

A MISSING LEAF FROM SWIFT'S "HOLYHEAD JOURNAL"

BY GEORGE P. MAYHEW, M.A., PH.D.
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
AT THE CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

I

PROFESSOR HERBERT DAVIS has recently remarked that Jonathan Swift's poems, dated from Holyhead in late September 1727, and the "Holyhead Journal", kept from 22-9 September 1727, are, apart from his *Correspondence*, "almost the only writings of Swift which we possess . . . during the year 1727".¹ As I shall argue below, a hitherto neglected manuscript in the hand of Swift now preserved in the British Museum seems to me to be a missing leaf from the "Holyhead Journal". By way of preface, however, I should like to analyse, mainly by reference to his *Correspondence*, the effect of this final visit to England in 1727 as it has bearing upon his "Holyhead Journal".²

Swift's final visit to England lasted almost exactly six months. He set out from Dublin on either Saturday, 8 April, or more likely on Sunday, 9 April, armed with a license permitting him to travel to England as well as to the north of France, to Aix (iii. 385). From Chester he travelled to Goodrich in Herefordshire where he visited the tomb of his grandfather, and from there he came to Oxford on 18 April and spent the night with his friend Stratford. On 22 April he arrived at Pope's house at Twickenham, coming by way of Tetsworth (iii. 386, n. 2, 426, n. 4). From Twickenham in May and June he made various

¹ Herbert Davis, ed., *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, 14 vols. (Oxford, 1939), in progress. See xii, pp. ix-x (Irish Tracts, 1728-33). Hereafter cited as Davis, *Prose Works*.

² F. Elrington Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 6 vols. (1910-14). Cited by volume and page number alone within the text of the first section; thereafter as *Corresp.*

excursions to London, to call upon the Earl of Oxford, to Bolingbroke's house at Dawley, and to Market Hill and Richmond Lodge, the residence of Mrs. Howard, and of the Prince and Princess of Wales (iii. 387-92). For three weeks in July Swift and Pope went on a long "ramble" through Cambridgeshire with the Earl of Oxford.¹

About three days after his return to London and then to Twickenham on 5 or 6 August, Swift was once more afflicted by a violent attack of his recurrent giddiness and deafness, an attack which plagued him until he began his journey back to Ireland (iii. 409, 425). Because of the painful and incapacitating nature of his disease, and the unsociability it forced upon him, Swift, now also afflicted by the distressing news of Stella's dangerous illness, left Twickenham reluctantly on 31 August and withdrew to London, to the house in New Bond Street of his cousin Patty Rolt, now Mrs. Lancelot (iii. 416). He may have gone, for a few days, to Hammersmith for his health with Mrs. Lancelot as nurse, as F. Elrington Ball suggests (iii. 421, n. 2). During his last few days in London Swift stayed at an inn in Aldersgate Street from which, on 18 September, he took coach for Chester to begin his homeward journey, and at which place his deafness seems finally to have left him (iii. 422, n. 1). At Chester he was offered but refused a swift passage across St. George's Channel in the government yacht commanded by Captain Lawson (iii. 425, n. 3).

As we learn from the "Holyhead Journal" Swift left Chester on 22 September, a Friday, and arrived on the 24th, a Sunday, at Holyhead where he was detained for "eight days" by adverse winds and equinoctial storms. After one false start he finally sailed from Holyhead on 1 or 2 October, only to be forced by another storm to land eventually at some distance from Dublin. He probably arrived at the Deanery in Dublin about 6 or 7 October 1727, on one of which dates his license expired (iii. 410, 426, 431).

The chief public event during the first five months of Swift's visit to England in 1727 was the unexpected death at Osnabrugge

¹ George Sherburn, ed., *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, 5 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1956). See ii. 441, 442. Hereafter cited as Sherburn, *Correspondence of Pope*.

on 11 June of George I, the news of which came to London on 14 June at the same moment that Swift arrived from Twickenham to prepare for his visit to France (iii. 399). His own illness, commencing about 5 August, and the distressing news of Stella's desperate condition which came in letters dated from Dublin on 19 and 24 August were private circumstances which spoiled the last two months of his stay (iii. 415, 419). All in all, Swift's final visit to England, one to which he had looked forward with all the anticipation of a man who is well aware that it was to be—as he so often remarked at this time—"the last journey I shall ever take thither", proved to be a series of frustrating experiences, of which the delays and inconveniences at Holyhead were only the last and most vexing of a long series (iii. 378, 389, 403).

It is, again, through Swift's *Correspondence* that we may trace his moods as well as his movements most clearly during this period. His letters of late 1726 and early 1727 often suggest the pleasure and high hopes with which he anticipated his final voyage. They sometimes also convey the sense of anticipatory melancholy with which he faced his inevitable return to "banishment" in Ireland. For example, writing to Pope and Gay and Bolingbroke soon after his return from the 1726 voyage to England, during which the arrangements for the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* were made, Swift explained why it was so difficult for him to write. The image he uses is striking :

Breed a man a dozen years in a coal-pit, and he shall pass his time well enough among his fellows ; but send him to light for a few months, then down with him again, and try what a correspondent he will be (iii. 348).

On 26 November 1726, a little over a month later, he writes again to Pope to say that "Going to England is a very good thing, if it were not attended with an ugly circumstance of returning to Ireland" (iii. 368). Given the compatible life and the congenial friends he left behind in London, the difficulties he had before him to face in Dublin, Swift's returns to Ireland in 1726 and in 1727 were progressively more difficult. In 1727, especially, he had quite consciously and stoically to summon up his long-cultivated self-control and sense of philosophical detachment in order to face the depressing circumstances of his return that year.

However, before setting out in April 1727, Swift seems to have looked forward to his last journey with high hopes and considerable enthusiasm. Stella's health had then reached a state of deceptively encouraging improvement (iii. 388, 416). It was to improve his own health, as well as to enjoy at first hand the effect of the recently published and translated *Gulliver's Travels*, that Swift planned to travel in France as well as to England (iii. 385, 392, 395, 398). Through Pope he was encouraged to believe that he might obtain a third interview with Sir Robert Walpole, in order to plead once more, as he had done in 1726, the case of Irish grievances (iii. 336-7). Although Swift could not take seriously Lord Peterborow's hint that an English bishopric might be awaiting him, he could, with the recently increased pension of Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, before him, half hope for a generous pension for the author of *Gulliver's Travels*, a hint of which he dropped to Mrs. Howard (iii. 150, 366, 371). And finally, besides the always welcome prospect of visiting such friends as Pope and Bolingbroke, Gay and Oxford, was the opportunity to discuss with them the manuscript of *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, a literary and historical effort upon which Swift spent much time and by which he set great store. Optimistically, he appears to have carried with him to England the manuscript of that work in the hopes that he could make final revisions from the papers in the possession of the Earl of Oxford (iii. 221, 223).

Almost from the moment of his arrival in England his high hopes were dashed, one after another. Partisan politics were grown so warm by the time of his arrival at Twickenham that an interview with Walpole was out of the question, and Swift complained to Sheridan, in a letter of 13 May, that he was neglected by some who cultivated his friendship in the previous year. In the same paragraph he remarked that he was advised by his friends against going to France for fear of Whig vengeance to be exercised upon him while abroad (iii. 388). The death of George I momentarily deferred his visit to France, again upon the urging of his friends (iii. 397, 399). His own illness, and the news of Stella's fatal illness once more encouraged him to project his French trip now "to forget myself", and Swift seems to have

kept the possibility open, depending upon his own health and Stella's condition, almost until the moment he left London. At least as late as 12 September he wrote to a Dublin friend to renew his license to travel in *partes transmarinas* (iii. 419).

Soon after his arrival in England a high-handed exercise of his "Provost's Negative" by Richard Baldwin, the Whig Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, appears to have frustrated, and finally, to have caused Swift to cancel in anger a generous College fellowship bearing his name which he had established in what was possibly his first will.¹ The circumstances, which were quickly reported to Swift by his Irish friends at T.C.D., also served to show him the direction that the new political wind was blowing, now that George I was dead, and precisely how much influence he had with the former Prince of Wales, now George II. In answer to Swift's protest the new king, upon advice, found that the Provost "has law on his side" (iii. 399, 403). Shortly thereafter Swift's recommendation of the Earl of Scarborough for the position of Chancellor of T.C.D. was passed over, and Prince Frederick, whom Swift judged "too young", was made Chancellor (iii. 401). Such actions, and others that soon became apparent, dashed once and for all the optimism that Swift and some Tories felt when the death of George I seemed momentarily to promise a mitigation of the warfare between political parties and an end to the Whig régime under Walpole (iii. 400, 402). Within weeks Walpole and the Whigs were back in power, stronger and fiercer than ever, now that they enjoyed the backing of the new queen (iii. 402, n. 4).

The realization that he was within a few months of sixty years of age, that he had, as he believed, "not long to live", are themes that recur in Swift's *Correspondence* of 1727 (iii. 392, 407). They may also explain why he came to make his first will about this time. When he received the news of Stella's fatal illness the futility, as well as the finality, of his frustrated hopes and plans struck him the more forcibly, and he could only look upon the little life he believed left him as a blessing (iii. 416, 417, 418). The sense of time running out, of this as his last and final voyage

¹ "Swift's First Will and the First Use of the Provost's Negative at T.C.D.", *H.L.Q.*, xxi (1958), No. 4, pp. 295-323.

to England, could not help but make his frustrated plans and helpless state the more bitter, a mood which carried over to the Holyhead poems and "Journal".

Finally, Swift would have been inhuman not to have felt chagrin at receiving from such friends as Bolingbroke and possibly Oxford the advice not to publish his *History of the Four Last Years*.¹ Nor could so sensitive a man as Swift have felt anything but mortification when the lengthy and disabling nature of the disease which afflicted him made him become, as he thought, an unsociable guest and a burden to such close friends as Pope and Gay (iii. 410, 422, 428). He was thus denied one of the chief pleasures of his visit, the easy conversation of those closest to him. His present uneasiness and anxiety were further increased by the knowledge of Stella's illness, a concern and uncertainty about her condition which finally drew him back, however unwillingly, to the Dublin he hated.

In his last extant letter to Sheridan before returning, a letter dated 2 September 1727, Swift wrote that "the last act of life is always a tragedy at best, but it is a bitter aggravation to have one's best friends go before one". Soon after his return to Dublin he enlarged upon this theme in a letter to a mother who had lost a child: "For life is a tragedy, wherein we sit as spectators a while, and then act our own part in it" (iii. 417, 436). In the intervening time, and perhaps especially while suffering the exasperating delays and vexations at Holyhead, Swift appears to have cultivated as best he could in the face of adversity the necessary diverting distractions or the stoical endurance of a true philosopher, a detachment from the impending tragedy of Stella's death which he could only achieve by moments, to judge from the "Holyhead Journal". When Stella's death had appeared imminent in 1726 he wrote to Sheridan "I look upon this [Stella's death] to be the greatest event that could ever happen to me; but all my preparations will not suffice to make me bear it like a philosopher, nor altogether like a Christian" (iii. 324). The "Holyhead Journal" is a record of Swift's mind in the midst of a similar crisis.

¹ Davis, *Prose Works*, vii, pp. xii, xiv, n. 1.

II

Swift's "Holyhead Journal" is preserved now in the Victoria and Albert Museum as Forster MS. No. 519. In the Preface (p. viii) to his *Life of Swift* (1875) John Forster said that he had acquired the manuscript of the "Holyhead Journal" from his friend, "The Rev. Dr. Todd, late the senior fellow of Dublin University". A note inside its cover states that "This book was all wrote by Dean Swift, & was M^r Worrall's". The signature of Swift's Dublin friend, John Worrall, is written above and crossed out. Forster died before he could make use of the work in a second volume of his *Life*. Since then the "Journal" has been published by J. Churton Collins,¹ by Sir Henry Craik as an Appendix to his *Life of Swift*,² and by Temple Scott in his edition of Swift's *Prose Works*.³ Most recently Sir Harold Williams has published four poems and a rhymed "proverb" from the "Journal" in his edition of Swift's *Poems*.⁴ A complete and accurate transcription of the entire "Journal" will probably have to wait until the publication of the forthcoming volume of Professor Davis's edition of Swift's *Prose Works*.

Inside the cover of Forster No. 519 Swift has written, by way of explanation and wry jest; "This Book I stole from the Right Hon^{orable} George Dodington Esq^r., one of the Lords of the Treasury June 1727. But the Scribblings are all my own." The first page contains a list of memoranda, in part of expenditures and things to be done by Swift before his leaving England; in part, a shopping list of things to be purchased in London for his Irish friends and for his Cathedral in Dublin.

Forster MS. No. 519, fo. 1.

1. Memd's those onely done w^{ch} are crossed
Full anthems, and D^r Crofts book
of anthems.

¹ "An Unpublished Diary written by Dean Swift", *The Gentleman's Magazine*, cclii (June 1882), 731-43.

² 2nd edn. (London, 1894), ii. 319-30.

³ *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 12 vols. (1897-1908). See xi. 391-403. Within the text all references to the "Holyhead Journal" are cited by volume and page number alone.

⁴ 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1937). See ii. 418-24. Hereafter cited as *Poems*.

- in Fleet-street about
5. a Clock for St Patr's Cathedrall.
Spectacles for 70 years old. 4 pair X
Fenocchio and Brocali original seeds, and
the whole direction about planting them.
Melon seeds, and any othr garden curiosity
 10. Some presents fluid X
A pair of Spectacles for 60, and a large
reading glass for Mr Worrall. X
My Grandfathers Tomb
Pay Pothecary in [Country and] town. X
 15. and pay the Pirmont water X
To [sell] buy 200 ll in some Stock. X
Godfry in Southampton Street. Hungary
water and palsy drops.
Pay lodgings. 1¹¹-11'-6^d X
 20. How to pay M^r Rolt's money X

The first item, as well as the second, are purchases for St. Patrick's Cathedral. Since they are not "crossed", or marked with an "X", apparently they were not made. The blank where the name of a clockmaker in Fleet Street should be may explain why that errand was not done. It is more difficult to understand why Swift failed to buy "D^r Crofts book of anthems". His old friend of Queen Anne's days, the Master of the Chapel Royal, Dr. William Croft, had died only recently at Bath on 14 August.¹ One would expect Swift to buy his book of anthems out of loyalty to his dead friend.

Since Swift himself refused to wear glasses "A pair of Spectacles for 60 [years old?]" could not be a purchase made for himself. The glasses may have been intended for someone like Mrs. Worrall, in 1727 about sixty years old, to go with the reading glass Swift bought for her husband. The fore-sighted

¹ Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain*, xxxvi (for August), 1727, 196:

The Day before [14 August 1727], died at *Bath*, the eminent Dr. *Croft's*, Organist and Composer to his Majesty, Master of the Children of the Chappel Royal, and Instrument Keeper and Organist of St. *Peter's* Westminster.

Dr. Croft was buried in Westminster Abbey on 23 August 1727. He is remembered chiefly for his anthems in the tradition of Purcell and Blow. In 1724 he published two folio volumes of anthems and a burial service, part of which is by Purcell.

purchase of four pairs of " Spectacles for 70 years old " might be for the two elderly cousins for whom Swift did a similar errand in 1726. On that occasion Swift had left them behind by accident ; John Gay finally sent them off to Dublin by a mutual friend who was going that way.¹ The novelties of fenocchio and broccoli seeds Swift probably got from Pope, who in turn may have had them recently from Italy by way of the Earl of Peterborow. The melon seeds probably came from Pope, too.² " Some presents fluid " and the payments to his apothecary, given the illness with which Swift was afflicted, explain themselves. The £200 to buy " in some Stock " may very well be the money paid Swift by Benjamin Motte, the publisher of *Gulliver's Travels*. Through Pope's urging and with Erasmus Lewis as intermediary, Motte appears to have paid out on 4 May 1727, the £200 which he had promised for six months after the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* (*Corresp.* iii. 330, 386). The payment for lodgings was probably for the inn at Aldersgate Street where, according to Gay, Swift passed his last days in London. It is from there that Swift seems to have taken coach for Chester on 18 September (*Corresp.* iii. 422, 425). " M^r Rolt " may be the son, by her first marriage, of Swift's London nurse, now Mrs. Lancelot. When young Rolt was at Westminster School in 1715 Swift interested himself in the boy's welfare (*Corresp.* ii. 300). " My Grandfathers Tomb " (not crossed) refers to the pious care with which Swift honoured his ancestor, the Royalist rector of Goodrich in Herefordshire. Swift visited his tomb both in 1726 and 1727. On the first occasion he donated a chalice, properly

¹ *Corresp.* iii. 341, 350. Swift thanked Gay and said that " the spectacles were for two old cousins, and not for me ".

² In February 1726/7, Pope sent Swift seeds of Italian fennel and broccoli and directions for planting them. Professor Sherburn notes that Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborow, supplied Pope with his broccoli seeds, at that time a great rarity in England. Pope also grew melons, from whom Swift might also have acquired the melon seeds he lists. Sherburn, *Correspondence of Pope*, ii. 425, n. 4 ; iv. 6.

In a letter from Twickenham of 1 July 1727, Swift mentioned to Dr. Sheridan that fennochio was then " fit to eat here, and we eat it like celery, either with or without oil, etc." (*Corresp.* iii. 403). In the same paragraph Swift, apparently with this shopping list from the " Holyhead Journal " in mind, asked Sheridan to find out from Stella and Mrs. Dingley " what I should buy for them here of any kind ".

inscribed, to his grandfather's church. In 1727 Swift was busy arranging a memorial tablet which was to carry the arms of the Swift family. Swift showed the design for the monument to Mrs. Howard, and she returned it with some comic verses by Pope attached ¹ (*Corresp.* iii. 426, n. 4).

The reference to "Godfry in Southampton Street", a chemist and the vendor of Hungary water and palsey drops, will be mentioned again in another connection.

On the last page of the "Holyhead Journal" Swift noted, writing upside down and in pencil, the names of five of his English Tory friends under the heading "Male Toasts": "Bp Bath & Wells [George Hooper]/Erasmus Lewis/M^r Bromley/Bp. Roches^r [Atterbury]/M^r Pulteney." ² Apparently Swift here refers to their party popularity among the high-flying Tories before September 1727, or to the influence such members of the opposition were optimistically expected to exert in June 1727, when the Whig ministry under Walpole seemed about to fall because of the death of George I.

The bulk of the pocket notebook, however, about twenty pages, is made up of the poems written and the "Journal" kept by Swift while at Holyhead between Sunday, 24 September and

¹ It is relevant to notice here that as late as 1737 Swift himself intended to be buried at Holyhead in England, and not in Ireland. In his second edition of Swift's *Works* (1883), i. 485-6, Sir Walter Scott first published a codicil to Swift's will as it stood in the 1730s. The two leaves of this manuscript in Swift's hand are now in the Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 14347). In one place (fo. 1a) the codicil directs Mrs. Whiteway to gather together money ". . . to pay the charges of transporting my Body to Holyhead and for my Burial in the Church of that Town, as directed in my Will". The codicil is dated "Apr. 16/1727" and it was witnessed and sealed on "April 22, 1737-Seven".

In the 1784 edition of his *Life of Swift* (p. 279) Thomas Sheridan, the younger, refers to a letter from Swift to his father in which Dr. Sheridan was requested to accompany Swift's body to Holyhead to see it buried there. The date of the letter is not given, and the letter itself seems now to be lost.

² Like some of the items in Swift's shopping list this entry in the "Holyhead Journal" can be dated as written before 6 September 1727. According to *D.N.B.* George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1703-27 died on 6 September 1727; on 11 November John Wynne, a Whig, was translated to the bishopric. Swift is here clearly referring to Bishop Hooper and must therefore be writing his list of "Male Toasts" sometime before Hooper's death in early September 1727.

Friday, 29 September 1727. Actually, the "Journal" covers the week between Swift's leaving Chester on horseback at 11 a.m. on Friday, 22 September, and Michaelmas Day, two or three days before Swift finally sailed for Ireland. Misfortune plagued him all the way. As we learn from a letter from Gay to Swift, written on 22 October 1727, the Dean was pursued by an equinoctial storm and was forced to land at Carlingford, about sixty miles north of Dublin, where he was met by Dr. Thomas Sheridan.¹ What seems to have happened then is this: Swift showed his "Holyhead Journal" to Sheridan at once, and that merry soul, before leaving Carlingford, secretly dispatched a letter to Gay. Sheridan told of Swift's safe arrival, gave a resumé of the "Holyhead Journal", and urged Gay to astound Swift by writing immediately a knowing account of all that had happened to Swift at Holyhead and afterwards. This was the kind of practical joking that Swift himself had once enjoyed with his friends the Ashes.²

III

The first leaf of the British Museum's Egerton MS. No. 201 has long been recognized to be a series of undated jottings in the hand of Jonathan Swift. The manuscript came into the possession of the Museum from Francis Henry Egerton, the eighth Earl of Bridgwater, whose arms are stamped on the verso of the leaf. At one time it had been in the hands of George Faulkner, Swift's Dublin printer.³ The left-hand edge of the

¹ *Corresp.* iii. 424-7 and notes. Gay remarks that the letter which supplied him with his information was "from Carlingford in Ireland". His correspondent, as F. Elrington Ball noted, could be none other than Sheridan.

² Swift was properly mystified by Gay's detailed knowledge of the "Holyhead Journal" (*Corresp.* iii. 430-1). In March of 1712/13 Swift and Lord Pembroke put Sir Andrew Fountaine up to such a "bite" on Swift's old tutor, St. George Ashe, at that time in London. His brother, Thomas Ashe, in Ireland, played the part which John Gay took in this later "bite" on Swift. See Sir Harold Williams, ed., *Jonathan Swift: "Journal to Stella"*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1948), ii. 641, 653. Hereafter cited as *Journal to Stella*.

³ *List of Additions made to the Collections in the British Museum in the Year MDCCLXXXII*. Printed by Order of the Trustees. London, 1833, p. 21. *Index to the Additional Manuscripts, with those of the Egerton Collection*, . . . Printed by Order of the Trustees. 1849, p. 173.

fragment in the British Museum is jagged, as though torn from other sheets with which it had once been sewn or bound up. Its size (11.5 × 17.7 cm.) and its watermarkings are similar to those of Forster No. 519. An analysis of Swift's jottings on this odd page and a comparison with his "Holyhead Journal" have led me to conclude that the first leaf in Egerton No. 201 was once a page of the stolen notebook in which Swift kept his journal while waiting at Holyhead.

The "Holyhead Journal" is a revealing account in verse and prose of Swift's impatience and utter boredom during that week in late September 1727, when, after the series of frustrations which he had experienced from the time of his arrival in England, he was still more frustratingly detained by adverse winds in the provincial Welsh town of Holyhead, a port of embarkation for Ireland. The delay was demoralizing, and the many attendant difficulties irritated and tried Swift sorely. Only a few days before, on 18 September, he had crept clandestinely away from a brilliant London society that included such close and admired friends as Pope and Gay, at work now upon the *Dunciad* and *The Beggar's Opera*, works in which Swift had almost a paternal interest. Before him, close enough to see on clear days, lay Ireland, "This land of slaves/Where all are fools, and all are Knaves", as he wrote in one of the poems composed at Holyhead. But in that hostile country to which he was returning so reluctantly Esther Johnson also lay seriously ill, perhaps dying, while he sat helplessly stranded between the two worlds of London and Dublin. In order to preserve his sanity, and to occupy his time, Swift scribbled hints and notes to himself, composed verse, and began an intimate journal of anxiety and boredom, written as to an imaginary Irish friend, in order, as he said, "to divert thinking" (xi. 402). As was the case several times before in his earlier life, he was once more forced to live the spider's life: "I live in suspense", he wrote, "which is the worst circumstance of human nature" (xi. 399).

In such a trying moment Swift's physical and spiritual condition could not have been worse. He was weary from days of hard riding over the Welsh mountains; he was worried and still upset and queasy after a long attack of the giddiness and

deafness that had for so long afflicted him.¹ His only companion was a blundering Welsh guide named Wat. His hostess at the inn, Mrs. Welch, had been cleaned out of decent food and liquor by the travellers who left on the packet which Swift so barely missed. The autumnal weather was rainy and uncertain, the shortness of the days prevented reading in the five tedious hours before bedtime, and his recent illness, as well as his anxiety about Stella, caused Swift to sleep badly and to have disturbing dreams. Anyone who has ever been stranded, ill and alone, at a seaside resort out of season in evil weather can appreciate some of Swift's difficulties. In his stolen notebook Swift was reduced to noting down anything that came to mind, from trifles to great thoughts. Some of the trifles, such as the bawdy stories or the puns, are of no great moment. Some other entries, such as the germ of Swift's Holyhead poem, "Shall I repine", the reference to "Godfry a Chymist in Southampton Street", and a list of fashionable expressions in use among polite London society, seem to me to show that the jottings in Egerton No. 201 were made between June and September 1727, and that the leaf was once a part of the "Holyhead Journal" which it so closely resembles.

Egerton MS. No. 201, fo. 1a.

1. Flirtation following a woman, playing with her fan &c
it differs verry little from dangling.

¹ The first day's entry in the "Holyhead Journal" contains an interesting sidelight upon Swift's uneasiness and his attempts to doctor himself, or the stale beer he was forced to drink. Swift wrote (xi. 397):

There was Stale beer, and I tryed a receipt of Oyster shells, which I got powderd on purpose; but it was good for nothing.

Actually, in the manuscript, the passage reads, "There was Stale beer, and I tryed Stella's receipt . . .". The word *Stella's* is deliberately cancelled, although still easily read, by the same circular strokes that were used to censor passages in the *Journal to Stella*. Stella's "receipt" may have been learned at Moor Park, from Sir William Temple, since in his essay "Of Health and long Life" (*Works*, 1757, iii. 298), Sir William mentioned fruits as the best cure, but also:

For all illness of the stomach, or indigestions, proceeding from hot and sharp humours; to which my whole family has been much subject, as well as very many of my acquaintance; and, for which, powdered crabs-eyes [parts of a crayfish] and claws and burnt egg-shells are often prescribed as sweetners of any sharp humours. . . .

Swift himself made fun of the concoction in his punning "Dialogue in the Castilian Language" of 1707 (*Corresp.* i. 376).

Frescamenti

Dolina [?] a Turkish dish—forc'd meat stew'd in Cucumb [?]

5. Kabob

Oddity

quite absolute and papist [?]

Clever universal Bp —

Slight nothing, well pronounced, of consequence [?]

Buzzleers

a Lover. masculine or feminine

10. Mr [?] onelyest way

Curcazo stewd beef with rice the first Tastiest [?] dish

Patlegan [?]

Bumblecasters

Arburman a Roaring drunken feller

15. Tim—a nice finicale man in dress & manner

Ralph. Not quite so civil as a Tim

Roger A downright rough fellow

Dangler that dangles & leads out Ladyes, at an Opera

Fustyes—poor contemptible disagreeable Cousins

20. Godfrey a Chymist in Southampton Street
for Drugs to [?] . . . world [?] &c.¹

The first side of the leaf from the Egerton MS. is hard to decipher, since portions of it are written in pencil, now smudged or faded, and the rest, in ink, is carelessly, even hastily, scribbled. The entire page seems to consist of a series of sometimes unrelated single words recorded down the left-hand margin, many of them glossed to the right. In a few instances, however, the definition of a word is not given, or—if supplied—does not fit the work against which it is written. For example, the first word, "Flirtation", in Swift's hand, is reasonably well defined, in a hand *not* Swift's, as "following a woman, playing with her fan &c it differs verry little from dangling". It is clearly related to "Dangler" (l. 18). "Frescamenti", the second word, is not glossed; it is an Italian musical term meaning "freshly, lightly".

¹ Lines 1-2; 4. The definitions to the right of the words listed are written in a hand that is not Swift's.

Lines 7-13. With the exception of the annotations to the right of lines 8-10, which are in ink, this portion of the manuscript is written in pencil.

Line 11. "Tastiest dish" written above the line.

Line 12. Cancelled. May read "Patlego".

Line 18. "Opera" written above the line.

Lines 20-21. Written in pencil

The third word, "Dolina [?]", may be a term from geological science meaning a sink-hole in certain kinds of limestone, a term not inappropriate to the rough Welsh terrain over which Swift rode on his way to Holyhead.¹ It is improperly glossed, in a hand not Swift's, as "a Turkish dish—forc'd meat stew'd in Cucumb [?]" . Nor could this definition apply to the next word, "Kabob" (the modern *cabob*), a Turkish meat dish, but one that is roasted, not stewed; and one made of chunks of whole meat, not chopped (or "forc'd") meat. Perhaps the gloss is meant to go with the word "Curcazo", lower down on the page (l. 11), which Swift defined as "stew'd beef with rice". The last entry, at the bottom of the page, is a barely decipherable note in pencil about "Godfry a Chymist in Southampton Street" whose name and address appear also among the memoranda of things to be done before leaving London, what is now the first page of the "Holyhead Journal". At the head of that list Swift had noted down to purchase "D^r Crofts book of anthems". Perhaps the musical term "Frescamenti" here listed is in some way connected with that purchase, or else with the music of Italian opera which Swift's friend Gay was at this time busily satirizing in *The Beggar's Opera*. Such highly spiced and exotic dishes as "Kabob" and stewed beef with rice seem foreign to Swift's usually plain tastes in food. He may have met such dishes while being entertained by friends in London.² He may also have longed for such dishes while suffering the inadequate and monotonous diet of Mrs. Welch's bare bleak inn at Holyhead.

¹ My friend Dr. Ronald L. Shreve, of the Geology Division, California Institute of Technology, has helped me to trace this word and its meaning. It is also sometimes spelt, *dolinen*, *doline*. It comes eventually from the Slavic *dolina*, valley. A more detailed description of its technical usage may be found in J. V. Howell *et al.*, *Glossary of Geology and Related Sciences*, National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council (American Geological Institute), Publication No. 501, Washington, D.C., 1957, p. 86. The word may also read "Dolma [?]", a meat dish still served in modern Greece.

² See *Corresp.* iii. 339, 344-5, 377. In September 1726, John Gay sent Swift a rhymed recipe for a highly spiced dish of stewed veal. In 1727, when dining with Bolingbroke at Dawley or with the Earl of Peterborow in London Swift might encounter such "foreign" dishes as he here records. William Pulteney, however, in a letter of 3 September 1727, had promised Swift a plainer fare more to his liking: ". . . you shall not have one dish of meat at my table so disguised but you shall easily know what it is."

For the most part, however, and most interestingly, the list of words on this page of Egerton No. 201 makes up an amusing cast of characters, as from a Restoration or eighteenth-century comedy of manners. "Bumblecasters" (l. 13), for example, recalls "Mr. Bumblecase", the name of a bungling lawyer who is a very minor character in Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, a play which Swift had earlier read closely and annotated in a presentation copy inscribed to him from the author.¹ It is also probably the play by Wycherley about which Swift dreamed while at Holyhead.

Swift several times mentions in the "Holyhead Journal" the vivid and disturbing dreams he experienced during this tedious period of waiting. Tuesday, 26 September, was particularly a trying day. Swift's entry for that date is full of "the suspense I am in about my dearest friend . . ." (xi. 398). That night he dreamed a nightmarish dream which he recorded in detail the following morning, Wednesday, 27 September. Swift dreamed that Pope and Bolingbroke were with him in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in the midst of a confused and tumultuous mob among whom were collegians from Trinity College who were said to have broken up the Dean's stall. From the pulpit the unlikely figure of Bolingbroke preached a sermon in which he quoted "Mr. Wycherlye by name, and his Play", an unseemly digression which Swift did not like (xi. 400).

Or, again, among the *dramatis personae* is "Dangler that dangles and leads out Ladyes, at an Opera", a description that

¹ Preserved now among the rare books in Henry Huntington Library as No. 121977. The late Godfrey Davies first called attention to this volume in *Shakespeare Survey*, 8 (1953), p. 55 and n. 4. The recto of the fly leaf is inscribed:

For my worthy, learned and
most Ingenious Friend D^r. J: Swift,
from his humble Servant,

W: Wycherley.

The upper right-hand corner of the title-page reads "J Swift. 1709." Bound in with *The Plain Dealer* (edn. of 1700) are *The Country Wife* (1709), *Love in a Wood, or, St. James's Park* (1694), and *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1702). Swift appears to have read *The Plain Dealer* closely, for his only annotations are in the margins of that play. He has struck or added letters to words on pp. 12, 14, 34. Opposite Manly's speech on p. 7, Act I, sc. I, ll. 330-6: "Hold, hold, Sir, or I shall suspect worse of you, that you have been a Cushion-bearer to some State Hypocrite, and turn'd away by the Chaplains, for out-flattering their Probation Sermons for a Benefice." Swift wrote "very Silly".

echoes the definition, written in another hand at the top of the page, of Swift's word "Flirtation". In June of 1727 Swift had used the new slang word *dangle* about Pope in composing the poem "A Pastoral Dialogue between *Richmond-Lodge* and *Marble-Hill*" (l. 50):

"And here no more will dangle *Pope*."¹

Years later R. B. Sheridan, the grandson of Swift's Irish friend, Dr. Thomas Sheridan, named two of his chief characters "Mr. and Mrs. Dangle" in his play *The Critic* (1779). "Arburman a Roaring drunken feller" and "Tim—a nice finicale man in dress & manner" might be secondary characters in a comedy by someone like Shadwell. "Ralph. Not quite so civil as a Tim" and "Roger A downright rough fellow" might be the insolent or impudent servants from any one of a dozen Restoration comedies.

With the "Fustyes—poor contemptible disagreeable Cousins", however, we may become more precise. That entry, together with some others in the list on this page of Egerton No. 201, establish more conclusively a fact about which we have hitherto had only a suspicion, the fact that Swift sometimes helped John Gay in the composition of plays other than his *Beggar's Opera*. George Faulkner, Swift's Dublin printer, maintained that in 1730 Swift had helped Gay with the writing of one of his later plays, possibly *The Rehearsal at Gotham*.² This page of Egerton No. 201, which was for some time in Faulkner's possession, seems to show that Swift, during his last visit to England in 1727, had noted down a list of words in his pocket notebook that reappeared in somewhat altered form, again as being recorded in the pocket notebook of Miss Friendless, one of the characters in

¹ *Poems*, ii. 409. A Dublin broadside of 1726, "Advice from Fairy-Land", Richmond P. Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry 1700-1750* (Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 329, opens with the lines:

Little Lads of *Dublin Town*,
Dangling in a Dirty Gown. . . .

A longer Dublin poem called "The Dangler" appears in *The Flower-Piece: A Collection of Miscellany Poems, by Several Hands* (London, 1731), pp. 43-4. *O.E.D.* cites Swift's usage in the poem of 1727 referred to above for the first appearance the newly popular word *dangle* in the sense that is meant here.

² William H. Irving, *John Gay: Favorite of the Wits* (Duke University Press, 1940), pp. 280, 303.

John Gay's play, *The Distress'd Wife*, first played on 5 March 1733/4, about fifteen months after Gay's sudden death, and published by the Duke of Queensberry nine years later, in 1743.¹

In Act II, scene viii, of *The Distress'd Wife* Gay has his chief female character, the wilful and arrogant Lady Willit, snatch from the pocket of her ward, the pathetic Miss Friendless, a pocket notebook. The latter, an honest, simple girl, also—like Swift—used her notebook to record some of her pitifully innocent expenses since coming up to London from the country with the Willit family.

In a detached and observant fashion that resembles Swift's method in composing *Polite Conversation*, Miss Friendless had also recorded, pretty much as Swift has done in this missing leaf from the "Holyhead Journal", a list of currently fashionable slang words and expressions in use by Lady Willit and her friends. It does not help Miss Friendless, in this embarrassing situation, that she had applied some of the terms to several of the foppish male characters who were hangers-on about Lady Willit, nor that some of the recorded expressions have previously been used by Lady Willit herself. For example, in earlier scenes from Act II Lady Willit has said, with reference to her husband, "I am *not* to be dangled about whenever and wherever his odious Business calls him" (II, i. 25); or she had called out to a servant, "I am not at home this morning—d'ye hear me?—I mean to no Odd-body; to no Formals" (II, iii. 25); "But be sure you let in no Fustyes" (III, v. 27). As Lady Willit reads from Miss Friendless's stolen notebook she interjects her own scornful remarks between entries, remarks which are omitted from the passage which follows from Act II, scene viii (p. 35):

[Lady Willit reads aloud]: "A Collection of the newest Expressions in Use among the fine Gentlemen and Ladies . . .

Having an Affair with a Lady. Being well with a Lady.—Expressions not fit for a modest Pen to explain.

—*To follow a Woman. That is, when a Man takes all Occasions to show the Town that he follows her. . . .*

A Dangler. One that passes his Time with the Ladies; who says nothing,

¹ *Corresp.* v. 58 and John Gay, *The Distress'd Wife*, A Comedy, by the late Mr. Gay, author of *The Beggar's Opera*. London: Printed for John Ashley, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1743. All page references in what follows are from this edition.

means nothing, and whom nothing is meant to. It puts one in mind of Mr. Flutter.— . . .

—*A Flirt. One that gives himself all the Airs of making Love in Publick; that is of vast Consequence to himself, and to Nobody besides.*

—*Something of Mr. Pert.* . . .

—*A fine Man.*—*Just what I take Mr. Pert to be. A Man who know little and pretends to everything.* . . .

—*A pretty Fellow*—*that is, a fine dress'd Man with little Sense and a great deal of Assurance.*—*Mr. Forward is what one may call a pretty Fellow.* . . .

—*The Man is married;*—*that is, hath an extravagant Wife, is hen-peck'd, and Cuckold, like*—[Lord Willit is meant here]. . . .

—*Fustyes, Formals, and Odd-bodies. That is, her own and her Husband's Relations.* . . .”

It should be apparent at once that several of the expressions from Miss Friendless's "Collection of the newest Expressions in Use among the fine Gentlemen and Ladies" echo in expanded form words which Swift had jotted down in this missing leaf from the "Holyhead Journal" of 1727. "Fustyes", a rare word for which *O.E.D.* cites only Gay's usage here in *The Distress'd Wife*, is glossed as the relatives of Lord and Lady Willit. From Lady Willit's fashionable refusal to see them, earlier in Act II, we may suppose that they were the same as Swift's Fustyes—"Poor contemptible disagreeable Cousins". Miss Friendless's definitions of the fashionable expressions "To follow a Woman", "A Dangler" and "A Flirt" resemble Swift's "Dangler that dangles and leads out Ladyes, at an Opera", and the definition written opposite his first word "Flirtation", "following a woman, playing with her fan &c it differs verry little from dangling", a definition, it must be repeated, that is not in the hand of Swift, and may be in the hand of John Gay. Or again, the definition written by Swift in ink, opposite his words in pencil, "Clever universal Bp—" and "Buzzleers", is "Slight nothing, well pronounced of consequence [?] /a Lover. masculine or feminine". It recalls part of Miss Friendless's definition of "A Dangler", ". . . who says nothing, means nothing, and whom nothing is meant to" and also her definition of "A Flirt", "One that gives himself all the Airs of making Love in Publick; that is of vast Consequence to himself, and to Nobody besides". Swift's "Tim—a nice finicale man in dress & manner" might be called "A pretty Fellow—that is, a

fine dress'd Man with little Sense and a great deal of Assurance";¹ his "quite absolute and papist [?]" may be compared to Miss Friendless's definition of "A fine Man. . . . A Man who knows little and pretends to every thing". Swift's "Oddity" may also be the same as Lady Willit's term "Odd-bodies".

It seems to me, therefore, that Swift and Gay must at sometime have collaborated in working out this scene from *The Distress'd Wife* because of the close resemblance of the unusual and slangily fashionable expressions employed by both. Of course there is bound to be some difference between Swift's carelessly written list of words and their definitions as herein presented and the same list, expanded and polished, as it appears several years later in a scene from a finished comedy by Gay. There is also the possibility that Swift merely noted down some of the terms from reading Gay's play in manuscript (if one existed) in the summer of 1727. I have found no suggestion that such a manuscript existed at that time. However, in the summer of 1727 *The Beggar's Opera* was yet to be produced, and Gay, if he were also working upon another play such as *The Distress'd Wife*, would probably have just begun it and might still be casting about for material. Moreover, there are the facts of Swift's constant fatherly interest in Gay's poems and plays; the tradition which credits him with the suggestion of writing a Newgate pastoral, the germ of *The Beggar's Opera*; and Faulkner's specific claim that in 1730 Swift wrote two acts of a play called *The Players' Rehearsal* which Gay was to finish. There is also Swift's habit in composing of noting down in a pocket notebook expressions both old and new, as, for instance, he seems to have done for parts of *Polite Conversation*. All in all, then, it seems to me that the list of expressions recorded in Egerton No. 201 was intended by Swift as a help to Gay for some future play, in 1727 still to be written, a useful collaboration which Gay developed more fully, sometime before his death in 1732, in this scene from the second act of his *Distress'd Wife*.

¹ On 4 March 1712/13 (*Journal to Stella*, ii. 632) Swift, apparently picking up the expression from Stella, had used the term, "a pretty fellow", about Stella's former suitor, the Rev. William Tisdall. By 1727, it had come to mean finicky or foppish in dress and manner, as well as egotistical in speech.

If such were the case, then this page of Egerton No. 201, to have been of use to John Gay, must have been jotted down, as the entries in pencil and in ink and sometimes by another hand suggest, at various times between June 1727, when Swift said he stole the notebook from Dodington, and mid-September, at which time Swift left London for Holyhead and never saw Gay again. The fact that Swift's pocket notebook and Miss Friendless's were both, in their ways, stolen, that they both recorded petty expenditures in London, is almost as striking a coincidence as the fact that both contained lists of rarely used slang expressions, at that moment in 1727 become, for a time, currently fashionable.

IV

The verso of Egerton No. 201 is written throughout in ink and is entirely in Swift's hand. The first three lines are written in a darker ink, with a broader quill, than those that follow. Two letters are missing where the edge of the page is torn, and the deficiency is supplied in brackets. The references to an inn called the Four Crosses, and to "Scarrons Verses", related as that is to Swift's poem "Shall I repine", composed at Holyhead, suggest that this side of the page was written while on the way to Holyhead, or more likely, while Swift was waiting there.

Egerton MS. No. 201, fo. lb.

1. Call for wat^r. bring up p——s complains it stinks, all
wat^r stinks at sea, drink it, 'fell' feel a t—— why di[d]
you bring a toast with it.

A woman crying opium a dose : desires a minding, for she's poor &c.

5. At the 4 crosses, cut in wood on an old Inns window
Fleres si scires totum unum tua tempora mensu[m]
Rides, cum non sit forsitan una dies.

A woman makes a young husband cuckold ; will she not
make an old one so. If this be done in the green tree,——

10. what will they do in the dry.

A fryar had got 5 nuns with child : his excuse to the
Bp was, Ld then had trusted 5 talents. I have made them 10

- Scarrons Verses on the destructions made by time ; the
Pyramids dest^{roy}, Rivers, Towns Empires &c decay, and
15. shall I repine that a scurvy black wastcoat, when I
worn it 2 years, is out at elbows. 'th' to the vulgar

some poet says vos &c moderatius iste sub umbras
The thought borrowd from Lucretius tu vero dubitabis

Your ice is best [?], your bread is ill bred, and y^r

20. Oranges are not civil.¹

Here then are some of the "severall useful hints", "every thing that comes into my head", that Swift mentioned in his "Journal" as he was noting them down (xi. 398, 399). They seem literally to include almost anything that came to his mind. The nauseous posset cup of the first entry, as well as some others, are scurrilous enough stories to be intended for Dr. Thomas Sheridan.² The Latin verses are from the window of an inn, at which, by tradition, Swift is supposed to have stopped and written some scathing words upon the window-pane about his shrewish hostess.³ The detached philosophy of these Latin lines would have appealed to Swift in his present temper, in much the same way that Scarron's verses on the ravages of time appealed. The general observation of an antifeminist kind, about the woman who cuckolds her husband, is proverbial and sounds like an entry from Swift's "Thoughts on Various Subjects". The story of the friar and five nuns may also have been intended for Sheridan; set off in brackets at the top of the second leaf of the "Holyhead Journal" is a memorandum that reads "(Rememb^r the Abbot when you write to S——)". At any rate, the whole story, with its implied reference to Matthew XXV, was later versified as follows, by someone signing himself "Roscius", for the Prize Epigram contest of *The Gentleman's Magazine* where it was published in March 1735:⁴

¹ Line 2. "fell" deleted.

Line 6. "totum" deleted.

Line 16. "th" deleted.

Line 19. "your" repeated.

² "A toast" (as in the first story) was dried bread floated upon liquor when served.

³ See *Poems*, ii. 403-9, where four versions of Swift's epigram "At the Sign of the Four Crosses" are presented, as in the following:

To the Landlord.

There hang three crosses at thy door:

Hang up thy wife, and she'll make four.

⁴ Vol. v. p. 157. It is worth noticing that, by 1735, the story, when versified, seems to be aimed now at a particular bishop, one who has, in his time, also sired bastards.

Epigram 1.

Five holy sisters buxom, young and fair,
 Were giv'n to fryar Antionio's pious care,
 They edify'd so fast e'er *Sol* had run
 Thro' ten caelestial signs, each bore a son :
Antionio call'd to answer his misdeeds,
 Thus in excuse before his Bishop pleads,
 Five talents, rev'rend Sir, t' improve were giv'n,
 Five more are gain'd, so well my care has thriv'n :
 The Bishop smil'd, and took the fryar to grace,
 For why, 'twas once it seems his lordship's case.

The puns about "civil" Seville oranges and "ill bred" bread were exactly the kind of word play that Swift's one time friend, Sir Richard Steele, had attacked in a *Spectator* paper as a form of the "false wit" of which Swift was so fond.¹ Since ice is ice, no ice can be "best", an English or Irish "bull" of the kind Swift sometimes noted down for his friend Sheridan's collection.²

By far the most important entry on this side of the leaf from the Egerton MS., however, is the passage about Scarron's verses and their relationship to the composition of Swift's autobiographical poem written at Holyhead, "Shall I repine". By establishing the connection between Swift's reference to Scarron here, and the tentative first draft as well as the finished version of that poem, both contained in Forster MS. No. 519, it may be shown that the first leaf of the Egerton MS. is, in fact, a missing page from the "Holyhead Journal". In passing, something of Swift's methods of composing verse may be seen.

¹ Steele's *Spectator*, No. 504 (for Wednesday, 8 October 1712) was aimed mainly at Swift's great game of the "bite", but by way of introduction Steele also attacked the punning at which Swift excelled :

Thus if you talk of a Candel, he [the punster] *can deal* with you ; and if you ask to help you to some Bread, a Punster should think himself *ill bred* if he did not . . .

² See "Swift's Games with Language in Rylands English MS. 659", *B.J.R.L.*, vol. 36, No. 2 (March 1954), pp. 424-32. Faulkner, in his 1735 edition of Swift's *Works* (ii. 372), prefaces the poem of 1727, "A Pastoral Dialogue Between *Richmond-Lodge* and *Marble-Hill*" with a note that may have been supplied by Swift about Marble Hill, Mrs. Howard's estate : "Mr. Pope was the *Contriver of the Gardens, Lord Herbert the Architect, and the Dean of St. Patrick's Chief Butler and Keeper of the Ice House.*" In this latter capacity Swift may have heard some Englishman perpetrate the Irish "bull" of saying "Your ice is best". Since Swift was on the lookout for so-called "Irish bulls" committed by Englishmen, he might then write it down for Sheridan's collection.

George Faulkner, once the owner of this fragment of Swift's writing, noted in his 1735 Dublin edition of Swift's *Works* (ii. 334) that "Scarron hath a larger Poem on the same Subject", a note that Swift himself may have supplied. Swift's remarks here would explain and amplify Faulkner's footnote, and they direct us to the poem by Scarron which Swift had in mind, as well as to a still more famous passage by a far greater poet of antiquity, Lucretius, whose stoic philosophy underlies Swift's poem and Scarron's. As his entry here makes clear, Swift began by remembering Paul Scarron's sonnet beginning "Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains" (1650),¹ what Swift here calls "Scarrons Verses on the destructions made by time". On 19 August 1727, Swift wrote to Mrs. Howard to say that, in spite of his persistent giddiness and deafness, "I have been as cheerful as Scarron" (*Corresp.*, iii. 414). He may have been reading the French poet while at Twickenham and thus would have the sonnet still in mind. It concludes with the lines :

Si vos marbres si durs ont senty son pouvoir,
Dois-je trouver mauvais qu' un meschant pourpoint noir
Qui m'a duré deux ans soit percé par le coude ?

The last two lines Swift appears to have recalled because of his own mood and situation, to have remembered them with accuracy, and to have translated them quite brilliantly by the prose statement, "Shall I repine that a scurvy black wastcoat, when I [have] worn it 2 years, is out at elbows". In the finished version of the six line poem the final thought is altered by toning it down, the "wastcoat" becomes a "cassock", and the whole thought is depersonalized by being put into the mouth of "a Welch Divine" :

Shall I repine
If neither brass nor marble can withstand
The mortal force of Time's destructive hand
If mountains sink to vales, if cities dye
And lessening rivers mourn their fountains dry
When my old cassock says a Welch divine
It out at elbows why should I repine ?

Originally, as Sir Harold Williams has noticed,² the last two

¹ Marcel Cauchie, ed., *Paul Scarron: "Poesies Diverses"* (Paris, 1947), p. 496 and note. The Sonnet is quoted from this edition in what follows.

² *Poems*, ii. 419 and notes.

lines of the finished version of the poem in the "Holyhead Journal" read :

When the old cassock of a Welch divine
Is out at elbows why should he repine

In the "Holyhead Journal" there is also a cancelled and barely decipherable version of the poem in four lines. It is an intermediate and tentative first draft that stands halfway between Swift's translated prose statement from Scarron in the Egerton MS. and the finished poem as it existed with its original two lines concluding in the "Holyhead Journal". I read these four lines as follows :

thredbare
Because my 'shabby' sable wastcoats torn
Full
'At' two years old, or out at ebows [sic] worn
To see the cassock of a poor divine
Worn out at elbows, why should he repine

Here the first two lines are merely a rearrangement in more poetic form of Swift's prose statement in the Egerton MS. about his "scurvy black wastcoat". The last two lines are very close to what Swift originally wrote as the last two lines of the finished version of the poem in the "Holyhead Journal".

The first four lines of the finished poem are very imaginative and generalized amplifications of the remembrance of all of Scarron's sonnet, the thought with which Swift started, about "The destructions made by time", and they appear to have given Swift little trouble. They are perhaps the more poignant because of his own helpless situation at Holyhead. They are made even more so by Swift's recollection of some lines of verse and their philosophic overtones that inform his and Scarron's poems, as Swift noted here in the Egerton MS., "the thought borrowd from Lucretius" eventually, from a famous passage near the end of Book III of *De Rerum Natura*. The passage which Swift had in mind is composed of the eight lines which follow hard upon Lucretius's famous tribute to his master, Epicurus, and they are lines that breathe, in the face of adversity, the stoically detached and truly philosophic outlook, *sub species aeternitatis*, which Swift, in September 1727, was trying so desperately to cultivate :

tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire ?
 mortua cui vita est probe iam vivo atque videnti,
 qui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi
 et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas
 sollicitatemque geris cassa formidine mentem
 nec reperire potes tibi quid sit saepe mali, cum
 ebrius urgeris multis miser undique curis
 atque animi incerto fluitans errore vagaris.¹

¹ *Lucretius : De Rerum Natura*, translated by W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb Classical Library, 1924), p. 242 (Book III, ll. 1045-52). According to an account in his own hand Swift read Lucretius three times in 1697. In 1704 he used a motto from Lucretius on the title page of *A Tale of a Tub*. See D. Nichol Smith, ed., *A Tale of a Tub*, 2nd edn. (Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. lvi, 1. In 1682 Thomas Creech translated the passage as follows :

Then how dar'st *thou* repine to die, and grieve,
 Thou *Meaner Soul*, thou *dead*, e'en whilst alive ?
 That sleep'st and dream'st the most of Life away :
Thy Night is full as rational as thy Day ;
 Still vext with *Cares*, who never understood
 The Principles of *Ill*, nor *use of Good*,
 Nor whence thy *Cares* proceed, but reel'st about
 In vain unsettled thoughts, condemn'd to doubt.