, and self-interested enterprise, but one that could lead to enormous national wealth.
 - 2 Swift will inevitably have England's exploitative and barbarous treatment of Ireland in mind in the heavily ironic eulogy on British colonial activities.

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 a Desire of being conquered, and enslaved, murdered or driven out by Colonies; nor abound either in Gold, Silver, Sugar or Tobacco; I did humbly conceive they were by no Means proper Objects of our Zeal, our Valour, or our Interest. However, if those whom it may concern, think fit to be of another Opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, That no *European* did ever visit these Countries before me. I mean, if the Inhabitants ought to be believed.

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 be raised against me as a Traveller; I here take a final Leave of 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 docible Animals; to behold my Figure often in a Glass, and thus if possible habituate my self 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 Intellectuals¹ 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. Yet the Smell of a *Yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always keep my Nose well stopt with Rue, Lavender, or Tobacco-Leaves. And although it

1 That is, their intellects.

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 Reconciliation to the *Yahoo*-kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those Vices and Follies only which Nature hath entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the Sight of a Lawyer, a Pick-pocket, a Colonel, a Fool, a Lord, a Gamester, a Politician, a Whoremunger, a Physician, an Evidence, a Suborner,¹ an Attorney, a Traytor, 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 Excellencies that can adorn a rational Creature, have no Name for this Vice in their Language, which hath no Terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable Qualities of their *Yahoos*; among which they were not able to distinguish this of *Pride*, for want of thoroughly understanding Human Nature, as it sheweth it self 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 intreat those who have any Tincture of this absurd Vice, that they will not presume to appear in my Sight.

FINIS.

1 A "Suborner" is someone who bribes or causes another person to commit perjury.

Appendix A: Preliminary Correspondence

[As explained in the Introduction (pp. 21-24), the arrangements for the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726 were carried out with great secrecy, partly for political reasons, and involved both pseudonymous correspondence and letters copied in other hands in order to conceal their true authorship. Richard Sympson is a fictitious person, created by Swift for the purpose of negotiating with Motte. A real Richard Sympson was one of the copyright holders for the writings of Sir William Temple, which is probably why Swift chose that name. There is too, no doubt, an allusion to Captain William Symson, also fictitious, the supposed author of *A New Voyage to the East Indies* (1715). The work was in fact a collection of plagiarisms. Benjamin Motte (d. 1738) was a London bookseller who had taken over the business of Benjamin Tooke (c. 1642-1716), with whom Swift had had many previous dealings during his publishing career.]

1. "Richard Sympson" to Benjamin Motte¹

London Aug^t. 8th. 1726

S^r

My Cousin M^r. Lemuel Gulliver entrusted me some Years ago with a Copy of his Travels, whereof that which I here send you is about a fourth part, for I shortned them very much as you will find in my Preface to the Reader. I have shewn them to several persons of great Judgment and Distinction, who are confident they will sell very well. And although some parts of this and the following Volumes may be thought in one or two places to be a little Satyrical, yet it is agreed they will give no Offence, but in that you must Judge for your self, and take the Advice of your Friends, and if they or you be of another opinion, you may let me know it when you return these Papers, which I expect shall be in three Days at furthest. The good Report I have received of

1 The originals of this and the following two letters are owned by the Morgan Library and Museum, accession number MA 563.

you makes me put so great a trust into your Hands, which I hope you will give me no Reason to repent, and in that Confidence I require that you will never suffer these Papers to be once out of your Sight.

As the printing of these Travels will probably be of great value to you, so as a Manager for my Friend and Cousin I expect you will give a due consideration for it, because I know the Author intends the Profit for the use of poor Sea-men, and I am advised to say that two Hundred pounds is the least Summ I will receive on his account, but if it shall happen that the Sale will not answer as I expect and believe, then whatever shall be thought too much even upon your own word shall be duely repaid.

Perhaps you may think this a strange way of proceeding to a man of Trade, but since I begin with so great a trust to you, whom I never saw, I think it not hard that you should trust me as much. Therefore, if after three days reading and consulting these Papers, you think it proper to stand to my agreement, you may begin to print them, and the subsequent parts shall be all sent you one after another in less than a week, provided that immediately upon your Resolution to print them, you do within three days deliver a Bank Bill of two hundred pounds wrapt up so as to make a parcel to the Hand from whence you receive this, who will come in the same manner exactly at 9 a clock at night on Thursday which will be the 11th. Instant.¹

If you do not approve of this proposal deliver these Papers to the person who will come on thursday

If you chuse rather to send the Papers make no other Proposal of your own but just barely write on a piece of paper that you do not accept my offer. I am S^r. your Humble Servant Richard Sympson

2. Benjamin Motte to “Richard Sympson”

[11 August 1726]

I return you S^r. your Papers with a great many thanks and do assure you that since they have been in my custody I have faithfully deserv'd the good Opinion you exprest of my Integrity; but you were much mistaken in the Estimate you made of my Abilities, when you suppos'd me able, in Vacation time (the most dead

¹ Meaning of the current month.

Season of the Year) at so short notice, to deposite so considerable a Sum as 200*l*.—By delivering the Papers to the Bearer, I have put you entirely in the same Condition they were in before I saw 'em: but if you will trust my Promise, that the Book shall be publish'd within a Month after I receive the Copy, and if the Success will allow it, I will punctually pay the money you require in Six Months, I shall thankfully embrace the Offer....

3. “Richard Sympson” to Benjamin Motte

[13 August 1726]

I would have both Volumes come out together and published by Christmas at furthest.

R Sympson

Appendix B: Literary and Cultural Influences

1. From Lucian's *True History* (2nd century CE)

[The Greek writer Lucian was born around 120. His work tended to be satirical, mocking the society of his time. His *True History* was one of the first books of fantasy travels, and one of the first, too, involving a journey to the moon. Swift owned at least one copy of his works, a Latin translation produced in Amsterdam in 1687 by Joannes Georgius Graevius.]

(*The Works of Lucian, Translated from the Greek, by Several Eminent Hands*, Volume 3, London, 1711, pp. 128-31, 137-41.)

After this we filled our Hogsheads with Wine and Water out of the River, and passed the whole Night near it, but in the Morning we put to Sea again, the Wind blowing but indifferently. Towards Noon we lost sight of the Island, and immediately a Hurricane arose, which blowing our Ship about some three thousand Furlongs into the Air, did not let it drop down again into the Sea, but held it there still, and a fresh gale arising filled the Sails, and onwards we jogg'd very merrily. We thus continu'd our Course through the Sky for the space of seven Days, and as many Nights. At last, on the eighth Day, we discover'd a great Land in the Sky, like a shining Island, round and bright, where we arriv'd, and coming into a convenient Harbour, went ashore, and soon found it to be inhabited. In the Daytime we could see nothing, but at Night several other Islands appear'd to us some of them lesser, and some greater, and in their colour resembled Fire. Below us there was another Earth, containing Cities, and Rivers, and Seas, and Woods, and Mountains, which we conjectur'd to be the very same with that which is inhabited by us. As we offer'd to advance farther into the Country, it was our misfortune to fall into the Hands of the *Hippogypi* as they are called, who took us, and secured us. Now these are Fellows that ride upon huge Vulturs, and put them to the same use as we do our Horses; and very well they may, for these Birds are of

a prodigious bulk, and for the most part have three Heads. You may frame to your self some Idea of their bigness, when, I tell you, that their very Wings are not only longer but thicker than the Mast of a large Merchant-Man. 'Tis the business of the *Hippogypi* to fly round the Country, and if they see any Strangers, to bring them before the King. So they accordingly carried us to the Monarch of the Place, who no sooner spied us, but he told us we are *Græcians*, which, I suppose, he guess'd by our Habits. We made no scruple to own so much to him, when he, pursuing his Discourse, But how, in the name of wonder, says he, came you to pass over so great a Tract of Air? And we satisfied him in every particular. After which, he was pleas'd to relate to us all the Occurrences of his Life, telling us his Name was *Endymion*,¹ that he was carried away from the Earth when he was asleep, and brought into this Country, where he commanded in Chief. Then his Lunar Majesty told us, that what seem'd to us to be the Moon was a solid Earth, and bid us take heart of Grace, and suspect no ill Usage, for I will take care, continues he, to supply you with all manner of Necessaries: At present I am ingaged in War with the Inhabitants of the Sun, which, if 'tis my good Destiny to end honourably, and with success, you shall live with me here as happy as any Lords. Upon this we made bold to enquire of him what sort of Enemies they were, and what was the occasion of the Quarrel? Why, you must know, says he, that the Sun is inhabited as well as the Moon, and *Phaeton*,² the King of those People, has, for this long while, carried on a fierce War against us, and the reason of it is as follows; some time ago I got together all the poorest People in my Dominions, intending to plant a Colony with them in *Lucifer*,³ which was then Unpeopled, and void of Inhabitants; but *Phaeton*, stirr'd up with Envy, frustrated this Design, by stopping them in the middle of their march with

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- 1 In Greek mythology, Endymion was a mortal loved by Selene, the moon goddess.
 - 2 In Greek mythology, Phaeton was the son of the sun god, Helios. Taking over his father's chariot, the sun, he proved unable to control the powerful horses and scorched the earth.
 - 3 Lucifer, meaning "light-bearer," was the name of Satan before his rebellion and expulsion from Heaven. However, the name also signifies the morning star, which also brings light, and that is the meaning here. Lucian, of course, though living after the birth of Christ, was not a Christian writer.

the *Hippomyrmeces*. At this time, I must own, we were soundly beaten, for, to say truth, we were inferior to the Enemy in all respects, and so they obliged us to retire. But now I am resolved to begin the War with fresh Vigour, and to carry on my Project of a Colony. Now if you think fit to accompany me in this Expedition, I will furnish each of you with a Royal Vultur, arm you after the manner of the Country, and to morrow we'll begin to march. Be it so, said I in the name of the rest, with all my heart, since your Majesty is fix'd upon this Affair. Then he treated us with a noble Entertainment, and early the next Morning we were called up to join the Army, for their Scouts had brought them word that the Enemy approach'd: ...

As soon as we were upon our return to the Moon, both our Companions and *Endymion* himself came out to meet us, and saluted us with Tears. His Majesty desired us to tarry with him, and particularly promis'd to marry his Son to me, (for they have no Women in this Country) but for my part, I utterly refused to accept his offers, and begged to be sent back to Sea again. When the King saw we were not inclined to comply with him, he entertain'd us nobly for seven Days, and then dismiss'd us. Now what remarkable things fell under my Observation, during my stay in the Moon, I will here relate, tho' some of them may seem to exceed belief. In the first place, they are not propagated from the Women, for the Climate affords no cloven Conveniencies, as I hinted above, but from Men; for this Reason they marry none but Males, and never so much as heard of the Name of a Woman. When they arrive to the Age of twenty five, they marry, and likewise are given in Marriage. They Conceive not in the Belly, but in the Calf of the Leg: After the Conception the Leg swells considerably, and when the time is come they cut out the Fœtus dead, which being exposed to the Air, receives Life. From hence, as I imagine, the *Grecians* borrow'd the term *Gastrocnemia*,¹ because with these People the Calf of the Leg conceives instead of the Belly. But now I will relate a much stranger thing than this. They have a sort of Men among them call'd *Dendriæ*,² which

1 The gastrocnemius muscle is the powerful muscle that runs through the calf, also known as the stomach of the leg. Gastrocnemia is the plural.

2 That is, sprung from trees, from the Greek word "déndron," meaning tree.

are produc'd after this manner. They plant the right Testicle of a Man in the Ground, from which rises a very great Tree, fleshy like a *Priapus*;¹ it has Boughs and Leaves, and the Fruit it produces are Nuts of a Cubit-long, which when they arrive to Maturity, they gather with care, and take Men out of them. Their Privities are prominent before, some wear them of Ivory, but the Poor are contented with Wooden ones, and with these they copulate, and perform the Matrimonial Duties. When any of them is grown old, they don't dye, but turn to Air, and dissolve into Smoak. All of them have the same Food, without any difference. They kindle a Fire, and then broil Frogs upon the Coals, which in that Country fly in vast Numbers in the Air, and when they are broiled enough they sit about a Table, and licking the Smoke or Steam that comes from them, think they dine like Princes. And this is the Food that nourishes them. As for their drink, they squeeze the Air into a Cup, which affords them a Liquor which resembling Dew. They never make Urine, nor go to Stool, neither indeed are they perforated in that part as we are. Their Boys don't do you know what you know where, but in the Hams, a little above the Calf, where they have a hole for the purpose. They reckon that Man handsome who is bald, and without Hair, but abominate those that have, whereas among the Inhabitants of the Comets no Man can pass for a Beau that has not a good Head of Hair, as I have been inform'd by some Gentlemen of those Countries, who have given me a large account of their respective Customs and Manners. They wear their Beards a little above their Knees, they have no Nails upon their Toes, and have but one Finger to help themselves. Each Man has a large Cabbage growing out of his Fundament in the shape of a Tail, which is always green, and will not break, though a Man should happen to fall full upon it. Their Honey is exceeding sharp, and whenever they are minded to use any laborious Exercises, they anoint all their Body with Milk, and then dropping a little of this Honey upon it, it turns into Cheese in a moment. They have a trick of squeezing Oyl out of Onions, which is very fat and high scented, like an unguent. Great plenty of Vines grows in their Country, which supply them with Water; the Stones of their Grapes are exactly like Hail, so that I am wholly of Opinion, that

1 A Greek deity representing male generative power, the name came to denote the phallus itself.

when a high Wind snakes their Vines, and breaks the Grapes, the Stones fall down and make that which we call Hail. They put their Bellies to the same use as we do a Sack, and put whatever they have occasion for into it, for they can open it, and shut it again when they please. Neither do any Bowels or Liver appear in it, for within 'tis only rough and hairy, so that when their Children are a Cold they run there to warm themselves. The Habits of the Men of Quality among them are made of Glass, exceedingly soft; but poor Men's Clothes are made of woven Brass, for this Country abounds in that Metal, which the People soak in Water, and afterwards manage as easily as we do Wooll. But now I am afraid to relate what sort of Eyes they have because the Reader will be apt to think I banter him, the thing being so monstrously strange, however, I will venture to acquaint him with it. Their eyes then they can take in and out, when they please, and use them as they have occasion. Several that have lost their own borrow of other People, and so make a shift to see. He that has the greatest store of them about him, passes for a wealthy Man. Their Ears are the Leaves of a Plane-Tree, only I must except such as were produc'd from Nuts, for these worthy Gentlemen alone have wooden ones. In the King's Palace I beheld another sort of a Miracle; over a Pit, which is none of the deepest, stands a very high Tower, if a Man goes down into the Pit, he hears every Syllable that is said among us here below; but he that gets up to the top of the Tower, sees all the Cities and Nations in the World as exactly as if he were in the midst of them. The Truth of this I know by my own Experience, for when I was there, I saw my own Country, and all my Acquaintance; but whether they saw me or no, that I can't determine. And if any one will not take my Word for't, but says he does not believe that things were so as I have related them, let him e'en make a Voyage thither himself, and then he'll be satisfied I have told him nothing but the Truth.

Having taken our leaves of the King and his Courtiers, we repair'd to our Ship out of Hand.

2. From Sir Thomas More, *Utopia* (1516)

[This work by Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was largely written while he was envoy to Flanders and was first published in Louvain. Not translated into English until 1551, sixteen years

after More's execution in 1535 for his opposition to the king's break with Rome, it was nevertheless hugely popular and an influence on all subsequent political fables. Among other topics, More, who subsequently became Lord Chancellor of England under Henry VIII, deals with the regulation of relations between the individual and the state, with sexual equality, with equality of education and with religious toleration. Swift's detailing of the ways of life found by Gulliver, especially that in Houyhnhnmland, owes a great deal in tone and manner to More's work.]

(Utopia: Written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England. Translated into English by Gilbert Burnet, Late Bishop of Sarum, Dublin, 1737, pp. 53-59.)

Of Their Trades, and Manner of Life.

Agriculture is that which is so universally understood among them all, that no Person, either Man or Woman, is ignorant of it; from their Childhood they are instructed in it, partly by what they learn at School, and partly by Practice, they being led out often into the Fields, about the Town, where they not only see others at Work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides Agriculture, which is so common to them all, every Man has some peculiar Trade to which he applies himself, such as the Manufacture of Wool, or Flax, Masonry, Smiths Work, or Carpenters Work; for there is no other Sort of Trade that is in great Esteem among them. All the Island over, they wear the same Sort of Clothes without any other Distinction, except that which is necessary for marking the Difference between the two Sexes, and the married and unmarried. The Fashion never alters; and as it is not ungrateful nor uneasy, so it is fitted for their Climate, and calculated both for their Summers and Winters. Every Family makes their own Clothes; but all among them, Women as well as Men, learn one or other of the Trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most Part, deal in Wool and Flax, which sute better with their Feebleness, leaving the other rude¹ Trades to the men. Generally the same Trade passes down from Father to Son, Inclinations often following Descent: But if any Man's Genius

¹ Meaning rough or coarse.

lies another Way, he is by Adoption translated into a Family that deals in the Trade to which he is inclined: And when that is to be done, Care is taken not only by his Father, but by the Magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good Man. And if after a Man has learned one Trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learn'd both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the Publick has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only Business of the *Syphogrants*,¹ is to take Care that no Man may live idle, but that every one may follow his Trade diligently: Yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual Toil, from Morning to Night, as if they were Beasts of Burden, which as it is indeed a heavy Slavery, so it is the common Course of Life of all Tradesmen every where, except among the *Utopians*: But they dividing the Day and Night into twenty-four Hours, appoint six of these for Work, three of them are before Dinner; and after that they dine, and interrupt their Labour for two Hours, and then they go to work again for other three Hours; after that they sup, and at eight a Clock, counting from Noon, they go to Bed and sleep eight Hours: And for their other Hours, besides those of Work, and those that go for eating and sleeping, they are left to every Man's Discretion; yet they are not to abuse that Interval to Luxury and Idleness, but must employ it in some proper Exercise according to their various Inclinations, which is for the most Part Reading. It is ordinary to have publick Lectures every Morning before Day-break; to which none are obliged to go, but those who are mark'd out for Literature; yet a great many, both Men and Women of all Ranks, go to hear Lectures of one Sort or another, according to the Variety of their Inclinations. But if others, that are not made for Contemplation, choose rather to imploy themselves at that Time in their Trade, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are commended rather, as Men that take Care to serve their Country. After Supper, they spend an Hour in some Diversion: In Summer it is in their Gardens, and in Winter it is in the Halls where they eat; and they entertain themselves in them, either with Musick or Discourse. They do not so much as know Dice, or suchlike foolish and mischievous Games: They have two Sorts of Games not unlike our Chess; the one is between several Numbers, by which one Number, as it were, consumes

1 The magistrates elected by groups of families to rule over public affairs.

another: The other resembles a Battle between the Vices and the Virtues, in which the Enmity in the Vices among themselves, and their Agreement against Virtue is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special Oppositions between the particular Virtues and Vices; as also the Methods by which Vice does either openly assault, or secretly undermine Virtue; and Virtue on the other Hand resists it; and the Means by which either Side obtains the Victory. But this Matter of the Time set off for Labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may perhaps imagine, that since there are only six Hours appointed for Work, they may fall under a Scarcity of necessary Provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this Time is not sufficient for supplying them with a Plenty of all Things, that are either necessary or convenient; that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a Part of all other Nations is quite idle. First, Women generally do little, who are the half of Mankind; and if some few Women are diligent, their Husbands are idle: Then consider the great Company of idle Priests, and of those that are called religious Men; add to these all rich Men, chiefly those that have Estates in Lands, who are called Noblemen and Gentlemen, together with their Families, made up of idle Persons, that do nothing but go swaggering about: Reckon in with these, all those strong and lusty Beggars, that go about pretending some Disease, in Excuse for their Begging; and upon the whole Account you will find, that the Number of those by whose Labours Mankind is supplied, is much less than you did perhaps imagine: Then consider how few of those that work, are employed in Labours that Men do really need: For we who measure all Things by Money, give Occasions to many Trades that are both Vain and superfluous, and that serve only to support Riot and Luxury. For if those who are at Work, were employed only in such Things as the Conveniencies of Life require, there would be such an Abundance of them, and by that Means the Prices of them would so sink, that Tradesmen could not be maintained by their Gains; if all those who labour about useless Things, were set to more profitable Trades; and if all that Number that languishes out their Life in Sloth and Idleness, of whom every one consumes as much as any two of the Men that are at Work do, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small Proportion of Time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to Mankind, Pleasure being still kept within its due Bounds: Which appears very plainly

in *Utopia*, for there, in a great City, and in all the Territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either Men or Women, that by their Age and Strength, are capable of Labour, that are not engaged in it; even the *Syphogrants* themselves, though the Law excuses them, yet do not excuse themselves, that so by their Examples they may excite the Industry of the rest of the People; the like Exemption is allowed to those, who being recommended to the People by the Priests, are by the secret Suffrages of the *Syphogrants*, privileged from Labour, that they may apply themselves wholly to Study; and if any of these fall short of those Hopes that he seemed to give at first, he is obliged to go to work. And sometimes a Mechanick, that does so employ his Leisure Hours, that he makes a considerable Advancement in Learning, is eased from being a Tradesman, and ranked among their learned Men. Out of these they choose their Ambassadors, their Priests, their *Tranibors*,¹ and the Prince himself; who was antiently called their *Barzenes*, but it called of late their *Ademus*.

And thus from the great Numbers among them, that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless Labour; you may easily make the Estimate, how much good Work may be done in those few Hours in which they are obliged to labour. But besides all that has been already said, this is to be considered, that those needful Arts which are among them, are managed with less Labour than any where else. The Building, or the repairing of Houses among us, employ many Hands, because often a thriftless Heir suffers a House that his Father built, to fall into decay, so that his Successor must, at great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small Charge: And often it falls out, that the same House which one built at a vast Expence, is neglected by another, that thinks he has a more delicate Sense of such Things; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less Charge. But among the *Utopians*, all Things are so regulated, that Men do very seldom build upon any new Piece of Ground; and they are not only very quick in repairing their Houses, but shew their Foresight in preventing their Decay: So that their Buildings are preserved very long, with very little Labour: And thus the Craftsmen to whom that Care belongs, are often without any Employment, except it be the hewing of Timber, and the

1 Another kind of magistrate, elected by the *Syphogrants*. Their function is to meet in council with the Prince to decide on affairs of the Commonwealth.

squaring of Stones, that so the Materials may be in Readiness for raising a Building very suddenly, when there is any Occasion for it. As for their Cloaths, observe how little work goes for them: While they are at Labour, they are cloathed with Leather and Skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven Years; and when they appear in Publick, they put on an upper Garment, which hides the other: And these are all of one Colour, and that is the natural Colour of the Wool: And as they need less woollen Cloth than is used any where else, so that which they do need, is much less costly. They use Linen Cloth more; but that is prepared with less Labour, and they value Cloth only by the Whiteness of the Linen, or the Cleanness of the Wool, without much Regard to the Fineness of the Thread; and whereas in other Places, four or five upper Garments of woollen Cloth, and of different Colours, and as many Vests of Silk will scarce serve one Man; and those that are nicer,¹ think ten too few; every Man there is contented with one which very oft serves him two Years. Nor is there any Thing that can tempt a Man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one Jot the better Appearance for it. And thus since they are all employed in some useful Labour; and since they content themselves with fewer Things, it falls out that there is a great Abundance of all Things among them: So that often, for want of other Work, if there is any need of mending their High Ways at any Time, you will see marvellous Numbers of People brought out to work at them; and when there is no Occasion of any publick Work, the Hours of working are lessened by publick Proclamation; for the Magistrates do not engage the People into any needless Labour, since by their Constitution they aim chiefly at this, that except in so far as publick necessity requires it, all the People may have as much free Time for themselves as may be necessary for the Improvement of their Minds, for in this they think the Happiness of Life consists.

3. From Cyrano de Bergerac, *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and Sun* (1657, 1662)

[Cyrano de Bergerac (1619-55) became an author of comedies after being wounded fighting in Spain. Like Lucian's *True History*, his *Comical History*, which was published two years

1 That is, more delicate in taste.

after de Bergerac's early death at the age of thirty-six, takes his traveller to the moon and sun. He turns conventional logic on its head, trivialising philosophical arguments, and at the same time satirises figures from French society and the politics of his time. He also utilises historical figures, including Socrates. Early commentaries on *Gulliver's Travels* noted de Bergerac's work as a possible influence.]

(The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and Sun. Written in French by Cyrano de Bergerac. And newly Englished by A. Lovell, A.M., London, 1687, pp. 82-85, 91-95, 100-01.)

When he had made an end, all the Hall rung again with a kind of Musical Applause; and after all the Opinions had been canvased, during the space of a large quarter of an hour, the King gave Sentence:

That for the future, I should be reputed to be a Man, accordingly set at liberty, and that the Punishment of being Drowned, should be converted into a publick Disgrace (the most honourable way of satisfying the Law in that Country) whereby I should be obliged to retract openly, what I had maintained, in saying, That the Moon was a World, because of the Scandal, that the novelty of that opinion, might give to weak Brethren.

This Sentence being pronounced, I was taken away out of the Palace, richly Cloathed; but in derision, carried in a magnificent Chariot, as on a Tribunal; which four Princes in Harness drew, and in all the publick places of the Town, I was forced to make this Declaration:

Good People, I declare to you, That this Moon here is not a Moon, but a World; and that that World below is not a World, but a Moon: This the Council thinks fit you should believe. After I had Proclaimed this, in the five great places of the Town; my Advocate came and reached me his Hand to help me down. I was in great amaze, when after I had Eyed him, I found him to be my Spirit;¹ we were an hour in embracing one another: Come lodge with me, said he, for if you return to Court, after a Publick Disgrace, you will not be well lookt upon: Nay more, I

1 The narrator is escorted on his trip to the moon by the Demon of Socrates.

must tell you, that you would have been still amongst the Apes yonder, as well as the *Spaniard* your Companion;¹ if I had not in all Companies published the vigour and force of your Wit, and gained from your Enemies, the protection of the great Men, in your favours. I ceased not to thank him all the way, till we came to his Lodgings; there he entertained me till Supper-time, with all the Engines² he had set a work to prevail with my Enemies. Notwithstanding, the most specious pretexts they had used for riding the Mobile,³ to desist from so unjust a Prosecution: But as they came to acquaint us, that Supper was upon the Table, he told me, that to bear me company that evening, he had invited Two Professors of the University of the Town to Sup with him: I'll make them, said he, fall upon the Philosophy, which they teach in this World, and by that means you shall see my Landlord's Son: He's as Witty a Youth as ever I met with; he would prove another *Socrates*, if he could use his Parts aright, and not bury in Vice the Graces wherewith God continually visits him, by affecting a Libertinism, as he does, out of a Chimerical⁴ Ostentation and Affectation of the name of a Wit. I have taken Lodgings here, that I may lay hold on all Opportunities of Instructing him: He said no more, that he might give me the Liberty to speak, if I had a mind to it; and then made a sign, that they should strip me of my disgraceful Ornaments, in which I still glistered.

The Two Professors, whom we expected, entered, just as I was undrest, and we went to sit down to Table, where the Cloth was laid, and where we found the Youth, he had mentioned to me, fallen to already. They made him a low Reverence, and treated him with as much respect, as a Slave does his Lord. I asked my Spirit the reason of that, who made me answer, that it was because of his Age; seeing in that World, the Aged rendered all kind of Respect and Difference to the Young; and which is far more, that the Parents obeyed their Children, so soon as by the Judgment of the Senate of Philosophers, they had attained to the Years of Discretion....

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- 1 The narrator, on his way to the palace, has come across a Spaniard in company with a group of monkeys carrying strawberries. Humans on the moon are frequently mistaken for monkeys.
 - 2 Usually mechanical devices, but here is likely to mean strategies.
 - 3 Meaning firing up the populace against him.
 - 4 Wild and fanciful, though originally used to refer to a mythical beast with a lion's head, a goat's body, and a serpent's tail.

The strictest Philosophy of their World acknowledges that, it is better to dye, since to dye, one must have lived, than not to have had a Being. Now seeing, by not giving a Being to that Nothing, I leave it in a state worse than Death, I am more guilty in not producing, than in killing it. In the mean time, my little Man, thou wouldst think thou hadst committed an unpardonable Parricide, shouldst thou have cut thy Sons throat: It would indeed be an enormous Crime, but it is far more execrable, not to give a Being to that which is capable of receiving it: For that Child whom thou deprivest of life for ever, hath had the satisfaction of having enjoyed it for some time. Besides we know that it is but deprived of it, but for some ages; but these forty poor little Nothings, which thou mightest have made forty good Souldiers for the King, thou art so malicious as to deny them Life, and leavest them corrupt in thy Reins, to the danger of an Apoplexy, which will stifle thee.

This Philosophy did not at all please me, which made me three or four times shake my Head; but our Preceptor held his tongue, because Supper was mad to be gone.¹

We laid our selves along, then, upon very soft Quilts, covered with large Carpets; and a young man that waited on us, taking the oldest of our Philosophers, led him into a little parlour apart, where my Spirit called to him, to come back to us, as soon as he had supped.

This humour of eating separately, gave me the curiosity of asking the Cause of it: He'll not relish, said he, the steam of Meat, nor yet of Herbs, unless they die of themselves, because he thinks they are sensible of Pain. I wonder not so much, replied I, that he abstains from Flesh, and all things that have had a sensitive Life: For in our World the *Pythagoreans*,² and even some holy *Anchorites*,³ have followed that Rule; but not to dare, for instance, cut a Cabbage, for fear of hurting it; that seems to me altogether ridiculous. And for my part, answered my Spirit, I find a great deal of probability in his Opinion.

For tell me, Is not that Cabbage you speak of, a Being existent in Nature, as well as you? Is not she the common Mother of you

1 That is, it was waiting for them to eat it.

2 The Greek mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras (c. 570–c. 495 BCE) imposed notoriously strict dietary rules on his followers.

3 Religious recluses.

both? Nay it would even seem that she hath taken more care of the Vegetable, than of the Rational, since she hath referred the Generation of a Man to the Caprices of his Father, who may, according as he has a mind to it, beget him, or not beget him: A rigour wherewith she hath not treated the Cabbage; for instead of remitting it to the discretion of the Father, to generate the Son, as if she had been more fearful, lest the Race of Cabbage should perish, than that of Man; she forces them, whether they will or no, to give a Being to another, and not so as Men, who engender not, but according to their Whimseys; and who, during their whole life, cannot procreate above a Score; whereas Cabbages can produce many Thousands a Head. Yet the Opinion that Nature is kinder to Mankind, than to Cabbage-kind, tickles and makes us laugh: But seeing she is incapable of Passion, she can neither love, nor hate any thing; and were she susceptible of Love, she would rather bestow her affection upon this Cabbage, which you grant cannot offend her, than upon that Man who would destroy her, if it lay in his power. And moreover, Man cannot be born Innocent, being a Part of the first Offendor: But we know very well, that the first Cabbage did not offend its Creator. If it be said, that we are made after the Image of the Supreme Being, and so is not the Cabbage; grant that to be true; yet by polluting our Soul, wherein we resembled Him, we have effaced that Likeness, seeing nothing is more contrary to God than Sin. If then our Soul be no longer his Image, we resemble him no more in our Feet, Hands, Mouth, Forehead and Ears, than a Cabbage in its Leaves, Flowers, Stalk, Pith, and Head: Do not you really think, that if this poor Plant could speak, when one cuts it, it would not say, Dear Brother Man, what have I done to thee that deserves Death? I never grow but in Gardens, and am never to be found in desert places, where I might live in Security: I disdain all other company but thine; and scarcely am I sowed in thy Garden, when to shew thee my Goodwill, I blow, stretch out my Arms to thee; offer thee my Children in Grain; and as a requital for my civility, though causest my Head to be chopt off. Thus would a Cabbage discourse, if it could speak....

But not to trouble the Reader, with the Discourse, and Entreaties, that were previous to the Treaty, wherein Jest and Earnest were so wittily interwoven, that it can be hardly be imitated; I'll only tell you, that the Doctor, who came last, after many things, spake as follows:

It remains to be proved, that there are infinite Worlds, in an infinite World: Fancy to your self then the Universe, as a great Animal, and that the Stars, which are Worlds, are in this great Animal, as other great Animals, that serve reciprocally for Worlds to other People. Such as we, our Horses, &c. That we in our turns, are likewise Worlds to certain other Animals, incomparably less than our selves, such as Nits, Lice, Hand-worms, &c. And that these are on Earth, to others more imperceptible ones; in the same manner, as every one of us, appears to be a great World, to these little People. Perhaps, our Flesh, Blood, and Spirits, are nothing else, but a Contexture of little Animals that correspond, lend us Motion from theirs, and blindly suffer themselves to be guided by our Will, which is their Coachman; or otherwise conduct us, and all Conspiring together, produce that Action which we call Life. For tell me, pray, is it a hard thing to be believed, that a Louse takes your Body for a World; and that when any one of them, travels from one of your Ears to the other, his Companions say, that he hath travelled the Earth, from end to end, or that he hath run from one Pole to the other? Yes, without doubt, those little People, take your Hair for the Forests of their Country; the Pores full of Liquor, for Fountains; Buboes¹ and Pimples, for Lakes and Ponds; Boils, for Seas; and Defluxions,² for Deluges; And when you Comb your self, forwards, and backwards, they take that Agitation, for the Flowing and Ebbing of the Ocean. Doth not Itching make good what I say? What is the little Worm that causes it, but one of these little Animals, which hath broken off from civil Society, that it may set up for a Tyrant in its Country? If you ask me, why are they bigger than other imperceptible Creatures? I ask you, why are Elephants bigger than we? And the *Irish-men*, than *Spaniards*?

4. From William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697)

[Dampier (1652-1715) had an active and varied career as a privateer, an explorer, a logger and, eventually, as a writer. His accounts of his travels in the Caribbean, the Pacific, Australia

1 Swellings in the lymph nodes, especially in the groin or armpit, and usually associated with the plague.

2 Any kind of fluid bodily discharge.

and the East Indies were popular and ran to several editions. Swift satirises him for his blunt and unimaginative style, his long-windedness, and his dwelling on trivial details. The Isthmus of Darien is what is now the Isthmus of Panama. The Moskito Indians still live in an area of Nicaragua and Honduras.]

(A New Voyage Round the World. Describing particularly, The Isthmus of America, several Coasts and islands in the West Indies, ... Their Soil, Rivers, Harbours, Plants, Fruits, Animals, and Inhabitants. Their Customs, Religion, Government, Trade, &c. By William Dampier. The Second Edition Corrected. London, 1697, pp. 1-4, 7-11.)

THE TRAVELS OF Mr. William Dampier

CHAP. I

An Account of the Author's Return out of the South Seas, to his Landing near Cape St. Lawrence, in the Isthmus of Darien: With an Occasional Description of the Moskito Indians.

April the 17th 1681, about Ten a Clock in the morning, being 12 leagues N.W. from the Island *Plata*, we left Captain *Sharp*, and those who were willing to go with him in the Ship, and imbarqued into our Lanch and Canoas, designing for the River of *Santa Maria*, in the Gulf of *St. Michael*, which is about 200 leagues from the Isle of *Plata*. We were in number 44 white Men who bore Arms, a *Spanish Indian* who bore Arms also; and two *Moskito Indians*, who always bear Arms amongst the Privateers, and are much valued by them for striking Fish, and Turtle or Tortoise, and Manatee or Sea Cow;¹ and 5 Slaves taken in the South Seas, who fell to our share.

The Craft which carried us was a Lanch, or Long Boat, one Canoa, and another Canoa which had been sawn asunder in the middle, in order to have made Bumkins, or Vessels for carrying water,² if we had not separated from our Ship. This we joyned together again and made it tight; providing Sails to help us along:

1 A large herbivorous warm-water mammal.

2 These, presumably, involved blocking the ends of the two halves of the canoe in order to have a vessel of convenient enough size to carry water.

And for 3 days before we parted, we sifted so much Flower as we could well carry, and rubb'd up 20 or 30 pound of Chocolate with Sugar to sweeten it; these things and a Kettle the Slaves carried also on their backs after we landed. And because there were some who designed to go with us that we knew were not well able to march, we gave out, that if any man faultred in the Journey over Land he must expect to be shot to death; for we knew that the *Spaniards* would soon be after us, and one man falling into their hands might be the ruin of us all, by giving an account of our strength and condition; yet this would not deter them from going with us. We had but little Wind when we parted from the Ship; but before 12 a Clock the Sea-breeze came in strong, which was like to founder us before we got in with the shore; for our security therefore, we cut up an old dry Hide that we brought with us, and barricadoed the Lanch all round with it to keep the water out. About 10 a clock at night we got in about 7 leagues to windward of Cape *Passao* under the line,¹ and then it proved calm; and we lay and drove all night, being fatigued the preceding day. The 18th day we had little wind till the afternoon; and then we made sail, standing along the shore to the Northward, having the wind at S.S.W. and fair weather.

At 7 a clock we came a brest of Cape *Passao*, and found a small Bark at an Anchor in a small Bay to Leeward of the Cape, which we took, our own Boats being too small to transport us. We took her just under the Equinoctial Line, she was not only a help to us, but in taking her we were safe from being descried: We did not design to have meddled with any when we parted with our Consorts, nor to have seen any if we could have helped it. The Bark came from *Gallio* laden with Timber, and was bound for *Gulaquill*.²

The 19th day in the morning we came to an anchor about 12 leagues to the Southward of Cape *St. Francisco*, to put our new Bark into a better trim. In 3 or 4 hours time we finished our business, and came to sail again, and steered along the Coast with the Wind at S.S.W. intending to touch at *Gorgonia*.³

Being to the Northward of Cape *St. Francisco* we met with very

1 That is, below the equator.

2 These are places on the north-west Pacific coast of South America or of southern California.

3 An island off the coast of Colombia.

wet weather; but the Wind continuing we arrived at *Gorgonia* the 24th day in the morning, before it was light; we were afraid to approach it in the day time, for fear the *Spaniards* should lye there for us, it being the place where we careened¹ lately, and where they might expect us.

When we came ashore we found the *Spaniards* had been there to seek after us, by a House they had built, which would entertain 100 Men, and a great Cross before the Door. This was token enough that the *Spaniards* did expect us this way again; therefore we examined our Prisoners if they knew any thing of it, who confessed they had heard of a *Pereago* (or large Canoa) that rowed with 14 Oars, which was kept in a River on the Main, and once in 2 or 3 days came over to *Gorgonia* purposely to see for us; and that having discovered us, she was to make all speed to *Panama* with the news; where they had 3 Ships ready to send after us.

We lay here all the day, and scrubb'd our new Bark, that if ever we should be chased we might the better escape: we filled our Water and in the evening went from thence, having the Wind at S.W. a brisk gale.

The 25th day we had much Wind and Rain, and we lost the Canoa that had been cut and was join'd together; we would have kept all our Canoas to carry us up the River, the Bark not being so convenient.

The 27th day we went from thence with a moderate gale of Wind at S.W. In the afternoon we had excessive Showers of Rain....

I perswaded them to run into the River of *Congo*, which is a large River, about three leagues from the Islands where we lay; which with a Southerly Wind we could have done: and when we were got so high as the Tide flows, then we might have landed. But all the Arguments I could use were not of force sufficient to convince them that there was a large River so near us; but they would land somewhere, they neither did know how, where, nor when.

When we had rowed and towed against the Wind all night, we just got about Cape *St Lorenzo* in the morning; and sailed about 4 miles farther to the Westward, and run into a small Creek within two Keys, or little Islands, and rowed up to the head of the Creek, being about a mile up, and there we landed, May 1 1681.

1 Turned their boat on its side in order to clean the hull.

We got out all our Provision and Cloathes, and then sunk our Vessel.

While we were landing, and fixing our Snapsacks to march, our *Moskito Indians* struck a plentiful dish of Fish, which we immediately drest, and therewith satisfyd our hunger.

Having made mention of the *Moskito Indians*, it may not be amiss to conclude this Chapter with a short account of them. They are tall, well made, raw-boned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot; long-visag'd, lank black hair, look stern, hard favour'd, and of a dark Copper-colour Complexion. They are but a small Nation or Family, and not 100 men of them in number,¹ inhabiting on the Main, on the North side, near Cape *Gratia Dios*; between Cape *Honduras* and *Nicaragua*. They are very ingenious at throwing the Lance, Fisgig,² Harpoon, or any manner of Dart, being bred to it from their Infancy; for the Children imitating their Parents, never go abroad without a Lance in their hands, which they throw at any object, till use hath made them masters of the Art. Then they learn to put by a Lance, Arrow, or Dart; the manner is thus. Two Boys stand at a small distance, and Dart blunt stick at one another; each of them holding a small stick in his right hand, with which he strikes away that which was darted at him. As they grow in years they become more dexterous and courageous, and then they will stand a fair mark, to anyone that will shoot Arrows at them; which they will put by with a very small stick, no bigger than the rod of a Fowling piece;³ and when they are grown to be men, they will guard themselves from Arrows, tho they come very thick at them, provided two do not happen to come at once. They have extraordinary good Eyes, and will descry a Sail at Sea farther, and see any thing better than we. Their chiefest employment in their own Country, is to strike Fish, Turtle or Manatee; the manner of which I describe elsewhere, Chap. 3. For this they are esteemed and coveted by all Privateers; for one or two of them in a Ship, will maintain 100 men: So that when we careen our Ships, we choose commonly such places, where there is plenty of Turtle or Manatee for

1 Given that they had a king and that some years later, in 1740, they signed a formal alliance with Britain, Dampier's would seem to be a serious underestimate of their numbers.

2 A "Fisgig," or fizgig, is another kind of harpoon.

3 This is a light gun used for shooting wild fowl.

these *Moskito* men to strike; and it is very rare to find Privateers destitute of one or more of them, when the Commander, or most of the men are *English*; but they do not love the *French*; and the *Spaniards* they hate mortally. When they come among Privateers, they get the use of Guns, and prove very good Marks-men: They behave themselves very bold in fight, and never seem to flinch nor hang back; for they think that the white men with whom they are, know better than they do when it is best to fight; and let the disadvantage of their party be never so great, they will never yield nor give back while any of their party stand. I could never perceive any Religion nor any Ceremonies, or superstitious Observations among them, being ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time. Only they seem to fear the Devil, whom they call *Wallasaw*; and they say, he often appears to some among them, whom our men commonly call their Priests, when they desire to speak with him on urgent business; but the rest know not any thing of him, nor how he appears, otherwise than as these Priests tell them. Yet they all say they must not anger him, for then he will beat them, and that sometimes he carries away these their Priests. Thus much I have heard from some of them who speak good *English*.

They marry but one Wife, with whom they live till death separates them. At their first coming together, the man makes a very small Plantation, for there is Land enough, and they may choose what spot they please. They delight to settle near the Sea, or by some River, for the sake of striking Fish, their beloved employment.

For within Land there are other *Indians*, with whom they are always at War. After the man hath cleared a spot of Land, and hath Planted it, he seldom minds it afterwards, but leaves the managing of it to his Wife, and he goes out a striking: Sometimes he seeks only for Fish, at other times for Turtle, or Manatee, and whatever he gets he brings home to his Wife, and never stirs out to seek for more till it is all eaten. When hunger begins to bite, he either takes his Canoa and seeks for more game at Sea, or walks out into the Woods, and hunts about for Pecary, Warree, each a sort of Wild Hogs, or Deer; and seldom returns empty-handed, nor seeks for any more so long as any of it lasts. Their Plantations are so small, that they cannot subsist with what they produce: for their largest Plantations have not above 20 or 30 Plantain-Trees, a bed of Yames and Potatoes, a bush of *Indian* Pepper,

and a small spot of Pine-apples; which last fruit is a main thing they delight in, for with these they make a sort of drink which our men call Pine-drink, much esteemed by those *Moskito's*, and to which they invite each other to be merry, providing Fish and Flesh also. Whoever of them makes of this Liquor treats his neighbours, making a little Canoa full at a time, and so enough to make them all drunk; and it is seldom that such Feasts are made, but the party that makes them hath some design, either to be revenged for some injury done him, or to debate of such differences as have happen'd between him and his neighbours, and to examine into the truth of such matters. Yet before they are warmed with drink they never speak one word of their grievances: and the women, who commonly know their husband's designs, prevent them from doing any injury to each other, by hiding their Lances, Harpoons, Bows and Arrows, or any other Weapon that they have.

These *Moskitoes* are in general very civil and kind to the *English*, of whom they receive a great deal of respect, both when they are aboard their Ships, and also ashore, either in *Jamaica*, or elsewhere, whither they often come with the Sea-men. We always humour them, letting them go any whither as they will, and return to their Country in any Vessel bound that way, if they please. They will have the management of themselves in their striking, and will go in their own little Canoa, which our men could not go in without danger of oversetting; nor will they then let any white man come in their Canoa, but will go a striking in it just as they please: All which we allow them. For should we cross them, tho they should see Shoals of Fish, or Turtle, or the like, they will purposely strike their Harpoons and Turtle-irons aside, or so glance them as to kill nothing. They have no form of Government among them, but acknowledge the King of *England* for their Sovereign: They learn our Language, and they take the Governor of *Jamaica* to be one of the greatest Princes in the World.

While they are among the *English*, they wear good Cloaths, and take delight to go neat and tight; but when they return again to their own Country, they put by all their Cloaths, and go after their own Country fashion, wearing only a small piece of Linnen tyed about their wastes, hanging down to their knees.

Appendix C: Science, Politics, Religion

1. From Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society* (1702)

[Sprat (1635-1713) was Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster and one of the earliest fellows of the Royal Society. The Society received its Royal charter in 1662 and began publishing its *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665. These described the scientific activities of its members, including Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren, and Isaac Newton. Sprat's work, which was first published in 1667, sets out to describe not only the history of the society but its founding principles, which included precision in scientific method and clarity in expression. Swift would have endorsed the latter, but nevertheless mocked, principally in "Part III" of the *Travels*, both the attempt to improve on the language and individual members and their activities. "Dr. Wren" in the second extract is Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), best known as the architect of St Paul's Cathedral and many other London buildings. For Sprat, as for many of his contemporaries, Wren is the very model of the scientific man, both in terms of his wide-ranging inventive energies and his practical application of knowledge.]

(The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge. By Tho. Sprat. D.D. Lord Bishop of Rochester. The second edition corrected. London, 1702, pp. 40-44, 312-17.)

Sect. XX. A proposal for erecting an English Academy.

I hope now, it will not be thought a vain digression, if I step a little aside, to recommend the forming of such an *Assembly*, to the Gentlemen of our Nation. I know indeed, that the *English Genius* is not so airy, and discursive, as that of some of our neighbours, but that we generally love to have Reason set out in plain, undeceiving expressions; as much, as they to have it deliver'd with colour, and beauty. And besides this, I understand well enough, that they have one great assistance, to the growth of Oratory, which to us is wanting: that is, that their Nobility live

commonly close together in their Cities, and ours for the most part scattered in their Country Houses. For the same reason, why our streets are not so well built as theirs, will hold also, for their exceeding us in the Arts of Speech: They prefer the Pleasures of the Town; we, those of the Field: whereas it is from the frequent conversations in Cities, that the Humour, and Wit, and Variety, and Elegance of Language, are chiefly to be fetch'd. But yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, I shall not stick to say that such a project is now seasonable to be set on foot, and may make a great Reformation in the manner of our Speaking, and Writing. First, the thing itself is no way contemptible. For the purity of Speech, and greatness of Empire have in all Countries, still met together. The *Greeks* spoke best, when they were in their glory of conquest: The *Romans* made those times the Standard of their Wit, when they subdu'd, and gave Laws to the World: And from thence, by degrees, they declin'd to corruption; as their valour, their prudence, and the honour of their Arms did decay: and at last, did even meet the *Northern Nations* halfway in *Barbarism*, a little before they were overrun by their *Armies*.

But besides, if we observe well the *English Language*; we shall find, that it seems at this time more than others, to require some such aid, to bring it to its last perfection. The Truth is, it has been hitherto a little too carelessly handled; and I think, has had less labour spent about its polishing, than it deserves. Till the time of *King Henry the Eighth*, there was scarce any man regarded it, but *Chaucer*; and nothing was written in it, which one would be willing to read twice, but some of his *Poetry*. But then it began to raise itself a little, and to sound tolerably well. From that Age, down to the beginning of our late *Civil Wars*, it was still fashioning, and beautifying it self. In the Wars themselves (which is a time, wherein all Languages use, if ever, to increase by extraordinary degrees; for in such busie, and active times, there arise more new thoughts of men, which must be signifi'd, and varied by new expressions) then I say, it receiv'd many fantastical terms, which were introduc'd by our *Religious Sects*; and many outlandish phrases, which several *Writers*, and *Translators*, in that great hurry, brought in, and made free as they pleas'd, and with all it was enlarg'd by many sound and necessary Forms, and Idioms, which it before wanted. And now, when mens minds are somewhat settled, their Passions allaid, and the peace of our Country gives us the opportunity of such diversions:

if some sober and judicious Men, would take the whole Mass of our Language into their hands, as they find it, and would set a mark on the ill words; correct those, which are to be retain'd; admit, and establish the good; and make some emendations in the Accent, and Grammar: I dare pronounce, that our *Speech* would quickly arrive at as much plenty, as it is capable to receive; and at the greatest smoothness, which its derivation from the rough *German* will allow it.

Nor would I have this new *English Academy*, confin'd only to the weighing Words and Letters: But there may be also greater Works found out for it. By many signs we may gness, that the Wits of our Nation, are not inferior to any other; and that they have an excellent mixture of the Spirit of the *French*, and the *Spaniard*: and I am confident, that we only want a few more standing Examples, and a little more familiarity with the Antients, to excel all the Moderns. Now the best means, that can be devis'd to bring that about, is to settle a fixt, and *Impartial Court of Eloquence*; according to whose Censure, all Books, or Authors should either stand or fall. And above all, there might be recommended to them one Principal Work, in which we are yet defective; and that is, the compiling of a *History* of our late *Civil Wars*. Of all the labours of mens Wit, and Industry, I scarce know any, that can be more useful to the World, then *Civil History*: if it were written, with that sincerity, and majesty, as it ought to be, as a faithful Idea of humane Actions. And it is observable, that almost in all civiliz'd Countries, it has been the last thing, that has come to perfection. I may now say, that the *English* can already shew many industrious, and worthy Pieces in this kind: But yet, I have some Prophetical imagination in my thoughts, that there is still behind, something Greater, then any we have yet seen, reserv'd for the Glory of this Age. One Reason of this my strong persuasion, is a comparison, that I make, between the condition of our *State*, and that of the *Romans*. They at first writ, in this way, not much better then our *Moncks*: onely Registring in an undigested manner, some few naked Breviaries¹ of their Wars, and Leagues, and Acts, of their City Magistrates. And indeed they advanc'd forward by very slow degrees: For I remember, that *Tully* somewhere complains, in these

1 Strictly speaking, a breviary is a book containing the daily services of the Roman Catholic church, though Sprat is using it to mean a simple listing of events.

Words: *Historia nondum latinis literis illustrata*.¹ But it was in the peaceful reign of *Augustus*, after the conclusion of their long Civil Wars, that most of their perfect *Historians* appear'd. And it seems to me, that we may expect the same progress amongst us. There lye now ready in Bank, the most memorable Actions of Twenty years: a Subject of as great Dignity, and Variety, as ever pass'd under any Mans hands: the peace which we enjoy, gives leisure and incouragement enough: The effects of such a Work would be wonderfully advantageous, to the safety of our Country, and to *His Majesty's* Interest: for there can be no better means to preserve his Subjects in obedience for the future, than to give them a full view of the miseries, that attended rebellion. There are onely therefore wanting, for the finishing of so brave an undertaking, the united indeavors of some publick minds, who are conversant both in Letters and business: and if it were appointed to be the labour of one or two men to compose it, and of such an *Assembly*, to revise and correct it, it might certainly challenge all the writings of past, or present Times. [...]

Sect. XL. The Conclusion of this Part.

Dr. *Wren* produc'd before the *Society*, an *Instrument* to represent the effects of all sorts of *Impulses*, made between two hard globous Bodies, either of equal, or of different bigness, and swiftness, following or meeting each other, or the one moving, the other at rest. From these varieties arose many unexpected effects; of all which he demonstrated the true *Theories*, after they had been confirm'd by many hundreds of *Experiments* in that *Instrument*. These he propos'd as the Principles of all *Demonstrations* in *Natural Philosophy*: Nor can it seem strange, that these *Elements* should be of such Universal use; if we consider that *Generation*, *Corruption*, *Alteration*, and all the Vicissitudes of *Nature*, are nothing else but the effects arising from the meeting of little Bodies, of differing Figures, Magnitudes, and Velocities.

The Second *Work* which he has advanc'd, is the *History of Seasons*: which will be of admirable benefit to Mankind, if it shall be constantly pursued, and deriv'd down to Posterity. His proposal therefore was, to comprehend a *Diary* of Wind, Weather,

1 "The writing of history not yet renowned in the Latin language": untraced, but Sprat, as he acknowledges, may well have misquoted.

and other conditions of the *Air*, as to Heat, Cold, and Weight; and also a *General Description* of the Year, whether contagious or healthful to Men or Beasts; with an Account of *Epidemical Diseases*, of Blasts, Mill-dews, and other accidents, belonging to Grain, Cattle, Fish, Fowl, and Insects. And because the difficulty of a constant *Observation* of the *Air*, by Night, and Day seem'd invincible, he therefore devis'd a *Clock* to be annex'd to a Weather-Cock, which mov'd a rundle,¹ cover'd with Paper, upon which the Clock mov'd a black-lead-Pensil; so that the Observer by the Traces of the Pencil on the Paper, might certainly conclude, what Winds had blown in his absence, for twelve hours space: After a like manner he contriv'd a *Thermometer* to be its own *Register*: And because the usual *Thermometers* were not found to give a true measure of the extension of the *Air*, by reason that the accidental gravity of the liquor, as it lay higher or lower in the Glass, weigh'd unequally on the *Air*, and gave it a farther contraction or extension, over and above that which was produc'd by heat and cold; therefore he invented a *Circular Thermometer*, in which the liquor occasions no fallacy, but remains always in one height moving the whole *Instrument*, like a Wheel on its *Axis*.

He has contriv'd an *Instrument* to measure the quantities of *Rain* that falls: This as soon as it is full, will pour out it self, and at the years end discover how much *Rain* has fallen on such a space of Land, or other hard superficies, in order to the *Theory of Vapours, Rivers, Seas &c.*

He has devis'd many subtil wayes for the easier finding the gravity of the *Atmosphere*, the degrees of drought and moisture, and many of its other accidents. Amongst these *Instruments* there are *Balances* which are usefull to other purposes, that shew the weight of the *Air* by their spontaneous inclination.

Amongst the new Discoveries of the *Pendulum*, these are to be attributed to him, that the *Pendulum* in its motion from rest to rest; that is, in one descent and ascent, moves unequally in equal times, according to a line of sines:² That it would continue to move either in *Circular*, or *Elliptical* Motions; and such *Vibrations* would have the same Periods with those that are reciprocal; and that by a complication of several *Pendulums* depending one upon

1 An object of circular or, as here, of spherical form.

2 The perpendicular line from one end of an arc to the opposite diameter.

another, there might be represented motions like the Planetary *Helical Motions*,¹ or more intricate: And yet that these *Pendulums* would discover without confusion (as the *Planets* do) three or four several *Motions*, acting upon one Body with differing *Periods*; and that there may be produc'd a Natural standard for Measure from the *Pendulum* for vulgar use.

He has invented many ways to make *Astronomical Observations* more accurate and easie: *He* has fitted and hung *Quadrants*, *Sextants*, and *Radii*, more commodiously than formerly: *He* has made two *Telescopes*, to open with a joynt like a Sector, by which Observers may infallibly take a distance to half minutes, and find no difference in the same Observation reiterated several times; nor can any warping or luxation² of the Instrument hinder the truth of it.

He has added many sorts of *Retes*,³ *Screws*, and other devises to *Telescopes*, for taking small distances and apparent diameters to Seconds. *He* has made apertures to take in more or less light, as the Observer pleases, by opening and shutting like the pupil of the eye, the better to fit Glasses to *Crepusculine Observations*:⁴ *He* has added much to the Theory of *Dioptrics*;⁵ much to the Manufacture it self of grinding good Glasses. *He* has attempted, and not without success, the making of Glasses of other forms than Spherical, *He* has exactly measur'd and delineated the Spheres of the humours in the *Eie*, whose proportions one to another were only ghes's'd at before. This accurate discussion produc'd the reason, why we see things erected, and that *Reflection* conduces as much to *Vision* as *Refraction*.

He discours'd to them⁶ a Natural and easie *Theory* of *Refraction*, which exactly answer'd every *Experiment*. *He* fully demonstrated all *Dioptrics* in a few Propositions, shewing not only (as in *Keplers Dioptrics*)⁷ the common properties of

1 Motions produced by the various forces operating within a magnetic, or gravitational, field.

2 Displacement, dislocation.

3 Graduated scales.

4 Crepuscular means relating to twilight, so observations taken in dim light or semi-darkness.

5 The part of optics dealing with refraction, or the deflection of light.

6 That is, he read a paper to the Society.

7 The work of the German mathematician and astronomer, Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) on telescopes and in the field of optics.

Glasses, but the proportions by which the individual Raies cut the *Axis*, and each other; upon which the Charges (as they are usually called) of *Telescopes*, or the proportion of the Eye-glasses and *Apertures* are demonstrably discover'd.

He has made constant Observations on *Saturn*; and a Theory of that Planet, truly answering all *Observations*, before the printed Discourse of *Hugonius*¹ on that subject appear'd.

He has essay'd to make a true *Selenography*² by measure; the *world* having nothing yet but pictures, rather than Surveighs or Maps of the *Moon*. *He* has stated the *Theory* of the Moons Libration,³ as far as his *Observations* could carry him. *He* has compos'd a *Lunar Globe*, representing not only the spots, and various degrees of whiteness upon the surface, but the hills, eminencies, and cavities moulded in solid work. The Globe thus fashioned into a true model of the Moon, as you turn it to the light represents all the Menstrual phases, with the variety of appearances that happen from the shadows of the Mountains and Valleys. *He* has made Maps of the *Pleiades*,⁴ and other *Telescopical Stars*; and propos'd Methods to determine the great doubt of the Earths motion or rest, by the small Stars about the Pole to be seen in large *Telescopes*.

In order to *Navigation* *he* has carefully pursu'd many *Magnetical Experiments*; of which this is one of the noblest and most fruitful *Speculation*. A large *Terella*⁵ is plac'd in the midst of a Plane Board, with a hole into which the *Terella* is half immers'd, till it be like a *Globe*, with the *Poles* in the *Horizon*. Then is the Plane dusted over with steel-filings equally from a Sieve: The Dust by the *Magnetical* virtue is immediately figur'd into Furrows that bend like a sort of *Helix*, proceeding as it were out of one *Pole*, and returning into the other: And the whole Plane is thus figur'd like the Circles of a *Planisphere*.⁶

1 The Dutch mathematician, physicist and astronomer Christiaan Huygens (1629-95) published works on Saturn in 1656 and, more substantially, in 1659. Wren's work, *De Corpore Saturni*, was in fact published in 1658.

2 The mapping of the moon.

3 The slight turning of the face of the moon from side to side during the course of its phases.

4 One of the star clusters closest to the earth; also known as the Seven Sisters.

5 A small sphere, known as a little earth.

6 This is a sphere projected onto a plane.

It being a Question amongst the Problems of *Navigation*, very well worth resolving to what Mechanical powers the Sailing (against the wind especially) was reducible; he shew'd it to be a Wedge: And he demonstrated how a transient Force upon an oblique Plane, would cause the motion of the Plane against the first Mover. And he made an *Instrument*, that *Mechanically* produce'd the same effect, and shew'd the reason of Sayling to all Winds.

The *Geometrical Mechanics* of *Rowing*, he shew'd to be a *Vectis* on a moving or cedent *Fulcrum*.¹ For this end he made *Instruments*, to find what the expansion of Body was towards the hindrance of Motion in a Liquid *Medium*; and what degree of impediment was produc'd, by what degree of expansion: with other things that are the necessary Elements for laying down the *Geometry* of *Sailing*, *Swimming*, *Rowing*, *Flying*, and the *Fabricks* of *Ships*.

He has invented a very curious and exceeding speedy way of *Etching*. He has started several things towards the emendation of *Water-works*. He has made *Instruments* of *Respiration*, and for straining the breath from fuliginous² vapours, to try whether the same breath so purify'd will serve again.

He was the first *Inventor* of drawing Pictures by *Microscopical Glasses*. He has found out perpetual, at least long liv'd lamps, and Registers of Furnaces, and the like, for keeping a perpetual temper, in order to various uses; as hatching of Eggs, Insects, production of Plants, Chymical Preparations, imitating Nature in producing Fossils and Minerals, keeping the motion of Watches equal, in order to *Longitudes* and *Astronomical uses*, and infinite other advantages.

He was the first Author of the Noble *Anatomical Experiment* of *Injecting Liquors into the Veins of Animals*. An *Experiment* now vulgarly known; but long since exhibited to the Meetings at *Oxford*, and thence carried by some *Germans*, and publish'd abroad. By this *Operation* divers Creatures were immediately purg'd, vomited, intoxicated, kill'd, or reviv'd, according to the quality of the Liquor injected: Hence arose many new *Experiments*, and chiefly that of *Transfusing Blood*, which the *Society* has prosecuted in sundry Instances, that will probably end in extraordinary Success.

This is a short account of the principal *Discoveries* which Dr. *Wren* has presented or suggested to this *Assembly*. I know very well,

1 Exactly in the form of a rowlock, which moves itself while allowing movement to take place through it.

2 Sooty or dusky.

that some of them *he* did only start and design; and that they have been since carry'd on to perfection, by the Industry of other hands. I purpose not to rob them of their share in the honour: Yet it is reasonable, that the original *Invention* should be ascrib'd to the true *Author*, rather than the *Finishers*. Nor do I fear that this will be thought too much, which I have said concerning him: For there is a peculiar reverence due to so much excellence cover'd with so much modesty.

2. From Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *A Dissertation Upon Parties* (1735)

[Henry St. John (1678-1751), who became first Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712, was one of the inner circle of Tories with whom Swift was on intimate terms in the years up to the death of Queen Anne and the fall of the Oxford administration. He fled to France to avoid political prosecution, but returned to London in 1723 and devoted himself to political and philosophical writing. His *Dissertation* was made up of essays originally published between 1733 and 1734 in the opposition journal *The Craftsman*. While he is attempting to find common ground between Whig and Tory, he remained firmly opposed to the policies of Sir Robert Walpole. "Caleb D'Anvers" is the pseudonym under which Nicholas Amhurst (1697-1742) edited *The Craftsman*.]

(*A Dissertation Upon Parties; in Several Letters to Caleb D'Anvers, Esq: Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole*. The second edition. London, 1735, pp. 93-96.)

Letter IX.

SIR,

But whatever the State of *Parties* was at the *Revolution*, and for some Time afterwards, the *Settlement* made at that Time having continued,¹ that State of *Parties* hath changed gradually, tho' slowly, and hath received at Length, according to the necessary

1 The Revolution Settlement refers to the series of pieces of legislation that followed the deposition of James II in 1688 and the accession of William III in 1689. It runs from the Bill of Rights of 1689 through to the Act of Settlement in 1701, legislation which is still at the basis of the British constitution.

Course of Things, a total Alteration. This Alteration would have been sooner wrought, if the Attempt I have mentioned, to defend *Principles* no longer defensible, had not furnished the Occasion and Pretence to keep up the Appearances of a *Tory*, and a *Whig Party*. Some of Those, who had been called *Tories*, furnished this Pretence. They, who had been called *Whigs*, seiz'd and improved it. The Advantages to *one Side*, the Disadvantages to the *other*, the Mischiefs to the whole, which have ensued, I need not deduce. It shall suffice to observe, that these Appearances were the more easy to be kept up, because several Men, who had stood conspicuous in Opposition to one another before the *Revolution*, continued an Opposition, though not the same, afterwards. Fresh Provocations were daily given, and fresh Pretences for Division daily taken. These Contests were present; They recalled Those, that had past in the Time of King *Charles* the 2d; and *both Sides* forgot that Union, which their common Danger and their common Interest had form'd at the *Revolution*. Old Reproaches were renew'd, new ones invented, against the Party call'd *Whigs*, when They were as complaisant to a *Court* as ever the *Tories* had been; against the Party call'd *Tories*, when They were as jealous of *publick Liberty*, and as frugal of *public Money*, as ever the *Whigs* had been.¹ Danger to the *Church*, on *one Side*, and Danger to the *State*, on the *other*, were apprehended from Men, who meant no Harm to *either*; for though *Dissenters* mingled Themselves on *one Side*, and *Jacobites*² on the *other*, and notwithstanding the Leanings of *Parties* in Favour of Those, by whom They were abetted; yet is it a certain Truth, that the Struggle was in the main for *Power*, not *Principle*; and that there was no formal Design laid, on *one Side*, to destroy the *Church*, nor, on the *other*, the *State*. The Cavils, which may be made, and the Facts, which may be cited, some of older, and some of fresher Date, against what hath been here said, do not escape me. Men of Knowledge, and of cool and candid Thought, will answer one, and account for the other, without my Help; and I cannot resolve, for the Sake of the Passionate, nor even of the Ignorant, to descend upon this Subject into a greater Detail.

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- 1 Traditionally, the Tories had been characterised as standing for the power of the monarchy and the Whigs for individual liberty.
 - 2 Supporters of the Catholic James Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the Old Pretender, whose claim to the throne came from being son to James II by his second wife.

I pass to That, which is closer to my present Purpose, and of more immediate Use; and I say that as the natural Dispositions of Men are alter'd and form'd into different moral Characters by Education, so the Spirit of a Constitution of Government, which is confirm'd, improved and strengthen'd by the Course of Events, and especially by Those of fruitless Opposition, in a long Tract of Time, will have a proportionable Influence on the Reasoning, the Sentiments, and the Conduct of Those, who are subject to it. A different Spirit and contrary Prejudices may prevail for a Time. But the Spirit and Principles of the Constitution will prevail at last. If one be unnatural, and the other absurd, and That is the Case in many Governments, a vigorous Exercise of Power, signal Rewards, signal Punishments, and a Variety of other secondary Means, which in such Constitutions are never wanting, will however maintain, as long as they are employed, both the Spirit and the Principles. But if the Spirit and Principles of a Constitution be agreeable to Nature, and the true Ends of Government, which is the Case of the present Constitution of the *British Government*, They want no such Means to make them prevail. They not only flourish without them, but they would fade and dye away with them. As *Liberty* is nourished and supported by such a Spirit and such Principles, so They are propagated by Liberty. Truth and Reason are often able to get the better of Authority in particular Minds; but Truth and Reason with Authority on their Side will carry Numbers, bear down Prejudices, and become the very Genius of a People. The Progress They make is always sure, but sometimes not observable by every Eye. Contrary Prejudices may seem to maintain Themselves in Vigour, and these Prejudices may be kept up long by Passion and by Artifice. But when Truth and Reason continue to act without Restraint, a little sooner, or a little latter, and often when this Turn is least expected, the Prejudices vanish at once, and Truth and Reason triumph without any Rival.

The Constitution of *England* had been seen in two very different Lights, for almost a Century before the *Revolution*; so that there is no Room to be surprised at the great Opposition, that appeared (when the *Whig* and *Tory Parties* arose a very few years before that Æra,) between *Principles*, which, as opposite as they were, each Side pretended to establish on the Nature of *one and the same Constitution*. How This happened, hath been often hinted, and I have not here Room to explain any farther. Let us

be satisfy'd that it is no longer the Case. Our *Constitution* is no longer a Mystery; the Power of the *Crown* is now exactly limited; the Chimæra of *Prerogative* removed; and the *Rights of the Subject* are no longer problematical, though some Things necessary to the more effectual Security of them may be still wanting. Under *this Constitution*, the greatest Part of the Men now alive were born. They lie under no Pretence of Obligation to any *other*, and to the Support of This They are bound by all the Ties of Society, and all the Motives of Interest.

3. Jonathan Swift, *Brotherly Love. A Sermon* (1717)

[It is easy to forget that Swift was not only a writer but a working clergyman with obligations as Vicar of Laracor and Dean of St Patrick's. These, of course, included preaching. Equally, as a satirist, it is easy to assume that everything he wrote came as irony. A sermon such as this, on "Brotherly Love," provides a useful perspective on the kinds of religious enmity he satirises in the first two parts of *Gulliver*, as well as allowing some insight into his publicly expressed views on religious matters as an ordained member of the Church of Ireland. Not surprisingly, Swift valued clarity of expression as much in his sermons as in his writing, and took great pains over the preparation of them. He refused, however, to let his sermons be published during his own lifetime, partly because he believed his mind to have been too corrupted by politics for his preaching to have lasting worth.]

(Brotherly Love. A Sermon Preached in St. Patrick's Church; On December 1st, 1717. By Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, London, 1754, pp. 3-24.)

HEBREWS, Chap. xiii. Ver. 1.

Let Brotherly Love continue.

In the early Times of the Gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other Bodies of Men, by the great and constant Love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in Obedience to the frequent Injunctions of our Saviour and his Apostles, yet I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural Reason, that very much promoted it. For, the

Christians then were few and scattered, living under Persecution, by the Heathens round about them, in whose Hands was all the civil and military Power; and there is nothing so apt to unite the Minds and Hearts of Men, or to beget Love and Tenderness, as a general Distress. The first Dissentions between Christians took their Beginning from the Errors and Heresies that arose among them; many of those Heresies sometimes extinguished, and sometimes reviving or succeeded by others, remain to this Day; and having been made Instruments to the Pride, Avarice, or Ambition of ill designing Men, by extinguishing Brotherly Love, have been the Cause of infinite Calamities, as well as Corruptions of Faith and Manners, in the Christian World.

The last Legacy of *Christ* was Peace and mutual Love; but then he foretold that he came to send a Sword upon the Earth:¹ The primitive Christians accepted the Legacy, and their Successors, down to the present Age, have been largely fulfilling his Prophecy. But whatever the Practice of Mankind hath been, or still continues, there is no Duty more incumbent upon those who profess the Gospel, than that of Brotherly Love; which whoever could restore, in any Degree, among Men, would be an Instrument of more Good to human Society, than ever was, or will be done, by all the Statesmen and Politicians in the World.

It is upon this Subject of Brotherly Love, that I intend to discourse at present, and the Method I observe shall be as follows:

I. *First*, I will enquire into the Causes of this great Want of Brotherly Love among us.

II. *Secondly*, I will lay open the sad Effects and Consequences which our Animosities, and mutual Hatred have produced.

III. *Lastly*, I will use some Motives and Exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace Brotherly Love, and to continue in it.

I. *First*. I will enquire into the Causes of this great Want of Brotherly Love among us:

This Nation of ours hath for an Hundred Years past, been infested by two Enemies, the Papists and Fanaticks, who each, in their Turns, filled it with Blood and Slaughter, and for a Time destroyed both the Church and Government. The Memory of

1 Matthew 10:34: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword."

these Events hath put all true Protestants equally upon their Guard against both these Adversaries, who, by Consequence, do equally hate us: The Fanaticks revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us as bordering too much on Fanaticism. The Papists, GOD be praised, are, by the Wisdom of our Laws, and their own Want of Power, put out of all visible Possibility of hurting us; besides, their Religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no Advocates or Abettors among Protestants to assist them. But the Fanaticks are to be considered in another Light; they have had of late Years the Power, the Luck, or the Cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their Errors and Designs under the Character of Persons disaffected to the Government; and they have so far succeeded, that now a Days, if a Clergyman happeneth to preach with any Zeal and Vehemence against the Sin or Danger of Schism, there will not want too many in his Congregation ready enough to censure him as hot and high-flying, an Inflamer of Men's Minds, an Enemy to Moderation, and disloyal to his Prince. This hath produced a formed and settled Division between those who profess the same Doctrine and Discipline, while they who call themselves Moderate are forced to widen their Bottom, by sacrificing their Principles and their Brethren to the Incroachments and the Insolence of Dissenters, who are therefore answerable, as a principal Cause of all that Hatred and Animosity now reigning among us.

Another Cause of the great Want of Brotherly Love, is owing to the Weakness and Folly of too many among you, of the lower Sort, who are made the Tools and Instruments of your Betters, to work their Designs, wherein you have no Concern. Your Numbers make you of Use, and cunning Men take the Advantage, by putting Words into your Mouths, which you do not understand; then they fix good or ill Characters to those Words, as it best serves their Purposes: And thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what, nor why; you often suspect your best Friends and nearest Neighbours, even your Teacher himself, without any Reason, if your Leaders have once taught you to call him by a Name, which, they tell you, signifieth some very bad Thing.

A THIRD Cause of our great Want of Brotherly Love seemeth to be, that this Duty is not so often insisted on from the Pulpit as it ought to be in such Times as these; on the contrary, it is

to be doubted, whether Doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned Zeal, a Desire to be distinguished, or a View of Interest, which produce quite different Effects, when upon Occasions set apart to return Thanks to God for some Public Blessing, the Time is employed in stirring up one Part of the Congregation against the other, by Representations of Things and Persons, which God in his Mercy forgive those who are guilty of.

The last Cause I shall mention of the Want of Brotherly Love, is that unhappy Disposition towards Politicks among the Trading People, which hath been industriously instilled into them. In former Times, the middle and lower Sort of Mankind seldom gained or lost by the factions of the Kingdom, and therefore were little concerned in them, further than as Matter of Talk and Amusement; but, now, the meanest Dealer will expect to turn the Penny by the Merits of his Party. He can represent his Neighbour as a Man of dangerous Principles, can bring a railing Accusation against him, perhaps a criminal One, and so rob him of his Livelihood, and find his own Account by that, much more than if he had disparaged his Neighbour's Goods, or defamed him as a Cheat. For, so it happens that, instead of enquiring into the Skill or Honesty of those Kind of People, the Manner is now to enquire into their Party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly; which Proceeding hath made our People in general such able Politicians, that all the Artifice, Flattery, Dissimulation, Diligence, and Dexterity in undermining each other, which the satyrical Wit of Men hath charged upon Courts; together with all the Rage and Violence, Cruelty and Injustice, which have been ever imputed to Publick Assemblies, are with us (so polite are we grown) to be seen among our meanest Traders and Artificers, in the greatest Perfection. All which, as it may be Matter of some Humiliation to the Wise and Mighty of this World, so the Effects thereof may perhaps in Time prove very different from what, I hope, in Charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

II. I will therefore now in the second Place, lay open some of the sad Effects and Consequences which our Animosities and mutual Hatred have produced.

And the first ill Consequence is, that our Want of Brotherly Love hath almost driven out all Sense of Religion from among us, which cannot well be otherwise: For, since our Saviour laid so much Weight upon his Disciples loving one another, that

he gave it among his last Instructions, and since the Primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the Faith by their strict Observance of that Instruction, it must follow that in Proportion as Brotherly Love declineth, Christianity will do so too. The little Religion there is in the World hath been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower Sort of People, who are neither tempted to Pride and Luxury by great Riches, nor to desperate Courses by extreme Poverty: And truly upon that Account I have thought it a Happiness, that these who are under my immediate Care are generally of that Condition; but where Party hath once made Entrance with all its Consequences of Hatred, Envy, Partiality, and Virulence, Religion cannot long keep its Hold in any State or Degree of Life whatsoever. For, if the Great Men of the World have been censored in all Ages for mingling too little Religion with their Politicks, what a Havock of Principles must they needs make in unlearned and vulgar Heads? Of which indeed the Effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the Kingdom.

Another ill Consequence from our Want of Brotherly Love is, that it increases the Insolence of the Fanaticks; and this partly ariseth from a mistaken Meaning of the Word Moderation; a Word which hath been much abused, and bandied about for several Years past. There are too many People indifferent enough to all Religion; there are many others who dislike the Clergy; and would have them live in Poverty and Dependence: Both these Sorts are much commended by the Fanaticks for moderate Men, ready to put an End to our Divisions, and to make a General Union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning People are deceived by these Appearances, strengthened with great Pretences to Loyalty: And this Occasion the Fanaticks lay hold on, to revile the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and even insult and oppress the Clergy, wherever their Numbers or Favourers will bear them out; insomuch that one willful refractory Fanatick hath been able to disturb a whole Parish for many Years together. But, the most moderate and favoured Divines dare not own, that the Word Moderation, with Respect to the Dissenters, can be at all applied to their Religion, but is purely Personal or Prudential. No good Man repineth at the Liberty of Conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate Divine may think better of their Loyalty than others do; or to speak after the Manner of Men, may think it necessary that all Protestants

should be united against the common Enemy: Or may out of Discretion, or other Reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still, the Errors of the Dissenters are all fixed and determined, and must upon Demand be acknowledged by all the Divines of our Church, whether they be called, in Party Phrase, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate Divines, who, if their Opinion were asked whether Dissenters should be trusted with Power, could according to their Consciences answer in the Affirmative; from whence it is plain, that all the Stir, which the Fanaticks have made with this Word Moderation, was only meant to increase our Divisions, and widen them so far as to make Room for themselves to get in betwixt. And this is the only Scheme they ever had (except that of destroying Root and Branch) for the uniting of Protestants, they so much talk of.

I shall mention but one ill Consequence more which attendeth our want of Brotherly Love, that it hath quite put an End to all Hospitality and Friendship, all good Consequence and Commerce between Mankind. There are indeed such Things as Leagues and Confederacies among those of the same Party; but surely God never intended, that Men should be so limited in the Choice of their Friends: However, so it is in Town and Country, in every Parish and Street, the Pastor is divided from his Flock, the Father from his Son, and the House often divided against itself. Men's very Natures are soured and their Passions inflamed when they meet in Party Clubs, and spend their Time in nothing else but Railing at the opposite Side; thus every Man alive among us is encompassed with a Million of Enemies of his own Country, among which his oldest Acquaintance and Friends, and Kindred themselves are often of the Number: Neither can People of different Parties mix together without Constraint, Suspicion, and Jealousy, watching every Word they speak, for Fear of giving Offence, or else falling into Rudeness and Reproaches, and so leaving themselves open to the Malice and Corruption of Informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their Trade. And as a further Addition to this Evil, those very few who, by the Goodness and Generosity of their Nature do, on their own Hearts despise this narrow Principle of confining their Friendship and Esteem, their Charity and good Offices to those of their own Party, yet dare not discover their good Inclinations, for Fear of losing their Favour and Interest. And others again,

whom God had formed with mild and gentle Dispositions, think it necessary to put a Force upon their own Tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious Part, as a Means to be distinguished. Thus hath Party got the better of the very Genius and Constitution of our People; so that whoever reads the Characters of the *English* in former Ages, will hardly believe their present Posterity to be of the same Nation or Climate.

III. I shall now, in the last Place, make Use of some Motives and Exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace Brotherly Love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower Sort, and desire you will consider, when any of you make Use of fair and enticing Words to draw in Customers, whether you do it for their Sakes or your own. And then, for whose Sakes do you think it is, that your Leaders are so industrious to put into your Heads all that Party Rage and Virulence: Is it not to make you the Tools and Instruments by which they work out their own Designs? Has this Spirit of Faction been useful to any of you in your Worldly Concerns, except to those who have traded in Whispering, Back-biting, or Informing, and wanted Skill or Honesty to thrive by fairer Methods? It is no Business of yours to enquire who is at the Head of Armies, or of Councils, unless you had Power and Skill to chuse, neither of which is ever like to be your Case; and therefore, to fill your Heads with Fears, and Hatred of Persons and Things, of which it is impossible you can ever make a right Judgment, or to set you at Variance with your Neighbour, because his Thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross Manner to cheat you of your Time and Quiet, but likewise to endanger your Souls.

Secondly, in order to restore Brotherly Love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your Religion, I mean the true Religion, hitherto established among us, without warping in the least, either to Popery on the one Side, or to Fanaticism on the other, and in a particular Manner beware of that Word, *Moderation*, and believe it, that your Neighbour is not immediately a Villain, a Papist, and a Traytor, because the Fanaticks will not allow him to be a moderate Man. Nay, it is very probable, that your Teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able Divine, without the least Grain of Moderation, as the Word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this Matter, I will lay before you the Character of a truly moderate Man, and then I will give you the Description of such an one who falsely pretendeth to that Title.

A Man truly Moderate is steady in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, but with a due Christian Charity to all who dissent from it out of a Principle of Conscience; the Freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused, but never trusted with Power. He is ready to defend, with his Life and Fortune, the Protestant Succession, and the Protestant established Faith, against all Invaders whatsoever. He is for giving the Crown its just Prerogative, and the People their just Liberties. He hateth no Man for differing from him in Political Opinions, nor doth he think it a Maxim infallible, that Virtue should always attend upon Favour, and Vice upon Disgrace. These are some few Lineaments in the Character of a truly moderate man: Let us now compare it with the Description of one who usually passeth under that Title.

A Moderate Man, in the new Meaning of the Word, is one to whom all Religion is indifferent, who, although he denominateth himself of the Church, regardeth it no more than a Conventicle.¹ He perpetually railleth at the Body of the Clergy, with Exceptions only to a very few, whom he hopeth, and probably upon false Grounds, are as ready to betray their Rights and Properties, as himself. He thinks the Power of the People can never be too great, nor that of the Prince too little; and yet this very Notion he publisheth, as his best Argument, to prove him a most loyal Subject. Every Opinion in Government, that differeth in the least from his, tendeth directly to Popery, Slavery, and Rebellion. Whoever lieth under the Frown of Power can, in his Judgment, neither have common Sense, common Honesty, nor Religion. Lastly, his Devotion consisteth in drinking Gibbets, Confusion, and Damnation;² in profanely idolizing the Memory of one dead Prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the Ashes of another.

By these Marks you will easily distinguish a truly moderate Man, from those who are commonly, but very falsely so called; and while Persons thus qualified are so numerous, and so noisy, so full of Zeal, and Industry to gain Proselytes, and spread their Opinions among the People, it cannot be wondered that there should be so little Brotherly Love left among us.

Lastly, it would probably contribute to restore some Degree of Brotherly Love, if we would but consider, that the Matter of those

1 A secret or illegal religious meeting.

2 That is, drinking toasts to them.

Disputes, which inflame us to this Degree, doth not, in its own Nature, at all concern the Generality of Mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great Gainers or Losers, by the Changes of the World, the Case is different; and to preach Moderation to the first, and Patience to the other, would, perhaps, be to little Purpose: But, what is that to the Bulk of the People, who are not properly concerned in the Quarrel, although evil Instruments have drawn them into it? For, if the reasonable Men on both Sides were to confer Opinions, they would find that neither Religion, Loyalty, nor Interest, are at all affected in this Dispute. Not Religion, because the Members of the Church, on both Sides, profess to agree in every Article: Not Loyalty to our Prince, which is pretended to by one Party as much as the other; and therefore can be no Subject for Debate: Not Interest, for Trade and Industry lye open to all; and what is further, concerneth only those who have Expectations from the Publick; so that the Body of the People, if they knew their own Good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their Betters to quarrel among themselves, who might also, probably, soon come to a better Temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded Multitude.

I have now done with my Text, which I confess to have treated in a Manner more suited to the present Times, than to the Nature of the Subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several Parts and Properties of this great Duty of Brotherly Love, the Apostle to the *Thessalonians* will plead my Excuse. *As Touching Brotherly Love* (saith he) *ye need not, that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of GOD, to love one another.*¹ So that nothing remaineth to add, but our Prayers to GOD, that he would please to restore and continue this great Duty of Brotherly Love or Charity among us, the very Bond of Peace, and of all Virtues, without, &c.

1 Swift quotes St Paul's words from 1 Thessalonians 4:9.

Appendix D: Ireland

1. From William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland* (1698)

[Molyneux, who was born in 1656 in Dublin, was an Anglican Irish writer, lawyer, and public official with a strong interest in scientific and philosophical developments. He founded the Dublin Philosophical Society in 1683, shortly before also becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. In writing *The Case of Ireland* he was entering onto dangerous ground, English political control over Ireland being both long-established and profitable. His work attempts to establish through legal and historical arguments the case for Irish self-government. It was a courageous publication, and led to debate in the English Parliament, where it was condemned as seditious and sentenced to be burned in public. Molyneux died in the autumn of the same year, of kidney failure. Swift owned at least two copies of *The Case of Ireland*, the 1698 Dublin edition and a later edition, published in 1719.]

(The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated. By William Molyneux, of Dublin, Esq., Dublin, 1698, pp. 1-6, 102-06, 112-14.)

I have ever been so fully perswaded of the strict Justice of the Parliament of *England*, that I could never think that any of Their Proceedings, which might seem to have the least Tendency to Hardship on their Neighbours, could arise from any thing but want of Due Information, and a right State of the Business under their Consideration. The want of which, in Matters wherein another People are chiefly concern'd, is no Defect in the Parliament of *England*, but it is highly Blameable in the Persons whose Affair is Transacting, and who permit that Illustrious Body of Senators to be Misinform'd, without giving them that Light that might Rectifie them.

I could never imagine that those great *Assertors* of their *own Liberties* and *Rights*, could ever think of making the least Breach in the *Rights* and *Liberties* of their *Neighbours*, unless they thought that they had *Right* so to do; and this they might well surmise, if their Neighbours quietly see their Inclosures invaded, without

expostulating the Matter at least, and shewing Reasons, why they may think that Hardships are put upon them therein.

The Consideration hereof has Excited me to undertake this Disquisition, which I do with all Imaginable Diffidence of my own Performance, and with the most profound Respect and Deference to that August Senate. The present Juncture of Affairs, when the Business of *Ireland* is under the Consideration of both Houses of the English Parliament, seems to require this from some Person; and seeing all Others silent, I venture to Expose my own Weakness, rather than be wanting at this time *to my Country*. I might say indeed *to Mankind*; for 'tis the Cause of the whole Race of *Adam*, that I Argue: *Liberty* seems the inherent Right of all *Mankind*; and on whatsoever Ground any one Nation can Challenge it to themselves, on the same Reason may the rest of *Adam's* Children Expect it.

If what I Offer herein seems to carry any Weight, in relation to my own Poor Country, I shall be abundantly happy in the Attempt: But if after all, the Great Council of *England* Resolve the contrary, I shall then believe my self to be in an Error, and with the lowest Submission ask Pardon for my Assurance. However, I humbly presume I shall not be hardly Censur'd by them, for offering to lay before them a fair State of our Case, by such Information as I can procure; especially when at the same time I declare my Intention of a Submissive Acquiescence in whatever they Resolve for or against what I Offer.

The Subject therefore of our present Disquisition shall be, How far the Parliament of England may think it Reasonable to intermeddle with the Affairs of Ireland, and Bind us up by Laws made in their House.

And seeing the *Right* which *England* may pretend to, for Binding us by their Acts of Parliament, can be founded only on the *Imaginary Title of Conquest* or *Purchase*, or on *Precedents* and *Matters of Record*; We shall Enquire into the following Particulars.

(1.) *First*, How *Ireland* became a Kingdom *Annex'd* to the Crown of *England*. And here we shall at large give a faithful Narrative of the *First Expedition of the Britains* into this Country, and King *Henry* the Second's Arrival here, such as our best Historians give us.

(2.) *Secondly*, We shall Enquire Whether this Expedition, and the English Settlement, that afterwards follow'd thereon, can properly be call'd a *Conquest*? Or whether any Victories obtain'd

by the English, in any succeeding Ages in this Kingdom, upon any *Rebellion*, may be called a *Conquest* thereof?

(3.) *Thirdly*, Granting that it were a *Conquest*, we shall Enquire what *Title* a *Conquest* gives.

(4.) *Fourthly*, We shall Enquire what *Concessions* have been from time to time made to *Ireland*, to take off what even the most Rigorous Assertors of a Conqueror's Title do pretend to. And herein we shall shew by what Degrees the English Form of Government, and the English Statute-Laws, came to be received amongst us: And this shall appear, to be wholly by the *Consent* of the People and Parliament of *Ireland*.

(5.) *Fifthly*, We shall Enquire into the Precedents and Opinions of the Learned in the Laws, relating to this Matter, with Observations thereon.

(6.) *Sixthly*, We shall Consider the Reasons and Arguments that may be farther Offered on one Side and t'other; and shall Draw some General Conclusions from the Whole....

I come now to King *Charles* the 2ds time: And in it we shall find the following English Statutes made, in which the Kingdom of *Ireland* is concerned.

The first is an *Act against Importing Cattle from Ireland or other Parts beyond Seas*. It was only temporary by 18 *Ch. 2. c. 2.*¹ but made perpetual 20 *Ch. 2. c. 7.* and 32 *Ch. 2. c. 2.* This Act, however prejudicial to the Trade that was then carried on between *Ireland* and *England*, does not *properly Bind us*, more than it does any other Country in the World. When any thing is Imported, and Landed in *England*, it becomes immediately subject to the Laws thereof; so that herein we cannot be said *properly* to be bound.

Secondly, The Acts against Planting *Tobacco* in *England* and *Ireland*, 12 *Ch. 2. c. 34.* and 15 *Ch. 2. c. 7.* and 22 and 23 *Ch. 2. c. 26, &c.* do *positively Bind Ireland*. But there has never been an Occasion of Executing it here; for I have not heard that a Rood

1 Acts of Parliament are designated by the year of the monarch's reign in which they are enacted: the eighteenth year of the reign of Charles II, with "c.2." indicating "caput," that is heading, or chapter 2—meaning the whole act, not simply a part of it. A complication in the case of Charles II is that his reign is taken as beginning not in 1660, when he actually came to the throne, but in 1649, when his father, Charles I, was executed. In other words, the period of the Commonwealth is effectively written out.

of Tobacco was ever Planted in this Kingdom. But however, that takes not off the *Obligation* of the Law: 'Tis only want of our Consent, that I urge against that. I see no more Reason for sending a Force to Trample down an Acre of *Tobacco* in *Ireland* by these Statutes, than there would be for Cutting down the Woods of *Shelela*,¹ were there an Act made in *England* against our Planting or Having *Timber*.

Thirdly, The *Act for Encouraging Shipping and Navigation*, by *express name* Mentions and Binds *Ireland*; and by the last Clause in the Act, Obliges all Ships belonging thereto Importing any Goods from our Foreign Plantations, to touch first at *England*.

Fourthly, The Acts Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll from *Ireland*, to any Country except to *England*, do likewise *strongly Bind us*; and by the 12 *Car. 2. c. 32*.² it was made highly penal on us, and by the 14th of *Car. 2. c. 18*. 'tis made Felony.

To these three last Acts, I must confess, I have nothing to urge, to take off their Efficacy; *Name* us they do most certainly, and *Bind* us so, as we do not transgress them. But how *Rightfully* they do this, is the matter in Question. This I am sure of, that before these Acts in King *Charles* the Second's Time, (the Eldest of which is not over Thirty-Seven Years) *there is not one positive full Precedent to be met with in all the Statute-Book, of an English Act Binding the Kingdom of Ireland*. And on this Account we may venture to assert, That these are at least *Innovations* on us, as not being warranted by any former Precedents.

And shall *Proceedings only of Thirty-Seven Years standing*, be urg'd against a Nation, to Deprive them of the *Rights* and *Liberties*, which they Enjoy'd for Five Hundred Years before, and which were Invaded without and against their *Consent*, and from that day to this have been constantly complain'd of? Let any English Heart that stands so *Justly* in Vindication of his own *Rights* and *Liberties*, answer this Question, and I have done.

I am now arriv'd at our present Days, under the Happy Government of his Majesty King *WILLIAM* the Third; and I am sorry to reflect, That since the late Revolution in these Kingdoms, when the Subjects of *England* have more strenuously than

1 *Shelela*, or *Shillelagh*, in County Wicklow, where there was a large oak forest.

2 "*Car. 2*" is an alternative way of expressing Charles II, from the Latin "*Carolus*," or Charles.

ever Asserted their own *Rights*, and the *Liberty* of Parliaments, it has pleased them to bear harder on their Poor Neighbours, than has ever yet been done in many Ages foregoing. I am sure what was then done by that Wise and Just Body of Senators, was perfectly out of Good Will and Kindness to us, under those Miseries which our Afflicted Country of *Ireland* then suffered. But I fear some Men have since that, made use of what was then done, to other Purposes than at first intended....

If a Man, who has *no Jurisdiction* over me, *command* me to do a thing that is *pleasing* to me, and I do it; it will not thence follow, that thereby he obtains an *Authority* over me, and that ever hereafter I must Obey him of *Duty*. If I *voluntarily* give my Money to a Man when I *please*, and think it *convenient* for me; this does not Authorize him at any time to *command* my Money from me when *he pleases*. If it be said, this allows Subjects to Obey only whilst 'tis *convenient* for them. I pray it may be considered, whether any Men Obey *longer*, unless they be *forced* to it; and whether they will not *free* themselves from this *Force* as soon as they can. 'Tis impossible to hinder Men from desiring to *free* themselves from *Uneasiness*, 'tis a Principle of Nature, and cannot be eradicated. If Submitting to an Inconvenience, be a *less* Evil than endeavouring to Throw it off, Men will Submit. But if the Inconvenience grow upon them, and be *greater* than the hazard of getting rid of it, Men will Offer at putting it by, let the Statesman or Divine say what they can.

But I shall yet go a little further, and venture to Assert, That the Right of being subject *Only* to such Laws to which Men give their *own Consent*, is so inherent to all Mankind, and founded on such immutable Laws of Nature and Reason, that 'tis not to be *Alien'd*, or *Given up*, by any Body of Men whatsoever: For the End of all Government and Laws being the Publick Good of the Commonwealth, in the Peace, Tranquility and Ease of every Member therein; whatsoever Act is contrary to this End, is in it self void, and of no effect: And therefore for a Company of Men to say, *Let us Unite our selves into a Society, and let us be absolutely Govern'd by such Laws, as such a Legislator, without ever Consulting us, shall devise for us*; 'tis always to be understood, *Provided we find them for our Benefit*: For to say, We will be Govern'd by those Laws, *whether they be Good or Hurtful to us*, is absurd in it self: For to what End do Men joyn in Society, but to avoid Hurt, and the Inconveniencies of the State of Nature?

2. From Jonathan Swift, *The Drapier's First Letter* (1724)

[The Wood's halfpence affair more than anything else brought Swift to the forefront of Irish political life, and confirmed his standing as an Irish patriot. The *Drapier's Letters* are not only his supreme publication concerning the halfpence, but also stand as the epitome of his writing. The letters exemplify all the virtues and principles of writing as he saw it: they are clear and straightforward without being condescending. Practical and targeted, they deal with real issues and are intended to make a real difference to the life of the community. As examples of English prose, they are amongst the best of the period, but as an example of the impact that literary activism can make they remain unsurpassed.]

(*To the Tradesmen, Shop-Keepers, Farmers, and Common People in General, of the Kingdom of Ireland, in The Works of J.S. D.D., DSPD. In Four Volumes: IV. His papers relating to Ireland, Dublin, 1735, pp. 65-73, 77-79.*)

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen and Fellow Subjects,

What I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to your selves and your Children, your *Bread and Cloathing*, and every common Necessary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the Printer to sell it at the lowest Rate.

It is a great fault among you, that when a Person writes with no other Intention than *to do you Good, you will not be at the Pains to Read his Advices*: One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing¹ a-piece. It is your Folly that you have no common or general Interest in your View, not even the Wisest among you, neither do you know or enquire, or care who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

1 In pre-decimal English currency, a farthing was one quarter of a penny. There were 240 pennies to £1, so a farthing was of very little value.

About three Years ago, a little Book was written, to advise all People to wear the *Manufactures of this our own Dear Country*:¹ It had no other Design, said nothing against the *King* or *Parliament*, or any *Man*, yet the POOR PRINTER was prosecuted two Years, with the utmost Violence, and even some WEAVERS themselves, for whose Sake it was written, being upon the JURY, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you Good, when you will either neglect him or fly in his Face for his Pains, and when he must expect only *Danger to himself* and *Loss of Money*, perhaps to his Ruin.

However I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave your selves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

The Fact is thus, It having been many Years since COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGs were last Coined in this Kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many Counterfeits passed about under the Name of RAPS,² several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to Coin *New ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOOD, *a mean ordinary man, a Hard-Ware Dealer*,³ procured a Patent under His MAJESTIES BROAD SEAL to Coin FOURSCORE AND TEN THOUSAND POUNDS in *Copper* for this Kingdom, which Patent however did not oblige anyone here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the HALF-PENCE and FARTHINGs in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth. And if you should beat them to Pieces, and sell them to the *Brazier* you would not lose above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. WOOD made his HALF-PENCE of such *Base Metal*, and

1 This was Swift's own *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, published in 1720. The printer was Edward Waters. See Introduction (pp. 20-21) for its prosecution by the authorities.

2 A rap is something worthless, and thus a counterfeit coin.

3 William Wood (1671-1730) was an ironmonger from Wolverhampton who purchased the patent from the king's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. After the failure of the halfpence scheme he was granted a state pension of £3,000 a year, though he died after only three years.

so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the Brazier would not give you above a *Penny* of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; so that this sum of *Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds* in good Gold and Silver, must be given for TRASH that will not be worth above *Eight or Nine Thousand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the Worst, for Mr. WOOD when he pleases may by Stealth send over *another and another Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds*, and buy *all our Goods for Eleven Parts in Twelve*, under the Value. For Example, if a Hatter sells a Dozen of *Hatts* for *Five Shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *Three Pounds*, and receives the Payment in Mr. WOOD'S Coin, he really receives only the value of *Five Shillings*.

Perhaps you will wonder how such an *ordinary Fellow* as this Mr. WOOD could have so much Interest as to get his MAJESTIES Broad Seal for so great a Sum of bad Money, to be sent to this Poor Country, and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the same Favour, and let us make our own *Half-pence*, as we used to do. Now I will make that Matter very Plain. We are at a great Distance from the *King's Court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great Number of *Lords* and *Squires*, whose Estates are here, and are our Countrymen, spending all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there. But this same Mr. WOOD was able to attend constantly for his own Interest; he is an ENGLISH MAN and had GREAT FRIENDS, and it seems knew very well *where to give Money*, to those that would speak to OTHERS that could speak to the KING and could tell A FAIR STORY. And HIS MAJESTY, and perhaps the great Lord or Lords who advised him, might think it was for our *Country's Good*; and so, as the Lawyers express it, the KING was deceived in his Grant; which often happens in *all Reigns*. And I am sure if his MAJESTY knew that such a Patent, if it should take Effect according to the Desire of Mr. WOOD, would utterly Ruin this Kingdom which hath given such great Proofs of it's *Loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and, perhaps shew his Displeasure to SOME BODY OR OTHER, *But a Word to the Wise is enough*. Most of you must have heard, with what Anger our *Honourable House of Commons* received an Account of this WOOD'S PATENT. There were several *Fine Speeches* made upon it, and plain Proofs that it was all A WICKED CHEAT from the *Bottom to the Top*, and several *Smart Votes* were printed,¹ which that same WOOD had the assurance to answer

1 These were the events of August and September 1723.

likewise in *Print*, and in so confident a Way, as if he were *A better Man than Our whole Parliament* put together.¹

This WOOD, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *Barrels of these HALF-PENCE*, to *Cork* and other *Seaport Towns*, and to get them off offered an *Hundred Pounds* in his *Coin* for *Seventy* or *Eighty* in *Silver*; But the *Collectors* of the KING's Customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the *Parliament*² hath condemned them, and desired the KING that they might be stopped, all the Kingdom do abominate them.

But WOOD is still working *under hand* to force his HALF-PENCE upon us, and if he can by help of his *Friends in England*, prevail so far as to get an Order that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the KING's Money shall Receive them, and that the ARMY is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his Work shall be done*. And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a *Case*. For the common Soldier when he goes to the *Market* or *Ale-house* will offer this Money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will SWAGGER and HECTOR, and *Threaten* to *Beat* the BUTCHER or *Ale-Wife*, or take the Goods by Force, and throw them the bad HALF-PENCE. In this and the like Cases, the *Shop-Keeper* or *Victualer*, or *any other Tradesmen* has no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, if it is to be paid in WOOD's Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for A QUART OF ALE, and so in all things else, and not part with his Goods till he gets the *Money*.

For suppose you go to an ALE-HOUSE with that base Money, and the Landlord gives you a Quart for Four of these HALF-PENCE, what must the Victualer do? His BREWER will not be paid in that Coin, or if the BREWER should be such a Fool, the *Farmers* will not take it from them for their *Bere*, because they are bound by their Leases to pay their Rents in Good and Lawful Money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the 'Squire their Landlord will never be so bewitched to take such *Trash* for his Land, so that it must

1 Wood's statement was printed in the London *Evening Post* for 5 October 1723 and the London *Flying Post* for 8 October. He adopted a high-handed tone, widely seen as arrogant. (See Ehrenpreiss, III, 202-03.)

2 That is, the Irish Parliament.

certainly stop some where or other, and wherever it stops it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these HALF-PENCE are between Four and Five to an *Ounce*, suppose Five, then three Shillings and Four Pence will weigh a Pound, and consequently *Twenty Shillings* will weigh *Six Pound Butter Weight*.¹ Now there are many Hundred *Farmers* who pay Two Hundred Pound a Year Rent. Therefore when one of these Farmers comes with his Half Years Rent, which is one Hundred Pound, it will be at least Six Hundred Pound weight, which is Three Horse Load.

If a 'Squire has a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here; he must bring with him Five or Six Horses loaden with *Sacks* as the Farmers bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaden with Mr. WOOD's Money. And I hope we shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'SQUIRE CONOLLY has *Sixteen Thousand Pounds a Year*; now if he sends for his *Rent* to Town, as it is likely he does, he must have Two Hundred and Forty Horses to bring up his Half Years Rent, and Two or Three great Cellars in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am assured, that some great Bankers keep by them *Forty Thousand Pounds* in ready Cash to answer all Payments, which Sum, in Mr. WOOD's Money, would require Twelve Hundred Horses to carry it.

For my own Part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish Stuffs* and *Silks*, and instead of taking Mr. WOOD's bad Copper, I intend to Truck with my Neighbours the BUTCHERS, and *Bakers*, and *Brewers*, and the rest, *Goods for Goods*, and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me like my *Heart's Blood* till better Times, or till I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. WOOD's Money as my Father did the Brass Money in K. JAMES's Time,² who could buy *Ten Pound* of it with a *Guinea*, and I hope to get as much for a *Pistole*, and so

1 Butter was traditionally weighed more generously than other food-stuffs, at eighteen ounces to the pound rather than sixteen.

2 James II, having fled England for Ireland, was in such need of funds in 1689 that he confiscated brass objects and had them melted down into what was to be passed as sterling silver coins. These were enforced by Royal Proclamation.

purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

These HALF-PENCE, if they once pass, will soon be COUNTERFEIT, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is *so Base*. The DUTCH likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*. And Mr. WOOD will never be at rest but coin on: So that in some Years we shall have at least Five Times Four Score and Ten Thousand Pounds of this *Lumber*. Now the Current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above *Four Hundred Thousand Pounds in all*, and while there is a *Silver Six-pence* left these BLOODSUCKERS will never be quiet.

When once the *Kingdom* is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will all turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment, because as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged by their Leases to pay *Sterling* which is Lawful Current Money of *England*, then they will turn their own *Farmers*, AS TOO MANY OF THEM DO ALREADY, Run *all* into *Sheep* where they can, keeping only such other *Cattle* as are necessary; then they will be their own *Merchants* and send their *Wooll* and *Butter* and *Hydes* and *Linnen* beyond Sea for ready *Money* and *Wine* and *Spices* and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *Cottiers*.¹ The farmers must *Rob* or *Beg*, or leave their *Country*. The *Shop-keepers* in this and every other Town, must *Break* and *Starve*: For it is the *Landed-man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shopkeeper*, and *Handycrafts Man*.

But when the '*Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up or send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver* and the like in his own House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

I should never have done if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo if we be so *Foolish* and *Wicked* as to take this CURSED COYN. It would be very hard if all *Ireland* should be put into *One Scale*, and *this sorry Fellow WOOD* into the other, that Mr. WOOD should weigh down *this whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*, and that is more than the *English* do by *all the World besides*.

But your *great Comfort* is, that, as his *MAYESTIES Patent* does not oblige you to take this *Money*, so the *Laws* have not given

¹ Cottagers.

the *Crown* a Power of forcing the *Subjects* to take what *Money* the *KING* pleases: For then by the same Reason, we might be bound to take PEBBLE-STONES or *Cockle-shells* or *Stamped Leather* for *Current Coin*, if ever we should happen to live under an ill *PRINCE*, who might likewise by the same Power make a *Guinea* pass for Ten Pounds, a *Shilling* for Twenty Shillings, and so on, by which he would in a short Time get all the *Silver* and *Gold* of the *Kingdom* into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but *Brass* or *Leather* or what he pleased. Neither is any Thing reckoned more *Cruel* or *Oppressive* in the *French Government* than their common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a New at a much higher Value,¹ which however is not the Thousand Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. WOOD. For the *French* give their Subjects *Silver* for *Silver* and *Gold* for *Gold*, but *this Fellow* will not so much as give us good *Brass* or *Copper* for our *Gold* and *Silver*, not even a Twelfth Part of their Worth....

I will now, my Dear Friends, to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you *to do*, and what it does *not* oblige you to.

First, you are oblig'd to take all Money in Payments which is coin'd by the KING and is of the *English* Standard or Weight, provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any Money which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*, no not the HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGS of *England*, or of any other Country, and it is only for Convenience, or Ease, that you are content to take them; because the Custom of Coining *Silver* HALF-PENCE & FARTHINGS hath long been left off,² I will suppose on Account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are you obliged to take those *Vile Half-Pence* of that same WOOD, by which you must lose almost Eleven-Pence in every Shilling.

1 Debasement of the coinage was a frequent recourse in many European countries, but especially in France, from the medieval period onwards, though less so in England until the "Great Debasement" begun by Henry VIII in 1542. In France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, successive debasements were achieved by simply increasing the face value of coins.

2 Silver halfpence had not been minted since the Commonwealth period, and the silver farthing since the middle of the sixteenth century.

Therefore my *Friends*, stand to it One and All, refuse this *Filthy Trash*; It is no Treason to Rebel against Mr. WOOD. His MAJESTY in his Patent obliges no body to take these Half-Pence, our GRACIOUS PRINCE hath no so ill Advisers about him; or if he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the KING's Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is Lawful, of right Standard *Gold* and *Silver*, therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next Place apply my self particularly to you who are the poor Sort of *Tradesmen*, perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-Pence* should pass, because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your *Customers* come to your *Shops* or *Stalls* with nothing but *Brass*, which you likewise find hard to be got, but you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you you will be utterly undone; if you carry these *Half-Pence* to a shop for *Tobacco* or *Brandy*, or *any other Thing* you want, the *Shopkeeper* will advance his Goods accordingly, or else he must break and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of tenpenny Stuff for Twenty of Mr. WOOD's *Half-Pence*, no, not under Two hundred at least, neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump; I will tell you one Thing further; that if Mr. WOOD's project should take, it will ruin even our Beggars. For when I give a Beggar an half-penny, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good way to fill his Belly, but the Twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

*In short these HALF-PENCE are like the accursed Thing which as the Scripture tells us, the Children of Israel were forbidden to touch, they will run about like the Plague and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them.*¹ *I have heard Scholars talk of a Man who told a King that he had invented a Way to torment People by putting them into a Bull of Brass with Fire under it, but the Prince put the Projector first into his own Brazen Bull to make the Experiment;*² *this very much resembles the Project of*

1 The trespass of the Children of Israel in relation to the mysterious "accursed thing" is in Joshua 7:11-15.

2 The brass bull was made by the Athenian craftsman Perillos for Phalaris. It was apparently fitted with pipes so that the screams of the victim were filtered through as pleasant sounds. According to legend, Phalaris tested the bull on Perillos himself.

Mr. WOOD, and the like of this may possibly be Mr. WOOD's Fate, that the Brass he contrived to torment this Kingdom with, may prove his own Torment, and his Destruction at last.

N.B. The AUTHOR of this Paper is informed by Persons who have made it their Business to be exact in their Observations on the true Value of those HALF-PENCE that any Person may expect to get a Quart of Two Penny Ale for Thirty-six of them.

I desire that all Persons may keep this Paper carefully by them to Refresh their Memories whenever they shall have farther Notice of Mr. WOOD's Half-Pence, or any other the like Imposture.

3. Jonathan Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1728)

[The immediate impetus for Swift's writing of this pamphlet was an increasing tendency in the English press to emphasise the prosperity of Ireland and its potential for further economic growth, in spite of the famine of 1727. *A Short View* sets itself to explode these myths systematically and remorselessly. More personal, though, is the fact that he wrote it in the aftermath of the death of Stella. The despair he reveals in the pamphlet at the prospects for Ireland is likely to have been matched by an inner despair at the loss of a lifelong companion.]

(*A Short View of the State of Ireland*, Dublin, 1727-28, pp. 1-15.)

A Short VIEW OF THE STATE of IRELAND Written in the Year 1727

I am assured, that it hath, for some Time, been practised as a Method of making Men's Court, when they are asked about the Rate of Lands, the Abilities of Tenants, the State of Trade and Manufacture in this Kingdom, and how their Rents are paid; to answer, that in their Neighbourhood, all Things are in a flourishing Condition, the Rent and Purchase of Land every Day encreasing. And if a Gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his Representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a Dozen Contradictors at his Elbow. I think it is no Manner of Secret why these Questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since, with regard to the Affairs of this Kingdom, I have been using all Endeavours to subdue my Indignation; to which, indeed, I am not provoked by any personal Interest, being not the Owner of one Spot of Ground in the whole *Island*; I shall only enumerate by Rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true Causes of any Countries flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what Effects arise from those Causes in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The first Cause of a Kingdom's thriving, is the Fruitfulness of the Soil, to produce the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life; not only sufficient for the Inhabitants, but for Exportation into other Countries.

The Second, is the Industry of the People in working up all their native Commodities, to the last Degree of Manufacture.

The Third, is the Conveniency of safe Ports and Havens, to carry out their own Goods, as much manufactured, and bring in those of others, as little manufactured, as the Nature of mutual Commerce will allow.

The Fourth is, that the Natives should, as much as possible, export and import their Goods in Vessels of their own Timber, made in their own Country.

The Fifth, is the Privilege of a free Trade in all foreign Countries, which will permit them; except to those who are in War with their own Prince or State.

The Sixth, is, by being governed only by Laws made with their own Consent; for otherwise they are not a free People. And therefore, all Appeals for Justice, or Applications, for Favour or Preferment to another Country, are so many grievous Impoverishments.

The Seventh is, by Improvement of Land, Encouragement of Agriculture, and thereby increasing the Number of their People; without which any Country, however blessed by Nature, must continue poor.

The Eighth, is the Residence of the Prince, or chief Administrator of the Civil Power.

The Ninth, is the Concourse of Foreigners for Education, Curiosity or Pleasure; or as to a general Mart of Trade.

The Tenth, is by disposing all Offices of Honour, Profit or Trust, only to the Natives, or at least with very few Exceptions; where Strangers have long inhabited the Country, and are supposed to understand, and regard the Interest of it as their own.

The Eleventh, is when the Rents of Lands, and Profits of Employments, are spent in the Country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the Love of our native Country prevails.

The Twelfth, is by the Publick Revenues being all spent and employed at home; except on the Occasions of a foreign War.

The Thirteenth is, where the People are not obliged, unless they find it for their own Interest, or Conveniency, to receive any Monies, except of their own Coinage by a publick Mint, after the Manner of all civilized Nations.

The Fourteenth, is a Disposition of the People of a Country to wear their own Manufactures, and import as few Incitements to Luxury, either in Cloathes, Furniture, Food, or Drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other Causes of a Nation's thriving, which I cannot at present recollect; but without Advantage from at least some of these, after turning my Thoughts a long Time, I am not able to discover from whence our Wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean Time, I will here examine what Share falls to *Ireland* of these Causes, or of the Effects and Consequences.

It is not my Intention to complain, but barely to relate Facts; and the Matter is not of small Importance. For it is allowed, that a Man who lives in a solitary House, far from Help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire, in the Neighbourhood, the Reputation of being rich; because those who come for Gold, will go off with Pewter and Brass, rather than return empty: And in the common Practice of the World, those who possess most Wealth, make the least Parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out, in shewing their Faces on the *Exchange*.¹

As to the first Cause of a Nation's Riches, being the Fertility of the Soil, as well as Temperature of Climate, we have no Reason to complain; for, although the Quantity of unprofitable Land in this Kingdom, reckoning Bogg, and Rock, and barren Mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in *England*; yet the native Productions which both Kingdoms deal in, are very near on Equality in Point of Goodness; and might, with the same Encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except Mines and

1 Anywhere that merchants meet in order to do business, though more specifically the stock exchange.

Minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in Point of Skill and Industry.

In the Second, which is the Industry of the People; our Misfortune is not altogether owing to our own Fault, but to a Million of Discouragements.

The Conveniency of Ports and Havens, which Nature hath bestowed so liberally on this Kingdom, is of no more Use to us, than a beautiful Prospect to a Man shut up in a Dungeon.

As to Shipping of its own, *Ireland* is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent Timber cut down within these Fifty or Sixty Years, it can hardly be said, that the Nation hath received the Benefit of one valuable House to dwell in, or one Ship to trade with.

IRELAND is the only Kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern Story, which was denied the Liberty of exporting their native Commodities and Manufactures, wherever they pleased; except to Countries at War with their own Prince or State: Yet this Privilege, by the Superiority of meer Power, is refused us, in the most momentous Parts of Commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a Thousand other unexampled Circumstances, as grievous, as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some Laws we never consented to; which is a Condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted Name for fear of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed's* Ghost, with his *Libertas & natale solum*, written as a Motto on his Coach, as it stood at the Door of the Court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both.¹ Thus, we are in the Condition of Patients, who have Physick sent them by Doctors at a Distance, Strangers to their Constitution, and the Nature of their Disease: And thus, we are forced to pay five Hundred *per Cent.* to decide our Properties; in all which, we have likewise the Honour to be distinguished from the whole Race of Mankind.

As to Improvement of Land; those few who attempt that, or Planting, through Covetousness, or Want of Skill, generally

1 William Whitshed (1679-1727) had been Solicitor General of Ireland, and was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench of Ireland at the time of the *Drapier's Letters*. Swift had made fun of his motto, which means "Liberty and my native land," in the fifth letter.

leave Things worse than they were; neither succeeding in Trees nor Hedges; and by running into the Fancy of Grazing, after the Manner of the *Scythians*,¹ are every Day depopulating the Country.

We are so far from having a King to reside among us, that even the Viceroy² is generally absent four Fifths of his Time in the Government.

No strangers from other Countries, make this a Part of their Travels; where they can expect to see nothing, but Scenes of Misery and Desolation.

Those who have the Misfortune to be born here, have the least Title to any considerable Employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political Consideration.

One third Part of the Rents of *Ireland*, is spent in *England*; which, with the Profit of Employments, Pensions, Appeals, Journeys of Pleasure or Health, Education at the *Inns* of Court, and both Universities, Remittances at Pleasure, the Pay of all Superior Officers in the Army, and other Incidents, will amount to a full half of the Income of the whole Kingdom, all clear Profit to *England*.

We are denied the Liberty of coining Gold, Silver, or even Copper. In the Isle of *Man*, they coin their own *Silver*; every petty Prince, Vassal to the *Emperor*, can coin what Money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the Articles already mentioned, we are an Exception to all other States or Monarchies that were ever known in the World.

As to the last, or Fourteenth Article, we take special Care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole Course of our Lives. Both Sexes, but especially the Women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own Manufactures, even those which are better made than in other Countries; particularly a Sort of Silk Plad, through which the Workmen are forced to run a Sort of Gold Thread that it may pass for *Indian*. Even Ale and Potatoes are imported from *England*, as well as Corn: And our foreign

1 An ancient nomadic horse-riding people of the Middle East.

2 The Viceroy, or Lord Lieutenant, of Ireland, was the highest office of the English (later British) Crown in Ireland. In 1728 when the pamphlet was published the office was held by John, Lord Carteret (1690-1763), who was actually on good terms with Swift and was unhappy with the British administration's part in the Wood's half-pence affair.

Trade is little more than Importation of *French Wine*; for which I am told we pay ready Money.

Now, if all this be true, upon which I could easily enlarge; I would be glad to know by what secret Method, it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing People, without *Liberty, Trade, Manufactures, Inhabitants, Money, or the Privilege of Coining*; without *Industry, Labour, or Improvement of Lands*, and with more than half the Rent and Profits of the whole *Kingdom*, annually exported; for which we receive not a single Farthing: And to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the Linnen of the *North*, a Trade casual, corrupted, and at Mercy; and some Butter from *Cork*. If we do flourish, it must be against every Law of Nature and Reason; like the Thorn at *Glassenbury*, that blossoms in the Midst of Winter.¹

Let the worthy *Commissioners* who come from *England*, ride round the Kingdom, and observe the Face of Nature, or the Faces of the Natives; the Improvement of the Land; the thriving numerous Plantations; the noble Woods; the Abundance and Vicinity of Country-Seats; the commodious Farmers Houses and Barns; the Towns and Villages, where every Body is busy, and thriving with all Kind of Manufactures; the Shops full of Goods, wrought to Perfection, and filled with Customers; the comfortable Diet and Dress, and Dwellings of the People; the vast Numbers of Ships in our Harbours and Docks, and Ship-wrights in our Seaport-Towns; the Roads crouded with Carriers, laden with rich Manufactures; the perpetual Concourse to and fro of pompous Equipages.

With what Envy, and Admiration, would these Gentlemen return from so delightful a Progress? What glorious Reports would they make, when they went back to *England*?

But my Heart is too heavy to continue this Irony longer; for it is manifest, that whatever Stranger took such a Journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in *Lapland*, or *Ysland*,² rather than in a Country so favoured by Nature as ours, both in Fruitfulness of Soil, and Temperature of Climate. The miserable Dress, and Dyet, and Dwelling of the People. The general Desolation in

1 The Glastonbury Thorn is a hawthorn, growing in Glastonbury in Somerset, that blossoms twice each year, once in spring and again in mid-winter. It is an area rich in legend, including that Joseph of Arimathea brought the Holy Grail to Glastonbury and where he stuck his staff in the hillside, there grew the thorn. It has been propagated over the centuries to replace each specimen.

2 Iceland.

most Parts of the Kingdom. The old Seats of the Nobility and Gentry all in Ruins, and no new ones in their Stead. The Families of Farmers, who pay great Rents, living in Filth and Nastiness upon Butter-milk¹ and Potatoes, without a Shoe or Stocking to their Feet; or a House so convenient as an *English* Hog-sty, to receive them. These, indeed, may be comfortable Sight to an *English* Spectator; who comes for a short Time, only to learn the *Language*, and returns back to his own Country, whither he finds all our Wealth transmitted.

*Nostrâ miseriâ magnus es.*²

There is not one Argument used to prove the Riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical Demonstration of its Poverty. The Rise of our Rents is squeezed out of the very Blood, and Vitals, and Cloaths, and Dwellings of the Tenants; who live worse than *English* Beggars. The Lowness of Interest, in all other Countries a Sign of Wealth, is in us a Proof of Misery; there being no Trade to employ any Borrower. Hence, alone, comes the Dearness of Land, since the Savers have no other Way to lay out their Money. Hence the Dearness of Necessaries for Life; because the Tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant Rates for Land, (which they must take, or go a-begging) without raising the Price of Cattle, and of Corn, although themselves should live upon Chaff. Hence our encrease of Buildings in this City; because Workmen have nothing to do, but employ one another; and one Half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily Encrease of *Bankers*; who may be a necessary Evil in a trading Country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private Advantage, have sent away all our Silver, and one Third of our Gold; so that within three Years past, the running Cash of the Nation, which was about five Hundred Thousand Pounds, is now less than two; and must daily diminish, unless we have Liberty to coin, as well as that important Kingdom the Isle of *Man*; and the meanest Prince in the *German* Empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this Paradox of the Kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy Gentlemen the

1 Thin milk of poor quality, remaining after full milk has been used to make butter.

2 Our misery is great.

BANKERS; who, except some Custom-house Officers, Birds of Passage,¹ oppressive thrifty 'Squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving People among us: And I have often wished, that a Law were enacted to hang up half a Dozen *Bankers* every Year; and thereby interpose at least some short Delay, to the further Ruin of *Ireland*.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered *Pharaoh* to the *Israelites*, when they complained to *his Majesty*, that they were forced to make Bricks without Straw.²

ENGLAND enjoys every one of these Advantages for enriching a Nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the Bargain, a good Million returned to them every Year, without Labour or Hazard, or one Farthing Value received on our Side. But how long we shall be able to continue the Payment, I am not under the least Concern. One Thing I know, that *when the Hen is starved to Death, there will be no more Golden Eggs*.³

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtil Piece of Malice; that, because there may be a Dozen Families in this Town, able to entertain their *English* Friends in a generous Manner at their Tables; their Guests, upon their Return to *England*, shall report, that we wallow in Riches and Luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an Hospital, where all the Household-Officers grew rich; while the Poor, for whose Sake it was built, were almost starving for want of Food and Raiment.

To conclude. If *Ireland* be a rich and flourishing Kingdom; its Wealth and Prosperity must be owing to certain Causes, that are yet concealed from the whole Race of Mankind; and the Effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at Strangers, when they deliver such Paradoxes; but a Native and Inhabitant of this Kingdom, who gives the same Verdict, must be either ignorant to Stupidity; or a Man-pleaser, at the Expence of all Honour, Conscience, and Truth.

1 That is, English owners with some financial stake in the country who make only occasional visits, taking away their revenues and not spending them for the benefit of the local economy.

2 Swift is quoting Exodus 5:17.

3 The goose, or hen, that lays the golden eggs is one of the fables of Aesop, the Greek writer from the 6th century BCE.

Appendix E: Contemporary Reception

1. Swift's Correspondence

[After the publication of *Gulliver*, it was quickly realised who was actually the author, especially among Swift's friends, though he appears to have been remarkably successful in concealing the truth up until then. The deception was carried on for a while in semi-jest, particularly when reporting the book's reception in England. The illustrations under discussion with Benjamin Motte in the final extract (1e) are a measure of how completely the book had captured the public imagination. Four extra illustrations had been included in Motte's two-volume 1727/8 edition of *Gulliver*.]

a. John Gay and Alexander Pope to Swift

Nov. [7], 1726.

About ten days ago a Book was publish'd here of the Travels of one Gulliver, which hath been the conversation of the whole town ever since: The whole impression sold in a week; and nothing is more diverting than to hear the different opinions people give of it, though all agree in liking it extreamly. 'Tis generally said that you are the Author, but I am told, the Bookseller declares he knows not from what hand it came. From the highest to the lowest it is universally read, from the Cabinet-council to the Nursery. The Politicians to a man agree, that it is free from particular reflections,¹ but that the Satire on general societies of men is too severe. Not but we now and then meet with people of greater perspicuity, who are in search for particular applications in every leaf; and 'tis highly probable we shall have keys publish'd to give light into Gulliver's design. Your Lord — is the person who least approves it,² blaming it as a design of evil consequence

1 Meaning it is general satire rather than satire directed at particular individuals. Clearly they were not yet reading carefully enough.

2 This is Bolingbroke.

to depreciate human nature, at which it cannot be wondered that he takes most offence, being himself the most accomplish'd of his species, and so losing more than any other of that praise which is due both to the dignity and virtue of a man. Your friend, my Lord Harcourt,¹ commends it very much, though he thinks in some places the matter too far carried. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough² is in raptures at it; she says she can dream of nothing else since she read it; she declares, that she hath now found out, that her whole life hath been lost in caressing the worst part of mankind, and treating the best as her foes; and that if she knew Gulliver, tho' he had been the worst enemy she ever had, she would give up all her present acquaintance for his friendship. You may see by this, that you are not much injur'd by being suppos'd the Author of this piece. If you are, you have disoblig'd us, and two or three of your best friends, in not giving us the least hint of it while you were with us; and in particular Dr. Arbuthnot, who says it is ten thousand pitys he had not known it, he could have added such abundance of things upon every subject. Among Lady critics, some have found out that Mr. Gulliver had a particular malice to maids of honour. Those of them who frequent the Church, say, his design is impious, and that it is an insult on Providence, by depreciating the works of the Creator. Notwithstanding I am told the Princess³ hath read it with great pleasure. As to other Critics, they think the flying island is the least entertaining; and so great an opinion the town have of the impossibility of Gulliver's writing at all below himself, that 'tis agreed that part was not writ by the same hand, tho' this hath its defenders too. It hath pass'd Lords and Commons, *nemine contradicente*;⁴ and the whole town, men, women, and children are quite full of it.

Perhaps I may all this time be talking to you of a Book you have never seen, and which hath not yet reach'd Ireland; if it hath not, I believe what we have said will be sufficient to recommend it to your reading, and that you order me to send it to you.

1 Simon Harcourt, 1st Viscount Harcourt (1661-1727), a former Lord Chancellor.

2 Sarah Churchill (1660-1744), formerly Sarah Jennings, widow of the famous Duke and general.

3 This was Princess Caroline (1713-57), third daughter of the heir to the throne. George II succeeded his father in 1727.

4 With no one against it.

But it will be much better to come over your self, and read it here, where you will have the pleasure of variety of commentators,¹ to explain the difficult passages to you....

b. Alexander Pope to Swift

Nov.16.1726

... I congratulate you first upon what you call your Couzen's wonderful Book, which is *publica trita manu* at present,² and I prophecy will be in future the admiration of all men. That countenance with which it is received by some statesmen, is delightful; I wish I could tell you how every single man looks upon it, to observe which has been my whole diversion this fortnight. I've never been a night in London since you left me, till now for this very end, and indeed it has fully answered my expectations.

I find no considerable man very angry at the book: some indeed think it rather too bold, and too general a Satire: but none that I hear of accuse it of particular reflections (I mean no persons of consequence, or good judgment; the mob of Critics, you know, always are desirous to apply Satire to those they envy for being above them) so that you needed not to have been so secret upon this head. Motte receiv'd the copy (he tells me) he knew not from whence, nor from whom, dropp'd at his house in the dark, from a Hackney-coach: by computing the time, I found it was after you left England, so for my part, I suspend my judgment.

c. Swift to Alexander Pope

Dublin, Nov.17 1726

I am just come from answering a Letter of Mrs. Howard's,³ writ in such mystical terms, that I should never have found out the meaning, if a Book had not been sent me called Gulliver's Travels,

1 As pointed out in the Introduction, commentaries and guides swiftly followed the publication of *GT* in 1726.

2 Worn by the hand of the public.

3 This (and in the following letter) is Henrietta Howard (1689-1767), formerly Hobart, Countess of Suffolk and mistress to George II. Swift had been on terms of friendship with her while living in London, but had grown increasingly suspicious of her during the years since then.

of which you say so much in yours. I read the Book over, and in the second volume observe several passages which appear to be patch'd and altered, and the style of a different sort (unless I am much mistaken) [.] Dr. Arbuthnot likes the Projectors least, others you tell me, the Flying island; some think it wrong to be so hard upon whole Bodies or Corporations, yet the general opinion is, that reflections on particular persons are most to be blam'd: so that in these cases, I think the best method is to let censure and opinion take their course. A Bishop here said, that book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it; and so much for Gulliver....

... Let me add, that if I were Gulliver's friend, I would desire all my acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled, and abused, and added to, and blotted out by the printer, for so to me it seems, in the second volume particularly. Adieu.

d. "Lemuel Gulliver" to Mrs. Howard¹

Newark in Nottinghamshire. Nov^r 28.1726

Madam

My correspondents have informed me that your Lady[shi]p has done me the honour to answer severall objections that ignorance, malice and party have made to my Travells, and bin so charitable as to justifie the fidelity and veracity of the Author. This Zeal you have shown for Truth calls for my perticular 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; Is there any harm in a young Ladys reading of Romances? Or did I make use of an improper Engine to extinguish a fire that was kindled by a Maid of Honour? 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: But I submit my self and my cause to your better judgment, and beg leave to lay the crown of Lilliput at your feet, as a small acknowledgment of

1 The original of this letter is owned by the British Library, Add MSS 22625, ff.11-12.

your favours to my book & person; I found it in the corner of my wastecoat pocket into which I thrust most of the valuable furniture of the Royall apartment when the palace was on fire, and by mistake brought it with me into England, for I very honestly restored to their Majesties all their goods that I knew were in my possession; May all courtiers imitate me in that, and in my being Madam your admirer and ob^t servant.

Lemuel Gulliver.

e. Swift to Benjamin Motte¹

Dublin. Dec^{br}. 28th. 1727

... As to having Cuts² in Gullivers travels; you will consider how much it will raise the price of the Book: The world glutted it self with that book at first, and now it will go off but soberly, but I suppose will not be soon worn out. The Part of the little men will bear cuts much better than that of the great. I have not the Book by me, but will speak by memory. Gulliver in his carriage to the Metropolis. his extinguishing [the fire]. The Ladyes in their Coaches driving about his Table. His rising up out of his Carriage when he is fastned to his House. His drawing the Fleet. The Troop upon his Han-kerchief. The Army marching between his Leg[s]. His Hat drawn by 8 horses. Some of these seem the fittest to be represented, and perhaps two adventures may be sometimes put in one Print.

It is difficult to do any thing in the great men, because Gulliver makes so diminutive a figure, and he is but one in the whole Kingdom. Among some cuts I bought in London, he is shown taken out of the Bowl of cream, but the hand that holds him hides the whole body. He would appear best, wedged in the marrow bone up to the middle, or in the Monky's arms upon the roof, or left upon the ridge and the footman on the ladder going to relieve him or fighting with the Rats on the farmers bed, or in the spaniel's mouth, which being described as a small dog, he might look as large as a Duck in one of ours; One of the best would I think be to see his Chest just falling into the Sea while

1 The original of this letter is owned by the Forster Collection, MSS., no. 544.

2 That is, illustrative woodcuts. Earlier editions of the book had only had the maps and the two plans in Part III.

three Eagles are quarrelling with one another, Or the monkey haling him out of his box. M^r Wotton the Painter,¹ who draws Landscips and Horses, told M^r Pope and me that the Gravers did wrong in not making the big folks bear someth[]nd enormous in their shapes, for as drawn by those gravers, they look onely like common human creatures[;] Gulliver being alone and so little, cannot make the contrast appear. The Flying Island might be drawn at large as described in the Book, and Gulliver drawing up into it, and some Fellows with Flappers. I know not what to do with the Projectors. Nor what figure the Island of Ghosts would make, or any passage related in it, because I do not well remember it. The Country of Horses, I think would furnish many. Gulliver brought to be compared with the Yahoo, The Family at dinner and he waiting. The Grand Council of Horses assembled, sitting, one of them standing with a hoof extended as if he were speaking, The She-Yahoo embracing Gulliver in the River, who turns away his head in disgust [.] The Yahoos got into a tree to infest him under it. The Yahoos drawing Carriages, and driven by a Horse with a whip in his hoof. I can think of no more; But M^r Gay will advise you and carry you to M^r Wotton, and some oth^r skillfull people.

2. From Anon., *A Letter from a Clergyman* (1726)

[Appearing remarkably quickly after the first publication of *Gulliver* itself, the author of this anonymous pamphlet sets himself in polar opposition to Swift, attacking the book and its contents, as well as the motives—disappointment at lack of advancement in the church—that are ascribed for the writing of it and the author’s whole character. It concludes with an outraged defence of and encomium upon Walpole, “the greatest Man this Nation ever produced.”]

(A Letter from a Clergyman to his Friend, with an Account of the Travels of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver: and a Character of the Author. To which is added, the True Reasons why a certain Doctor was made a Dean, London, 1726, pp. 6-9, 12-15.)

1 This is John Wotton (1682-1764), who was well known as a painter of landscapes, hunting scenes, and animals, but who also carried out book illustrations.

Thus having said as much as I think needful by way of Introduction; I would turn my Thoughts more immediately to the Work before me; I have, as you directed me, Sir, read it over with the greatest Distinction, and Exactness I was able; I've enter'd as much, as was possible for me, into the Spirit and Design of the Author: By the strictest Examination I've endeavour'd to sift every material Passage; and I persuade my self the Drift of the Author has appear'd plain to me thro' the whole. From all which I conclude, that had Care been taken to have adapted them to modest virtuous Minds, by leaving out some gross Words, and lewd Descriptions, and had the Inventor's Intention been innocent, the first three Parts of these Travels would undoubtedly have proved diverting, agreeable, and acceptable to all; there is a great deal of Wit, and more Invention in them; though, as is pretty usual in so large a Work of this Sort, there are some unnatural Incidents, and here and there an Inconsistency with it self.

In the fourth Part, which is more than half of the second Volume, the Author flags, he loses his Vivacity, and in my Opinion, maintains little of his former Spirit, but the Rancour. This indeed appears most plentifully in this Part; and the Captain seems so wholly influenced by it, that he makes a sort of Recapitulation of Invectives he had vented before; and having receiv'd a fresh supply of Gall, appears resolv'd to discharge it, though he has no Way than by varying the Phrase, to express in other Words, the unjust Sentiments he had disclosed before: In this long tedious Part the Reader loses all that might have been engaging to him in the three former; the Capacity and Character given there of Brutes, are so unnatural; and especially the great Preheminence asserted of them, to the most virtuous and noble of humane Nature, is so monstrously absurd and unjust, that 'tis with the utmost Pain a generous Mind must indure the Recital; a Man grows sick at the shocking Things inserted there; his Gorge rises; he is not able to conceal his Resentment; and closes the Book with Detestation and Disappointment.

But to return to the three former Parts, as I have said all I can with Justice say, on their Behalf; allow me now to shew a little of the great Malignity, and evil Tendency of their Nature: Here I might be abundantly prolix, had I not absolutely determin'd to be otherwise, the Field is large, the Matter very copious: Here, Sir, you may see a reverend Divine, a dignify'd Member of the

Church unbosoming himself, unloading his Breast, discovering the true Temper of his Soul, drawing his own Picture to the Life; here's no Disguise, none could have done it so well as himself: Here's the most inveterate Rancour of his Mind, and a hoard of Malice, twelve Years collecting, discharged at once: Here's ENVY, the worst of all Passions, in Perfection; ENVY, the most beloved Darling of Hell; the greatest Abhorrence of Heaven; ENVY, the Crime Mankind should be the most ashamed of, having the least to say in Excuse for it; the Canker of the Soul, most uneasy to the Possessor; a Passion not to be gratify'd, not possible of Pleasure; the peculiar one would imagine of infernal Beings, and much of their Punishment. ENVY, is ever levell'd at Merit, and Superior Excellence; and the most deserving are, for being such, the properest Objects of ENVY.

View now, Sir, the Doctor, as I shall henceforward call him; and upon examination, I fear 'twill be found, that his Conduct too fully answers the Description of this detestable Passion: I shall be very plain and expressive; an honest Man will no more conceal the Truth, than deny it, when the Former may prove prejudicial to the Innocent: Whether the Government may ever think proper publicly to chastise the Doctor for his Insolence, I know nothing of; perhaps such snarling may be thought too low to engage such a Resentment: However this I am fully persuaded of, that as no good Government ought to be so insulted and male-treated; so there is no honest Man among us but would contribute the utmost in his Power to bring the Author, and those concerned with him to exemplary Punishment, in order to deter others from the like pernicious Practices for the future.

What can be viler in the Intention? What may be worse in the Consequence, than an Attempt to interrupt the Harmony and good Understanding between his Majesty and his Subjects, and to create a Dislike in the People to those in the Administration; and especially to endeavour at this, in such a Juncture as the present? what could in all Probability be the Issue of bringing such Matters to bear, but the throwing ourselves and all *Europe* into a Flame? ruining our Credit, destroying our Trade, beggaring of private Families, setting us a cutting one another's Throats; by which we should become an easy Prey to the common Enemy, who would at once subvert our Constitution, the happiest, the best in the World; destroy our Church Establishment; and subject us to all the Cruelty and Sufferings

the unbounded Lust of Tyrants, and the insatiable Avarice of Priests could load us with....

He spares neither Age or Sex, neither the Living or the Dead; neither the Rich, the Great, or the Good; the best of Characters is no Fence, the Innocent are the least secure; even his Majesty's Person is not sacred, the Royal Blood affords no Protection here; he equally endeavours to bring into Contempt with the People, his Majesty, the Royal Family, and the Ministry.

The next great Attack, as all People understand it, is no less than upon a *British* Parliament; this August Assembly, the Wisest, the Noblest, the most Awful in the World, he treats with Words of the utmost Scurrility, with *Billingsgate* Terms of the lowest Sort;¹ this Body of the best Gentlemen in the Kingdom he calls Pedlars, Pickpockets, Highwaymen, and Bullies; Words never spoke of a *British* Parliament before and 'twould be a National Reproach they should now pass unpunished: This is beyond all Bounds; who that are *English* Men can with Temper think of such an Insult upon the Body of their Representatives; the Centre of the National Power; the great Preserver of our Laws, Religion and Liberties, and of all, that as Men and Christians we ought to hold dear and valuable.

I wish I could keep in better Terms with my old Companion, my Inclination's good t'wards it, but notwithstanding that, and all my Resolutions, I find it impracticable; his Conduct is so enormously bad, 'tis insufferable; humane Nature must be worse than he has represented it, and I never saw it look so ghastly before, to bear with him.

All that I have read these Travels must be convinc'd I do the Doctor no injustice by my Assertions: His Method of forming his Characters seems to be new, it looks as if he first drew up a Set of ill Names and reproachful Epithets, and then apply'd them as he thought proper, without regarding at all, whether the Persons they were so apply'd to, deserv'd such Treatment or not; and in this, tho' the current Testimony of Thousands or Millions was against him, it seems to have signify'd nothing; tho' daily Experience and universal

1 Billingsgate was an area of London on the north of the Thames between London Bridge and Tower Bridge famous for its fish market, and therefore a byword for bad language. Billingsgate Market still exists, specialising in fish, though it is now further east, near Canary Wharf.

Consent prov'd the contrary, they appear to have been of no Weight with the Doctor; he knew very well t'would sufficiently answer his End if by boldly and roundly asserting whatever he thought proper, and sticking at no Method of Defamation he should make the whole appear plausible and gain Adherents; and therefore with the utmost Assurance he affirms this Woman to be a Whore, that a Bawd, this Man a Pimp, that a Pathick¹ tho' neither of them ever gave any Reason to be thought such, or were thought such, before.

Whether the Doctor would like to be serv'd thus himself let the World determine; and that they may the better do it I shall give them one Instance, using almost the Doctor's own Words, and applying them to himself as thus; Doctor COPPER-FARTHING, was by Pimping, Swearing, For-swearing, Flattering, Suborning, Forging, Gaming, Lying, Fawning, Hectoring, Voting, Scribbling, Whoring, Canting, Libeling, Free-thinking, endeavouring to ruin the *British* Constitution, set aside the *Hanover* Succession, and bring in a Popish Pretender; by Prostituting his Wife, his Sister, his Daughter, advanced to be a DEAN: Now, Sir, this Character being form'd, as I observ'd, before I had concluded who to bestow it on, I am oblig'd to make some little Alteration, and to do the Doctor no Injustice, I take away that whole Sentence, *by Prostituting his Wife, his Sister, his Daughter*; because being well assur'd he never had any of his own; if such have been used so by him they must have belong'd to other People: If I had not pitch'd upon the Doctor you can't but be sensible, like him, I could have made this Character have serv'd with some small Curtailings or Additions an Admiral, a General, a Bishop, a Minister of State, or any other Person I had a mind to be angry with, and was I set upon abusing an hundred of each, by the Power of Transformation, t'would be sufficient for them all.

Don't look upon this, Sir, as my Invention, I assure you 'tis wholly the Doctor's; may the Reputation of it be all his own: 'Tis thus he treats the wisest, the greatest Men in this Nation; Nobility, Ladies and Gentlemen of the best Families and brightest Characters in the Kingdom; and his Malice is greatest where Worth and Virtue are most conspicuous; this of Course must engage him to vent a very large Portion of his Rage against the Family and Person of the greatest Man this Nation ever produced. But how vain is the Attempt here? How impotent, as well as base the Malice? There is no immediate Fence indeed against an infamous Tongue, and

1 A man or boy on whom sodomy is practised.

must often be for some Time submitted to; but in this Case 'tis otherwise; what the Doctor asserts of this Person and his Family is so universally known to be false, and condemned as such by the Voice of the whole Nation; that the Doctor has the Mortification to find his Aspersions here, do not take in the least.

3. Poems Attached to *Gulliver's Travels* (1727)

[Just as the *Bickerstaff Papers* had been in 1708, *Gulliver's Travels* was an encouragement for other writers to join in on the jokes, especially in relation to the first two parts. Four poems were included in Motte's 1727 edition, including the three below, which were preserved with slight alterations in Faulkner's 1735 *Works*. Other anonymous poems appeared in the years after 1727. "To *Quinbus Flestrin*" was originally printed as being "By TITTY TIT, ESQ; POET LAUREATE TO HIS MAJESTY OF LILLIPUT. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH." They are now all accepted as being by Pope and are included in his collected works. Motte published all four as a separate pamphlet in 1727, with the title *Several Copies of Verses On Occasion of Mr. Gulliver's Travels*.]

(*Works of J. S., D.D., DSPD. In Four Volumes: III. Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World ... by Lemuel Gulliver, Dublin, 1735, pp. 392-404.*)

The three following Poems were written, as we are informed, by Doctor Arbuthnot, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay.

To *Quinbus Flestrin*,
The Man-Mountain.
A Lilliputian Ode.

I
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*¹
 Propt the Skies:
 See! And believe your Eyes!

II

See him stride
 Valleys wide:
 Over Woods,
 Over Floods.
 When he treads,
 Mountain 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.

III

Turn'd aside
 From his Hide;
 Safe from Wound
 Darts rebound.
 From his Nose
 Clouds he blows:
 When he speaks,

1 Mythologically, Atlas was a Titan. He rebelled with his fellow Titans against the rule of the Olympian gods and as a punishment was condemned to stand holding up the heavens on his shoulders. This popularly came to be holding up the globe itself, which is how he is traditionally depicted.

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.

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,¹ and *hawl'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*.²
 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 *dishevell'd*, and her Flood of Tears
 Seem like the lofty Barn of some rich Swain,
 When from the Thatch drips fast a Show'r of Rain.

-
- 1 A piece of cloth, for example linen, on which girls would practise their embroidery, often with great elaboration.
 - 2 The statues of two giants, Gog and Magog, traditionally believed to have been defeated by Brutus when he came to Britain, were, and still are, kept in London's Guildhall, though they are now different statues from those of Swift's time. The Guildhall is one of the city's largest civic buildings and hosts, among other events, the annual Lord Mayor's Banquet.

IN vain she search'd each Cranny of the House,
 Each gaping Chink impervious to a Mouse.
 'Was it for this (she cry'd) with daily Care
 'Within they Reach I set the Vinegar?
 'And fill'd the Cruet with the acid Tide,
 'While Pepper-Water Worms thy Bait supply'd;
 'Where twin'd the Silver Eel around thy Hook,
 'And all the little Monsters of the Brook.
 'Sure in that Lake he dropt: My *Grilly*'s drown'd.
 She *dragg'd* the Cruet, but no *Grildrig* found.

'VAIN is thy Courage, *Grilly*, vain thy Boast:
 'But little Creatures enterprize the most.
 'Trembling, I've seen thee dare the Kitten's Paw,
 'Nay mix with Children, as they play'd at Taw,¹
 '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?
 'Vers'd 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 slipp'ry Round,
 'Perhaps all maim'd, lie groveling on the Ground?
 'Dost thou, imbosom'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,
 'O shew me, *Flora*, 'midst those Sweets, the Flow'r
 'Where sleeps my *Grildrig* in his fragrant Bow'r!

1 Marbles.

'BUT ah! I fear thy little Fancy roves
 'On little Females, and on little Loves;
 'Thy pigmy Children, and thy tiny Spouse,
 'The Baby Play-things that adorn thy House,
 'Doors, Windows, Chimneys, and the spacious Rooms,
 'Equal in Size to Cells of Honeycombs.
 'Hast thou for these now ventur'd from the Shore,
 'Thy Bark a Bean-Shell, and a Straw thy Oar?
 'Or in thy Box, now bounding on the Main?
 'Shall I ne'er bear thy self 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,
 'Mimick the Actions of a real Man?
 'No more behold thee turn my Watches Key,
 'As Seamen at a Capstern Anchors 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 said; but broken Accents stopt her Voice,
 Soft as the speaking Trumpet's mellow Noise:
 She sobb'd a Storm, and wip'd her flowing Eyes,
 Which seem'd like two broad Suns in misty Skies:
 O! Squander not thy Grief; those Tears command
 To weep upon our Cod in *Newfound-Land*:
 The plenteous Pickle shall preserve the Fish,¹
 And *Europe* taste thy Sorrows in her Dish.

1 The North Atlantic has long been a major cod fishery, with Newfound-land therefore a leading centre. The fancy is that Glumdal-clitch's tears, being salt, should not be wasted on bemoaning the loss of Gulliver but saved for shedding over quantities of (normal sized) cod, thus rendering them ready pickled for European tables. Brobdingnag, of course, is depicted as being an extension of the north-western corner of North America, whereas Newfoundland is on the north-east coast.

Mary Gulliver,
To
Capt. Lemuel Gulliver.

ARGUMENT.

The Captain, some time after his Return, being retired to Mr. Sympton's in the Country, Mrs. Gulliver, apprehending from his late Behaviour some Estrangement of his Affections, writes him the following expostulating, soothing, and tenderly-complaining EPISTLE.

WELCOME, thrice welcome, to thy native Place!
What, touch me not? what, shun a Wife's Embrace?
Have I for this thy tedious Absence born,
And wak'd and wish'd whole Nights for thy Return?
In five long Years I took no second Spouse;
What *Redriff* Wife so long hath kept her Vows?
Your Eyes, your Nose, Inconstancy betray;
Your Nose you stop, your Eyes you turn away.
'Tis said, that thou shouldst *cleave unto thy Wife*;¹
Once *thou* didst cleave, and I could cleave for Life.
Hear, and relent! hark, how they Children moan;
Be kind at least to these, they are thy own;
Be bold, and count them all; secure to find
The honest Number that you left behind.
See how they pat thee with their pretty Paws:
Why start you? are they Snakes? Or have they Claws?
Thy Christian Seed, our mutual Flesh and Bone:
Be kind at least to these, they are thy own.

BIDDEL,² like thee, might farthest *India* rove;
He chang'd his Country, but retain'd his Love.
There's Captain *Pannel*,³ absent half his Life,
Comes back, and is the kinder to his Wife.
Yet *Pannel's* Wife is brown, compar'd to me,
And Mistress *Biddel* sure is Fifty-three.

1 Citing Genesis 2:24.

2 It is Captain John Biddel who picks Gulliver up at sea after he leaves Blefuscu in Part I.

3 Captain Abraham Pannell is master of the *Swallow*, the first ship on which Gulliver serves as surgeon at the very beginning of his sea career.

NOT touch me! never Neighbour call'd me Slut:
 Was *Flimnap's* Dame more Sweet in *Lilliput*?
 I've no red Hair to breathe an odious Fume;
 At least thy Consort's cleaner than thy *Groom*.
 Why then that dirty Stable-boy thy Care?
 What mean those Visits to the *Sorrel Mare*?
 Say, by what Witchcraft, or what Dæmon led,
 Preferr'st thou *Litter* to the Marriage Bed?

SOME say the Dev'l himself is in that *Mare*:
 If so, our *Dean* shall drive him forth by Prayer.
 Some think you mad, some think you are possest,
 That *Bedlam* and clean Straw would suit you best:
 Vain Means, alas, this Frenzy to appease!
 That *Straw*, that *Straw* would heighten the Disease.¹

MY BED (the Scene of all our former Joys,
 Witness two lovely Girls, two lovely Boys),
 Alone I press; in Dreams I call my Dear,
 I stretch my Hand, no *Gulliver* is there!
 I wake, I rise, and shiv'ring with the Frost,
 Search all the House; my *Gulliver* is lost!
 Forth in the Street I rush with frantick Cries;
 The Windows open; all the Neighbours rife:
Where sleeps my Gulliver? O tell me where!
 The Neighbours answer, '*With the Sorrel Mare.*'

AT EARLY Morn, I to the Market haste,
 (Studious in ev'ry Thing to please thy Taste;)
 A curious *Fowl* and *Sparagras*² I chose,
 (For I remember'd you were fond of those,)
 Three Shillings cost the first, the last sev'n Groats;
 Sullen you turn from both, and call for *Oats*.

1 One contemporary belief with regard to lunatics was that straw would increase their light-headedness. The same was believed of letting them sleep on feather beds. Many madhouses nevertheless kept their inmates on straw, it being easier to replace when soiled.

2 Asparagus, once known as sparrowgrass.

OTHERS bring Goods and Treasure to their Houses,
 Something to deck their pretty Babes and Spouses;
 My *only* Token was a Cup like Horn,
 That's made of nothing but a Lady's *Corn*.
 'Tis not for that I grieve; no, 'tis to see
 The *Groom* and *Sorrel Mare* preferr'd to me!

THESE, for some Moments when you deign to quit,
 And (at due Distance) sweet Discourse admit,
 'Tis all my Pleasure thy past Toil to know,
 For pleas'd Remembrance builds Delight on Woe.
 At ev'ry Danger pants thy Consort's Breast,
 And gaping Infants Squawl to hear the rest.
 How did I tremble, when by Thousands bound,
 I saw thee stretch'd on *Lilliputian* Ground;
 When scaling Armies climb'd up ev'ry Part;
 Each Step they trod, I felt upon my Heart.
 But when thy Torrent quench'd the dreadful Blaze
 King, Queen, and Nation, staring with Amaze,
 Full in my View how all my Husband came,
 And what extinguish'd theirs, increas'd my Flame.
 Those *Spectacles*, ordain'd thine Eyes to save,
 Were once my Present; *Love* that Armour gave.
 How did I mourn to *Bolgolam's* Decree!
 For when he fign'd thy Death, he sentenc'd me.

WHEN Folks might see thee all the Country round
 For Six-pence, I'd have giv'n a Thousand Pound.
 Lord! when the *Giant-Babe* that Head of thine
 Got in his Mouth, my Heart was up in mine!
 When in the *Marrow Bone* I see thee ramm'd,
 Or on the House-top by the *Monkey* cramm'd;
 The piteous Images renew my Pain,
 And all thy Dangers I weep o'er again.
 But on the *Maiden's Nipple* when you rid,
 Pray Heav'n, 'twas all a wanton Maiden did!
Glumdalclitch too!—with thee I mourn her Case,
 Heav'n guard the gentle Girl from all Disgrace!
 O may the King that one Neglect forgive,
 And pardon her the Fault by which I live!
 Was there no other Way to set him free?
 My Life, alas! I fear prov'd Death to thee.

O TEACH me, Dear, new Words to speak my Flame!
 Teach me to woo thee by thy best-lov'd Name!
 Whether the Style of *Grildrig* please thee most,
 So call'd on *Brobdingnag*'s stupendous Coast,
 When on the Monarch's ample Hand you sate,
 And hollow'd in his Ear Intrigues of State:
 Or *Quinbus Flestrin* more Endearment brings,
 When like a Mountain you look'd down on Kings:
 If Ducal *Nardac*, *Lilliputian* Peer,
 Or *Glumglum*'s humbler Title sooth thy Ear;
 Nay, would kind *Jove* my Organs so dispose,
 To hymn harmonious *Houyhnhnms* thro' the Nose,
 I'd call thee *Houyhnhnm*, that high sounding Name,
 Thy Childrens Noses all should twang the same,
 So might I find my loving Spouse of Course
 Endu'd with all the *Virtues of a Horse*.¹

4. From John, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (1752)

[Born in 1706, John, 5th Earl of Orrery, was a friend of Swift, one of his earliest biographers, and certainly one of the first to give him serious and largely sympathetic attention. Like many contemporary readers, he much favours the first two parts in his remarks on *Gulliver's Travels*, though regretting the manner in which Swift treats the Christian religion. His view of the third part (Letter XII) is mixed, but regarding the portrayal of Houyhnhnmland (Letter XV) he is in no doubt. Like Bolingbroke and like Samuel Johnson later, his is a reaction of disgust at what he sees as Swift's views on human nature. Hamilton Boyle, the addressee, succeeded his father as 6th Earl in 1762, having previously been a member of both the English and the Irish House of Commons. He died in 1764 aged only thirty-five.]

(Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; In a Series of Letters from John Earl of Orrery

1 Poor Mary, understandably, is sexually frustrated. She tries to tempt Gulliver into resuming marital relations by praising his horse-like qualities, but clearly has in mind other, more physical, endowments of the horse.

to his Son, the Honourable Hamilton Boyle. The Second Edition, Corrected. London, 1752, pp. 84-88, 93-94, 95-100, 117-21.)

LETTER XI.

My dear HAMILTON,

The third volume of SWIFT'S works contains *The travels of LEMUEL GULLIVER into several remote nations of the world*. They are divided into four parts, the first, a voyage to *Lilliput*; the second, a voyage to *Brobdingnag*; the third, to *Laputa* and other islands; the fourth, and most extraordinary, to the country of the *Houyhnhnms*. These voyages are intended as a moral political romance, in which SWIFT seems to have exerted the strongest efforts of a fine irregular genius. But while his imagination and his wit delight, the venomous strokes of his satyr, although in some places just, are carried into so universal a severity, that not only all human actions, but human nature itself, is placed in the worst light. Perfection in every attribute is not indeed allotted to particular men: but, among the whole species, we discover such an assemblage of all the great, and amiable virtues, as may convince us, that the original order of nature contains in it the greatest beauty. It is directed in a right line, but it deviates into curves and irregular motions, by various attractions, and disturbing causes. Different qualifications shine out in different men. BACON and NEWTON (not to mention BOYLE) shew the divine extent of the human mind: of which power SWIFT could not be insensible; but as I have often told you, his disappointment rendered him splenetic, and angry with the whole world.

Education, habit, and constitution, give a surprising variety of characters; and, while they produce some particular qualities, are apt to check others. Fortitude of mind seldom attends a sedentary life: nor is the man, whose ambitious views are crossed, scarce ever afterwards indued with benevolence of heart. The same mind, that is capable of exerting the greatest virtue, by some defect in the first steps of education, often degenerates into the greatest vice. These effects take their source from causes almost mechanical. The soul, in our present situation, is blended and enclosed with corporeal substance, and the matter of which our body is composed, produces strange impulses upon the mind: but the instances that might illustrate, and explain the

different effects arising from this information, are too digressively extensive for my present plan.

To correct vice, by shewing her deformity in opposition to the beauty of virtue, and to amend the false systems of philosophy, by pointing out the errors, and applying salutary means to avoid them, is a noble design. This was the general intent, I would fain flatter myself, of my hieroglyphic friend.¹

GULLIVER'S travels are chiefly to be looked upon as an irregular essay of SWIFT'S peculiar wit and humour. Let us take a view of the two first parts together. 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.

LEMUEL GULLIVER has observed great exactness in the just proportion, and appearances of the several objects thus lessened and magnified: but he dwells too much upon these optical deceptions. The mind is tired with a repetition of them, especially as he points out no beauty, nor use in such amazing discoveries, which might have been so continued as to have afforded improvement, at the same time that they gave astonishment. Upon the whole, he too often shews an indelicacy that is not agreeable, and exerts his vein of humour most improperly in some places, where (I am afraid) he glances at religion.

In his 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 any where compleat. Several just strokes of satyr are scattered here and there upon errors in the conduct of our government: and, in the sixth chapter of his voyage to *Brobdingnag*, he gives an account of the political state of *Europe*: his observations are delivered with his usual spirit of humour and severity. He appears most particularly affected with the proceedings of the

1 Hieroglyphs are the symbols used in ancient Egyptian picture-writing. Orrery's use of the term suggests that he thinks of Swift's work as riddling or enigmatic.

courts of judicature, and complains of being almost ruined by a Chancery suit, which was *determined in his favour with costs*. It must be confessed, 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. *Judgement, when turned into wormwood, is bitter*,¹ but delays, as Lord BACON observes,² 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 by a seeming friend.

The seventh chapter of the voyage of *Brobdingnag* contains such sarcasms on the structure of the human body, as too plainly shew us, that the author was unwilling to lose any opportunity of debasing and ridiculing his own species.

Here a reflection naturally occurs, which, without any superstition, leads me tacitly to admire, and confess the ways of Providence: for this great genius, this mighty wit, who seemed to scoff, and scorn at all mankind, lived not only to be an example to punish his own pride, and to terrify ours, but underwent some of the greatest miseries to which human nature is liable....

Let us return back ... to the *Lilliputians*, and the *Brobdingnagians*; where you will find many ridiculous adventures, even such as must have excited mirth from HERACLITUS.³ Where indelicacies do not intervene, the narrative is very entertaining and humorous. Several just jokes of satyr are scattered up and down upon political errors in government. In some parts, GULLIVER seems to have had particular incidents, if not particular persons, in his view. His observations on education are useful: and so are his improvements on the institutions of LYCURGUS. Upon reading over the two first parts of these travels, I think that I can discover a very great resemblance between certain passages in GULLIVER'S voyage to *Lilliput*, and the voyage of CYRANO DE BERGERAC to the sun and moon.

1 The Book of Amos 5:7.

2 In his Essay 56, "Of Judicature," in which Francis Bacon (1561-1626) is referring to Amos.

3 A Greek philosopher (between fifth and sixth centuries BCE) famous for his gloomy views and temperament.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC is a French author of a singular character, who had a very peculiar turn of wit and humour, in many respects resembling that of SWIFT. He wanted the advantages of learning, and a regular education: his imagination was less guarded, and correct, but more agreeably extravagant. He has introduced into his philosophical romance, the system of DESCARTES (which was then much admired) intermixt with several fine strokes of just satyr on the wild, and immechanical enquiries of the philosophers, and astronomers of that age: and in many parts he has evidently directed the plan, which the Dean of ST. PATRICK'S has pursued.

I am sorry, and yet, in candour, I ought to observe, that GULLIVER, in his voyage to *Lilliput*, dares even to exert his vein of humour so liberally, as to place the resurrection (one of the most encouraging principles of the Christian religion) in a ridiculous, and contemptible light. Why should that appointment be denied to man, or appear so very extraordinary in the human kind, which the Author of nature has illustrated in the vegetable species, where the seed dies and corrupts, before it can rise again to new beauty and glory? But I am writing out of my province; and that I may be tempted no farther, here let me end the criticism upon the two first parts of GULLIVER'S travels, the conclusion of which, I mean GULLIVER'S escape from BROBDINGNAG, is humorous, satyrical, and decent. I am, my dearest HAM, by duty and inclination,

Your best Friend,
and most affectionate Father,
ORRERY.

LETTER XII.

My dear HAMILTON,

The third part of GULLIVER'S travels is in general written against chymists, mathematicians, mechanics, and projectors of all kinds.

SWIFT was little acquainted with mathematical knowledge, and was prejudiced against it, by observing the strange effects it produced in those, who applied themselves entirely to that science. No part of human literature has given greater strength to the mind, or has produced greater benefits to mankind, than the several branches of learning that may pass under the general denomination of mathematics. But the abuses of this study, the idle, thin, immechanical refinements of it, are just subjects of

satyr. The real use of knowledge is to invigorate, not to enervate the faculties of reason. Learning degenerates into a species of madness, when it is not superior to what it possesseth. The scientific powers are most evident, when, they are capable of exerting themselves in the social duties of life: when, they wear no chains, but can freely disengage themselves, and like a sound constitution of body, rise cheerful, and more vigorous by the food they have acquired, being neither oppressed, nor rendered stupid by the labours of digestion....

However wild the description of the *flying island*, and the manners, and various projects of the philosophers of *Lagado* may appear, yet it is a real picture embellished with much latent wit and humour. It is a satyr upon those astronomers and mathematicians, who have so entirely dedicated their time to the planets, that they have been careless of their family and country, and have been chiefly anxious, about the œconomy and welfare of the upper worlds. But if we consider SWIFT'S romance in a serious light, we shall find him of opinion, that those determinations in philosophy, which at present seem to the most knowing men to be perfectly well founded and understood, are in reality unsettled, or uncertain, and may perhaps some ages hence be as much decried, as the axioms of ARISTOTLE are at this day. Sir ISAAC NEWTON and his notions may hereafter be out of fashion. There is a kind of mode in philosophy, as well as in other things: and such modes often change more from the humour and caprice of men, than either from the unreasonable, or the ill-founded conclusions of the philosophy itself. The reasonings of some philosophers have undoubtedly better foundations than those of others: but I am of opinion (and SWIFT seems to be in the same way of thinking) that the most applauded philosophy hitherto extant has not fully, clearly, and certainly explained many difficulties in the phænomena of nature. I am induced to believe, that God may have absolutely denied us the perfect knowledge of many points in philosophy, so that we shall never arrive at that perfection, however certain we may suppose ourselves of having attained to it already. Upon the whole, we may say with TULLY, *Omnibus ferè in rebus, et maximè in physicis quid non fit citius, quam quid fit, dixerim*.¹

The project for a more easy and expeditious method of writing

1 "In almost all matters, but especially in matters of physics, I should more readily say what a thing is not, than what it is." Cicero, *Nature of the Gods*, Book 1 XXI.

a treatise in any science, by a wooden engine, is entertainingly satyrical, and is aimed at those authors, who, instead of receiving materials from their own thoughts and observations, collect from dictionaries and common place-books, an irregular variety, without order, use, or design,

*Ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formae.*¹

The project of shortening a discourse, 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.²

The sixth chapter is full of severity and satyr. Sometimes it is exerted against the legislative power: sometimes against particular politicians: 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 us, 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 sort 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.

He seems to have finished his voyage to LAPUTA in a careless hurrying manner, which makes me almost think, that sometimes he was tired with his work, and attempted to run through

1 "That neither its head nor foot could be reduced to a unified form." Horace, *Ars Poetica*, ll. 8-9.

2 The group of female poets cultivated by Swift in Dublin in the late 1720s and early 1730s. They included Mary Barber (c. 1690-1757), Constantia Grierson (c. 1705-32), and Laetitia Pilkington (c. 1708-50).

it as fast as he could; otherwise why was the curtain dropped so soon? or why were we deprived of so noble a scene as might have been discovered in the island of *Glubdubdrib*, where the governor, by his skill in necromancy, had the power of calling whom he pleased from the dead? I have not time by this post to write to you my thoughts upon a subject, which I confess awakened, but by no means satisfied my curiosity. I lamented to find so many illustrious ghosts vanish so quickly, and so abruptly from my sight, many of whom were of the brightest characters in history.

LETTER XV.

It is with great reluctance, I shall make some remarks on GULLIVER'S voyage to the *Houyhnhnms*. In this last part of his imaginary travels, SWIFT has indulged a misanthropy that is intolerable. The representation which he has given us of human nature, must terrify, and even debase the mind of the reader who views it. His sallies of wit and humour lose all their force, nothing remaining but a melancholy, and disagreeable impression: and, as I have said to you, on other parts of his works, we are disgusted, not entertained; we are shocked, not instructed by the fable. I should therefore chuse to take no notice of his YAHOOOS, did I not think it necessary to assert the vindication of human nature, and thereby, in some measure, to pay my duty to the great author of our species, who has created us in a very fearful, and a very wonderful manner.

We are composed of a mind, and of a body, intimately united, and mutually affecting each other. Their operations indeed are entirely different. Whether the immortal spirit, that enlivens this fine machine, is originally of a superior nature in various bodies (which, I own, seems most consistent and agreeable to the scale and order of beings) or, whether the difference depends on a symmetry, or peculiar structure of the organs combined with it, is beyond my reach to determine. It is evidently certain, that the body is curiously formed with proper organs to delight, and such as are adapted to all the necessary uses of life. The spirit animates the whole; it guides the natural appetites, and confines them within just limits. But, the natural force of this spirit is often immersed in matter; and the mind becomes subservient to passions, which it ought to govern and direct. Your friend HORACE, although of the Epicurean doctrine, acknowledges this truth, where he says,

*Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.*¹

It is no less evident, that this immortal spirit has an independent power of acting, and, when cultivated in a proper manner, seemingly quits the corporeal frame within which it is imprisoned, and soars into higher, and more spacious regions; where, with an energy, which I had almost said was divine, it ranges among those heavenly bodies, that, in this lower world, are scarce visible to our eyes; and we can at once explain the distance, magnitude, and velocity of the planets, and can foretel, even to a degree of minuteness, the particular time when a comet will return, and when the sun will be eclipsed in the next century. These powers certainly evince the dignity of human nature, and the surprising effects of the immaterial spirit within us, which, in so confined a state, can thus disengage itself from the fetters of matter. It is from this pre-eminence of the soul over the body, that we are enabled to view the exact order, and curious variety of different beings; to consider, and cultivate the natural productions of the earth; and to admire, and imitate the wise benevolence which reigns throughout the whole system of the universe. It is from hence, that we form moral laws for our conduct. From hence, we delight in copying that great original, who, in his essence, is utterly incomprehensible, but, in his influence, is powerfully apparent to every degree of his creation. From hence too, we perceive a real beauty in virtue, and a distinction between good and evil. Virtue acts with the utmost generosity, and with no view to her own advantage: while vice, like a glutton, feeds herself enormously, and then is willing to disgorge the nauseous offals of her feast. But I shall wander too far, especially as I flatter myself, that your mind is so good, and so unprejudiced, that you will more easily feel, than I can illustrate, the truth of these assertions.

SWIFT deduces his observations from wrong principles; for, in his land of *Houyhnhnms*, he considers the soul and body in their most degenerate, and uncultivated state: the former as a slave to the appetites of the latter. He seems insensible of the surprising mechanism, and beauty of every part of the human composition. He forgets the fine description which OVID gives mankind.

1 “[A]nd tethers to the ground a particle of the divine aura.” Horace, *Satire II*, 2, 77.

*Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
fussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*¹

In painting YAHOO he becomes one himself. Nor is the picture, which is drawn of the *Houyhnhnms*, inviting or amusing. It wants both light and shade to adorn it. It is cold and insipid. We there view the pure instincts of brutes, unassisted by any knowledge of letters, acting within their own narrow sphere, merely for their immediate preservation. They are incapable of doing wrong, therefore they act right. It is surely a very low character given to creatures, in whom the author would insinuate some degree of reason, that they act inoffensively, when they have neither the motive nor the power to act otherwise. Their virtuous qualities are only negative. SWIFT himself, amidst all his irony, must have confessed, that to moderate our passions, to extend our munificence to others, to enlarge our understanding, and to raise our idea of the Almighty by contemplating his works, is not only the business, but often the practice, and the study of the human mind. It is too certain, that no one individual has ever possessed every qualification and excellence: however such an assemblage of different virtues, may still be collected from different persons, as are sufficient to place the dignity of human nature in an amiable, and exalted station. We must lament indeed the many instances of those who degenerate, or go astray from the end and intention of their being. The true source of this depravity is often owing to the want of education, to the false indulgence of parents, or to some other bad causes, which are constantly prevalent in every nation. Many of these errors are finely ridiculed in the foregoing parts of this romance: but the voyage to the *Houyhnhnms* is a real insult upon mankind.

I am heartily tired of this last part of GULLIVER'S travels, and am glad, that, having exhausted all my observations on this disagreeable subject, I may finish my letter; especially as the conclusion of it naturally turns my thoughts from YAHOO, to one of the dearest pledges I have upon earth, yourself: to whom I am a most

Affectionate Father,
ORRERY.

1 "He gave mankind a countenance exalted, and commanded him to contemplate the heavens." Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, v, 84.

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