

"A PRETTY MIXTURE":  
BOOKS FROM SWIFT'S LIBRARY  
AT ABBOTSFORD HOUSE

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"ORNASTI NOS." FOR IRVIN EHRENPREIS  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

Among Sir Walter Scott's fine collection of books and manuscripts at Abbotsford, the Tweedside estate which he purchased in 1811 and on which he had Abbotsford House erected, there are three books from Dean Swift's library: a copy of an English bible published by the London printer Robert Barker, an edition of Plautus's comedies by the Dutch scholar Joannes Fridericus Gronovius, and an English translation of the *Historia delle Guerre Civili de Francia* (1630) by the Italian historiographer Enrico Caterino Davila.<sup>1</sup>

Of these, the two-volume edition of Plautus, *M. Acci Plauti Comoediae* published at Leyden and Rotterdam in 1669 and one of the six that Swift owned,<sup>2</sup> is perhaps the least outstanding. It contains all of Plautus's extant plays and fragments, together with some introductory material, a variorum commentary and two indices, but there are no annotations in the Dean's hand. Since the edition is listed only in the inventory of Swift's library drawn up by the Dean himself in 1715,<sup>3</sup> yet is neither in the inventory made by Dr. John Lyon, Swift's guardian in old age, in October 1742<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See J. G. Cochrane, comp., *The Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (Edinburgh, 1838), pp. 262, 283, 303.

<sup>2</sup> See T. P. LeFanu, "Catalogue of Dean Swift's Library in 1715", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxxvii, Section C (1927), pp. 269b, 271b; Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library: With a Facsimile of the Original Sale Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1932), nos. 370, 593; Michael Maittaire, *Opera et Fragmenta Veterum Poetarum Latinorum Profanorum & Ecclesiasticorum*, i (London, 1713), 1-224 (Le Fanu, op. cit., p. 269b).

<sup>3</sup> See LeFanu, op. cit., p. 271b.

<sup>4</sup> *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to Dr Swift Taken about October 6th 1742 and Compared June 2nd 1744*. We are most grateful to the present owner of Abbotsford House, Mrs. Patricia Maxwell-Scott, O.B.E., for her generous hospitality and her permission to inspect the manuscript.

nor in the sale catalogue of 1745, it is safe to assume that Swift gave it away before 1742, presumably to one of his friends or young protégés, as he sometimes did in later life.<sup>5</sup> The volume had been presented to Swift, at some stage between 1697 and 1715, by St. George Ashe, his tutor at Trinity College, and his lifelong friend, who was appointed Bishop of Clogher in 1697.<sup>6</sup> The Dean's autograph, "J: Swift", appears in the top right-hand corner of the title-page of volume II. The top right-hand corner of volume I bears the signature, "S! Geo: Cloger". To this, Swift has added the gloss, "given by S! Geo: Clogher to J. S[...]," the remainder of the autograph and the year in which the book was presumably presented to Swift having been cropped away. Scott received the volume in 1829 as a present from the Right Reverend Dr. Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, as the dedication on the flyleaf of volume II ("To Sir Walter Scott Bar<sup>t</sup>—with the Bishop of Calcutta's best wishes and compliments—June 1829") and Sir Walter's own acknowledgment underneath ("Given me by the Right Reverend Dr. Turner Bishop of Calcutta") testify.

The English bible of 1601, published *cum privilegio Regiae Maiestatis* by Queen Elizabeth's printer Robert Barker, is far more important. This bible, which is only listed in Lyon's inventory but not in any of the other catalogues,<sup>7</sup> contains all the books of the Old and New Testaments, as well as "The Bookes called Apocrypha," together with various explanatory material, and the famous metrical version of *The Psalmes of David* initiated by Sternhold and completed by Hopkins and others.<sup>8</sup> Like the *Plautus*, it was a present to Scott. After the first flyleaf, with Swift's mark of ownership, "Jonathan Swift", and the date of

<sup>5</sup> See LeFanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-72.

<sup>6</sup> See Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift, the Man, his Works, and the Age*, i: *Mr Swift and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983 [1962]), 52-6; Harold Williams, ed., *Journal to Stella* (Oxford, 1974[1948]), I, 2, 28. 1697 is the *terminus post quem* since St. George Ashe became Bishop of Clogher in that year; 1715 is the *terminus ante quem* since the book is listed in the 1715 inventory of Swift's library; see LeFanu, *op. cit.*, p. 271b.

<sup>7</sup> f. 10v.

<sup>8</sup> One does not expect this translation of the Psalms to be in Swift's library if one relies, as one has to, on the bibliographical data given in the 1742 inventory; see also A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1961* (London and New York, 1968), p. 119 (nos. 262, 263); see also Alexander Pope, *Imitations of Horace*, ed. John Butt, The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, iv, 2nd ed. (London and New Haven, 1953), 214-5.

acquisition, "Febr. 14. 1697,"<sup>9</sup> a hitherto unpublished letter from Thomas Steele, Junior, to Sir Walter Scott, dated London, 21 December 1822, has been pasted in. In this letter, Steele, a collateral descendant of the childless Dr. Lyon,<sup>10</sup> congratulates Scott on his baronetcy (1820) and remarks among other things:

I brought with me from the County Clare Swift's Bible containing the Character of Sir William Temple, which I have sent to Longman's to be forwarded to you, venturing to hope, that you will not refuse to honor me by your acceptance of a Book, which perhaps may not be an uninteresting one in Your Library.

Some ten years before, when Scott was engaged on his edition of *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (Edinburgh and London, 1814),<sup>11</sup> Steele had already proved himself useful to Scott by obtaining the use of "some valuable MSS." for him.<sup>12</sup> In an unpublished letter, dated 13 July 1811, he told Scott of "two Bibles which belonged to the Dean," at that time in the possession of Steele's uncle, Thomas Steele, Senior, the nephew and heir-at-law of Dr. Lyon. While in one of these bibles there was "no writing whatever", the other had, "along with Swift's name, two memorandums in Latin", in Swift's hand. For Scott's benefit, Steele appended a transcription to his letter.<sup>13</sup> Both memoranda, which record "cosmological omens and portents as traditionally accompany the death of a great

<sup>9</sup> Underneath Swift's autograph, two lines have been crossed out, followed by a hole. The letters "ple", clearly visible on the right-hand side of the hole, make it plausible that this bible was a present from Sir William Temple; for the reasons for Swift's obliterations and erasures in donations from Temple, see A. C. Elias, Jr., *Swift at Moor Park: Problems in Biography and Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 109f.

<sup>10</sup> See George P. Mayhew, "Jonathan Swift's 'On the burning of Whitehall in 1697' Re-examined", *HLB*, xix (1971), 403f.

<sup>11</sup> See H. Teerink and Arthur H. Scouten, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 127-8 (no. 138); see also George Falle, "Sir Walter Scott as Editor of Dryden and Swift", *UTQ*, xxxvi (1966-67), 161-80; Lee H. Potter, "The Text of Scott's Edition of Swift", *SB*, xxii (1969), 240-55.

<sup>12</sup> John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, v (New York, 1966 [London, 1828]), 397; see also Scott, *Works*, i, viif., 154, 193f., 396f.; H. J. C. Grierson, Davidson Cook and W. M. Parker, eds., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, iii: 1811-1814 (London, 1932), 44, 57, 103, 454; iv: 1815-1817 (London, 1933), 132, 173, 305.

<sup>13</sup> National Library of Scotland MS. 881, ff. 57-8; see also Mayhew, *op. cit.*, p. 404f.

man",<sup>14</sup> are identical with the ones in Swift's Bible at Abbotsford House.<sup>15</sup> The first, which is dated 27 January 1699 (N.S.), significantly the day on which Sir William Temple died, records a portentous snowfall in May 1698:

Maij. die 3<sup>uo</sup> 1698. nix multa decidit, ab hora vesper. 6<sup>ta</sup> ad 9<sup>m</sup> fere c[a]dens, ac non solum tota nocte, verum etiam ad crastini diei partem meridianam, conferta humi jacuit, arboribusq[ue] spississimé inhaerebat. hoc vidi prope vicum dict. Farnham in comitatu de Surrey. Jan.<sup>ry</sup> 27. 1698/9.

The second, which is undated, more strangely chronicles an epidemic among horses: "Mense Martio A.D. 1698/9 Sævijt pestis inter equos, non solum per Insulas Britannicas, sed fere omnem Europam grassata."<sup>16</sup>

Between these two memoranda, there are six lines which have been obliterated, "a few of the words", as Steele told Scott in November 1811, "so completely defaced that I consider it impossible to make them out".<sup>17</sup> A year later, however, in December 1812, and after "a good deal of perseverance", Steele triumphantly presented a solution, "a perfect copy of the Character of Sir William Temple":

Jan.<sup>ry</sup> 27. 16<sup>8</sup><sub>9</sub> Dyed S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Temple Bar! at one o'clock in the morning aged 71 years. He was a Person of the greatest Wisdom, Justice, Liberality, Politeness, Eloquence, of his Age or Nation; the truest Lover of his Country, and one that deserved more from it by his eminent

<sup>14</sup> Mayhew, *op. cit.*, p. 404; see also Elias, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-8.

<sup>15</sup> This evidence, of course, points to the conclusion that Dr. Lyon either received Swift's English bible of 1601 as a gift between 1742 and 1745 or that he took it away before the books went to the saleroom. The fact that at the time of Swift's death, "Lyon possessed considerable personal material of the Dean's," a good deal of which was presented to him by Swift, makes it more likely, however, that the Bible of 1601 was also a gift from the Dean to Lyon, his "esteemed friend and assistant" (Paul V. Thompson and Dorothy Jay Thompson, eds., *The Account Books of Jonathan Swift* [Newark and London, 1984], pp. ix-xii). From Lyon it passed into the possession of his heir, Thomas Steele, Senior, and from Steele, Senior, via his nephew to Scott.

<sup>16</sup> These are *literatim* transcriptions of the entries in Swift's Bible at Abbotsford, with two exceptions indicated by square brackets. Instead of "cadens" Swift wrote, perhaps by a slip of the pen, the unmeaningful "cedens". The earlier transcriptions provided by Scott (*Works*, i, 472f.), Mayhew (*op. cit.*, p. 404f.) and Elias (*op. cit.*, pp. 101, 108) suffer, since they all go back to Steele's faulty archetype (National Library of Scotland MS. 881, f. 58), from both minor errors and omissions.

<sup>17</sup> National Library of Scotland MS. 881, ff. 124-5.

publick services, than any Man before or since: Besides his great deserving from the Commonwealth of Learning; having been universally esteemed the most accomplit writer of his time—<sup>18</sup>

With the exception of one brief syntactical fragment, “Besides his great ... universally esteemed the most accomplit writer of his time”, nothing of Sir William’s character is legible today.

Enrico Caterino Davila’s immensely influential *Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, in the English translation by William Aylesbury and Sir Charles Cotterell, *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France*, published in London in 1647,<sup>19</sup> was sent to Scott by Matthew Weld Hartstonge in September 1814, again, at the instigation of Young Steele,<sup>20</sup> but too late to be incorporated in *The Works of Jonathan Swift* of 1814.<sup>21</sup> This volume is in many respects the most important of Swift’s books at Abbotsford House. For one thing, the Dean studied Davila’s *History, nota bene* nearly 1,500 pages, meticulously from cover to cover. For another, there is evidence to show that he not only read the *History* with great care, but that he read it twice, at one stage in the early 1720s when he was at work on *Gulliver’s Travels*. Finally, the volume is interspersed with abundant marginal glosses and comments, as well as with corrections and markings in Swift’s hand, which have not been published.<sup>22</sup>

The diligence with which Swift set about reading Davila is noticeable, first of all, in his habit, also demonstrable in other

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 124-5; 70-1; see also Scott, *Works*, i, 43 and Ehrenpreis, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>19</sup> See Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston and New York, 1916), p. 430; James Westfall Thompson and Bernhard J. Holm, *A History of Historical Writing*, i (New York, 1942), 568; E. M. Tenison, ed., *Elizabethan England: Being the History of this Country ‘In Relation to all Foreign Princes’*, viii (Leamington Spa, 1947 [1932]), 529f.; J.H.M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford, 1959), p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> National Library of Scotland MS. 3885, ff. 174-5; see also Mayhew, *op. cit.*, p. 404, where the shelfmark is, however, wrongly given as MS. 3385. It is noteworthy that Swift’s copy of Davila was not to be a present to Scott, but was intended to be only a loan from Steele (see f. 175). We are most grateful to Dr. I. G. Brown, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, for much generous assistance.

<sup>21</sup> For the marginalia which Scott did manage to incorporate in his edition, see *Works*, x, 197-327.

<sup>22</sup> We are deeply grateful to Mrs. Maxwell-Scott for her permission to publish these marginalia.

volumes from his library,<sup>23</sup> of marking passages, which for one reason or another aroused his attention, with saltire crosses and index fingers in the margin. In his copy of Davila's *History*, there are eight index fingers,<sup>24</sup> and no less than some 190 saltire crosses, in pencil, which are sprinkled throughout the book from beginning to end and which in some cases occur in connection with index fingers.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the Dean corrected countless errors in the text, obvious misprints, as painstakingly as spelling errors and grammatical lapses, not to mention "errors" of punctuation.<sup>26</sup> On the blank before the title-page, he jotted down a note, in ink, which was apparently written after he had read either the whole of the *History*, or at least a good part of it, and in which he summarized his dissatisfaction with the state of the printing: "The Word *Then* is by a blunder of the Printer, always used for *Than*".<sup>27</sup>

While Swift's irritation with the typographical deficiencies reveals little of the enjoyment he evidently felt while reading Davila's *History*, his marginal glosses and comments certainly do, even if these are frequently in disagreement with the text. From his early days at Trinity College, history had been favourite reading with him.<sup>28</sup> Davila, it will be remembered, figures as one of the leaders of the modern historians in *The Battle of the Books* (1704),<sup>29</sup> and he may also have stimulated Swift into the malicious slur on the "Pederastick" propensities of the Italians in *A Tale of a Tub* (1704).<sup>30</sup> Later, when Swift had met Esther Vanhomrigh, he

<sup>23</sup> The most prominent example is of course the Armagh *Gulliver*; see David Woolley, "Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections", *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Clive T. Probyn (London, 1978), pp. 131-78; see also *Jonathan Swift: Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces, Fragments and Marginalia*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1969 [1962]), pp. xxx-xl.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 214, 259, 372, 374, 443, 451, 452, 899.

<sup>25</sup> See pp. 898-9.

<sup>26</sup> We have ignored all these corrections unless they occur in passages which we transcribe.

<sup>27</sup> Corrected on pp. 141, 165, 293, 327 *et passim*.

<sup>28</sup> See *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces*, ed. Davis, pp. 192, 194.

<sup>29</sup> See Jonathan Swift, "*The Battle of the Books*": *eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit literarhistorischer Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Hermann Josef Real (Berlin and New York, 1978), p. 57.

<sup>30</sup> See *A Tale of a Tub: With Other Early Works, 1696-1707*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1965[1939]), p. 25, and Davila, *Historie*, p. 480.

made her read Davila, though the *History*, she confessed, bored her.<sup>31</sup> In the 1720s, probably in the earlier part, Swift himself re-read Davila, as he had done with Herodotus, "the Father of History", in 1720.<sup>32</sup> This assumption is corroborated by scribal and other internal evidence. The majority of Swift's marginalia was originally written in pencil, but later written over in ink. These superscriptions most certainly occurred when Swift was reading the text for the second time, possibly because the original jottings had faded or blurred. More significantly, however, the Dean's glosses and comments contain topical references to literary themes and Irish political circumstances with which he was concerned in the 1720s. A passage in which Davila describes the high price of corn, for example, receives the telling gloss, "As dear as lately in Dublin",<sup>33</sup> obviously an allusion to the reiterated complaints about the dearness of corn in Ireland, echoed in the *Irish Tracts*;<sup>34</sup> and Davila's observation that "the cabinet Council ... consisted not of those persons w<sup>ch</sup> by their birth, or privilege of their places are usually admitted, but of a few choise men that the King liked",<sup>35</sup> is sarcastically commented on by Swift: "The like corruption in England", thus linking Davila with a theme which figures prominently in both the Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag: the qualification necessary for public office.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> A. Martin Freeman, ed., *Vanessa and her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift* (London, 1921), pp. 80-1, 91; *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, i: 1690-1713 (Oxford, 1965 [1963]), 364-5, 373; see also Evelyn Hardy, *The Conjured Spirit, Swift: A Study in the Relationship of Swift, Stella, and Vanessa* (Westport, Conn., 1973 [1949]), p. 141; *The Examiner*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1966 [1941]), p. 107. It is interesting that Davila's *History* should not appear in the inventory of Swift's Library compiled in 1715. Since Vanessa was somewhere in the bulky volume in the middle of 1713, it is safe to assume that she was using Swift's own copy and that she had not yet returned it by the time Swift drew up the inventory.

<sup>32</sup> See *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces*, ed. Davis, p. 243.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 934.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, *Irish Tracts, 1720-1723*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1968 [1948]), pp. 15-22; *Irish Tracts, 1728-1733*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1971 [1955]), pp. 17-25; Edith Mary Johnston, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1974), p. 88f.; Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift, the Man, his Works, and the Age*, iii: *Dean Swift* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 509-12, 544f.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 259.

<sup>36</sup> See Herbert Davis's edition (Oxford, 1965 [1941]), i, iii, 2-4; ii, vi, 7-11; see also Edwin B. Benjamin, "The King of Brobdingnag and *Secrets of State*", *JHI*, xviii (1957), 572-9.

As is the rule with him, Swift's autograph, "Jon: Swi[ft]", appears in the top right-hand corner of the title-page. Unlike what one has come to expect of him, however, there are no references to the book's provenance, its purchase or its price. Underneath the statement in the title "Translated out of the Original", Swift has added "By S<sup>r</sup> Charles Cotterell, and William Aylesbury Esq<sup>r</sup>." By this addition, he tried to redress an injustice of which Sir Charles Cotterell had become guilty when the second edition was published (London, 1678).<sup>37</sup> As Swift noted in a memorandum on the blank preceding the title-page, Cotterell here unjustly claimed the execution of the greater part of the original version for himself:

Memorand<sup>m</sup>

This is the first Edition, and the licence is given onely under the name of William Aylesbury, as the Sole Translator. But in the Cypher of the Title-page,<sup>38</sup> the Letters W. A. are mingled with C.C. S<sup>r</sup> Charles Cotterell for whom those Letters stand, as sharing in the Translation, living many years after K. Ch. 2<sup>d</sup> was restored, and after Aylesbury dyed,<sup>39</sup> published a Second Edition, wherein he wholly omits any mention of his brother Translator W<sup>m</sup> Aylesbury.

J. Swi[ft]

Marginalia in *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France*:

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6	And, as people accustomed for many Ages to live under the sole rule of one Prince, knowing also perhaps, that the qualities of a Monarchy are most agreeable and best proportioned to those that aspire to great achievements, & enlargement of Empire, they resolved to chuse themselves a King, upon whom	This account is not allow'd by the best writers

<sup>37</sup> Apart from the entries in *DNB*, i, 750 and iv, 1215-6, see John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London, 1952), pp. 297-322.

<sup>38</sup> Swift is referring to the monogram in which the initials *W.A.* are entwined with *C.C.*

<sup>39</sup> After "dyed", a later, unidentified hand, misconstruing Swift's syntax, has inserted "[He]".



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	should be conferred the whole authority of all.	
7	so in all ages the first rules of Government have been most religiously observed	A great mistake in many instances.
8	it hath therefore ever been a Custom, that the next of blood should be Guardian to the Pupils, and Governour of the Kingdom, during the minority or absence of the lawful King.	a custom liable to the strongest objections
8	Nor is this Prerogative a Custom onely, but the States General of the Kingdom (which Assembly hath the power of the whole Nation) having often confirmed it with their consent, and ordered it to be so	which are now never call'd
27	Likewise they recalled to the Council of State, and neer to the Kings person, the Cardinal of Tournon	I:L:
38	He shewed them, how the whole kingdom was full of multitudes of those that had embraced the opinions and faith newly introduced by <i>Calvin</i>	The truth of this fact is doubted and denied by other authors.
38-39	the Princes of the blood, and other Lords of their party ... make it believed for the future by all the world, that the Civil war was set on foot, and stirred up, not by the interest of the Princes ... but by the discords and controversies in matters of Religion.	I doubt this is partial
43.	Some believe, and have divulged, that the chief instruments of this Conspiracie, had secret order, if their Plots succeeded as they had	All malice certainly, However, the Author here softens the matter &

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	designed it, that they should presently cut in pieces the Queen-mother, and the King himself, with all his brothers; by these means to clear the way for the Princes of Bourbon to attain to the Crown: But, not any of the complices having ever confessed this intention, but always, even upon the rack, and otherwise, constantly denied that point, I cannot give my self leave to affirm it upon the uncertain report of Fame onely	shews a degree of Charity.
55	But, because this Assembly of the States was a thing by all Kings ever abhorred	It is now brought to nothing
63	But <i>Jaques de la Sague</i> , the King of Navar's servant, being charged with letters of instructions from the Constable, the Admirall and the rest of the Adherents, directed to his Master ... was by secret order of the Queen stayed prisoner	I somewhat doubt the truth of this Paragraph
73	Here the Queen-mother ... wholly applied her self with kinde words to comfort the King of Navar	Perfidious
81	to abandon all old friendship	an
98	But [the Hugonots] on the contrary, as those use who are led by a popular rage ... finding themselves now supported and favoured ... and laying aside all respect due to Magistrates	A very naturall Consequence
105	they joyntly proposed ... the Guises should obtain for him the Queen of Scotland their Neece	a most infamous, Lewd cursed Jade.

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127	Blaise, <i>Sieur de Monluc</i> , a man famous for wit and valour	whose memoirs are extant
133	This unexpected resolution not a little perplext the Hugonots, having never imagined that the Constable and the Guises would yeeld to this condition.	The Prince outwitted
135	the Prince of Condé, desirous to abolish the infamy of breaking his word by some notorious famous action	This Prince was a perfidious Rascal.
148	For, <i>Jean d'Hemery</i> , <i>Signeur de Villers</i> , who afterwards married a Sister of <i>Henry Davila's</i>	and therefore often celebrated by the author
176	[John Poltrot] was perswaded, as they say by the Admirall and <i>Theodore Beza</i> , to endeavour to kill the Duke of Guise	This is false
177	yet it is certain, that the greatnesse of the Queens mind made it generally believed, that she used no dissimulation in so generous an Action: and, surely there are few examples of the like in any of our modern Stories.	This was quite out of her character.  yes; severall
209	a thing which he sought after before	*after before
214	And the King in choler added, At the first you were content with a little liberty, now you will be equall, within a little while you will be the chief, and drive us out of the Kingdom.	perfectly well observed
217	that pernicious Doctrine, which with such horrible perversion of all	witness the Fanatics to K. Ch. 1. <sup>st</sup>

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	humane and divine laws, instructed men, under the pretence of piety and Religion, to imbrue their hands in the bloud of their lawfull Kings	
217	And perhaps by this Doctrine ... the Admirall and the rest of his party were perswaded to plot ... even against the person of the King	Doubtless this is malice
217	[the Queen-mother] was threatned, that if she changed not her course, and suffered not those of the reformed Religion to injoy full liberty of conscience, she should be murthered	a poor Trifle
220	to suppress the <i>Gueux</i>	Protestants in the low countrys
223	the Heads of the Hugonots ... shewed their adherents certain secret advertisements	and those advertisements were true.
225	Many have reported ... that the chief scope of this enterprize was to murder the King and Queen with all her Children, that the Crown might come to the Prince of Condé	malice unworthy of an Historian it is more like B <sup>p</sup> . Burnet
259	the cabinet Councel, which consisted not of those persons w <sup>ch</sup> by their birth, or priviledge of their places are usually admitted, but of a few choise men that the King liked	The like corruption in England
262	Wherefore all doubts being removed, they determined to try whether they could on a sudden surprise the Prince and the Admirall	This was surely perfidious
264	(as that Nation is of an unconstant voluble disposition)	An observation
296	the Governor (without any appa-	confused Parenthe-

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	rent cause) (for at that time (as it is usuall in civill Wars) men were led by divers ... inclinations) [similar criticism occurs on pp. 307, 1441, 1471]	ses
349	They granted many profits and Ecclesiastical revenues unto the Bastard	who was he?
351	the ardour of the Duke of Guise's affection were in part abated	For he had layn with her
365	The Admirall prefers himself before <i>Julius Cæsar</i> and <i>Alexander</i> the Great.	This was raillery and not vanity, but the contrary
366	The Lady <i>Marguerite</i> being asked if shee would have the King of Navar for her Husband, answered not; but being urged by the King, bowed her head.	This was afterwards made use of to procure a Divorce
370	[ <i>Teligny</i> ] resolving afterwards ... to take up arms, and never to lay them down till the Catholick party were utterly destroyed, and the House of Lorain quite rooted out	this is spoke on trust
370	every one speaking so fiercely in those tumultuous consultations, that they neither spared the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, nor the King of Navar himself	what cou'd they do less: This is no excuse for the K. & his party.
370	and gave a more specious colour to those excuses that were often framed for the justification of them.	no excuse at all
370	the Queen-Mother, and all the rest abhorred to imbrue their hands in the Bloud-Royall, it seeming ... a thing too cruell	extream tenderness of conscience
371	In this also the result inclined to	they regard that

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	mercy; as well to spare the effusion of more bloud	
371	in cases of extremity, it is neither laudable nor safe to use a mean; for the relicks of the disease by dangerous relapses, do frustrate the rigour of the most approved remedies.	Machiavell's maxim
375	an evident example to the whole world, how ruinous and sudden the end useth to be of those, who not considering any thing but their own interests, think by subtile cunning practices to establish a Casting greatnesse upon the sole foundation of humane wisdom	were not these the very Practices of the K. and Queen mother
376	but the rule I have hitherto observed of following precisely the order of this History, will not suffer me to digresse in making the tragicall narration of those passages.	no; it is his Partiality makes him shorten this Relation.
376	at last he was necessitated to prevent them, for fear of being prevented, having miraculously discovered their conspiracy to take away his life	this was a Lye coyned on purpose
377	the younger children, both male and female were condemned to death	infamous Barbarity
380	[The Hugonots] of Champagne and Burgundy were gotten into the Cities of Germany, and there endeavoured to make the actions of the King of France to be suspected ... by the Hans-towns, and Protestant Princes.	surely that was not very difficult
382	[Monsieur <i>de Byron</i> ] perswaded the Rochellers ... that the admission of	I think he acted in this point like a

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	a Governor would bring them to a necessity of submitting absolutely to the Kings obedience, whose intention he knew was not onely to destroy the Hugonot party, but also to take away the immunities and priviledges of the City it self	man of Honor
384	[Monsieur <i>de la Nouë</i> ] instead of perswading them to yeeld to the Kings mercy, resolved not onely to stay there with them, but also to accept the Office of their Captain Generall	not honorable
400	These matters ... happened in the beginning of the yeer 1574 ... toward the later end of March, and all the month of April following, the Hugonots already up in arms ... attempted everywhere to surprise Forts, Castles & Cities	Surely the author conceals the most important causes of this new generall insurrection
427	affecton, which in all, but especially in great minds, prevayles above all other respects	It ought to be quite the contrary
428	that famous gift of healing the Kings Evill with nothing but a touch	A French & English Folly
430	much addicted to a devout solitary life, entertaining himself with softer pleasures, and more gentle quiet conversations	a pretty mixture
430	[the King] continued his custome of not propounding his most weighty affairs in the open Councell of State, but to treat of them onely in the Cabinet-Councell	From hence came the Cabinet coun-cells in England
445	having exactly performed all things promised to the Duke of Alançon, none of the other articles were observed	Is this to be excus'd

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445	the King permitting, and tacitly consenting to it, the assemblies of the Hugonots were everywhere violently disturbed	This King was a false perjur'd Rogue as most Kings are
449	The form of the League or Covenant.	It appears to be true, what is commonly said, that the Scotch League and Covenant was borrow'd from this.
450	<i>In case there be any impediment, opposition, or rebellion against that which is aforesaid, be it from whom it will</i>	The King not expected
451	<i>I promise upon my life, and honour, to continue in it, unto the last drop of my bloud</i>	The very words of the fanaticks solemn League and Covenant during the Rebellion &c.
459	wishing, rather than they should continue, that the thred of his life might be cut off	He had his wish
466	<i>Hen.</i> the Third declares himself Head of the Catholick League.	a very weak & im-politick action to make himself head of a faction.
480	[the King] imputing his favours towards the young Gentlemen that were about him, unto an unfitting irregular desire	Italian Delight
482	the Mareschall dyed suddenly	French Devil
509	to these were joyn'd also certaine Gownmen	Lawyers
519	Therefore he would more willingly have concurred to oppose the League, and unite himself to the Hugo-	where was it?



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	nots, if the sting of his own conscience ... had not made him absolutely abhor it	
533	Protesting that we do not take up arms against our Sovereigne Lord the King, but, for the guard and just defence of his Person, Life, and State	à l'Angloise just the fanatical Pretension in 1641.
547	None can believe such an imputation can at all concern his Majestie by nature so far from any kind of Revenge	a good throughpac'd Lye, like K. George's mentioning his own mercifull Disposition
557	a war ... wherein such men should be made Commanders as the League could confide in	stile of 1641.
649	the Cavalry of the Catholicks was routed and defeated in lesse than half an hour	Harrys 1 <sup>st</sup> victory
695	That [the King] should take away the Regiment of Guards from Monsieur <i>de Grillon</i> , and give it to such a person as the Catholike Princes might confide in	English Parliament under Charl <sup>s</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup>
710	he sent <i>Jaques Auguste de Thou</i> President of the Parliament of Paris, to certifie himself of the mindes of the Citizens	Thuanus the Historian
726	the King always of a good intention and milde nature, would yet at that time have forgotten all that was passed	witness the massacre of Paris
749	The King discourseth a long while with the Cardinal of Moresini about the Duke of Guise's death.	horribly prophane. The style of an Italian
749-50	he was assured he had satisfied	the last was easy

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	God's Justice, his own conscience, and the good ... of his Kingdom	[i.e. conscience]
752	neither had [the King] himself the heart to look upon [the bodies of the two brothers]; nor did any of the Court see them after their death ... the King not desiring that so sad a spectacle should argue him guilty either of cruelty, or ambitious pomp of ostentation.	mercifull Prince! right Italian again; wonderful mercy in the King.
754	by the King's command (who scorned to defile himself with mean blood)	Does not great Blood defile as much?
756	[ <i>Katherine de Medicî</i> ] was esteemed of a most deceitfull faith, a condi- tion common enough in all times, but very peculiar to that age; greedy, or rather prodigall of hu- mane blood, much more then beca- me the tendernesse of the female sex	These were only little weak sides & infirmities—par- donable in human nature
763	Father <i>François de Feu-ardant</i> a Franciscan	a proper name for a fire-brand
764	<i>Jaques Auguste de Thou</i>	The famous Hist- orian Thuanus
810	the King, contrary to his Nature ... persecuted the obstinate stubborn- nesse of rebels.	A mercifull Prince
818	[The King said that] he had learned in the school of Christ to forgive injuries, as he had done so many in times past	for instance the ad- miral the Duke & Cardinal of Guise
818	He exhorted the Nobility to ack- nowledge the King of Navar, to whom the Kingdom of right belong- ed	a true Prediction
820	For in <i>Henry</i> the Third were all amiable qualities	abominable Heap of Lyes

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860	<i>Jaques Auguste de Thou</i>	Thuanus the Historian.
902	But the Victory was neither secure nor pleasing in the King's Camp	The 2. <sup>d</sup> Victory
923	the Marquesse <i>Fortunato Malvicino</i>	a fortunate ill neighbour
934	for a bushel of Wheat being sold in the City at one hundred and twenty crowns	As dear as lately in Dublin
946	the Marquesse <i>Alessandro Malaspina</i>	A wikked Thorn
981	<i>Horatio Pallavicino</i> (a <i>Genouëse</i> , who for Religion was fled into that Island	That family continu'd in England till very lately
1031	<i>Charlotte de la Mark</i> Heiresse of that Dutchy	of Bouillon
1053	the <i>Sieur de Villars</i> , a Cavalier not onely of high spirit and courage, but absolutely depending upon his name and authority	The author's Sister's Husband the cause of all these Praises
1059	Herein appeared most cleerly the prudence and valour of the <i>Sieur de Villars</i>	all this favour is because he marry'd the author's sister
1155	These overtures and Declarations have been made at such times when we were in greatest prosperity, and had means to undertake greater matters if we had had such a thought in our mind, rather then to serve the publick, and seek the generall quiet.	I wonder he woud make such a confession
1163	PHILIP by the grace of God, Cardinal of <i>Piacenza</i> ... To all Catholics ... health, peace, love, and the Spirit of better counsel in him who is the true Peace, onely Wisdom,	like the Fanaticks Phrase King Jesus.

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	onely King, onely Governour, <i>Jesus Christ</i> our Saviour and Redeemer.	
1217	This answer was presently excluded, for all replied with joynt consent; that they would not have a King of a different language and nation	poor England!
1234	The King moved by these considerations, or else interpreting the so urgent conjuncture of affairs, to be as it were a divine inspiration	no doubt
1259	[The Pope] enlarged himself upon the first point with proofs of Scripture, and with many examples	a sly Italian
1271	[The Duke of Mayene] made lesse reckoning of his own ruine, and the destruction of his Family, then of the losse of his honour, and reputation	credat Iudæus &c.
1286	yet could [Monsieur <i>de Villars</i> ] not divert the Kings determination, whereupon he conceived so great disdain, as in aftertimes brought forth wonderfull great inconveniences.	For he lost his head about 7 years after
1413	and little lesse then five hundred Horse	thousand
1442	But the King ... being come into the quarters about <i>Paris</i> , to take Physick for some private indisposition	The Pox
1447	He objected the two severall times he had met the Duke of <i>Parma</i>	better He had said nothing of that
1452	Captaine <i>Falme</i> an Irish man	perhaps Phehin an Irish name
1459	The Mareschal <i>de Biron</i> ... with the right side of his hair all burnt	no perruke
1460	Captain <i>Falme</i> an Irish man	Phehin

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1475	Upon these Answers the French easily gave off their old pretensions, and the demand of <i>Cambray</i>	yet now the French possess <i>Cambray</i>

On the whole, these marginalia, it is true, do not add considerably to our knowledge of Swift's habits of annotation; they confirm his familiar practice.<sup>40</sup> As usual, the Dean is attentive to detail, endeavouring to put the historical record straight by remarks like "This is false" (p. 176), or "Surely the author conceals the most important causes of this new general insurrection" (p. 400). More often than not, he is critical of Davila: "[This is] malice unworthy of an Historian [;] it is more like B<sup>p</sup>. Burnet" (p. 225), or "The author's Sister's Husband the cause of all these Praises" (p. 1053); and at times, his volcanic temper, so noticeable, for example, in his remarks on Lord Herbert's *Life and Raigne of Henry VIII* (1649) or Gilbert Burnet's *History of His Own Time* (1724-34),<sup>41</sup> flares up again, particularly when confronted with historical personages or events of which he disapproved: "This Prince was a perfidious Rascal" (p. 135), "infamous Barbarity" (p. 377), or "This King was a false perjur'd Rogue as most Kings are" (p. 445).

There is one gloss, however, which is of considerable significance for the controversy about the nature of the political allegory in *Gulliver's Travels*. At present, two views may be distinguished, one which regards the Voyage to Lilliput as an *ad hominem* satire, a satire on authentic historical personages and events of Swift's time, and another which emphasizes "the timeless quality" of Swift's satirical targets. While in the first approach the Emperor of Lilliput, for one, is interpreted as a satirical portrait of George I, the second argument assumes him to be a type, or symbol, not an actual personality.<sup>42</sup>

In the light of Swift's comment on Davila's defence of the French king against accusations of cruelty, "None can believe such an imputation can at all concern his Majestie by nature so far from any kind of Revenge", which is parried by the riposte "a

<sup>40</sup> See *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces*, ed. Davis, pp. 241-320; see also Emily H. Patterson, "Swift's Marginalia in Burnet's *History of His Own Time*", *Enlightenment Essays*, iii (1972), 47-54.

<sup>41</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 247-51; 266-94.

<sup>42</sup> There is a convenient summary of the two positions in the authors' *Jonathan Swift, "Gulliver's Travels"* (München, 1984), pp. 59-72.

good throughpac'd Lye, like K. George's mentioning his own mercifull Disposition" (p. 547), it now appears that the critics who plead for an *ad hominem* satire in the Voyage to Lilliput have the better arguments. After the "Articles of Impeachment" have been drawn up against Gulliver, the "most commendable Virtues" in the Emperor, it will be remembered, are "his *great Lenity and Tenderness*" (I, vii, 14-23). Of these qualities, as had become publicly known in the wake of the Jacobite Rising of 1715, George I was remarkably unpossessed.<sup>43</sup> Unless Swift was ready to risk prosecution, he could hardly afford to be outspoken about the King's revengeful disposition in public.<sup>44</sup> What he had to adumbrate in *Gulliver's Travels*, he could freely vent in places unlikely to be discovered, as he did in his copy of Davila, without fear of a royal vendetta.<sup>45</sup> In portraying the Lilliputian Emperor's "leniency", the Dean was resorting to an "expedient" which he had described in two *Examiner* papers of November 1710 and which was "frequently practised with great Safety and Success by satyrical Writers: Which is, That of looking into History for some Character bearing a Resemblance to the Person we would describe". And three weeks earlier, he had written: "In describing the Virtues and Vices of Mankind, it is convenient, upon every Article, to have some eminent Person in our Eye, from whence we copy our Description".<sup>46</sup> The conclusion that the Emperor of Lilliput is indeed, at least in parts, George I should be beyond reasonable doubt.

<sup>43</sup> See, among others, Christopher Sinclair-Stevenson, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (London, 1971), p. 147f.; Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London, 1978), pp. 178-80.

<sup>44</sup> See, on this aspect, Real-Vienken, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-4, 42.

<sup>45</sup> See also Emily H. Patterson, "Swift's Marginal Allusions to the Atterbury Case", *Anglia*, xcii (1974), 395-7; *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces*, ed. Davis, pp. 254-5.

<sup>46</sup> *The Examiner*, ed. Davis, pp. 26,10-1.