

keep God's commandments and love Him and His kingdom, and hell of those who love themselves and the world; (6) that the spiritual world—heaven and hell—holds the same relation to the natural world and its inhabitants as the soul to the body, being in and around the natural world and its life, and that after the death of the body the spirit continues to live in the spiritual world it had previously though unconsciously inhabited. Swedenborgians now constitute a widely spread and considerable society, with a regularly constituted ecclesiastical organization and a zealous missionary activity. Soon after Swedenborg's death students of his works in England and Sweden began to translate them from the Latin and to spread his views. First in time and activity amongst these early Swedenborgians was the Rev. John Clowes, rector of St John's, Manchester, who translated the whole of several treatises. The first public meeting of Swedenborgians, from which dates the foundation of the society, was held in London December 5, 1783, and was attended by five persons. The separation of the society from the "old church" as a religious body, with its distinct creed, worship, and ecclesiastical organization, took place May 7, 1787, and its first place of worship was in Great Eastcheap, London. The first general conference of the New Church was held April 17, 1789, in this chapel, when a series of resolutions concerning the creed, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical order of the society were adopted. At the same time churches began to be formed in various towns in England and in America. Towards the end of the century Swedenborg's doctrines obtained a considerable degree of acceptance on the Continent, separate societies having arisen here and there. Meantime the Manchester Printing Society, under Mr Clowes, printed and distributed Swedenborg's works in large numbers. In 1810 a London Printing Society was formed, which has been very active in the same way to the present time. In 1817 a convention of the American New Church was held in Philadelphia, which gave proof of the growth of the body in the United States. The same year the tenth general conference of the English section of the church was attended by twenty-seven delegates and ministers of various societies, and in 1821 there were upwards of fifty-two of these in Great Britain. At the general conference in 1835 it was reported that there were sixty-five societies or churches in Great Britain connected with the conference, having 5700 registered members, the net increase of the year being 119. The names of thirty-two ordained ministers appear in the report; the investments of the society amount to £60,453; and there are a dozen educational and missionary institutions in connexion with it. Some of the New Church day schools are amongst the largest and most efficient in the kingdom. From the same report it appears that the New Church has societies or institutions in most British colonies as well as in the principal countries of Europe. The report of the General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the United States, 1835, gives the names of 116 societies in America, with nearly the same number of ordinary ministers. In Italy, Sweden, and Prussia there is a Swedenborg mission sustained by help from England and America. In South Germany there exist congregations of the New Church, and the librarian of the university of Tübingen, Dr Immanuel Tafel, was exceedingly active until his death (1863) in the publication and translation of Swedenborg's works, and in the vindication of the doctrines of the New Church. In Austria, Norway, and Switzerland also there are congregations. But, in addition to full converts to Swedenborgianism, a considerable number of prominent theologians and other thinkers have been attracted by Swedenborg's works and parts of his system. While the extravagant anthropomorphism, the mechanical materialism, the theological narrowness, the wild allegorizing, the entire absence of historical knowledge, and the astounding prophetic claims of the man and his system,—in a word, the Gnosticism of Swedenborg and his followers,—must be offensive to philosophical minds, they can discover in his writings and the drift of his thought fine ethical views, profound glances of insight into the depths of the universe,—God, nature, man, and his destiny. The names of Oetinger, Herder, Goerres, Coleridge, Emerson, J. D. Morell may be given as proof of this. Such thinkers were attracted by one or more of the dominant and pervading principles or tendencies of his extraordinary mind. For he felt, if he did not adequately expound, the harmony of the universe, the fundamental unity of being and thought, of knowledge and will, of the divine and the human; and his wild system of allegory, with his equally wild communications with the unseen world, failed to conceal a deep moral and intellectual revolt against the most irrational forms of traditional orthodoxy, while his deep spiritual nature spurned the shallow intellectualism of the rationalists of the 18th century.

Literature.—A rich collection of materials for a life of Swedenborg is documented concerning the Life and Character of Swedenborg, Collected, Translated, and Annotated, by Dr. R. L. Tafel, in 3 vols., Swedenborg Society, 1875-77. Of English lives the principal are—*Emanuel Swedenborg, a Biography*, by J. J. G. Wilkinson, London, 1849; *Swedenborg, a Biography and an Exposition*, by E. Faxton Hood, London, 1854; *Swedenborg, his Life and Writings*, by William White, 1856, rewritten in 1867 and in 1868; *Emanuel Swedenborg, the Spiritual Columbus, a Sketch*, by U. S. E., 2d ed., London, 1877. A useful handbook of Swedenborg's theology, consisting of extracts in English from his numerous works, is the *Compendium of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg*, by

the Rev. Samuel Warren, London, 1885. Brief summaries of his system and writings are given in all the above biographies and in Edmund Swift's *Manual of the Doctrines of the New Church*, London, 1885. Important critiques from independent points of view are "Emanuel Swedenborg," in the *Prospective Review*, May 1850; "The Mystic," in *Emerson's Representative Men*, 1850; Kant's *Träume eines Geistessehers*, 1766 (the best edition by Kehrach, Leipzig, 1880); Herder's "Emanuel Swedenborg," in his *Adrastea (Werke zur Phil. und Gesch.*, vol. xii. pp. 110-125); Goerres's *Emanuel Swedenborg, seine Visionen und sein Verhältnis zur Kirche*, 1827; Dörner's *Gesch. d. Prot. Theol.*, Munich, 1867, pp. 662-67. For the history of Swedenborgianism, see *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church in England, America, and other Parts*, by Robert Hildmarsh, edited by E. Madeley, London, 1861. The chief apologetic work is Noble's *Appeal*, 10th ed. 1881, London. See also *National Review*, April 1858. (J. F. S.)

SWEET POTATO. See POTATO.

SWIFT, a bird so called from the extreme speed of its flight, which apparently exceeds that of any other British species, the *Hirundo apus* of Linnæus and *Cypselus apus* or *murarius* of modern ornithologists, who have at last learned that it has only an outward resemblance but no near affinity to the SWALLOW (*ante*, p. 729) or its allies. Well known as a summer-visitor throughout the greater part of Europe, it is one of the latest to return from Africa, and its stay in the country of its birth is of the shortest, for it generally disappears from England very early in August, though occasionally to be seen for even two months later.

The Swift commonly chooses its nesting-place in holes under the eaves of buildings, but a crevice in the face of a quarry, or even a hollow tree, will serve it with the accommodation it requires. This indeed is not much, since every natural function, except sleep, oviposition, and incubation, is performed on the wing, and the easy evolutions of this bird in the air, where it remains for hours together, are the admiration of all who witness them. Though considerably larger than a Swallow, it can be recognized at a distance less by its size than by its peculiar shape. The head scarcely projects from the anterior outline of the pointed wings, which form an almost continuous curve, at right angles to which extend the body and tail, resembling the handle of the crescentic cutting-knife used in several trades, while the wings represent the blade. The mode of flight of the two birds is also unlike, that of the Swift being much more steady, and rapid as it is, ordinarily free from jerks. The whole plumage, except a greyish-white patch under the chin, is a sooty black, but glossy above. Though its actual breeding-places are by no means numerous, its extraordinary speed and discursive habits make the Swift widely distributed, and throughout England scarcely a summer's day passes without its being seen in most places. A larger species, *C. melba* or *C. alpinus*, with the lower parts dusky white, which has its home in many of the mountainous parts of central and southern Europe, has several times been observed in Britain, and two examples of a species of a very distinct genus, *Acanthya* (or *Chaetura*), which has its home in northern Asia, but regularly emigrates thence to Australia, have been obtained in England (*Proc. Zool. Society*, 1880, p. 1).

Among other peculiarities the Swifts, as long ago described (probably from John Hunter's notes) by Home (*Phil. Trans.*, 1817, pp. 332 *et seq.*, pl. xvi.), are remarkable for the development of their salivary glands, the secretions of which serve in most species to glue together the materials of which the nests are composed, and in the species of the genus *Collocalia* form almost the whole substance of the structure. These are the "edible" nests so eagerly sought by Chinese epicures as an ingredient for soup, and their composition, though announced many years since by Home (*ut supra*), whose statement was confirmed by Bernstein (*Act. Soc. Sc. Indo-Néerlandica*, iii. Art. 5, and *Journ. für Ornithologie*, 1859, pp. 111-119), has of late been needlessly doubted in favour of the popular belief that they were made of some kind of sea-weed, *Algae*, or other vegetable matter collected by the birds.¹ It may be hoped that the examination and analysis made by Mr J. R. Green (*Journal of Physiology*, vi. pp. 40-45) have settled that question for all time. These remarkable nests consist essentially of mucus, secreted by the salivary glands above mentioned, which dries and looks like isinglass. Their marketable value depends on their colour and purity, for they are often intermixed with feathers and other foreign substances. The Swifts that construct these "edible" nests form a genus *Collocalia*, of which the number of species is uncertain; but they inhabit chiefly the islands of the Indian Ocean from the north of Madagascar eastward, as well as many of the tropical

¹ This species, *A. caudacuta*, has been generally, but Mr Hume says (*Stray Feathers*, ix. p. 230) wrongly, identified with the *Hirundo ciris* of Pallas. So many authors have recently ascribed the foundation of the genus *Chaetura* to Stephens in the year 1825 that it may not be amiss to state that its origin dates only from 1826, the same year in which Boie established the commensurate genus *Acanthya*.

² Hence one species has been called *Collocalia fuciphaga*.

islands of the Pacific so far as the Marquesas,—one species occurring in the hill-country of India. They breed in caves, to which they resort in great numbers, and occupy them jointly and yet alternately with Bats—the mammals being the lodgers by day and the birds by night.¹

The genus *Cypselus*, as noted by Willughby, with its American ally *Panyptila*, exhibits a form of pedal structure not otherwise observed among birds. Not only is the hind-toe constantly directed forwards, but the other three toes depart from the rule which ordinarily governs the number of phalanges in the Bird's foot,—a rule which applies to even so ancient a form as *Archæopteryx* (see *BIRDS*, vol. iii. p. 728),—and in the two Cypseline genera just named the series of digital phalanges is 2, 3, 3, 3, instead of 2, 3, 4, 5, which generally obtains in the Class *Aves*. Other Swifts, however, do not depart from the normal arrangement, and the exception, remarkable as it is, must not be taken as of more value than is needed for the recognition of two sections or subgenera admitted by Mr Sclater in his monographical essay on the Family (*Proc. Zool. Society*, 1865, pp. 593-617). There seem to be about half a dozen good genera of *Cypselidae*, and from fifty to sixty species. Their geographical distribution is much the same as that of the *Hirundinidae* (*cf.* SWALLOW, *ut supra*); but it should be always and most clearly borne in mind that, though so like Swallows in many respects, the Swifts have scarcely any part of their structure which is not formed on a different plan; and, instead of any near affinity existing between the two groups, it can scarcely be doubted by any unprejudiced investigator that the *Cypselidae* not only differ far more from the *Hirundinidae* than the latter do from any other Family of *Passeres*, but that they belong to what in the present state of ornithology must be deemed a distinct Order of Birds—that which in the present series of articles has been called *Picariæ*. That the relations of the *Cypselidae* to the *Trochilidae* (*cf.* HUMMING-BIRD, vol. xii. pp. 357 *sq.*) are close, as has been asserted by L'Herminie and Nitzsch, Dr Burmeister and Prof. Huxley, is denied by Dr Shufeldt (*Proc. Zool. Society*, 1885, pp. 886-914), but the views of the last have since been controverted by Mr F. Lucas (*Auk*, 1886, pp. 444-451). (A. N.)

SWIFT, JONATHAN (1667-1745), dean of St Patrick's, the greatest satirist of his own or perhaps of any age, was born in Hoey's Court, Dublin, November 30, 1667. Like Pope's, his family was of Yorkshire origin; in the time of Charles I. the representative of one branch had obtained a peerage, which expired with him. The first of his own immediate ancestors known to us was a clergyman, rector of St Andrew's, Canterbury, from 1569 to 1592, whose son succeeded him in that living, and whose grandson was the Rev. Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich in Herefordshire, renowned for his eccentricity, his mechanical ingenuity, and, above all, his stubborn devotion to Charles I. and the persecutions he underwent in consequence. Plundered thirty-six times, and ultimately ejected from his living, he died in 1658, leaving his thirteen children a small and greatly impoverished landed estate and the questionable advantage of a substantial claim on the gratitude of the restored sovereign. More fortunate than most ruined cavaliers, his eldest son Godwin soon obtained the attorney-generalship of the palatinate of Tipperary. This piece of good fortune naturally attracted other members of the family across the channel,—among them Jonathan, one of the youngest of nine brothers, but already husband of Abigail Ericke of Leicester, a lady of ancient descent and means more limited than his own. A student of law, but

¹ Mr H. Fryer has given one of the latest accounts of some of these cases in North Borneo (*Proc. Zool. Society*, 1885, pp. 532-538), which may be read to advantage.

never called to the bar, Jonathan appears to have subsisted for some years on windfalls and casual employments. At length (1665) he became steward of the King's Inns (answering to the Inns of Court in England), an office of small emolument. Two years afterwards he died suddenly, leaving an infant daughter and a widow pregnant with the future dean of St Patrick's. So embarrassed had his circumstances been that, although considerable debts were owing to the estate, Mrs Swift was for the moment unable to pay the expense of his interment. Thus Swift's first experience of life was that of a dependant on the charity of his uncles, more particularly of Godwin; and the inevitable bitterness of the situation was aggravated by the grudging manner in which the Tipperary official seemed to dole out his parsimonious help. In fact, the apparently prosperous relative was the victim of unfortunate speculations, and chose rather to be reproached with avarice than with imprudence. A virulent resentment became ingrained into the youth's whole nature, and, though ultimately acquainted with the real state of the case, he never mentioned his uncle with kindness or respect. Other relatives did more to merit his regard. Yet he took no pride in his Irish connexions or nativity and a singular adventure in his infancy seems to have afforded him a pretext for insinuating that he was really born in England. When he was but two years old his nurse, a native of Whitehaven, was recalled to that town by an illness in her family. So attached had she become to her charge as to clandestinely carry him away with her. Mrs Swift was induced to consent to his remaining with her for a time, and the child spent three years in Cumberland. By his return his education had made considerable progress, and in the next year he was sent to the grammar school at Kilkenny. There can be no question as to the author of *Gulliver* having been a remarkable child, but unfortunately only one anecdote of his school-days has been preserved. It is the story, graphically narrated by himself, of his having once invested the whole of his pocket-money in the purchase of an old horse condemned to the knacker's yard, his momentary triumph over his school-fellows, and his mortification on discovering the uselessness of his acquisition,—an anecdote highly characteristic of his daring pride and ambition, and from which, instead of the moral he professed to discover, he might have derived an augury of the majestic failure of his life.

In April 1682 Swift matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he failed to distinguish himself. "By the ill-treatment of his nearest relations," he says, meaning especially his uncle Godwin, "he was so discouraged and sunk in his spirits that he too much neglected his academic studies, for some part of which he had no great relish by nature; so that when the time came for taking his degree as bachelor of arts he was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency, and at last hardly admitted in a manner little to his credit, which is called in that college *speciali gratia*, February 15, 1685." The college roll, nevertheless, shows that the only subject in which Swift absolutely failed was natural philosophy, including mathematics, in which the future author of the *Voyage to Laputa* was hardly likely to excel, nor is it surprising that a student of fitful and unruly temperament should have performed his obligatory theme *negligenter*. His examination in Greek and Latin was satisfactory, and the extent of desultory information evinced by his writings seems to prove that he had always been an industrious reader. His mortification made him reckless, and he repeatedly underwent academic censure during the next three years, though it is not certain whether some of the records supposed to apply to him do not in fact relate to his cousin Thomas.

In 1688 Swift quitted the university, and, after a brief residence with his mother at Leicester, entered the family of Sir William Temple at Moor Park, near Farnham, as he declares for the advantage of Temple's conversation, but at least partly as an amanuensis. A distant relationship between his mother and Lady Temple appears to have recommended him to this post, which he found trying to his pride and independence. Temple was, as Swift admitted, "a man of sense and virtue," but his temper was exclusive, his manners formal, and he had retired from public affairs from self-regard and over-fastidiousness. If he solaced his voluntary ostracism by a comparison with the elegant retirement and lettered ease of Cicero, it did not therefore occur to him to compare his obscure Irish secretary with the Roman orator's amanuensis Tiro, who had, at least, invented shorthand. We, who know that in the patron's place the dependant would have governed the nation, need not be surprised at finding, full twenty years afterwards, the iron of servitude still ranking in the latter's haughty soul. He withdrew from Temple's service on a pretext of ill health from May 1690 to August 1691, but returned, and undoubtedly made himself useful to his employer, who on one occasion rendered him the medium of a confidential communication to King William, who had consulted Temple on the bill for triennial parliaments, then sanctioned by both branches of the legislature. Swift did his best to enforce Temple's arguments in favour of the measure, and was in after life wont to refer to the failure of his rhetoric as the most useful lesson his vanity had ever received. Struck, it would seem, rather by the physical than the mental endowments of the robust young Irishman, William offered him a troop of horse, a proposal which appears to have been subsequently commuted into a promise of church preferment. Swift had already (July 1692) proceeded to the degree of M.A. at Oxford, and the execution of his design to embrace the ecclesiastical profession was hastened by a quarrel with Temple, occasioned by the latter's reluctance to contract any definite engagement to provide for him. Throwing up his employment, he passed (May 1694) over into Ireland, but found his views impeded by the refusal of all the bishops to ordain him without some certificate of the regularity of his deportment while in Temple's family. Five months passed ere he could bring himself to solicit this favour from his old patron, which he ultimately did in a letter submissive in appearance, but charged to the full with smothered rage and intense humiliation. Forgiveness was easy to one in Temple's place and of Temple's disposition, and he not only despatched the requisite testimonials, but added a recommendation which obtained for Swift the living of Kilroot, in the diocese of Down and Connor (January 1695). His residence here was not fated to be of long duration. Temple, who knew his value and had not parted with him willingly, soon let him understand that a return was open to him, and Swift, whose resentment was cooled by time, and soothed by the acknowledgment of his value to his patron, readily complied (May 1696). He continued to reside with Sir William till the latter's death in January 1690. No further disagreement troubled their intimacy, and Temple bequeathed Swift the charge of editing his writings, a laborious but not an unprofitable commission.

Macaulay has justly indicated the familiarity with public affairs acquired by Swift at Moor Park as one main cause of his subsequent distinction as a politician, and here too he laid the foundation of his literary renown. He is reported to have read regularly for eight hours every day; and we have his own authority for his having, as early as 1691, "written and burned, and written again, more on all manner of subjects than perhaps any man in England." The only relics of these early days, however, belong to a

species of composition in which he was little qualified to excel. He has, indeed, a name among the poets of England, but the merit of his verse is usually in the ratio of its approach to the *sermo pedestris*. Mistaking the nature of his powers, he must needs begin with Pindarics, and the result may be imagined. Yet his own simple account of his feelings while endeavouring composition proves that the mood was right though the channel was wrong, and that there was error as well as truth in his kinsman Dryden's severe and unforgotten remark, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet." Swift's first prose composition betrayed his resentment. In the *Battle of the Books* (1697), a satirical contribution to the controversy on the comparative merits of the ancients and the moderns raised by Ferrault, but with especial reference to the question of the genuineness of the letters of Phalaris, on which his patron Temple had taken the wrong side, Swift for the first and last time committed a plagiarism, and sought to conceal it by an untruth. It is undoubtedly adapted, though certainly improved from, De Callières's *Histoire Poétique de la Guerre nouvellement déclaréé entre les Anciens et les Modernes*. Here also his sarcasm for the first and last time recoiled upon himself. The satire against Dryden and Bentley wants, indeed, nothing but truth to be excellent; but the pictures of the former in his monstrous helmet and the latter in his patchwork mail yield in ludicrousness to the idea of the author of the *Pindaric Odes* presuming to ridicule the author of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and the inglorious student of Trinity College, Dublin, challenging the first philologist of the age on a question of classical scholarship. It is, however, to his credit that his learning was greater than that of the other writers on his side and his pretensions less. Swift's next literary labour was his edition of Temple's posthumous works, already mentioned. They appeared with a dedication to King William, which was to have made the editor a prebendary. A petition to this effect miscarried, as he always believed, through the negligence or ill-will of the nobleman who undertook to present it. Be this as it may, he had become too important to be overlooked, and soon obtained the post of secretary and chaplain to Earl Berkeley, one of the lords justices of Ireland. The better half of this appointment, however, escaped him on his arrival in that country, his secretaryship being transferred to a Mr Bushe, who, when Lord Berkeley had at length an opportunity of recompensing Swift's disappointment by the gift of the deanery of Derry, successfully exerted his influence in favour of another clergyman, who is asserted to have gained his interest by the judicious outlay of a thousand pounds. With bitter indignation Swift threw up his chaplaincy, but was ultimately reconciled to his patron by the presentation to the rectory of Agher, in Meath, with the united vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan. For the first time in his life he might now call himself his own master, and had an opportunity of exhibiting, free from suspicion of external constraint, that stern regard to duty which was not the least prominent feature of his character. In an age of general laxity—in a priest of an alien church, whose most energetic servants commonly succumbed to the mortifying conviction of their uselessness and the detestation they excited among the people for whom they laboured, the parishioners of Laracor found a clergyman whom they might have heard three times a week. The energy, however, which probably gained the respect, certainly failed to influence the convictions, of his Catholic flock. We have his own authority for reckoning his average congregation at "half a score"; and on one occasion his clerk Roger was his only auditor. In fact, his exertions in the pulpit were more meritorious than his achievements; he entirely lacked the fire, the self-oblivion, the expansive

generality of the orator. He himself characterized his discourses as "pamphlets," and, if meant to imply their arid and argumentative character, the criticism is just. The author of the *Tale of a Tub*, which he had had by him since 1696 or 1698, must have felt conscious of powers capable of far more effective exercise; and his resolution to exchange divinity for politics must appear fully justified on a comparison of these inconclusive essays with another performance of the same period. The *Discourse on the Dissensions in Athens and Rome* (September 1700), written in the Whig interest, "without humour and without satire," and intended as a dissuasive from the pending impeachment of Somers and three other noblemen, received the honour, extraordinary for the maiden publication of a young politician, of being generally attributed to Somers himself or to Burnet, the latter of whom found a public disavowal necessary. Three years and a half later appeared a more remarkable work. Clearness, cogency, masculine simplicity of diction, are conspicuous in the pamphlet, but true creative power told the *Tale of a Tub*. "Good God! what a genius I had when I wrote that book!" was his own exclamation in his latter years. It is, indeed, if not the most amusing of Swift's satirical works, the most strikingly original, and the one in which the compass of his powers is most fully displayed. In his kindred productions he relies mainly upon a single element of the humorous,—logical sequence and unruined gravity bridling in an otherwise frantic absurdity, and investing it with an air of sense. In the *Tale of a Tub* he lashes out in all directions. The humour, if less cogent and cumulative, is richer and more varied; the invention too, is more daringly original and more completely out of the reach of ordinary faculties. The supernatural coats and the quintessential loaf may be paralleled but cannot be surpassed; and the book is throughout a mine of suggestiveness, as, for example, in the anticipation of Carlyle's slothes philosophy within the compass of a few lines. At the same time it wants unity and coherence, it attains no conclusion, and the author abuses his digressive method of composition and his convenient fiction of hiatuses in the original manuscript. The charges it occasioned of profanity and irreverence were natural, but groundless. There is nothing in the book inconsistent with Swift's professed and real character as a sturdy Church of England parson, who accepted the doctrines of his church as an essential constituent of the social order around him, battled for them with the fidelity of a soldier defending his colours, and held it no part of his duty to understand, interpret, or assimilate them.

Before the publication of the *Tale of a Tub*, Swift had taken a step destined to exercise a most important influence on his life, by inviting two ladies to Laracor. Esther Johnson, a dependant of Sir William Temple's (born in March 1681), whose acquaintance he had made in the latter's family, and whom he has immortalized as "Stella,"¹ came over with her chaperon, Mrs Dingley, and was soon permanently domiciled in his neighbourhood. The melancholy tale of Swift's attachment will be more conveniently narrated in another place, and is only alluded to here for the sake of chronology. Meanwhile the sphere of his intimacies was rapidly widening. He had been in England for three years together, 1701 to 1704, and counted Pope, Steele, and Addison among his friends. The success of his pamphlet gained him ready access to all Whig circles;

¹ The name "Stella" is simply a translation of Esther. Swift may have learned that Esther means "star" from the *Elementa Linguae Persicæ* of John Greaves or from some Persian scholar; but he is more likely to have seen the etymology in the form given from Jewish sources in Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, where the interpretation takes the more suggestive form "Stella Veneris."

but already his confidence in that party was shaken, and he was beginning to meditate that change of sides which has drawn down upon him so much but such unjustifiable obloquy. The true state of the case may easily be collected from his next publications—*The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, and *On the Reasonableness of a Test* (1708). The vital differences among the friends of the Hanover succession were not political, but ecclesiastical. From this point of view, Swift's sympathies were entirely with the Tories. As a minister of the church he felt his duty and his interest equally concerned in the support of her cause; nor could he fail to discover the inevitable tendency of Whig doctrines, whatever caresses individual Whigs might bestow on individual clergymen, to abase the Establishment as a corporation. He sincerely believed that the ultimate purpose of freethinkers was to escape from moral restraints, and he had an unreasoning antipathy to Scotch Presbyterians and English Dissenters. One of his pamphlets, written about this time, contains his recipe for the promotion of religion, and is of itself a sufficient testimony to the extreme materialism of his views. Censorships and penalties are among the means he recommends. His pen was exerted to better purpose in the most consummate example of his irony, the *Argument against Abolishing Christianity*. About this time, too (November 1707), he produced his best poem, *Baucis and Philemon*, which, as he frankly tells us, owes very much to the corrections of Addison.

From February 1708 to April 1709 Swift was in London, urging upon the Godolphin administration the claims of the Irish clergy to the first-fruits and tenths ("Queen Anne's bounty"), already granted to their brethren in England. His having been selected for such a commission shows that he was not yet regarded as a deserter from the Whigs, although the ill-success of his representations probably helped to make him one. By November 1710 he was again domiciled in London, and writing his *Journal to Stella*, that unique exemplar of a giant's playfulness, "which was written for one person's private pleasure and has had indestructible attractiveness for every one since." In the first pages of this marvelously minute record of a busy life we find him depicting the decline of Whig credit and complaining of the cold reception accorded him by Godolphin, whose penetration had doubtless detected the precariousness of his allegiance. Within a few weeks he had become the lampooner of the fallen treasurer, the bosom friend of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and the writer of the *Examiner*, a journal established as the exponent of Tory views (November 1710). He was now a power in the state, the intimate friend and recognized equal of the first writers of the day, the associate of ministers on a footing of perfect cordiality and familiarity. "We were determined to have you," said Bolingbroke to him afterwards; "you were the only one we were afraid of." He gained his point respecting the Irish endowments; and, by his own account, his credit procured the fortune of more than forty deserving or undeserving clients. The envious but graphic description of his demeanour conveyed to us by Bishop Kennet attests the real dignity of his position no less than the airs he thought fit to assume in consequence. The cheerful, almost jovial, tone of his letters to Stella evinces his full contentment, nor was he one to be moved to gratitude for small mercies. He had it, in fact, fully in his own power to determine his relations with the ministry, and he would be satisfied with nothing short of familiar and ostentatious equality. His advent marks a new era in English political life, the age of public opinion, created indeed by the circumstances of the time, but powerfully fostered and accelerated by him. By a strange but not unfrequent

irony of fate the most imperious and despotic spirit of his day laboured to enthrone a power which, had he himself been in authority, he would have utterly detested and despised. For a brief time he seemed to resume the whole power of the English press in his own pen and to guide public opinion as he would. His services to his party as writer of the *Examiner*, which he quitted in July 1711, were even surpassed by those which he rendered as the author of telling pamphlets, among which *The Conduct of the Allies* and *Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (November and December 1711) hold the first rank. In truth, however, he was lifted by the wave he seemed to command. Surfeited with glory, the nation wanted a convenient excuse for relinquishing a burdensome war, which the great military genius of the age was suspected of prolonging to fill his pockets. The Whigs had been long in office. The High Church party had derived great strength from the Sacheverell trial. Swift did not bring about the revolution with which, notwithstanding, he associated his name. There seems no reason to suppose that he was consulted respecting the great Tory strokes of the creation of the twelve new peers and the dismissal of Marlborough (December 1711), but they would hardly have been ventured upon if *The Conduct of the Allies* and the *Examiners* had not prepared the way. A scarcely less important service was rendered to the ministry by his *Letter to the October Club*, artfully composed to soothe the impatience of Harley's extreme followers. He had every claim to the highest preferment that ministers could give him, but his own pride and prejudice in high places stood in his way.

Swift made dean of St Patrick's, fall of the Tory ministry.

Generous men like Oxford and Bolingbroke cannot have been unwilling to reward so serviceable a friend, especially when their own interest lay in keeping him in England. Notwithstanding, therefore, some dubious expressions in Swift's letters, natural to the deferred hope, we need not doubt their having actually used their best efforts to obtain for him the vacant see of Hereford. Swift, however, had formidable antagonists in the archbishop of York, whom he had scandalized, and the duchess of Somerset, whom he had satirized. Anne was particularly amenable to the influence of priestly and female favourites, and it must be considered a proof of the strong interest made for Swift that she was eventually persuaded to appoint him to the deanery of St Patrick's, Dublin, vacant by the removal of Bishop Sterne to Dromore. It is to his honour that he never speaks of the queen with resentment or bitterness. In June 1713 he set out to take possession of his dignity, and encountered a very cold reception from the Dublin public. The dissensions between the chiefs of his party speedily recalled him to England. He found affairs in a desperate condition. The queen's demise was evidently at hand, and the same instinctive good sense which had ranged the nation on the side of the Tories, when Tories alone could terminate a fatiguing war, rendered it Whig when Tories manifestly could not be trusted to maintain the Protestant succession. In any event the occupants of office could merely have had the choice of risking their heads in an attempt to exclude the elector of Hanover, or of waiting patiently till he should come and eject them from their posts; yet they might have remained formidable could they have remained united. To the indignation with which he regarded Oxford's refusal to advance him in the peerage the active St John added an old disgust at the treasurer's pedantic and dilatory formalism, as well as his evident propensity, while leaving his colleague the fatigues, to engross for himself the chief credit of the administration. Their schemes of policy diverged as widely as their characters: Bolingbroke's brain teemed with the wildest plans, which Oxford might have more effectually dis-

countenanced had he been prepared with anything in their place. Swift's endeavours after an accommodation were as fruitless as unremitting. His mortification was little likely to temper the habitual virulence of his pen, which rarely produced anything more acrimonious than the attacks he at this period directed against Burnet and his former friend Steele. One of his pamphlets against the latter (*The Public Spirit of the Whigs*) was near involving him in a prosecution, some invectives against the Scots having proved so exasperating to the peers of that nation that they repaired in a body to the queen to demand the punishment of the author, of whose identity there could be no doubt, although, like all Swift's writings, except the *Proposal for the Extension of Religion*, the pamphlet had been published anonymously. The immediate withdrawal of the offensive passage, and a sham prosecution instituted against the printer, extricated Swift from his danger.

Meanwhile the crisis had arrived, and the discord of Oxford and Bolingbroke had become patent to all the nation. Foreseeing, as is probable, the impending fall of the former, Swift retired to Upper Letcombe, in Berkshire, and there spent some weeks in the strictest seclusion. This leisure was occupied in the composition of his remarkable pamphlet, *Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs*, which indicates his complete conversion to the bold policy of Bolingbroke. The utter exclusion of Whigs as well as Dissenters from office, the remodelling of the army, the imposition of the most rigid restraints on the heir to the throne,—such were the measures which, by recommending, Swift tacitly admitted to be necessary to the triumph of his party. If he were serious, it can only be said that the desperation of his circumstances had momentarily troubled the lucidity of his understanding; if the pamphlet were merely intended as a feeler after public opinion, it is surprising that he did not perceive how irretrievably he was ruining his friends in the eyes of all moderate men. Bolingbroke's daring spirit, however, recoiled from no extreme, and, fortunately for Swift, he added so much of his own to the latter's MS. that the author was obliged to recall a production which might not improbably have cost him his liberty and his deanery. This incident but just anticipated the revolution which, after Bolingbroke had enjoyed a three days' triumph over Oxford, drove him into exile and prostrated his party, but enabled Swift to perform the noblest action of his life. Almost the first acts of Bolingbroke's ephemeral premiership were to order him a thousand pounds from the exchequer and despatch him the most flattering invitations. The same post brought a letter from Oxford, soliciting Swift's company in his retirement; and, to the latter's immortal honour, he hesitated not an instant in preferring the solace of his friend to the offers of St John. When, a few days afterwards, Oxford was in prison and in danger of his life, Swift begged to share his captivity; and it was only on the offer being declined that he finally directed his steps towards Ireland, where he was very ill received. The draft on the exchequer was intercepted by the queen's death.

These four busy years of Swift's London life had not been entirely engrossed by politics. First as the associate of Steele, with whom he quarrelled, and of Addison, whose esteem for him survived all differences, afterwards as the intimate comrade of Pope and Arbuthnot, the friend of Congreve and Atterbury, Parnell and Gay, he entered deeply into the literary life of the period. He was treasurer and a leading member of the Brothers, a society of wits and statesmen which recalls the days of Horace and Mæcenæus. He promoted the subscription for Pope's *Homer*, contributed some numbers to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Intelligencer*, and joined with Pope and Arbuthnot in

establishing the Scriblerus Club, writing *Martinus Scriblerus*, his share in which can have been but small, as well as *John Bull*, where the chapter recommending the education of all blue-eyed children in depravity for the public good must surely be his. His fugitive productions during this period are very numerous, and mostly distinguished not only by pungent wit but by overflowing animal spirits. The most celebrated are the cruel but irresistibly ludicrous satires on the astrologer Partridge, a man in fact respectable for his sincere belief in his art, and no mean writer. Many of his best poems belong to this period. A more laboured work, his *Memorial* to Harley, proposing the regulation of the English language by an academy, is chiefly remarkable as a proof of the deference paid to French taste by the most original English writer of his day. His *History of the Last Four Years of Queen Anne* is not on a level with his other political writings. To sum up the incidents of this eventful period of his life, it was during it that he lost his mother, always loved and dutifully honoured, by death; his sister had been estranged from him some years before by an imprudent marriage, which, though making her a liberal allowance, he never forgave.

The change from London to Dublin can seldom be an agreeable one. To Swift it meant for the time the fall from unique authority to absolute insignificance. All share in the administration of even Irish affairs was denied him; every politician shunned him; and his society hardly included a single author or wit. At a later period he talked of "dying of rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole"; for some time, however, he was buoyed up by feeble hopes of a restoration to England. So late as 1726 he was in England making overtures to Walpole, but he had no claim on ministerial goodwill, and as an opponent he had by that time done his worst. By an especial cruelty of fate, what should have been the comfort became the bane of his existence. We have already mentioned his invitation of Esther Johnson and Mrs Dingley to Ireland. Both before and after his elevation to the deanery of St Patrick's these ladies continued to reside near him, and superintended his household during his absence in London. He had frustrated a match proposed for Stella, and, with his evident delight in the society of the dark-haired, bright-eyed, witty beauty, a model, if we may take his word, of all that woman should be, it seemed unaccountable that he did not secure it to himself by the expedient of matrimony. A constitutional infirmity has been suggested as the reason, and the conjecture derives support from several peculiarities in his writings. But, whatever the cause, his conduct proved none the less the fatal embitterment of his life and Stella's and yet another's. He had always been unlucky in his relations with the fair sex. In 1694 he had idealized as "Varina" a Miss Waring, who then discouraged his attentions, but two years later made him advances in her turn. Swift's mind had also changed, and he could find no better way out of the difficulty than an insulting letter affecting to accept her proposal on terms which he knew must put it out of the question. Varina was avenged by Vanessa, who pursued Swift to far other purpose. Esther Vanhomrigh, the orphan daughter of a commissioner of Irish trade, had become known to Swift at the height of his political influence. He lodged close to her mother, and was a frequent guest at her table. Vanessa insensibly became his pupil, and he insensibly became the object of her impassioned affection. Her letters reveal a spirit full of ardour and enthusiasm, and warped by that perverse bent which leads so many women to prefer a tyrant to a companion. Swift, on the other hand, was devoid of passion. Of friendship, even of tender regard, he was fully capable, but not of love. The spiritual realm, whether in divine or earthly things, was a region closed to

him, where he never set foot. As a friend he must have greatly preferred Stella to Vanessa; and from this point of view his loyalty to the original object of his choice, we may be sure, never faltered. But Vanessa assailed him on a very weak side. The strongest of all his instincts was the thirst for imperious domination. Vanessa hugged the fetters to which Stella merely submitted. Flattered to excess by her surrender, yet conscious of his binding obligations and his real preference, he could neither discard the one beauty nor desert the other. It is humiliating to human strength and consoling to human weakness to find the Titan behaving like the least resolute of mortals, seeking refuge in temporizing, in evasion, in fortuitous circumstance. He no doubt trusted that his removal to Dublin would bring relief, but here again his evil star interposed. Vanessa's mother died (1714), and she followed him. Unable to marry Stella without destroying Vanessa, or to openly welcome Vanessa without destroying Stella, he was thus involved in the most miserable embarrassment; still, for a time he continued to temporize. At length, unable to bear any more Stella's mute reproach and his own consciousness of wrong, he gave a reluctant consent to a private marriage, which, as at least the weight of testimony seems to prove, though there is no documentary evidence, was accordingly performed. This was in 1716. At the same time he insisted on their union being kept a strict secret, justifying a demand really dictated by tenderness for Vanessa, and perhaps by the unavowable reason to which allusion has been made, on the most futile and frivolous pretexts. Never more than a nominal wife, the unfortunate Stella commonly passed for his mistress till the day of her death, bearing her doom with uncomplaining resignation, and consoled in some degree by unquestionable proofs of the permanence of his love, if his feeling for her deserves the name. Meanwhile his efforts were directed to soothe Miss Vanhomrigh, to whom he addressed *Cadenus [Decanus] and Vanessa*, the history of their attachment and the best example of his serious poetry, and for whom he sought to provide honourably in marriage, without either succeeding in his immediate aim or in thereby opening her eyes to the hopelessness of her passion. In 1717, probably at his instance, she retired from Dublin to Marley Abbey, her seat at Celbridge. For three years she and Swift remained apart, but in 1720, on what occasion is uncertain, he began to pay her regular visits. Sir Walter Scott found the Abbey garden still full of laurels, several of which she was accustomed to plant whenever she expected Swift, and the table at which they had been used to sit was still shown. But the catastrophe of her tragedy was at hand. Worn out with his evasions, she at last (1723) took the desperate step of writing to Stella, or according to another account to Swift himself, demanding to know the nature of the connexion with him, and this terminated the melancholy history as with a clap of thunder. Stella replied by the avowal of her marriage, sent her rival's letter to Swift, and retired to a friend's house. Swift rode down to Marley Abbey with a terrible countenance, petrified Vanessa by his frown, and departed without a word, flinging down a packet which only contained her own letter to Stella. Vanessa died within a few weeks. She left the poem and correspondence for publication. The former appeared immediately, the latter was suppressed until it was published by Sir Walter Scott.

Five years afterwards Stella followed Vanessa to the grave. The grief which the gradual decay of her health evidently occasioned Swift is sufficient proof of the sincerity of his attachment, as he understood it. It is a just remark of Thackeray's that he everywhere half-consciously recognizes her as his better angel, and dwells on her wit