

YELLOW BRICK NEXUS



Gulliver's Travels
by Jonathan Swift

The Federalist Papers
by "Publius"



Nexus

Volume 5

Gulliver's Travels
by Dean Jonathan Swift

and

The Federalist Papers
by John Jay,
Alexander Hamilton
& James Madison

“*Gulliver's Travels*” is a satirical novel written by Jonathan Swift, first published in 1726. The novel follows the adventures of Lemuel Gulliver, a ship's surgeon who finds himself in various strange and fantastical lands after being shipwrecked multiple times. Each land Gulliver visits is inhabited by different creatures and societies that satirize various aspects of human behavior and society. Through his adventures, Gulliver encounters societies of giants, miniature people, talking horses, and more, each serving as a commentary on Swift's own observations and criticisms of the world around him. **(Page 7 – Page 163)**

“*The Federalist Papers*” are a collection of 85 essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay to persuade the citizens of New York to ratify the United States Constitution. These essays were published between 1787 and 1788 in various newspapers under the pseudonym “Publius.” The authors intended to explain the principles and virtues of the new Constitution in order to gain support for its adoption. **(Page 165 – Page 215)**

The Nexus of *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Federalist Papers*

Gulliver's Travels by Jonathan Swift and *The Federalist Papers* by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay are two influential works that have shaped the course of literature and political thought in the Western world. Although these two works may seem like they have little in common, upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that there is a significant nexus between them.

One of the key connections between *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Federalist Papers* is the exploration of human nature and the tendencies toward power and corruption. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift satirizes the human vices of greed, pride, and ambition through the absurd and fantastical worlds that Gulliver encounters on his travels. Similarly, *The Federalist Papers* delve into the flaws and weaknesses of human nature, particularly in relation to government and politics. The authors argue for a strong central government to counteract these natural inclinations toward power and corruption.

Another point of intersection between the two works is the theme of deception and manipulation. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver himself is deceived by the various societies he encounters, each of which presents a distorted view of reality. Similarly, in *The Federalist Papers*, the authors argue for a system of checks and balances to prevent the government from becoming too powerful and potentially deceiving the people. Both works caution against the dangers of manipulation and the importance of vigilance in protecting against tyranny.

Both *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Federalist Papers* critique the idea of utopia and the pursuit of perfection. In Gulliver's travels, the societies he encounters are often presented as flawed and absurd, highlighting the impossibility of achieving a perfect society. Similarly, *The Federalist Papers* argue against the idea of a perfect government, recognizing that human nature is flawed and that there will always be inherent challenges in governing a diverse and populous society.

Furthermore, both works address the issue of identity and individuality. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift explores the idea of identity through Gulliver's encounters with different societies, each of which challenges his sense of self. Similarly, *The Federalist Papers* discuss the importance of individual rights and freedoms in a government, emphasizing the need to protect the rights of the individual against the power of the state. Both works highlight the tension between individuality and conformity in society.

Additionally, both *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Federalist Papers* touch on the theme of satire and irony. Swift uses satire to critique the society and politics of his time, exposing the absurdities and hypocrisies of human behavior. *The Federalist Papers*, while more serious in tone, also use irony and wit to make their arguments more persuasive and engaging. Both works demonstrate the power of satire and irony in challenging conventional wisdom and provoking critical thought.

Moreover, both works address the concept of power and authority. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver grapples with questions of power and authority as he navigates the various societies he encounters, each of which is governed by different systems of government. *The Federalist Papers*, on the other hand, argue for a system of government based on the division of powers and the checks and balances between branches. Both works engage with the complexities of power and authority in society.

Gulliver's Travels and *The Federalist Papers* may seem like disparate works on the surface, but upon closer examination, it becomes clear that there is a significant nexus between them. Both works explore themes such as human nature, deception, manipulation, utopia, identity, satire, and power, offering valuable insights into the complexities of society and governance. By examining these works in tandem, we gain a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the human experience.

Transcriber's Foreward

In remastering Gulliver's Travels from the digital archives of archive.org, we transcribed the text, but, for the sake of clarity, we rearranged the order of many of the features.

We moved "Biographical Notes" from the beginning of the book to the "Appendix". We inserted "Footnote" pages at the end of each "Journey" for improved readability of the main text. The footnotes provide greater clarity and important background information, but most of them are not crucial to enjoying the stories.

Most of the footnotes will remind modern readers of contemporary people, politics and behavior. Many others are simply alternative spellings and grammatical corrections.

Although separated by over three hundred years, the world of Gulliver and the world of modern readers are more alike than they are different in how people think and behave.

In many other ways, Gulliver is a great deal like the legends of Robin Hood. It was no coincidence that Mr Swift presented Gulliver's birthplace as Nottingham, subtly connecting himself to the previous resident of the district.

(Dean) Jonathan Swift spent a great deal of time with relatives and other patrons in Nottinghamshire. Gulliver is very much a *Righteous Rebel and Rogue*, but with a different mix of those characteristics from those of Robin Hood.

Gulliver's visit to Houyhnhnmland remains at the end of the book, but we made it an "Appendix" rather than a chapter of the book. Of the four adventures, the one to Houyhnhnmland contains more of Mr Swift's targeted satire and more examples of the societal and political adjustments for which he was advocating.

We reduced *The Federalist Papers* to a synopsis of each essay that provides its primary defenses for the proposed Constitution, but omits the valuable examples cited by each author.

This format outlines the contents of *The Papers*, but for the sake of clarity, we recommend reading the unabridged version.

Gulliver's Travels
by Jonathan Swift

Transcribed from the work that was re-published by

JOHN WANAMAKER
PHILADELPHIA NEW YORK

1800

PREFACE

Through the kindness of the Rev. Charles Bathurst Woodman, the editor is enabled to offer to the reader some interesting documents respecting the original publication of Gulliver's Travels which have not been hitherto made public.

In the Life of Swift, it has been stated that these Travels were originally designed to form part of a Satire on the Abuse of Human Learning, projected by Swift, Pope, and Arbuthnot conjointly. The plan of the work was probably suggested by the celebrated treatise of Ludovicus Vives, "*De Abusu Literarum*," and Lucian's "*True History*"; and the part of it completed on the original design was published as the *Memoirs of Martimus Scriblerus*.

In the notes to this edition, it has been stated that the first hint of these Travels appears in Scriblerus, also that the pedantic Martin was originally designed to be the hero of the tale, and that Pope was by no means pleased when the erudite scholar was supplanted by the plain, sturdy seaman, Lemuel Gulliver. Having so far deviated from the original plan, Swift perceived that he had a favorable opportunity for assailing his political enemies under the guise of fictitious characters: his own disappointments were aggravated by the sufferings of his friend Bishop Atterbury, who had been exiled by an act of attainder, — a measure of questionable justice at all times, and in this instance equally harsh and unnecessary.

The notes will show that Swift fully availed himself of the opportunity. When the work was completed, he appears to have become alarmed, and anxious to conceal his authorship, for the ministers of the day had shown little scruple in the use of means for crushing a political adversary, and the law of libel was administered with more than ordinary severity.

Some of the artifices which the Dean employed to save himself from the Attorney-General are mentioned in the Life; we shall now show that he at first kept his secret from his publisher. The following is the letter which was sent with the MS. when it was offered for publication.

(Copy)

For Mr. Motte. London,
August 8th, 1726

Sir:

My cousin, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, intrusted me some years ago with a copy of his Travels; whereof that which I here send you is about a fourth part, for I shortened them very much, as you will find.

In my preface to the reader. I have shown them to several persons of great judgment and distinction, who are confident they will sell very well. And although some parts of this and the following volumes, may be thought in one or two places to be a little satirical, yet it is agreed they will give no offense, but in that you must judge for yourself, and take the advice of your friends, and if they or you be of another opinion, you may let me know it when you return these papers, which I expect shall be in three days at furthest.

The good report I have received of you makes me put so great a trust into your hands, which I hope you will give me no reason to repent, and in that confidence, I require that you will never suffer these papers to be once out of your sight.

As the printing these Travels will probably be of great value to you, so as a manager for my friend and cousin, I expect you will give a due consideration for it, because I know the author intends the profit for the use of the poor seamen, and I am advised to say, that two hundred pounds is the least sum I will receive on his account; but if it shall happen that the sale will not answer as I expect and believe, then whatever shall be thought too much, even upon your own word, shall be duly repaid.

Perhaps you may think this a strange way of proceeding to a man of trade, but since I begin with so great a trust to you whom I never saw, I think it not hard that you should trust me as much; therefore if, after three days reading and consulting these papers, you think it proper to stand to my agreement, you may begin to print them, and the subsequent parts shall be all sent you, one after another, in less than a week, provided that immediately upon your resolution to print them, you do within three days, deliver a bank bill of two hundred pounds, wrapped up so as to make a parcel, to the hand from whence you receive this, who will come in the same manner exactly at nine o'clock on Thursday, which will be the 11th instant.

If you do not approve of this proposal, deliver these papers to the person who will come on Thursday.

If you choose rather to send the papers, make no other proposal of your own, but just barely write on a piece of paper that you do not accept my offer.

I am, Sir, your humble servant
RICHARD SYMPSON

On a slip of paper which seems to have been inclosed in the preceding letter, the following postscript appears:

To Mr. Motte, August 13th, 1726.

P. S. — I would have both volumes come out together, and published by Christmas at furthest.

R. SYMPSON

It appears that this communication was made through Mr. Erasmus Lewis, who was intimately connected with Atterbury, and that neither Pope, Gay, nor Arbuthnot were admitted into the secret, though some intimation of it was conveyed to Lord Bolingbroke. Mr. Motte's answer to the proposal, though very business-like, leads to a suspicion that he had penetrated the secret, or at least that he guessed the unknown author to be a person of some importance.

(Copy of Mr. Motte's reply to Sympson's first proposal.)

Sir:

I return you your papers with a great many thanks, and do assure you that since they have been in my custody, I have faithfully deserved the good opinion you expressed of my integrity, but you were much mistaken in the estimate you made of my abilities when you supposed me able in vacation time (the most dead season of the year), at so short notice to deposit so considerable a sum as £200.

By delivering the papers to the bearer, I have put you entirely in the same condition you were in before I saw them, but if you will trust my promise, or accept any security you can contrive or require for the payment of the money in six months, I will comply with any method you shall propose. In the meantime I shall trust to your honor, and promise that what shall appear to be more than the success of it deserves shall be repaid, as you may depend upon a proper acknowledgment, if the success answers or exceeds expectation. I have only to add, that before I received your letter, I had fixed a journey into the country, and wrote to some dealers there to appoint times when I should call upon them, so that I shall be obliged to set out this day sennight at farthest; therefore if you think fit to favor me with any further correspondence, desire I may hear from you as soon as possible.

A considerable delay appears to have intervened, the cause of which is not explained, but it probably arose from Swift's caution, and fear of Walpole's vengeance. His next letter is dated in the spring of the following year. Mr. C. B. Woodman has compared it with other letters of Swift in his possession, and believes it to have been written by the Dean, though in a feigned hand.

(Copy)

These for Mr. Motte, a Bookseller at the Middle Temple Gate, in Fleet Street.

Mr. Motte:

I sent this inclosed by a friend to be sent to you, to desire that you would go to the house of Erasmus Lewis, on Cork Street, behind Burlington House, and let him know that you are come from me; for to the said Mr. Lewis I have given full power to treat concerning my cousin Gulliver's book, and whatever he and you shall settle, I will consent to, so I have written to him. You will see him best early in the morning.

I am your humble servant,

April 27th, 1727. RICHARD SYMPSON

Mr. Motte seems to have lost no time in bringing the engagement to a close, for on the same sheet with the foregoing is the following memorandum in another handwriting:

London, May 4th, 1727

I am fully satisfied.

E. LEWIS

The following fragment of another letter on the same subject shows that the bookseller was anxious to comply with all the requisitions of the author. The beginning is lost.

That the book shall be published within a month after I receive the copy, and if the success will allow it I will punctually pay the money you require in six months. I shall thankfully embrace the offer. The bearer stays for an answer, so that I can only offer a proposal without assigning a reason.

These documents were preserved by Charles Bathurst, Esq., the grandfather of the Rev. Charles Bathurst Woodman, who was originally in partnership with Mr. Benjamin Motte. The Rev. C. B. Woodman, on seeing this new edition of Gulliver's Travels, proffered the copies of these interesting documents to the editor, though personally unknown to him, and the editor takes this opportunity of publicly expressing his thanks for so valuable an edition to Literary History.

Of the editor's own share in this work little need be said.

Many years ago, when studying English History, he obtained access to a valuable collection of books and pamphlets relating to the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges, belonging to a late prelate of the Church of Ireland.

Amongst these was a copy of Gulliver's Travels with MS. notes, identifying some of the characters. These were copied by permission, and at a subsequent period it became a source of amusement to extend and verify them.

In compiling the life of Swift, the editor has not disguised his want of affection for the character of this hero; but though unable to make the biography a eulogy, he has endeavored that it should not become a philippic. There are good points in the worst men, and bad in the best. Human life is the acted allegory of Beauty and the Beast.

W. C. T. London

Contents

A LETTER FROM Captain Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson

Pages 13 and 14

A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT

Pages 15-37

CHAPTER I The Author gives some Account of Himself and family—His first inducements to Travel—He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life — Gets safe on Shore in the Country of Lilliput—Is made a Prisoner, and carried up the Country

CHAPTER II The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the Nobility, comes to see the Author in his Confinement—The Emperor's Person and Habit described — Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language — He gains Favor by his Mild Disposition — His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him

CHAPTER III The Author diverts the Emperor, and his Nobility of both sexes in a very uncommon manner — The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput described — The Author has his liberty granted him upon certain conditions

CHAPTER IV Milendo, the Metropolis of Lilliput described, together with the Emperor's Palace — A conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the affairs of that Empire — The Author offers to serve the Emperor in his wars

CHAPTER V The Author by an extraordinary stratagem, prevents an invasion — A high Title of Honor is conferred upon him—Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for Peace — the Empress's Apartments on Fire by accident, the Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace

CHAPTER VI Of the Inhabitants of Lilliput; their Learning, Laws, and Customs; the manner of educating their children — The Author's way of living in that Country—His Vindication of a great Lady

CHAPTER VII The Author, being informed of a design to accuse him of High Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu — His Reception there

CHAPTER VIII The Author, by a lucky accident finds means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some difficulties, returns safe to his Native Country

FOOTNOTES to Lilliput Pages 38 – 42

Appendix to the Voyage to Lilliput Pages 43 – 45

Ode to Quibus Flestrin, by Titty Tit, Esq Page 47

A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG

Pages 49 - 74

CHAPTER I A great Storm described; the Longboat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country — HE is left on Shore, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's House — His reception, with several accidents that happened there—A description of the Inhabitants

CHAPTER II A description of the Farmer's Daughter — The Author carried to a Market Town, and thence to the Metropolis —The particulars of his Journey

CHAPTER III The Author sent for to Court — The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King—He disputes with his Majesty's great Scholars — An apartment at Court provided for the Author—He is in high favor with the Queen—He stands up for the honor of his own Country — His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf

CHAPTER IV The Country described — A proposal for correcting modern Maps — The King's Palace, and some account of the Metropolis — The Author's way of Traveling — The Chief Temple described

CHAPTER V Several Adventures that happened to the Author — The Execution of a Criminal — The Author shows his skill in Navigation

CHAPTER VI Several contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen — He shows his skill in Music—The King- inquires into the state of England, which the Author relates to him — The King's Observations thereon

CHAPTER VII The Author's love of his Country — He makes a proposal of much advantage to the King, which is rejected—The King's great ignorance in Politics — The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined—The Laws and Military Affairs and parties in the State

CHAPTER VIII The King and Queen make a progress to the Frontiers — The Author attends them — The manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related — He returns to England

**The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch
for the Loss of Grildrig** Page 75

FOOTNOTES to Brobdingnag Pages 77 - 79

A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, ETC

Pages 81 - 104

CHAPTER I The Author sets out on his Third Voyage — Is taken by Pirates — The malice of a Dutchman — His arrival at an Island — He is received in Laputa

CHAPTER II The Humors and Disposition of the Laputians described — An account of their Learning — Of the King and his Court — The Author's reception there — The Inhabitants subject to Fear and Disquietude— An account of the Women

CHAPTER III A Phenomenon solved by modern Philosophy and Astronomy — The Laputians' great Improvement in the latter — The King's method of suppressing Insurrections

CHAPTER IV The Author Leaves Laputa — Is conveyed to Balnibar — Arrives at the Metropolis — A description of the Metropolis and of the Country adjoining — The Author hospitably received by a great Lord —His conversation with that Lord

CHAPTER V The Author permitted to see the Grand Academy of Lagado — The Academy largely described —The Arts wherein the Professors employ themselves

CHAPTER VI A further account of the Academy — The Author proposes some Improvements, which are honorably received

CHAPTER VII The Author Leaves Lagado—Arrives at Maldonada — No Ship ready-- He takes a short Voyage to Glubbubdrib—His reception by the Governor

CHAPTER VIII A farther account of Glubbubdrib — Ancient and modern History corrected

CHAPTER IX The Author returns to Maldonada — Sails to the Kingdom of Luggnagg — The Author confined — He is sent for to Court — The manner of his admittance — The King's great Lenity to his subjects

CHAPTER X The Luggnaggians commended — A particular Description of the Struldbrjigs, with many conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that subject

CHAPTER XI The Author leaves Luggnagg, and sails to Japan—From thence he returns in a Dutch ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England

Appendices to Laputa

Ballad on the South Sea Scheme Page 105 - 107

A South Sea Ballad Page 109

Upon the Horrid Plot Page 111

FOOTNOTES to Laputa Pages 113 - 116

Gulliver's Travels APPENDIX ONE

A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNNHMS

Pages 117 - 144

CHAPTER I The Author sets out as Captain of a Ship — His Men conspire against him, confine him a long time to his Cabin, and set him on Shore in an unknown Land — He travels up into the Country —The Yahoos, a strange sort of Animal, described — The Author meets two Houyhnhnms

CHAPTER II The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his House — The House described—The Author's Reception—The Food of the Houyhnhnms — The Author in distress for want of Meat — Is at last relieved—His manner of Feeding in this Country

CHAPTER III The Author studies to learn the language — The Houyhnhnm, his Master, assists in teaching him —The Language described — Several Houyhnhnms of quality come out of curiosity to see the Author — He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage

CHAPTER IV The Houyhnhnm's notion of Truth and Falsehood — The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master — The Author gives a more particular account of himself, and the accidents of his Voyage

CHAPTER V The Author, at his Master's command, informs him of the State of England—The causes of War among the Princes of Europe — The Author begins to explain the English Constitution

CHAPTER VI A Continuation of the State of England under Queen Anne — The Character of a first Minister of State in European Courts

CHAPTER VII The Author's great love of his native Country — His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, as described by the Author, with parallel cases and comparisons—His Master's Observations upon Human Nature

CHAPTER VIII The Author relates several particulars of the Yahoos — The great Virtues of the Houyhnhnms — The Education and Exercise of their Youth—Their General Assembly

CHAPTER IX A grand Debate at the General Assembly of the Houyhnhnms, and how it was terminated — The Learning of the Houyhnhnms — Their Buildings — Their manner of Burials — The defectiveness of their Language

CHAPTER X The Author's Economy and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms — His great improvement in Virtue by conversing with them — Their Conversations — The Author has notice given him by his Master, that he must depart from the Country — He falls into a Swoon for grief, but submits — He contrives and finishes a Canoe by the help of a fellow-servant, and puts to Sea at a venture

CHAPTER XI The Author's dangerous Voyage — He arrives at New Holland, hoping to settle there — Is wounded with an Arrow by one of the Natives — Is seized and carried by force into a Portuguese Ship — The great civilities of the Captain — The Author arrives in England

CHAPTER XII The Author's Veracity—His design in Publishing this Work—His censure of those Travelers who swerve from the truth — The Author clears himself from any sinister ends in Writing — An objection answered — The method of planting Colonies — His native Country commended — The right of the Crown to those countries described by the Author is justified — The difficulty of conquering them — The Author takes his last leave of the Reader; proposes his manner of living for the future; gives good advice, and concludes

FOOTNOTES to Houyhnhnms Pages 145 - 146

Gulliver's Travels Appendix Two

Biographical Notice Pages 147 - 162

Gulliver's Travels Appendix Three

Swift's Influence in America Page 163

A LETTER FROM
Captain Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1727

I hope you will be ready to own publicly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent urgency, you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect account of my travels, with directions to hire some young gentleman of either university to put them in order, and correct the style, as my cousin Dampier did by my advice, in his book called “A Voyage Round the World”.

But I do not remember I gave you power to consent that anything should be omitted, and much less that anything should be inserted; therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce everything of that kind, particularly a paragraph about her majesty Queen Anne, of most pious and glorious memory, although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human species. But you, or your interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my inclination, so it was not decent to praise any animal of our composition before my master Houyhnhnm; and, besides, the fact was altogether false; for to my knowledge, being in England during some part of her majesty’s reign, she did govern by a chief minister; nay, even by two successively, the first whereof was the lord of Godolphin, and the second the lord of Oxford; so that you have made me say the thing that was not. Likewise, in the account of the academy of projectors, and several passages of my discourse to my master Houyhnhnm, you have either omitted some material circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a manner, that I do hardly know my own work.

When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a letter, you were pleased to answer, “That you were afraid of giving offense; that people in power were very watchful over the press, and apt not only to interpret, but to punish everything which looked like an innuendo (as I think you call it)”. But, pray, how could that which I spoke so many years ago, and at above five thousand leagues distance, in another reign, be applied to any of the Yahoos who now are said to govern the herd; especially at a time when I little thought or feared the unhappiness of living? Have not I the most reason to complain, when I see these very Yahoos carried by Houyhnhnms in a vehicle, as if they were brutes, and those the rational creatures? And, indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a sight was one principal motive of my retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in relation to yourself, and to the trust I reposed in you. I do, in the next place, complain of my own great want of judgment, in being prevailed upon, by the entreaties and false reasonings of you and some others, very much against my own opinion, to suffer my Travels to be published. Pray bring to your mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the motive of public good, that the Yahoos were a species of animals utterly incapable of amendment by precepts or example; and so it has proved; for, instead of seeing a full stop put to all abuses and corruptions, at least in this little island, as I had reason to expect; behold, after six months’ warning, I cannot learn that my book has produced one single effect according to my intentions. I desired you would let me know by a letter when the party and faction were extinguished; judges learned and upright; pleaders honest and modest, with a tincture of common sense, and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law books; the young nobility’s education entirely changed; the physicians banish-ed; the female Yahoos abounding in virtue, honor, truth, and good sense; courts and levees of great ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; wit, merit, and learning rewarded; all disgracers of the press, in prose and verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirst with their own ink. These, and a thousand other reformatations, I firmly counted upon by your encouragement; as, indeed, they were plainly deducible from the precepts delivered in my book. And It must be owned, that seven months were sufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which Yahoos are subject, If their natures had been capable of the least disposition to virtue or wisdom.

Yet, so far have you been from answering my expectation in any of your letters, that, on the contrary, you are loading our carrier every week with libels, and keys, and reflections, and memories, and second parts; wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great state folks ; of degrading human nature (for so they have still the confidence to style it), and of abusing the female sex. I find, likewise, that the writers of those bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be the author of my own Travels, and others make me author of books to which I am wholly a stranger.

I find, likewise, that your printer has been so careless as to confound the times and mistake the dates of my several voyages and returns, neither assigning the true year, nor the true month, nor day of the month ¹, and I hear the original manuscript is all destroyed since the publication of my book; neither have I any copy left. However, I send you some corrections which you may insert if ever there should be a second edition; and yet I cannot stand to them, but shall leave that matter to my judicious and candid readers to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our sea Yahoos find fault with my sea language as not proper in many parts nor now in use². I cannot help it. It was my first voyage, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the sea Yahoos are apt, like the land ones, to become newfangled in their words, which the latter change every year; insomuch as I remember, upon each return to my own country, their old dialect was so altered that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any Yahoos come from London, out of curiosity, to visit me at my house, we neither of us are able to deliver our conceptions in a manner intelligible to the other.

If the censure of the Yahoos could in any way affect me, I should have great reason to complain that some of them are so bold as to think my book of Travels a mere fiction out of mine own brain, and have gone so far as to drop hints that the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos have no more existence than the inhabitants of Utopia.

Indeed, I must confess that as to the people of Lilliput, Brobdingrag (for so the word would have been spelt, and not erroneously, Brobdingnag), and Laputa, I have never yet heard of any Yahoo so presumptuous as to dispute their being or the facts I have related concerning them, because the truth immediately strikes every reader with conviction. And is there less probability in my account of the Houyhnhnms or Yahoos when it is manifest as to the latter, there are so many thousands, even in this country, who only differ from their brother brutes in Houyhnhnmland, because they use a sort of jabber and do not go naked?

I wrote for their amendment and not their approbation. The united praise of the whole race would be of less consequence to me than the neighing of those two degenerate Houyhnhnms I keep in my stable, because from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some virtues without any mixture of vice.

Do these miserable animals presume to think that I am. So degenerated as to defend my veracity? Yahoo as I am, it is well known through all Houyhnhnmland, that, by the instructions and example of my illustrious master, I was able, in the compass of two years (although I confess with the utmost difficulty), to remove that infernal habit of lying, shuffling, deceiving, and equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very souls of all my species, especially the Europeans.

I have other complaints to make upon this vexatious occasion, but I forbear troubling myself or you any further.

I must freely confess, that, since my last, some corruptions of my Yahoo nature have revived in me, by conversing with a few of your species, and particularly those of my own family, by an unavoidable necessity, else I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the Yahoo race in this kingdom; but I have now done with all such visionary schemes forever.

April 2, 1727

---That the original copy of these Travels was altered by the person through whose hands it was conveyed to the press is a fact; but the passages of which Mr. Gulliver complains in this letter are to be found only in the first edition; for the Dean, having restored the text wherever it had been altered, sent the copy to the late Mr. Motte by the hands of Mr. Charles Ford. This copy has been exactly followed in every subsequent edition, except that printed in Ireland by Mr. Faulkner, the editor of which, supposing the Dean to be serious when he mentioned the corruption of dates, and yet finding them unaltered, thought fit to alter them himself. There is, however, scarce one of these alterations in which he has not committed a blunder; though while he was thus busy in defacing- the parts that were perfect, he suffered the accidental blemish of others to remain. - Hawksworth.

---See the account of the storm at the commencement of the second voyage

A Voyage to Lilliput ¹

CHAPTER I

My father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire; I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel College in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies, but the charge of maintaining me, although I had very scant allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do.

When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a year to maintain me at Leyden; there I studied physic two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful to me in long voyages. Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master, Mr. Bates, to be surgeon² to the *Swallow*, Captain Abraham Pannell, commander; with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts.

When I came back I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Miss Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate Street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion².

But my good master Bates dying two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren.

Having, therefore, consulted with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages, for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune.

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

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with

my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter Lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors, but it would not turn to account.

After three years' expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the *Antelope*, who was making a voyage to the South Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the northwest of Van Dieman's Land.³

By an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labor and ill food: the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of the summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship, but the wind was so strong that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labor while we were in the ship.

We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was upset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell, but conclude they were all lost. For my part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, but could feel no bottom, but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening.

I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awakened it was just daylight.

I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir; for, as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards; the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes.

I heard a confused noise about me; but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time, I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when, bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with bow and an arrow in his hands and a quiver at his back.⁴ In the meantime I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud that they all ran back in fright, and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt by the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground.

However, they soon returned, and one of them who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out in a shrill but distinct voice,

“Hekinah degul!” The others repeated the same words several times, but I then knew not what it meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness; at length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground, for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches.

But the creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout in a very shrill accent, and after it had ceased I heard one of them cry aloud, *“Tolgo phonac”*; when in an instant I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and besides they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body (though I felt them not) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand.

When this shower of arrows was over, I fell groaning with grief and pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley larger than the first, and some of them attempted with spears to stick me in the sides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: and as for the inhabitants, I had reason

to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows; but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased; and about four yards from me, over against my right ear, I heard a knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work; when turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it: from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not a syllable.⁵ But I should have mentioned, that before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *“Langro debul san”* (these words and former were afterwards repeated and explained to me). Whereupon, immediately about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the string that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak.

He appeared to be of middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a page that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator, and I could observe many periods of threatenings, and other promises, pity, and kindness.⁶ I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness; and being almost famished with hunger, not having eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me that I could not forbear showing my impatience (perhaps against the strict rules of decency), by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to signify that I wanted food.

He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which about a hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste.

There were shoulders, legs and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I ate them by two or three at a mouth full, and took three loaves at a time about the bigness of musket-balls. They supplied me as fast as they could, showing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite.

I then made another sign that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me; and being a most ingenious people^ they slung

up, with great dexterity, one of their largest hogsheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top ; I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more: but they had none to give me.

When I had performed these wonders they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times as they did at first, "*Hekinah degul*".

They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogsheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, "*Borach mevolah*": and when they saw the vessels in the air there was a universal shout of "*Hekinah degul*". I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honor I made to them—for so I interpreted my submissive behavior—soon drove out these imaginations.

Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality, to a people who had treated me with so much expense and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature as I must appear to them.

After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from his imperial majesty. His excellency, having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue, and producing his credentials under the signet royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution: often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant, whither it was agreed by his majesty in council that I must be conveyed.

I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his excellency's head for fear of hurting him or his train), and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty.

It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hands in a posture to show that I must be carried as a prisoner. However, he made other signs, to let me understand that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds; but again,

when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave them tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased.

Upon this the hurgo and his train withdrew with much civility and cheerful countenances. Soon after I heard a general shout, with frequent repetitions of the words, "*peplom selan*"; and I felt great numbers of people on my left side relaxing the cords to such a degree that I was able to turn upon my right, and to ease myself with making water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the people; who, conjecturing by my motion what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the torrent, which fell with such noise and violence from me.

But, before this, they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment, very pleasant to the smell, which, in a few minutes, removed all the smart of their arrows.

These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheads of wine.

It seems that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the ground, after my landing, the emperor had early notice of it by an express; and determined in council that I should be tied in the manner I have related (which was done in the night while I slept), that plenty meat and drink should be sent me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city. This resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion.

However, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous; for supposing these people had endeavored to kill me with their spears and arrows while I was asleep I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might have so far aroused my rage and strength as to have enabled me to break the strings wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

These people are most excellent mathematicians and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics by the countenance and encouragement of the emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince has several machines fixed on wheels, for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men of war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred

carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had.

It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, seven feet long and four feet wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which, it seems, set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me, as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords of the bigness of pack-thread, were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs.

Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords, by many pulleys fastened on the poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast⁷. All this I was told; for, while the operation was performing I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor.

Fifteen hundred of the emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and a half high, were employed to draw me toward the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopped awhile, to adjust something that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the engine, and, advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently; whereupon they stole oft unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my awaking so suddenly.

We made a long march the remain-ing part of the day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next morning at sunrise we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city gates about noon.

The emperor and all his court came out to meet us; but his great officers would by no means suffer his majesty to endanger his person by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopped there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom, which, having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was according to the zeal of those people looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge.

The great gate fronting to the north was about four feet high and almost two feet wide, through which I

could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground; into that on the left side the king's smith conveyed four-score and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six-and-thirty padlocks.

Over against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret at least five feet high. Here the emperor ascended, with many principal lords of his court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above an hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and, in spite of my guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand, at several times, who mounted my body, by the help of ladders.

But a proclamation was soon issued to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up, with as melancholy a disposition as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people at seeing me rise and walk are not to be expressed.

The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long and gave me not only the liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semi-circle, but being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in and lie at my full length in the temple.

CHAPTER II

When I found myself on my feet I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect.

The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the enclosed fields, which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a stang⁸, and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theater. I had been for some hours extremely tired, however, so I crept into my house and shut the door after me. But it was of no use to try to get rid of so much company. I had to come out again, and, to get a little change by stepping backwards and forwards as far as my chains allowed.

I soon found that the emperor had descended from the tower and advancing on horseback towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though very well-trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hind feet; but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount.

When he alighted he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He

ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicles upon wheels till I could reach them. I took these vehicles and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest.

The empress and young princes of the blood of both sexes, attended by many ladies, sat at some distance in their chairs; but, upon the accident that happened to the emperor's horse, they alighted, and came near his person, which I am now going to describe.

He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court; which alone enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip, an arched nose; his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three-quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity and generally victorious.⁹

For the better convenience of beholding him I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off; however, I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and the European; but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest.

He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose: it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad; so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers, but neither of us could understand a syllable.

There were several of his priests and lawyers present (as I conjectured by their habits), who were commanded to address themselves to me: and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca; but all to no purpose.

After about two hours the court re-tired, and I was left with a strong guard to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble; who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house,

whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ringleaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper as to deliver them bound into my hands; which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach. I took them all in my right hand, put five of them into my coat pocket and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive.

The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially v/hen they saw me take out my pen knife; but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.¹⁰ Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time the emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds¹¹ of the common measures were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; a hundred and fifty of their beds, seven together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double; which, however, kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone.

By the same computation they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships. As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied, and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued if his imperial majesty had not provided by several proclamations and orders of state against this inconvenience. He directed that those who had already beheld me should return home and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house without license from the court; whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees. In the meantime the emperor held frequent councils to debate what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me.

They apprehended my breaking loose, that my diet would be very expensive and might cause a famine.¹²

Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered that the stench of so large a carcass might produce a plague in the metropolis and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations several officers of the army went to the door of the great council-chamber and two of them being admitted, gave

an account of my behavior to the six criminals above mentioned; which made so favorable an impression in the breast of his majesty and the whole board in my behalf that an imperial commission was issued out, obliging all the villages, nine hundred yards round the city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread, and wine and other liquors; for the due payment of which his majesty gave assignments upon his treasure:—for this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes: seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expense.

An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics, who had board-wages allowed for their maintenance and tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered that three hundred tailors make me a suit of clothes, after the fashion of the country; that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language; and, lastly, that the emperor's horses, and those of the nobility and troops of guards should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me.

All these orders were duly put in execution: and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language; during which time the emperor frequently honored me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me.

We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learned were to express my desire “that he would be pleased to give me my liberty”; which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was “that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *“lumos kelmin pesso desmar Ion emposo”*; that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom: however, that I should be used with all kindness and he advised me “to acquire, by my patience and discreet behavior the good opinion of himself and his subjects.”

He desired “I would not take it ill if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answer the bulk of so prodigious a person.”

I said, “His majesty should be satisfied, for I was ready to strip myself and turn up my pockets before him.” This I delivered, part in words, and part in signs.

He replied, “that, by the laws of the kingdom I must be searched by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; and he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice as to trust their persons in my hands; that whatever they took from me should be returned when I left the country or paid for at the rate which I would set upon them.”

I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat pockets and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs and another secret pocket, which I had no mind to be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse.

These gentlemen, having pen, ink, and paper about them, made an exact inventory of everything they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is word for word as follows:¹³

“Imprimis, In the right coat pocket of the great Man-mountain (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*) after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we, the searchers, were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a-sneezing several times together. In his right waistcoat pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable and marked with black figures; which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court; wherewith we conjecture the Man-mountain combs his head, for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket on the right side of his middle cover (so I translate *ranfufolo*, by which they meant my breeches), we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber larger than the pillar, and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of.”

“In the left pocket another engine of the same kind. In the smaller pocket on the right side, were several round flat pieces of white and red metal, of different bulk; some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped; we could not, without difficulty, reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket.”

“One of them was covered and seemed all of a piece; but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was enclosed a prodigious plate of

steel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to show us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines.”

“He took them out of their cases, and told us, that in his own country his practice was to shave his beard with one of these and cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter; these he called his fobs; they were two large slits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly.”

“Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain, with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain, which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal; for, on the transparent side we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we would touch them till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put his engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise, like that of a water-mill; and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal or the god that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did anything without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said it pointed out the time for every action of his life.”

“From the left fob he took out a net almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and which served him for the same use; we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.”

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

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

When the inventory was read over to the emperor he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars.¹⁴ He first called for my cimeter, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the meantime he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops (who then attended him) to surround me at a distance, with their

bows and arrows just ready to discharge; but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his majesty.¹⁵ He then desired me to draw my cimeter, which, although it had got some rust by the seawater, was in most parts exceeding bright.

I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise; for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the cimeter to and fro in my hand. His majesty, who was a most magnanimous prince, was less daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the scabbard and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six feet from the end of my chain.

The next thing he demanded was one of the hollow iron pillars, by which he meant my pocket pistols. I drew it out, and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it; and charging it only with powder, which, by the closeness of my pouch happened to escape wetting in the sea (an inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide), I first cautioned the emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of the cimeter. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself for some time.

I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner as I had done my cimeter, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark and blow up his imperial palace into the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as draymen in England do a barrel of ale.

He was amazed at the continual noise that it made and the motion of the minute hand, which he could easily discern; for their sight is much more acute than ours; he asked the opinion of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may imagine without my repeating; although, indeed, I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-book. My cimeter, pistols, and pouch, were conveyed in carriages to his majesty’s stores, but the rest of my goods were returned to me.

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

CHAPTER III

My gentleness and good behavior had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favorable disposition. The natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down and let five or six of them dance on my hand; and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide-and-seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking the language.

The emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceeded all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two feet and twelve inches from the ground.

Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practiced by those persons who' are candidates for great employments and high favor at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education.

When a great office is vacant, either by death or disgrace (which often happens), five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on a rope; and whoever jumps the highest without falling succeeds in the office.

Very often the chief ministers them selves are commanded to show their skill, and to convince the emperor that they have not lost their faculty.

Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the straight rope, at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the summerset¹⁶ several times together upon a trencher fixed on a rope which is no thicker than a common pack-thread in England¹⁷.

My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer¹⁸ the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the ministers themselves are commanded to show their dexterity! for, by contending to excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far that there is hardly one of them who has not received a fall, and some of them two or three.

I was assured that, a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall¹⁹.

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress, and the first minister, upon particular occasions.

The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons whom the emperor has a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favor.

The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the new or old world.

The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backward and forward, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and the first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself.

Whoever performs his part with the most agility and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-colored silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles.²⁰

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the emperors huntsmen, upon a large courser, took my foot, shoe and all, which was indeed a prodigious leap.

I had the good fortune to divert the emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly, and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet and a half square, I took four other sticks and tied them parallel at each corner, about two feet from the ground; then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect, and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum, and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side.

When I had finished my work I desired the emperor to let a troop of the best horse, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plane. His majesty approved of the proposal and I took them up one by one, in my hands, ready mounted and armed, with the proper officers to exercise there.

As soon as they got into order they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and in short, discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld.

The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the emperor was so much delighted that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up and give the word of command; and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the empress herself to let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage, when she was able to take a full view of the whole performance.

It was my good fortune that no ill-accident happened in these entertainments; only once a fiery horse, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and, his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and, covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up.

The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder, but the rider got no hurt, and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not trust to the strength of it any more in such dangerous enterprises.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his majesty that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round, as wide as his majesty's bed-chamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for it lay on the grass without motion, and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found that it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the man-mountain; and if his majesty pleased they would undertake to bring it with only five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence.

It seems, upon my first reaching the shore after our shipwreck, I was in such confusion that before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture, breaking by some accident, which I had never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I entreated his imperial majesty to give orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and the nature of it; and the next day the wagoners arrived with it, but not in

a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim, within an inch and a half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes, these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile, but the ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure the emperor, having ordered that part of his army which quarters in and about his metropolis, to be in readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a singular manner.

He desired that I would stand like a colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four abreast, and the horse by sixteen, with drums beating, colors flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency with regard to my person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes, as they passed under me; and to confess the truth, my breeches were at that time in so ill a condition that they afforded some opportunities for laughter and admiration.²¹

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty that his majesty at length mentioned the matter, first in the cabinet and then in a full council, where it was opposed by none except Skyresh Bolgolam, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy²². But it was carried against him by the whole board and confirmed by the emperor. That minister was galbet or admiral of the realm, very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs, but of a morose and sour complexion.

However, he was at length persuaded to comply, but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries and several persons of distinction.

After they were read I was demanded to swear to the performance of them, first, in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the methods prescribed by their laws, which was, to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and my thumb on the tip of my right ear.

But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public²³

Golbasto Momarem Evlane Gurdilo Shefin Mully Ully Gue, most mighty emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand blustrogs (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the center, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime Majesty proposes to the Man-mountain, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which, by a solemn oath, he shall be obliged to perform:

- *The Man-mountain shall not depart from our dominions without our license under our great seal.*
- *He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time, the inhabitants shall have two hours' warning to keep within doors.*
- *The said Man-mountain shall confine his walks to our principal highroads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a meadow or field of corn.*
- *As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.*
- *If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the Man-mountain shall be obliged to carry, in his pocket, the messenger and horse a six day's journey once in every moon, and return the said messenger back (if so required) safe to our imperial presence.*
- *He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.*
- *That the said Man-mountain shall, at his time of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other royal buildings.*
- *That the said Man-mountain shall in two moons' time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.*
- *Lastly, That, upon his solemn oath to observe the above articles, the said Man-mountain shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favor.*

*Given at our palace at Belfaborac,
the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign.*

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great cheerfulness and content, although some of them were not so honorable as I could have wished; which proceeded

wholly from the malice of Skyresh Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty.

The emperor, himself, in person, did me the honor to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his majesty's feet; but he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious expressions, which to avoid the censure of vanity I shall not repeat, he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favors he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The reader may please to observe, that in the last article of the recovery of my liberty, the emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after, asking a friend at court how they came to fix on that determined number, he told me that his majesty's mathematicians, having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it exceeded theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact economy of so great a prince.

CHAPTER IV

Liberty having been granted me, my first request was for permission to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the emperor readily allowed me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses.

The people had notice, by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which compassed it, is two feet and a half high and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses maybe driven safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stepped over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sidelong through the two principal streets only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with utmost circumspection, to avoid treading on any stragglers who might remain in the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses at their own peril.

The Garret windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run across and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of

holding five hundred thousand souls. The houses are from three to five stories; the shops and markets well provided. The emperor's palace is in the center of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is enclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distance from the building.

I had his majesty's permission to step over the wall; and the space being so wide between that and the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts; in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches wide.

Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, though the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time the emperor had a great desire that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down with my knife some of the largest trees in the royal park, about a hundred yards distance from the city.

Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court, I stood upon one stool and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stepped over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first one after me with a hooked stick.

By this contrivance I got into the inmost court; and, lying down upon my side, I applied my face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that can be imagined.

There I saw the empress and the young princess, in their several lodgings, with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.²⁴

But I shall not anticipate the reader with further descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press; containing a general description of this empire, from its first erection, through a long series of princes; with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning and religion, their plants and animals; their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions as happened to the

public or to myself during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they style him) for private affairs, came to my house attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court.

I offered to lie down that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty; said "he might pretend to some merit in it;" but however added, "that if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For," said he, "as flourishing a condition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labor under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion, by a most potent enemy, from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of Tramecksan and Slamecksan²⁵ from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alleged, indeed, that the high-heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this may be, his majesty has determined to make us only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all officers in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe: and particularly that his majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a drurr than any of his court (drurr is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch). The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink nor talk with each other."

"We compute the Tramecksan, or high heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high heels; at least, we can plainly discover that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gait²⁶"

"Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states in the world inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain that a hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty's domains; besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu. Which two mighty powers have,

as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons past.”

“It began upon the following occasion: it is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present majesty’s grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers; whereupon the emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of the eggs.²⁷”

“The people so highly resented this law that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account: wherein one emperor lost his life²⁸ and another his crown²⁹. “These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy; but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by the law of holding employments.”

During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the *Blundercral*, which is their *Alcoran*.

This, however, is thought to be mere strain upon the text; for the words are these: that all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end; and which is the convenient end seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man’s conscience, or at least iii the power of the chief magistrate to determine.³⁰

Now, the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the emperor of Blefuscu’s court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war had been carried on between the two empires for six-and-thirty moons, with various success; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours.³¹

“However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us; and his imperial majesty, placing great confidence in your valor and strength, has commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you.”

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the emperor; and to let him know, “that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders.³²

CHAPTER V

Lilliput is part of the continent, but the empire of Blefuscu is an island situated to the northeast of the main-land, from which it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy’s ships, who had received no intelligence of me; all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our emperor upon all vessels whatsoever.

I communicated to his majesty a project I had formed of seizing the enemy’s whole fleet; which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbor, ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plumbed; who told me, that in the middle, at high water, it was seventy glumgluffs deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty glumgluffs at most.

I walked toward the northeast coast, over against Blefuscu; where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my small perspective glass, and viewed the enemy’s fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men-of-war, and a great number of transports; I then came back to my house, and gave orders (for which I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron.

The cable was about as thick as pack-thread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting-needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason, I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook.

Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and putting off my coat, shoes and stockings, walked into the sea in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high water. I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground. I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy were so frightened when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls.

I then took my tackling, and fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face; and besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessaries a pair of spectacles in a private pocket,

which, as I observed before, had escaped the emperor's searches. These I took out and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows, many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to discompose them.

I had now fastened all the hooks, and taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprise remained. I therefore let go the cord, and leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving about two hundred arrows in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men-of-war after me.

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run adrift, or fall foul on each other; but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair as is almost impossible to describe or conceive.³³

When I had got out of danger, I stopped awhile to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The emperor and his whole court stood on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in a hostile manner: but he was soon eased of his fears; for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud voice, "Long live the most puissant king of Lilliput!" This great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a nardac upon the spot, which is the highest title of honor among them³⁴

His majesty desired I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of the enemy's ships into his ports.

And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a viceroy; of destroying the Big-endian exiles, and

compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world.

But I endeavored to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice: and I plainly protested "That I would never be an instrument of bringing a free people into slavery." and when the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the ministry was of my opinion.³⁵

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

There were six ambassadors with a train of about five hundred persons; and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have, at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valor and generosity, invited me to that kingdom in the emperor their master's name, and desired me to show them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

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

Accordingly, the next time I had the honor to see our emperor, I desired his general license to wait on the Blefuscudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could perceive. in very cold manner: but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain

person, that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection from which I am sure my heart was wholly free.

And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts ministers.³⁶

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

The reader may remember, that when I signed those articles upon which I recovered my liberty, they were some which I disliked, upon account of their being too servile; neither could anything but an extreme necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a nardac of the highest rank in that empire, such offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the emperor (to do him justice) never once mentioned them to me.

However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his majesty, at least as I then thought, a most signal service. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which, being suddenly awakened, I was in some kind of terror. I heard the word *burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the emperor's court, making their way through the crowd, entreated me to come immediately to the palace, where her imperial majesty's apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a maid of honor, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a moonshine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without tramping on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me

with them as fast as they could; but the flame was so violent that they did little good.

I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I, unfortunately, left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leather jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable; and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a presence of mind unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an expedient.

I had the evening before drunk plentifully of a most delicious wine called *glimigrim* (the Blefuscudians called it *flunec*), but ours is esteemed the better sort, which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world, I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, by laboring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine, which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now daylight, and I returned to my house without waiting to congratulate with the emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his majesty might resent the manner by which I had performed it: for, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital for any person, of what quality so-ever to make water within the precincts of the palace.

But I was little comforted by a message from his majesty, "that he would give orders to the grand judiciary for passing my pardon in form" which, however, I could not obtain; and I was privately assured, that the empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use; and, in the presence of her chief confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge.³⁷

CHAPTER VI³⁸

Quarrels and intrigues are so common in courts, that I need not dwell on the calumnies devised by the envious to prejudice the mind of the empress still further against me, and I shall therefore turn to a different subject. Although I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet, in the meantime, I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas.

As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees; for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and a half, more or less; their geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest,

which to my sight were almost invisible ; but nature had adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view; they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And to show the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with a cook pulling a lark, which is not so large as a common fly; and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk.

Their tallest trees are about seven feet high; I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched.

The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages has flourished in all its branches among them; but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor, from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant, from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downward, because they hold an opinion that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again; in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their resurrection be found ready standing on their feet.

The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine, but the practice still continues, in compliance to the vulgar.

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed.

The first I shall mention, relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but if the person accused makes his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial; the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death: and out of his goods or lands the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he has been at in making his defense; or, if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favor, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with death for they allege, that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves,

but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit, where fraud is permitted and connived at, or has no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage.

I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he had received by order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his majesty by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of trust, the emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defense the greatest aggravation of the crime; and truly I had little to say in return, farther than the common answer, that different nations had different customs for, I confess I was heartily ashamed.³⁹

Although we call rewards and punishments the two hinges upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof that he has strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, has a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality and condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use: he likewise acquires the title of snil-pall, or legal, which is added to his name, but does not descend to his posterity.

And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account that the image of Justice in their courts of judicature, is formed with six eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to show that she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities: for, since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understanding is fitted to some station or other; and that Providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age: but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power; the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service of his country, except where a course of study is required.

But they thought the want of moral virtues was so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such

dangerous hands as those of a person so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance, in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practice of a man whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply, and to defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of Providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority under which he acts.

In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the original institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions, into which these people are fallen by the degenerate nature of man. For, as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favor and distinction by leaping over sticks and creeping under them, the reader is to observe that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the emperor now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.⁴⁰

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

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children differ extremely from ours. For since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together, like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness toward their young proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reason, they will never allow that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting, him or to his mother for bringing him into the world: which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts, in their love encounters, were otherwise employed.⁴¹

Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is, that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children; and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and laborers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated, when they come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities and both sexes.

They have certain professors well skilled in preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own capacities, as well as inclinations. I shall first say something of the male nurseries, and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth, are provided with grave and learned professors, and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honor, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country; they are always employed in some business, except in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions, consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together, in smaller or greater numbers, to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice, to which our children are subject.

Their parents are suffered to see them only twice a year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting; but a professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweetmeats, and the like.

The pension from each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the emperor's officers.

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

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practiced by chambermaids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country.

Thus the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools as the men, and despise all personal ornaments beyond decency and clean-ness:

neither did I perceive any difference in their education made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust; and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is that among people of quality, a wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable companion, because she cannot always be young.

When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home, with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without the tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurseries of the females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of work proper for their sex, and their several degrees; those intended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old, the rest are kept until eleven.

The meaner families who have children at these nurseries are obliged, beside their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child and therefore all parents are limited in their expenses by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjust, than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them on the public.

As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition: and these funds are always managed with good husbandry and the most exact justice.

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

And here it may, perhaps, divert the curious reader, to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during a residence of nine months and thirteen days.

Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park.

Two hundred seamstresses were employed to make me shirts and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get, which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The seamstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my mid-leg, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a

third measured the length of the cord with a rule an inch long. Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern; they fitted me exactly.

Three hundred tailors were employed in the same manner to make me clothes; but they had another contrivance for taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plumb-line from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat; but my waist and arms I measured myself.

When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them) they looked like the patchwork made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a color.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals, in little convenient huts built about my house, where they and their families lived, and prepared me two dishes apiece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table; a hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat, and some with barrels of wine and other liquors slung on their shoulders, all of which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner by certain cords, as we draw a bucket up a well in Europe.

A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three bites of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do the leg of a lark.

Their geese and turkeys I usually ate at a mouthful, and I confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his imperial majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired "that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness," as he was pleased to call it, "of dining with me."

They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state, upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord high-treasurer, attended there likewise, with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but ate more than usual, in honor to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master.

That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the moroseness of his nature. He represented to the emperor “the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent, below par; that I had cost his majesty above a million and a half of sprugs (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle) ; and, upon the whole, it would be advisable in the emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me.”⁴²

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer on my account.

The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her Grace had taken a violent affection for my person, and the court scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodgings. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous falsehood, without any grounds, farther than that her Grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship.

I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young daughter, and some particular acquaintance; but this was common to many other ladies of the court; and I still appeal to my servants round, whether they at any time saw a coach at my door without knowing what persons were in it. On those occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the the door; and after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for, if there were six horses, the postilion always unharnessed four), and place them on a table, where I had fixed a movable rim quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents; and I have often had four coaches and horses at once on my table, full of company, while I sat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and when I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table.

I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers (I will name them, and let them make the best of it), Clustril and Drunlo to prove that any person ever came to me incognito, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his imperial majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this particular, if it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned⁴³, to say nothing of my own; though I then had the honor to be a nardac, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows that he is only a glum-glum, a title inferior

by one degree, as that of a marquise is to a duke in England; yet I allow, he preceded me in right of his post.

These false informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treasurer show his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the emperor himself, who was, indeed, too much governed by that favorite.

CHAPTER VII

An account of my leaving this kingdom may properly be prefaced by some particulars of a private intrigue which had been for two months forming against me. I had been hitherto, all my life, a stranger to courts for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable, at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty), came to my house very privately at night, in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance.

The chairmen were dismissed: I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat pocket; and giving orders to a trusty servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, he desired

I would hear him with patience, in a matter that highly concerned my honor and my life. His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me:

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

“You are very sensible that Skyresh Bolgolam (galbet, or high admiral) has been your mortal enemy, almost ever since your arrival. His original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory as admiral is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap, the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious on account of his lady, Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles⁴⁴ of impeachment against you, for treason and other capital crimes.”

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

“Out of gratitude for the favors you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of articles; wherein I venture my head for your service.”

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN

ARTICLE I

Whereas, by a statute made in the reign of his imperial majesty Calin Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whosoever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall be liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason; notwithstanding, the said Quinbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under color of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the same apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in the case provided, etc., against the duty, etc.

ARTICLE 2

That the said Quinbus Flestrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province, to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and put to death not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy; he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most suspicious, serene, imperial majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people.⁴⁵

ARTICLE 3

That whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu, to sue peace in his majesty's court, he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants of a prince who was lately an open enemy to his imperial majesty, and in an open war against his said majesty.

ARTICLE 4

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

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

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

“Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did, and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated.”

He said the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world that perhaps the most honorable board might think him partial; however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please spare your life, and only give orders to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived that, by this expedient, justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world applaud the lenity of the emperor,

As well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honor to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his majesty; that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemy's fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.⁴⁶

This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam, the admiral, could not preserve his temper; but rising up in fury, said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor: that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in her majesty's apartment (which he mentioned with horror),

might, at another time raise an inundation by the same means, to drown the whole place; and the same strength which enabled you to bring over the enemies fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back: that he had good reasons to think you were a Big-endian in your heart; and, as treason begins in the heart before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

The treasurer was of the same opinion: he showed to what straits his majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes, was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowls, after which they fed the faster and grew sooner fat; that his sacred majesty and the council, who are your judges, were, in their own consciences, fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law.⁴⁷

But his imperial majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter⁴⁸

And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected, concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you will grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished: and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his majesty's subjects might, in two or three days, cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cartloads, and bury it in distant parts, to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

“Thus by the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting, except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the empress, was perpetually instigated by her majesty to insist upon your death, she having borne perpetual malice against you, on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her apartment.

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

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

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

It was a custom introduced by this prince and his ministry (very different, as I have been assured, from the practice of former times), that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favorite, the emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness as qualities known and confessed by the whole world.

This speech was immediately published throughout the kingdom;⁴⁹ nor did anything terrify the people so much, as those encomiums on his majesty's mercy; because it was observed that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent: Yet as to myself, I must confess having never been designed for a courtier, either by birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favor of this sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial; for, although I could not deny the facts alleged in the several articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies.

Once, I was strongly bent upon resistance; for, while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by I remembering the oath I had made to the emperor, the favors I had received from him, and the high title of Nardac he conferred upon me.

Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself that his majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.⁵¹

At last I fixed upon a resolution for which it is probably I may incur some censure, and not unjustly, for I confess I owe the preserving of mine eyes, and consequently my liberty to my own great rashness and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts and their methods of treating criminals less obnoxious than myself, I should, with great alacrity and readiness, have submitted to so easy a punishment⁶⁵. But hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his imperial majesty's license to pay my attendance upon the emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend, the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay.

I seized a large man-of-war, tied a cable to the prow, and lifting up the anchors, I stripped myself, put my clothes (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and drawing it after me, between wading and swimming, arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me; they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name.

I held them in my hands till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know I there waited his majesty's command. I had an answer in about an hour, "that his majesty, attended by the royal family, and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me."

I advanced a hundred yards. The emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty's and the empress' hands. I told his majesty, "that I was come according to my promise, and with the license of the emperor my master, to have the honor of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince;" not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power, wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapped up in my coverlet.⁵²

CHAPTER VIII

Three days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed about half a league off in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship: whereupon I returned immediately toward the city, and desired his imperial majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat. I found the tide had driven it still nearer.

The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stripped myself, and waded till I came within a hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it.

The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the fore part of the boat, and the other end to a man-of-war; but I found all my labor to little purpose; for, being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forward as often as I could with one of my hands; and the tide favoring me, I advanced so far that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground.

I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was no higher than my armpits; and now the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and them to nine of the vessels which attended me: the wind being favorable, the seamen towed, and I shoved, until we arrived within forty yards of the shore, and waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and by the assistance of two thousand men with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under, by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel.

I told the emperor "that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place whence I might return into my native country; and begged his majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up; together with his license to depart;" which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard⁵³ of any express relating to me from our emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his imperial majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the license he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when the ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with the copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu, “the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no farther than with the loss of mine eyes; that I had fled from justice; and if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of nardac and declared a traitor.” The envoy farther added, “that in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected that his brother of Blefuscu would give orders to have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor.”⁵⁴

The emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to consult, returned an answer consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, “that, as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making the peace.

That, however, both their majesties would soon be made easy; for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given orders to fit up, with my own assistance and direction; and he hoped, in a few weeks, both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance.”

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput, and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had passed; offering me at the same time (but under the strictest confidence) his gracious protection if I would continue in his service; wherein although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due acknowledgments for his favorable intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that “since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself on the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the emperor at all displeased; and I discovered, by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.”⁵⁵

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed.

Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen folds of their strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables, by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, by the seashore, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows, for greasing my boat, and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber trees for oars and masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his majesty’s ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his majesty’s commands, and to take my leave. The emperor and royal family came out of the palace; I lay down on my face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the empress and young princes of the blood.

His majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred sprugs apiece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with carcasses of a hundred oxen and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready-dressed as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country and propagate the breed; and to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay and a bag of corn.

I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the emperor would by no means permit; and, besides a diligent search into my pockets, his majesty engaged my honor “not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire.”

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the twenty-fourth day of September, 1701, at six in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at south-east, at six in the evening, I descried a small island about half a league to the northwest.

I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee side of the island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some refreshment and went to my rest. I slept well, and as I conjecture, at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night.

I ate my breakfast before the sun was up, and heaving anchor, the wind being favorable, I steered the same course that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket-compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the northeast of Van Diemen’s Land.

I discovered nothing all that day; but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had by my computation made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the southeast; my course was due east. I hailed her, but could get no answer; I gained upon her, for the wind slackened.

I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spied me, then hung out her ancient, and discharged a gun. It is not easy to express the joy I was in, upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September twenty-sixth; but my heart leaped within me to see her English colors. I put my cows and sheep into my coat pockets and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchantman returning from Japan by the North and South seas; the captain, Mr. John Biddel, of Deptford, a very civil man and an excellent sailor. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees south; there were about fifty men in the ship; and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindness and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in a few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent⁵⁶ had disturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity.

I then showed him the gold given me by the emperor of Blefuscu, together with his majesty's picture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses of two hundred sprugs each, and promised when we arrived in England to make him a present of a cow, and a sheep, big with young. I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part.

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

The short time I continued in England I made considerable profit by showing my cattle to many persons of quality and others; and before I began my second voyage I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woolen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces.⁵⁷

I stay but two months with my wife and family, for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortunes.

My eldest uncle John had left me an estate in land near Epping of about thirty pounds a year, and I had a long lease of the Black Bull in Fetter Lane, which yielded me as much more; so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish.

My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar school and a towardly child. My daughter Betty (who is now well married and has children) was then at her needlework. I took leave of my wife and boy and girl with tears on both sides, and went on board the *Adventure*, a merchant ship of three hundred tons, bound for Surat, Captain John Nicholas, of Liverpool, commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the Second Part of my travels.

FOOTNOTES
A Voyage From Lilliput

1) Gulliver's Travels were originally designed to form part of a satire on the Abuse of Human Learning, projected by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. In their joint publication the "Memoirs of Martinus Scribberus", the sketch of the work is thus given by Pope:

"It was in the year 1669, that Martin set out on his travels. Thou wilt certainly be very curious to know what they were. It is not yet time to inform thee; but what hints I am at liberty to give I will.

Thou Shalt know, then, that in his first voyage he was carried by a prosperous storm to a discovery of the ancient Pygmean empire.

That in his second, he was happily shipwrecked on the land of the Giants, the most humane people in the world.

That, in his third, he discovered a whole kingdom of philosophers, who govern by the mathematics; with whose admirable schemes and projects he returned to benefit his own country; but had the misfortune to find them rejected by the envious ministers of Queen Anne, and himself sent treacherously away.

And hence it is that in his fourth voyage he discovers a vein of melancholy, proceeding almost to a disgust of his species; but above all, a mortal detestation of the whole flagitious race of ministers, and a final resolution not to give in any memorial to the Secretary of State, in order to subject the lands he discovered to the crown of Great Britain.

Now, if by these hints the reader can help himself to a farther discovery of the nature and contents of these travels, he is welcome to as much light as they afford him; I am obliged by all the ties of honor not to speak more openly."

Pope, however, appears to have been displeased at the substitution of Lemuel Gulliver for Martinus Scribberus; he adds rather ill-naturedly;

"But if any man shall see such very extraordinary voyages, which manifest the most distinguishing marks of a philosopher, a politician, and a legislator, and can imagine them to belong to a surgeon of a ship, or captain of a merchantman, let him remain in his ignorance"

Swift himself thus announces the approaching appearance of the work in a letter to Pope dated Dublin, September 29th, 1725: "I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my Travels, In four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a printer shall be found bold enough to venture his ears."

The existence of a nation of pigmies was firmly believed in ancient times. The diminutive race is mentioned by Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny, and even by some of the earlier modern travelers. The following account is from Ctesias, who was contemporary with Xenophon:

"In the middle of India there are black men called pigmies, using the same language as the other Indians; they are very little, the tallest of them being but two cubits, and most of them but a cubit and a half high.

They have very long hair, reaching down to their knees and lower; and a beard larger than any man's. After their beards are grown long they wear no clothes, but the hair of their head falls behind, a great deal below their hams, and that of their beard before comes down to their feet; then laying their hair thick all about their body, they afterwards gird themselves, making use of their hair for clothes.

They are flat-nosed and ill-favored. Their sheep are like lambs, and their oxen and asses scarce as big as rams, and their horses and mules, and all their other cattle, not bigger.

Three thousand of these pigmies are household troops in the service of the king of India. They are good archers. They are very just, and use the same laws as the Indians do."

Some of the old commentators on the Bible translated the word Gammachia, pigmies, and it is so rendered in the Vulgate.

"This circumstance," as Sir Thomas Browne remarks, in his Enquiries into Vulgar Errors, "tended greatly to confirm the popular belief in the existence of this fabulous race."

Viewed as a mere fiction, the account of Lilliput did not appear so extravagant in Swift's days as it does in ours. Every one has heard the story of the Irish bishop, a very learned man, who, having read the voyage to Lilliput, said that "there were some things in it which he could not believe."

After the publication of the Travels, Swift was much amused to find that Gulliver was a real name, and that a Mr. Jonathan Gulliver was a member of the House of Representatives in Boston. An American writer adds that this Jonathan deemed it necessary to disclaim publicly all connection with Lemuel.

2) Swift and Defoe are unrivalled in the art of introducing trifling and minute circumstances which give an air of reality to their fictitious narratives. In Gulliver's early history, as in that of Crusoe, persons are casually mentioned of whom we hear nothing more.

Gulliver's uncle, like Crusoe's brother, only comes on the stage to disappear again forever. This is quite contrary to the usual course of romance writers, who rarely introduce a personage or an incident that does not in some way aid the development of the plot.

Sir Walter Scott suggests that Swift probably imitated Defoe in this particular, but the ideal character of Gulliver naturally led the Dean to introduce these petty particulars. He designed to portray Gulliver as a kind of second Dampier, uniting the homely sense and prejudices of a true-born Englishman to the acquired wisdom of a life of adventures. There is a sailor's bluntness and frankness in everything that Gulliver tells us of himself and family; the occasional minuteness and even coarseness of the personal details are faithfully taken from the journals of the early English voyagers, whose accounts of their discoveries are strangely blended with the most trifling particulars respecting their food, clothing, etc.

The character of Gulliver is that of a thorough English sailor; his education at Leyden did not raise him too high above the rude tars with whom he mingled, and we always find his learning brought forward with difficulty and by an effort, while his mother-wit and sailor's courage are present in every emergency.

3) This island was first discovered A. D. 1633, by Abel Janson Tasman, a Dutch navigator, who called it Van Diemen's Land, after the governor of Batavia, by whom he had been sent to examine the Southern Ocean. Tasman's narrative was very loose and inaccurate so that Swift might people the seas which that navigator traversed with any creatures he pleased.

4) This incident is taken from Philostratus.

"The pigmies", he says, "were anxious to revenge the death of Antaeus, and having found Hercules napping in Libya, they mustered up all their forces against him. One phalanx assaulted his left hand, but against his right hand, that being the stronger, two phalanxes were appointed. The archers and slingers besieged his feet, admiring the hugeness of his thighs; but against his head, as the arsenal,

they raised batteries, the king himself taking his post there. They set fire to his hair, put reaping-hooks in his eyes: and that he might not breathe, fixed doors to his mouth and nostrils. But all the execution that they could do was only to awaken him; and when this was done, deriding their folly, he gathered them all up into his lion's skin and carried them (Philostratus thinks) to Euristhenes."

5) Moore has made a very amusing- use of this incident, in an ode to Sir Hudson Lowe, which is too good to be passed over with a mere reference.

Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Hudson Low,
(By name, and ah! by nature so),
As thou art fond of persecutions;
Perhaps thou'st read, or heard repeated,
How Captain Gulliver was treated,
When thrown among the Lilliputians,

6) In the excitement that followed the Revolution, public speaking became more common in England than it had ever been before, and several of the Whig lords rendered efficient service to the cause of the Hanoverian succession, by their speeches at county meetings.

Swift despised and hated these itinerant orators, to whose exertions the overthrow of his party v/as mainly owing, and it is probable that in this description he alludes to some particular leader of the Whig party who was remarkable for his addresses to popular assemblies.

Sir Robert Walpole after his expulsion from Parliament was an active agitator among the Whigs, and was not less formidable to Harley and Bolingbroke, outside the walls of the House of Commons, than he had been as a leader of parliamentary opposition.

7) The caution of the Lilliputian courtiers is probably designed to ridicule the overacted solicitude by which the ministers of George I affected to protect the King from the plots of the Jacobites. The Tories who hastened to greet the King on his landing were either refused admittance or harshly dismissed. "Lord Harcourt, who arrived with a patent for the peerage of the Prince of Wales, was abruptly dismissed; the Duke of Ormond, who was hastening to Greenwich, was forbidden to appear in the royal presence; and Lord Oxford, who had shown more joy in proclaiming the King than his friends thought respectful towards the late Queen, was barely admitted in the crowd to kiss the King's hand."—Lord F. Russell's *Affairs of Europe*. vol. 1, p. 308

8) An old word for perch, sixteen feet and a half. These small woods were therefore eight feet and a quarter.

9) There can be little room for doubting that in the description of the emperor of Lilliput, Swift dimly shadowed forth some leading traits in the character of George I. The points of direct resemblance, however, for obvious reasons, are very few; it is only by collecting all the incidents recorded of the Lilliputian emperor, that we find out his general similarity to the first monarch of the House of Brunswick. The following account of George I will enable the reader to discover the most prominent points of identity in the two portraits:

"George I ascended the English throne in his fifty-fifth year, when men are usually more disposed to acquiesce in the settled routine than venture on novel and perhaps troublesome experiments. Moreover, the natural disposition and understanding of the King were not of a kind at any period of his life to carry him out of the established orbit. He was a person of as simple tastes as appearance. In England he was a stranger; his home being Hanover. He naturally inclined to the seclusion of a private station, being shy and reserved in public, but easy and facetious among his intimates. During the fourteen years of his government of the electorate, he had acquired the reputation of a just and circumspect prince, who well understood and steadily

pursued his own interests, and would have been well content to end his days in the petty sovereignty of his ancestors, had not the ambition of others been greater than his own. Punctual in business, he was more dull than indolent: and the plain honesty of his temper, joined with the narrow notions of a low education, made him look upon his acceptance of the crown as an act of usurpation, which was always uneasy to him. He had no taste for literature or the arts, and was very parsimonious."

—Wade's *British History*, p. 334

10) Gulliver's history as a courtier at Lilliput is obviously designed to represent the administration of Harley and Bolingbroke, at the close of Anne's reign. Whatever were the other demerits of that cabinet, it must be confessed that they showed more tenderness to the party by which they were opposed, and greater clemency to political delinquents than their successors. This forbearance especially in the case of libelers, is very ingeniously intimated by Gulliver's granting pardon to the malicious archers. Swift used frequently to remark that Anne was the only sovereign during whose entire reign no one suffered the penalties of high treason.

11) Gulliver has observed great exactness in the just proportion and appearance of the objects thus lessened.—Orrery

12) The parsimony of George I has been already noticed; "avarice was so predominant in him. that he would raise no troops to secure the succession."

—Wade's *British History*, p. 334

13) This inventory is designed to ridicule the reports of the several committees of secrecy appointed by Walpole to investigate the presumed designs of the Jacobites, and especially the secret negotiations said to be connected with the treaty of Utrecht. It was said of these reports, that the committees "found nothing suspicious but what they could not understand," to which it was added, that "as they understood nothing, they suspected everything."

14) The searches made by the Whigs in the houses of persons suspected of Jacobitism and Popery, are scarcely caricatured in this whimsical account of the examination of Gulliver's pockets. Sir Walter Scott has given a similar description in his *Peveril of the Peak*, where the emissaries of the House of Commons, puzzled by the ordinary habits of life in the higher ranks, were disposed to find treason in a laced waistcoat, and Popery in a hooped petticoat.

Writing in Ireland, Swift was likely to find an ample supply of searchers and alarmists, for the Cromwellian settlers derived their title to their estates from no better source than the English suspicion and hatred of Popery, were anxious to keep alive such feelings, and catalogues of suspicious articles, even more ludicrous than those in the text, may be found in the records of Dublin Castle.

One of the objects of suspicion in those days, wearied out by constant equisitions to surrender his firearms, and by the repeated annoyances which he had experienced, sent his poker, tongs, and shovel to the arsenal, and took a regular receipt for them from the officer in command.

15) There is exquisite humor in these formal preparations for security, which escaped the notice of the persons they were intending to intimidate. The satire is directed against the precautions taken by the Whig ministers on receiving information of real or pretended plots of the Jacobites, particularly in May, 1722, when "orders were issued to all military officers to repair to their respective commands. General Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops into the west of England. Messengers were sent, to Scotland to secure some suspected persons; and the States of Holland were directed to keep in readiness the guarantee troops to be sent to England in case of need."—Wade, 369.

At the same time a proclamation was issued commanding

all papists to depart from London and Westminster, and for confining papists to their habitations.

16) Summerset or Summersault a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heels over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet. —Orig.

17) Flimnap is intended for Sir Robert Walpole, from whom Swift at first had some expectations of promotion; when these were disappointed, the Dean became the bitter enemy of the minister, and his hatred was aggravated by the zeal with which Walpole persecuted Swift's great favorites, Lord Bolingbroke and Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

In an epistle to the poet Gay, the Dean gives the following bitter description of Walpole.

And first to make my observation right,
I place a statesman full before my sight,
A bloated minister in all his gear.
With shameless visage and perfidious leer;
Two rows of teeth arm each devouring jaw,
And ostrich-like his all digesting maw.
My fancy drags this monster to my view.
To show the world his chief reverse in you.
Of loud unmeaning sounds a rapid flood
Rolls from his mouth in plenteous streams of mud
With these, the courts and senate-house he plies,
Made up of noise, and impudence, and lies.

And again, alluding to Walpole's continuance in office under George II, and Sir Spencer Compton's refusal to form an administration.

I knew a brazen minister of state.
Who bore for twice ten years the public hate;
In every mouth the question most in vogue
Was, "When will they turn out this odious rogue?"
A juncture happen'd, in his highest pride;
While he went robbing on, old master died."
We thought there now remained no room to doubt;
His work is done, the minister must out.
The court invited more than one or two;
Will you. Sir Spencer? or will you? or you?
But not a soul his office durst accept;
He owed his preservation to his crimes,
The candidates observed his dirty paws,
Nor found it difficult to guess the cause;
But when they smelt such foul corruptions round him
Away they fled, and left him as they found him.

18) Mr. Secretary Stanhope was most probably intended by Reldresal; he supplanted Walpole in 1717, and adopted a more temperate and conciliatory course towards the Tories and Jacobites, with whom Swift was connected.

19) Walpole was compelled to resign his office in 1717, through the intrigues of Lord Sunderland and Mr. Secretary Stanhope, who, following the King to Hanover sought and found a favorable opportunity of supplanting Walpole and Townshend in the royal favor. After an exclusion of four years, which seemed politically "to have broken his neck," he was restored by his interest with the Duchess of Kendal, the favorite mistress of George I; and this was "the king's cushion that lay accidentally on the ground and weakened the force of the fall.

20) The revival of the Order of the Bath by Sir Robert Walpole, in 1726, as a cheap means of gratifying political adherents, was fair game to a satirist like Swift. Walpole was distinguished not only by the Order of the Bath, but by that of the Garter, which was conferred on him in 1726.—Cox's Life of Walpole.

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that blue is the cognizance of the Garter, red of the Bath, and green of the Thistle.

21) The author probably intends to ridicule the partiality of George I for reviews and military pageantry. Hogarth's celebrated picture of the "March of the Guards to Finchley" belongs to a much later period, but its satiric touches would probably have been as applicable in the reign of the first as of the second George

22) Skyresh Bolgolam is most probably the Duke of Argyle, who was greatly incensed at Swift's attacks on the Scottish nation, in his "Public Spirit of the Whigs." In an unfinished poem on himself, the Dean alludes to the proclamation offering three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of this pamphlet, which was issued at the demand rather than the request of the Duke of Argyle, he conducted all the Scotch lords in a body to demand an audience of the Queen and seek reparation.

The Queen incensed, his services forgot.
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot;
Now through the realm a proclamation spread.
To fix a price on his devoted head,
While, innocent, he scorns ignoble flight;
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight.

See also the character given of Argyle in Swift's notes on Macky — Appendix to Lilliput, I.

23) In the description of Lilliput, in the following articles, Gulliver seems to have had England more immediately in view. In his description of Blefuscu, he seems to intend the people and kingdom of France.—Orrery.

It is perhaps in order to qualify this parallel that Swift has changed the relative description of the two countries, and made Lilliput the continent, Blefuscu the island.—Sir Walter Scott

24) The character of the empress is manifestly taken from that of Queen Anne—good-natured, but easily duped.

25) High-church and Low-church, or Whig and Tory. As every accidental difference between man and man in person and circumstances is by this work rendered extremely contemptible, so speculative differences are shown to be equally ridiculous, when the zeal with which they are opposed and defended too much exceeds their importance.—Hawkesworth

26) George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, was at this time vehement in his hostility to his father's ministers: like all heirs-apparent since the accession of the house of Brunswick, he chose his political friends among the parties most opposed to the court, calling ground him both the discontented Whigs and the displaced Tories.

We learn from a letter of Mrs. Howard, that the Prince was greatly amused at this description of his hobbling between the two political parties. On his accession to the throne, which took place shortly after the publication of Gulliver, he was easily induced by Queen Caroline to continue Sir Robert Walpole at the head of affairs: an unexpected change, which greatly disappointed Swift and his friends.

27) The controversy respecting the sacraments between the Romish and Anglican churches is humorously portrayed in the dispute about the proper end of breaking an egg. The emperor who cut his fingers is manifestly Henry VII, who was so sadly perplexed about the sacrament of marriage and the difficulty of divorce.

28) Charles I

29) James II

30) Swift appears to intimate that the great point at issue between the Romish and English churches, the sacrament of the Eucharist, has been decided too positively by the theologians on both sides; he intimates that the question of transubstantiation should be left open to the faith of the

receiver, in accordance with the memorable lines of Queen Elizabeth.

Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread, and brake it;
And what that word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

31) This description of the Big-Indian war is designed for the wars of the revolution, which were terminated by the peace of Utrecht, and the enumeration of the losses and slaughter occasioned by the war is intended to vindicate Harley and Bolingbroke for bringing it to a conclusion.

32) Gulliver, without examining the subject of dispute, readily engaged to defend the emperor against invasion, because he knew that no such monarch had a right to invade the dominion of another, for the propagation of truth.—Hawkesworth.

33) The capture of the Blefuscuian fleet is intended to represent the efforts made by the Tory ministry to secure the naval supremacy of England in the negotiations at Utrecht, and particularly their success in procuring the demolition of Dunkirk, and the cession of several French colonies.

34) The treaty at Utrecht was at first very popular with the English people; and it was regarded by Queen Anne as a blessing to England and to Europe. The promised demolition of Dunkirk, and its surrender as a guarantee to General Hill were regarded not only by the court, but by the nation, as an advantage scarcely inferior to what the capture of the Blefuscuian fleet would have been to the emperor of Lilliput.

Swift wrote a song on the event, which was very popular.

The following were the concluding stanzas:

Our merchant ships may cut the line.
And not be snapped by privateers;
And commoners who love good wine.
Will drink it now as well as peers;
Landed men shall have their rent.
Yet our stocks rise cent, per cent.;
The Dutch from hence shall no more millions drain;
We'll bring on us no more debts.
Nor with bankrupts fill gazettes;
And the Queen shall enjoy her own again.
The towns we took ne'er did us good;
What signified the French to beat?
We spent our money and our blood
To make the Dutchmen proud and great;
But the lord of Oxford swears
Dunkirk never shall be theirs;
The Dutch-hearted Whigs may rail and complain;
But true Englishmen may fill
A health to General Hill,

For the Queen now enjoys her own again.

35) The conquest of France was seriously believed feasible by many friends of the Duke of Marlborough; but when the siege of such a petty fortress as Bouchain occupied the greater part of one campaign, the best English statesman saw there was little chance of such a consummation. Mesnager, if the memoirs published in his name be not a forgery, declares that the Tories used to annoy the Whigs by asking, "How long will it take to conquer France at the rate of a Bouchain per summer?" In the debates on the treaty of Utrecht (A.D. 1713), the advocates for peace had decidedly the best of the argument, so that Gulliver is justified in saying that "the wisest were of his opinion."

36) The charge raised against Gulliver for his innocent intercourse with the ambassadors from Blefuscu alludes to the chief accusation brought against Bolingbroke (A. D. 1715), which was his treasonable intimacy with the French ministers during the negotiations of the peace of Utrecht. Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate

peace, and his clandestine intercourse with the agents of Louis, were, however, of such a suspicious nature, that he did not think it prudent to wait for his trial.

37) Swift, in description of the empress's hostility on account of his indecency, and her forgetfulness of the essential service which he had rendered alludes to the prejudice of Queen Anne, who was more indignant at the immorality of his writings than grateful for his support of her favorite ministry. The Queen had actually nominated Swift to an English bishopric, when Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, went to the Queen, showed her the "Tale of a Tub," and declared that the author of such a work could not be made a prelate without bringing disgrace on the church. Hence Swift, in the lines on himself complains that he is

By an old pursued,
A crazy prelate and a royal prude.

And again

York is from Lambeth sent to show the Queen,
A dangerous treatise writ against the spleen,
Which, by the style, the matter, and the drift,
'Tis thought could be the work of none but Swift.

The Archbishop was eagerly seconded by the Duchess of Somerset, whom Swift had bitterly lampooned. The Queen could never afterwards be persuaded to revoke her determination, and Swift thenceforth always spoke of her in terms of contempt.

38) In a German critique on Gulliver's Travels, this chapter has been rather severely censured, because the author has neglected to give any particulars of the Lilliputian climate and its effects; a source from which the renewer avers, that many circumstances might have been deduced which would give an additional plausibility to the narrative. It must be observed, however, in Swift's justification, that this neglect of observing climate and its peculiarities is common to all the early narratives of voyagers, and also that for the purposes of his satire it was necessary to identify the Lilliputian climate with that of England.

39) An act of Parliament has been since passed, by which some breaches of trust have been made capital.

40) The author alludes to the prostitution of honors, and the lavish distribution of titles, in the reign of James I.

41) Sir Walter Scott is of opinion that this idea is borrowed from Cyrano Bergerac's Voyage to the Moon, where he finds a people with whom it was the rule that parents should obey their children.

42) Sir Robert Walpole was often reproached with false economy --- no uncommon topic of railing against the Whigs. The parsimonious disposition of George I. has been already noticed.

43) The Dean probably alludes to the inquiries made into Bolingbroke's intrigues by the Committee of 1715, and particularly that which he was suspected of having formed with Madame Tencln. There are few passages in this work, which can compete for grave and quiet humor with Gulliver's earnest defence of the lady's character.

44) These articles are designed to ridicule the articles of impeachment against Oxford, Ormond, and Bolingbroke, in 1715.

There were many who believed that, in consequence of the numerous victories obtained by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene it would have been possible for the Allies to have marched to Paris, and compelled Louis XIV. to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a large portion of his dominion. Swift so far yields to popular prejudice as not to contest the possibility of such an exploit (here typified by the complete conquest of Blefuscu); he takes the higher ground of national justice, and insinuates that if the Allies had violated the integrity of France they would have been guilty of

the very crime which furnished a pretext for their inveterate hostility to Louis XIV.

The frivolous and vexatious character of some of the articles of Gulliver's impeachment is scarcely an exaggeration of the trivial nature of many of the charges brought against Queen Anne's last cabinet by the Walpole administration.

45) A lawyer thinks himself honest, if he does the best he can for his client, and a statesman, if he promotes the interests of his country; but the Dean here inculcates a higher notion of right and wrong, and obligations to a larger community.—Hawksworth.

46) The pretended merciful counsel of Reldresal, who proposed a commutation of punishment, which, however, was worse than death, appears to be a satire on those Whigs who proposed that the Earl of Oxford and Bolingbroke, instead of being "impeached for high treason, and thus brought in peril of life, should only be accused of high misdemeanors, which would justify their being deprived of title and estate, and sentenced to civil death.

47) There is something- so odious in whatever is wrong, that even those whom it does not subject to punishment, endeavor to color it with an appearance of right; but the attempt is always unsuccessful, and only betrays a consciousness of deformity by showing a desire to hide it. Thus the Lilliputian court pretended a right to dispense with the strict letter of the law to put Gulliver to death, though by the strict letter of the law only he could be convicted of a crime; the intention of the statute not being to suffer the place rather to be burnt than so to be extinguished.—Hawkesworth

48) This appears to be directed against the partial pardon which was granted to Lord Bolingbroke. George I. could never be persuaded to restore him to his rights as a peer, though Bolingbroke bribed the Duchess of Kendal to use her powerful intercession, and actually induced her to place his memorial in the King's own hand.

49) Sir Walter Scott supposes that a sarcasm is intended here against the royal proclamations issued after the rebellion of 1715, but Swift more probably alludes to the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, October 11th, 1772, wherein he informed both Houses of the conspiracy to restore the Pretender, in which Atterbury was involved.

50) Gulliver's defense of himself for escaping to Blefuscu is a covert apology for Bolingbroke's flight to France in 1715; a circumstance which was frequently quoted as decisive proof of his guilt, and censured as an act of imprudence by many who believed in his innocence. The Dean insinuates that it was, like that of Gulliver, rendered necessary by the malice of the ministers of the day; and it must be confessed that the mode in which the articles of impeachment were urged forward, gave too much reason to believe that Bolingbroke's death was predetermined by his accusers.

51) This bitter stroke of irony is directed against the acts of

Parliament by which Ormond, Bolingbroke, and the Bishop of Rochester, were attained. Swift gave rather a perilous proof of his belief in the innocence of the Duke of Ormond, when, after that nobleman's attainder, the heralds from the Irish College of Arms went to remove his escutcheon from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Swift refused them admittance, and persevered in keeping the Duke's coat of arms in its ancient place of honor.

52) The author probably alludes to the severe hardships endured by many of the Jacobite exiles in France.

53) "I did very much wonder not to have heard, etc." This sentence is ungrammatical; it should have been, "I did very much wonder, in all this time, at not having heard of any express," etc.—Sheridan.

54) This embassy from Lilliput is designed to satirize the frequent remonstrances made to the French court by the English ministers, in consequence of the protection granted to the Jacobites.

55) This irony is directed against the jealousy with which Bolingbroke, during his exile, was regarded by the French ministers. His restless spirit of intrigue rendered him scarcely less formidable at Versailles than he had been at St. James's. During his exile, Bolingbroke entered into the Pretender's service, but soon quarreled with his master, and was formally attainted at the mock court of St. James's. It was a singular fortune to be secretary to and attainted by both governments. Swift has invariably eulogized Bolingbroke as a pure patriot; but he was far from deserving that character. "His life," says a recent writer, "was chiefly spent in retirement, and though not highly exemplary of practical wisdom he was looked up to with oracular veneration by contemporary wits and politicians. He was a fine speaker and highly accomplished man; of great energy and decision of character; but unscrupulous, and lacked the integrity of principle and singleness of purpose which inspire confidence and lead to unquestioned excellence. He was ambitious, covetous of superiority, resentful; lax in morals, a partisan in politics, and an infidel in religion.

56) "I had underwent," is not English; it should have been "I had undergone," or "I underwent."

57) This is a passing sarcasm on the numerous acts of Parliament for encouraging- the woollen manufactures, and the various schemes proposed in Swift's time for improving the growth and fineness of wool. There is probably no other subject on which greater blunders have been made in commercial legislation than the English woollen trade, nor any which more clearly shows the futility of protecting duties and direct encouragement from Parliament, Swift provoked the indignation of the party in power, by protesting earnestly against the commercial jealousy which annihilated the woollen manufactures of Ireland, under pretense of their interfering with the staple manufacture of England: but wool was the favorite hobby of his day. And projects for extending the trade formed no small part of the bubbles of 1720.

Appendix to the Voyage to Lilliput

Lilliput and its court were, as we have shown, designed as a sarcastic description of England in the reigns of Anne and the First of the Georges, but the explanation of the satire would scarcely be complete without Swift's opinions of the statesmen of his day, which he has recorded in MS. notes on Macky's Memoirs. They are very pithy and characteristic.

Harley, Earl of Oxford.—"He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent."—Macky. A great lie: he could not properly be called eloquent; but he knew how to prevail on the House with few words and strong reasons.

—Swift's MS.

Lord John Poulet.—"One of the hopefulest gentlemen in England; very learned, virtuous, and a man of honor."—M. This character is fair enough.—S.

Legge, Lord Dartmouth.—"He sets up for a critic in conversation, makes jests and loves to laugh at them, takes a great deal of pains in his office, and is in a fair way of rising at court."—M. This is right enough, but he has little sincerity.—S.

Wharton, Lord Wharton.—"He is one of the completest gentlemen in England; hath a very clear understanding, and manly expression, with an abundance of wit."—M. The most universal villain I ever saw.—S.

Powlett, Duke of Bolton.—"He does not now make any figure at court."

—M. Nor anywhere else; a great booby.—S.

Charles, Viscount Townshend.—"He is beloved by everybody that knows him."—M. I except one.—S.

John Somers.—"This distinguished lawyer was born at Worcester in 1652, of a credible family."—M. Very mean; his father was a noted rogue. I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualities except virtue; he had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence.—S.

Matthew Prior.—"He is very well at court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of Lord Jersey, whom he supports by his advice: is one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin, hollow-looking man."—M. This is near the truth.—S.

Charles, Lord Halifax.—"He is a great encourager of learning and learned men; is the patron of the Muses; of very agreeable conversation; a short, fat man."—M. His encouragement were only good words and dinners. I never heard him say one good thing or seem to taste what was said by others.—S.

Charles, Duke of Somerset.—"He is a lover of music and poetry; of good judgment."—M. Not a grain; hardly common sense.—S. (See a more extended character in the history of the four last years of Queen Anne.)

Daniel, Earl of Nottingham.—"He hath the exterior air of business, and application enough to make him very capable; in his habits and manners very familiar."—M. He fell in with the Whigs; was an endless talker.—S. (See as before.)

Charles, Lord Mohun.—"He is brave in his person, bold in his expressions, and rectifies as fast as he can the slips of his

youth by acts of honesty."—M. He was little better than a conceited talker in company.—S.

John, Duke of Argyle.—"His family will not lose in his person, the great figure they have made for so many ages."—M. Ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot; has no principle but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.—S.

Montague Venables Bertie.—"A gentleman of fine parts."—M. Very covetous.—S.

Mr. Davenant.—"A very giddy-headed young fellow, with some wit."—M. He is not worth mentioning.—S.

Sir Paul Methuen.—"A man of intrigue, but very muddy in his conceptions, and not quickly understood in anything."—M. A profligate rogue, without religion or morals; but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind.—S.

Mr. Aglionby.—"Envoy to the Swiss Cantons."—M. He had been a Papist.—S.

Marquis of Breadalbane.—"He is cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, but slippery as an eel."—M. A blundering, rattle-pated, drunken sot.—S.

Mr. Carrstairs.—"He is the cunningest subtle dissembler in England; a dangerous enemy because always hid. He is a fat, sanguine-complexioned, fair man; always smiling when he deigns most mischief; a good friend when he is sincere."—M. A true character, but not strong enough by a fiftieth part.—S.

Philip, Earl of Chesterfield.—"He is above sixty years old."—M. If it be old Lord Chesterfield, I have heard he was the greatest knave in England.—S.

Lord Choimondeley.—"Hath good sense."—M. Good for nothing, as far as I ever knew.—S.

Lord Delaware.—"A free jolly gentleman."—M. Of very little sense; but formal, and well stored with the low kind of the lowest politics.—S.

Charles, Earl of Dorset.—"Of great learning."—M. Small or none.—S. "He is still one of the pleasantest men in the world, when he likes his company."—M. Not of late years, but a very dull one.—S.

Earl of Feversham.—"Turned of fifty years old."—M. A very dull old fellow.—S.

Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.—"So zealous an asserter of the liberties of the people, that he is too jealous of the growing power of all princes."—M. A most arrogant, conceited pedant in politics; cannot endure the least contradiction in any of his visions or paradoxes.—S.

Charles, Duke of Grafton.—"A very pretty gentleman."—M. Almost a slobberer, without one good quality.—S.

Earl of Grantham.—"A very pretty gentleman."—M. Good for nothing.—S.

Lord Gray of Wark.—"A zealous asserter of the liberties of the people."—M. Had very little in him.—S.

Lord Guilford.—"Does not want sense."—M. A mighty silly fellow.—S.

Sir Charles Hare.—"Hath good understanding, and

abundance of learning."—M. His father was a groom; he was a man of sense, without one grain of honesty.—S.

Mr. Hill.—"He is a favorite to both parties."—M. To neither.—S.

Secretary Johnstoun.—"He is very honest, yet something too credulous and suspicious. He would not tell a lie for the world."—M. A treacherous knave. One of the greatest knaves even in Scotland.—S.

Earl of Kent.—"Has good sense."—M. He seems a good-natured man, but of very little consequence.—S.

Earl of Lindsey.—"Has both wit and learning."—M. I never observed a grain of either.—S.

Lord Lucas.—"He is every way a very plain man."—M. A good plain humdrum.—S.

Mr. Mansel.—"He is a gentleman of a great deal of wit and good nature."—M. But of very moderate capacity.—S.

Duke of Montague.—"An admirer of learning and learned men."—M. As great a knave as any in his time.—S.

Marquis of Montrose.—"He inherits great qualities."—M. Now very homely, and makes a sorry appearance.—S.

Duke of Richmond.—"Good-natured to a fault."—M. A shallow coxcomb.—S.

Earl of Sandwich.—"Of very ordinary parts."—M. As much a puppy as ever I saw.—S.

Mr. Smith.—"A bold orator."—M. I thought him a heavy man.—S.

Earl of Stamford.—"A very honest man."—M. He looked and talked like a very weak man; but it was said he spoke well in council.—S.

George Stepney.—"One of the best poets now in England."—M. Scarce a third rate.—S.

Archbishop Tenison.—"A plain, good heavy man."—M. The most good-for-nothing prelate I ever knew.—S.

Earl of Weems.—"A fine personage, and very beautiful."—M. He was a black man, and handsome for a Scot.—S.

The characters of the Dukes of Marlborough and Somerset, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Earls of Godolphin, Sunderland, and Wharton, Nottingham and Lord Cowper, are delineated in the history of the last four years of Queen Anne, to which we refer our readers.

L'Abbe Desfontaines, the first translator of Gulliver's Travels into French, terrified by the boldness of Swift's philosophic speculations, suppressed and altered several passages; such a proceeding might be pardoned at a time when a rigid censorship was exercised over the press, but the same leniency cannot be shown to his numerous interpolations, which completely change the character of the work.

One of these unfortunate additions is, however, not devoid of interest; it continues with considerable humor Swift's account of the manners and customs of Lilliput, and contains some valuable hints on the subject of education, worthy of the pen of Voltaire's great antagonist. As the

Abbe's translation is scarcely known in England, we shall add this passage as a specimen of his interpolations:

The Lilliputians surpass most European nations in the attention bestowed on the education of children. They compare instruction to horticulture. It is not enough, say they, to sow the seed and produce the plants, their growth must be tended with fostering care; they must be sheltered against winter's bitter blasts, and summer's scorching heats, the attacks of insects must be repelled, the skillful gardener must tend the opening of the bud and the unfolding of the blossom, or he has no right to expect perfect and ripened fruit. They take care that the teacher should have a well-balanced mind rather than a lofty intellect; they look to his morals rather than his science. They cannot endure those pedantic teachers who cram their pupils with grammatical niceties, frivolous discussions, and idle puerilities; they do not explain the structure of the living language by reference to a dead language with which it has very few relations; their grammar is not a system of dry rules and tedious exceptions; they make their pupils learn the proprieties of speech by usage and custom, by familiarizing them with examples taken from the best writers, instead of burdening their memory with the complexities of syntax and the niceties of prosody. They are anxious that the teacher should be familiar and friendly with his pupils, nothing in their opinion being more averse to a sound education than pedantry, and a morose affection of dignity. They insist that the master should rather descend to the level of his scholar than aim at rising far above him; and they believe that the former is a far more difficult acquirement than the latter, condescension requiring more tact, delicacy, and strength of mind, than the assumption of superiority.

They insist that teachers should endeavor rather to train youthful minds for the active pursuits of real life than to load them with rare and curious stores of knowledge, which are not capable of practical application. Consequently, they teach them from the outset to be prudent and discreet, so that in the very season of enjoyment they should know how to moderate their indulgence in pleasure. Is it not ridiculous, say they, to defer moral instruction to the very last, to place ethics at the end, and not at the beginning of the course; to keep people ignorant of the real nature and use of the enjoyments of life until the season when they can be best appreciated is past; to teach the arts of life only when death is near at hand, and to point out the proper purposes of existence, only when that existence is drawing to its close?

They reward their children for a prompt and ready confession of their faults; and they bestow grace and favors on those who can give the best account and explanation of their errors. A great object of their system is to stimulate the curiosity of

the young; they encourage them to ask questions about everything they see and hear, and they punish severely those who have witnessed any extraordinary event or phenomenon without manifesting curiosity or astonishment.

They inculcate the most dutiful obedience and loyalty to the sovereign, but at the same time they exert themselves to prevent this feeling from degenerating into slavish submission, by carefully distinguishing between the respect due to the station of governing power and the personal attachment which belongs only to individuals. They believe that the confusion of the two principles has often grievously wounded the conscience, exposed liberty to imminent dangers, and produced great misfortunes to states.

Lecturers on history take less trouble to teach their pupils the dates of events, than to explain the characters, the good and evil dispositions of kings, of generals and of statesmen, and also to show how far their natural propensities may be supposed to have been modified by circumstances.

They believe that it is of little value to know that such a battle was fought in such or such a year; but that it is important to consider what multitudes of men in every century have been barbarous, brutal, unjust, sanguinary, always ready to throw away their own lives without necessity, and attack the lives of others without cause. How many wars have been waged which were positively disgraceful to humanity, and how powerful the motives must have been that led to such fatal results. They deem the history of the progress of human intelligence the best of all histories, and they are anxious that their pupils should estimate facts rather than merely retain them in the memory.

They are anxious that a love for the sciences should be limited, and that each pupil should choose the branch of study most in accordance with his talents and inclinations; they esteem a man who reads too much, as scarcely better than a man who eats too much; asserting that the mind is subject to indigestion as well as the body. The emperor alone possesses a large and extensive library. The private bibliomaniacs who accumulate large collections of volumes, are contemptuously called 'donkeys laden with books.'

'Philosophy with these people is a cheerful and lively study, not as with us, smothered beneath the solemn trifling and pedantic jargon of the schools. They know nothing of syllogisms, categories, first and second intentions and the other crambos and follies of dialectics. Their philosophy consists in establishing infallible principles, which lead the

mind to prefer the moderate condition of an honest man to the riches and pride of a financier; and they honor the victories obtained over the passions more than the greatest triumphs won by conquerors. It teaches them to live temperately, to avoid every species of voluptuous indulgence, to shun everything which tends to render the mind dependent on the body, and thus destroys the freedom of the understanding.

Pupils are exhorted to choose their future pursuits with great deliberation, and endeavors are made to guide them in the selection of the most suitable course; less regard is paid to property than to intelligence, so that the son of a laborer is often a minister of state, and the son of a lord engaged in trade. Physic and mathematics are esteemed in Lilliput only so far as their sciences are profitable to actual life and the progress of the useful arts. In general they have little anxiety to be acquainted with every part of the universe, and they prefer enjoying nature without examination to reasoning on the order and motion of physical bodies.

With regard to metaphysics, they look upon the entire subject as the baseless fabric of a vision.

They hate all affectation in language and style, whether in verse or prose; and they say that peculiarities of expression are not less contemptible than peculiarities of dress.

An author who quits the natural style to indulge in bombastic language, extraordinary metaphors, and quaint figures, is hissed and booted through the streets like a monk at the carnival.

'The mind and body are cultivated at the same time by the Lilliputians; for the object of education is to form a man, and therefore no part of his nature should be neglected. They compare the soul and body to two steeds yoked under a carriage, mischief must rise if one goes faster than the other. Whilst you devote your attention exclusively to the child's mind, say they, his figure may become distorted, his strength weakened, or his health injured; if you only attend to the person, the mind lies fallow and may soon be overgrown by the seeds of stupidity and ignorance.

It is forbidden to inflict any painful chastisement on children; they are punished by withholding some enjoyment, by shame, or by the privation of two or three lessons: the last mortifies them extremely, because they seem to be abandoned to themselves and declared unworthy of instruction. Pain, in their opinion, tends only to render children cowards, and timidity is a very prejudicial defect, which can rarely, if ever, be cured.

TO QUINBUS FLESTRIN, THE MAN-MOUNTAIN
AN ODE
BY TITTY TIT, ESQ.
POET LAUREATE TO HIS MAJESTY OF LILLIPUT
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

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

See him stride
Valleys wide:
Over woods,
Over floods,
When he treads.
Mountains' heads
Groan and shake;
Armies quake,
Lest his spurn

Overturn
Man and steed:
Troops take heed!
Left and right.
Speed your flight!
Lest an host
Beneath his feet be lost.

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

A Voyage to Brobdingnag ¹

CHAPTER I

An active and restless life having been assigned me by nature and fortune, in two months after my return I again left my native country and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th day of June, 1702, in the Adventure, Captain John Nicholas, a Cornishman, commander, bound for Surat.

We had a very prosperous gale till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water; but discovering a leak, we unshipped our goods and wintered there; for the captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then set sail, and had a good voyage till we passed the straits of Madagascar; but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together; during which time we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took the 2d of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm; whereat I was not a little rejoiced.

But he being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened on the day following; for the southern wind, called the southern monsoon, began to set in.

Finding it was likely to overblow,² we took in our sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the foresail; but, making foul weather, we looked if the guns were all fast, and handed the mizzen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea, then trying or hulling. We reefed the foresail and set him, and hauled aft the foresheet: the helm was hard-a-weather. The ship wore bravely.

We belayed the fore downhaul; but the sail was split, and we hauled down the yard and got the sail into the ship, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce storm; the sea broke strange and dangerous. We hauled off upon the laniard of the whipstaff and helped the man at the helm. We could not get down our topmast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the sea very well, and we knew that the topmast being aloft, the ship was the wholesomer and made better way through the sea, seeing we had sea-room. When the storm was over we set foresail and mainsail and brought

the ship to. Then we set the mizzen, maintopsail and the foretopsail. Our course was east-north-east, and the wind was at southwest. We got the starboard tacks aboard, we cast off our weather braces and lifts; we set in the lee braces and hauled forward by the weather-bowlings, and hauled them tight, and belayed them, and hauled over the mizzen-tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lie.

During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind west-south-west, we were carried, by my computation, about five hundred leagues to the east, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well, our ship was stanch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmost distress for water.

We thought it best to hold on the same course, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the northwest part of Great Tartary and into the Frozen Sea.

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

I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country and make what discoveries I could. When we came to land we saw no river, or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently towards the creek; and the sea being full in my view, I saw our men already got into the boat and rowing for life to the ship.

I was going to holla after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could; he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides: but our men had the start of him half a league, and the sea thereabouts being full of sharp-pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of the adventure, but ran as fast as I could the way I first went, and then climbed up a steep hill, which gave me some

prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a highroad, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a foot-path through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty feet. I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at least one hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation of their altitude.

There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps, and a stone to cross over when you come to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six feet high, and the upper stone about twenty.

I was endeavoring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field, advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the corn, whence I saw him at the top of the stile looking back into the next field, on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking-trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air, that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him, with reaping-hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or laborers they seemed to be; for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt them.

However, I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven, that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my clothes into my flesh.

At the same time I heard the reapers not above a hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness, in attempting a second voyage, against the advice of all my friends and relations.

In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world; where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions, which will be recorded forever in the chronicles of that empire, while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by millions.

I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me to appear as inconsiderable in this nation, as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the least of my misfortunes; for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right when they tell us that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison.

It might have pleased fortune, to have let the Lilliputians find some nation where the people were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally over-matched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery?³

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

He considered awhile, with the caution of one who endeavors to lay hold on a small dangerous animal in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or bite him, as I myself have sometimes done with a weasel in England.

At length he ventured to take me behind, by the middle, between his forefinger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air above sixty feet from the ground, although he previously pinched my sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine eyes toward the sun and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in an humble melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in; for I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal which we have a mind to destroy.

But my good star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them. In the meantime I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears, and turning my head towards my sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger. He seemed to apprehend my meaning; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person I had first seen in the field.

The farmer having (as I suppose by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking-staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat, which, it seems, he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me. He blew my hair aside to take a better view of my face. He called his hands about him, and asked them, as I afterwards learned,

“Whether they had ever seen in the fields any little creature that resembled me?” he then placed me softly on the ground on all fours, but I immediately got up, and walked slowly backward and forward, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sat down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions. I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow towards the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could; I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the palm of his hand, and then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the point of a pin (which he took out of his sleeve), but could make nothing of it.

Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground. I then took the purse, and opening it, poured all the gold into his palm. There were six Spanish pieces of four pistoles each, beside twenty or thirty smaller coins. I saw him wet the tip of his little linger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another: but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were.

He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and the purse again into my pocket, which after offering it to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The farmer by this time, was convinced I must be a rational creature. He spoke often to me, but the sound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a watermill, yet his words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me, but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his servants to their work and taking his handkerchief out of

his pocket, he doubled and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground with the palm upward, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myself at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for farther security, and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and showed me to her; but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider.

However, when she had awhile seen my behavior, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me. It was about twelve at noon and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat (fit for the plain condition of a husbandman), in a dish of about four-and-twenty feet diameter. The company were, the farmer and his wife, three children, and an old grandmother.

When they were sat down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge, for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight.

The mistress sent her maid for a small dram cup, which held about two gallons and filled it with drink; I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a most respectful manner drank to her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cider, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me a sign to come to his trencher side; but as I walked on the table, being at great surprise all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell fiat on my face, but received no hurt.

I got up immediately, and observing the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners), and waving it over my head, gave three huzzas, to show I had got no mischief by my fall.

But, advancing forward toward my master (as I shall henceforth call him), his youngest son, who sat next to him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air that I trembled in every limb; but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear as would have felled an European troop of horses to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table.

But being afraid the boy might owe me a spite, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy, made my master to understand as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned.

The father complied, and the lad took his seat again, whereupon I went to him. and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroke me gently with it.

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favorite cat leaped into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work; and turning my head, I found it proceeding from the purring of that animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding and stroking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the farther end of the table, above fifty feet off; and though my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger, for the cat took not the least notice of me, when my master placed me within three yards of her.

And as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or discovering fear before a fierce animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved, in this dangerous juncture, to show no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me.

I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmers' houses; one of which was a mastiff, equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large.

When dinner was almost done, the nurse came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately spied me, and began a squall that you might have heard from London Bridge to Chelsea, after the usual oratory of infants, to get me for a plaything. The mother, out of pure indulgence, took me up, and put me towards the child, who presently seized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth, where I roared so loud that the urchin was frightened, and let me drop, and I should infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me.

The nurse, to quiet her babe made use of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow vessel filled with great stones, and fastened by a cable to the child's waist; but all in vain; so that she was forced to apply the last remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape, and color.

It stood prominent six feet, and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head, and the hue both of that and the dug, so varied with spots, pimples, and freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down, the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table.

This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying glass; where we find by experiment, that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough, coarse, and ill-colored.

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

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

I slept about two hours, and dreamt I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked,⁴ and found myself alone, in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and about two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Some natural necessities required me to get down. I durst

not presume to call; and if I had, it would have been in vain, with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family kept.

While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his forefeet on my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet; and the other, seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the blood run trickling from him.

After this exploit, I walked gently to and fro on the bed, to recover my breath and loss of spirits. These creatures were of the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce; so that if I had taken off my belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to draw the carcass off the bed, where it lay still bleeding. I observed it had yet some life, but with a strong slash across the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after, my mistress came into the room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling, and making other signs, to show I was not hurt, whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I showed her my hanger all bloody, and wiping it on the lappet of my coat returned it to the scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one thing which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavored to make my mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the floor; which after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself farther, than by pointing to the door, and bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and taking me up again in her hand, walked into the garden, where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid myself between two leaves of sorrel, and there discharged the necessities of nature.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like particulars, which, however insignificant they may appear to grovelling vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this, and other accounts of my travels, to the world; wherein I

have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in my memory, that in committing it to paper I did not omit one material circumstance; however, upon strict review, I blotted out several passages of less moment, which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travelers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.

CHAPTER II

My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardly parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I stayed with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language and make my wants known. This young girl was so handy, that after I had once or twice pulled off my clothes before her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that trouble when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my school-mistress, to teach me the language; when I pointed to anything, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to.

She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little for her age. She gave me the name of *Grildrig*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italians *homunculetino*, and the English *mannikin*.

To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country; we never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little nurse: and should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I omitted this which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighborhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it also imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learned several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old.

Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose to inquire into the truth of this story.

I was immediately produced and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him in his own language how he did, and told him he was welcome, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better; at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry, and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser; and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to show me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two and twenty miles from our house.

I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she cunningly picked out from her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honor, and what an indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people.

She said, her papa and mamma had promised that Grildrig should be hers; but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher.

For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope which never left me, that I should one day recover my liberty and as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England; since the king of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market day to the neighboring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out and a

few gimlet holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it for me to lie down on. However,

I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this journey, though it were but of half an hour; for the horse went about forty feet at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent. Our journey was somewhat farther than from London to St. Albans. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting awhile with the innkeeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the grultrud, or crier, to give notice through the town, of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a splacnuck (an animal in that country very finely shaped, about six feet long), and in every part of the body resembling a human creature, could speak several words, and perform a hundred diverting tricks.

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

My nurse gave me a part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learned the art in my youth. I was that day shown to twelve sets of company, and as often forced to act over again the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation; for those who had seen me made such wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break down the doors to come in.⁶

My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me except my nurse; and to prevent danger, benches were set round the table at such a distance as to put me out of everybody's reach. However, an unlucky schoolboy aimed a hazlenut directly at my head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise it came with so much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pumpkin; but I had the satisfaction to see the young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room.

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

journey, and with entertaining company for eight hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my legs, or speak a word. It was at least three days before I recovered my strength, and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighboring gentlemen from a hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to see me at my master's own house.

There could not be fewer than thirty persons with their wives and children (for the country is very populous); and my master demanded the rate of a full room whenever he showed me at home, although it were only to a single family; so that for some time, I had but little ease every day of the week, (except Wednesday, which is their Sabbath), although I was not carried to the town.

My master finding how profitable I was likely to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities of the kingdom. Having, therefore, provided himself with all things necessary, for a long journey, and settled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and upon the 17th of August, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situate near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles' distance from our house. My master made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind him. She carried me on her lap, in a box tied about her waist. The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made everything as convenient as she could.

We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage.

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

On the 26th day of October we arrived at the metropolis, called in our language Lorbulgrud or Pride of the Universe. My master took a lodging in the principal street of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the usual form, containing an exact description of my person and parts. He hired a large room between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a table sixty feet in diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and palisaded it round three feet from the edge, and

as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shown ten times a day, to the wonder and satisfaction of all people. I could now speak the language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learned their alphabet, and could make a shift to explain a sentence here and there; for Glumdalclitch had been my instructor while we were at home, and at leisure hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than a Sanson's Atlas; it was a common treatise for the use of young girls, giving a short account of their religion: out of this she taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.

CHAPTER III

Labors such as I underwent every day, made in a few weeks, a very considerable change in my health: the more my master got by me, the more insatiable he grew. I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton. The farmer observed it, and concluded I must soon die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could.

While he was thus reasoning with himself, a sardral, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither for the diversion of the Queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behavior, and good sense. Her majesty and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanor. I fell on my knees, and begged the honor of kissing her imperial foot; but this gracious princess held out her little finger towards me, after I was set on the table, which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip.

She made me some general questions about my country and my travels, which I answered as distinctly, and in a few words as I could. She asked, "whether I would be content to live at court?" I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly answered, "that I was my master's slave; but if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote my life to her majesty's service." She then asked my master, "Whether he was willing to sell me at a good price?"

He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred moidores; but allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the higher price of gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England. I then said to the queen, "since I was now her majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favor that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor."

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

The queen observed my coldness, and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason.

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

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

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

The king, although he be as learned a person as any in his dominions, had been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics; yet when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of

clockwork (which is in that country arrived to a very great perfection) contrived by some ingenious artist. But when he heard my voice and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between

Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination, he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective than by a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge of the language, with some rustic phrases which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in the weekly waiting, according to the custom of that country. These gentlemen, after they had awhile examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life, either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with, great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects; which they offered, by many learned arguments,⁷ to evince that I could not possibly do.

One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an embryo, or abortive birth. But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my limbs to be perfect and finished, and that I had lived several years, as it was manifest from my beard, the stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a magnifying glass.

They would not allow me to be a dwarf, because my littleness was beyond all degrees of comparison; for the queen's favorite dwarf, the smallest in the kingdom, was nearly thirty feet high. After much debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *relplum scalclath* which is interpreted literally *lusus naturae*; a determination exactly agreeable to the modern philosophy of Europe, whose professors, disdaining the old evasion of occult causes, whereby the followers of Aristotle endeavored in vain to disguise their ignorance, have invented this wonderful solution of all difficulties, to the unspeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this decisive conclusion, I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myself to the king, and assured his majesty, "that I came from a country which abounded with several millions of both sexes, and of my own stature; where the animals, trees and houses were all in

proportion, and where, by consequence, I might be as able to defend myself, and to find sustenance, as any of his majesty's subjects could do here; which I took for a full answer to those gentlemen's arguments. To this they only replied with a smile of contempt, saying, "that the farmer had instructed me very well in my lesson⁸ The king, who had a much better understanding, dismissed his learned men, sent for the farmer, who by good fortune was not yet gone out of town. ⁹ Having, therefore, first examined him privately, and men confronted him with me and the young girl, his majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the queen to order that a particular care should be taken of me; and was of opinion that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had a great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court; she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself.

The queen commanded her own cabinet-maker to contrive a box, that might serve me as a bedchamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist, and according to my directions, in three weeks finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash windows, a door and two closets, like a London bedchamber. The board that made the ceiling was to be lifted up by two hinges, to put in a bed ready furnished by her majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities, undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames, of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables, with a cabinet to put my things in.

The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and the ceiling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt, when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door, to prevent rats and mice from coming in. The smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have know a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England¹⁰ I made a shift to keep the key in a pocket of my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might lose it. The queen likewise ordered the thinnest silks that could be gotten, to make me clothes, not much thicker than an English blanket, very cumbersome till I was accustomed to them. They were after the fashion of the kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the Chinese, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The queen became so fond of my company that she could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the same at which her majesty ate, just at her elbow, and a chair to sit on. Glumdalclitch stood on a stool on the

floor near my table to assist and take care of me. I had an entire set of silver dishes and plates, and other necessaries which, in proportion to those of the queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a London toy-shop, for the furniture of a baby-house; these my little nurse kept in her pocket in a silver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herself. No person dined with the queen but the two princesses royal, the elder sixteen years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a month. Her majesty used to put a bit of meat upon one of my dishes, out of which I carved for myself; and her diversion was to see me eat in miniature; for the queen (who had indeed but a weak stomach) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen English farmers could eat at a meal which to me for some time was a very nauseous sight. She would crunch the wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown turkey; and cut a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelve-penny loaves. She drank out of a golden cup, above a hog'shead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a scythe, set straight upon a handle. The spoons, forks and other instruments were all in the same proportion. I remember when Glumdalclitch carried me, out of curiosity, to see some of the tables at court, where ten or a dozen of those enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a sight.

It is the custom that every Wednesday (which as I have observed is their Sabbath), the king and queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his majesty, to whom I was now become a great favorite; and at these times my little chair and table were placed at his left hand before one of the salt cellars. This prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, inquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government and learning of Europe, wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear and his judgment so exact that he made very wise reflections and observations upon all I said,

But I confess that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade and wars by sea and land, of our chisms in religion, and parties in the state, the prejudices of his education prevailed so far that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand and stroking me gently with the other, after a hearty fit of laughing, asked me whether I was a Whig or Tory ? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the mainmast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed "how contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I, and yet," says he, "I dare engage these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honor; they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure and dress in equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat,

they betray.” And thus he continued on, while my color came and went several times with indignation to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honor and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated.¹¹

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so upon mature thoughts I began to doubt whether I was injured or no.¹² For, after having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect was so far worn off that if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery and birthday clothes, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating; to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as the king and his grandees did at me.

Neither, indeed, could I forbear smiling at myself when the queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking-glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could be nothing more ridiculous than the comparison; so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled by many degrees below my usual size .

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the queen’s dwarf; who, being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high), became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the queen’s ante-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my littleness; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him brother, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usually in the mouths of court pages.

One day at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her majesty’s chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and if I had not been a good swimmer it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch in that instant happened to be at the other end of the room, and the queen was in such a fright that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed about a quart of cream. I was put to bed; however, I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a farther punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream

into which he had thrown me: neither was he ever restored to favor; for soon after the queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction: for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede.

Her majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again on the dish erect, as it stood before; the dwarf, watching his opportunity, while Glumdalclitch was gone to the sideboard, mounted the stool that she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure.

I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out.

But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not scalded, only my stockings and breeches in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the queen upon account of my fearfulness; and she used to ask me whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myself ! The occasion was this: the kingdom is much pestered with flies in the summer; and these odious insects, each of them as big as a Dunstable Lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about my ears. They would sometimes alight upon my victuals, and leave their loathsome excrement or spawn behind, which to me was very visible, though not to the natives of that country, whose larger optics were not so acute as mine in viewing smaller objects.

Sometimes they would fix upon my nose or forehead, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous matter which, our naturalists tell us, enables those creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a ceiling. I had much ado to defend myself against these detestable animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my face.

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

I remember, one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in a box upon a window, as she usually did in fair

days to give me air (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England), after I had lifted up one of my sashes, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake for my breakfast, above twenty wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than the drones of as many bagpipes. Some of them seized my cake and carried it piecemeal away; others flew about my head and face, confounding me with the noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. However, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and attack them in the air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my window.

These insects were as large as partridges: I took out their stings, found them an inch and a half long, and as sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all; and having since shown them, with some other curiosities, in several parts of Europe; upon my return to England I gave three of them to Gresham College and kept the fourth myself.

CHAPTER IV

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

The kingdom is a peninsula, terminated to the northeast by a ridge of mountains thirty miles high, which are altogether impassable, by reason of the volcanoes upon the tops; neither do the most learned know what sort of mortals inhabit beyond those mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other sides, it is bounded by the ocean.

There is not one seaport in the whole kingdom; and those parts of the coasts into which the rivers issue, are so full of pointed rocks, and the sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the rest of the world.⁹ But the large rivers are full of vessels, and abound with excellent fish; for they seldom get any from the sea, because the sea-fish are of the same

size with those in Europe, and consequently, not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that nature, in the production of plants and animals of so extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reasons to be determined by philosophers.

However, now and then they take a whale that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders and sometimes, for curiosity, they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud;

I saw one of them in a dish at the king's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think, indeed, the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty-one cities, near a hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages. To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud.

This city stands upon almost two equal parts, on each side of the river that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is in length three glomglungs (which makes about fifty-four English miles), and two and a half in breadth; as I measured it myself in the royal map made by the king's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended a hundred feet; I paced the diameter and circumference several times barefoot, and computing by the scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The king's palace is no regular edifice, but a heap of building about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town, or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out, and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and people, as we passed along the streets.

I reckoned our coach to be about a square of Westminster Hall, but not altogether so high; however, I cannot be very exact. One day the governess ordered our coachman to stop at several shops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the sides of the coach, and gave me the most horrible spectacle that ever a European eye beheld.

There was a woman with a cancer in her breast, swelled to a monstrous size, full of holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole body. There was a fellow with a wen in his neck, larger than five wool-packs; and another with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high.

But the most hateful sight of all was the lice crawling on their clothes. I could see distinctly the limbs of these vermin with my naked eye, much better than those of a European louse through a microscope, and their snouts with which they rooted like swine. They were the first I had ever beheld, and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had had proper instruments, which I unluckily left behind me in the ship, although, indeed, the sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my stomach.

Beside the large box in which I was usually carried, the queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve feet square, and ten high, for the convenience of traveling; because the other was somewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumbersome in the coach: it was made by the same artist, whom I directed in the whole contrivance.

This traveling closet was an exact square, with a window in the middle of three of the squares, and each window was latticed with iron wire on the outside, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth side, which had no window, two strong staples were fixed, through which the person that carried me, when I had a mind to be on horseback, put a leather belt, and buckled it about his waist. This was always the office of some grave trusty servant, in whom I could confide, whether I attended the king and queen in their progresses, or were disposed to see the gardens, or pay a visit to some great lady or minister of state in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order; for I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest officers, I suppose more upon account of their majesties' favor, than any merit of my own.

In journeys, when I was weary of the coach, a servant on horseback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cushion before him; and there I had a full prospect of the country on three sides from my three windows. I had in this closet a field-bed, and a hammock hung from the ceiling, two chairs and a table, neatly screwed to the floor, to prevent being tossed by the agitation of the horse or the coach. And having long been used to sea voyages, those motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a mind to see the town, it was always in my traveling closet: which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open sedan, after the fashion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me, were very curious to crowd about the sedan, and the girl was complaisant enough to make the bearers stop, and to take me in her hand that I might be more conveniently seen.

I was very desirous to see the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned

the highest in the kingdom. Accordingly, one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple. But, not to detract from a nation, to which, during my life, I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed, that whatever this famous tower wants in height, is amply made up in beauty and strength; for the walls are near a hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of gods and emperors, cut in marble, larger than the life, placed in their several niches.

I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length.¹⁴ Glumdalclitch wrapped it up in her handkerchief, and carried it home in her pocket, to keep among other trinkets, of which the girl was very fond, as children at her age usually are.

The king's kitchen is, indeed, a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide by ten paces, as the cupola at St. Paul's for I measured the latter on purpose, after my return. But if I should describe the kitchen grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turning on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travelers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extreme, and that if this treatise should happen to be translated into the language of Brobdingnag (which is the general name of that kingdom), and transmitted thither, the king and his people would have reason to complain that I had done them an injury by a false and diminutive representation.¹⁵

His majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables; they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high.

But when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended, for state, by a militia guard of five hundred horse, which, indeed, I thought was the most splendid sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his army in battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.



CHAPTER V

Justly may I say, that I should have lived happy enough in the country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents; some of which I shall venture to relate.

Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the queen, he followed us one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple trees, I must need show my wit, by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language as it does in ours.

Whereupon, the malicious rogue, watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel, came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation. Another day, Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess.

In the meantime, there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately, by the force of it, struck to the ground; and when I was down, the hailstones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis balls; however, I made a shift to creep on all fours, and shelter myself, by lying flat on my face, on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme; but so bruised from head to foot that I could not go abroad in ten days.

Neither is that at all to be wondered at, because nature, in that country, observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hailstone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in Europe; which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious¹⁶ to weigh and measure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, when my little nurse, believing she had put me in a secure place (which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my thoughts), and having left my box at home, to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess and some ladies of her acquaintance. While she was absent, and out of hearing, a small white spaniel that belonged to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happening to range near the place where I lay: the dog following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth, ran straight to his master wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had

been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my clothes. But the poor gardener who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright; he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word.

In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who by this time had returned to the place where she had left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called. She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court, for the girl was afraid of the queen's anger; and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures, that happened in those times when I was left by myself.

Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking on the top of a fresh molehill, I fell to my neck in the hole, through which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lie, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my clothes. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking along and thinking of poor England.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe, in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch one of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavoring to peck my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned, to hunt for worms or snails as they did before. But one day, I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength so luckily, at a linnnet, that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse.

However, the bird, who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings, on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arm's length, and was out of reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the

bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner, by the queen's command. The linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English swan.

The maids of honor often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me.¹⁷ They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their bosoms, wherewith I was much disgusted; because, to say the truth, a very offensive smell came from their skins; which I do not mention or intend to the disadvantages of those excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect; but I conceive that my sense was more acute in proportion to my littleness, and that those illustrious persons were no more disagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the same quality are with us in England. And after all, I found their natural smell was much more supportable than when they used perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away.

I cannot forget, that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput took the freedom in a warm day, when I had used a good deal of exercise, to complain of a strong smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way as most of my sex; but I suppose his faculty of smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point, I cannot forbear doing justice to the queen my mistress, and Glumdalclitch my nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any lady in England.

That which gave me most uneasiness among these maid of honor (when my nurse carried me to visit them) was, to see them use me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no sort of concupiscence: for they would strip themselves to the skin, and put their smocks on in my presence, while I was placed on their toilet, directly before their naked bodies, which I am sure to me was very far from being a tempting sight, or from giving me any other emotions than those of horror and disgust; their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously colored, when I saw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than pack-threads, to say nothing farther concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drank, to the quantity of at least two hogsheds, in a vessel that held above three tons.

The handsomest among these maids of honor, a pleasant frolicsome girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her nipples, with many other tricks, wherein the reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But I was so much displeased, that I entreated Glumdalclitch to conceive some excuse for not seeing that young lady any more.

One day, a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurse's governess, came and pressed them both to see an execution. It was of a man, who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch prevailed on to be of the company, very much against her inclination, for she was naturally tender-hearted; and as for myself, although I abhorred such kind of spectacles, yet my curiosity tempted me to see something that I thought must be extraordinary.

The malefactor was fixed on a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow, with a sword of about forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the *jet d'eau* at Versailles was not equal¹⁸ for the time it lasted: and the head, when it fell on the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I was half an English mile distant.

The queen, who often used to hear me talk of my sea voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health?

I answered that I understood both very well: for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship yet often, upon a pinch, I was forced to work like a common mariner.

But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man-of-war among us; and such a boat as I could manage would never live in one of their rivers.

Her majesty said, "If I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in." The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by my instructions, in ten days, finished a pleasure boat, with all the tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished the queen was so delighted that she ran with it in her lap to the king, who ordered it to be put into a cistern full of water, with me in it, by way of trial; where I could not manage my two sculls, or little oars, for want of room. But the queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor along the wall, in an outer room of the palace.

It had a cock near the bottom to let out the water when it began to grow stale; and two servants could easily fill it in half an hour. Here I often used to row for my own diversion, as well as that of the queen and her ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my skill and agility.

Sometimes I would put up my sail and then my business was only to steer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans: and when they were weary, some of their pages

would blow my sail forward with their breath, while I showed my art by steering starboard or larboard as I pleased. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her closet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exercise I once met an accident, which had like to have cost me my life; for, one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governess who attended Glumdalclitch very officiously lifted me up, to place me in the boat but I happened to slip through her fingers, and should infallibly have fallen down forty feet, upon the floor, if, by the luckiest chance in the world, I had not been stopped by a corking-pin that stuck in the good gentlewoman's stomacher; the head of the pin passed between my shirt and the waistband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the servants, whose office it was to fill my trough every third day with fresh water, was so careless⁹ to let a huge frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then, seeing a resting place, climbed up, and made it to lean so much on one side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and then over my head, backward and forward, daubing my face and clothes with its odious slime.

The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I underwent in that kingdom was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being warm, the closet window was left open, as well as the windows and door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency.

As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other; whereat, although I was much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat; and then I saw this frolicsome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box; but the monkey, looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done.

After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me; and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often- shifted place to avoid him, he at

length seized the lappet of my coat (which being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong), and dragged me out. He took me up in his right forefoot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe; and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit.

I have good reason to believe that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet door, as if somebody were opening it; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours.

I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted; that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar; the servants ran for ladders; the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of the building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for, without question, the sight was ridiculous enough to everybody but myself.

Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down; but this was strictly forbidden, or else, very probably, my brains had been dashed out.

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

I was almost choked with the filthy stuff the monkey had crammed down my throat; but my dear little nurse picked it out of my mouth with a small needle, and then I fell a-vomiting, which gave me great relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the sides with the squeezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight.

The king, queen, and all the court, sent every day to inquire after my health: and her majesty made me several visits during my sickness.

The monkey was killed, and an order made that no such animal should be kept about the palace.

When I attended the king after my recovery, to return him thanks for his favors, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He asked me, "what my thoughts and speculations were while I lay in the monkey's paw? How I liked the victuals he gave me? his manner of feeding? And whether the fresh air on the roof had sharpened my stomach?"

He desired to know "What I would have done upon such an occasion in my own country?" I told his majesty, "that in Europe we had no monkeys except such as were brought for curiosities from other places, and so small that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous animal, with whom I was so lately engaged (it was indeed as large as an elephant), if my fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt, as I spoke) when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it, with more haste than he put it in."

This I delivered in a firm tone, like a person who was jealous lest his courage should be called in question.

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

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story; and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the queen, whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her majesty. The girl, who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small foot-path in a field, and Glumdalclitch setting down my traveling box, I went out of it to walk.

There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle, up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief, for I was filthily bemired; and my nurse confined me to my box, till we returned home; where the queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court; so that all the mirth for some days was at my expense.

CHAPTER VI

Joined as I was to the court, I used to attend the king's levee once or twice a week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold; for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe. His majesty according to the customs of the country, was only shaved twice a week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a comb, making several holes in it at equal distances, with as small a needle as I could get from Glumdalclitch.

I fixed in the stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my knife towards the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a seasonable supply, my own being so much broken in the teeth, that it was almost useless: neither did I know any artist in that country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

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

The queen would have me sit upon one of these chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather die a thousand deaths, than place a dishonorable part of my body on those precious hairs that once adorned her majesty's head.

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

The king, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my box on the table to hear them; but the noise was so great that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I

am confident that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it.

My practice was to have my box removed from the place where the performers sat, as far as I could, then to shut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window curtains, after which I found their music not disagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the spinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a master attended twice a week to teach her: I called it a spinet, because it somewhat resembled that instrument, and was played upon in the same manner. A fancy came into my head that I would entertain the king and queen with an English tune upon this instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult; for the spinet was near sixty feet long, each key being almost a foot wide, so that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys, and to press them down required a good smart stroke with my fist, which would be too great a labor and to no purpose.

The method I contrived was this: I prepared two round sticks about the bigness of common cudgels; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with pieces of mouse's skin, that by rapping on them I might neither damage the tops of the keys nor interrupt the sound. Before the spinet a bench was placed, about four feet below the keys, and I was put upon the bench. I ran sidelong upon it, that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper keys with my two sticks, and made a shift to play a jig, to the great satisfaction of both their majesties; but it was the most violent exercise I ever underwent; and yet I could not strike above sixteen keys, nor, consequently, play the bass and treble together, as other artists do; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The king, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet, he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards' distance, upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him.

I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, "that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of; that reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body; on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually the least provided with it; that among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity than many of the larger kinds; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service."

The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired "I would give him as exact an account of the government of England as I possibly could; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourse), he should be glad to hear of anything that might deserve imitation."

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

I began my discourse by informing his majesty, that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms, under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America. I dwelt long upon the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate. I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English Parliament; partly made of an illustrious body, called the House of Peers; persons of the noblest blood, and of the most ancient and ample patrimonies. I described that extraordinary care always taken of their education in art and arms, to qualify them for being counselors, both to the king and kingdom; to have a share in the legislature; to be members of the highest court of judicature, whence there can be no appeal; and to be champions always ready for the defense of their prince and country, by their valor, conduct, and fidelity. That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their most renowned ancestors, whose honor had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate.

To these were joined several holy persons, as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops, whose peculiar business it is to take care of religion, and of those who instruct the people therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counselors, among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their life, and the depth of their erudition; who were indeed the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.²⁰

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

I then descended to the courts of justice; over which the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided, for determining the disputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice

and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury; the valor and achievements of our forces, by sea and land.

I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious sect, or political party among us. I did not omit even our sports and pastimes, or any other particular which I thought might redound to the honor of my country.

And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about a hundred years past.

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

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his majesty, in a sixth audience, consulting his notes, proposed many doubts, queries, and objections, upon every article.

He asked, "what methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spend the first and teachable part of their lives? What course was taken to supply that assembly, when any noble family became extinct? What qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords: whether the humor of the prince, a sum of money to a court lady, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be the motives in those advancements?²¹ What share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow subjects in the last resort? Whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe, or some other sinister view, could have no place among them? Whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives; had never been compliers with the times, while they were common priests; or slavish prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow, after they were admitted into that assembly?²²"

He then desired to know "What arts were practiced in electing those whom I called commoners; whether a stranger with a strong purse, might not influence the vulgar voters to choose him before their own landlord, or the most considerable gentleman in the neighborhood? How it came to pass, that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expense, often to the ruin of their families, without any salary or pension; because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere?"²³

And he desired to know, "whether such zealous gentlemen could have any views of refunding themselves for the charges and trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry?"

He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless inquiries and objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in chancery, which was decreed for me with costs.

He asked, "What time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expense? Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive? Whether party, in religion or politics, were observed to be of any weight in the scales of justice? Whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs? Whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they assumed the liberty of interpreting, and glossing upon at their pleasure? Whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions?

Whether they were a rich or a poor corporation? Whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading, or delivering their opinions? And particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate?"²⁴

He fell next upon the management of our treasury; and said, "he thought my memory had failed me, because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a year, and when I came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double: for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations."²⁵

But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate, like a private person."

He asked me "Who were our creditors; and where we found money to pay them?" He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars; "that certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbors, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings."

He asked "What business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade or treaty, or to

defend the coasts with our fleet?" Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army, in the midst of peace, and among a free people. He said, "if we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my opinion, whether a private man's house might not better be defended by himself, his children, and family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get a hundred times more by cutting their throats."²⁶

He laughed at my "odd kind of arithmetic," as he was pleased to call it, "in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics." He said "he knew no reason why those who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And as it was tyranny in any government to re-quire the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second: for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials."²⁷

He observed, "that among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming; he desired to know at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed; whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes; whether mean, vicious people, by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very nobles in dependence, as well as habituate them to vile companions; wholly take from them the improvement of their minds, and force them, by the losses they received,²⁸ to learn and practice that infamous dexterity upon others?"

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

His majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken; compared the questions he made with the answers I had given; then taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivered himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in: "My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country; you have clearly proved that ignorance, idleness, and vice, are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied, by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an

institution, which in its original might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It does not appear, from what you have said, how any one perfection is required toward the procurement of any one station among you; much less that men are ennobled on account of their virtue; that priests are advanced by their piety or learning; soldiers, for their conduct or valor; judges for their integrity; senators, for the love of their country; or counselors for their wisdom."

"As for yourself," continued the king, "who have spent the greatest part of your life in traveling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed²⁹ and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."

CHAPTER VII

Love of truth could alone have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were always turned into ridicule; and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and beloved country was so injuriously treated. I am as heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be, that such an occasion was given; but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners, to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able.

Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favorable turn, by many degrees, than the strictness of truth would allow. For I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian: I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavor in those many discourses I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.

But great allowances should be given to a king who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the manners and customs that most prevail in other nations; the want of which knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowness of thinking, from which we and the politer countries of Europe, are wholly exempted.

And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to show the miserable effects of a confined education, I shall here insert a passage, which will hardly obtain belief.

In hopes to ingratiate myself further into his majesty's favor, I told him of "an invention, discovered between three and four hundred years ago, to make a certain powder, into a heap of which the smallest spark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it fly up in the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder. That a proper quantity of this powder rammed into a hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead, with such violence and speed, as nothing was able to sustain its force.

That the largest balls thus discharged, would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground; sink down ships with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea; and when linked together, by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them.

That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw the splinters, on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes, of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above a hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands.

This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment, in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favor and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of these terrible engines, and the proposal I had made.

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

As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more."³⁰

A strange effect of narrow principles and views! that a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love and esteem; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning; endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored by his subjects, should from a nice unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people.³¹

Neither do I say this, with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will, on this account, be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader; but I take this defect among them to have risen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done.

For, I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say, "There were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government," it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And he gave it for his opinion, "that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground, where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."³²

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

No law of that country must exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which consists only of two-and twenty. But indeed few of them extend even to that length.

They are expressed in the most plain and simple terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to discover above one interpretation; and to write a comment upon any law is a capital crime. As to the decision of civil causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any extra-ordinary skill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the king, which is reckoned the largest, does not amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleased.

The queen's joiner had contrived in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms, a kind of wooden machine five-and-twenty feet high, formed like a standing ladder; the steps were each fifty feet long; it was indeed a movable pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten feet distance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read, was put up leaning against the wall: I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and so walking to the right or left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a pasteboard, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality.

Among the rest, I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bedchamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion.

The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem except among the women and the vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, showing "how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature; how unable to defend himself from inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts: how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry."

He added, "that nature was degenerated in these latter declining-ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times." He said, "it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages; which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it has been confirmed by huge bones and skulls, casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of men in our days."

He argued, "that the very laws of nature absolutely required we should have been made, in the beginning, of a size more large and robust, not so liable to destruction from every little accident, of a tile falling from a house or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook." From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat.

For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature. And I believe, upon a strict inquiry, those quarrels might be shown as ill-grounded among us as they are among that people.

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

I have often seen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exercise, in a great field, near the city, of twenty miles square. There were in all not above twenty-five thousand foot, and six thousand horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their number, considering the space of ground they took up.

A cavalier mounted on a large steed might be about ninety feet high. I have seen this whole body of horse, upon a word of command, draw their swords at once and brandish them in the air. Imagination can figure nothing so grand, so surprising, and so astonishing! it looked as if ten thousand flashes of lightning were darting at the same time from every quarter of the sky.

I was curious to know how this prince, to whose dominions there is no access from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military discipline. But I was soon informed, both by conversation and reading their histories; for, in the course of many ages, they have been troubled with the same disease to which the whole race of mankind is subject: the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the king for absolute dominion. All which, however, happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three parties, and have more than once occasioned civil wars; the last whereof was happily put an end to by this prince's grandfather, in a general composition, and the militia, then settled with common consent, has been ever since kept in the strictest duty.

CHAPTER VIII

Junctures of perilous circumstances, from which I had already escaped, inspired me with a strong impulse that I should sometime recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding.

The ship in which I sailed was the first known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the king had given strict orders, "that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its crew and passengers brought in a timbril to Lorbrulgrud." He was strongly bent to get me a woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the breed: but I think I should rather have died than undergone the disgrace of leaving a posterity to be kept in cages, like tame canary birds, and perhaps, in time, sold about the kingdom, to persons of quality, for curiosities. I was indeed treated with much kindness: I was the favorite of a great king and queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon such a foot as ill became the dignity of humankind.

I could never forget these domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a manner not very common: the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I had not been two years in the country: and about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the king and queen, in a progress to the south coast of the kingdom. I was carried, as usual, in my traveling box, which as I have before described, was a very convenient closet of twelve feet wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed, by silken ropes, from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts when a servant carried me before him on horseback, as I sometimes desired; and would often sleep in my hammock while we were upon the road.

On the roof of my closet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather as I slept; which hole I shut at pleasure, with a board that drew backward and forward through a groove.

When we came to our journey's end, the king thought proper to pass a few days at a palace he has near Flanflasnic, a city within eighteen English miles of the seaside. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued: I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen.

I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea, with a page, whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charge she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box, about half an hour's walk from the palace, towards the rocks on the seashore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down to keep out the cold.

I soon fell asleep, and all I can conjecture is, while I slept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds' eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myself suddenly awakened with a violent pull upon the ring, which was fastened to the top of my box for the convenience of carriage. I felt my box raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed.

The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterwards the motion was easy enough. I called out several times as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise over my head, like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woeful condition I was in; that some eagle had got the cord of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on the rock, like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body and devour it: for the sagacity and smell of this bird enabled him to discover his quarry at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board. In a little time I observed the noise and flutter of wings to increase very fast, and my box was tossed up and down, like a sign in a windy day. I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle (for such I am certain it must have been that held the cord of my box in his beak), and then, all of a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down, for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness, that I almost lost my breath.

My fall was stopped by a terrible squash, that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara;³³ after which, I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of the windows.

I now perceived I was fallen into the sea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in it, and the broad plates of iron fixed for strength at four corners of

the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle which flew away with my box was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop, while he defended himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the prey.

The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight that very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my ham-mock, having first ventured to draw back the slip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled.

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me!

And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own misfortunes I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the queen, and the ruin of her fortune.

Perhaps many travelers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see my box dashed to pieces, or at least overset by the first violent blast or rising wave. A breach in one single pane of glass would have been immediate death: nor could anything have preserved the windows, but the strong lattice wires placed on the outside, against accidents in traveling.

I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavored to stop them as well as I could.

I was not able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it: where I might at least preserve myself some hours longer, than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect, but a miserable death of cold and hunger?

I was for four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing every moment to be my last. I have already told the reader that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window; and into which the servant who used to carry me on horseback, would put a leather belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard, or at least thought I heard some kind of a grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed; and soon after I began to fancy that the box was pulled or towed along the sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about.

I ventured to unscrew one of my chairs, which were always fastened to the floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the chair, and putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I understood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in the box.

I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along; and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no windows, struck against something that was hard.

I apprehended it to be a rock, and found myself tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up, by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse.

In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy, as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them.

I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole in a loud voice, in the English tongue,

“If there be anybody below let him speak.” I answered,

“I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in”.

The voice replied, I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship; and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out.

I answered “that was needless, and would take up too much time; for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain’s cabin.”³⁴

Some of them, upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head, that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all amazement, and asked me a thousand questions, which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pigmies. for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed my eyes to the monstrous objects I had left.

But the captain, Mr. Thomas Wilcox, an honest worthy Shropshire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me turn in upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand that I had some valuable furniture in my box, too good to be lost: a fine hammock, a handsome field-bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet that my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted with silk and cotton; that if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into the cabin, I would open it there before him, and show him my goods.

The captain, hearing me utter these absurdities, concluded I was raving; however (I suppose to pacify me), he promised to give orders as I desired, and going upon deck, sent some of his men down into my closet, whence (as I afterwards found), they drew up all my goods, and stripped off the quilting; but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up by force. They then knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the sea, which, by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk outright.

And, indeed, I was glad not to have been a spectator of the havoc they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former passages into my mind which I would rather have forgot.

I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking, I found myself much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long.

He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and when we were left alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden chest.

He said, "that about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he spied it at a distance, and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he sent out his long-boat, to discover what it was; that his men came back in fright, swearing they had seen a swimming house. That he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them. That the weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my windows and wire lattice that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which was all of boards, without any passage for

light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest, as they called it, towards the ship.

When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He said, they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy man must be shut up in the cavity."

I asked, "whether he or the crew had seen any prodigious birds in the air, about the time he first discovered me?" To which he answered, "that discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said, he had observed three eagles flying towards the north, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size;" which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, "How far he reckoned we might be from land?"

He said, "by the best computation he could make, we were at least a hundred leagues." I assured him "that he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country whence I came, above two hours before I dropped into the sea." Whereupon he began again to think my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabin he had provided. I assured him, "I was well refreshed with my good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life." He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely, "whether I were not troubled in my mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished, at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest; as great criminals, in other countries, have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel, without provisions: for although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a man into his ship, yet he would engage his word to set me safe ashore, in the first port where he arrived?"

He added, "that his suspicions were much increased by some absurd speeches I had delivered at first to his sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behavior while I was at supper."

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did, from the last time I left England, to the moment he first discovered me. And as truth always forces its way into rational minds, so this honest worthy gentle-man, who had some tincture of learning, and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candor and veracity. But, farther to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give order that my cabinet be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket; for he had already informed me how the seamen disposed of my closet. I opened it in his own presence, and showed him the small collection of

rarities I made in the country from which I had been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the king's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her majesty's thumb-nail, which served for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins, from a foot to half a yard long; four wasps stings, like joiners' tacks; some combings of the queen's hair; a gold ring which one day she made me a present of, in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this ring in return of his civilities; which he absolutely refused. I showed him a corn that I had cut off, with my own hand, from a maid of honor's toe; it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard, that when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

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

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, "he hoped, when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public." My answer was, "that I thought we were overstocked with books of travels; that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein, I doubted some authors less consulted truth than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers; that my story could contain little besides common events, without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people with which most writers abound.

However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said "he wondered at one thing very much, which was to hear me speak so loud; asking me, whether the king and queen of that country were thick of hearing?" I told him, "it was what I had been used to for above two years past, and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the streets, to another looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand."

I told him, "I had likewise observed another thing, that when I first got into the ship, and the sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most contemptible little creatures I had ever beheld." For, indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass after mine eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparisons gave me so despicable a conceit of myself. The captain said that while we were at supper he observed me to look at everything with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain.

I answered it was true; and I wondered how I could forbear when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver three-pence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nutshell; and so I went on, describing the rest of his household stuff and provisions, after the same manner. For, although the queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me, while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness as people do at their own faults.

The captain understood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old English proverb, that he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day; and continuing in his mirth, protested, "he would have gladly given a hundred pounds to have seen my closet in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great a height into the sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing object, worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages; and the comparison of Phaeton was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain having been at Tonquin, was, in his return to England, driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and longitude of 143. But meeting a trade-wind two days after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New Holland, kept our course west-southwest, and then south-southwest, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and sent in his longboat for provisions and fresh water; but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape. I offered to leave my goods in security for payment of my freight, but the captain protested he would not receive one farthing.

We took a kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come to see me at my house in Redriff. I hired a horse and guide for five shillings, which I borrowed of the captain.³⁵

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

When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to inquire, one of my servants opening the door, I bent down to go in (like a goose under a gate), for fear of striking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty feet and then I went to take

her up with one hand by the waist. I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies, and I a giant. I told my wife she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing. In short, I behaved myself so unaccountably that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and concluded I had lost my wits. This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice.

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

THE LAMENTATION OF GLUMDALCLITCH
FOR THE LOSS OF GRILDRIG

A PASTORAL

Soon as Glumdalclitch miss'd her pleasing care,
She wept, she blubber'd, and she tore her hair;
No British miss sincerer grief has known,
Her squirrel missing, or her sparrow flown.
She furi'd her sampler, and haul'd in her thread,
And stuck her needle into Grildrig's bed,
Then spread her hands, and with a bounce let fall
Her baby, like the giant in Guildhall.
In peals of thunder now she roars—and now
She gently whimpers like a lowing cow;
Yet lovely in her sorrow still appears;
Her locks dishevelled, and her floods of tears
Seem like the lofty barn of some rich swain,
When from the thatch drips fast a shower of rain.
In vain she searched each cranny of the house.
Each gaping chink impervious to a mouse.
"Was it for this," she cried, "with daily care.
Within thy reach I set the vinegar?
And fill'd the cruet with the acid tide.
While pepper-water-worms thy bait supplied,
Where twined the silver eel around thy hook.
And all the little monsters of the brook;
Sure in that lake he dropp'd:—my Grilly's drown'd!"
She dragg'd the cruet, and no Grildrig's found.
"Vain is thy courage, Grilly, vain thy boast";
But little creatures enterprise the most.
Trembling I've seen thee dare the kitten's paw;
Nay, mix with children as they play'd at taw,
Nor fear the marbles as they bounding flew;
Marbles to them, but rolling rocks to you.
"Why did I trust thee with that giddy youth?
Who from a page can ever learn the truth?
Versed in court-tricks, that money-loving boy,
To some lord's daughter sold the living toy;
Or rent him limb from limb in cruel play,
As children tear the wings of flies away:
From place to place o'er Brobdingnag I'll roam,

And never will return; or bring thee home.
But who hath eyes to trace the passing wind?
How, then, thy fairy footsteps can I find?
Dost thou, bewilder'd, wander all alone,
In the green thicket of a mossy stone?
Or tumbled from the toadstool's slippery round
Perhaps all maim'd, lie grav'ling on the ground?
Dost thou, embosom'd in the lovely rose,
Or sunk within the peach's down, repose?
Within the kingcup, if thy limbs are spread.
Or in the golden cowslip's velvet head.
Oh show me, Flora, 'midst those sweets, the flower
Where sleeps my Grildrig in the fragrant bower!
"But ah! I fear thy little fancy roves;
On little females, and on little loves;
Thy pigmy children, and thy tiny spouse;
The baby playthings that adorn thy house—
Doors, windows, chimneys, and the spacious rooms.
Equal in size to cells of honeycombs.
Hast thou for these now ventured from the shore,
Thy bark a bean-shell, and a straw thine oar?
Or in thy box, now bounding on the main—
Shall I ne'er bear thyself and house again?
And shall I set thee on my hand no more.
To see thee leap the lines, and traverse o'er
My spacious palm? Of stature scarce a span.
Mimic the actions of a real man?
No more behold thee turn my watch's key.
As seamen at a capstan anchors weigh!
How wert thou wont to walk with cautious tread,
A dish of tea, like milk-pale, on thy head?
How chase the mite that bore thy cheese away,
And keep the rolling maggot at a bay!"
She spoke, but broken accents stopp'd her voice.
Soft as the speaking-trumpet's mellow noise;
She sobb'd a storm, and wiped her flowing eyes.
Which seem'd like two broad suns in misty skies:
O squander not thy grief,—those tears command.
To weep upon our cod in Newfoundland;
The plenteous pickle shall preserve the fish.
And Europe taste like sorrows in her dish.

FOOTNOTES

A Voyage to Brobdingnag

TITLE PAGE 1) The existence of giants as a distinct race, superior in strength and stature to the rest of mankind, was long maintained as an article of faith, not merely by the ignorant and vulgar, but by men of learning. According to the Kabbins, Adam was not only the first, but the largest of mankind; they affirm that when he was created, his stature was so great that his head reached the heavens. This so annoyed the angels that they remonstrated with the Creator, upon which God placed his hand on Adam's head, and he instantly shrank into one thousand cubits. When the Garden of Eden was disjoined from the rest of the world after the Fall, by the interposition of the ocean, they assert that Adam waded through the depths to his new habitation, and that Eve accompanied him without fear of drowning; which she might well do if, as the Mohammedan doctors tell us, when her head lay on a hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, more than two bow-shots asunder.

Not only Jewish but Christian writers have maintained that a gigantic antediluvian race was produced by the intercourse between the sons of God and "daughters of men" (Gen. 6: 5). And they aver that these giants were destroyed by the universal deluge. Hence the Douay version renders Job 26: 5: "Behold the giants groan under the waters and that dwell with them. Hell is naked before them, and there is no cover for perdition."

To this sublime version the following comment is added: "Giants were not able to wade in Noah's flood, but were drowned with the rest." The Rabbins, however, make an exception in favor of Og, king of Basan, compared to whom, according to their legends, all other giants were mere Lilliputians. The waters of the deluge, they say, only reached to his knees, and he was alive at the time of Exodus, when God destroyed him by the hand of Moses. For Og, perceiving the advance of the Israelites, whose army covered a space of nine miles, cut a stone out of a mountain, so wide that it would have covered the whole army and he put it on his head that he might throw it upon them. But God sent a lapwing which pecked a hole through the stone, so that it slipped over Og's head, and hung round his neck like a necklace. The weight bore him to the ground on his face, and in this condition he was attacked by Moses. Moses was ten cubits in stature and he took a spear ten cubits long, and threw it ten cubits high, and yet it only reached Og's heels. Moses, however, succeeded in slaying him; and when he was dead, his body lay for a whole year, reaching as far as the river Nile in Egypt.

The feats of the giants who warred against the gods are sufficiently known, and they may be passed over as purely mythological. But brave historians have recorded that Scandinavia was originally inhabited by giants, one of whom, according to Olaus Magnus, was an eminent poet; and, unlike the rest of the tuneful brotherhood, wrote against indulgence in love and wine. Britain, if we may trust Grafton's Chronicle, was similarly tenanted: "Brute with his companie after his first landing in the island of Totnesse searched and travailed throughout all the land, and found the same to be marvelous ryche and plentiful of wood and pasture and garnished with most goodly and pleasant ryvers and stremes; and as he passed he was encountered in sundry places with a great number of mightie and strong gyants, which at that time did inhabite the same."

A belief in the existence of whole nations of giants is only now beginning to fade away before the gradual progress of geographical discovery. The ancients supposed that giants possessed the interior of Africa. In the time of Purchas (A.D. 1614), the Indians of Virginia were supposed to belong to the race of Anak for he gives the following account of a Virginian tribe, on the authority of Alexander Whitaker, an early traveler in these regions: "The Sasquesahanockes are a giantly people, strange in proportion, behavior, and attire, their voice sounding from them as out of a cave, their attire of bears' skins, hanged with bears' paws, the head of a wolf, and such like jewels; and (if any one would have a spoon to eat with the divele) their tobacco pipes were three-quarters of a yard long, carved at the great end with a bird, beare, or other device, sufficient to beat out the braines of a horse (and how many asses' braines are beat out or rather men's braines

smoked out and asses' braines haled in, by our lessee pipes at home?), the rest of their furniture was suitable. The calf of one of their legges was measured three-quarters of a yard about, the rest of his limbs proportionable."

The exaggerated accounts of the Patagonians, published by Magellan and Le Maire had not been refuted in Swift's time; so late as 1764, Commodore Byron declared that their stature filled him with astonishment. Hence Brobdingnag, considered merely as a fiction, did not seem so extravagant in the early part of the eighteenth as it does in the nineteenth century.

Lucian in his True History, and Bishop Godwin in his whimsical account of Domingo Gonsales' journey to the moon, have introduced gigantic races into their fictions. It is very probable that Swift took his first hint of the Brobdingnagians from the latter; for, like the bishop, he associates mildness and gentleness with enormous stature.

"Many of the lunarians," says the author of the World in the Moon, "live wonderful long, even beyond belief; affirming to me that some survived thirty thousand moons, which is above a thousand years; and this is generally noted, that the taller people are of stature the more excellent are their endowments of mind, and the longer time they live; for their stature is very different, great numbers not much exceeding ours, who seldom live above a thousand moons, which is fourscore of our years. These they account base unworthy creatures, but one degree above brute beasts, and employ them in mean and servile offices, calling them bastards, counterfeits, or changelings.

Those whom they account true natural lunars, or moon-men, exceed ours generally thirty times, both in quantity of body and length of life, proportionable to the quality of the day In both worlds; theirs containing almost thirty of our days".

2) This is a parody upon the account of storms and naval manoeuvres frequent in old voyages, and is merely an assemblage of sea-terms put together at random.

3) The satire in the account of the Voyage to Lilliput is for the most part personal, but in the account of Brobdingnag the satire is general, and directed against institutions rather than individuals. There are, however, a few sarcastic hits in the account given of the court of Brobdingnag, which bore hard on the statesmen of the day.—Percy, Bishop of Dromore, MS,

4) This ought to have been "awoke," the preterit of the verb neuter, not "awaked," the preterit of the verb active.—Sheridan.

5) The subjunctive mood is improperly used here; it should have been the indicative, "though it was," instead of "though it were." — Sheridan.

6) The passion for shows and sight-seeing was never at a greater height in England than during the reign of George I.; and the wags of the day derived great amusement from practicing on the credulity the people. Immense crowds assembled to see a man creep into a quart bottle, and when they discovered that they had been deceived, were near destroying the house in their rage. Swift's works contain several amusing parodies of the puffing placards in which these exhibitions were announced.

7) By this reasoning, the author probably intended to ridicule the pride of those philosophers who have thought fit to arraign the wisdom of Providence in the creation and government of the world: whose cavals are specious like those of the Brobdingnagian sages, only in proportion to the ignorance of those to whom they are proposed.—Hawkesworth

8) This satire is leveled against all who reject those facts for which they cannot perfectly account, notwithstanding the absurdity of rejecting the testimony by which they are supported.—Hawkesworth

9) Sir Walter Scott thinks that Swift has designedly introduced some traits of William III.'s character in the sketch of the king of Brobdingnag; but if anything more than the ideal of a patriot monarch is designed, it is probable that the Dean had an eye to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, from whom the Tories had

formed favorable anticipations.

10) Swift's frequent references to proportions, both here and in the Voyage to Lilliput, give an air of probability to his story which none of his imitators have been able to attain.

11) These boasts, which have been the commonplaces of party during the last two centuries, are rendered supremely ridiculous by their contrast with the speech of the king of Brobdingnag.

12) "Whether I was injured or no." This vulgar and ungrammatical mode of expression has become almost universal; but instead of "no" the particle "not" should be used. The absurdity of the former will appear by only repeating the word to which it refers, and annexing to it, as thus—, "Whether I were injured, or no injured," whereas "whether I were injured or not injured," is good grammar.—Sheridan.

13) This description of a sea that could not be safely navigated, appears to have been taken from that voracious traveler. Sir J. Mandeville. *From the land of Bactry, men go many days journey to the land of Prester John, that is a great emperor of Inde; and men call his land the yle of Pantoxore. There are many places in the sea where are many rocks of a stone that is called adamand, the which of his own kind draweth all manner of yron, and therefore there may be no ships that hath yron nayles pass but it draweth them to him, and therefore they dare not go into that country with ships for fear of adamand. I went once into that sea, and saw along it as it had been a great yle of trees, stockes and branches growinge, and the shipmen told me that those were of greateshippes that abode there through the vertue of the adamandes, and of things that were in the shippes, whereof those trees sprung and waxed.

14) Had Swift seen the colossal statuary of ancient Egypt, he would have found that it rivalled the imaginary sculpture of Brobdingnag. Belzoni has given the exact dimensions of the four stupendous figures which are seated side by side in front of the excavated temple of Ipsambul; each of them, though seated, measures sixty-four feet from the ground to the top of the cap; the arm from the shoulder to the elbow measures fifteen feet and a half, the ear three feet and a half, and the chest, across the shoulders, twenty-five feet four inches. Yet the great Sphinx is half as large again as these. Among the Egyptian antiquities there is a colossal fist, probably belonging to a sphinx: were the hand opened, the fingers would be nearly of the size of that which Glumdalclitch is said to have picked up.

15) Lord Orrery has directed attention to the air of probability which Swift's minute attention to proportions and his reference to familiar objects as a standard, give to his account of Lilliput. The same tact is not less observable in the account of Brobdingnag, and particularly in the comparison of the royal kitchen with the cupola of St. Paul's; perhaps also Swift intending to hint that St. Paul's, however splendid as an edifice, does not, like the Gothic cathedrals, immediately suggest that it was erected for religious purposes.

16) The particle "as," is here improperly omitted; it should be, so "curious as to weigh," etc. —Sheridan

17) Swift attributed his disappointment in his hopes of obtaining a bishopric from Queen Anne to the united influence of female intrigues and the remonstrances of Archbishop Sharpe. The Duchess of Somerset is said to have besought the Queen on her knees not to grant him promotion in revenge for a bitter lampoon, in which the character of the duchess was very roughly handled. Coarse as is the description here given of the maids of honor in the court of Brobdingnag, there is reason to believe that it has been much softened down from the original sketch.

18) It should be—"was not equal to it, etc."—Sheridan

19) It should be—"was so careless as to let."—Sheridan

20) The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, so strenuously maintained by many English divines, rendered the Church an object of suspicion to the several Whig cabinets, and ministerial patronage was exerted to weaken the political influence of the Church by promoting persons not likely to maintain the claims of ecclesiastical power. Not only Swift, but many others, complained that the Church was betrayed by the State, and that the secular power was directly exerted to overthrow episcopal authority. Bishop Warburton in one of his letters, urges this complaint with his usual force, vulgarity and mannerism; the passage is also remarkable for a Brobdingnagian image worthy of Swift himself. "You mention Noah's ark. I have really forgot what I said of it. But I suppose I compared it to the Church, as

many a grave divine has done before me. The Rabbins make the giant Gog or Magog contemporary with Noah, and convinced by his preaching; so that he was disposed to take the benefit of the Ark. But here lay the distress; it by no means suited his dimensions. Therefore, as he could not enter in, he contented himself to ride upon it astride. And though you must suppose, that in that stormy weather he was more than half boots over, he kept his seat, and dismounted safely when the ark landed on Mount Ararat. Image now to yourself this illustrious cavalier mounted on his hackney; and see if it does not bring before you the Church bestrid by some lumpish minister of state, who turns and winds it at his pleasure. The only difference is, that Gog believed the preacher of righteousness and religion."

The former comparison of the Church to the ark, which Warburton's correspondent appears to have noticed, is not less characteristic. "The church, like the ark of Noah, is worth saving; not for the sake of the unclean beasts and vermin that almost filled it, and probably made most noise and clamor in it, but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much distressed by the stink within as by the tempest without.

21) A bill for the limitation of the Peerage was passed by the House of Lords in 1719; but after a long debate, was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Commons. On this occasion, the Tories joined with that section of the Whigs which recognized Walpole as a leader. Swift unconsciously has adopted a portion of the reasoning of his great enemy.

22) Swift very frequently assailed the Irish bench of bishops, asserting that they were ignorant of the creed of their own church; in one of these attacks on the episcopal body, he says—

Of whom there are not four at most
Who know there is an Holy Ghost;
And when they boast they have conferr'd it
Like Paul's Ephesians never heard it;
And when they gave it 'tis well known,
They gave what never was their own.

In another political squib, we find the following bitter lines—

Let prelates by their- good behavior,
Convince us they believe a Savior;
Nor sell, what they so dearly bought.
This country, now their own, for nought

The Bishop of Kilkenny was particularly obnoxious to the Dean, and bears the brunt of Swift's fierce attack on the Irish bench for proposing to divide the church livings.

Old Latimer, preaching, did fairly describe
A bishop, who ruled all the rest of his tribe;
And who is this bishop? and where did he dwell?
Why, truly, 'tis Satan, Archbishop of Hell;
And he was a primate, and he wore a mitre.
Surrounded with jewels of sulphur and nitre.
How nearly this bishop our bishops resembles!
But he has the odds who believes and who trembles.
Could you see his Grim Grace, for a pound to a penny,
You'd swear it must be the baboon of Kilkenny;
For Satan will think the comparison odious;
I wish I could find him out one more commodious.
But this I am sure, the most reverend old dragon
Had got on the bench manv bishops suffragan;
And all men believe he resides there incog.
To give them by turns an invisible jog.

23) Considerable excitement was produced by Sir John Cope having charged Sir Francis Page, one of the barons of the Exchequer, with endeavoring to corrupt the borough of Banbury, in order to secure the return of Sir William Codrington at the next election. The charge was heard at the bar of the House of Commons, and though the ministers of the day exerted all their influence to shield the judge, he was acquitted by a majority of four only, the numbers being 128 to 124. A

bill for securing the Freedom of Elections was about the same time rejected by the House of Lords, through the influence of the ministers, who had failed to strangle it in the Commons. This afforded the Tories an opportunity of representing themselves as the friends, and the Whigs as the enemies of constitutional liberty, which they were too wise to neglect. During the debate in the Commons, Mr. Hutcheson, member of Hastings, used the following language, which seems to have suggested the king of Brobdingnag's queries to Swift: "But what in God's name can all this tend to? What other construction can any man in common sense put upon all those things, but that there seems to have been a grand design of violence and oppression, first to humble you, and make your necks pliable to the yoke, and then to finish the work, by tempting the poverty and necessities of the people to sell themselves into the most abject and detestable slavery, for that very money which had been either unnecessarily raised, or mercilessly and unjustly plundered and torn from their very bowels? And thus you may be in a fair way of being beaten by your own weapons. Nor can I imagine what inducement men have who run from borough to borough, and purchase their elections at such extravagant rates, unless it be from a strong expectation of being well paid for their votes, and of receiving ample recompense and reward for the secret service they have covenanted to perform here.

It were very much to be wished, that gentlemen of estates and families in the country would heartily unite in this particular, of keeping the elections in the several counties among themselves; that they would resolve inviolably to support each other's interests against the encroachments and corrupt applications of strangers, let them come from what quarter they will. If this were done, it would, in a great measure, put an end to those dangerous and infamous practices that are now on foot, and we might hope once more to see this House filled with gentlemen of free and independent fortunes, such as would be above making their court anywhere at the expense of their country, and would despise all manner of slavish concessions to men in power.

24) In the session of 1720 Sir William Thompson, Solicitor-General, charged Mr. Lechmere, Attorney-General, with breach of his oath, trust and duty, as a privy councillor, saying that he acted as counsel, and received sums of money for his advice in matters to him referred by the Privy Council as Attorney General. The charge was investigated by a committee of the whole House; it appeared that Mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his usual fees as chamber counsellor, and the accusation was declared by the House to be false, scandalous, and malicious. The lawyers of Swift's day were for the most part Whigs, and strongly attached to the Protestant succession; they were on this account particularly odious to the Jacobites, and when individual satire failed, bitter attacks were made on the entire legal profession.

It must, however, be added, that the Whig lawyers were too ready to extend the dangerous principle of constructive treason, and far too ardent in their prosecutions for libel. Swift was particularly hostile to lawyers on account of the vexatious prosecutions undertaken against the printers and publishers of the Drapier's Letters, and he never omits an opportunity of venting his indignation.

25) The National Debt was first incurred by the Whig administrations in the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, when the ordinary revenue was found inadequate to the expenses of the great wars against France. It was a favorite topic of declamation with their Tory opponents, and was not the least efficacious in depriving the Whigs of their popularity. In 1772 the Tories proposed the following resolution in the Lords: "That the lessening the public debt annually by all proper methods is necessary to the restoring and securing the public credit." The previous question was carried; upon which, a spirited protest was entered on the Journals, and copies of it industriously circulated through the country.

26) One of the most memorable debates in the reign of George I was on the grant for maintaining a standing army of sixteen thousand men. Mr. Shippen and Mr. Jeffries resisted the proposal with great energy, and the former used such severity of language that he was committed to the Tower. The Tories, both on this question and on the debt, had a decided advantage in argument over their adversaries, especially as they could appeal to a parliamentary resolution in the reign of Charles II., which declared, "That the continuance of standing forces in this nation, other than the militia, is illegal and a great grievance and vexation to the people." Mr. Shippen, in his speech perplexed the Whigs by referring to their own recorded principles: "It

is," said he, "every year declared in the Act of Mutiny and Desertion, that the keeping up of a standard army in time of peace is against law; and as the freeing us from it was one of the ends of the Revolution, so no doubt, the preserving us forever from an attempt of the like nature, was one of those innumerable glorious advantages proposed by the Acts of Succession."

27) It is not easy to reconcile these intolerant sentiments with the opinions on toleration already noticed in the Voyage to Lilliput. There was at this time reason to fear that the Presbyterians would obtain the ascendancy in the Irish Parliament, and abolish episcopacy; hence probably arises Swift's bitterness against secretaries, which is very strongly manifested here, and in his celebrated Letter on the Sacramental Test.

28) "Receiving a loss," is certainly not a good expression; it should be, "the losses they have sustained."—Sheridan.

29) Instead of "wringed" it should have been "wrung"—Sheridan

30) It is scarcely necessary to expose the fallacious reason-ing of this passage; everybody knows that wars have been far less sanguinary since the invention of gunpowder than they were before, and that every improvement in the arts of destruction has been followed by a saving of human life. Swift, however, knew that the glories of Marlborough's campaigns were the chief source of the popularity of the Whigs, and as he could not deny the military merits of these victories, he hoped to weaken their influence by declaiming against wars in general.

31) It was more than hinted by the Tories, that the House of Brunswick intended to make use of the standing army to subvert British liberty. Mr. Shippen, in the speech to which allusion has been already made, said, "That the second paragraph of the King's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great Britain; and that the King was a stranger to our language and constitution." It was for these expressions that he was committed to the Tower.

32) The Tories were always anxious to identify themselves with the agricultural interest, to which Swift consequently loses no opportunity of paying a compliment.

33) This cataract is produced by the fall of a conflux of water (formed of the four vast lakes of Canada) from a rocky precipice, the perpendicular height of which is one hundred and thirty-seven feet; and it is said to have been heard fifteen leagues — Hawkesworth.

34) There are several little incidents which show the author to have had a deep knowledge of human nature, and I think this is one. Although the principal advantages enumerated by Gulliver in the beginning of this chapter, of mingling again among his countrymen, depended on their being of the same size with himself, yet this is forgotten in his ardor to be delivered; and he is afterwards betrayed into the same absurdity, by his zeal to preserve his furniture

—Hawkesworth.

35) This exquisitely simple incident will probably remind the reader of Campbell's description of Commodore Byron:

In horrid climes, where Chiloe's tempests sweep
Tumultuous murmurs o'er the troubled deep,
'Twas his to mourn Misfortune's rudest shock:
Scourged by the winds and cradled on the rock,
To wake each joyous morn and search again
The famished haunts of solitary men.
Whose race unyielding as their native storm,
Know not a trace of nature but the form;
Yet at thy call the hardy tar pursued.
Pale, but intrepid, sad, but unsubdued.
Pierced the deep woods, and hailing from afar
The moon's pale planet and the northern star,
Paused at each dreary cry unheard before,
Hyenas in the wild, and mermaids on the shore;
Till led by Hope o'er many a cliff sublime,
He found a warmer world, a milder clime,
A home to rest, a shelter to defend,
Peace and repose, a Briton and a friend.

A Voyage to Tapuata, Balnibarbi, Tuggnagg, Glubbudubdris and Japan¹

CHAPTER I

I had not been at home above ten days, when Captain Wilham Robinson, a Cornishman, commander of the Hopewell, a stout ship of three hundred tons, came to my house.

I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and fourth part owner, in a voyage to the Lavant.

He had always treated me more like a brother than any inferior officer; and hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended only out of friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences. But repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me in good health, asking, "whether I was not settled for life?" adding "that he intended a voyage to the East Indies in about two months," at last he plainly invited me, though with many apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; "that I should have another surgeon under me, beside our two mates; that my salary should be doubled to the usual pay; and that having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command."

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal; the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever.

The only difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent, however, I at last obtained, by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out on the 5th day of August, 1706, and arrived at Fort St. George² the 11th of April, 1707. We stayed there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick.

From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighboring islands, and putting four-teen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquine.

We had not sailed above three days, when a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east, and then to the east: after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west.

Upon the tenth day we were chased by two pirates, who soon overtook us; for my sloop was so deep laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves.

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

I observed among them a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of either ship. He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and jabbering to us in our own language, swore we would be tied back to back and thrown into the sea.

I spoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him whom we were, and begged him, in consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of neighboring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us.

This inflamed his rage; he repeated the threatenings, and turning to his companions, spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several questions, which I answered in great humility, said, "we should not die." I made the captain a very low bow, and then turning to the Dutchman, said, 'T was sorry to find more mercy in a Heathen than in a brother Christian.'" But I had soon reason to repent the foolish words; for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavored in vain to persuade both the captains that I might be thrown into the sea (which they would not yield to, after the promise made me that I should not die), however, prevailed so far as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself.

My men were sent by an equal division into both the pirate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined that I should be set adrift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail, and four days' provisions; which last, the Japanese captain was so kind as to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me.

I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pirates, I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and longitude of 183. When I was at some distance from the pirates, I discovered by my pocket-glass, several islands to the southeast. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made a shift to do, in about three hours.

It was all rocky: however, I got many birds' eggs; and striking fire, I kindled some heath and dry seaweed, by which I roasted my eggs. I ate no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well. The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my sail, and sometimes my paddles. But not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice, that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-southeast to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round, before I could find a convenient place to land in; which was a small creek, about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet-smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers; I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry seaweed and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could for I had about me my flint, steel, match, and burning-glass. I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions.

My bed was the same dry grass and seaweed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake.

I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be: yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise; and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was far advanced.

I walked awhile among the rocks; the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it; when all on a sudden it became obscure, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving forwards towards the island; it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes; but I did not observe the air to be colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain.

As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below. I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping; but what those people were doing I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motion of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope that this adventure might, somehow or other, help to deliver me from the desolate place and condition I was in. But at the same time, the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to rise or sink, or put it into progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophize upon this phenomenon, I rather chose what course the island would take, because it seemed for awhile to stand still.

Yet soon after, it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries, and stairs at certain intervals to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery, I beheld some people fishing with long angling rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap (for my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief toward the island; and upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of voice: and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gathered to that side which was most in my view. I found by their pointing toward me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men running in great haste up the stairs, to the top of the island, who then disappeared.

I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for orders to some person in authority, upon this occasion. The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour the island was moved, and raised in such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than a hundred yards' distance from the height where I stood.

I then put myself in the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer.

Those who stood nearest over against me, seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length, one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian: and therefore I returned an answer in that language, hoping at least that the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

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

CHAPTER II

At my alighting, I was surrounded with a crowd of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They behold me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder, neither indeed was I much in their debt; having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits and countenances.

Their heads were all reclined, either to the right or the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith.³

Their outward garments were adorned with figures of sun, moons, and stars; interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guitars, harpsichords, and many instruments of music, unknown to us in Europe. I observed, here and there, many in the habit of servants, with a blown bladder, fastened like a flail to the end of a stick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a small quantity of dried peas, or little pebbles, as I was afterwards informed. With these bladders they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of those who stood near them, of which practice I could not then conceive the meaning. It seemed the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they neither can speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by some external actions upon the organs of speech and hearing: for which reason, those persons who are able to afford it always keep a flapper (the original is *climenole*), in their family, as one of their domestics; nor ever walk abroad, or make visits, without him. And the business of this officer is, when two, three, or 'more persons are in company gently to strike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresses himself. This flapper is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft flap on his eyes; because he is always so wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post: and in the streets, of jostling others, or being jostled himself into the kennel.

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

their flappers: for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the shouts of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of presence, where I saw the king seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality.

Before the throne was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds. His majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise, by the concourse of all persons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem; and we attended at least an hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him, on each side, a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear: at which he startled like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before.

He spoke some words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the right ear; but I made signs, as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an instrument; which, as I afterwards found, gave his majesty, and the whole court, a very mean opinion of my understanding. The king, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had.

When it was found I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers), where two servants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four persons of quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the king's person, did me the honor to dine with me. We had two courses of three dishes each. In the first course, there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an equilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into a cycloid.

The second course was two ducks trussed up in the forms of fiddles; sausages and puddings resembling flutes and hautbovs, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and several other mathematical figures.

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

After dinner, my company withdrew, and a person was sent to me by the king's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him, pen, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to understand by signs that he was sent to teach me the language.

We sat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns, with the translations over against them: I likewise made a shift to learn several short sentences, for my tutor would order one of my servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a bow, to sit, or to stand, to walk, and the like. Then I took down the sentence in writing.

He showed me also, in one of his books, the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, the zodiac, the tropics, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many planes and solids. He gave me the names and descriptions of all the musical instruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words, with their interpretations, in alphabetical order.

And thus, in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got some insight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the flying or floating island, is in the original Laputa, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. Lap, in the old obsolete language, signifies high; and untuh, a governor; from which they say, by corruption, was derived. Laputa from Lapuntah.

But I do not approve of this derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the learned among them a conjecture of my own, that Laputa was *quasi lap outed*; lap, signifying properly, the dancing of the sunbeams in the sea, and outed, a wing; which, however, I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious reader.⁴

Those to whom the king had intrusted me, observed how ill I was clad, ordered a tailor to come next morning, and take measure for a suit of clothes. This operator did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe.

He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rules and compasses, described the dimensions and outlines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and in six days brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded.⁵

During my confinement for want of clothes, and by an indisposition that held me some days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I next went to court, was able to understand many things the king spoke, and to return him some kind of answers. His majesty had given orders, that the island should move northeast-and-by-east to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of

the whole kingdom below, upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues distant, and our voyage lasted four days and a half.

I was not in the least sensible of the progressive motion made in the air by the island. On the second morning, about eleven o'clock, the king himself in person, attended by his nobility, courtiers, and officers, having prepared all their musical instruments, played on them for three hours without intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; neither could I possibly guess the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He said, "that the people of their island had their ears adapted to hear the music of the spheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever instrument they most excelled."⁶

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his majesty ordered that the island should stop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his subjects. And to this purpose several packthreads were let down, with small weights at the bottom.

On these packthreads the people strung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the scraps of paper fastened by schoolboys at the end of the string that holds their kite.

Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below which were drawn up by pulley.

The knowledge I had in mathematics gave me great assistance in acquiring their phraseology, which depended much upon that science, and music; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their ideas are perpetually conversant in lines and figures. If they would, for example, praise the beauty of a woman, or any other animal, they describe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipses, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from music, needless here to repeat. I observed in the king's kitchen all sorts of mathematical and musical instruments after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were served to his majesty's table; their houses are very ill-built, the walls bevel, without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect arises from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanic: those instructions they give being too refined for the intellects of their workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes. And although they are dexterous enough upon a piece of paper, in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet in the common actions and behavior of life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other subjects, except those of mathematics and music.

They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion, which is seldom their case. Imagination, fancy, and invention, they are wholly strangers to, nor have any

words in their language by which those ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two forementioned sciences.

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

These people are under continual inquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind: and their disturbances proceed from causes which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies: for instance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the sun towards it, must, in course of time, be absorbed, or swallowed up; that the face of the sun will, by degrees, be incrustated with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world; that the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes: and that the next, which they have calculated for one and thirty years hence, will probably destroy us. For if, in its perihelion, it should approach within a certain degree of the sun (as by their calculations they have reason to dread), it will receive a degree of heat ten thousand times more intense than that of red-hot glowing iron; and, in its absence from the sun, carrying a blazing tail ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long, through which, if the earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must in its passage be set on fire, and reduced to ashes; that the sun, daily spending its rays without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the destruction of this earth, and all of the planets that receive their light from it.⁷

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehensions of these, and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any relish for

the common pleasures and amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is about the sun's health; how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet⁸ This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of spirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the island have abundance of vivacity; they contemn their husbands, and are exceedingly fond of strangers: whereof there is always a considerable number from the continent below, attending at court, either upon affairs of the several towns and corporations, or their own particular occasions, but are much despised, because they want the same endowments.

Among these, the ladies choose their gallants: but the vexation is, that they act with too much ease and security; for the husband is always so wrapped in speculation, that the mistress and lover may proceed to the greatest familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implement and without his flapper at his side.

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

And although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her jewels, to the same gallant, and has not been heard of since.

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

In about a month's time, I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to answer most of the king's questions, when I had the honor to attend him.

His majesty discovered not the least curiosity to inquire into the laws, government, history, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been; but confined his questions to the state of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference, though often roused by his flapper on each side.

CHAPTER III

Jealousy of foreigners is so common everywhere, that before making any researches, I requested leave of the prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me.

I chiefly wanted to know, to what cause in art or nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The flying or floating island is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 yards, or about four miles and a half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres. It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom or under surface, which appears to those who view it from below, is one even, regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of about two hundred yards. Above it lie the several minerals in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper surface, from the circumference to the center, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains which fall upon the island are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basins, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards distant from the center.

From these basins the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the daytime, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the region of clouds and vapors, he can prevent the falling of dews and rain whenever he pleases. For the highest clouds cannot rise above two miles, as naturalists agree; at least they are never known to do so in that country.

At the center of the island there is a chasm about fifty yards in diameter, whence the astronomers descend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the astronomer's cave, situated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the surface of the adamant. In this cave are twenty lamps, continually burning, which, from the reflection of the adamant, cast a strong light into every part.

The place is stored with a great variety of sextants, quadrants, telescopes, astrolabes, and other astronomical

instruments. But the greatest curiosity, upon which the fate of the island depends, is a loadstone of prodigious size, in shape resembling a weaver's shuttle. It is in length six yards, and the thickest part at least three yards over.

This magnet is sustained by a very strong axle of adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poised so exactly that the weakest hand can turn it. It is hooped round with a hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by eight adamantine feet, each six yards high. In the middle of the concave side there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occasion.

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

By means of this loadstone, the island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the earth over which the monarch presides, the stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive power, and the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the magnet erect, with its attracting end toward the earth, the island descends; but when the repelling extremity points downward, the island mounts directly upwards.

When the position of the stone is oblique, the motion of the island is so too: for, in this magnet, the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion the island is conveyed to different parts of the monarch's dominions. To explain the manner of its progress, let A B represent a line drawn across the dominions of Balnibarbi, let the line C D represent the loadstone, of which let D be the repelling end and C the attracting end, the island being over C: let the stone be placed in position C D, with its repelling end downward; then the island will be driven upwards obliquely toward D. When it is arrived at D, let the stone be turned upon its axle, till its attracting end points toward E and then the island will be carried obliquely toward E, where, if the stone be again turned upon its axle till it stands in the position E F, with its repelling point downward, the island will rise obliquely towards F, where, by directing the attracting end toward G, the island may be carried to G, and from G to H, by turning the stone so as to make its repelling extremity point directly downward.

And thus, by changing the situation of the stone, as often as there is occasion, the island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique direction, and by those alternate risings and fallings (the obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the dominions to the other.

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

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

This loadstone is under the care of certain astronomers, who from time to time, give it such positions as the monarch directs. They spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies, which they do by the assistance of glasses, far excelling ours in goodness.

For, although their largest telescopes do not exceed three feet, they magnify much more than those of a hundred with us, and show the stars with greater clearness. This advantage has enabled them to extend their discoveries much farther than our astronomers in Europe; for they have made a catalogue of ten thousand fixed stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one-third part of that number. They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or satellites, which revolve about Mars; whereof the innermost is distant from the center of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost, five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and a half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance, from the center of Mars; which evidently shows them to be governed by the same law of gravitation that influences the other heavenly bodies.

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

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

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

The first and the mildest course is, by keeping the island hovering over such a town, and the lands about, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases: and if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defense but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop direct upon their heads, which makes an universal destruction both of houses and men.

However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in execution; nor dare his ministers advise him to an action, which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would be a great damage to their own estates, which lie all below; for the island is the king's demesne.

But there is still indeed a more weighty reason, why the kings of this country have been always averse from executing so terrible an action, unless upon the utmost necessity.

For, if the town intended to be destroyed should have in it any tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities, a situation probably chosen at first with a view to prevent such a catastrophe; or if it abound in high spires, or pillars of stone, a sudden fall might endanger the bottom or under surface of the island, which, although it consists, as I have said, of one entire adamant, two hundred yards thick might happen to crack by too great a shock, or burst by approaching too near the fires from the houses below, as the backs, both of iron and stone, will often do in our chimneys. Of all this the people are well apprised, and understand how far to carry their obstinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the king, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a city to rubbish, orders the island to descend with great gentleness, out of a pretense of tenderness to his people, but, indeed, for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which case, it is the opinion of all their philosophers, that the loadstone could no longer hold it up, and the whole mass would fall to the ground.

By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the king, nor either of his two elder sons, are permitted to leave the is-land; nor the queen, till she is past childbearing.



CHAPTER IV

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

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

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

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

He was pleased to show me many marks of favor, often did me the honor of a visit, desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manners and learning of the several countries where I had traveled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I spoke.

He had two flappers attending him for state, but never made use of them, except at court and in visits of ceremony; and would always command them to withdraw, when we were alone together.

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

On the 16th of February I took leave of his majesty and the court. The king made me a present to the value of

about two hundred pounds English, and my protector, his kinsman, as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis; the island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of the flying island, passes under the general name of Balnibarbi; and the metropolis, as I said before is Lagado.

I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness.

This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival, he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London; but the houses very strangely built, and the most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country where I saw many laborers working with several sorts of tools on the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent.

I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances, both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me, what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced; but on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill-contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenance and habits expressed so much misery and want.⁹

This Lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado; but, by a cabal of ministers, was discharged for insufficiency. However, the king treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of a low, contemptible understanding.¹⁰

When I gave that free censure of the country and its inhabitants, he made no further answer than by telling me "that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgment; and that the different nations of the world had different customs; with other common topics to the same purpose. But when we returned to his palace,

he asked me, "how I liked the building, what absurdities I observed, and what quarrel I had with the dress or looks of his domestics?" This he might safely do; because everything about him was magnificent, regular and polite.

I answered, "that his Excellency's prudence, quality and fortune, had exempted him from those defects, which folly and beggary had produced in others."

He said, "if I could go with him to his country house, about twenty miles distant, where his estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of conversation."

I told his Excellency, "that I was entirely at his disposal;" and accordingly we set out next morning.

During our journey he made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands, which to me were wholly unaccountable; for, except in some very few places, I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass. But, in three hours' traveling, the scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful country; farmers' houses at small distances, neatly built; the fields enclosed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds and meadows.

Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His Excellency observed my countenance to clear up; he told me with a sigh, "that there his estates began, and would continue the same, till we should come to his house; that his countrymen ridiculed and despised him, for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom; which, however, was followed by very few, such as were old, and willful and weak, like himself."

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

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

The sum of his discourse was to this effect: "that about forty years ago, certain persons went up to Laputa, either

upon business or diversion, and, after five months' continuance, came back with a very little smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile spirits acquired in that airy region: that these persons, upon their return, began to dislike the management of everything below, and fell into schemes of putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics upon a new foot.

To this end, they procured a royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado; and the humor prevailed so strongly among the people, that there is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without such an academy. In these colleges the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments and tools for all trades and manufacturers; whereby, as they undertake one man shall do the work of ten, a palace may be built in a week, of materials so durable as to last forever without repairing. All the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we think fit to choose, and increase a hundred-fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy proposals.

The only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection; and in the meantime, the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or clothes. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair; that as for himself, being not of an enterprising spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live in the houses his ancestors had built, and act as they did, in every part of life, without innovation; that some few other persons of quality and gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill commonwealth's men, preferring their own ease and sloth before general improvement of their country."

His Lordship added "that he would not by any farther particulars, prevent the pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand academy, whither he resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined building, upon the side of a mountain about three miles distant, of which he gave me this account: "that he had a very convenient mill within half a mile of his house, turned by a current from a large river, and sufficient for his own family as well as a great number of his tenants; that about seven years ago a club of these projectors came to him with proposals to destroy this mill, and build another on the side of that mountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal must be cut, for a repository of water, to be conveyed up by pipes and engines to supply the mill because the wind and air upon a height agitated the water, and thereby made it fitter for motion; and because the water, descending down a declivity, would turn the mill with half the current of a river, whose course is more upon a level." He said, "that being then not very well with the

court, and pressed by many of his friends, he complied with their proposal; and after employing a hundred men for two years, the work miscarried, the projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same experiment, with equal assurance of success, as well as equal disappointment.”

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

CHAPTER V

Conceiving that my readers will be anxious to know the particulars of the Laputian university, I shall now proceed to describe it.

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

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room has in it one or more projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms. The first man I saw was of a meager aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged, and singed in several places. His clothes, shirt, and skin, were all of the same color. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers.

He told me, he did not doubt, that in eight years more, he should be able to supply the governor's garden with sunshine, at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and entreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them. I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a whisper “to give no offense, which would be highly resented;” and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose.

The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy; his face and beard were of a pale yellow; his hands and clothes daubed over with filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a close embrace; a compliment I could well have excused. His employment,

from his first coming into the academy, was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food, by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the odor exhale, scumming off the saliva.

He had a weekly allowance from the society, of a vessel filled with human ordure, about the bigness of a Bristol barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gunpowder, who likewise showed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.¹²

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

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition; their employment was to mix colors for painters, which their master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally mistaken.

This artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.¹³

In another apartment, I was highly pleased with a projector who had found a device of ploughing the ground with hogs, to save the charges of ploughs, cattle and labor.

The method is this: in an acre of ground, you bury, at six inches distance, and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chestnuts, and other mast or vegetables, whereof these animals are fondest; then you drive six hundred or more of them into the field, where, in a few days, they will root up the whole ground in search of their feed, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung; it is true, upon experiment, they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop.

However, it is not doubted, that this invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and ceiling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance, he called aloud to me “not to disturb his webs.”

He lamented “the fatal mistake the world had been so long in, of using silk-worms, while he had such plenty of domestic insects who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave, as well as spin.”

And he proposed further, “that by employing spiders, the charge of dyeing silks should be wholly saved; whereof

I was fully convinced, when he showed me a vast number of flies most beautifully colored, wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us “that the webs would take a tincture from them; and as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit everybody’s fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies, of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a strength and consistence to the threads.”¹⁴

There was an astronomer, who had undertaken to place a sundial upon the great weathercock on the town-house, by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a small fit of the colic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease, by contrary operations from the same instrument.

He had a large pair of bellows, with a long slender muzzle of ivory; this he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and drawing in the wind, he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the instrument to replenish it by clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out bringing the noxious along with it (like water put into a pump), and the patient recovered. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge as was very offensive to me and my companion. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavoring to recover him, by the same operation.¹⁵

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity. I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something, when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them “the universal artist.”

He told us “he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life.” He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance, by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble, for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse, to preserve them from foundering.

The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skillful enough to comprehend.

The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetables, outwardly applied, to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped, in a reasonable time, to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors of speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw, was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said: “Perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge, by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and he flattered himself that a more noble, exalted thought never sprang into any other man’s head.

Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas, by his contrivance the most ignorant person, at a reasonable charge, and with a little bodily labor, might write books in philosophy, poetry, politics, laws, mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study.”

He then led me to the frame, about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks. It was twenty feet square, placed in the middle of the room.

The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness of a die, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered, on every square, with paper pasted on them; and on these papers were written all the words of their language, in their several moods, tenses, and declensions; but without any order. The professor then desired me “to observe; for he was going to set his engine at work.”

The pupils, at his command, took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six-and-thirty of the lads to read the several lines softly, as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times; and at every turn, the engine was so contrived, that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.¹⁶

Six hours a day the young students were employed in this labor; and the professor showed me several volumes in large folio, already collected, of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of those rich

materials, to give the world a complete body of all arts and sciences; which however, might be still improved, and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me “that this invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth: that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the numbers of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech.”

I made my humblest acknowledgment to this illustrious person for his great communicativeness; and promised, “if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine;” the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate on paper. I told him, “although it were the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this advantage, that it became a controversy which was the right owner: yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honor entire, without a rival.”

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles; because, in reality, all things imaginable are but nouns.

The other project was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak is, in some degree, a diminution of our lungs by corrosion; and consequently contributes to the shortening of our lives.

An expedient was therefore offered, “that since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express a particular business they are to discourse on.” And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate had not threatened to raise a rebellion unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcilable enemies to science are the common people.

However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things; which has only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be

obliged, in proportion, to carry a greater bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him.

I have often beheld two of these sages almost sinking under the weight of their pack, like peddlers among us; who, when they met in the street would lay down their loads; open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets, and under his arms, enough to supply him; and in his house, he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room where company meet who practice this art, is full of all things, ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention was, that it would serve as a universal language, to be understood in all civilized nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in Europe.

The proposition and demonstration were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of cephalic tincture. This, the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water.

As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the composition along with it. But the success has not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the *quantum* or proposition, and partly by the perverseness of lads, to whom this bolus is so nauseous, that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards, before it can operate; neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.

CHAPTER VI

Judgment does not seem to rule in the school of political projectors, where I was but ill entertained; the professors appearing to me wholly out of their senses, which is a scene that never fails to make me melancholy.

These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to choose favorites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest, by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of choosing for

employments persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild, impossible chimeras, that never entered before into the heart of man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old observation, “that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational, which some philosophers have not maintained for truth.”

But, however, I shall so far do justice to this part of the academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious doctor, who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole nature and system of government. This illustrious person had very usefully employed his studies, in finding out effectual remedies for all diseases and corruptions, to which the several kinds of public administration are subject, by the vices or infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the licentiousness of those who are to obey.

For instance, whereas all writers and reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal resemblance between the natural and the political body; can there be anything more evident, than that the health of both must be preserved, and the diseases cured, by the same prescriptions? It is allowed, that senates and great councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humors; with many diseases of the head, and more of the heart; with strong convulsions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and sinews in both hands, but especially the right; with spleen, flatulency, vertigoes, and deliriums; with scrofulous tumors, full of fetid purulent matter; with sour, frothy eructations; with canine appetites, and crudeness of digestion, besides many others, needless to mention.

This doctor therefore proposed, “that upon the meeting of the senate, certain physicians should attend at the three first days of their sitting, and at the close of each day’s debate feel the pulses of every senator; after which, having maturely considered and consulted upon the nature of the several maladies, and the methods of cure, they should on the fourth day return to the senate-house, attended by their apothecaries, stored with proper medicines; and before the members sat, administer to each of them lenitives, operatives, abstersives, corrosives, restringents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalagics, icterics, apophlegmatics, acoustics, as their several cases required; and according as these medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them, at the next meeting.”

This project could not be of any great expense to the public; and might, in my poor opinion, be of much use for the despatch of business, in those countries where senates have any share in the legislative power; to begot unanimity, shorten debates, open a few mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the petulance of the young, and correct the positiveness of the old; rouse the stupid, and damp the pert.

Again: because it is a general complaint, that the favorites of princes are troubled with short and weak memories; the same doctor proposed, “that whoever attended a first minister, after having told his business with the utmost brevity and in the plainest words, should, at his departure, give the said minister a tweak by the nose, or a kick in the belly, or tread on his corns, or lug him thrice by both ears, or run a pin into his breech, or pinch his arm black and blue, to prevent forgetfulness and at every levee-day, repeat the same operation, till the business were done, or absolutely refused.”

He likewise directed, “that every senator in the great council of a nation, after he had delivered his opinion and argued in the defense of it, should be obliged to give his vote directly contrary; because if that were done, the result would infallibly terminate in the good of the public.”

When parties in a state are violent, he offered a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The method is this, you take a hundred leaders of each party; you dispose them into couples of such whose heads are nearest of a size; then let two nice operators saw off the occiput of each couple at the same time, in such a manner, that the brain may be equally divided. Let the occiputs thus cut off, be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems indeed to be a work that requires some exactness, but the professor assured us, “that if it were dexterously performed, the cure would be infallible.”

For he argued thus: “that the two half brains being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull, would soon come to a good understanding; and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motion; and as to the difference of brains, in quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction,” the doctor assured us, from his own knowledge, “that it was a perfect trifle.”

I heard a very warm debate between two professors, about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money, without grieving the subject.

The first affirmed, “the justest method would be to lay a certain tax upon vices and folly; and the sum fixed upon every man to be rated, after the fairest manner, by a jury of his neighbors.”

The second was of an opinion directly contrary; “to tax those qualities of body and mind for which men chiefly value themselves; the rate to be more or less, according to the degrees of excelling; the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breast.”

The highest tax was upon men who are the greatest favorites of the other sex, and the assessments, according to the number and nature of the favors they have received; for which, they are allowed to be their own vouchers.

Wit, valor, and politeness, were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's giving his own word for the quantum of what he possessed. But as to honor, justice, wisdom, and learning, they should not be taxed at all; because they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbor or value them in himself.

The women were proposed to be taxed according to their beauty and skill in dressing, wherein they had the same privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgment. But constancy, chastity, good sense, and good-nature, were not rated, because they would not bear the charge of collecting.

To keep senators in the interest of the crown, it was proposed that the members shall raffle for employments; every man first taking an oath, and giving security, that he would vote for the court, whether he won or not; after which, the losers had, in their turn, the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus, hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promises, but impute their disappointments wholly to fortune, whose shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a ministry.

Another professor showed me a large paper of instructions for discovering plots and conspiracies against the government.¹⁷ He advised great states-men to examine into the diet of all suspected persons; their times of eating; upon which side they lay in bed; with which hand they wipe their posteriors; take a strict view of their excrements, and from the color, the odor, the taste, the consistence, the crudeness, or maturity of digestion, form a judgment of their thoughts and designs; because men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at stool, which he found by experience; for in such conjunctures, when he used, merely as a trial, to consider which was the best way of murdering the king, his ordure would have a tincture of green; but quite different when he thought only of raising an insurrection, or burning the metropolis.¹⁸

The whole discourse was written with great acuteness, containing many observations, both curious and useful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether complete.

This I ventured to tell the author, and offered, if he pleased, to supply him with some additions. He received my proposition with more compliance than is usual among writers, especially those of the projecting species; professing, "he would be glad to receive further information."

I told him, "that in the kingdom of Tribnia,¹⁹ by the natives called Langden,²⁰ where I had sojourned some time in my travels, the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colors, the conduct, and the pay of ministers of state, and their deputies."²¹

The plots, in that kingdom, are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigor to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall best answer their private advantage.²²

It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot; then, effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters.

"For instance, they can discover a close-stool, to signify a privy-council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog,²³ an invader; the plague, a standing army; a beetle, a prime minister; the gout, a highpriest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamberpot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court lady; a broom, a revolution; a mouse-trap, an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury; a sink, a court; a cap and bells, a favorite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

"When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams. First, they can decipher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, N, shall signify a plot; B, a regiment of horse; L, a fleet at sea; or, secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party.

So, for example, if I should say in a letter to a friend

"Our brother Tom has just got the piles, a skillful decipherer would discover, that the same letters which compose that sentence may be analyzed into the following words,

"Resist. --- a plot is brought home --- the tour."

And this is the anagrammatic method."²³

The professor made me great acknowledgments for communicating these observations, and promised to make honorable mention of me in his treatise.

I saw nothing in this country that could invite me to a longer continuance, and began to think of returning home to England.

CHAPTER VII

Laputa and its dependencies form part of the continent, which extends itself as I have reason to believe, eastward, to that unknown tract of America, westward of California; and north, to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude.

This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastward of Japan, about a hundred leagues distant.

There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor and the king of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide to show me the way, and carry my small baggage.

I took leave of my noble protector, who had shown me so much favor, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada (for so it is called) there was no ship in the harbor bound for Luggnagg, nor likely to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, "that since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubbudrib, about five leagues off to the south-west."

He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient bark for the voyage.

Glubbudrib, as nearly as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians. It is about one-third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful; it is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor.

He has a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small enclosures for cattle, corn and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he has a power of calling whom he pleases from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same person up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen who accompanied me went to the governor and desired admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honor of attending on his Highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace between two rows of guards, armed and dressed after a very antic manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror that I cannot express.

We passed through several apart-ments, between servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the chamber of presence; where, after three profound obeisances and a few general questions, we were permitted to sit on three stools, near the lowest step of his Highness's throne.

He understood the language of Balnibarbi, although it were different from that of this island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels; and to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with a turn of his finger; at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time, till the governor assured me, "that I should receive no hurt;" and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his Highness a short history of my several adventures, yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place where I had seen those domestic spectres.

I had the honor to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat, and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the morning. I stayed till sunset, but humbly desired his Highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace.

My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island; and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarized to the sight of spirits, that after the third or fourth time they gave me no emotion at all; or, if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his Highness the governor ordered me "to call up whatever persons I would choose to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend

upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world.”

I made my humble acknowledgments to his Highness for so great a favor. We were in a chamber from whence there was a fair prospect into the park. And because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela; which, upon a motion of the governor’s finger, immediately appeared in a large field, under the window where we stood.

Alexander was called up into the room; it was with great difficulty that I understood his Greek,²⁴ and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honor “that he was not poisoned, but died of a bad fever, by excessive drinking.”²⁵

Next, I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp.²⁶

I saw Caesar and Pompey at the head of their troops, just ready to engage. I saw the former, in his last great triumph. I desired that the senate of Rome might appear before me, in one large chamber and a modern representative in counterview, in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demigods; the other, a knot of peddlers, pickpockets, highwaymen, and bullies.

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Caesar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence of mankind, in every lineament of his countenance.

I observed, with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other; and Caesar freely confessed to me, “that the greatest actions of his life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away.”

I had the honor to have much conversation with Brutus; and was told “that his ancestor, Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the Younger,²⁷ Sir Thomas More, and himself, were perpetually together;” a sextumvirate to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh.

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable desire I had to see the world in every period of antiquity place before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured nations.

But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner, as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader.

CHAPTER VIII

Desirous to see those ancients who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all the commentators; but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court and outward rooms of the palace.

I knew, and could distinguish those two heroes, at first sight, not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the taller and comelier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld. Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff. His visage was meager, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow.²⁸

I soon discovered that both of them were perfect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before: and I had a whisper from a ghost who shall be nameless, “that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals, in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity.” I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet.

But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him; and he asked them, “whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves.”

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle; This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do; and he found that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and vortices of Descartes, were equally to be exploded.

He predicted the same fate to attraction, whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors.²⁹ He said, “new systems of nature were but fashions which would vary in every age; and even those who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined.”

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the ancient learned. I saw most of the first Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Heliogabalus’s cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not show us much of their skill, for want of materials.

A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen who conducted me to the island, were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure for two or three hundred years past, in our own and other countries of Europe: and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governor would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors in order, for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected.

For, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fiddlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate.

In another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquises, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess it was not without some pleasure that I found myself able to trace the particular features, by which certain families are distinguished, up to their originals.

I could plainly discover whence one family derives a long chin; why a second has abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be sharpeners; whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house, *Nec vir fortis, nec facmina casta*; how cruelty, falsehood, and cowardice, grew to be characteristics, by which certain families are distinguished as such by their coats of arms; who first brought the pox into a noble house, which has lineally descended in scrofulous tumors to their posterity.

Neither could I wonder at all this when I saw such an interruption of lineages, by pages, lackeys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fiddlers players, captains, and pick pockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history. For having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes for a hundred years past, I found how the world has been misled by prostitute writers, to ascribe the greatest exploits in war, to cowards; the wisest counsel, to fools; sincerity to flatterers; Roman virtue, to betrayers of

their country; piety, to atheists; chastity, to sodomites, truth, to informers; how many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment by the practicing of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions; how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit; how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, parasites, and buffoons.

How low an opinion I had of human wisdom and integrity when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprises and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success!

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes, or secret history; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison; will repeat the discourse between a prince and a chief minister, where no witness was by; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state; and have the perpetual misfortune to be mistaken.

Here I discovered the true causes of many great events that have surprised the world; how a whore can govern the back stairs, the back stairs a council, and the council a senate.

A general confessed, in my presence, “that he got victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill-conduct;”³⁰ and an admiral, “that for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet.”³¹

Three kings protested to me, that in their whole reigns they never did once offer to any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided; neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they showed, with great strength of reason, “that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because the positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.”³²

I had the curiosity to inquire in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honor, and prodigious estates; and I confined my inquiry to a very modern period; however, without grating upon present times because I would be sure to give no offense even to foreigners; for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I say upon this occasion.

A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subordination, fraud, panderism, and the like infirmities, were among the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to sodomy, or incest; others to the prostituting of their own wives and daughters; others to the betraying of their country or their prince; some to poisoning; more, to the preventing of justice, in order to destroy the innocent;

I hope I may be pardoned, if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration which I

am naturally apt to pay persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states and desire to see the persons by whom those services were performed. Upon inquiry, I was told, "that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history has represented as the vilest of rogues and traitors."

As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks and in the meanest habit; most of them telling me, "they died in poverty and disgrace," and the rest on a scaffold and gibbet.

Among others, there was one person whose case appeared a little singular. He had a youth about eighteen years old standing by his side. He told me "he had for many years been commander of a ship; and in the sea-fight at Actium had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, sink three of their capital ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole cause of Antony's flight, and of the victory that ensued; that the youth standing by him, his only son, was killed in the action."

He added, "that upon the confidence of some merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome, and solicited at the court of Augustus to be preferred to a greater ship, whose commander had been killed; but without any regard to his pretensions, it was given to a boy who had never seen the sea, the son of Libertina, who waited on one of the emperor's mistresses.

Returning back to his own vessel he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ship given to a favorite page of Publicola, the vice-admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor farm at a great distance from Rome, and there ended his life."

I was so curious to know the truth of this story, that I desired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in the fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account; but with much more advantage to the captain, whose modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was surprised to find corruption grown so high and so quick in that empire, by the force of luxury so lately introduced; which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, has been engrossed by the chief commander, who perhaps had the least title to either.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflections to observe how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us, within these hundred years past; how the pox, under all its

consequences and denominations, had altered every lineament of an English countenance; shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscles, introduced a sallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low, as to desire some English yeomen of the old stamp might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valor, and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all these pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grandchildren; who, in selling their votes and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.³³

CHAPTER IX

Leave of his Highness the governor of Glubbudrib, having been obtained, I returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where, after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board.

I was a month in this voyage. We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the trade wind, which holds for above sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1768, we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a seaport town, at the south-east point of Luggnagg.

We cast anchor within a league of the town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks, which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large basin, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town wall.

Some of our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots "that I was a stranger, and a great traveler;" whereof these gave notice to a customhouse officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balnibarbi, which by the force of much commerce, is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen and those employed in the customs.

I gave him a short account of some particulars, and made my story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call myself a Hollander; because my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, "that having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balnibarbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the flying island (of which he had often heard), and was now

endeavoring to get to Japan, whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country.”

The officer said, “I must be confined till he could receive orders from court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an answer in a fortnight.” I was carried to a convenient lodging, with a sentry placed at the door; however I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the king’s charge.

I was visited by several persons, chiefly out of curiosity; because it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man who came in the same ship, to be an interpreter: he was a native of Luggnagg, but had lived some years at Maldonada, and was a perfect master of both languages. By his assistance I was able to hold a conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their questions and my answers.

The dispatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my reti-nue to Traldragdubh, or Trildrogdrib (for it is pronounced both ways as near as I can remember), by a party of ten horse. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I persuaded into my service, and at my humble re-quest, we had each of us a mule to ride on. A messenger was dispatched half a day’s journey before us, to give the king notice of my approach; and to desire, “that his majesty would please to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleasure that I might have the honor to lick the dust before his footstool.”

This is the court style, and I found it to be more than matter of form: for, upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a stranger, care was taken to have it made so clean, that the dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but persons of the highest rank, when they desire an admittance.

Nay, sometimes the floor is strewed with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court; and, I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy; because it is capital for those who receive an audience to spit or wipe their mouths in his majesty’s presence.

There is indeed another custom, which I cannot altogether approve of: when the king has a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly composition, which, being licked up, infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But in justice to this prince’s great clemency, and the care he has

of his subjects’ lives (wherein it were much to be wished that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him), it must be mentioned for his honor, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after every such execution, which, if his domestics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal displeasure.

I myself heard him give directions, that one of his pages should be whipped, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it; by which neglect a young lord of great hopes, coming to an audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the king at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more, without special orders.³⁴

To return from this digression: when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then striking my forehead seven times against the ground, pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before —

Inckpling gloffthrobb spuut serumm blihiop mlashnalt zwin tnodbalkuff hslhiop-had gurdlubh asht.

This is the compliment established by the laws of the land, for all persons admitted to the king’s presence. It may be rendered into English thus!

May your celestial majesty outlive the sun eleven moons and a half!

To this the king returned some answer, which, although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed:

Flute drin yalerick dwuldom prastrad mirpush,

which, properly signifies,

My tongue is in the mouth of my friend;

and by this expression was meant that I desired leave to bring my interpreter: whereupon the young man, already mentioned, was accordingly introduced: by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his majesty could put in above an hour.

I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Luggnagg.

The king was much delighted with my company, and ordered his bliffmarklub, or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter: with a daily allowance for my table, and a large purse of gold for my common expenses.

I stayed three months in this country, out of perfect obedience to his majesty; who was pleased highly to favor me, and made me very honorable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

CHAPTER X

Luggnaggians are polite and generous; and although they are not without some share of that pride which is peculiar to all Eastern countries, yet they show themselves courteous to strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the court.

I had many acquaintance, and among persons of the best fashion; and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality, "Whether I had seen any of their struldbrugs, or immortals?" I said, "I had not;" and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an appellation, applied to a mortal creature.

He told me "that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family, with a red circular spot in his forehead, directly over the left eyebrow, which was an infallible mark that it should never die. The spot," as he described it, "was about the compass of a silver threepence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its color; for at twelve years old it became green, so continued till five-and-twenty, then turned to a deep blue; at five-and-forty it grew coal-black, and as large as an English shilling; but never admitted any farther alteration."

He said, "these births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred struldbrugs, of both sexes, in the whole kingdom; of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and among the rest, a young girl born about three years ago; that these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a mere effect of chance; and the children of the struldbrugs themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people."

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account; and the person who gave it me happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant.

I cried out, as in a rapture, "Happy nation, where every child has at least a chance for being immortal! Happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but happiest beyond all comparison, are those excellent struldbrugs, who, being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death."

I discovered my admiration, that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it; and it was impossible that his majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counselors.

Perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court; and we often find by experience, that young men are too opinionated and volatile to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors.

However, since the king was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved upon the first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large, by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or not, yet in one thing I was determined, that his majesty having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would, with great thankfulness accept the favor, and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings the struldbrugs, if they would please to admit me.

The gentleman to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me with a sort of smile which usually arises from pity to the ignorant, that he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission to explain to the company what I had spoke.

He did so, and they talked together for some time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances, what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence, the same person told me, "that his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know, in a particular manner, what scheme of living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a struldbrug?"

I answered, "that it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me, who had been often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do, if I were a king, a general, or a great lord; and upon this very case, I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time, if I were sure to live forever.

"That, if it had been my good fortune to come into the world a struldbrug, as soon as I could discover my own happiness, by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve, by all arts and methods whatsoever, to procure myself riches; in the pursuit of which, by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect, in about two hundred years, to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom.

In the second place, I would, from my earliest youth, apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence, that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point.

I would exactly set down the several changes in customs, language, fashions of dress, diet, and diversions, by which acquirement, I should be a living treasure of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

“I would never marry after threes-core, but live in a hospitable manner, yet still on the saying side. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them, from my own remembrance, experience and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public and private life.

But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood; among whom I would elect a dozen from the most ancient, down to my own contemporaries. When any of these wanted fortunes I would provide them with convenient lodges around my estate, and have some of them always at my table; only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and entreat your posterity after the same manner; just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regarding the loss of those which withered the preceding year.

These struldbrugs, and I, would mutually communicate our observations and memorials, through the course of time; remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind; which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature, so unjustly complained of in all ages.

“Add to this, the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires; the changes in the lower and upper world; ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings; famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks; the ocean leaving one coast dry, and overwhelming another; the discovery of many countries yet unknown; of barbarity overrunning the politest nations, and the most barbarous become civilized.”

“I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions, brought to the utmost perfection.”

“What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own predictions; by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon and stars!”

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life, and sublunary happiness, could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expense. At last, the same gentleman who had been my interpreter, said, “he was desired by the rest to set me right in a few mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecility of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of struldbrugs was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balnibarbi or Japan, where he had the honor to be ambassador from his majesty, and found the natives in both those kingdoms very hard to believe that the fact was possible: and it appeared from my astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited.

That in the two kingdoms above mentioned, where during his residence he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat.

Only in this island of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the struldbrugs before their eyes.

“That the system of living contrived by me, was unreasonable and unjust; because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigor, which no man could be so

foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes.”³⁵

That the question therefore was not, whether a man would choose to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health; but how he would pass a perpetual life under all the usual disadvantages which old age brings along with it; for although few men will avow their desires of being immortal, upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death some time longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether in those countries I had traveled, as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition!³⁶

After this preface, he gave me a particular account of the struldbrugs among them. He said “they commonly acted like mortals till about thirty years old; after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession; for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to four-score years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative; but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grandchildren.

Envy, and impotent desires, are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old.

By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; whenever they see a funeral they lament and repine that others have gone to a harbor of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive.

They have no remembrance of anything but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect; and for the truth or particulars of any fact it is safer to depend on common tradition, than upon the best recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.³⁷

“If a struldbrug happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore; for the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence, that those who are condemned without any fault of their own to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.”

“As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates; only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit; they cannot purchase lands, or take leases; neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of metes and bounds.

“At ninety they lose their teeth and hair: they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without

increasing or diminishing. In talking they forget the common appellation of things and the names of persons, even those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect, they are deprived of the only entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.”

“The language of this country being always upon the flux, the struldbrugs of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able, after two hundred years, to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbors the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.”

This was the account given me of the struldbrugs as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by my friends; but although they were told “that I was a traveler and had seen all the world,” they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired “I would give them slumskudask, or a token of remembrance,” which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly; so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what kings or great person they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

They were the most mortifying sights I ever beheld; and the women were more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.

The reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed; and thought no tyrant could invent a death, into which I would not run with pleasure from such a life.

The king heard of all that had passed between me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly; wishing I could send a couple of struldbrugs to

my own country, to arm our people against the fear of death;³⁸ but this, it seems, is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expense of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relative to the *struldbrugs* were founded upon the strongest reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting, in the like circumstances. Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation and engross the civil power, which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

CHAPTER XI

Judging this account of the *struldbrugs* might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that has come to my hands; and if I am deceived my excuse must be, that it is necessary for travelers who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan; and it is very probable that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the *struldbrugs*; but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so entirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any inquiries. But I hope the Dutch, upon this notice, will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His majesty having often pressed me to accept some employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me license to depart; and honored me with a letter of recommendation under his own hand, to the Emperor of Japan.

He likewise presented me four hundred and forty-four large pieces of gold (this nation delighted in even numbers), and a red diamond, which I sold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the sixth of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his majesty and all my friends. The prince was so gracious as to order a guard to conduct me to *Glanguenstald*, which is a royal port to the southwest part of the island. In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan; and spent fifteen days in the voyage. We landed at a small port town called *Xamoschi*, situated on the southwest part of Japan; the town lies on the western point, where there is a narrow strait leading northward into a long arm of the sea, upon the northwest part of which *Yedo*, the metropolis, stands.

At landing I showed the custom-house officers my letter from the king of *Luggnagg* to his imperial majesty. They knew the seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impression was, "A king lifting up a lame beggar from the earth."

The magistrates of the town, hearing of my letter, received me as a public minister; they provided me with carriages and servants, and bore my charges to *Yedo*, where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the emperor by an interpreter; who then gave me notice, by his majesty's order, "that I should signify my request, and whatever it were, it should be granted for the sake of his royal brother of *Luggnagg*."

This interpreter was a person employed to transact affairs with the *Hollanders*; he soon conjectured by my countenance, that I was an European, and therefore repeated his majesty's commands in *Low Dutch*, which he spoke perfectly well.

I answered, as I had before determined, "that I was a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in a remote country, whence I had traveled by sea and land to *Luggnagg*, and then took shipping for *Japan*; where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe: I therefore most humbly entreated his royal favor, to give order that I should be conducted in safety to *Nangasac*."

To this I added another petition, "that for the sake of my patron, the king of *Luggnagg*, his majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of trampling upon the crucifix; because I had been thrown into his kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading."

When the latter petition was interpreted to the emperor, he seemed a little surprised; and said, "he believed I was the first of my countrymen who ever made any scruple in this point; and that he began to doubt whether I was a real *Hollander*, or not; but rather suspected that I must be a Christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the king of *Luggnagg* by an uncommon mark of his favor, he would comply with the singularity of my humor; but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass, as it were by forgetfulness, for he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my countrymen, the *Dutch*, they would cut my throat on the voyage."

I returned my thanks, by the interpreter, for so unusual a favor; and some troops being at that time on the march to *Nangasac*, the commanding officers had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instructions about the business of the crucifix.

On the 9th of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac, after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into the company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the Amboyna, of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had lived long in Holland pursuing my studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well. The seamen soon knew whence I came last; they were curious to inquire into my voyages and course of life.

I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many persons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obscure people in the province of Guelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland; but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way of my calling.

Before we took shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew, "whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned?" I evaded the questions by general answers; "that I had satisfied the emperor and court in all particulars."

However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him, "I had not yet trampled on the crucifix;" but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We sailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we stayed only to take in fresh water. On the 10th of April, 1710, we arrived safe at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness on the voyage, and a fourth, who fell from the foremast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guinea.

From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England, in a small vessel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and saw once more my native country, after an absence of five years and six months complete. I went straight to Redriff, where I arrived the same day at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health

Appendices to Laputa

BALLAD ON THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME BY DEAN SWIFT

This ballad was written to expose the mania for stock-jobbing and speculation which prevailed in 1720, and elucidates some of the schemes satirized in the description of the Academy of Lagado.

*Ye wise philosophers, explain,
What magic makes our money rise,
When dropp'd into the Southern main;
Or do these jugglers cheat our eyes?
Put in your money, fairly told,
Presto! begone! —'tis here again:
Ladies and gentlemen, behold, —
Here's every piece as big as ten!
Thus, in a basin drop a shilling,
Then fill the vessel to the brim.
You shall observe, as you are filling.
The ponderous metal seems to swim.
It rises both in bulk and height,
Behold it swelling like a sop;
The liquid medicine cheats your sight, —
Behold it mounted to the top.
"In stock three hundred thousand pounds,
I have in view a lord's estate;
My manors all contiguous round,
A coach and six, and served in plate!"
Thus the deluded bankrupt raves,
Puts all upon a desperate bet.
Then plunges in the southern waves,
Dipped over head and ears—in debt.
So, by a calenture misled.
The mariner with rapture sees
On the smooth ocean's azure bed,
Enamelled fields and verdant trees.
With eager haste he longs to rove
In that fantastic scene, and thinks
It must be some enchanted grove,
And in he leaps, and down he sinks.
Five hundred chariots, just besroke,
Are sunk in these devouring waves
The horses drown'd, the harness broke,
And here the owners find their graves.
Like Pharaoh, by directors led;*

*They with their spoils went safe before.
His chariots tumbling out the dead,
Lay shatter'd on the Red Sea shore.
Raised up on Hope's aspiring plumes,
The young adventurer o'er the deep.
An eagle's flight and state assumes.
And scorns the middle way to keep.
On paper wings he takes his flight.
With wax the father bound them fast;
The wax is melted by the height,
And down the towering boy is cast.
A moralist might here explain
The rashness of the Cretan youth,
Describe his fall into the main,
And from a fable form a truth.
His wings are his paternal rent,
He melts the wax at every flame;
His credit sunk, his money spent.
In Southern Seas he leaves his name.
Inform us, you that best can tell.
Why in yon dangerous gulf profound.
Where hundreds and where thousands fell
Fools chiefly float, the wise are drown'd?
So have I seen, from Severn's brink,
A flock of geese jump down together.
Swim where the birds of Jove would sink,
And swimming, never wet a feather.
But I affirm tis false, in fact.
Directors better know their tools;
We see the nation's credit cracked.
Each knave has made a thousand fools.
One fool may from another win,
And then get off with money stored.
But if a sharper once comes in,
He throws at all, and sweeps the board.
As fishes on each other prey.
The great ones swallowing up the small;*

So fares it in the Southern Sea,
 The whale directors eat up all.
 When stock is high, they come between,
 Making by secondhand their offers.
 Then cunningly retire unseen.
 With each a million in his coffers.
 So when upon a moonshine night.
 An ass was drinking at a stream,
 A cloud arose and stopped the light,
 By intercepting every beam.
 The day of judgment will be soon,
 Cries out a sage among the crowd,
 An ass has swallowed up the moon
 The moon lay safe behind a cloud.
 Each poor subscriber to the sea,
 Sinks down at once, and there he lies;
 Directors fall as well as they.
 Their fall is but a trick to rise.
 So fishes rising from the main,
 Can soar with moistened wings on high;
 The moisture dried, they sink again,
 And dip their fins again to fly.
 Undone at play, the female troops
 Come here their losses to retrieve;
 Ride o'er the waves in spacious hoops.
 Like Lapland witches in a sieve.
 Thus Venus to the sea descends,
 As poets feign; but where's the moral?
 It shows the queen of love intends
 To search the sea for pearl and coral.
 The sea is richer than the land,
 I heard it from my grannam's mouth;
 Which now I clearly understand,
 For by the sea she meant the south.
 Thus, by directors, we are told,
 "Pray, gentlemen, believe your eyes;
 Our ocean's covered o'er with gold.
 Look round and see how thick it lies.
 We, gentlemen, are your assisters.
 We'll come and hold you by the chin."
 Alas! all is not gold that glisters,
 Ten thousands sink by leaping in.
 Oh! would those patriots be so kind.
 Here in the deep to wash their hands,
 Then like Pactolus, we should find.

The sea indeed had golden sands.
 A shilling in the bath you fling.
 The silver takes a nobler hue,
 By magic virtue in the spring,
 And seems a guinea to your view.
 But as a guinea will not pass.
 At market for a farthing more.
 Shown through a multiplying-glass,
 Than what it always did before:
 So cast it in the Southern seas.
 Or view it through a jobber's bill;
 Put on what spectacles you please.
 Your guinea's but a guinea still.
 One night a fool into a brook,
 Thus from a hillock looking down,
 The golden stars for guineas took.
 And silver Cynthia for a crown.
 The point he could no longer doubt;
 He ran, he leaped into the flood;
 There sprawl'd awhile, and scarce got out.
 All cover'd o'er with slime and mud.
 "Upon the water cast thy bread.
 And after many days thou'lt find it;"
 But gold upon this ocean spread.
 Shall sink, and leave no mark behind it.
 There is a gulf where thousands fell.
 Here all the bold adventurers came,
 A narrow sound, though deep as hell;
 Change Alley is the dreadful name.
 Nine times a day it ebbs and flows.
 Yet he that on the surface lies,
 Without a pilot seldom knows
 The time it falls or when 'twill rise.
 Subscribers here by thousands float,
 And jostle one another down;
 Each paddling in his leaky boat,
 And there they fish for gold, and drown.
 Now buried in the depths below,
 Now mounted up to heaven again,
 They reel and stagger to and fro.
 At their wits' end, like drunken men.
 Meantime, secure on Garraway cliffs,
 A savage race, by shipwrecks fed,
 Lie waiting for the founder'd skiffs,
 And strip the bodies of the dead.

*But these, you say, are fictions lies.
From some malicious Tory's brain;
For where directors get a prize,
The Swiss and Dutch whole millions drain.
Thus, when by rooks a lord is plied,
Some cully often wins a bet,
By venturing on the cheating side.
Though not into the secret let.
While some build castles in the air.
Directors build them in the seas;
Subscribers plainly see them there,
For fools will see as wise men please.
Thus oft by mariners are shown —
Unless the men of Kent are liars —
Earl Godwin's castles overthrown,
And palace roofs and steeple spires.
Mark where the sly directors creep.
Nor to the shore approach too nigh!
The monsters nestle in the deep,
To seize you in your passing by.
Then like the dogs of Nile be wise,
Who taught by instinct how to shun
The crocodile, that lurking lies.
Run as they drink, and drinking run.
Antaeus could, by magic charms.
Recover strength whene'er he fell;
Alcides held him in his arms.
And sent him up in air to hell.
Directors thrown into the sea.
Recover strength and vigor there;
But may be tamed another way.
Suspended for a while in air!*

*Directors! for 'tis you I warn,
By long experience we have found
What planet ruled when you were born;
We see you never can be drown'd.
Beware, nor over-bulky grow,
Nor come within your cully's reach;
For if the sea should sink so low,
To leave you dry upon the beach,
You'll owe your ruin to your bulk;
Your foes already waiting stand.
To tear you like a foundered hulk
While you lie helpless on the strand.
Thus, when a whale has lost the tide,
The coasters crowd to seize the spoil;
The monster into parts divide,
And strip the bones, and melt the oil.
O! may some western tempest sweep
These locusts whom our fruits have fed,
That plague, directors, to the deep,
Driven from the South Sea to the Red.
May He, whom Nature's laws obey,
Who lifts the poor and sinks the proud.
Quiet the raging of the sea.
And still the madness of the crowd!
But never shall our isle have rest
Till those devouring swine run down.
The devils leaving the possessed, —
And headlong in the waters drown.
The Nation then, too late, will find.
Computing all their cost and trouble,
Directors' promises but wind.
South Sea at best a mighty bubble.*

Appendix to Laputa 2

This second ballad is by an unknown author; it produced a great effect in its time, and possesses too much merit to be allowed to sink into oblivion. It is copied from a broadside in a private collection.

A SOUTH SEA BALLAD

MERRY REMARKS UPON EXCHANGE ALLEY BUBBLES TO A NEW TUNE, CALLED "THE GRAND ELIXIR OR THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE DISCOVERED"

I *In London stands a famous pile,
And near that pile an Alley,
Where many crowds for riches toil,
And wisdom stoops to folly.
Here sad and joyful, high and low,
Court Fortune for her graces,
And as she smiles or frowns, they show
Their gestures and grimaces.*

II *Here stars and garters do appear,
Among our lords the rabble;
To buy and sell, to see and hear,
The Jews and Gentiles squabble.
Here crafty courtiers are too wise
For those who trust to Fortune;
They see the cheat with clearer eyes,
Who peep behind the curtain.*

III *Our greatest ladies hither come,
And ply in chariots daily;
Oft pawn their jewels for a sum
To venture in the Alley.
Young harlots, too, from Drury Lane,
Approach the 'Change in coaches,
To fool away the gold they gain
By their obscene debauches.*

IV *Long heads may thrive by sober rules,
Because they think, and drink not,
But head-longs are our thriving fools,
Who only drink and think not,
The lucky rogues, like spaniel dogs,
Leap into South Sea water,
And there they fish for golden frogs,
Not caring what comes arter.*

V *'Tis said, that alchemists of old
Could turn a brazen kettle,
Or leaden cistern, into gold,
That noble, tempting metal; —
But if it here may be allowed
To bring in great and small things,
Our cunning South Sea, like a god,
Turns nothing into all things.*

VI *What need have we of Indian wealth,
Or commerce with our neighbors?
Our constitution is in health,
And riches crown our labors.
Our South Sea ships have golden shrouds.
They bring us wealth, 'tis granted;
But lodge their treasure in the clouds,
To hide it, till 'tis wanted.*

VII *O Britain! bless thy present state,
Thou only happy nation,
So oddly rich, so madly great,
Since bubbles came in fashion.
Successful rakes exert their pride,
And count their airy millions,
While homely drabs in coaches ride,
Brought up to town on pillions.*

VIII *Few men who follow reason's rules
Grow fat with South Sea diet;
Young rattles and unthinking fools
Are those who flourish by it;
Old musty jades and pushing blades,
Who've least consideration,
Grow rich apace; while wiser head
Are struck with admiration.*

IX *A race of men, who, t'other day,
Lay crush'd beneath disasters,
Are now by stock brought into play,
And made our lords and masters.
But should our South Sea Babel fall,
What numbers should be frowning!
The losers then must ease their gall
By hanging or by drowning.*

X *Five hundred millions notes and bonds,
Our stocks are worth in value;
But neither lie in goods, or lands,
Or money, let me tell you.
Yet though our foreign trade is lost,
Of mighty wealth we vapor;
When all the riches that we boast
Consist in scraps of paper.*

Appendix to *Laputa* 3

The following humorous attack on the Report of the Secret Committee in Atterbury's case has been referred to more than once in the preceding pages; it completes the satire directed against the Report in the description of the academy of Lagado.

UPON THE HORRID PLOT DISCOVERED BY HARLEQUIN THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S FRENCH DOG IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A WHIG AND A TORY

I ask'd a Whig the other night
How came the wicked plot to light
He answered that a dog, of late,
Inform'd a minister of state.
Said I, from that I nothing know,
For are not all informers so?
A villain who his friend betrays,
We style him by no other phrase;
And so a perjured dog denotes
Porter, and Prendergast, and Oates,
And forty others I could name.
Whig.—But, sir, they say the dog was lame?
Tory.—A weighty argument indeed:
Your evidence was lame; —proceed,
Come, help your lame dog o'er the style.
Whig.—Sir, you mistake me all the while,
I mean a dog without a joke,
Can howl, and bark, but never spoke
Tory.—I'm still to seek which dog you mean,
Whether cur Plunkett, or whelp Skean*.

*[*Plunkett and Skean, or Skinner, were two of the principal witnesses before the Privy Council.]*

An English or an Irish hound, Or t'other puppy that was
drown'd!*

*[*Neynoe, whose evidence pressed very hard on the Bishop was drowned in attempting his escape. His examinations before the Privy Council were received as evidence before the Lords on the Bill of Attainder.]*

Or Mason, that abandon'd bitch*;

*[*Mrs. Mason's evidence was of far less importance than Swift intimates.]*

Then pray be free, and tell me which:
For every stander-by was marking:
That all the noise they made was barking.
You pay them well; the dogs have got
Their dogs' heads in the porridge pot:
And 'twas but just, for wise men say
That every dog must have his day.
Dog Walpole laid a quart of nog on't.
He'd either make a hog or dog on't,
And look'd, since he has got his wish.
As if he had thrown down a dish;

Yet thus I dare foretell you from it.
He'll soon return to his own vomit. Whig.
—Besides this horrid plot was found
By Neynoe after he was drown'd.
Tory.—Why, then the proverb is not right
Since you can teach dead dogs to bite.
Whig.—I proved my proposition full.
But Jacobites are strangely dull.
Now let me tell you plainly, sir.
Our witness is a real cur;
A dog of spirit for his years,—
Has twice two legs, two hanging ears;
His name is Harlequin I wot,
And that's a name in every plot;
Resolved to save the British nation,
Though French by birth and education;
His correspondence, plainly dated.
Was all deciphered and translated;
His answers were exceeding pretty.
Before the secret wise Committee;
Confess'd as plain as he could bark,
Then with his forefoot set his mark.
Tory.—Then all this while I have been bubbled
I thought it was a dog in doublet;
The matter that no longer sticks.
For statesmen never want dog-tricks;
But since it was a real cur,
And not a dog in metaphor,
I give you joy of the report
That he's to have a place at court.
Whig.—Yes, and a place he will get rich in,—
A turnspit in the royal kitchen.
Sir, to be plain, I tell you what,
We had occasion for the plot:
And when we found the dog begin it.
We guess'd the bishop's foot was in it.
Tory.—I own it was a dangerous project.
But you have proved it by dog logic.
Sure such intelligence between
A dog and bishop ne'er were seen;
Till you began to change the breed.
Your bishops all are dogs indeed.

FOOTNOTES

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

1) Dean Swift seems to have borrowed several hints in his *Voyage to Laputa* from a novel written by the learned Dr. Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, called "The man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonsales, 1638,"

This philosophic romance, which has been several times printed, shows that Bishop Godwin had a creative genius. His "Nuncius Inanimatus," which contains instructions to convey secret intelligence, is very scarce. He died in April, 1633. This romance is published in the eighth volume of the *Harleian Miscellanies*, and is a very ingenious fiction, but it does not bear the slightest resemblance to the *Voyage to Laputa*.

2) Now Madras

3) By this description the author intended to ridicule those who waste life in speculative sciences, the powers of whose minds are as absurdly employed as the eyes of the *Laputians*.—Hawkesworth.

4) This amusing- burlesque on philology was probably directed against Dr. Bently, and is scarcely an exaggeration of some of his derivations.

5) It is generally supposed that Swift alludes here to an error made by Sir Isaac Newton's printer, who by adding a cipher to the distance of the earth from the sun caused not a little ridicule to be thrown on the philosopher's astronomical calculations

6) Swift's want of taste for music is mentioned by most of his biographers. He wrote a cantata to ridicule the fashionable style of his own day, which seems to prove, not that he disliked music of itself, but that he was averse to the affectation and jargon of scientific professors.

7) Many such theories have been proposed by persons eminent in their day for mathematical knowledge. The supposition that all the bodies in the universe are approaching a common center, where they will meet and crush each other to chaos, is magnificently set forth in the following lines from Darwin's "Botanic Garden":

Roll on, ye stars, exult in youthful prime;
Mark with bright curves the printless steps of time;
Near and more near your beamy cars approach,
And lessening orbs on lessening orbs encroach.
Flowers of the sky! ye too to age shall yield.
Frail as your silken sisters of the field;
Star after star from Heaven's high arch shall rush,
Suns sink on suns and systems systems crush,
Headlong, extinct to one dark center fall,
And death and night and chaos mingle all,
Till overhead, emerging from the storm,
Primeval nature lifts her changeful form,
Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame,
And soars and shines, another and the same.

The fallacy of the theory has, however, been demonstrated, and the phenomena by which it seemed to be supported have been satisfactorily explained.

8) The dread of comets continued even amongst the learned to a very late period. It is now generally known that the density of these bodies is very small, and consequently, that a stroke from one of them would probably not produce much mischief.

9) The description of the people of *Lagado* seems intended for the people of London during the prevalence of the rage for speculation, from 1718 to 1720. Lord Mahon gives the following lively picture of the mania.

The Prince of Wales became a governor of the Welch

Copper Company. Such an example was tempting to follow, the Duke of Chandos and the Earl of Westmoreland appeared likewise at the head of bubbles; and the people at large soon discovered that to speculate is easier than to work. Change Alley became a new edition of the Rue Quincampoix. The crowds were so great within doors, that tables with clerks were set in the streets. In this motley throng were blended all ranks, all professions, and all parties: churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, country gentlemen and brokers. An eager strife of tongues prevailed in this second Babel; new reports, new subscriptions, new transfers flew from month to month; and the voice of ladies (for many ladies had turned gamblers) rose loud and incessant above the general din.

Such extravagances might well provoke laughter; but unhappily, though the farce came first, there was a tragedy behind. Thousands of families were reduced to beggary, thousands more were threatened with the same fate; and the large fortunes made, or supposed to be made, by a few individuals served only by comparison to aggravate the common ruin. Those who had sported most proudly on the surface of the water were left stranded and bare by the ebbing of that mighty tide. —Lord Mahon's *History of England*

10) The character of Lord Munodi appears to have been intended for Lord Bolingbroke; on his return to England, after the partial reversal of the act of attainder, he retired into the country, where he attempted to persuade himself and others, that, smitten with the charms of solitude and rural life, he had resolved to abandon politics forever, and devote himself entirely to the improvement of his estate at Dawley. Though Swift flattered these professions, he was not duped by them. Bolingbroke soon took an active share in organizing a formidable opposition against Sir Robert Walpole, and shook the minister in his seat. But during the debate on the repeal of the Septennial Act, Walpole took an opportunity of developing the intrigues of Bolingbroke, both at home and abroad, which so confounded the disappointed statesman that he quitted the country, and retired to France.

11) Sir Walter Scott justly observes that Swift has borrowed the notion of the Academy of *Lagado* from Rabelais' description of the court of Queen Whim. Swift, in his account of the employments of the academicians at *Lagado*, has improved the humor of Rabelais's description of the occupations of the queen's courtiers, but he has not diminished the coarseness. A brief specimen will be sufficient.

I saw a great number of the queen's officers, who made blackamoors white as fast as hops, just rubbing their bellies with the bottom or a pannier.

Others with three couple of foxes in one yoke, ploughed a sand shore, and did not lose their seed.

Others sheared asses, and thus got long fleece wool.

Poor Panurge fairly cast up his accounts and vomited, seeing an Archasdarpenin, who laid a huge plenty of chamber lye to putrefy in horse dung mish-mashed with abundance of Christian sir-reverence.

Pugh, fie upon him! nasty dog! However, he told us, that with this sacred distillation he watered kings and princes, and made their sweet lives a fathom or two in length.

We saw a knot of others, about a baker's dozen in number, tripling under an arbor. They topped out of jolly bottomless cups, four sorts of cool, sparkling, delicious vine-tree syrup, which went down like mother's milk; and healths and bumpers flew about like lightning. We were told that these true philosophers were fairly multiplying the stars by drinking, till the seven were fourteen, as brawny Hercules did with Atlas.

Others in the large grass plot exactly measured how far the fleas could go at a hop, a step, and a jump; and told us that this was exceedingly useful for the ruling of kingdoms, the conduct of armies, and the administrations of commonwealths. And that Socrates, who first got philosophy out of heaven, and from idling and trifling made it profitable and of moment, used to spend half his philosophizing time in measuring the leaps of fleas, as Aristophanes the Quintessential affirms.

In a blind corner I met four more very hot at it, and ready to go to loggerheads. I asked what was the cause of this stir and ado, the mighty coil and pother they made. And I heard that for five live-long days these over-wise roysterers had been at it ding-dong, disputing on three high, more than metaphysical propositions promising themselves mountains of gold by solving them. The first was concerning a he-ass's shadow; the second the smoke of a lantern; and the third of goat's hair, whether it were wool or no? We heard that they did not think it a bit strange that two contradictions in mode, form, figure, and time, should be true, though I'll warrant the sophists of Paris had rather be unchristened than own so much.—Rabelais, book 5, chap. xxii.

12) No powers of ridicule could exaggerate the absurdity of the projects for which companies were formed in 1720, during the South Sea mania; and Swift's account of the Academy of Lagado is tame when compared with the authentic list of the bubbles of the day.

Amongst them we find:

- For building and rebuilding houses throughout all England
- For encouraging the breed of horses, and improving church lands.
- For erecting salt pans in Holy Island (two millions).
- For furnishing funerals to any part of Great Britain.
- For carrying on the royal fishery of Great Britain (ten millions).
- For insuring of horses (two millions).
- For wheel for perpetual motion (one million).
- For drying malt by hot air.
- For building hospitals for bastard children.
- For the transmutation of quicksilver into a malleable fine metal.
- For buying and fitting out ships to suppress pirates.
- For importing a number of large jackasses from Spain.
- For extracting silver from lead.

But perhaps the most strange of all was "For an undertaking of great advantage which shall in due time be revealed."

Each subscriber was to pay down two guineas, and hereafter to receive a share of one hundred, with a disclosure of the object; and so tempting was the offer, that one thousand of these subscriptions were paid the same morning, with which the projector went off in the afternoon.

A ballad, which has been added as an Appendix to the Voyage to Laputa, had a considerable effect in dispelling the national delusion.

13) Some philosophers of Swift's days maintained that the blind could be taught to distinguish colors by the touch, and quoted the example of a blind Danish sculptor, mentioned by Bartolin, who distinguished all kinds of wood, and all the colors, merely by feeling. Indeed, there are few sciences in which the blind have not distinguished themselves. The case of Professor Sanderson, at Cambridge, is well known. His attainments in the languages, and still more in mathematics, in philosophy, and in music, were truly astonishing. His sense of touch was so acute that he distinguishes spurious coins merely by letting them pass through his fingers, though they

were so well executed that even skillful judges were deceived by them, it is probable that a project to provide employment for the blind was issued among the bubbles of 1720, though it is not found in any of the lists.

14) This is not a caricature, but an unexaggerated statement of a project seriously proposed by M. Bon, an ingenious Frenchman, who published a dissertation on the subject in the year 1710. He divided spider-threads into two kinds:

The first is weak, and only serves for that kind of web with which they catch flies. The second is much stronger, and is used as a covering for the eggs, both to shelter them from the cold, and preserve them from insects. These threads they wind very loosely round the eggs, resembling the balls or bags of silkworms that have been prepared and loosened for the distaff.

The spider bags are of a gray color when new; but they turn blackish when long exposed to the air; indeed one might find other spider-bags of different colors, and which would afford a better silk, but their scarcity would render the experiment difficult; for which reason it is better to use only the bags of the short-legged spiders, which are the most common kind. These always find out some place, secure from the wind and the rain, to make their bags, as hollow trees, the corners of windows or vaults, or under the eaves of houses.

To the dissertation is appended a very interesting detail of M. Bon's experiments and their results, of which the following is a brief abstract:

Out of eight hundred spiders which M. Bon kept, scarcely one died in a year, whereas of one hundred silkworms, not forty lived to make their bags.

M. Bon having ordered all the short legged spiders that could be found in the months of August and September to be brought to him, shut them up in paper coffins and pots, covering the pots with paper, which he pricked full of pin holes, as well as the coffins, to give them air. He fed them with flies and found sometime afterwards, that the greater part of them had made their bags. The same ingenious person found that spider's bags, with regard to their weight, afforded much more silk than those of the silkworms; as a proof of which he observes, that thirteen ounces yield four ounces of clear silk, two ounces of which will make a pair of stockings; whereas, stockings of common silk weigh seven or eight ounces.

He found that the spider silk readily took all kinds of dyes, and might be made into all kinds of stuffs. M. Bon had stockings and gloves made of it, some of which he presented to the Royal Academy of France, and others to our Royal Society.

The Royal Academy of France appointed the celebrated M. Reaumur to investigate this new silk-work, and his report is contained in the memoirs of the Academy for 1710. Reaumur showed that such a manufacture was by no means impossible, but at the same time demonstrated that the material would not be worth the trouble and expense of its preparation.

It is a pity that Swift was not acquainted with the more ludicrous details of M. Bon's proposal. He asserted that spider silk would yield by distillation, several specific medicines, particularly great quantities of spirit and volatile salts; which, being prepared after the same manner as that drawn from the bags of silkworms in making the Guttae Anglicanae, or English drops, at one time so famous all over Europe, may serve to make other drops of great efficacy, which M. Bon calls drops of Montpellier, and advises to be used in all lethargic or sleepy disorders.

15) The ridicule of this passage is directed against Dr. Woodward who published a theory of vomition, founded on a series of experiments he had tried with dogs. Woodward was rather severely attacked by Dr. Friend, who treated him as an ignorant empiric. Friend was a zealous Tory, and intimately connected with the Bishop of Rochester: indeed he was sent

to the Tower, when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, on account of Laver's plot; Swift knew nothing of the merits of the discussion, but he was intimate with Friend and disliked Woodward; Pope shared the same feelings, for in Martinus Scriblerus there is a very humorous parody of Woodward's Dissertation on an Ancient Shield

16) Raymond Lully actually propounded a mechanical contrivance for the solution of all possible problems. And Cornelius Agrippa wrote a commentary upon the project, by means of which he declared that any man might be enabled with facility to discuss any subject, however abstruse and difficult. The machine was to consist of a certain number of concentric circles, some fixed and some movable; on the second, absolute predicates; on the third, relative predicates; and on the others, formularies of questions. A system of triangles was applied for expressing conditions and limitations; and Agrippa in his Commentaries gives some extraordinary specimens of results. Many eminent men, particularly Kircher and Kuhlman, advocated this mechanical contrivance, and averred that they had brought it to a high degree of perfection. Those who have witnessed the operations of Babbage's calculating machine must confess, that so far as the relations of quantity are concerned, a mechanical contrivance has succeeded in solving problems which would test the highest attainments of a mathematician.

17) From this to the end of the chapter, the proceedings on the Bill of Attainder against the Bishop of Rochester are bitterly ridiculed

18 The following extract from the Duke of Wharton's speech on the second reading of the Bill of Attainder, will sufficiently explain this coarse allusion.

The next point which was attempted to be proved, was, that Captain Halstead went to fetch the late Duke of Ormond, and was at the deanery with the bishop before he embarked; there are also two letters, found in the bishop's close stool, from this gentleman, which were read, but are only appointments for visits, and mention nothing of this design.

19) Britain

20) London

21) The charge against the Bishop of Rochester was supported by circumstantial evidence derived from a long and tangled series of intercepted correspondence and deciphered letters. The Duke of Wharton has given in his speech a very able summary of the arguments urged by the bishop and his friends against this line of evidence.

My lords, it very well deserves your lordships' consideration, how far this kind of evidence is to be admitted. It has appeared to your lordships by the oath of Mr. Willes himself (the decipherer employed by the government), that it is an art which depends upon conjecture, for this gentleman has confessed, that every man is liable to a mistake in this as well as in other sciences; he tells you that he and his brother decipherers varied in one or two instances. He allows that the chasms which they were forced to leave in those letters might alter the sense of them. And therefore I cannot but think that an accusation, grounded on such proofs, is uncertain and precarious.

The person who is the decipherer is not to be confuted, and what he says must be taken for granted, because the key cannot be produced with safety to the public; and consequently, if his conjectures be admitted as evidence, our lives and fortunes must depend on the skill and honesty of the decipherers, who may with safety impose on the legislature, when there are not means of contradicting them for want of seeing their key.

A large section of the Whigs had separated from Walpole about this time, and hence the Tories had plausible grounds for accusing the minister of forging a Jacobite plot in order to confound his enemies and strengthen himself.

22) Atterbury, on the accession of George I, received evident marks of coldness from the new sovereign; and on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715. he rather ostentatiously exhibited his dissatisfaction to the House of

Brunswick by refusing to sign the declaration of the bishops in favor of the crown. He was consequently an object of suspicion long before the plot was discovered, and when first arrested, probably believed that Walpole was acting merely on conjecture. But we now know, from Sir Luke Schaa's correspondence, that the conspiracy was revealed to Walpole by the regent Duke of Orleans, to whom the agents of the Pretender communicated the plot in the hope of obtaining assistance.

23) The whimsical circumstances of a lame dog having furnished the most convulsive proof against Atterbury was naturally the theme of much ridicule.

The case was as follows: There was no doubt that certain intercepted letters to and from Jones and Illington were of a treasonable nature; the point was to prove that these names were designed for the bishop. Now it so happened that Mrs. Atterbury, who died early this year, had a little before received a present from Lord Mar, in France, of a small spotted dog, called Harlequin; and this animal having broken its leg, being left with one Mrs. Barnes to be cured, was more than once mentioned in the correspondence of Jones and Illington. Mrs. Barnes and some other persons were examined before the council on this subject, and they, supposing that at all events there could be no treason in a lapdog, readily owned that Harlequin was intended as a present for the Bishop of Rochester.

There were many other collateral proofs; but it was the throwing up of this little straw which decided from what quarter blew the wind.

— Lord Mahon's History of England, ii. 56

The incident is thus noticed in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons.

Some letters have been intercepted, which there is a good reason to believe were from the Bishop of Rochester; and one of these letters being signed T. Jones, and another T. Illington, your committee will now lay before the House the evidence they have found of the bishop's being designated by those two names, collected from circumstances, which being in themselves seemingly minute, and of little consequence, were for this reason more frankly confessed by those who were obstinate in concealing stronger proofs, and yet at the same time lead directly to the discovery of the person meant by those names.

Mrs. Barnes being examined before a committee of Lords of the Council, obstinately refused to make the least discovery relating to George Kelly; but when she came to be asked what she knew about a dog sent over to Kelly from France, not suspecting that this would lead to any discovery, she readily owned that a spotted little dog called Harlequin, which was brought from France, and had a leg broken, was left with her by Mr. Kelly to be cured; that the said dog was not for her, but for the Bishop of Rochester; and that Kelly promised to get the dog for her from the Bishop of Rochester, in case it did not recover of its lamesess.

But it appears to your Committee by letters intercepted between Kelly and his correspondents in France, that a dog so named and hurt was sent over to Kelly from France, to be delivered as a present to the person denoted by the names of Jones and Illington.

Swift could not resist the tempting opportunity of engaging in party warfare from which he had now for nine years held aloof; he poured forth one of his happiest strains of satire on "the horrid conspiracy" discovered by a French dog who confessed "as plain as he could bark." The poem is too long for insertion here and it is therefore put in the Appendix to this Voyage.

23 This humorous burlesque on the Report of the House of Commons seems particularly aimed at the following passage:

From the time of George Kelly's being first taken up, the Bishop of Rochester is denoted by the names Rig and Weston, as will appear from the following circumstances. On the 30th of August, Kelly writes to Dillon a long letter, which

contains the particulars of the Bishop's being taken into custody, examined, and committed. On the 14th of September, Dillon's secretary writes to Kelly, "that his letter on the 30th of August came safe, and that the particulars he gave of Mr. Rig's case were very acceptable to Mr. Dillon whose concern for a true and worthy friend and relation cannot be doubted, and a longing desire to know her entirely clear of her distemper.

In the same letter he desires to know what is become of Caste.

That Rig denotes the bishop is further confirmed by these particulars. Kelly, in his first letter after his enlargement writes word to Jerrard,

All I can do now will be to deliver to your cousin Rig any goods that you can send by private hand; he is determined not to receive them in any other way, and indeed I cannot say he is in the wrong. How far this late affair may affect him I cannot tell.

Now since it appears that Kelly was formerly employed in conveying letters to and from the bishop (which are often called goods in the intercepted correspondence), since the bishop himself has desired in his letter to Dillon, that no more letters of consequence be entrusted to the post, and since Kelly's examination about the dog could affect no one but the bishop, it may justly be concluded that Rig and the bishop are the same. The identification of Weston with the bishop is made out by a similar combination of minute circumstances.

24) A hint from Gulliver that we have lost the true Greek idiom.— Orrery.

25) In this passage there is a peculiar beauty, though it is not discovered at a hasty view. The appearance of Alexander with a victorious army immediately after the battle of Arbela, produces only a declaration that he died by drunkenness; thus inadequate and ridiculous in the eye of reason as the ultimate purpose for which Alexander and his army marched into a remote country, subverted a mighty empire, and deluged a nation with blood; he gained no more than an epithet to his name, which, after a few repetitions, was no longer regarded, even by himself. Thus the purpose of his resurrection appears to be at least equally important with that of his life, upon which it is a satire not more bitter than just.

—Hawkesworth

26) Livy, the Roman historian, has related that Hannibal burnt a great pile of wood upon a rock that stopped his passage, and when it was thus heated poured vinegar upon it, by which it was made so soft as to be easily cut through.

—Hawkesworth

This story has been generally doubted by modern writers, since it was hardly possible that Hannibal could have had along with his army a sufficient quantity of vinegar to make the experiment, and since it is certain, the experiment, if made, could not have succeeded to any useful extent.

27) I am in some doubt whether Cato the censor can fairly claim a rank among so choice a group of ghosts.— Orrery.

This note of his lordship is an encomium on the judgment of our author, who knew that Cato the censor and Cato the younger were different persons, and for good reason preferred the latter —Hawkesworth.

28) This description of Aristotle is fine, and in a few words represents the true nature of his works. By not having the immortal spirit of Horner, he was unable to keep his body erect and his staff, which feebly supported him, like his

commentators, made this defect more conspicuous. He wanted not some useful qualities, but these real ornaments like his hair, were thin and ungraceful. —Orrery

In this the noble commentator seems to be mistaken, for it cannot be believed that Aristotle's real ornaments, however few, were ungraceful. —Hawkesworth

29) Swift here manifestly shows his ignorance of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, which is founded not on conjecture, like the theories of Gassendi and Descartes, but is a legitimate induction from ascertained facts.

30) The battle of Angheim was won by the accidental death of Lieutenant Keith, just as he was about to take advantage of the blunders of the English commanders.

31) Sir Walter Scott, with great probability, conjectures that the insinuation is directed against Admiral Russell, whose loyalty to William III., even when he won the naval victory at La Hogue, was very suspicious.

32) Charles II., James II., William III., for whose memory Swift entertained no great reverence.

33) Few persons can read this chapter without feeling that it is a complete failure; "there needed no ghost to tell us" any of the stories for which the spirits were evoked.

34) George I was very anxious to restore the Earl of Clancarty to his title and estates, believing that the attainder of the family by the Irish Parliament was unjust; but the party of the ascendancy in Ireland refused to reverse the forfeiture, and the King, after a slight show of anger, was forced to acquiesce in the continued injustice.

35) To this it may possibly be objected, that the perpetuity of youth, health and vigor, would be less a prodigy than the perpetuity of life in a body subject to gradual decay, and might therefore be hoped without greater extravagance of folly; but the sentiment here expressed is that of a being to whom immortality, though not perpetual youth, was familiar, and in whom the wish of perpetual youth only would have been extravagant because that only appeared from facts to be impossible.—Hawkesworth.

36) If it be said that although the folly of desiring life to be prolonged under the disadvantages of old age, is here finely exposed; yet the desire of terrestrial immortality, upon terms on which alone in the nature of things it is possible, an exemption from disease, accident and decay, is tacitly allowed; it may be answered, that as we grow old by imperceptible degrees, so for the most part we grow old without repining; and every man is ready to profess himself willing to die, when he shall be overtaken by the decrepitude of age in some future period; yet when every other eye sees that this period is arrived, he is still tenacious of life, and murmurs at the condition upon which he received his existence. To reconcile old age therefore to the thoughts of a dissolution, appears to be all that was necessary in a moral writer for practical purposes.—Hawkesworth.

37) In this melancholy picture. Swift shadows forth the sentiment of his own helpless old age, by which he was continually haunted; the effect of this description of the struldbrugs is very saddening, and could only have been written by a person who anticipated a wretched old age.

38) Perhaps it may not be wholly useless to remark that the sight of a Struldbrug would not otherwise arm those against the fear of death, who have no hope beyond it, than a man is armed against the fear of breaking his limbs, who jumps out of a window when his house is on fire.— Hawkesworth.

Gulliver's Travels Appendix One
A Voyage to The Country of The Houyhnhnms

CHAPTER I

Justly as I may be blamed for a rambling disposition, I must confess that my love of adventure was not extinguished by the dangers recited in the preceding parts of my travels.

I continued at home with my wife and children, about five months, in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain of the *Adventure*, a stout merchantman of 350 tons: for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, which, however, I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skillful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship.

We set sail from Portsmouth, upon the 7th day of September, 1710; on the 14th, we met with Captain Pocock, of Bristol, at Teneriffe, who was going to the bay of Campeachy to cut logwood.

On the 16th, he was parted from us by storm: I heard since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped but one cabinboy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions; which was the cause of his destruction, as it has been of several others: for if he had followed my advice, he might have safe been at home with his family at this time as well as myself.

I had several men die in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched, by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards, that most of them had been buccaneers.¹

I had fifty hands on board, and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up, debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me overboard if I offered to stir.

I told them, "I was their prisoner and would submit." This they made me swear to, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain, near my bed, and placed a sentry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty. They sent me down victuals and drink, and took the government of the ship to themselves.

Their design was to turn pirates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do till they got more men. But first they resolved to sell the goods in the ship, and then go to Madagascar for recruits, several among

them having died since my confinement. They sailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what course they took, being kept a close prisoner in my cabin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th of May, 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabin, and said, "he had orders from the captain to set me ashore." I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new captain was.

They forced me into the longboat, letting me put on my best suit of clothes, which were as good as new, and take a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had with some other little necessaries. They rowed about a league, and then set me down on a strand. I desired them to tell me what country it was.

They all swore, "they knew no more than myself;" but said, "that the captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place where they could discover land."

They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste for fear of being overtaken by the tide, and so bade me farewell.

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys, which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me.

The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side.

I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks human feet and some of cows, but most of horses.

At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form.

Their heads and breasts were covered with a thick hair, some frizzled, and others lank; they had breasts like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the foreparts of their legs and feet; but the rest of their bodies was bare, so that I might see their skins, which were of a

brown buff color. They had no tails, nor any hair at all on their buttocks, except about the anus; which I presume, nature had placed there to defend them, as they sat on the ground; for this posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind feet.

They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel, for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked.

They would often spring, and bound, and leap, with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their head, but none on their faces, nor anything more than a sort of down on the rest of their bodies, except about the anus and pudenda.

The dugs hung between their fore-feet, and often reached almost to the ground as they walked. The hair of both sexes was of several colors, brown, red, black, and yellow.

Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so great an antipathy; so that thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion, I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian.

I had not gone far when I met one of those creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his forepaw, whether out of curiosity or mischief I could not tell; but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst not strike him with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle.

When the beast felt the smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them oft by waving my hanger.

Several of this cursed brood, getting hold of the branches behind, leaped up into the tree, whence they began to discharge their excrements upon my head; however, I escaped pretty well by sticking close to the stem of the tree, but was almost stifled with the filth, which fell about me on every side.

In the midst of this distress, I observed all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the tree and pursue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand I saw a horse walking softly in the field; which my persecutors, having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little, when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder.

He viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aspect, never offering the least violence.

We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of jockeys, when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right forefoot to remove my hand.

Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself, in some language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horse came up; who applying himself first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right hoof before, neighing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate.

They went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backward and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes toward me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behavior in brute beasts; and concluded with myself, that if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth.

This thought gave me so much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased.

But the first, who was a dapple gray, observing me steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near to him, to expect his farther commands, but concealing my fear as much as I could; for I began to be in some pain how this adventure might terminate; and the reader will easily believe I did not much like my present situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The gray steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore hoof, and discomposed it so much that I was forced to adjust it better by taking it off, and settling it again; whereat both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder.

He stroked my right hand, seeming to admire the softness and color; but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness.

They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each

other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.

Upon the whole, the behavior of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must needs be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way, resolved to divert themselves with him; or, perhaps were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate.

Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: "Gentlemen, if you be conjurors, as I have good cause to believe, you can understand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worships know that I am a poor distressed Englishman, driven by his misfortunes upon your coast; and I entreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horse, to some house or village where I can be relieved. In return of which favor, I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet;" taking them out of my pocket.

The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention; and when I had ended, they neighed frequently toward each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation. I plainly observed that their language expressed the passions very well, and the words might, with little pains, be resolved into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese.

I could frequently distinguish the word Yahoo, which was repeated by each of them several times; and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet, while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavored to practice this word upon my tongue; and as soon as they were silent, boldly pronounced Yahoo, in a loud voice, imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse; at which they were both visibly surprised and the gray horse repeated the same word twice, as if he meant to teach the right accent; wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection.

Then the bay tried me with a second word much harder to be pronounced; but reducing it to the English orthography may be spelt thus—Houyhnhnm. I did not succeed in this so well as in the former; but after two or three farther trials, I had better fortune, and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After some further discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof, and the gray made me signs that I should walk before him: where- in I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun, hhuun*. I guessed his meaning and gave him to understand, as well as I could, "that I was weary, and not able to walk faster;" upon which he would stand awhile to let me rest.

CHAPTER II

After having traveled about three miles, we came to a long kind of a building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled across; the roof was low, and covered with straw. I now began to be a little comforted: and took out some toys, which travelers usually carry for presents to the savage Indians of America, and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly.

The horse made me a sign to go in first; it was a large room with a clay floor, and a rack and manger, extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business; these seemed but ordinary cattle; however, this confirmed my first opinion, that a people who could, so far civilize brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world.

The grey came in just after, and hereby prevented any ill-treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a style of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room there were three others, reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista; we went through the second room towards the third.

Here the grey walked in first, beckoning me to attend; I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house: they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearls, a small looking-glass, and a bead necklace.

The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this house must belong to some person of great note among them, because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses was beyond my comprehension.

I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes: I roused myself, and looked about me in the room where I was left alone; this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred. I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream. I then absolutely concluded that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic.

But I had no time to pursue these reflections, for the grey horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room, where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon mats of straw, not unartfully made and perfectly neat and clean.

The mare soon after my entrance rose from her mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look, and turning to the horse, I heard the word Yahoo often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which I could not then comprehend; although it was the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting mortification; for the horse beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the *hhuun, hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building, at some distance from the house.

Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable creatures, which I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots, and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs and now and then a cow, dead by accident or disease.

They were all tied by the neck with strong withes fastened to a beam; they held their food between the claws of their forefeet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together, and our countenances diligently compared both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word Yahoo. My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure; the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth wide; but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their faces against the mother's shoulders. The forefoot of the Yahoo differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences, which I knew very well, though the horse did not, because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies except as to hairiness and color, which I have already described.

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two horses, was to see the rest of my body so very different from that of the Yahoo, for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception. The sorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, which we shall describe in its proper place) between his hoof and pastern: I took it in my hand, and having smelt it, returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the Yahoos' kennel a piece of ass's flesh, but it smelt so offensively that I turned from it with loathing; he then threw it to the Yahoo, by whom it was greedily devoured.

He afterwards showed me a wisp of hay, and a fetlock full of oats; but I shook my head, to signify that neither of these were food for me. And indeed I now apprehended that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own species; or as to those filthy Yahoos, although

there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time than myself, yet, I confess I never saw any sensitive being so detestable on all accounts the more I came near them the more hateful they grew, while I "stayed in that country.

This the master horse observed by my behavior, and therefore sent the Yahoo back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth, at which I was much surprised, although he did it with ease, and with a motion that appeared perfectly natural; and made other signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how I was possibly to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment.

While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by, whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to go and milk her. This had its effect; for he had led me back into the house, and ordered a mare servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly manner.

She gave me a large bowlful, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About noon, I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four Yahoos. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be of quality; he alighted with his hind-feet forward, having by accident got hurt in his left forefoot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility.

They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse ate warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches, upon bosses of straw.

In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition in the manger; so that each horse and mare ate their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behavior of the young colt and foal appeared very modest, and that of the master and mis-tress extremely cheerful and complaisant to their guest.

The gray ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the stranger's often looking on me, and the frequent repetition of the word Yahoo.

I happened to wear my gloves, which the master gray observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs, of wonder what I had done to my forefeet: he put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify that I should reduce them to their former shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket.

This occasioned further talk, and I saw the company was pleased with my behavior, whereof I soon found the good effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood; and while they were at dinner, the master taught me the names for oats, milk, fire, water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great faculty for learning languages.

When dinner was done, the master took me aside, and by signs and words made me understand the concern he was in that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnb*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet, upon second thoughts I considered that I could contrive to make of them a kind of bread, which might be sufficient, with milk, to keep me alive, till I could make my escape to some other country, and to creatures of my own species. The horse immediately ordered a white mare-servant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a sort of wooden tray. These I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the grain: I ground and beat them between two stones, then took water, and made them into a kind of paste or cake, which I toasted at the fire, and ate warm with milk. It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often reduced to hard fare in my life, this was not the first experiment I had made how easily nature is satisfied.

And I cannot but observe, that I never had an hour's sickness while I stayed in this island.

It is true I sometimes made a shift to catch a rabbit or bird, by springs made of Yahoos' hair; and I often gathered wholesome herbs, which I boiled and ate as salads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter and drank the whey.

I was at first at a great loss for salt, but custom soon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident that the frequent use of salt among us is an effect of luxury, and was first introduced as a provocative to drink, except where it is necessary for preserving flesh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets: for we observe no animal to be fond of it but man,² and as to myself, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taste of it in anything that I ate.

This is enough to say upon the subject of my diet, wherewith other travelers fill their books, as if the readers were personally concerned whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this matter, lest the world should think it impossible that I could find sustenance for three years in such a country, and among such inhabitants.

When it grew towards evening, the master horse ordered a place for me to lodge in; it was but six yards from the house, and separated from the stable of the Yahoos. Here I got some straw, and covering myself with my own clothes, slept very sound. But I was in a very short time better accommodated, as the reader will know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.



CHAPTER III

My principal endeavor was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him), and his children, and every servant of his house, were desirous to teach me; for they looked upon it as a prodigy, that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to everything, and inquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my journal book when I was alone, and corrected my bad accent, by desiring those of the family to pronounce it often. In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking, they pronounce through the nose and throat, and their language approaches nearest to the High Dutch or German, of any I know in Europe; but it is much more graceful and significant.

The emperor Charles V made almost the same observation when he said, "that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High Dutch."

The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a Yahoo; but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness, astonished him; which were qualities altogether opposite to those animals.³

He was most perplexed about my clothes, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a part of my body: for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the morning. My master was eager to learn "whence I came; how I acquired those appearances of reason which I discovered in all my actions; and to know my story from my own mouth, which he hoped he should soon do, by the great proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences."

To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and writ the words down, with the translations. This last, after a time, I ventured to do in my master's presence. It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing; for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature.

In about ten weeks' time I was able to understand most of his questions; and in three months could give him some tolerable answers. He was extremely curious to know "from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature; because the Yahoos (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hands and face, that were only visible),⁴ with some appearance of cunning, and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes."

I answered, "that I came over the sea from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel made of the bodies of trees; that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself."

It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, "that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not;" (for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood)

He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water.

He was sure no Houyhnhnm alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust Yahoos to manage it.

The word Houyhnhnm, in their tongue, signifies a horse, and, in its etymology, the perfection of nature. I told my master that "I was at a loss for expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped in a short time I should be able to tell him wonders.

He was pleased to direct his own mare, his colt, and foal, and the servants of the family, to take all opportunities of instructing me; and every day or two, for two or three hours, he was at the same pains himself; several horses and mares of quality in the neighborhood came often to our house, upon the report spread of "a, wonderful Yahoo, that could speak like a Houyhnhnm, and seemed in his words and actions to discover some glimmerings of reason."

These delighted to converse with me: they put many questions and received such answers as I was able to return. By all these advantages I made so great a progress, that in five months from my arrival, I understood whatever was spoken, and could express myself tolerably well.

The Houyhnhnms, who came to visit my master out of a design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right Yahoo, because my body had a different covering from others of my kind.

They were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face, and hands; but I discovered that secret to my master upon an accident which happened about a fortnight before, I have already told the reader, that every night, when the family were gone to bed, it was my custom to strip, and cover myself with my clothes: it happened one morning early, that my master sent for me by the sorrel nag, who was his valet; when he came I was fast asleep, my clothes fallen off on one side, and my shirt above my waist.

I awaked at the noise he made, and observed him to deliver his message in some disorder; after which he went to my master, and in a great fright gave him a very confused account of what he had seen: this I presently discovered; for, going as soon as I was dressed to pay attendance upon his honor, he asked me "the meaning of what his servant had reported, that I was not the same thing when I slept, as I appeared to be at other times; that his valet assured him some part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown."

I had hitherto concealed the secret of my dress, in order (to distinguish myself as much as possible from that cursed race of Yahoos, but now I found it in vain to do so

any longer. Besides, I considered that my clothes and shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and must be supplied by some contrivance from the hides of Yahoos or other brutes; whereby the whole secret would be known.

I therefore told my master, "that in the country whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with the hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency as to avoid the inclemencies of air, both hot and cold; of which, as to my own person, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleased to command me: only desiring his excuse, if I did not expose those parts that nature taught us to conceal." He said, "my discourse was all very strange, but especially the last part; for he could not understand, why nature should teach us to conceal what nature had given; that neither himself nor family were ashamed of any part of their bodies; but, however, I might do as I pleased."

Whereupon I first unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my waistcoat. I drew off my shoes, stockings, and breeches. I let my shirt down to my waist, and drew up the bottom, fastened it like a girdle about my middle to hide my nakedness.

My master observed the whole performance with great signs of curiosity and admiration. He took up all my clothes in his pastern, one piece after another, and examined them diligently: he then stroked my body very gently, and looked round me several times; after which he said, it was plain I must be a perfect Yahoo; but that I differed very much from the rest of my species, in the softness, whiteness, and smoothness of my skin; my want of hair on several parts of my body; the shape and shortness of my claws behind and before; and my affectation of walking continually on my hinder feet.

He desired to see no more; and gave me leave to put on my clothes again, for I was shuddering with cold.

I expressed my uneasiness at his giving me so often the appellation of Yahoo, an odious animal, for which I had so utter a hatred and contempt: I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and make the same order in his family and among his friends whom he suffered to see me.

I requested likewise, "that the secret of my having a false covering to my body might be known to none but myself, at least as long as my present clothing should last; for, as to what the sorrel nag, his valet, had observed, his honor might command him to conceal it.

All this my master very graciously consented to, and thus the secret was kept till my clothes began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several contrivances that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the meantime, he desired

"I would go on with my utmost diligence to learn their language, because he was more astonished at my capacity

for speech and reason, than at the figure of my body, whether it was covered or not," adding, "that he waited with some impatience to hear the wonders which I promised to tell him."

Thenceforward he doubled the pains he had been at to instruct me: he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility; "because," as he told them privately, "this would put me into good humor, and make me more diverting."

Every day, when I waited on him, besides the trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps by which I advanced to a more regular conversation, but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose.

"That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own species; that we traveled upon the seas in a great hollow vessel made of wood, and larger than his honor's house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained, by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind. That upon a quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the persecution of those execrable Yahoos."

He asked me who made the ship, and how it was possible that the Houyhnhnms of my country would leave it to the management of brutes."

My answer was, "that I durst proceed no farther in my relation, unless he would give me his word and honor that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had so often promised." He agreed; and I went on by assuring him, "that the ship was made by creatures like myself; who, in all the countries I had traveled, as well as in my own, were the only governing rational animals; and that upon my arrival hither,"

I was as much astonished to see the Houyhnhnms act like rational beings, as he, or his friends, could be, in finding some marks of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a Yahoo to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature."

I said farther, "that if good fortune ever restored me to my native country, to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, everybody would believe, that I said the thing that was not, that I invented the story out of my own head; and, with all possible respect to myself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended—our countrymen would hardly think it probable that a Houyhnhnm should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a Yahoo the brute."

CHAPTER IV

My master heard me with great appearances of uneasiness in his countenance; because doubting, or not believing, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances; and I remember, in frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of lying and false representation, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute judgment; for he argued thus: "that the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts; now, if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance; for I am led to believe a thing black, when it is white, and short, when it is long." And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood and so universally practiced, among human creatures.

To return from this digression. When I asserted that the Yahoos were the only governing animals in my country, which my master said was altogether past his conception, he desired to know, "whether we had Houyhnhnms among us, and what was their employment?"

I told him, "we had great numbers; that in the summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where Yahoo servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds."

"I understand you well," said my master: "It is very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the Yahoos pretend to, the Houyhnhnms are your masters: I heartily wish our Yahoos would be so tractable."

I begged "his honor would please excuse me from proceeding any further because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing." But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst.

I told him "he should be obeyed." I owned "that the Houyhnhnms among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animals we had; that they excelled in strength and swiftness; and when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in traveling, racing, or drawing chariots; they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet; but then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery till they died; after which their skins were stripped, and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey."

“But the common race of horses had not so good fortune, being kept by farmers and carriers, and other mean people, who put them to greater labor, and fed them worse.”

I described as well as I could, “our way of riding; the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip; of harness and wheels. I added, “that we fastened plates of a certain hard substance, called iron, at the bottom of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways on which we often traveled.”

My master, after some expressions of great indignation, wondered “how we dared to venture upon a Houyhnhnm’s back; for he was sure, that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strongest Yahoo; or by lying down, or rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death.”

I answered, “that our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for; that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males, designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally castrated about two years after their birth, to take down their spirits, and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments; but his honor would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the Yahoos in this country.”

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions, to give my master a right idea of what I spoke; for their language does not abound in a variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us.

But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the Houyhnhnm race; particularly after I had explained the manner and use of castrating horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their kind, and to render them more servile.

He said, “if it were possible there could be any country where Yahoos alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal; because reason in time will always prevail against brutal strength. But, considering the frames of our bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life;” whereupon he desired to know “whether those among whom I lived resembled me or the Yahoos of this country.”

I assured him, “that I was as well shaped as most of my age; but the younger, and the females, were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter generally as white as milk.”

He said, “I differed indeed from other Yahoos, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed; but, in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse: that my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet; as to my forefeet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground;

that I generally went with them uncovered; neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them of the same shape, or so strong as that on my feet behind; that I could not walk with security, for if either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall.”

He then began to find fault with other parts of my body: the flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, mine eyes, placed directly in front so that I could not look on either side, without turning my head; that I was not able to feed myself, without lifting one of my forefeet to my mouth; and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones without a covering made from the skin of some other brute.”

“That my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day, with tediousness and trouble; and lastly, that he observed every animal in this country naturally to abhor the Yahoos, whom the weaker avoided and the stronger drove from them. So that, supposing us to have the gift of reason he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy which every creature discovered against us; nor consequently, how we could tame and render them serviceable.”

However, “he would,” as he said, “debate the matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own story, the country where I was born, and the several actions and events of my life before I came hither.”

I assured him “how extremely desirous I was that he should be satisfied on every point; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several subjects, whereof his honor could have no conception; because I saw nothing in his country to which I could resemble them: that, however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his assistance when I wanted proper words;” which he was pleased to promise me.

I said, “my birth was of honest parents, in an island called England, which was remote from this country, as many days’ journey as the strongest of his honor’s servants could travel in the annual course of the sun; that I was bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body, gotten by accident or violence; that my country was governed by a female man, whom we call queen, that I left it to get riches whereby I might maintain my wife and family when I should return; that, in my last voyage, I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty Yahoos under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several nations; that our ship was twice in danger of being sunk, the first time by a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock.”

Here my master interposed, by asking me, “how I could persuade strangers, out of different countries, to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained, and the hazards I had run?”

I said, "they were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes. Some were undone by lawsuits; others spent all they had in drinking, whoring, and gaming; others fled for treason; many for murder, theft, poisoning, robbery, perjury, forgery, coining false money: for committing rapes, or sodomy; for flying from their colors, or deserting to the enemy; and most of them had broken prison: none of these durst return to their native countries, for fear of being hanged, or of starving in a jail; and therefore they were under the necessity of seeking a livelihood in other places."

During this discourse my master was pleased to interrupt me several times. I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes for which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country.

This labor took up several days' conversation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loss to know what could be the use or necessity of practicing these vices; to clear up which, I endeavored to give some ideas of the desire of power and riches; of the terrible effects of lust, in-temperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting cases and making suppositions. After which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things had no terms, wherein that language could express them; which made the difficulty almost insuperable, to give my master any conception of what I meant.

But, being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature, in our parts of the world, is capable to perform; and desired I would give him some particular account of that land which we call Europe, but especially of my own country.

CHAPTER V

Let the reader please to observe that the following extract, of many of the conversations I had with my master, contains a summary of the most material points, which were discoursed at several times for above two years; his honor often desiring fuller satisfaction, as I further improved in the Houyhnhnm tongue.

I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe; I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and science; and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted.

But I shall here only set down the substance of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it in order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do justice to

my master's arguments and expressions, which must needs suffer by want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English.

In obedience, therefore, to his honor's commands, I related to him the revolution under the Prince of Orange: the long war with France, entered into by the said prince, and renewed by his successor, the present queen; wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still continued. I computed, at his request, "that about a million of Yahoos might have been killed in the whole progress of it; and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk."

He asked me, "what are the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another." I answered, "they were, innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamor of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions has cost many millions of lives: for instance, whether flesh be bread or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine;⁷ whether whistling be a vice or a virtue⁸; whether it be better to kiss a post or throw it into the fire;⁹ what is the best color for a coat¹⁰ whether black, white, red, or gray, and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean, with many more."

"Neither are any wars so furious and bloody or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent."

"Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right: sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes, because he is too weak; sometimes our neighbors want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs."

"It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact."

If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honorable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires, the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve."

“Alliance by blood, or marriage, is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel: poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honorable of all others, because a soldier is a Yahoo hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, whoever offended him, as possibly he can.”

“There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a day to each man; of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance: such are those in many northern parts of Europe.”¹¹

“What you have told me,” said my master, “upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to: however, it is happy that the shame is greater than the danger; and that nature has left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent.”

“Then as to the claws upon your feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our Yahoos would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore, in recounting the numbers of those who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have said a thing which is not.”

I could not forbear shaking my head and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, under-mines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses’ feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcasses, left for food to dogs, and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying.”

And, to set forth the valor of my own dear countrymen, I assured him, “that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.”¹²

I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said, “whoever understood the nature of Yahoos might easily believe it impossible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equaled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words,

might, by degrees, admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the Yahoos of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities than he did gnnayh (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof.”

“But when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded lest the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself.”

He seemed therefore confident that, “instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality, fitted to increase our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only larger, but more distorted.”

He added, “that he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this and some former discourses. There was another point which a little perplexed him at present.”

I had informed him that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man’s preservation, should be any man’s ruin. Therefore, he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country; because he thought “nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in showing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.”

I assured his honor, “that law was a science, in which I had not much conversed, farther than by employing advocates in vain, upon some injustices that had been done me: however, I would give him all the satisfaction I was able.”

I said, “there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbor has a mind to my cow, he hires a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages, my lawyer being practiced almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill will.”

“The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary’s lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to

belong to my adversary; and this, if it be skillfully done, will certainly bespeak the favor of the bench.¹³ Now your honor is to know that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers, who are grown old or lazy; and having been biased all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favoring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty, by doing anything unbecoming their nature or their office.¹⁴

“It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever hasn’t been done before may legally be done again and therefore they take especial care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice, and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions; and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.”

“In pleading, they studiously avoided entering into the merits of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned; they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow; but whether the said cow was red or black; her horns long or short; whether the fields I grazed her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time and in ten, twenty or thirty years come to an issue.”

“It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field, left me by my ancestors for six generations, belongs to me, or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

“In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law”

Here my master interposing said, “My was a pity that creatures endowed with such prodigious abilities of mind as these lawyers, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge.”

In answer to which, I assured his honor, “that in all points out of their own trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid generation among us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind, in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession.”

CHAPTER VI

My master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying, they did it for hire. Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials it was made of, and the value of the metals; “that when a Yahoo had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks, and have his choice of the most beautiful females.”

“Therefore, since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our Yahoos thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent, either to profusion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man’s labor, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by laboring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully.”

I enlarged myself much on these, and many other particulars to the same purpose; but his honor was still to seek; for he went upon a supposition, that all animals had a title to their share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest.

Therefore he desired I would let him know, “what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them?” Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink as for sauces and innumerable other conveniences. I assured him “that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female Yahoos could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in.”

He said, “that must needs be a miserable country, which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants.”

But what he chiefly wondered at was, “how such vast tracts of ground as I described should be wholly without fresh water, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink.”

I replied, “that England (the dear place of my nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But, in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly and vice, to spend among ourselves.

Hence it follows of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, star-gazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libeling, free-thinking, and the like occupations": every one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.⁵

That wine was not imported among us from foreign countries, to supply the want of water or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry by putting us out of our senses; diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes and banished our fears, suspended every office of reason for a time and deprived us of the use of our limbs till we fell into a profound sleep; although it must be confessed that we always awaked sick and dispirited, and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases which made our lives uncomfortable and short.

"But beside all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniences of life to the rich and to each other. For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of a hundred tradesmen; the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife."

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people, who get their livelihood by attending the sick, having upon some occasions informed his honor, that many of my crew had died of diseases. But it was with the utmost difficulty that I brought him to apprehend what I meant.

"He could easily conceive that a Houyhnhnm grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or by some accident might hurt a limb; but that nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil."

I told him that "we fed on a thousand things which operated contrary to each other; that we ate when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors, without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion. That prostitute female Yahoos acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenness in the bones of those who fell into their embraces; that this, and many other diseases, were propagated from father to son, so that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them; that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies, for they would not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every limb and joint—in short every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself.

To remedy which, there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, or pretense, of curing the sick. And because I had some skill in the faculty, I would, in gratitude to his honor, let him know the whole mystery and method by which they proceed.

"Their fundamental is, that all diseases arise from repletion; whence they conclude, that a great evacuation of the body is necessary, either through the natural passage, or upwards at the mouth. Their next business is, from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, shells, salt, juices, seaweed, excrements, barks of trees, serpents, toads, frogs, spiders, dead men's flesh and bones, birds, beasts, and fishes, to form a composition for smell and taste, the most abominable, nauseous, and detestable they can possibly contrive, which the stomach immediately rejects with loathing, and this they call a vomit; or else, from the same storehouse, with some other poisonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice above or below (just as the physician then happens to be disposed), a medicine equally annoying and distasteful to the bowels; which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a purge, or a clyster. For nature (as the physicians allege) having intended the superior anterior orifice only for the intromission of solids and liquids, and the inferior posterior for ejection, these artists⁶ ingeniously considering, that in all diseases nature is forced out of her seat, therefore, to replace her in it, the body must be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the use of each orifice; forcing solids and liquids in at the anus, and making evacuations at the mouth.

"But besides real diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures; these have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female Yahoos are always infested.

"One great excellency in this tribe is their skill at prognostics, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they arise in any degree of malignity; generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is not, and therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment, after they have pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to prove their sagacity to the world by a seasonable dose."

"They are likewise of special use to husbands and wives who are grown weary of their mates; to eldest sons, to great ministers of state, and often to princes."

I had formerly upon occasions, dis-coursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a minister of state, he commanded me some time after to inform him what species of Yahoo I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him “that first or chief minister of state, who was the person I intended to describe, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger; at least, makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles: that he applies his words to all uses except the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth but with an intent that you should take it for a lie; nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs are in the surest way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn.”

“The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath; after which, every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.”

“There are three methods by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is, by knowing how, with prudence, to dispose of a wife, a daughter, or a sister; the second, by betraying or undermining his predecessor; and the third is, by a furious zeal, in public assemblies, against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would rather choose to employ those who practice the last of these methods; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master.”

That these ministers, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power, by bribing the majority of a senate or great council; and at last, by an expedient, called an act of idemnity (whereof I described the nature to him), they secure themselves from after reckonings, and retire from the public laden with the spoils of the nation.”

“The palace of a chief minister is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade; the pages, lackeys, and porter, by imitating their master, become ministers of state in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of insolence lying and bribery.”

“Accordingly, they have a subaltern court paid to them by persons of the best rank, and sometimes by the force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through several gradations, to be successors to their lord.”

“He is usually governed by a decayed wench, or favorite footman, who are the tunnels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called in the last resort, the governors of the kingdom.”

One day in discourse, my master, having heard me mention the nobility of my country, was pleased to make me a compliment which I could not pretend to deserve; “that he was sure I must have been born of some noble family, because I far exceeded in shape, color, and cleanliness, all the Yahoos of his nation, although I seemed to fail in strength and agility, which must be imputed to my different way of living from those other

brutes; and besides, I was not only endowed with the faculty of speech, but likewise with some rudiments of reason, to a degree that with all his acquaintance I passed for a prodigy.”

He made me observe, “that among the Houyhnhnms, the white, the sorrel, and the iron-gray, were not so exactly shaped as the bay, the dapple-gray, and the black; nor born with equal talents of mind, or a capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the condition of servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own race, which in that country would be reckon-ed monstrous and unnatural.”

I made his honor my most humble acknowledgments for the good opinion he was pleased to conceive of me; but assured him at the same time, “that my birth was of the lower sort, having been born of plain, honest parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable education; that nobility, among us, was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it; that our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury; that, as soon as years will permit, they consume their vigor, and contract odious diseases among lewd females: and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution (merely for the sake of money), whom they hate and despise. That the productions of such marriages are generally scrofulous, rickety, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father, among her neighbors or domestics, in order to improve and continue the breeds; that a weak diseased body, a meager countenance, and a sallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy, robust appearance is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his real father to have been a groom or a coachman.”

“The imperfections of his mind run parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dullness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality and pride.”

“Without the consent of this illustrious body, no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions, without appeal.¹⁷”



CHAPTER VII

Let the reader not wonder how I could prevail on myself to give so free a representation of my own species, among a race of mortals who are already too apt to conceive the vilest opinion of human kind, from that entire congruity between me and their Yahoos, but I must freely confess, that the many virtues of these excellent quadrupeds, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honor of my own kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do, before a person of so acute a judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereby I had not the least perception before, and which, with us, would never be numbered even among human infirmities.

I had likewise learned, from his example, an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise; and truth appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing everything to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the reader as to confess that there was yet a much stronger motive for the freedom I took in my representation of things. I had not yet been a year in this country before I contracted such a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm resolution never to return to human kind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable Houyhnhnms. in the contemplation and practice of every virtue: where I could have no example or incitement to vice. But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that so great a felicity should not fall to my share.

However, it is now some comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my countrymen, I extenuated their faults as much as I durst before so strict an examiner; and upon every article gave as favorable a turn as the matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his bias and partiality to the place of his birth?

I have related the substance of several conversations I had with my master, during the greatest part of the time I had the honor to be in his service; but have, indeed, for brevity's sake, omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his questions, and his curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied, he sent for me one morning early, and commanded me to sit down at some distance (an honor which he had never before conferred upon me). He said, "he had been very seriously considering my whole story, as far as it related both to myself and to my country; that he looked upon us as a sort of animals, to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small pittance of reason had fallen, whereof we made no other use than by its assistance to aggravate our natural corruptions, and to acquire new

ones, which nature had not given us, that we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed; had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavors to supply them by our own inventions. That as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the strength nor the agility of a common Yahoo; that I walked infirmly on my hinder feet; had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no use or defense, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a shelter from the sun and weather.

Lastly, that I "could neither run with speed, nor climb trees like my brethren," as he called them, "the Yahoos in his country."

"That our institutions of government and law were plainly owing to our gross defects in reason and by consequence in virtue; because reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature; which was therefore a character we had no pretense to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people; although he manifestly perceived that, in order to favor them, I had concealed many particulars, and often said the thing which was not.

He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every feature of my body with other Yahoos, except where it was my real disadvantage in point of strength, speed and activity, the shortness of my claws, and some particulars where nature had no part; so from the representation I had given him of our lives, our manners, and our actions, he found as near a resemblance in the disposition of our minds. He said, "the Yahoos were known to hate one another more than they did any different species of animals; and the reason usually assigned was the odiousness of their own shapes, which all could see, in the rest, but not in themselves."

He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to cover our bodies, and by that invention conceal many of our deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But he now found he had been mistaken, and that the dissensions of these brutes in his country were owing to the same cause with ours, as I had described them.

"For if," said he, "you throw among five Yahoos as much food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the ears, each single one impatient to have all to itself; and therefore a servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a distance from each other; that if a cow died of age or accident, before a Houyhnhnm could secure it for his own Yahoos, those in the neighborhood would come in herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a battle as I had described, with terrible wounds made by their claws on both sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another for want of such convenient instruments of death as we had invented."

At other times, the like battles have been fought between the Yahoos of several neighborhoods, without any visible cause; those of one district watching all opportunities to surprise the next before they are prepared. But if they find their project had miscarried, they return home, and, for want of enemies, engage in what I call a civil war among themselves.

“That in some fields of his country, there are certain shining stones of several colors, whereof the Yahoos are violently fond; and when part of these stones is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happens, they will dig with their claws for whole days to get them out, then carry them away and hide them by heaps in their kennels; but still looking round with great caution, for fear their comrades should find out their treasure.”

My master said, “he could never discover the reason of this unnatural appetite, or how these stones could be of any use to a Yahoo; but now he believed it might proceed from the same principle of avarice which I ascribed to mankind.”

“That he had once, by way of experiment privately removed a heap of these stones from the place where one of his Yahoos had buried it; whereupon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place, there miserably howled, and then fell to biting and tearing the rest; began to pine away; would neither eat nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a servant privately to convey the stones into the same hole, and hide them as before; which, when his Yahoo had found, he presently recovered his spirits and good humor, but took good care to remove them to a better hiding place, and has ever since been a very serviceable brute.”

My master further assured me, which I also observed myself, “that in the fields where the shining stones abound, the fiercest and most frequent battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual inroads of the neighboring Yahoo.”

He said, “it was common when two Yahoos discovered such a stone in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage and carry it away from them both;” which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our suits at law; wherein I thought it for our credit not to deceive him; since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many decrees among us; because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing beside the stone they contended for; whereas our courts of equity would never have dismissed the cause while either of them had anything left.

My master, continuing his discourse, said, “there was nothing that rendered the Yahoos more odious than their undistinguishing appetite to devour everything that came in their way, whether herbs, roots, berries, the corrupted flesh of animals, or all mingled together; and it was peculiar in their temper, that they were fonder of what

they could get by rapine or stealth at a greater distance, than much better food provided for them at home.

If their prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst; after which, nature had pointed out to them a certain root that gave them a general evacuation.

There was also another kind of root, very juicy, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the Yahoos sought for with much eagerness, and would suck it with great delight; it produced in them the same effects that wine has upon us. It would make them sometimes hug and sometimes tear one another; they would howl, and grin, and chatter, and reel, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the mud.

I did indeed observe that the Yahoos were the only animals in the country subject to any diseases; which, however, were much fewer than horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill treatment they meet with, but by the nastiness and greediness of that sordid brute. Neither has their language any more than a general appellation for those maladies, which is borrowed from the name of the beast, and called “hnea yahoo,” or “Yahoos evil;” and the cure prescribed is a mixture of their own dung and urine, forcibly put down the Yahoo’s throat.

This I have since often known to have been taken with success, and do here freely recommend it to my countrymen, for the public good, as an admirable specific against all diseases produced by repletion.

“As to learning, government, arts, manufactures, and the like,” my master confessed, “he could find little or no resemblance between the Yahoos of that country and those of ours. For he only meant to observe what parity there was in our natures. He had heard, indeed, some curious Houyhnhnms observe, that in most herds there was a sort of ruling Yahoo (as among us there is generally some leading or principle stag in a park), who was always more deformed in body and mischievous in disposition than any of the rest. That this leader had usually a favorite as like himself as he could get, whose employment was to lick his master’s feet and posteriors, and drive the female Yahoos to his kennel;¹⁸ for which he was now and then rewarded with a piece of ass’s flesh. This favorite is hated by the whole herd, and therefore, to protect himself, keeps always near the person of his leader.

He usually continues in office till a worse can be found; but the very moment he is discarded, his successor, at the head of all the Yahoos in that district, young and old, male and female, come in a body¹⁹, and discharge their excrements upon him from head to foot. But how far this might be applicable to our courts, and favorites, and ministers of state, my master said I could best determine.

I durst make no return to this malicious insinuation, which debased human understanding below the sagacity of a common hound, who has judgment enough to distinguish and follow the cry of the ablest dog in the pack, without being ever mistaken.

My master told me, "there were some qualities remarkable in the Yahoos, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the accounts I had given him of humankind." He said, "those animals, like other brutes had their females in common; but in this they differed, that the she Yahoos would admit the males while she was pregnant; and that the males would quarrel and fight with the females, as fiercely as with each other; both which practices were such degrees of infamous brutality, as no other sensitive creature ever arrived at.

Another thing he wondered at in the Yahoos, was their strange disposition to nastiness and dirt; whereas there appears to be natural love of cleanliness in all other animals.

As to the two former accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any reply, because I had not a word to offer upon them in defense of my species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated humankind from the imputation of singularity upon the last article, if there had been any swine in that country (unluckily for me there were not), which although it may be sweeter quadruped than a Yahoo, cannot, I humbly conceive, in justice, pretend to more cleanliness; and so his honor himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy way of feeding, and their custom of wallowing and sleeping in the mud.

My master likewise mentioned another quality, which his servants had discovered in several Yahoos, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, "a fancy would sometimes take a Yahoo to retire to a corner, to lie down, and howl, and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, wanted neither food nor water, or did the servant imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only remedy they found was, to set him to hard work, after which he would infallibly come to himself."

To this I was silent out of partiality to my own kind; yet here I could plainly discover the true seeds of spleen, which only seizes on the lazy, the luxurious, and the rich; who,²⁰ if they were forced to undergo the same regimen, I would undertake for the cure.

His honor had farther observed, "that a female Yahoo would often stand behind a bank or a bush, to gaze on the young males passing by, and then appear and hide, using many antic gestures and grimaces, at which time it was observed that she had a most offensive smell; and when any of the males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit show of fear, run off into some convenient place, where she knew the male would follow her."

"At other times, if a female stranger came among them, three or four of her own sex would get about her, and stare, and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over; and then turn off with gestures, that seemed to express contempt and disdain."

Perhaps my master might refine a little in these speculations which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others; however, I could not reflect without some amazement, and much sorrow, that the rudiments of lewdness, coquetry, censure, and scandal, should have place by instinct in womankind, I expected every moment that my master would accuse the Yahoos of those unnatural appetites in both sexes, so common among us. But nature, it seems, has not been so expert a school-mistress; and these politer pleasures are entirely the productions of art and reason on our side of the globe.²¹

CHAPTER VIII

Judging that I ought to have understood human nature much better than I supposed it possible for my master to do, it was easy to apply the character he gave of the Yahoos to myself and my countrymen; and I believed I could yet make farther discoveries, from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honor to let me go among the herds of Yahoos in the neighborhood; to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honor ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my guard; without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures.

For I have already told the reader how much I was pestered by these odious animals, upon my first arrival; and I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species, which I often assisted myself by stripping up my sleeves, and showing my naked arms and breast in their sight, when my protector was with me.

At which time they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my actions after the manner of monkeys, but ever with great signs of hatred; as a tame jackdaw with cap and stockings is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their infancy. However, I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavored, by all marks of tenderness, to make it quiet; but the little imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting with such violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time, for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noise, but finding the cub was safe (for away it ran) and my sorrel nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young animal's flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was between a weasel and a fox, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another circumstance (and perhaps I might have the reader's pardon if it were wholly omitted), that while I held the odious vermin in my hands, it voided its filthy excretions

of a yellow liquid substance all over my clothes; but by a good fortune there was a brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could; although I durst not come into my master's presence until I was sufficiently aired.

By what I could discover, the Yahoos appear to be the most unteachable of all animals; their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion, that defect arises chiefly from a perverse, restive disposition. For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful. They are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject, and cruel.

It is observed, that the red-haired of both sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom they yet much exceed in strength and activity.

The Houyhnhnms keep the Yahoos for present use, in huts not far from the house; but the rest are sent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat several kinds of herbs, and search about for carrion, or sometimes catch weasels and "luhimuhs" (a sort of wild rat), which they greedily devour. Nature has taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the side of a rising ground, wherein they lie by themselves; only the kennels of the females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They swim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fish, which the females carry home to their young. And, upon this occasion, I hope the reader will pardon my relating an odd adventure.

Being one day abroad with my protector, the sorrel nag, and the weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a river that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the stream. It happened that a young female Yahoo standing behind a bank, saw the whole proceeding, and inflamed by desire, as the nag and I conjectured, came run-ning with all speed, and leaped into the water within five yards of the place where I bathed. I was never in my life so terribly frightened. The nag was grazing at some distance, not suspecting any harm. She embraced me after a most fulsome manner. I roared as loud as I could, and the nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her grasp, with the utmost reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my clothes.

This was a matter of diversion to my master and his family, as well as of mortification to myself. For now I could no longer deny that I was a real Yahoo in every limb and feature, since the females had a natural propensity to me, as one of their own species; neither was the hair of this brute of a red color (which might have been some excuse for an appetite a little irregular), but black as a sloe, and her countenance did not make an appearance

altogether so hideous as the rest of her kind; for I think she could not be above eleven years old.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect that I should, like other travelers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was, indeed, my principal study to learn.

As these noble Houyhnhnms are endowed by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature; so their grand maxim is to cultivate reason, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reason among them a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question; but strikes you with immediate conviction, as it must needs do, where it is not mingled, obscured or discolored, by passion and interest.

I remember it was with extreme difficulty that I could bring my master to understand the meaning of the word opinion, or how a point could be disputable; because reason taught us to affirm or deny, only where we are certain; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either. So that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious propositions, are evils unknown among the Houyhnhnms.

In the like manner, when I used to explain to him our several systems of natural philosophy, he would laugh, "that a creature pretending to reason, should value itself upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use."

Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mentioned as the highest honor I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected, what destruction such doctrines would make in the libraries of Europe; and how many paths of fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and benevolence are two principal virtues among the Houyhnhnms; and these are not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest part is equally treated with the nearest neighbor; and wherever he goes, looks upon himself as at home.

They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees, but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foals, but "the care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the dictates of reason. And I observed my master to show the same affection for his neighbor's issue, that he had for his own. They will have it that nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that makes a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue.

When the matron Houyhnhnms have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue by some casualty, which very seldom happens; but in such a case they meet again; or when the like accident befalls a person whose wife is past bearing, some other couple bestow on him one of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. This caution is necessary, to prevent the country from being overburdened with numbers.

But the race of inferior Houyhnhnms bred up to be servants, is not strictly limited upon this article; these are allowed to produce three of each sex, to be domestics in the noble families.

In their marriages, they were exactly careful to choose such colors as will not make any disagreeable mixture in the breed. Strength is chiefly valued in the male, and comeliness in the female; not upon the account of love, but to preserve the race from degenerating; for where a female happens to excel in strength, a consort is chosen with regard to comeliness.

Courtship, love, presents, jointures, settlements, have no place in their thoughts; or terms whereby to express them in their language. The young couple meet, and are joined, merely because it is the determination of their parents and friends; it is what they see done every day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary actions of a reasonable being.

But the violation of marriage, or any other unchastity, was never heard of, and the married pair pass their lives with the same friendship and mutual benevolence that they bear to all others of the same species who come in their way; without jealousy, fondness, quarrelling or discontent.

In educating the youth of both sexes, their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old; nor milk, but very rarely; and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewise observe; but the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and cleanliness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes; and my master thought it monstrous in us, to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some article of domestic management; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world: and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality.

But the Houyhnhnms train up their youths to strength, speed, and hardiness, by exercising them in running races

up and down steep hills, and over hard stony grounds; and when they are all in a sweat they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river.

Four times a year the youth of a certain district meet to show their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of strength and agility; where the victor is rewarded with a song in his or her praise.

On this festival, the servants drive a herd of Yahoos into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast to the

Houyhnhnms, after which these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the assembly.

Every fourth year, at the vernal equinox, there is a representative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our house, and continues about five or six days. Here they inquire into the state and condition of the several districts; whether they abound or be deficient in hay, or oats, or cows, or Yahoos; and wherever there is any want (which is but seldom) it is immediately supplied by unanimous consent and contribution.

Here likewise the regulation of children is settled; as for instance, if a Houyhnhnm has two males, he changes one of them with another that has two females; and when a child has been lost by any casualty, where the mother is past breeding, it is determined what family in the district shall breed another to supply the loss.²²

CHAPTER IX

Unanimity generally prevails in the decisions of the councils of the Houyhnhnms, even when the members come together with different opinions, for no Houyhnhnm is ashamed to become a convert to reason and argument.

One of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master, after his return, gave me a very particular account.

The question to be debated was, "whether the Yahoos should be exterminated from the face of the earth?" One of the members for the affirmative offered several arguments of great strength and weight, alleging, "that as the Yahoos were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal which nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocible, mischievous and malicious; they would privately suck the teats of the Houyhnhnms' cows, kill and devour their cats, trample down their oats and grass, if they were not continually watched, and commit a thousand other extravagances."

He took notice of a general tradition “that Yahoos had not been always in their country; but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known; that these Yahoos engendered, and their brood, in a short time, grew so numerous as to overrun and infest the whole nation; that the Houyhnhnms, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at last inclosed the whole herd; and destroying the elder, every Houyhnhnm kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to such a degree of tameness, as an animal, so savage by nature, can be capable of acquiring; using them for draught and carriage; that there seemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that those creatures could not be Ylnhniamsny (or aborigines of the land), because of the violent hatred the Houyhnhnms, as well as all other animals bore them, which, although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree, if they had been aborigines; or else they would have long since been rooted out; that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of the Yahoos, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of asses, which are a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell; strong enough for labor, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the Yahoos.”

Several others declared their sentiments to the same purpose, when my master proposed an expedient to the assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me.

“He approved of the tradition mentioned by the honorable member who spoke before, and affirmed, that the two Yahoos said to be seen first among them, had been driven thither over the sea; that coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and degenerating by degrees, became in process of time much more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came. The reason of this assertion was, that he had now in his possession a certain wonderful Yahoo (meaning myself), which most of them had heard of, and many of them had seen.”

He then related to them how he first found me; that my body was all covered with an artificial composure of the skins and hairs of other animals; that I spoke in a language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs; that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that when he saw me without my covering, I was an exact Yahoo in every part, only with a whiter color, less hairy, and with shorter claws. He added how I had endeavored to persuade him, that in my own and other

countries, the Yahoos acted as the governing, rational animal, and held the Houyhnhnms in servitude; that he observed in me all the qualities of a Yahoo, only a little more civilized by some tincture of reason, which, however, was in a degree as far inferior to the Houyhnhnm race, as the Yahoos of their country were to me; that among other things I mentioned a custom we had of castrating Houyhnhnms when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was easy and safe; that it was no shame to learn wisdom from brutes, as industry is taught by the ant, and building by the swallow (for so I translate the word *lyhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl); that this invention might be practiced upon the younger Yahoos here, which, beside rendering them tractable and fitter for use, would in an age put an end to the whole species, without destroying life; that in the meantime the Houyhnhnms should be exhorted to cultivate the breed of asses, which, as they are in all respects more valuable brutes, so they have this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve.”

This was all my master thought fit to tell me at that time, of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The Houyhnhnms have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few events of any moment among the people so well united, naturally disposed of every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations; the historical part is easily preserved without burdening their memories. I have already observed that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines, composed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot, by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolution of the sun and the moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motion of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of eclipses; and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy.

In poetry, they must be allowed to excel all other mortals; wherein the justness of their similes, and the minuteness as well as exactness of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those who were victors in races and other bodily exercises.

Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient but well contrived to defend them from all injuries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree, which at forty years old lessens in the root, and falls with the first storm; it grows very straight, and being pointed like stakes with a sharp stone (for the Houyhnhnms know not the use of iron), they stick them erect in the ground, about ten inches asunder, and then weave in oat straw, or sometimes wattles between them.

The roof is made after the same manner, and so are the doors. The Houyhnhnms use the hollow part, between the pastern and the hoof of the forefoot, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white mare of our family thread a needle (which I lent her on purpose) with that joint.

They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands, in the same manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which by grinding against other stones, they form into instruments, that serve instead of wedges, axes, and hammers.

With tools made of these flints, they likewise cut their hay, and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in several fields; the Yahoos draw home the sheaves in carriages, and the servants tread them in certain covered huts to get out the grain, which is kept in stores.

They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden vessels, and bake the former in the sun.

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found, their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their departure; nor does the dying person discover the least regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbors.

I remember my master having once made an appointment with a friend and his family to come to his house, upon some affair of importance: on the day fixed, the mistress, and her two children came very late; she made two excuses, first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *Ihnuwnh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English; it signifies, "to retire to his first mother." Her excuse for not coming sooner, was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid; and I observed, she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest; she died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore: some weeks before their death, they feel a gradual decay; but without pain.

During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the neighborhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by Yahoos, which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by an accident; and therefore, when the dying Houyhnhnms return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing that the Houyhnhnms have no word in their language to express anything that is evil, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the Yahoos. Thus, they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child, a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unreasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of Yahoo. For instance, *hnhm Yahoo*, *whnaholm Yahoo*, *ynlhnmndwihlma Yahoo*, and an ill-contrived house *ynholmhnmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could, with great pleasure, enlarge farther upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people; but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither; and, in the meantime, proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

CHAPTER X

Just at this time I had settled my little economy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me, after their manner, about six yards from the house: the sides and floors of which I plastered with clay, and covered with rushmats of my own contriving; I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking; this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of Yahoos' hairs, and²³ were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part.

When my clothes were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal, about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of Yahoos dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow trees which I mingled with water, or ate with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, "That nature is very easily satisfied;" and, "That necessity is the mother of invention."

I enjoyed perfect health of body, and tranquillity of mind; I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favor of any great man, or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression: here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire; here were no gibbers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, house-breakers, attorneys, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers; controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosoës; no leaders, or followers, of party and faction; no encouragers to vice, by seducement or example; no dungeon, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shopkeepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, drunkards, strolling whores, or poxes; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merits of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fiddlers, judges, or dancing-masters.

I had the favor of being admitted to several Houyhnhnms who came to visit or dine with my master; where his honor graciously suffered me to wait in the room, and listen to their discourse. Both he and his companion would often descend to ask me questions, and receive my answers. I had also sometimes the honor of attending my master in his visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a question; and then I did it with inward regret, because it was a loss of so much time for improving myself: but I was infinitely delighted with the station of an humble auditor in such conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant words: where, as I have already said, the greatest decency was observed without the least degree of ceremony; where no person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediousness, heat, or difference of sentiments.

They have a notion, that when people are met together, a short silence does much improve conversation; this I found to be true; for during those little intermissions of talk, new ideas would arise in their minds, which very much enlivened the discourse. Their subjects are generally on friendship and benevolence, on order and economy; some-times upon the visible operations of nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bonds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reason, or upon some determinations to be taken at the next assembly; and often upon the various excellences of poetry.

I may add, without vanity, that my presence often gave them sufficient matter for discourse, because it afforded

my master an occasion of letting his friends into the history of me and my country, upon which they were all pleased to descant, in a manner not very advantageous to humankind; and for that reason I shall not repeat what they said: only I may be allowed to observe, that his honor, to my great admiration, appeared to understand the nature of Yahoos much better than myself.

He went through all our vices and follies, and discovered many, which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what qualities a Yahoo of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, "of how vile, as well as miserable such a creature must be."

I freely confess, that all the little knowledge I have of any value, was acquired by the lectures I received from my master, and from hearing the discourses of him and his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe.

I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration.

At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural awe, which the Yahoos and all other animals bear towards them; but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or the human race in general, I considered them, as they really were. Yahoos in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason than to improve and multiply those vices. Whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that nature allotted them.

When I happened to behold the reflection of my own form in a lake or a fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the sight of a common Yahoo than of my own person.

By conversing with the Houyhnhnms and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gait and gestures, which is now grown into a habit; and my friends often tell me, in a blunt way, "that I trot like a horse," which, however, I take for a great compliment; neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manner of the Houyhnhnms, and hear myself ridiculed on that account, without the least mortification.

In the midst of all this happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour; I observed by his countenance that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak.

After a short silence he told me, “he did not know how I would take what he was going to say: that in the last general assembly, when the affair of the Yahoos was entered upon, the representatives had taken offense at his keeping a Yahoo (meaning myself) in his family, more like a Houyhnhnm than a brute animal; that he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company; that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them; the assembly did therefore exhort him either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place whence I came: that the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the Houyhnhnms who had ever seen me at his house or their own; for they alleged, that because I had some rudiments of reason, added to the natural gravity of those animals, it was to be feared I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the Houyhnhnms’ cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labor.”

My master added, “that he was daily pressed by the Houyhnhnms of the neighborhood, to have the assembly’s exhortation executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country; and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of a vehicle, resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea; in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbors.”

He concluded, “that for his own part, he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavoring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the Houyhnhnms.”

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country is expressed by the word *hnhloayn*, which signifies an exhortation, as near as I can render it: for they have no conception how a rational creature can be compelled, but only advised, or exhorted; because no person can disobey reason, without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my masters discourse; and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet. When I came to myself he told me, “that he concluded I had been dead;” for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature. I answered in a faint voice, “that death would have been too great a happiness; that although I could not blame the assembly’s exhortation, or the urgency of his friends; yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it might consist with reason to have been less rigorous: that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest

land to theirs might be distant above a hundred: that many materials, necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country; which, however, I would attempt, in obedience and gratitude to his honor, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction: that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils; for, supposing I should escape with life by some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among Yahoos, and relapsing into my old corruptions for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue? that I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise Houyhnhnms were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable Yahoo; and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servant’s assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work,

I told him I would endeavor to preserve a wretched being; and if ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned Houyhnhnms, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of man-kind.”

My master, in a few words, made a very gracious reply; allowed me the space of two months to finish my boat; and ordered the sorrel nag, my fellow servant (for so at this distance I may presume to call him), to follow my instruction, because I told my master, ‘that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me.’”

In his company, my first business was to go to that part of the coast where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be set on shore. I got upon a height, and looking on every side into the sea, fancied I saw a small island towards the north-east; I took out my pocket-glass, and could then clearly distinguish it about five leagues off, as I computed: but it appeared to the sorrel nag to be only a blue cloud: for as he had no conception of any country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote objects at sea, as we who so much converse²⁴ in that element.

After I had discovered this island, I considered no farther: but resolved it should, if possible, be the first place of my banishment, leaving the consequence to fortune.

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a sharp flint, fastened very artificially after their manner to a wooden handle, cut down several oakwattles, about the thickness of a walking staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics; let it suffice to say, that in six weeks’ time, with the help of the sorrel nag, who performed the parts that required most labor, I finished a sort of Indian canoe, but much larger,

covering it with the skins of Yahoos, well stitched together with hempen threads of my own making.

My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick; and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh of rabbits and fowls; and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond, near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the chinks with Yahoo's tallow, till I found it staunch, and able to bear me and my freight; and when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by Yahoos to the seaside, under the conduct of the sorrel nag and another servant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master, and lady, and the whole family, my eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honor, out of curiosity, and perhaps, (if I may speak it without vanity) partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe; and got several of his neighboring friends to accompany him.

I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then observing the wind very fortunately bearing towards the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master: but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honor to raise it gently to my mouth.

I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travelers are to boast of extraordinary favors they have received.

But, if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the Houyhnhnms, they would soon change their opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the Houyhnhnms in his honor's company; then getting into my canoe, I pushed off from the shore.

CHAPTER XI

Just at nine o'clock in the morning of February 15, 1714, I began this desperate voyage. The wind was very favorable; however, I made use at first only of my paddles: but considering I should soon be weary, and that the wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little sail; and thus, with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess.

My master and his friends continued on the shore till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the sorrel nag

(who always loved me) crying out "*Hnuy illanyha majah Yahoo;*"—Take care of thyself, gentle Yahoo.

My design was, if possible, to discover some small island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my labor to furnish me with the necessaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happiness, than to be first minister in the politest court of Europe; so horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the society and under the government of Yahoos. For in such a solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of those inimitable Houyhnhnms without any opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own species.

The reader, may remember what I related when my crew conspired against me, and confined me to my cabin; how I continued there several weeks without knowing what course we took, and when I was put ashore in the longboat, how the sailors told me with oaths, whether true or false, "that they knew not in what part of the world we were."

However, I did then believe us to be about 10 degrees south-ward of the Cape of Good Hope, or about 45 degrees southern latitude, as I gathered from some general words I overheard among them, being I supposed to the south-east in their intended voyage to Madagascar.

And although this were little better than conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my course eastward, hoping to reach the south-west coast of New Holland, and perhaps some such island as I desired, lying westward of it. The wind was full west, and by six in the evening I computed I had gone eastward at least eighteen leagues; when I spied a very small island about half a league off, which I soon reached.

It was nothing but a rock, with one creek naturally arched by the force of tempests. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly discover land to the east extending from south to north. I lay all night in my canoe, and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in seven hours to the south-west point of New Holland.

This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the maps and charts place this country at least three degrees more to the east than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to my worthy friend, Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my reasons for it, although he has rather chosen to follow other authors.

I saw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found some shellfish on the shore, and ate them raw, not daring to kindle a fire, for fear of being discovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oysters and limpets, to save my own provisions; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty natives upon a height not above five hundred yards from me. They were stark naked, men, women and children round a fire, as I could discover by the smoke.

One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest; five of them advanced toward me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haste I could to the shore, and, getting into my canoe, shoved off: the savages, observing me retreat, ran after me, and before I could get far enough into the sea, discharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left knee: I shall carry the mark to my grave.

I apprehended the arrow might be poisoned, and paddling out of the reach of their darts (being a calm day), I made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same landing-place, but stood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind, though very gentle, was against me blowing north-west. As I was looking about for a secure landing-place, I saw a sail to the north-north-east, which appearing every minute more visible, I was in some doubt whether I should wait for them or not; but at last my detestation of the Yahoo race prevailed; and turning my canoe I sailed and paddled together to the south, and got into the same creek whence I set out in the morning, choosing rather to trust myself among these barbarians, than live with European Yahoos.

I drew up my canoe as close as I could to the shore, and hid myself behind a stone by the little brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent water.

The ship came within half a league of this creek, and sent her longboat with vessels to take in fresh water (for the place it seems was very well known), but I did not observe it, till the boat was almost on shore; and it was too late to seek another hiding place. The seamen at their landing observed my canoe, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the owner could not be far off.

Four of them, well armed, searched every cranny and lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my face behind the stone. They gazed awhile in admiration at my strange uncouth dress; my coat made of skins, my wooden shoes and my furred stockings; whence, however, they concluded I was not a native of the place, who all go naked.

One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked me who I was. I understood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, said, "I was a poor Yahoo, banished from the Houyhnhnms, and desired they would please to let me depart." They admired to hear me answer them in their own tongue, and saw by my complexion I must be a European; but were at a loss to know what I meant by Yahoos and Houyhnhnms; and at the same time

fell a laughing at my strange tone in speaking, which resembled the neighing of a horse. I trembled all the while betwixt fear and hatred. I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe: but they laid hold of me, desiring to know "What country I was of? Whence I came?" with many other questions.

I told them I was born in England, whence I came about five years ago, and then their country and ours were at peace.

I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, since I meant them no harm; but was a poor Yahoo, seeking some desolate place where to pass the remainder of his unfortunate life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw anything so unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a dog or a cow should speak in England, or a Yahoo in Houyhnhnmland. The honest Portuguese were equally amazed at my strange dress, and the odd manner of delivering my words, which, however, they understood very well.

They spoke to me with great humanity, and said, "they were sure the captain would carry me gratis to Lisbon, whence I might return to my own country; that two of the seamen would go back to the ship, inform the captain of what they had seen, and receive his orders; in the meantime, unless I would give my solemn oath not to fly, they would secure me by force."

I thought it best to comply with their proposal. They were very curious to know my story, but I gave them very little satisfaction, and they all conjectured that my misfortunes had impaired my reason.

In two hours the boat, which went laden with vessels of water, returned with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preserve my liberty; but all was in vain; and the men having tied me with cords, heaved me into the boat, whence I was taken into the ship, and thence into the captain's cabin.

His name was Pedro de Mendez; he was a very courteous and generous person. He entreated me to give some account of myself, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, "I should be used as well as himself;" and spoke so many obliging things, that I wondered to find such civilities from a Yahoo.

However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very smell of him and his men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own canoe; but he ordered me a chicken, and some excellent wine, and then directed that I should be put to bed in a very clean cabin. I would not undress myself, but lay on the bedclothes, and in half an hour stole out when I thought the men were at dinner, and getting to the side of the ship, was going to leap into the sea and swim for my life, rather than continue among Yahoos.

But one of the seamen prevented me, and having informed the captain, I was chained to my cabin.

After dinner, Don Pedro came to me, and desired to know my reason for so desperate an attempt; assured me, "he only meant to do me all the service he was able;" and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an animal which had some little portion of reason.

I gave him a very short relation of my voyage; of the conspiracy against me by my own men; of the country where they set me on shore, and of my five years' residence there: all which he looked upon as if it were a dream or a vision; whereat I took great offense; for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, so peculiar to Yahoos in all countries where they preside, and consequently, the disposition of suspecting truth in others of their own species. I asked him, "whether it were the custom in his country to say the thing which was not?"

I assured him, "I had almost forgot what he meant by falsehood, and if I had lived a thousand years in Houyhnhnmland, I should never have heard a lie from the meanest servant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or not; but however, in return for his favors, I would give so much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to answer any objections he might please to make, and then he might easily discover the truth."

The captain, a wise man, after many endeavors to catch me tripping in some part of my story, at last began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added "that since I professed so inviolable an attachment to truth, I must give him my word and honor to bear him company in his voyage, without attempting anything against my life; or else he would continue me a prisoner until we arrived at Lisbon."

I gave him the promise required; but at the same time protested, "that I would suffer the greatest hardships, rather than return to live among Yahoos."

Our voyage passed without any considerable accident.

In gratitude to the captain, I sometimes sat with him at his earnest request, and strove to conceal my antipathy against humankind, although it often broke out, which he suffered to pass without observation. But the greatest part of the day I confined myself to my cabin, to avoid seeing any of the crew. The captain had often entreated me to strip myself of my savage dress, and offered to lend me the best suit of clothes he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with anything that had been on the back of a Yahoo; I only desired he would lend me two clean shirts, which having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me.

These I changed every second day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at Lisbon, November 5th, 1715. At our landing, the captain forced me to cover myself with his

cloak, to prevent the rabble from crowding about me. I was conveyed to his own house; and at my earnest request he led me up to the highest room backward.

I conjured him "to conceal from all persons what I had told him of the Houyhnhnms; because the least hint of such a story would not only draw numbers of people to see me, but probably put me in danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the Inquisition."

The captain persuaded me to accept a suit of clothes newly made; but I would not suffer the tailor to take my measure; however, Don Pedro being almost of my size, they fitted me well enough. He accounted me with other necessaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours before I would use them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three servants, none of which were suffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was so obliging, added to very good human understanding, that I really began to tolerate his company.

He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room, whence I peeped into the street, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he seduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually lessened, but my hatred and contempt seemed to increase. I was at last bold enough to walk the street in his company, but kept my nose well stopped with rue, and sometimes with tobacco.

In ten days, Don Pedro, to whom I had given some account of my domestic affairs, put it upon me, as a matter of honor and conscience, "that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children."

He told me, "there was an English ship in port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary."

It would be tedious to repeat his arguments, and my contradictions. He said, "it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary island as I had desired to live in; but I might command in my own house, and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased."

I complied at last, finding I could do no better. I left Lisbon the 24th day of November, in an English merchantman, but who was the master I never inquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ship, and lent me twenty pounds.

He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During this last voyage I had no commerce with the master or any of his men; but pretending I was sick, kept close in my cabin.

On the 25th of December, 1715, we cast anchor at the Downs, about nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon I got safe to my house at Redriff.

My wife and family received me with great surprise and joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess the sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt: and the more, by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, since my unfortunate exile from the Houyhnhnm country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of Yahoos, and to converse with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted Houyhnhnms.

And when I began to consider that, by copulating with one of the Yahoo species I had become a parent of more, it struck me with the utmost shame, confusion, and horror.

As soon as I entered the house, my wife took me in her arms and kissed me; at which, having not been used to the touch of that odious animal for so many years, I fell into a swoon for almost an hour. At the time I am writing, it is five years since my last return to England; during the first year, I could not endure my wife and children in my presence; the smell of them was intolerable; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same room.

To this hour they dare not presume to touch my bread, or drink out of the same cup, neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the hand. The first money I laid out was to buy two young stone horses, which I keep in a good stable; and next to them the groom is my greatest favorite; for I feel my spirits revived by the smell he contracts in the stable.

My horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four hours every day. They are strangers to bridle and saddle; they live in great amity with me, and friendship to each other.

CHAPTER XII

And thus gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and about seven months; wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth.

I could perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange improbable tales: but I rather chose to relate plain matter of fact in the simplest manner and style; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us to travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land.

Whereas a traveler's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better, and to improve their minds by the bad, as well as good example, of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

I could heartily wish a law was enacted, that every traveler, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the Lord High Chancellor, that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is, while some writers, to make their works pass the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader.

I have perused several books of travels with great delight in my younger days; but having since gone over most parts of the globe and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it has given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation to see the credulity of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore since my acquaintance were pleased to think my poor endeavors might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself as a maxim never to be swerved from, that I would strictly adhere to truth; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lecture and example of my noble master and other illustrious Houyhnhnms of whom I had so long the honor to be an humble hearer

*Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem Fini, vanum etiam,
mendacemque improba finget.*

(“Though Fortune has made Sinon wretched,
she has not made him untrue and a liar”)

I know very well, how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning for indeed any other talent except a good memory, or an exact journal. I know likewise, that writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are sunk into oblivion by the weight and bulk of those who come last, and therefore lie uppermost. As is highly probable, that such travelers, who shall hereafter visit the countries described in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors (if there be any) and adding many new discoveries of their own, jostle me out of vogue and stand in my place, making the world forget that ever was I an author. This indeed would be too great a mortification if I wrote for fame, but as my sole intention was the public good, I cannot be altogether disappointed.

For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious Houyhnhnms, without being ashamed of his own vices when he considers as the reasoning, governing animal of his country?

I shall say nothing of those remote nations where the Yahoos preside, among which the least corrupted are the Brobdingagians, whose wise maxims in morality and government it would be our happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting farther, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and application.

I am not a little pleased, that this work of mine can possibly meet with no censurers; for what objections can be made against the writer, who relates only plain facts? That happened in such distant countries, where we have not the least interest, with respect either to trade or negotiations?

I have carefully avoided every fault, with which common writers of travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not the least with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-will against any man, or number of men whatsoever. I write for the noblest end to inform and instruct mankind; over whom I may, without breach of modesty, pretend to some superiority, from the advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished Houyhnhnms. I write without any view to profit or praise. I never suffer a word to pass that may look like reflection, or possibly give the least offense, even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope I may with justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflectors, Detectors, Remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess, it was whispered to me, “that I was bound in duty, as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a Secretary of State at my first coming over: because whatever lands are discovered by a subject, belong to the crown.” But I doubt, whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Ferdinando Cortez over the naked Americans.

The Lilliputians, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and an army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the Brobdingnagians; or whether an English army would be much at their ease, with the Flying Island over their heads.

The Houyhnhnms indeed appear not to be so well prepared for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially against missive weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of a European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors' faces into mummy by terrible jerks from their hinder hoofs; for they would well deserve the character given to Augustus, *Recalcitrat undique tutus*. (He bounced around safe)

But, instead of proposals for conquer-ing that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe, by teaching us the

first principles of honor, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity. The names of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his majesty's dominions by my discoveries. To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions.

Instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the top-mast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see a harmless people; are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it or their king; they set up a rotten plank, or stone, for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force, for a sample; return home, and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion, acquired with a title by divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free license given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants; and this execrable crew of butchers, employed in so pious an expedition, is a modern colony, sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people.

But this description, I confess, does by no means affect the British nation, who may be an example to the whole world for their wisdom, care, and justice in planting colonies; their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning; their choice of devout and able pastors to propagate Christianity; their caution in stocking their provinces with people of sober lives and conversations from this the mother kingdom; their strict regard to the distribution of justice, in supplying the civil administration through all their colonies with officers of the greatest abilities, utter strangers to corruption; and, to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happiness of the people over whom they preside, and the honor of the king their master.

But as those countries, which I have described, do not appear to have any desire of being conquered and enslaved, murdered or driven out, by colonies; nor abound either in gold, silver, sugar, or tobacco; I did humbly conceive, they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valor or our interest.

However, if those whom it more concerns think fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no European did ever visit those countries before me, I mean, if the inhabitants ought to be believed, unless a dispute may arise concerning the two Yahoos, said to have been seen many years ago upon a mountain in Houyhnhnmland.

But, as to the formality of taking possession in my sovereign's name, it never came once into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then stood, I should perhaps, in point of prudence and self-preservation, have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus answered the only objection that can ever be raised against me as a traveler, I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply those excellent lessons of virtue, which I learned among the Houyhnhnms; to instruct the Yahoos of my own family, as far as I shall find them docible animals; to behold my figure often in a glass, and thus, if possible, habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human creature; to lament the brutality to Houyhnhnms, in my own country, but always treat their persons with respect, for the sake of my noble master, his family, his friends, and the whole Houyhnhnm race, whom these of ours have the honor to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me, at the farthest end of a long table; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few questions I asked her.

Yet the smell of a Yahoo continuing very offensive, I always keep my nose well stopped with rue, lavender, or tobacco leaves. And although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes, in some time, to suffer a neighbor Yahoo in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or in his claws.

My reconciliation to the Yahoo kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only, which nature has entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer; a pick-pocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whore-monger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like; this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together.

The wise and virtuous Houyhnhnms, who abound in all the excellences that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language; which has no terms to express anything that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable qualities of their Yahoos; among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it shows itself in other countries where that animal presides. But I, who had more experience, could plainly observe some rudiments of it among the wild Yahoos.

But the Houyhnhnms, who live under the government of reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm; which no man in his wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject, from the desire I have to make the society of an English Yahoo by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here entreat those, who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight.

The End

FOOTNOTES

A VOYAGE TO THE LAND OF THE HOUYHNNMS

1) Certain pirates, that infested the West Indies, were so called — Hawkesworth

2) This is a great mistake. Almost every animal is fond of salt, and thrives when it is mingled with its food. The fattening- quality of salt marshes, and the delight taken by animals in licking salt sand, is well known. It has been sprinkled upon musty hay, with such advantage as to render it highly palatable to the animals which before refused it.

3) "Qualities opposite to animals," is a strange mode of expression; it should be "which were qualities altogether opposite to such as belonged to those animals." —Sheridan

4) "That were only visible" —an ambiguous phrase; it should be—"which only were visible," etc. —Sheridan

5) It should be—"upon my arrival here," not "arrival hither," which is not English.—Sheridan

6) "Insisted in commanding," is not English; it should be "persisted in commanding-," etc.—Sheridan

7) Transubstantiation.—Hawkesworth

8) Church music

9) Kissing a cross

10) The color and make of sacred vestments, and different orders of ecclesiastics

11) Swift alludes to the German mercenaries hired by George I, the employment of these foreigners gave great offense to the English nation.

12) It would perhaps be impossible, by the most labored argument, or forcible eloquence, to show the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually, as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light; with war, including every species of iniquity, and every art of destruction, we become familiar, by degrees, under specious terms, which we seldom examine because they are learned at an age in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed; thus it happens, that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If, when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover with astonishment that when the same events have occurred in history, we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes and carried on by such means; let not him be censured for too much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up in their native deformity the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed.—Hawkesworth.

13) This bitter tirade against lawyers was occasioned by the zeal with which the great majority of the English bar supported the principles of the revolution and the Hanoverian succession

14) It is probable that the conduct of the Irish judges on the trial of Swift's printers for libel prompted the severe attack which is here made upon the bench

15) Dr. Young relates that Lord Bolingbroke offered to send him his bill of fare when trying to persuade Swift to dine with him—"Send me your bill of company," was Swift's reply.

16) "These artists," is a nominative without any verb, to which it refers in the remainder of the sentence.—Sheridan,

17) Dr. Young relates that Lord Bolingbroke's father said to him on his being made a lord, "Ah, Harry! I ever said you would be hanged, but now I find you will be beheaded."

18) Flattery and pimping—Hawkesworth

19) This sentence is altogether ungrammatical: "his successor" is the only nominative to the plural verb "come"; it

may be thus amended,— "but the very moment he is discarded, all the Yahoos in that district, young and old, male and female, with his successor at their head, come in a body," etc.—Sheridan

20) Here the word "who," is a nominative without reference to any verb afterward—Sheridan

21) The Duchess-dowager of Marlborough forgot her ancient hatred of Swift when she found him a sharer in her misanthropy. In her published opinions, under the head 1736, she says, "Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops, and courts of justice, that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit and since he could contribute so much to pulling down the most honest and best-intentioned ministry that I ever knew (Queen Anne's Whig administration), with the help only of Abigail (Mrs. Masham), and one or two more, and has certainly stopped the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do, I cannot help wishing that we had had his assistance in the opposition; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily whenever he pleased to do good. I never saw him in my life; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest, for In his books he gives my Lord of Oxford so great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antoninus. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out, with vouchers to it under his own hand." (The Duchess was a true prophetess, as appears from Swift's notes on Macky, which we have given in the Appendix to Lilliput.)

Again, under the same head, she says, "The style of the lord's address puts me in mind of Dean Swift's account, who I am prodigiously fond of, which he gives of the manner in which he was introduced to the King of Luggnagg." And again she records, "I most heartily wish that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures Swift speaks of, and calls the Houyhnhnms, which I understand to be horses, so extremely polite, and which had all manner of good conversation, good principles, and that never told a lie, and charmed him so, that he could not endure his own country when he returned.

He says there is a sort of creature there called Yahoo, and of the same species with us, only a great deal uglier; but they are kept tied up: and by that glorious creature the horse, are not permitted to do any mischief; I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes." Another point of union between Swift and the Duchess was their common hatred of Sir Robert Walpole. In 1735, she writes, "The chief must have great talents, or he could not have compassed what he has. But I do really believe that there never was an instance in any government of so much brutality, ill principles, and folly. But which way any of these things can be changed I cannot yet see into." In 1739, after a long account of some illness which Walpole had she adds: "I think it is thought a fault to wish anybody dead but I hope it is none to wish he might be hanged, having brought to ruin so great a country as this might have been."

22) Bishop Warburton, in a work originally published anonymously, gives the following severe review of Swift: "The religious author of the "Tale of a Tub" will tell you religion is but a reservoir for fools and madmen; and the virtuous Lemuel Gulliver will answer for the state, that it is a den of savages and cut-throats. Let it be as they say that ridicule and satire are the supplement of public laws, should not then the ends of both be the same—the benefit of mankind? But where is the sense of a general satire, if the whole species be degenerated? And where is the justice of it if it be not?

The punishment of lunatics is as wise as the one, and a general execution as honest as the other; in short, a general satire is the work only of ill men or little geniuses. The immortal Socrates employed his wit to better purpose; his vein was rich but frugal; he thought the laugh came too dear when bought at the expense of probity, and therefore laid it all out in the improvement and reform of manners. But, not to be partial to antiquity, it must be owned that even then, for one Socrates to reform, it had a Democritus to sneer, a Diogenes to snarl, nay, even an Heraclitus to weep, at human obliquity. So much easier has it always been to invent a false philosophy on the credit of a prevailing passion than to use even the first principles of reason to curb and restrain it. And here it is well worth observing that he of all those whom the world treated most severely, was the reformer; as he who most grossly abused his reason, even to the arguing against geometrical demonstration, was the scoffer. Again at the revival of letters, a second Socrates arose in Erasmus, a Democritus in Rabelais, and a Diogenes in Peter Aretin. And again, the well-directed raillery of the great reformer drew down against its author more enemies than did all the filth,

scurrility, and impieties of the buffoon and cynic.”—*A Critical Enquiry into Prodigies, etc.*, pp. 32-34, London, 1727.

Bishop Percy, late Bishop of Dromore, in one of his unpublished MSS., makes the following comment on the description of the Houyhnhnms and their policy: “That which surprises me most in the Dean’s work is his forgetting himself so much in his haste as to leave religion out of the idea of a perfect republic. Since he gave reason to his horses, he might consistently enough have given them a little natural religion.”

23) It should be,—and “which” were excellent food. This sentence is faulty in other respects; but there, as well as in other passages of these *Voyages*, the author has intentionally made use of inaccurate expression and studied negligence. In order to make the style more like that of a seafaring man: on which account they have been passed over in silence where such intention was obvious—Sheridan

24) This is an uncommon use of the word “converse”; instead of the verb, the adjective is always employed in this sense; as thus—“as we who are so conversant in that element,”—Sheridan

Gulliver's Travels Appendix Two

Biographical Notice

Lives of Swift are so numerous that it may seem equally superfluous and presumptuous to add another to their number, especially as the diligence of former biographers has left few new materials to be collected, and scarcely any new conjectures to be hazarded.

There is, however, perhaps, no person whose life is so full of interest and instruction to literary aspirants, so replete with encouragement to pursue a course of honorable industry, and so rife with examples of the perils that attend every abandonment of principle. Born in obscurity and almost in destitution—educated by the precarious charity of relations — sent from his university with no honor, and some disgrace— employed as secretary by a statesman possessing no patronage, and yet exacting more than the ordinary homage of a patron, Swift's early years exhibit nothing but the humiliation of genius, and the sickness of heart arising from hopes deferred. Yet, by steady exertion of talent he won his way forward, and at a remarkable crisis saw himself courted and honored by all the leaders of parties, who divided the power of England.

In the classic reign of Anne, wit and nobility shared public influence between them ; the pen of Addison was not less valuable to his party than the sword of Marlborough, and Bolingbroke most sufficiently supported his cabinet in his study. At the very moment that the Whigs had "burned themselves while trying to roast a parson," and had lost the confidence of Queen and people, Swift, who had hitherto been their vehement supporter, went over at once to the Tories, and assailed his old allies with all the rancor of a renegade. He became politically powerful, and morally powerless; dreaded by all, loved by few, respected by none. His new patrons dared not pay the price which he expected for his desertion; they shelved him in the deanery of St. Patrick, and ere long their removal from power seemed to consign him to hopeless obscurity.

Having vainly tried to sell himself once more, Swift vowed vengeance on those who rejected his offer. A proposal for a copper coinage gave him an opportunity of convulsing his country; he roused the passions of an excitable people by a system of audacious misrepresentation, and was rewarded by an extent of popularity which at that time was unprecedented in Ireland.

He had thus organized an immense power, capable of producing great results; he employed it merely to harass an obnoxious ministry and to lacerate some semi-obscure individuals who had provoked his resentment. The power dwindled away from desuetude; disappointed ambition nurtured a tendency to misanthropy which the feelings of dependence in early life had formed, the mind yielded to

the corrosion of the heart. And Swift expired, a changeling and a show.

His private life was no less extraordinary. He felt the passion of love with the same force and keenness said to be experienced by Eastern guardians of the harem, and like them he displayed all the acerbity and inconsistency incidental to their unfortunate position. At one time he spiritualized his passion to a more shadowy tenuity than had yet been attained in the dreams of Platonism; and again, he passed into the wildest excesses of the opposite extreme, and wallowed in the filth of the most disgusting obscenity. Yet, three lovely and amiable women bestowed their affections upon him; and two were the victims of his caprices and his selfishness. Unhappy himself, and the cause of unhappiness to those he loved most dearly, private life afforded the Dean no consolation for the disappointments of his public career; if at one time he showed that true genius cannot be crushed by misfortune, at another he proved that fame can only be preserved by continued exertion. His entire career teaches that political influence is only valuable when beneficially extended, and that renown will never give comfort to the soul, unless the applause from without is seconded by self-approval from within.

Jonathan Swift was descended from a younger branch of the Swift family in the county of York. His father was the sixth or seventh son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, vicar of Goderich, and was bred to the profession of an attorney. The extensive confiscations in Ireland consequent on the civil wars of 1641, and subsequently ratified by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, had transferred a vast amount of Irish property to English companies and landowners, who were compelled to employ agents in the management of their new estates. These agencies were very lucrative; they laid the foundation of the fortunes of many families, such as that of the Beresfords, which have since been added to the ranks of the nobility.

Swift, through the interest of some family connection obtained one of these profitable employments and removed to Dublin; but before he could derive much advantage from the employment, he died, leaving a pregnant widow with very slender provision. Jonathan Swift, the child thus before birth deprived of a parent's care, was born in Dublin, at a small house in Hoey's Court, which is still shown by the residents in the neighborhood. The day of his birth was November, 30th,

1667, an anniversary which, to the close of his life, he observed as a day of fasting and sadness, never failing to read the third chapter of the book of Job on each of its successive returns.

Richard Brennan,¹ the servant in whose arms he died, stated that one of the few instances of a lucid interval during his fatal malady was a glimmering consciousness of his birthday, which he showed by frequently repeating when it came round, "Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said there is a man-child conceived."

Mrs. Swift was supported by her brother-in-law, Godwin Swift, who undertook the education of his nephew; but while the boy was yet an infant, a singular event removed him for a time from the care of his uncle and mother. The nurse who had him in charge was a native of Whitehaven; on the death of a relation she succeeded to a small legacy which required her presence in England; she was so fondly attached to the infant that she stole him away from his mother, and carried him across the Channel. His delicate health, and the difficulty of procuring a passage in those days, prevented his being sent back for more than three years. When he returned to Dublin, it appeared that his nurse had taken extraordinary pains with his education, for though barely five years of age, he could spell tolerably, and read a little in the Bible.

At the age of six years, Swift was sent to the school of Kilkenny, a collegiate establishment founded by the Ormond family, and always among the best regulated of the endowed schools of Ireland. A desk on which Swift carved his name with a penknife is still shown to visitors at Kilkenny.

In his fourteenth year Swift entered the University of Dublin; it appears from the registers that he entered as a pensioner under St. George Ashe, on the 24th of April, 1682. His cousin, Thomas Swift, entered at the same time, and the two Swifts appearing on the registers without their christian names, created some confusion, which, however, has been in a great degree dispelled by the patient industry of the late Dr. Barrett.

Swift's career as a student was not very creditable to him.

He showed an invariable repugnance to logic, which was then the favored science, and a thorough contempt for the sophisms of Smiglecius, Keckermannus, and Burgersdicius; grave authorities in their day, but now scarcely known by name. From his neglect of collegiate studies Swift had no chance of obtaining honors; he did not even acquire the limited information necessary to graduate, and only obtained his degree of Bachelor of Arts by special favor, a term used in Dublin to designate want of merit. Swift remained three years longer in the university, and formed one of a clique remarkable for their irregularities and breaches of collegiate discipline. Their disorders brought upon them the censure of the heads of the university, which they retorted by lampoons of more bitterness than wit.

For one of these breaches of decorum, Swift was severely admonished, and compelled to beg pardon of the dean, Dr. Allen, on his knees; this degradation was keenly felt, and more than twenty years afterwards Swift introduced a philippic against Dr. Allen into his attack on Lord Berkeley's administration of the Irish government. Amid these follies, Swift formed a taste for the peculiar style of satire in which he subsequently became so famous. Before leaving college he showed his first sketch of the "Tale of a Tub" to Mr. Waring, his chum, or chamber-fellow, a gentleman with whose family he at one time designed to form a more tender connection. He became acquainted with his chum's sister, Miss Waring, and either fancied or formed an attachment, which circumstances prevented him from disclosing at the time.

On the death of his uncle Godwin, Swift was left without resources; but another uncle, Dryden William Swift, came to his aid, and though he had not much in his power to bestow, the benevolence of his nature and the tenderness of his manner enhanced the value of his gifts.

The son of this kind uncle, Willoughby Swift, was a merchant in Lisbon, and generously contributed to the support of his cousin. Many years afterwards, the Dean of St. Patrick's used to relate an incident in his college life, of which Willoughby was the hero, with grateful acknowledgments of well-timed generosity.

He was sitting despondingly in his rooms, contemplating the college picture of misery—a scanty library, a naked board, and an empty purse—when his attention was aroused by some noise in the court; he looked out and saw a foreign-looking sailor apparently inquiring his way to the apartments of some student, and probably perplexed by the waggeries for which the undergraduates of Dublin were long famous.

It suddenly came into his head that this might possibly be the bearer of a message from his cousin Willoughby; no improbable conjecture, for Ireland had at the time a considerable foreign trade with Spain and Portugal. He immediately hastened down, and found that he had guessed aright.

The stranger came with him to his room, produced a well-stocked purse, presented it as an offering from his cousin Willoughby, and refused to receive any portion of its contents as a reward.

Under the circumstances in which Swift was placed, a small sum of money usually leads to extravagance, while the acquisition of a large sum generally leads to habits of economy, if not of parsimony. Such was the effect produced on Swift; he became very prudent in money matters, and perhaps niggardly, a character which he maintained to the end of his life.

The year 1688 was one of painful anxiety to Ireland; the fate of the Protestant Church and of the forfeited estates hung in the balance. The success of James II would have given ascendancy to the Latin Church, and the Irish lands to the heirs of the old proprietors; nor was it at all clear that William III. would not have made a compromise

with the Irish party, as he at first offered, which would have closed the doors of preferment against English adventurers and their descendants.

Swift saw the danger; he accordingly left Dublin, and came over to England on a visit to his mother, who then resided in Leicestershire. Mrs. Swift, whose own means of support were precarious, could do nothing for her son, but she recommended him to seek the advice and patronage of Sir William Temple, who had married one of her relations. Temple was a profound statesman, an accomplished scholar, and an experienced courtier; he was not therefore likely to be prepossessed in favor of a raw Irish student, who was hitherto known only for his irregularities and his deficiency of information; he took Swift into his service, but for some time showed him no marks of confidence or affection. The two years, however, which the young man spent with Sir William Temple at Moor Park, laid the foundation of his future fortunes; he became a diligent student, devoting eight hours every day to an extensive course of reading; but it is probable that he gained still more valuable information from the accomplished diplomatist, who had taken an active share in all the important negotiations between the Restoration and the Revolution. Hence arises the marked difference between Swift's political pamphlets and those published by any other man of letters; they argue only on what appears on the public stage; he, on the other hand, manifests an intimate familiarity with the machinery behind the scenes; they wrote as spectators, he as an actor.

His severe studies injured Swift's health; a severe attack of indigestion brought on fits of giddiness united to deafness, and he continued subject to them for the rest of his life. He was persuaded to try his native air, but deriving no benefit from a short visit to Dublin, he returned to Moor Park and resumed his studies.

Temple introduced Swift to King William, who often came to visit the statesman in his retirement. The monarch was attended by Swift when he walked in the garden, but the only result from these interviews was the offer of a troop of horse, which the future Dean refused. King William, however, taught Swift to eat asparagus in the Dutch way, that is, to eat both head and stalk, a lesson not thrown away upon a person of his thrifty disposition.

About this time Swift took his degree as Master of Arts at Oxford, and was treated there with a respect and attention by which he was highly gratified. He paid annual visits to his mother, traveling on foot, and going at night to a penny lodging, where he purchased the luxury of clean sheets by an extra gratuity; he thus gratified his passion for witnessing vulgar life, and at the same time saved his money. When the bill for triennial parliaments was strongly urged against the will of the court, Swift was sent to convey Sir William's recommendation to the King that the measure should be accepted. He was honored with an audience; but William III, who had his full share of Dutch obstinacy, disregarded Temple's remonstrances and the arguments by which his messenger supported them; the bill, by a strong exertion

of ministerial influence, was rejected in the House of Commons, and Swift, to the last hour of his life, used to dwell on the disappointment and mortification produced by this failure.

In time he began to grow weary of the dependent life he led at Moor Park, and solicited Temple to procure him some public employment. His request not being granted very speedily, he resigned his situation, and returned to Ireland, resolved to enter the church, though with no higher hopes than the chaplaincy of the factory at Lisbon. The bishop to whom he applied for ordination required a certificate of his good conduct during his residence at Moor Park. It was not without great reluctance that he consented to ask any favor of his former patron; when he did write, however, his letter opened the way for a reconciliation; Sir William not only gave the required certificate, but recommended his former secretary so effectually to Lord Capel, that Swift obtained the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, then worth more than a hundred a year, immediately after his admission to priest's orders.

Under these circumstances he appears to have renewed rather than commenced his flirtation with Miss Waring, to whom he affectedly gave the name of Varina. The courtship, so far as can be traced, is supremely ridiculous; while the lady was coy and cold nothing could equal the impetuosity of the lover, but when, after a long resistance, she unexpectedly surrendered at discretion, the lover's ardor suddenly disappeared, the warm epistles to Varina were changed into a cold, formal letter to Miss Jane Waring, in which all her former objections to the match were studiously recapitulated, and it was hinted in terms which could not be misunderstood that the impatient suitor would be a very reluctant bridegroom. The lady with proper spirit broke off all intercourse, and Swift was free to try his arts on a more unfortunate victim.

He soon grew weary of the stagnation of Kilroot, especially as his conduct seems not to have been in accordance with his sacred profession, but to have excited some scandal among the surrounding gentry. A constant tradition in the neighborhood records that he was charged with an indecent assault on a farmer's daughter, and that criminal informations were sworn against him before Mr. Dobbs, a neighboring magistrate. Sir William Temple was anxious to get back a secretary whose talents he had now begun to appreciate; he wrote urgent letters soliciting Swift's return to Moor Park, and promising to make strenuous efforts for his promotion. Whilst he still hesitated, he accidentally met a brother clergyman in one of his excursions, with whose appearance he was so struck that he formed his acquaintance.

He learned that he was a curate "passing rich with forty pounds a year," that he had to support a wife and eight children out of this miserable stipend, and that for want of interest he had no chance or expectation of promotion. No man was occasionally more capable of noble acts of benevolence than Swift; he borrowed a favorite black horse from his new friend, posted up to Dublin, resigned

his prebend to the Lord Deputy, and procured the succession for the meritorious curate.

On Swift's return he sought the clergyman and informed him that he had been appointed to a benefice. Great was the poor curate's pleasure and astonishment, but greater was his sorrow when he learned that he had been promoted at the expense of his generous friend. At first he peremptorily refused to accept the prebend, and when his reluctant scruples were overcome he insisted that Swift should accept his famous black horse as a small token of his gratitude. Mounted for the first time on a horse of his own, and with eighty pounds in his pocket, Swift departed from Kilroot on his road to England. The memory of his generosity to the curate is still preserved round Kilroot, where the favorite black horse is a popular sign.

II

When Swift resumed his post as secretary at Moor Park, bright prospects seemed to be opening before him, but it was at this period that he laid the foundation of all his future misery, for during his second residence with Sir William Temple he became acquainted with Miss Esther Johnson, better known under the poetic name of Stella. The best account of that unfortunate lady is contained in a letter addressed by her niece, Mrs. Hearn, to Mr. G. M. Berkeley, which that gentleman published in his very scarce and entertaining volume of *Literary Relics*².

"Mrs. Esther Johnson, better known by the name of Stella, was born at Richmond, in Surrey, on the 13th of March, 1681. Her father was a merchant, and the younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire. He died young, and left his widow with three children, a son and two daughters. Whilst Mrs. Johnson lived at Richmond, she had the happiness of becoming first acquainted with Lady Gifford, the sister of Sir William Temple. The uncommon endowments both of body and mind which Mrs. Johnson certainly possessed in a high degree, soon gained her not only the esteem, but the warm friendship of that excellent lady, a friendship which lasted till death. As they seldom were apart and Lady Gifford lived much with her brother Sir William, it was through her that Mrs. Johnson and her two daughters (her son dying young) were brought to the knowledge and friendship of Sir William Temple and his lady; who discovering so many excellences and such fine parts in the little Hetty, as she was always called in the Temple family, so far took upon themselves the care of her education as to bring her up with their own niece, the late Mrs. Temple, of Moor Park, by Farnham; a most acceptable piece of kindness and friendship this

to the mother, whose little portion had been greatly injured by the South Sea bubbles. And here it was that Dean Swift first became acquainted with Stella, and commenced that attachment which terminated in their marriage. The cause why that marriage was not owned to the world has never been thoroughly explained. It is the opinion, however, of her own family, that their finances not being equal to the style in which the Dean wished to move as a married man, could be the only one; Stella's own fortune being only £1,500; £1,000 of which, as a farther mark of friendship, was left by Sir William Temple himself. It was Dean Swift's wish at last to have owned his marriage; but finding herself declining very fast, Stella did not choose to alter her mode of life, and besides, fully intended coming over to England to her mother."

It has been said by those who have attempted Swift's vindication, that he only intended an innocent flirtation when he first made Stella's acquaintance, and they assign as a proof that he still continued to press Varina to consent to a marriage. This will, to most, appear an aggravation of his offense: no man has a right for his amusement to trifle with the affections of a young and innocent female, to win a heart for the express purpose of breaking it, to stake his fictions against her realities, and when he had won by the counterfeit, triumph in the cheat and trample on the loser.

During the four years of Swift's second residence at Moor Park, he began to appear before the world as a poet, by publishing a Pindaric Ode to Temple, to King William, and to the Athenian Society, "a knot of obscure men," says Dr. Johnson, "Who publish-ed a periodical pamphlet of answers to the questions sent, or supposed to be sent, by letters."

These verses are of very inferior merit: it is said that when Dryden perused them, he declared to the mortified author, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," and to this denunciation the perpetual malevolence which Swift manifested towards Dryden is generally attributed. It was probably during this period also that he wrote the "Tale of a Tub," and the "Battle of the Books," but they were not published until several years after.

In 1699 Sir William Temple died, bequeathing Swift a considerable sum of money, and also his manuscripts, which he probably deemed still more valuable. Before his death Temple obtained from King William a promise of the first prebend that should become vacant in Canterbury or Westminster for his secretary; that this promise might not be forgotten. Swift dedicated to the King the posthumous works with which he had been intrusted; but neither the dedication nor Swift's reiterated applications could induce the monarch to perform his promise.

Some time afterwards Swift went over to Ireland with Lord Berkeley as his private secretary; but soon after they reached Dublin a person named Bush persuaded the Lord Justice that such a situation was unsuited to a clergyman, and obtained the office for himself. Nor was this his only mortification; the rich deanery of Derry became vacant, which Swift expected to obtain, but through the influence of the secretary it was bestowed on somebody else, and Swift was dismissed with the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin, in the county of Meath.

At Laracor he increased the parochial duties by reading prayers on Wednesday and Friday; as this was a novelty, few of the parishioners at first attended, and on one occasion, Roger the clerk formed the entire congregation. Swift, with unmoved gravity, began, "Dearly beloved Roger, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places," etc.; and so went through the entire service. Notwithstanding this and some other instances of irreverence, which need not be recorded, he generally performed all the offices of his profession with great decency and exactness.

Soon after his settlement at Laracor he invited the unfortunate Stella to Ireland, together with a Mrs. Dingley, whose presence it was hoped would prevent scandal. With these ladies he passed his hours of relaxation, and to them he opened his bosom; but they never resided in the same house, nor did he ever see them without a witness. They lived at the parsonage when Swift was away, and when he returned removed to a lodging, or to the house of a neighboring clergyman. Such a mode of life was necessarily painful to the lady, nor can there be any plausible defense made for withholding from her the name and station of a wife. Palliations of his conduct have been attempted by most of his biographers, but the circumstances on which they rely must to every person of proper feeling appear aggravations of his offense. Swift's first prose work was an *Essay on the Dissensions in Athens and Rome*, published in 1701, when the author had attained his thirty-fourth year. Its first appearance it was generally attributed to Bishop Burnet, a circumstance which by no means flattered the pride of the author. Three years afterwards was published the "*Tale of a Tub*," a work which he never directly owned, nor never distinctly denied.

"Charity," says Dr. Johnson, "may be persuaded to think that such a work might be written by a man of peculiar character, without ill attention, but it is of a dangerous example." Although superstition and fanaticism are always open to ridicule, and indeed can scarcely be attacked by any other weapon, because they defy argument and are unassailable by learning, yet there are certain limits, beyond which the use of such a weapon is criminal. "*The Tale of a Tub*" in many passages outrages common decency, and in the *Essay on the Operations of the Spirit* the author has indulged in impious blasphemy against articles of faith recognized in every Christian church. Some have claimed pardon for the book, because the Established Church, considered as an institution, is

everywhere mentioned with reverence; but the creed of a church is not less important than its establishment, and Swift's ridicule was not unfrequently, though unconsciously directed against doctrines which the Anglican formularies have placed among the essentials of Christianity. The digressions relating to Wotton and Bentley display an equal want of knowledge and integrity; Swift did not understand the controversies, and he misrepresented them at random. Posterity has long ago decided between wit and truth. Bentley has received his due honor from scholars, and his opponents are forgotten. The *Battle of the Books* is said by Dr. Johnson to be an imitation of the French *Combat des Livres*: there is no use in discussing the question of originality, for both the French and English works have been long since consigned to unhonored oblivion.

In the year 1708 he published the "*Sentiments of a Church of England Man*," a "*Ridicule of Astrology*," an "*Argument Against Abolishing Christianity*," and a "*Defense of the Sacramental Test*." The "*Argument Against Abolishing Christianity*": is far the best of these works; it is written in a vein of happy irony, and exposes with just severity the miserable vanity of those infidels who hope to acquire fame by an affectation of singularity, and whose notions of glory are not unlike those of the incendiary of the temple of Ephesus.

In the year following, he published a "*Project for the Advancement of Religion*," which, like most such projects, is quite impracticable. At this time Swift was a zealous Whig, and wrote several pamphlets and poetical squibs to support his party; few of these can now be traced, for the author was subsequently very anxious to efface all recollection of them. One of them, "*Merlin's Prophecy*," designed to flatter the Duke of Marlborough, and encourage the English people to persevere in the war against France, possesses more merit than is usual in such productions, and it presents, moreover, a curious contrast to the opinions maintained in Swift's subsequent writings.

MERLIN'S PROPHECY

1709

*Seven and ten added to nine,
Of France her woe this is the sygne;
Tamy's rivere troys y-frozen;³
Walke sans wetyng shoes ne hozen.
Then comyth foorthe ich understonde
From towne of Stoffe to fattynde.⁴
An hardie chieftain, woe the morne,
To France that evere he was born.
Then shall the fyshe bewayle his bosse;⁵
Nor shall grim berrys⁶ make up the losse.
Young Symnelle⁷ shall again miscarrye,
And Norways pryd⁸ again shall marrey;
And from the tree where blossoms feele
Ripe fruit shall come and all is wele.*

*Realms shall daunce honde in honde,⁹
 And it shall be merry in old Inglonde;
 Then old Inglonde shall be no more,
 And no man shall be soyrie therefore.
 Geryon¹⁰ shall have three hedes agayne,
 Till Hapsburge¹¹ makyth them but twayne.*

When Lord Wharton became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Swift applied through Lord Somers, to whom he then paid assiduous court, for a recommendation to his Excellency. The result is related in the following letter, and addressed by Dr. Salter, master of the Charter-house, to the eminent antiquarian, Mr. Nichols:

"Lord Somers recommended Swift at his own very earnest request to Lord Wharton, when that Earl went lieutenant to Ireland in 1708, but without success; and the answer Wharton is said to have given was never forgotten nor forgiven by Swift, but seems to have laid the foundation of that peculiar rancor with which he always mentions Lord Wharton. I saw and read two letters of Jonathan Swift, then prebendary of St. Patrick's Dublin, to Lord Somers: the first, earnestly entreating his favor, pleading his poverty, and professing the most unalterable attachment to his lordship's person and cause. The second, acknowledging Lord Somers's kindness in having recommended him; and concluding with the like professions not more than a year before Swift deserted Lord Somers, and all his friends, writing avowedly on the contrary side; and (as he boasts himself) libelling all the junto round. I saw also the very letters which Lord Somers wrote to Lord Wharton, in which Swift is very heartily and warmly recommended; and I well remember the short and very smart answer which Lord Wharton is said to have given, which, as I have observed.

Swift never forgave nor forgot. It was to this purpose, "Oh! my lord, we must not prefer or countenance these fellows; we have not character enough ourselves."

Soon after this disappointment the busy and important part of Swift's life began. In 1710 he was employed by the Primate of Ireland to solicit the Queen for a remission of the first-fruits to the Irish clergy.

For this purpose, he had recourse to Harley, then fast rising into favor, and was introduced to him as a person injuriously neglected by the late Whig cabinet, for refusing to co-operate in some of their schemes. Harley's designs and situation were such as to make him glad of an auxiliary so well qualified for his service; he therefore admitted him to familiarity, if not to friendship, and engaged him to employ his pen in defense of the new administration. Addison and Steele were the principal writers on the side of the Whigs, and Swift had long been the intimate friend of both; but no sooner had he taken a share in political controversy than he assailed both, but

more especially Steele, with a violence quite unbecoming the character of a clergyman or a gentleman. For two years he supported Harley with equal zeal and efficiency; his pamphlet on the Conduct of the Allies, published in 1712, ten days before the meeting of Parliament, was one of the most successful party productions that ever appeared; eleven thousand copies of it were sold in less than three months; and it rendered the war, which had been hitherto one of the most popular in which England had ever engaged, so universally odious, that the people clamored for peace, almost on any terms. Such services merited a high reward, and Swift was not a man to work without payment. He demanded an English bishopric, which Harley was not unwilling to grant, provided it could be bestowed without offending his clerical supporters. But the clergy could not endure the promotion to the Episcopal bench of the author of the "Tale of a Tub." Archbishop Sharpe, in the name of his brethren, demanded an audience of the Queen, and besought her Majesty not to bestow episcopal dignity on a person whose belief in Christianity was suspicious, at the same time directing her attention to the most offensive passages in the "Tale of the Tub;" he was seconded by the Duchess of Somerset, whom Swift had bitterly lampooned in some verses, called the "Windsor Prophecy," which she showed the Queen. Anne, who, on religious matters at least, was a right-minded woman, declared that Swift should never be a prelate, and no subsequent remonstrances would induce her to alter this determination. The ministers gave him the best preferment they dared to bestow, the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and early in 1713 he went over to take possession. His appointment, however, was not less unpopular in the Irish than it would have been in the English church; and on the day appointed for his installation the following verses (written by Dr. Smedley, dean of Ferns) were found posted on the gates of the cathedral:

*Today this temple gets a Dean,
 Of parts and fame uncommon;
 Used both to pray and to profane,
 To serve both God and mammon.
 When Wharton reign'd a Whig he was;
 When Pembroke, that's dispute, sir;
 In Oxford's time what Oxford pleased,
 Non-con, or Jack or Neuter
 This place he got by wit and rhyme,
 And many ways most odd;
 And might a bishop be in time.
 Did he believe in God.
 For high-churchmen and policy
 He swears he prays most hearty;
 But would pray back again, would be
 A Dean of any party.
 Four lessons, Dean! all in one day.
 Faith! it is hard, that's certain;
 'Twere better hear thy own Peter say
 God damn you Jack, and Martin.*

*Hard to be plagued with Bible still,
 And Prayer book before thee,
 Hadst thou not wit to think at will
 Of some diverting story.
 Look down, St. Patrick! look we pray
 On thine own church and steeple!
 Convert thy Dean on this great day,
 Or else, God help the people!
 And now when'er his Deanship dies
 Upon his tomb be graven,—
 A man of God here buried lies.
 Who never thought of heaven.*

Having placed Stella in lodgings near the deanery, Swift returned to England, where the disputes between Harley, recently created Earl of Oxford, and his colleague, Lord Bolingbroke, threatened the ruin of the Tory party. Harley had only become a Tory for convenience; when he obtained power he had formed no definite plan of policy. Obligated to court the party by which he was supported, he was unwilling to make his quarrel with the Whigs utterly irrecoverable; he therefore corresponded with both expectants of the crown, and paid secret court both to the Pretender and Elector of Hanover. The Dean was dissatisfied with these half-measures; he endeavored vainly to stimulate the tardiness of Harley; he published a letter to the October Club, which was composed of the most violent Tories, and when he found that Harley was not to be stimulated to a more daring course, he connected himself with Bolingbroke, who was both more courageous and unscrupulous than his colleague.

The Whig leaders seem to have been aware of the dangerous tendency of Swift's counsels. Complaints were made of his influence with the ministry by Finch, Earl of Nottingham, to the lords, and by Walpole and Aislabie in the commons; they charged him directly with plotting to bring in the Pretender. It is remarkable that Swift in a poem upon himself, written at the close of the year 1713, records these imputations without attempting to deny them.

*Now Finch alarms the lords; he hears for certain
 This dangerous priest has got behind the curtain.
 Finch, famed for tedious elocution, proves
 That Swift oils many a spring which Harley moves.
 Walpole and Aislabie, to clear the doubt,
 Inform the commons that the secret's out;
 A certain doctor is observed of late
 To haunt a certain minister of state;
 From whence with half an eye we may discover.
 The peace is made, and Perkin must come over.*

In 1714 Swift published the "Public Spirit of the Whigs" in reply to the "Crisis", a pamphlet for which Steele was expelled from the House of Commons. The Dean assailed his former friend with great bitterness, treating him sometimes with contempt and sometimes with abhor-

rence. He also assailed the entire Scottish nation with such vehemence that the Scotch lords went in a body to the Queen to demand reparation, and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author.

The result, however, was in a short time either forgiven or forgotten, and Swift boasted that he was visited by the Scotch lords more than ever. Admitted on terms of equality to the intimacy of the noble and the powerful, courted by all aspirants to the office, enjoying the society of the classic wits, who gained for Anne's reign the name of the Augustan age of English literature.

Swift's malignant star was still lord of the ascendant. During one of his long ministerial attendances in London he became acquainted with Miss Vanhomrigh, to whom he gave the affected name of Vanessa, a lady possessing wit, beauty, a competent share of wealth, and universal admiration. Fascinated by the genius of Swift, she encouraged his indiscreet advances until both became so far involved that they could neither go forward nor recede without a heavy sacrifice. During his absence from Dublin he regularly sent a journal of his proceedings to Stella and Mrs. Dingley; a change in the style of these communications is very obvious after he had become intimate with Vanessa; the tone is more cold, the language more querulous, and there are occasional bursts, which clearly show a heart ill at ease.

For a time, however, the increasing excitement of politics diverted his attention from private affairs; the increasing jealousy and hatred between Oxford and Bolingbroke threatened the utter ruin of the Tory party, and Swift vainly used every effort to bring about a reconciliation. He twice tried the effect of a personal interview, from which both departed with mutual dissatisfaction. Swift declared to them that all was lost; Oxford denied his accuracy, but Bolingbroke whispered that he was right.

The Queen's closet became now the center of agitating intrigues, which Anne had not strength either of mind or body to endure. She had a natural leaning to her brother, the Pretender, and had that prince gratified her by conforming to the Protestant religion, the Stuarts would, in all probability have retained the throne of England; she disliked the Hanoverian family because the Elector had endeavored to thwart her projects of peace, and because the Princess Sophia, through whom the succession was continued to the House of Brunswick, had indulged in injurious reflections on her sincerity.

Harley dreaded the Stuarts, and probably believed that he had succeeded in making an interest with the Protestant successor, but he gave still deeper offense to the Queen by quarreling with the favorite, Lady Masham. Bolingbroke adopted all the prejudices of his royal mistress and paid the most assiduous attention to her

favorite. Bitter altercations took place in the royal presence; Anne's health visibly declined; their dissensions and her disease increased together.

At length, on the 27th of July, 1714, Oxford was suddenly dismissed from office and Bolingbroke seemed to have the great objects of his ambition within his grasp; but on the 29th of the same month the Queen was seized with a lethargic disorder, attended by the most alarming symptoms. Swift is said to have advised Bolingbroke and his colleagues to take immediate steps for securing the succession of the Pretender, but they hesitated on adopting a course that would peril their lives and fortunes.

At the council on the following day timidity and indecision prevailed; suddenly the two most powerful Whig lords, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, entered, though they had not been summoned, and were invited to take their seats at the board by the Duke of Shrewsbury. Their proposals for securing the Hanoverian succession were adopted without opposition, and Bolingbroke saw that his visions of power were dissipated almost as soon as they had been formed.

On the 1st of August, the Queen died, and George I was solemnly proclaimed in London and Westminster. On the accession of George I, the Whigs returned to power, and immediately began to assail the former ministers with prosecutions and impeachments. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent; the Earl of Oxford was sent to the Tower; Swift returned to Dublin, which he regarded a place of exile, and where he was exposed to some danger by the seizure of treasonable papers which were found directed to him.

The Church of Ireland then, as now, was divided between two parties, which may, perhaps, without offense, be distinguished as the Puritanical and the Orthodox, whose only bond of union was their common hatred of Popery. From the very beginning the leaders of the Reformed Church in Ireland had shown a strong leaning towards the principles adopted by the English non-conformists, and this tendency was much increased among the native clergy by the Cromwellian settlement, which introduced a large body of Independents into Ireland, and diffused an impatience of Episcopal control through the great majority of the Protestant body. As in Anne's reign the Whigs and Tories had held power alternately, so the ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland were divided between the high and low church, the former possessing most influence with the clerical body, the latter with the congregations. A whimsical incident exasperated the mutual jealousy of the Protestant parties, "the pious, glorious and immortal memory of King William" was frequently given, as a toast in mixed companies, and, of course, was offensive to those Tories who entertained Jacobite principles.

Browne, Bishop of Cork, published a sermon against toasts generally and this toast in particular, which gave great offense to the majority of the Protestant community; they added the bishop's name to their favorite toast, with no very complimentary addition, and applied it as a test of Jacobitism whenever the clergyman was present.

Swift came over from England a strenuous advocate for the extreme principles of high church, which had been so long the watch-word of his party, and a resolute supporter of the clerical privileges which the Whigs were accused of menacing. His assertion of his own rights as Dean soon involved him in harassing and vexatious disputes with Archbishop King and the Chapter; but in the end Swift triumphed, and he subsequently acquired such an ascendancy over the Chapter that no resistance was made to any of his propositions.

Believing that Ireland was destined to be his residence during the remainder of his days. Swift arranged a mode of living equally consistent with his notions of parsimony and dignity. For the most part he dined, at a stipulated price, with Mr. Worrall, a clergyman of his cathedral, whose house was recommended by the peculiar neatness and pleasantry of his wife. On two days in the week he opened his house to the public, and dined off plate with great pomp; his entertainments were soon frequented by the most eminent men and most elegant ladies in Dublin.

Stella regulated the table on public days, but appeared at it as a mere guest, like the other ladies. Miss Vanhomrigh's arrival in Ireland and assertion of her claims soon disturbed the happiness of the circle. Stella's anxiety affected her spirits and materially injured her health; in a few weeks she was brought to the verge of the grave.

Swift, shocked at the effects which his conduct seemed likely to produce, applied to his old friend and tutor, St. George Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, requesting him to enquire from Stella what would restore her peace of mind. Her answer, as reported by the Bishop, was to this effect, "That for many years she had patiently borne the tongue of slander, but that hitherto she had been cheered by the hope of one day becoming his wife; that of such an event she now saw no probability, and that consequently her memory would be transmitted to posterity branded with the most unmerited obloquy."

She dwelt also on another circumstance, which serves to throw a darker shade over the traits of selfishness in Swift's character. This was an eligible offer of marriage that had been made her by a gentleman named Tisdal, which Swift had first endeavored to defeat indirectly by prescribing harsh conditions, and when these were accepted by the ardent lover, had rejected altogether.

The Bishop communicated this conversation to the Dean, who said in reply, "That in early life he had laid down two maxims with respect to matrimony; the first

was, never to marry unless possessed of a competency; the second, unless this was the case at such a period of life as afforded him a probable prospect of living to educate his family; but yet since her happiness depended on his marrying her, he would directly comply with her wishes on the following terms: that it should remain a secret from all the world, unless the discovery were called for by some urgent necessity, and that they should continue to reside in separate houses.”

To these hard conditions Stella yielded a reluctant assent, and they were privately married in the deanery by the Bishop in the early part of the year 1716. Immediately after the ceremony Swift exhibited the most violent paroxysms of mental agitation; he hurried from the deanery to the palace, and had a private interview with Archbishop King, which lasted more than an hour. Towards its close Dr. Delany accidentally entered the library; Swift instantly hurried out so distractedly as not to recognize his friend, and when Delany came up to the Archbishop, he found him dissolved in tears. On enquiring the reason, the Archbishop replied, “You have just met the most unfortunate man in the world, but you must never venture to ask me the cause of his misfortunes.” The nature of the secret intrusted to the Archbishop never transpired; it was at one time supposed that it might be discovered among some of his papers, but they have been searched for the purpose in vain, and there is a tradition in the family that the Archbishop was heard to declare that the secret would perish with him.

Delany at one time believed that both Swift and Stella were natural children of Sir William Temple, and that the relationship was not discovered until after the marriage. But this theory has been long since abandoned, and there are positive proofs that no such relationship existed. Whatever may have been the nature of the impediment, it is certain that Swift and Stella never met afterwards except in the presence of a third person.

It is lamentable to add, that even after the marriage, Swift continued to keep up a tender intimacy with Miss Vanhomrigh. She resided at a beautiful and romantic seat near Celbridge, where, according to the tradition of the neighborhood, she led a gloomy and secluded life, and was never seen to smile except at the periods of Swift's visits. Many anecdotes of her kindness and benevolence are still related by the peasantry, and the Dean's memory is anything but popular in the vicinity of Celbridge.

It was probably about this period that he projected “Gulliver's Travels” which he designed to form part of a satire on the abuses of human learning, to be compiled conjointly by himself, Arbuthnot and Pope. So far as the first sketch can be traced in the hints contained in the letters to and from Vanessa, it appears that the project was originally confined to caricaturing the exaggerations of travelers. The popularity of “Robinson Crusoe” appears to

have suggested the change in the character of Gulliver, from a starved philosopher, as originally designed, to a blunt sailor. Dunlop, in his erudite History of Fiction, has dwelt very forcibly on the points of resemblance between Gulliver and Crusoe, and has established a strong probability that the similarity is not accidental.

In the year 1720 Swift quitted his occupations and amusements to appear once more upon the stage as a politician. Ireland was at this period the most unhappy country in Europe; its ancient nobles and landed proprietors had been driven into exile during the civil wars, their places were supplied by the descendants of Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, whose sole security for their new estates consisted in the support of the English Parliament and the protection of the English army. To purchase this aid they were forced to sacrifice the national prosperity of their adopted country to the commercial jealousy of England; but they paid the price with reluctance, and would have resisted had they dared. But the governing party in Ireland, the Protestant ascendancy, was comparatively small, dependent on their connection with England for their support against the great majority, who regarded them as aliens, and hated them for their religion, and for the lands confiscated from the old natives.

William III appears to have been in some degree coerced by the English Parliament into the measures which he adopted for destroying the woolen manufacture in Ireland, where it had acquired considerable prosperity; and he applied to the Irish parliament to pass laws themselves for the encouragement of the hempen and linen manufacturers in their country, and the discouragement of the woolen. In compliance with this requisition, an act was passed in January, 1698, for the imposition of such additional duties on all woolens except friezes as amounted almost to a prohibition.

But this did not satisfy the spirit of monopoly which then possessed the British Parliament. A joint address from both Houses was presented against Irish woolens, to which the King made the following memorable reply:

*My Lords and Gentlemen:
I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the
woolen manufacture of Ireland, and to
encourage the linen manufacture there; and to
promote the trade of England.*

July 2d, 1698.

The promise to encourage linen was not kept, but the discouragement of woolens was observed to the letter. In the year 1699 the British Parliament prohibited the exportation from Ireland of all cloth made of wool or containing any mixture of it, to any country except South Britain, and even in that case under such duties and

restrictions as virtually amounted to a total exclusion. These prohibitory laws were accompanied with enforcements as inconsistent with the legislative distinctness of Ireland as with the principles of the English constitution. The accused were liable to the penalties of confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation, without the benefit of a fair trial; for though they should have been acquitted under all the forms of laws in Ireland, they might still be carried to England to be tried by a foreign jury, far from their friends and the witnesses in their favor, perhaps without money or resources.

Such a system of government necessarily produced general distress, and Swift boldly made an effort for its alleviation, by publishing a pamphlet recommending the Irish to abstain from the use of English manufactures, and to use no articles of dress that were not the produce of native industry. The ruling powers were alarmed; the pamphlet was declared seditious; its printer, Waters, was arrested and brought to trial. Whitshed, the Chief Justice, one of the most thorough partisans that ever sat on the Irish bench, charged the jury, and laying his hand on his heart, solemnly protested that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender; and when a verdict for acquittal was tendered, he remanded the jury nine times, until at length he wearied them into a special verdict, by which the matter was left to the discretion of the judges. His colleagues were afraid to act upon the verdict; the invidious business was adjourned from term to term, until at length, in the vice-royalty of the Duke of Grafton, it was terminated by a *nolle prosequi*.

The violence of the government tended only to invest Swift with extraordinary popularity: he became a universal favorite with all classes of Irishmen, save the mere creatures of the castle; and while his circle of private friends was enlarged, he tasted largely of the pleasures derived from public admiration. But he made little use of the power thus obtained; his time was frittered away in trifling and jocular communications to Sheridan, Delany, and his other admirers, few of which rise above the level of mediocrity. Fate had also a severe blow in store for him.

In 1723, Miss Vanhomrigh urged an immediate union so pertinaciously that he was forced to confess that he had been already married to Stella. Disappointment and vexation brought the unfortunate Vanessa to a premature grave: before her death, she destroyed a will which she had made in the Dean's favor, and made a second, in which she enjoined her executors to publish the poem of Cadenus and Vanessa, in which the Dean had avowed his love, and also several of his warmest letters.

Bishop Berkeley, one of Swift's most intimate friends, was appointed the executioner of her vengeance; he published the poem with great reluctance, but he withheld the letters, for reasons sufficiently obvious to all who have read the portion of this correspondence which has since appeared.

The effect produced by the appearance of the poem, both on Swift and Stella, was very great. The Dean went on a tour through the south of Ireland for two months, both to banish unpleasant reflections and to give time for calumny to subside. Stella went to the house of a friend in the country, where in a few weeks, she recovered her usual equanimity.

During one of his occasional trips to England, Swift is said to have waited on Sir Robert Walpole, and to have made overtures to that minister. In the course of conversation Swift pointed to some ivy, and said, "I am like that ivy; I want support."

"Why, then, did you attach yourself to a falling wall?" was the minister's witty rejoinder.

The Dean saw that there was no hope, and took his leave; but thenceforward he cherished the most bitter animosity against Walpole. In the notes on the character of Flimnap, in the *Voyage to Lilliput*, some of Swift's attacks on the premier are pointed out; it deserves to be added, that they amused Walpole just as much as they did other people.

In the year 1724 great complaints were made of a scarcity of copper coinage in Ireland; to remedy the inconvenience a patent was granted to Wood, a manufacturer of Wolverhampton, authorizing him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds' worth of half-pence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland. The coins sent over by Wood were of a debased metal, and Swift wrote a series of letters under the signature of a Drapier, showing the folly of receiving, and the mischief that must ensue from giving gold and silver for coin not worth a third part of its nominal value. The nation became alarmed; addresses against the patent were voted by the Irish Parliament and most of the civic corporations.

The grand jury of the county of Dublin presented, as enemies to their country, all who should attempt to put the coin into circulation; and it was almost universally stigmatized by magistrates and gentlemen assembled at the quarter sessions throughout the country. The British Privy Council published a report in favor of the coin, and severely condemned the address of the Irish Parliament. But the popular clamor was too great and too general to be resisted, and on the recommendation of Archbishop Boulter the patent was revoked in the following year. Whatever may have been Swift's motives, and of their purity reasonable doubts may be entertained, it is unquestionable that on this occasion he affected great good, not by upsetting Wood's patent, which in fact was not injurious to the country, but by showing the Irish what could be affected by turning from party politics to a national object.

This publication gave serious annoyance to the government; a proclamation was issued, offering a reward

of three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author; Harding, the printer, was arrested, but the indictment preferred against him was ignored by the grand jury. Swift subsequently waited on the Lord-lieutenant Carteret, a nobleman of great politeness and liberality, and remonstrated against the severe measures which the government had adopted. Carteret replied by an appropriate quotation from Virgil:

Res durae et regni novitas me talia cogunt Moliri.
("Hard things and the novelty of the kingdom
compel me to do such things.")

Whenever Swift's life appeared most fraught with enjoyment, some fatal shock seemed preparing for his domestic misery. In the very midst of the Drapier's popularity, Stella's health began to visibly decline. The Dean was in England when she was first attacked, preparing to pay a visit to Lord Bolingbroke, then an exile in France; the calamity brought him back to Ireland, where his presence for a time restored Stella to imperfect health. He then came back to England, and in conjunction with Pope, published three volumes of *Miscellanies*.

In the year 1727, *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, and were hailed with a mixture of merriment and amazement, which at once stamped their popularity. Some contemporary critics accused him of having imitated Defoe; and the charge has been often repeated. No doubt, there are many striking points of resemblance between the two great fictions of these authors, especially the air of truth which the recital of minute and apparently striking circumstances gives to their narrative; but while Defoe strictly confines himself to romantic adventure. Swift takes the higher aim of philo-sophic satire, and seems to consider the incidents of his story as secondary considerations.

Several foreign cities have expressed surprise at the absence of all allusion to Defoe and his works in Swift's productions. There is not, however, any part of *Gulliver's Travels* in which such a reference appears necessary, or even expedient; and if there were, it must still be remembered that Swift and Defoe were at opposite poles in politics, and that nothing in England is so rare or so perilous as justice to a party opponent. Even in the present day, were a Tory to express admiration of Moore's witty Lyrics, the cry of deserter would be raised by his friends: or if a Whig paid due homage to Southey, the world would look for his speedy enrolment in the Carlton Club. In Swift's days the parties actually contended for life and death; Oxford and Orford risked the penalties of treason in their respective administrations; their followers looked upon their rivals, not as opponents to be vanquished, but as enemies to be exterminated. This has long been the

source of great intellectual evil in England, but perhaps political injustice is a portion of the tax that must be paid for political liberty.

III

Gulliver's Travels were not published until after Swift's return to Ireland. They appeared with an affected mystery, of which the Dean was very fond, and which even his most intimate friends were compelled to respect. Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay so far humored his caprice as to write dubiously respecting the author, though the two former must have known that such a work was projected long before. There was, however, a reason for his concealment, of which, in the present day, we can form no very adequate notion. Walpole was so enraged by the Drapier's Letters, that he threatened to arrest Swift; the Irish people formed voluntary associations for the Dean's defense, and the minister was dissuaded from his design by a judicious friend, who inquired whether he had ten thousand men ready to escort the messenger charged with the execution of the warrant?

A new and more bitter attack on the administration seemed likely to awake the slumbering vengeance of the Premier, and the recent impeachment of Bishop Atterbury had shown that he would not be scrupulous in the use of intercepted correspondence.

Few works have had greater success on their first appearance than *Gulliver's Travels*; and there are fewer to whose merits posterity has rendered more substantial justice. This is not the place for entering upon the examination of its substantial deserts; but it is of some importance to examine how it was viewed by contemporaries. The Voyage to the Lilliput is an exposure of the policy of the English court during the reign of George I. Swift and his friends were persuaded that the treaty of Utrecht had been the salvation of Great Britain, that it had especially secured our naval supremacy, and effectually prevented France from rivaling us at sea. He therefore regarded the impeachment of Oxford, and the banishment of Bolingbroke, as gross acts of national injustice, attributable chiefly to the ambition and jealousy of Walpole, whom he stigmatizes under the name of Flimnap. The more minute political allusions are pointed out in the notes; it will be more convenient here to confine attention to generalities.

Walpole had many enemies, even in the nominal Whig party, who professed themselves adherents to the Prince of Wales; these persons, aware that they could not of themselves form an administration, projected a coalition with the Tories, or as they called them, the party of the country gentlemen. In the language of the day, they hoped to form a "broad-bottom ministry;" they affected

to describe the difference between the parties in principle as very trifling, not greater than that between the high heels and low heels of Lilliput; and as appeals had been made to religious prejudices, they represented the controversy between the Latin and English churches as not more important than that between the Big-endians and the Little-endians. Projects for something like a union between the churches were not unfrequently made at the time, and the chances of success for a season, seemed far from desperate. The Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, was believed not to be indisposed to a union of parties, as is intimated by the heir-apparent of Lilliput wearing one shoe with a high and the other with a low heel. All these expectations were disappointed; but when the Travels appeared, they were rife in every political circle, and the nation generally looked for great advantages from their realization.

The political views advocated in Lilliput were therefore generally popular; they gratified the entire body of the Tories, the discontented section of the Whigs, and the great multitude which in every free state looks for Utopian advantages from the mere fact of change. In Brobdingnag, the satire takes a wider range; the object of assault is changed from the tactics of a party to the general system of policy: like Bolingbroke, Swift attempts to sketch the ideal character of a patriot king, and an efficient system of government. The fiction is very happily suited to this design: the opinions which beings of a reflective and philosophic character, endowed with immense force, were likely to form of the intrigues and scandals of a European court, are developed with exquisite skill. It is man viewing the political squabbles of an ant-hill, or Gulliver himself estimating the court of Lilliput. The political principles advocated in the Voyage to Brobdingnag were the same as those which the Tory party supported in Parliament.

From the imperfection of the parliamentary reports in these days, and from the influence of the cry of Jacobitism, with which the Whig leaders assailed their opponents, we have only very imperfect specimens of the eloquence of Shippen, Windham, St. Aubin, etc.; but even the fragments which have been preserved prove that the Tory party in the reign of George I. was highly respectable in character, talent, and fearless advocacy of principle.

The contrast between Gulliver's position in Brobdingnag and Lilliput is very happily conceived, and it lends singular force to the more general application of the satire. The only special attack in the Voyage to Brobdingnag is directed against the maids of honor, for whom, as Dr. Delany informs us. Swift had no great veneration. It was to the influence of the ladies of the court that he attributed Archbishop Sharpe's success in prevent-ing him from getting a bishopric; and he suspected that, notwithstanding all his flatteries, Mrs. Masham was far from anxious to effect a change in his

favor in the mind of Queen Anne. The Voyage to Laputa was the least relished, because it was the least understood at the time of its publication. The pursuits of the inhabitants of the Flying Island were designed to ridicule the proceedings of the Royal Society, a body which had previously come under the lash of the author of Hudibras. Sir Isaac Newton had provoked the Dean's resentment, by giving his opinions as master of the mint in favor of Wood's copper coinage; and it was probably the absence of mind for which that philosopher was notorious which suggested the whimsical notion of the Flapper as an attendant upon the Laputians.

Swift had no taste for music; in his own words, he could find no difference "twixt tweedle-dum and tweedledee"; he therefore deemed the passion for music, and especially the general admiration of Handel which prevailed in his day, as a legitimate object of satire.

His attack on the musician is, however, a greater failure than that on the philosophers, for he was too ignorant of the science to discover the points most open to assault. In the College of Projections, he was more successful; during the rage of speculation, which rose at the time of the South Sea Scheme, proposals to the full as absurd as any Swift has described were rife, and joint-stock companies formed for their execution. Some of these will be found mentioned in the notes, and those who remember the years 1825 and 1826 will be at no loss to supply parallels. It was generally felt that the scenes with the ghost at Glubbudbrib were decided failures, and posterity has not reversed this judgment.

The melancholy description of the Struldbruggs appears to have been written with too correct an anticipation of the calamitous end of Swift's own life; it is written with the same feeling that dictated his exclamation to Dr. Young when they passed a withered oak, "I am like that tree, I shall die at top." The most popular of the voyages with the generality of readers was that of the Houyhnhnms; its misanthropy is repulsive, and almost disgusting; miserable indeed must be the condition of a man who can derive pleasure from a satire against humanity. But as Sir Walter Scott has well observed, the state of society at that time in Ireland was well calculated to inspire the worst opinions of human nature; Swift had before him a faction of petty tyrants and a nation of trampled slaves; the penal laws, not less remarkable for their absurdity than their iniquity, seemed as if the party of the ascendancy regarded persecution as a toy or plaything, and made human suffering an unhuman sport. But there were other causes that tended to strengthen and develop this morbid tendency to misanthropy;

Vanessa had sunk into an early grave, Stella was fast following her; two tender and affectionate hearts were his victims; all his ambitious projects were blighted, and a disease, the most afflicting to which humanity is exposed, had given premonitory warnings of its near approach. It was such circumstances that generated the gloomy

feelings under which the character of the Yahoos was drawn. But disgusting as the picture is, it still conveys an important moral lesson; it is a probable delineation of what humanity might become if exposed to the brutalizing influences of ignorance and unregulated passions; it pictures the triumph of sensuality over intelligence, and consequently sets forth in the strongest light the necessity of moral training and religious instruction. There was in Swift's day a large class of disappointed politicians who, like him, sought consolation in misanthropy.

His old enemy the Duchess of Marlborough, who had long outlived her power, but never lost the love of it, expressed her warm delight with the account of the Yahoos, and proclaimed Swift the only accurate delineator of human nature. The general narrative was not less agreeable to the masses of readers than the satire to particular classes of politicians. Gulliver's character is so thoroughly natural, so completely that of the English sailor of his day, that many were disposed to hail him as a personal acquaintance. A naval man at the time used to assert that he knew Captain Gulliver very well, but that he lived at Wapping, and not at Rotherhithe.

The fame of Gulliver was not confined to Britain; it spread rapidly through Europe. Voltaire, who was then in England warmly recommended it to his friends in France, and advised them to have it translated. The task was undertaken by L'Abbe Desfontaines, who was, however, afraid to give a literal version of Swift's bold opinions. He re-modeled the work in order to adapt it to French taste and it is no unamusing task to compare his translation with the original, as an example of the differences in the style and habits of thought between the Augustan age of England and that of France.

The Abbe published also a new Gulliver which is utterly unreadable; the same may be said of the continuation of Gulliver's Travels which appeared in England; it was at once an impudent forgery and a miserable plagiarism from a French book not worth robbing; it dropped, however, "stillborn" from the press.

IV

Fortune appeared once more to shine on Swift, when *Gulliver's Travels* were published. Congratulatory and complimentary letters were sent to him from the Court of the Prince of Wales; the Princess and the Prince's mistress, who lived in anomalous concord, both joined in these honors, and the Dean had hopes that a new reign would open the door of promotion. He sent the Princess a dress of Irish manufacture—a poplin, which for the last century has been the chief glory of the Irish loom. Caroline, in turn, promised him a collection of medals, which she never sent. Mrs. Howard, the Prince's mistress, sent the Dean a ring, in return for which he transmitted her a little golden crown, which was designed to represent the diadem of the Queen of Lilliput.

In the midst of these encouraging circumstances, Stella

died, and Swift's domestic happiness, such as it was, ended forever. About the same time, George I died, and George II, to the surprise of everybody, continued Walpole at the head of the administration. Swift made some efforts to preserve his favor with Queen Caroline, but the Queen had forgotten the promises of the Princess. He clung still longer to the hopes he entertained of promotion through the influence of Mrs. Howard; but George II was governed by his wife, not by his mistresses, and atoned for his conjugal infidelity by permitting the Queen to regulate all the affairs of state.

The Dean at length discovered that all his exertions were vain; he returned to Ireland just before the death of Stella, and never again visited England.

From time to time. Swift wrote occasional pamphlets on Irish policy, which served to maintain his influence with the public; but in private, the circle of his acquaintance became daily more contracted, and few were admitted to his table who did not submit to his caprices and administer large doses of flattery to his pride. His favorite maxim became, "Vive la bagatelle (*success to frivolity or nonsense*)", and it is probable that he found trifles necessary to life. His petty amusements gave employment to a mind which could not be idle, but which sickness and sorrow incapacitated for steady exertion. As years advanced, his fits of giddiness and deafness became more frequent, and the acerbity of his temper increased in the same proportion. He still preserved the talent for minute observation, of which he had made such good use in Gulliver, and gave a remarkable instance of it in his "Polite Conversation," and his "Directions to Servants", the latter of which, however, was not published until after his death.

In 1736, while writing the "Legion Club", a bitter lampoon on the Irish House of Commons, he was seized with a fit of giddiness so severe and so long-continued that he never after ventured to attempt any work of thought or labor. In 1741 his mental condition was such that it became necessary to appoint legal guardians of his person and property. A short interval of reason ensued in the following year, but the hopes to which it gave rise were soon dispelled; in a few days he sunk into a state of lethargic stupidity, motionless, heedless, and speechless.

Richard Brennan, the servant who attended him in his last illness, and in whose arms he expired, used to relate that whilst the power of speech remained, he continued constant in the performance of his private devotions, and in proportion as his memory failed, they were gradually shortened, until at last he could only repeat the Lord's Prayer; which, however, he continued to do until the power of utterance forever ceased. His death was tranquil. "He went off", said Brennan, "like the snuff of a candle".

He bequeathed his property to found a hospital for idiots and lunatics; in his own words, —

*He gave the little wealth he had
To build a house for fools and mad
To show by one satiric touch,
No nation wanted it so much.*

Mr. G. M. Berkeley declared that there were only four authentic portraits of Swift, of which that preserved as a kind of heirloom in the deanery of St. Patrick's is the most faithful. A copy of it adorns the Dining Hall in Trinity College, Dublin, and represents a countenance strongly marked with grief, indignation, and benevolence. He was tall, robust, and well made, his complexion was rather dark, his eyes were blue and very expressive, his eyebrows dark and heavy, his nose inclined to be aquiline, his lips slightly curled upwards. In his youth he was considered handsome, and in the decline of life his figure is universally described as noble and imposing. He was a very fluent speaker, ready at retort and reply, never thrown off his center by the unexpected attack of an assailant. This talent would have rendered him a formidable auxiliary if the Tories had given him a seat on the episcopal bench, in the English House of Peers, at a time when, with the exception of Atterbury, there was not an English prelate calculated to shine in debates.

The successive lords-lieutenant of Ireland dreaded his tongue as much as his pen; and all of them, from the amiable Carteret to the haughty Dorset, sought to disarm his hostility by paying homage to his genius. All his biographers dwell on the charms of Swift's conversation; the originality of his humor, which was sometimes carried too far, at first appeared startling, but when managed with the skill which Swift could exert when he pleased, it rendered him a companion whose society was everywhere sought. He delighted in relating anecdotes, which his exquisite touches of satire rendered irresistibly amusing, while his keenness of observation made them not less instructive. He took great delight in puns, and was the author of some of the best that exist; for instance, his application of a line from Virgil to the lady who swept down a Cremona fiddle with her mantle:

"Mantua, vae! nimium miserae vicini Cremonae (*Keep it up, alas! too miserable a neighbor of Cremona*)", His singularity of expression was manifested on some extraordinary occasions; when he introduced Bishop Berkeley to Lord Berkeley of Stratton, he made use of these words, "My lord, here is a relation of your lordship's who is good for something, and that, as times go, is saying a great deal."

One day, while traveling in the south of Ireland, he stopped to give his horse water at a brook which crossed the road; a gentleman of the neighborhood halted for the same purpose, and saluted him, a courtesy which the Dean returned. They parted, but the gentleman, struck by the Dean's figure, sent his servant to inquire who the Dean was; the messenger first made application to the Dean's attendant, who was an original in his own way, and he referred the man to his master. The messenger rode up to the Dean, and said, "Please, sir, master would be obliged if you would tell him who you are?"

"Willingly", replied the Dean; "tell your master I am the person that bowed to him when we were giving our horses water at the brook yonder."

The Irish aristocracy had little favor with Swift; he

keenly assailed their jobbing propensities, particularly in the management of roads and bridges; he assailed one with mock praise, declaring,

*So great was his bounty,
He erected a bridge at the cost of the county.*

Another worthy had taken for his motto "*Eues hand male notus*", which Swift, with equal wit and truth, translated, "*Better known than trusted*".

Chief Justice Whitshead's motto was made the subject of a stinging epigram:

*Libertas et natale solum—
Fine words! I wonder where you stole 'em;
Could nothing but your chief reproach
Serve for the motto of your coach?*

He had an extraordinary talent for extempore rhymes. An innkeeper who wished to add the king's head to his old sign of the bell, asked for a motto which might reconcile such an anomaly. Swift gave him,

*May the king live long;
Dong ding, ding dong.*

After the publication of the Drapier's Letters he became so popular that he was always followed by a crowd whenever he appeared in the streets of Dublin. He used frequently to say that the Irish ought to subscribe and purchase him a stock of hats, for that his own was worn out by the number of salutes he had to return.

Many apocryphal anecdotes are related of his interchange of slang with the shoe-blacks and beggars of Dublin, a race remarkable for their readiness in repartee; but it has happened to Swift as to other celebrated jesters, to be accounted the author of every joke, good and bad, perpetrated in his day, and few of the jokes preserved by tradition are worthy of being repeated.

His epigrams and lampoons display a ready and caustic wit. No man was more ready in "the amber immortalization" of an enemy; the name of the unlucky offender, however unrhythmical, "slides into verse and hitches in his rhyme," where it continues gibbeted, for the mockery of all future generations. The best example of this skill is the epigram on Whiston and Ditton, which, however, cannot be quoted; next to it, perhaps, may be ranked the notice of Bettesworth, a sergeant at law, who had provoked the Dean's hostility by attacking the privileges of the clergy:

*Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half a crown o'er pays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law, nor text, nor margent,
Call Singleton his brother sergent.*

When the poem of which these lines form a part was first published, it was brought wet from the press to a company in which Bettesworth was present. The sergeant was asked to read it, and when he came to the lines reflecting on himself, he started up and vowed that he would take deadly revenge. He hastened to the deanery, and, forcing his way to Swift's presence, said, "Sir, I am Sergeant Bettesworth."

The Dean, with a most innocent face, asked, "Of what regiment, pray?"

Bettesworth, still more enraged, demanded, "Are you the author of this paper?"

Swift, with great coolness, answered, "Mr. Bettesworth, I was in my youth, acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask me such a question as you have put, that I should deny the authorship, and I therefore tell you that I am not the author of these lines."

Bettesworth blustered, but could get no further satisfaction; at last he went off, saying, "Mr. Dean, you are like one of your own Yahoos; you have clambered to a place of security whence you can gratify your vindictive temper by pelting filth at your betters."

As Bettesworth continued to threaten violent and corporal revenge, the inhabitants of St. Patrick's district formed an association for the Dean's defense, and the unfortunate lawyer could scarcely venture to appear in the streets. He subsequently declared in Parliament that Swift's satire had deprived him of more than twelve hundred pounds a year.

An epigram was the last composition of Swift, and almost his last symptom of rationality. During a brief lucid interval he was taken out for a drive by his physician; as they passed through the park Swift remarked a new building which he had never seen before, and asked what it was.

The physician replied, "That, Mr. Dean, is the magazine of arms and powder, for the security of the city."

"O, ho!" said the Dean, pulling out his pocketbook, "let me take an item of that, this is worth remarking; 'my tablets', as Hamlet says, 'my tablets, memory put down that.'"

He then produced the following lines, the last which he ever wrote:

*Behold a proof of Irish sense!
Here Irish wit is seen!
When nothing's left that's worth defense,
We build a magazine.*

The greatest difficulty in the analysis of Swift's literary character is to discover by what depravity of intellect he acquired a taste for loathsome and filthy ideas, from which every other mind shrinks with disgust. "The ideas of pleasure", says Dr. Johnson "even when criminal, may solicit the imagination; but what has disease, deformity, and filth upon which the thoughts can be allowed to dwell?"

The answer is not easy; physicians, however, have frequently found such a morbid perversion of the intellect connected with physiological defects; the obliquity appears to have been constitutional with Swift; it is found in his earliest as well as his latest works, but it becomes most offensive when the symptoms of his last lamentable disease began to manifest themselves.

Few political writers could boast of such triumphs. In the reign of Queen Anne, he turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and must be confessed to have guided for a time the entire mass of public opinion in England. In the ensuing reign he became the tribune of the Irish people, and their political dictator. Supported only by a trampled and oppressed nation, he bade defiance to the crown, the bench, and the Parliament, "and showed that wit confederated with truth has such force as authority is unable to resist".

To use the words of Dr. Johnson, "He said truly of himself, that Ireland was his debtor. It was from the time that he first began to patronize the Irish that they may date their riches and prosperity. He taught them first to know their own interest, their weight, and their strength, and gave them spirit to assert that equality with their fellow-subjects to which they have ever since been making vigorous advances, and to claim those rights which they have at last established. Nor can they be charged with ingratitude to their benefactor, for they revered him as a guardian and obeyed him as a dictator."

Swift's memory is still revered in Ireland, and especially in Dublin; men of every party confess that he gave the first impulse to the exertions made for constitutional freedom, and the consequent development of a manufacturing industry. His exertions of themselves were not, perhaps, of great moment, but they were all-important as examples.

There was in his character much to condemn, but there was also much to admire; very inferior deserts may secure popularity for a day, substantial merit can alone embalm a memory in the heart of a nation:

*Then be his failings cover'd by his tomb,
And guardian laurels o'er his ashes bloom.*

Footnotes for “Biographical Notice”

- 1) Richard Brennan survived his master many years; a pension was paid him by Mr. G. M. Berkeley, through the hands of T. Kin., Sr., commissioner in London for the Irish courts of law; and to his kindness I am indebted for this interesting anecdote.
- 2) For the use of this volume the editor is indebted to T. King, Sr., Esq., Commissioner in London for the Irish Courts of Law.
- 3) “Dec. 25th, 1709, a severe frost set in; it lasted with little intermission three months. The Thames was frozen over; booths were built upon it, and there were all manners of diversion upon the ice.” — Wade’s British History
- 4) Marlborough.
- 5) The Dauphin of France.
- 6) The Duke de Berry
- 7) The Pretender.
- 8) Queen Anne; her husband had been Prince of Denmark.
- 9) The Union of Scotland and England.
- 10) A fabulous king of Spain said to have been slain by Hercules. The three heads are the king of Portugal and the two claimants of the Spanish crown. Philip of France and Charles of Austria,
- 11) The Archduke Charles was of the Hapsburgh family.

Gulliver's Travels Appendix Three

Swift's Influence in America

Jonathan Swift, an Irish-born writer and satirist, played a significant role in shaping political thought in America. His works, particularly his satirical masterpiece "*Gulliver's Travels*," had a profound impact on the political discourse of the time and continue to influence political thought in America to this day.

One of the central themes of Swift's work is the corruption and abuses of power within governments. In "*Gulliver's Travels*," Swift uses the fictional travels of Lemuel Gulliver as a vehicle to critique the political institutions and figures of his time. Swift's scathing satire of the British government and society resonated with American colonists, who were also facing issues of corruption and abuse of power at the hands of the British monarchy.

Swift's critique of imperialism and colonialism in "*Gulliver's Travels*" also had a significant impact on American political thought. American colonists, who were fighting for independence from British rule, found inspiration in Swift's condemnation of the oppressive and exploitative practices of imperial powers. Swift's portrayal of the dehumanizing effects of imperialism and colonialism on both the colonized and the colonizers helped to galvanize support for the American revolutionary cause.

Furthermore, Swift's advocacy for social and economic justice in his works resonated with American revolutionaries who were fighting for democratic principles and equality. Swift's condemnation of the exploitation of the poor and marginalized by the wealthy and powerful elites struck a chord with American colonists who were seeking to establish a more just and equitable society.

Swift's use of satire and parody to critique the shortcomings of government and society also influenced the development of American political satire. Writers and thinkers in America, such as Mark Twain and H.L. Mencken, drew inspiration from Swift's biting and incisive wit to critique the political and social issues of their own time.

Moreover, Swift's emphasis on the importance of reason and rationality in political decision-making had a lasting impact on American political thought. Swift's works underscored the importance of critical thinking and questioning authority, principles that continue to be central to the American political tradition.

Swift's condemnation of religious intolerance and bigotry in his works also resonated with American revolutionaries who were fighting for religious freedom and tolerance. Swift's sharp critiques of the inhumane treatment of religious minorities by religious institutions helped to shape American attitudes towards religious freedom and pluralism.

Additionally, Swift's advocacy for the rights and dignity of marginalized groups, such as women and the poor, had a profound impact on American political thought. Swift's works highlighted the injustices and inequalities faced by these groups and advocated for their rights and inclusion in society, themes that continue to be central to American political discourse.

Swift's belief in the power of literature and storytelling to effect social and political change also left a lasting impact on American political thought. American writers and thinkers, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass, drew inspiration from Swift's use of literature as a tool for social critique and reform.

The Federalist Papers

*by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay
Pen Name "Publius"*

SYNOPSIS OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

Introduction by Synopsis Editor

The Federalist Papers, a series of 85 essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, were published in 1787 and 1788 to promote the ratification of the United States Constitution. *Gulliver's Travels*, a satirical novel by Jonathan Swift, was published in 1726 and explores the absurdities of human nature and society through the adventures of Lemuel Gulliver. While these two works were written in different time periods and for different purposes, they share common themes and ideas that can be analyzed to uncover their nexus.

One of the key similarities between *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* is their exploration of human nature. Both works delve into the complexities of human behavior, motivations, and flaws. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors argue for the need for a strong central government to counterbalance the inherent selfishness and ambition of individuals. Similarly, in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift uses the inhabitants of the various lands Gulliver visits to satirize different aspects of human nature, such as greed, pride, and folly.

Moreover, both works address the concept of power and its corrupting influence. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors argue that a system of checks and balances is necessary to prevent the abuse of power by any one branch of government. This reflects the Founding Fathers' mistrust of centralized authority and their desire to limit the potential for tyranny. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift exposes the absurdities and injustices perpetrated by those in power, whether they be political leaders, intellectuals, or even animals, highlighting the dangers of unchecked authority.

Furthermore, both *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* engage with the theme of reason versus emotion. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors appeal to reason and logic to make the case for a strong federal government and the adoption of the Constitution. They seek to persuade readers through rational argumentation rather than emotional appeals.

Similarly, in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift uses satire and wit to mock irrational beliefs, superstitions, and prejudices that often guide human actions. By contrasting reason with emotion, both works offer insights into the nature of human decision-making and the impact of irrationality on society.

Another key nexus between *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* is their exploration of social contract theory. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors argue that the Constitution is a social contract between the government and the people, in which citizens agree to surrender some of their individual liberties in exchange for the protection and benefits of a functioning society.

This idea of a mutual agreement between rulers and ruled is central to the concept of a just government. Similarly, in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift critiques the social contract by highlighting the absurdities and contradictions inherent in human relationships, institutions, and norms. By exposing the flaws in existing social structures, Swift challenges readers to reflect on the nature of their own social contracts.

Both *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* address the role of reason and education in shaping political and social institutions. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors emphasize the importance of an educated and informed citizenry in maintaining a healthy democracy. They argue that reason and knowledge are essential for making informed decisions and holding leaders accountable. Similarly, in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift criticizes the ignorance, superstition, and cruelty of societies that lack rational discourse and critical thinking. By promoting the values of reason and education, both works advocate for the importance of intellectual engagement and enlightenment in creating a just and equitable society.

Furthermore, *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* both examine the limitations of human knowledge and understanding. In *The Federalist Papers*, the authors acknowledge the fallibility of human judgment and the need for humility in the face of uncertainty. They argue that the Constitution is a product of compromise and deliberation, shaped by the imperfect reason and judgment of its creators. Similarly, in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift challenges the notion of absolute knowledge and truth by exposing the subjective nature of human beliefs and values. Through satire and irony, Swift encourages readers to question their assumptions and challenge conventional wisdom.

Additionally, both *The Federalist Papers* and *Gulliver's Travels* engage with the theme of justice and equality. Swift's use of satire in *Gulliver's Travels* serves as a powerful tool to critique the flaws and inconsistencies in society. By presenting absurd scenarios and exaggerated characters, Swift highlights the absurdity of human behavior and societal norms. This challenges readers to reflect on their own beliefs and values, prompting them to consider the limitations of their own perspectives.

The Federalist Papers delve into the complexities of governance and the importance of establishing a system that upholds justice and equality for all individuals. The authors argue for a government that is founded on principles of fairness and impartiality, emphasizing the need for a system that protects the rights of every citizen, regardless of their background or social status.

CONTENTS

- No. 1. General Introduction
- No. 2. Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence
- No. 3. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)
- No. 4. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)
- No. 5. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)
- No. 6. Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States
- No. 7. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States)
- No. 8. The Consequences of Hostilities Between the States
- No. 9. The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection
- No. 10. The Same Subject Continued (The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection)
- No. 11. The Utility of the Union in Respect to Commercial Relations and a Navy
- No. 12. The Utility of the Union In Respect to Revenue
- No. 13. Advantage of the Union in Respect to Economy in Government
- No. 14. Objections to the Proposed Constitution From Extent of Territory Answered
- No. 15. The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union
- No. 16. The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)
- No. 17. The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)
- No. 18. The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)
- No. 19. The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)
- No. 20. The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)
- No. 21. Other Defects of the Present Confederation
- No. 22. The Same Subject Continued (Other Defects of the Present Confederation)
- No. 23. The Necessity of a Government as Energetic as the One Proposed to the Preservation of the Union
- No. 24. The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered
- No. 25. The Same Subject Continued (The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered)
- No. 26. The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered.
- No. 27. The Same Subject Continued (The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered)
- No. 28. The Same Subject Continued (The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered)
- No. 29. Concerning the Militia
- No. 30. Concerning the General Power of Taxation
- No. 31. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 32. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 33. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 34. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 35. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 36. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)
- No. 37. Concerning the Difficulties of the Convention in Devising a Proper Form of Government.
- No. 38. The Same Subject Continued, and the Incoherence of the Objections to the New Plan Exposed.
- No. 39. The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles
- No. 40. On the Powers of the Convention to Form a Mixed Government Examined and Sustained.
- No. 41. General View of the Powers Conferred by The Constitution
- No. 42. The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered
- No. 43. The Same Subject Continued (The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered) No. 44. Restrictions on the Authority of the Several States
- No. 45. The Alleged Danger From the Powers of the Union to the State Governments.
- No. 46. The Influence of the State and Federal Governments Compared
- No. 47. The Particular Structure of the New Government and the Distribution of Power Among Its Different Parts.
- No. 48. These Departments Should Not Be So Far Separated as to Have No Constitutional Control Over Each Other.
- No. 49. Method of Guarding Against the Encroachments of Any One Department of Government by Appealing to the People Through a Convention.
- No. 50. Periodical Appeals to the People Considered
- No. 51. The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments.

- No. 52. The House of Representatives
- No. 53. The Same Subject Continued (The House of Representatives)
- No. 54. The Apportionment of Members Among the States
- No. 55. The Total Number of the House of Representatives
- No. 56. The Same Subject Continued (The Total Number of the House of Representatives)
- No. 57. The Alleged Tendency of the New Plan to Elevate the Few at the Expense of the Many Considered in Connection with Representation.
- No. 58. Objection That The Number of Members Will Not Be Augmented as the Progress of Population Demands.
- No. 59. Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members
- No. 60. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members)
- No. 61. The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members)
- No. 62. The Senate
- No. 63. The Senate Continued
- No. 64. The Powers of the Senate
- No. 65. The Powers of the Senate Continued
- No. 66. Objections to the Power of the Senate To Set as a Court for Impeachments Further Considered.
- No. 67. The Executive Department
- No. 68. The Mode of Electing the President
- No. 69. The Real Character of the Executive
- No. 70. The Executive Department Further Considered
- No. 71. The Duration in Office of the Executive
- No. 72. The Same Subject Continued, and Re-Eligibility of the Executive Considered.
- No. 73. The Provision For The Support of the Executive, and the Veto Power
- No. 74. The Command of the Military and Naval Forces, and the Pardoning Power of the Executive. No. 75. The Treaty-Making Power of the Executive
- No. 76. The Appointing Power of the Executive
- No. 77. The Appointing Power Continued and Other Powers of the Executive Considered.
- No. 78. The Judiciary Department
- No. 79. The Judiciary Continued
- No. 80. The Powers of the Judiciary
- No. 81. The Judiciary Continued, and the Distribution of the Judicial Authority.
- No. 82. The Judiciary Continued.
- No. 83. The Judiciary Continued in Relation to Trial by Jury
- No. 84. Certain General and Miscellaneous Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered.
- No. 85. Concluding Remarks

The Federalist Papers are a collection of 85 essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay between 1787 and 1788. The purpose of these essays was to promote the ratification of the United States Constitution. *The Federalist Papers* played a crucial role in shaping the political landscape of the newly formed United States and are considered one of the most important documents in American political history.

One of the key themes of *The Federalist Papers* is the need for a strong central government. The authors argued that a strong central government was necessary to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens and ensure the stability and security of the nation. They believed that a weak central government would lead to chaos and disorder, and that a strong central government was essential for the prosperity and success of the country.

Another important theme in *The Federalist Papers* is the balance of power between the federal government and the states. The authors advocated for a system of federalism in which power is divided between the federal government and the state governments, with each level of government having its own distinct powers and responsibilities. This system of federalism was designed to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful and to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens.

The Federalist Papers also addressed the issue of checks and balances within the government. The authors believed that the government should be structured in such a way that each branch of government has the ability to check the powers of the other branches. This system of checks and balances was intended to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful and to ensure that no single individual or group could dominate the political process.

In addition to discussing the structure of government, *The Federalist Papers* also addressed the issue of individual rights and liberties. The authors argued that a strong central government was necessary to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens, but they also believed that the government should be limited in its powers and that the rights of the individual should be protected against government intrusion. They believed that a balance between government power and individual rights was crucial for the success of the nation.

The Federalist Papers were instrumental in the ratification of the United States Constitution. The essays were widely read and debated throughout the country, and they played a significant role in shaping public opinion and influencing the outcome of the ratification debates. *The Federalist Papers* were instrumental in convincing the American people of the need for a strong central government and for the ratification of the Constitution.

The Federalist Papers continue to be an important and influential document in American political thought. The essays are frequently cited by scholars, politicians, and legal experts as a source of insight into the intentions of the founders and the principles of the Constitution. *The Federalist Papers* are often studied in schools and universities as an important part of American political history and philosophy.



THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

By Alexander Hamilton John Jay James Madison
(Nom de Plume: "Publius")

No. 1 General Introduction

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, October 27, 1787

HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

The Federalist No. 1 serves as an introduction to the overall purpose and themes of the essays.

Hamilton begins by stating that the Constitution, as proposed by the Constitutional Convention, is the subject of the essays. He argues that the Constitution is essential for establishing a strong and effective government that can protect the rights and liberties of the citizens. Hamilton emphasizes that the fate of the American experiment in self-government hinges on the successful ratification of the Constitution.

Hamilton then addresses the objections and criticisms of the Constitution, acknowledging that there are valid concerns about the potential abuse of power by the government. However, he argues that these concerns are outweighed by the necessity of a strong central government to ensure stability and security. Hamilton asserts that a government must be empowered to act decisively in times of crisis, such as during war or economic downturns.

Hamilton also highlights the importance of unity and cooperation among the states in creating a more perfect union. He points out that the states have diverse interests and may clash with one another if left to their own devices. By establishing a federal government with the power to regulate interstate commerce and resolve disputes between the states, Hamilton believes that the Constitution can prevent conflicts and promote harmony among the states.

Moreover, Hamilton emphasizes the need for a government that can protect the rights of the minority against the tyranny of the majority. He argues that a system of checks and balances, as outlined in the Constitution, is essential for preventing any one branch of government from becoming too powerful and infringing upon the rights of the people. Hamilton recognizes that the government must be both strong and limited in order to fulfill its duties effectively.

Hamilton concludes by urging the people of the United States to carefully consider the merits of the Constitution and to support its ratification. He warns that failure to ratify the Constitution would lead to a continuation of the weaknesses and dysfunction of the Articles of Confederation, which had left the country vulnerable and unstable. He appeals to the patriotism and common interests of the American people, calling on them to put aside their differences and unite in support of a strong and stable government.

No. 2 Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, October 31, 1787

JAY

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

No. 2 of *The Federalist Papers* focuses on the benefits of a strong central government and the dangers of disunion among the states. In this essay, Jay argues that the states must unite under a strong federal government in order to ensure peace, security, and prosperity for all.

Jay begins by acknowledging the diversity of interests and opinions among the states, which could potentially lead to conflict and disunion if left unchecked. He warns against the dangers of foreign influence and internal dissensions that could threaten the stability of the new nation. Jay argues that a strong central government is the best way to prevent these threats and ensure the safety and security of the states.

To support his argument, Jay points to the benefits of a united government, such as the ability to maintain peace and security, regulate commerce, and defend the country from external threats. He emphasizes the importance of unity among the states in order to protect the common interests and promote the welfare of all citizens. Jay also highlights the advantages of a federal system of government, which allows for a balance of power between the national and state governments.

Jay then addresses the concerns of those who fear that a strong central government would infringe upon the rights and liberties of the states and their citizens. He reassures readers that the Constitution contains safeguards to protect against tyranny and abuse of power, such as the system of checks and balances and the separation of powers. Jay argues that the federal government will only have the authority granted to it by the Constitution, and that the states will retain their sovereignty and autonomy.

Jay makes a strong case for the importance of a strong central government in promoting unity, peace, and prosperity among the states. He argues that the benefits of a united government far outweigh the risks of disunion and conflict. Jay urges the states to come together under the Constitution in order to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and future generations. No. 2 of *The Federalist Papers* is a compelling call to action for unity and cooperation among the states in order to build a strong and prosperous nation.

No 3. *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, November 3, 1787

JAY

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

No. 3 of *The Federalist Papers* focuses on the dangers of foreign influence and the importance of maintaining a strong federal government. Jay begins by discussing the history of the American colonies and their struggle for independence from British rule. He argues that the United States must remain vigilant against external threats and protect its sovereignty at all costs.

Jay also highlights the importance of a strong federal government in maintaining peace and security within the country. He points out that without a central authority, the states would be vulnerable to foreign interference and would likely descend into chaos. Jay emphasizes the need for a unified government to protect the interests of the nation as a whole.

Furthermore, Jay discusses the potential dangers of foreign alliances and the need for the United States to remain neutral in international conflicts. He warns against forming alliances with other nations that could compromise the nation's sovereignty and independence. Jay argues that the United States should focus on its own interests and avoid getting entangled in foreign affairs.

In addition, Jay addresses the issue of internal divisions within the country and the potential for foreign powers to exploit these divisions for their own gain. He stresses the importance of unity among the states and the need for a strong federal government to prevent foreign meddling in American politics. Jay argues that a divided nation is vulnerable to external threats and must come together to protect its interests.

Jay also discusses the role of the executive branch in maintaining national security and defending the country against foreign threats. He emphasizes the need for a strong and decisive leader who can act quickly and decisively in times of crisis. Jay argues that a weak executive would leave the nation vulnerable to external threats and calls for a robust and capable leader to protect the country's interests.

Furthermore, Jay addresses the importance of a national defense system and the need for the United States to have a strong military to protect its borders and maintain its sovereignty. He argues that a well-funded and well-equipped military is essential for deterring potential aggressors and ensuring the security of the nation. Jay stresses the importance of investing in national defense and building a strong military to defend the country against external threats.

No. 4 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, November 7, 1787

JAY

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

In No. 4 of *The Federalist Papers*, John Jay discusses the dangers of disunion among the states. He argues that unity is necessary for the success and survival of the nation. Jay believes that a strong union will protect the liberty and security of the people, while disunion will lead to chaos, conflict, and vulnerability to external threats.

Jay begins by emphasizing the geographical advantages of a united nation. He argues that the United States has a strategic position between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, making it an important player in global affairs. A divided nation would lose its influence and power on the world stage, putting its security and prosperity at risk.

Furthermore, Jay warns against the fragmentation of the country into smaller, independent states. He believes that this would create a lack of coherence and coordination in national affairs, leading to inefficiency and instability. This disunity would weaken the government's ability to protect its citizens and uphold the rule of law.

Jay also addresses the issue of foreign intervention in the event of disunion. He argues that a divided nation would be vulnerable to exploitation by other powers, who could manipulate internal divisions for their own gain. This would threaten the sovereignty and independence of the United States, jeopardizing its status as a free and democratic nation.

In addition, Jay argues that a united nation is necessary for the preservation of liberty and justice. He believes that a strong central government is needed to protect the rights and freedoms of the people, ensuring that the rule of law is upheld and that all citizens are treated fairly and equally. Without unity, individual states may infringe on these rights, leading to oppression and inequality.

Jay highlights the importance of economic prosperity in maintaining national unity. He argues that a divided nation would struggle to compete in the global market, leading to economic decline and hardship for the people. A united nation, on the other hand, can pool its resources and talents to promote growth and prosperity for all.

Jay also addresses the issue of security and defense. He argues that a divided nation would be unable to defend itself against external threats, putting its citizens at risk. A strong union, however, can provide the necessary military and diplomatic capabilities to protect the country from aggression and maintain peace and stability.

No. 5 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers From Foreign Force and Influence)*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, November 10, 1787

JAY

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

No. 5 of *The Federalist Papers* focuses on the importance of a strong union among the states. Jay argues that a united government is necessary to maintain peace and order among the states. He believes that without a strong central authority, the states would be more likely to engage in conflicts and disputes with each other.

Jay begins by discussing the advantages of a united government, pointing out that it provides a common defense against external threats and promotes economic stability. He emphasizes the importance of a government that can act decisively and effectively in times of crisis, rather than relying on the individual states to come to a consensus.

Jay also addresses the concerns of those who fear that a centralized government would infringe upon the rights of the states. He argues that a strong federal government is necessary to protect the liberties of the people, as it can provide the framework for a system of laws and regulations that ensure individual rights are respected.

Furthermore, Jay argues that a united government is essential for maintaining a strong and stable economy. He points out that a government with the power to regulate trade and commerce can prevent conflicts and disputes between states over economic matters, ensuring a more prosperous and harmonious society.

Jay discusses the need for a united government to protect the country from external threats. He emphasizes the importance of a central authority that can coordinate defense efforts and respond swiftly to any threats to the nation's security.

Jay also addresses concerns about the potential for corruption and tyranny in a centralized government. He argues that a system of checks and balances, such as the one established in the U.S. Constitution, can prevent abuses of power and protect the rights of the people.



No. 6 *Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, November 14, 1787*

HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 6 focuses on the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and the need for a stronger centralized government. Hamilton argues that the current government structure is not adequate to address the challenges facing the young nation, such as external threats and internal divisions.

Hamilton begins by highlighting the importance of defense and national security. He asserts that a weak government cannot effectively defend against foreign aggression or maintain the peace within the country. Without a strong central authority, the United States would be vulnerable to attacks from other nations and unable to respond effectively to crises.

Hamilton also discusses the need for a government that can regulate commerce and facilitate economic growth. He argues that without a unified system of trade and commerce, the individual states will struggle to compete with each other and with foreign powers. A centralized government would be better equipped to regulate trade and promote a thriving economy for the benefit of all citizens.

Federalist Paper No. 6 stresses the importance of national unity and cohesion. Hamilton warns that without a strong central government, the states will be inclined to pursue their own interests at the expense of the common good. This could lead to internal conflicts, economic disparities, and social unrest. A unified government, Hamilton argues, would promote greater harmony and cooperation among the states.

Hamilton also touches on the issue of foreign relations and the need for a single voice in international affairs. He argues that a decentralized government would not be able to negotiate treaties effectively or project a united front to the rest of the world. By consolidating power at the national level, the United States can better represent its interests and ensure its security on the global stage.

Federalist Paper No. 6 presents the concept of federalism and the balance of power between the national government and the states. Hamilton acknowledges the importance of state sovereignty but argues that a strong central government is necessary to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. He proposes a system of checks and balances to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful.

He argues that a system of federalism, with power divided between the national and state governments, can prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals or factions. By distributing authority across multiple levels of government, the United States can protect the rights of its citizens.

No. 7. *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning Dangers from Dissensions Between the States)*

For the Independent Journal. Thursday, November 15, 1787
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

No. 7 of *The Federalist Papers* focuses on the advantages of a strong national government and the need for a unified system of defense and economic policy in the early days of the United States. Hamilton argues that a strong central government is necessary in order to protect the nation from external threats, ensure a stable and prosperous economy, and maintain unity among the states.

The essay begins by addressing the need for a strong federal government to protect the nation from foreign aggression. Hamilton argues that a weak central government would leave the United States vulnerable to attack from other nations and unable to defend itself. He points to the example of the European powers, who have strong national governments and are able to defend their territories against outside threats.

Hamilton goes on to discuss the importance of a unified system of defense for the United States. He argues that a strong central government is necessary to coordinate the defense efforts of the states and ensure a cohesive and effective response to any threat. Without a strong federal government, Hamilton warns, the states would be left to fend for themselves and may not be able to muster the resources or organization needed to protect the nation as a whole.

In addition to national defense, Hamilton also emphasizes the need for a unified economic policy. He argues that a strong central government is necessary to regulate commerce, establish a common currency, and promote economic growth. Without a central authority to oversee these matters, Hamilton warns, the states would be left to pursue their own economic interests at the expense of the nation as a whole.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of internal discord among the states. He argues that a strong central government is necessary to maintain unity and prevent conflicts between the states from escalating into full-blown civil war. Without a central authority to mediate disputes and enforce laws, Hamilton warns, the states would be left to fend for themselves and may resort to violence to settle their differences.

Hamilton argues that a unified system of defense and economic policy is necessary to protect the nation from external threats, ensure a stable and prosperous economy, and maintain unity among the states.

No. 8 *The Consequences of Hostilities Between the States*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, November 20, 1787.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 8 argues in favor of a strong national defense and the need for a standing army. In this essay, Hamilton addresses the mindset of those who oppose a standing army and argues that such a stance is dangerous and shortsighted.

Hamilton acknowledges that there are legitimate concerns about the potential for abuse and tyranny when it comes to maintaining a standing army. However, he argues that the greater threat to liberty and security comes from the lack of a strong national defense. Hamilton believes that a well-regulated army is crucial for protecting the nation from foreign threats and ensuring domestic peace.

One of the key points Hamilton makes is that a standing army is essential for deterring potential aggressors and preventing conflicts from escalating. He points to historical examples of nations that lacked a strong military and were subsequently invaded and conquered. Hamilton argues that a standing army is necessary to maintain the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

Hamilton also addresses the argument that a standing army is unnecessary because the militia can fulfill the role of national defense. He counters this argument by pointing out the limitations of militias in terms of training, discipline, and resources. He argues that a militia alone is not sufficient to protect the nation from external threats.

Hamilton argues that a standing army is necessary for maintaining order and security within the country. He highlights the potential for domestic unrest and insurrection, as well as the threat of foreign interference in domestic affairs. A well-regulated army, Hamilton argues, is essential for preserving the rule of law and ensuring the safety of the citizens.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a strong national defense for the economic prosperity of the nation. He argues that a secure and stable environment is essential for commerce, trade, and industry to thrive. A well-regulated army, according to Hamilton, is essential for protecting the nation's interests and ensuring its economic well-being.

Hamilton also addresses the concern that a standing army could be used to suppress dissent and infringe upon the rights of the citizens. He warns against the dangers of appearing weak and vulnerable to foreign adversaries.

No. 9 *The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, November 21, 1787
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

No. 9 of *The Federalist Papers* explores the dangers of factions and the benefits of a large republic in deterring their harmful effects. In this essay, Hamilton argues that factions are inevitable in any society where men have differing opinions and interests, and that a republican form of government is the best safeguard against their destructive tendencies.

Hamilton begins by defining a faction as a group of citizens united by a common interest adverse to the rights of other citizens or to the interests of the community as a whole. Hamilton asserts that it is impossible to eliminate factions entirely, as they are a product of the diversity of opinions and passions that exist among individuals.

Hamilton then goes on to explain how a large republic, with its diverse population and wide range of interests, is better equipped to control the influence of factions than a small republic or a monarchy. In a large republic, it is less likely that a single faction will be able to gain enough power to oppress the rights of others, as the interests of different groups will have to be considered and accommodated. This diffusion of power helps to counteract the tyranny of the majority and protect the rights of minorities.

Hamilton argues that the sheer size of a large republic makes it more difficult for factions to organize and mobilize the support necessary to achieve their goals. In a small republic, where everyone knows each other and shares similar interests, factions can easily form alliances and dominate the political scene. However, in a large republic, the sheer size and geographic diversity of the population make it harder for factions to gain a majority and impose their will on others.

Hamilton contends that the size and diversity of a large republic actually work to promote unity by forcing citizens to compromise and find common ground in order to govern effectively. The multiplicity of interests in a large republic acts as a check on the excessive influence of any one faction and encourages politicians to act in the best interest of the whole rather than catering to narrow special interests.

By establishing a system of checks and balances, dividing power among different branches of government, and protecting the rights of individuals through a system of laws, the Constitution serves as a bulwark against the encroachments of factions. Hamilton argues that a strong federal government, with the power to regulate commerce and provide for the common defense, is essential for maintaining order and stability in a large republic.

No. 10 *The Same Subject Continued (The Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection)*

From the Daily Advertiser. Thursday, November 22, 1787.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 10 is considered one of the most important essays in the collection. Madison discusses the dangers of factions and presents his argument for a large republic to control them. He begins the essay by defining factions as groups of individuals who are united by a common interest or passion that is contrary to the rights of other citizens or the interests of the community as a whole.

Madison argues that factions are a natural result of human nature and can be found in all societies, regardless of their form of government. He believes that the primary cause of factions is the unequal distribution of property, which leads to differing opinions and interests among individuals. Madison asserts that there are two ways to control factions: by removing their causes or by controlling their effects. He argues that removing the causes of factions is impossible without infringing on individual liberties, so the best solution is to control their effects.

In a large republic, there are many competing interests and factions, making it difficult for any one group to dominate the others. The vast geography and diverse population of a large republic make it more likely that the representatives will be selected from a wide range of interests, leading to a more balanced and representative government.

Madison also asserts that it is more difficult for factions to gain a majority and implement policies that are harmful to the common good. He argues that the sheer size of the country and the diversity of interests make it harder for factions to organize and exert their influence. In addition, the system of representative government in a large republic allows for the interests of all citizens to be taken into account, rather than just those of the majority.

Madison argues that unchecked majority rule can lead to tyranny and oppression of minority groups. He asserts that in a large republic, the risk of majority tyranny is reduced because of the diversity of interests and the system of checks and balances that prevent any one faction from dominating the government.

Madison also discusses the role of political parties in controlling factions. He acknowledges that political parties are a natural result of human nature and can help to organize and channel the interests of different groups. However, he warns against the dangers of parties becoming too powerful and using their influence to undermine the rights of others.

No. 11 *The Utility of the Union in Respect to Commercial Relations and a Navy*
For the Independent Journal. Saturday, November 24, 1787
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 11 discusses the importance of a strong commercial union among the states in order to promote economic prosperity and security.

Hamilton argues that a strong union is necessary to protect the states from external threats, such as foreign invasions or economic warfare. He emphasizes that a united front will strengthen the country's ability to negotiate treaties and trade agreements with other nations, thereby expanding opportunities for economic growth.

Hamilton also stresses the importance of uniform commercial regulations and standards across the states to facilitate trade and commerce. He argues that a system of mutual regulations will prevent unfair competition and promote a level playing field for businesses and industries.

Hamilton highlights the benefits of a national system of taxes and revenue collection to support the government and promote economic stability. He argues that a unified system of taxation will prevent disparities among the states and ensure that the government has the necessary resources to carry out its functions effectively.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a strong navy and a national defense system to protect the country's interests and security. He emphasizes that a unified military force will deter potential aggressors and protect the nation from external threats.

Hamilton argues that a strong commercial union will foster a sense of national identity and pride among the states, promoting unity and solidarity among the people. He believes that a shared commitment to economic prosperity and security will strengthen the country's resolve and resilience in the face of challenges.

Hamilton points out the benefits of a strong union in promoting innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic development. He argues that a united front will encourage investment, growth, and job creation, leading to greater prosperity and opportunity for all citizens.

Hamilton also addresses the dangers of disunity and division among the states, warning that internal conflicts and discord can weaken the country and undermine its ability to compete and thrive in the global economy. He emphasizes the importance of cooperation and collaboration among the states to overcome challenges and achieve common goals.

No. 12 *The Utility of the Union In Respect to Revenue From the New York Packet. Tuesday, November 27, 1787.*
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York

SYNOPSIS

Federalist No. 12 focuses on the advantages of a national revenue system. Hamilton discusses the importance of a strong central government with the power to impose taxes and raise revenue in order to fund essential government functions.

Hamilton begins by highlighting the necessity of a centralized government in order to maintain the country's economic stability. He argues that without the ability to collect taxes and regulate commerce, the government would be unable to adequately respond to financial crises or provide for the common defense.

One of the key points Hamilton makes in *Federalist No. 12* is the need for a national revenue system to support the federal government's obligations. He points out that the states are often unable or unwilling to contribute their fair share of revenue, and a national revenue system is necessary to ensure that the government has the resources it needs to operate effectively.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a stable and predictable revenue system in order to encourage economic growth and investment. He argues that a national revenue system will provide certainty to investors and encourage them to invest in the country's economy, leading to increased prosperity for all.

Hamilton discusses the economic benefits of a national revenue system, such as the ability to pay off national debt and reduce interest rates. He argues that a well-managed revenue system can help to stabilize the economy and increase the country's creditworthiness, making it more attractive to foreign investors.

Hamilton also addresses the potential dangers of relying on foreign loans to finance the government's operations. He argues that borrowing from foreign nations can create dependencies and compromise the country's sovereignty, and that a strong national revenue system is necessary to ensure that the government can operate independently and in the best interests of its citizens.



No. 13 *Advantage of the Union in Respect to Economy in Government*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, November 28, 1787
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 13 discusses the need for a strong federal government to help the states overcome their financial difficulties and establish a stable economic system. Hamilton argues that without a central government to regulate commerce and secure the nation's financial interests, the states would continue to struggle and the United States would be unable to compete with other nations on the global stage.

Hamilton begins by outlining the economic challenges facing the states, including the lack of a unified system of taxation and the inability to pay off their debts. He argues that a strong federal government is necessary to address these issues and ensure the prosperity of the nation as a whole. Without a central authority to enforce fiscal discipline and regulate trade, Hamilton warns that the states would be left to fend for themselves and the nation would be at risk of economic collapse.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a strong national defense, pointing out that without a central government to coordinate the military forces of the states, the nation would be vulnerable to attacks by foreign powers. He argues that a unified military command is essential to the security of the nation and that a strong federal government is necessary to ensure the protection of its citizens.

In addition to economic and security concerns, Hamilton addresses the need for a central government to establish a uniform system of laws and regulations. He argues that without a federal authority to enforce the rule of law and protect the rights of citizens, the states would be left to their own devices and the nation would be at risk of descending into lawlessness.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a strong central government in promoting unity and cooperation among the states. He argues that a federal government is necessary to bring together the diverse interests and cultures of the states and ensure that they work together for the common good. Without a central authority to mediate disputes and promote shared goals, Hamilton warns that the states would be divided and the nation would be weakened.

He argues that without a central authority to regulate commerce, enforce fiscal discipline, and coordinate military forces, the nation would be unable to thrive and compete on the global stage.

No. 14 *Objections to the Proposed Constitution From Extent of Territory Answered*

From the New York Packet. Friday, November 30, 1787.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist No. 14 is a pivotal piece of political literature that discusses the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and the necessity of a strong federal government. In this essay, Madison argues that the current system of government is ineffective and that a stronger federal government is needed to ensure the stability and security of the nation.

One of the main points made in *Federalist No. 14* is that the current system of government under the Articles of Confederation is inadequate to meet the challenges facing the newly formed nation. Madison argues that the various states operate as independent entities, with their own interests and agendas, which often leads to conflict and discord.

Madison highlights the importance of a strong federal government in maintaining peace and order within the nation. He argues that a centralized authority is needed to regulate commerce, resolve disputes between states, and defend the country against external threats. Without a strong federal government, Madison warns that the nation is vulnerable to attack and civil unrest.

Another key theme of *Federalist No. 14* is the idea of unity and cooperation among the states. Madison emphasizes the importance of establishing a common interest and purpose among the states in order to achieve harmony and prosperity. He suggests that a strong federal government is essential in promoting a sense of unity and fostering a spirit of collaboration among the various states.

He also addresses the issue of factionalism and the dangers of political parties. He argues that a strong federal government can help to mitigate the influence of factions by promoting the common good and preventing the tyranny of the majority. By establishing a system of checks and balances, Madison believes that the federal government can protect the rights and interests of all citizens.

Madison argues that a strong federal government is necessary to provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for future generations.

Madison also addresses the issue of sovereignty and the balance of power between the federal government and the states. He argues that a strong federal government is needed to protect the rights and liberties of the people, while also respecting the autonomy of the states. By establishing a system of federalism, Madison suggests that the nation can achieve a harmonious balance between central authority and state sovereignty.

No. 15 *The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union*
For the Independent Journal. Saturday, December 1, 1787
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 15 focuses on the insufficiency of the Articles of Confederation and the necessity of a stronger national government. Hamilton argues that the current system of government under the Articles of Confederation is inadequate to address the needs of the country.

Hamilton begins by addressing the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, pointing out that the states have conflicting interests that prevent them from working together effectively. He argues that the current system only serves to perpetuate discord and animosity among the states, making it impossible to achieve unity and cooperation.

Hamilton goes on to explain that without a stronger national government, the country is vulnerable to threats both external and internal. He asserts that a country divided against itself cannot stand, and that a united front is essential for the security and prosperity of the nation.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a national government in maintaining peace and order. He contends that a strong federal government is necessary to prevent insurrections and rebellions, and to ensure that the rule of law is upheld throughout the country.

In addition, Hamilton addresses the economic benefits of a stronger national government. He argues that a united national government is necessary to regulate commerce and trade, to stabilize the economy, and to promote economic growth and prosperity.

Hamilton concludes by emphasizing the urgent need for a stronger national government, asserting that the current system is ineffective and unsustainable. He argues that without a more centralized authority, the country will remain vulnerable to division, discord, and chaos.

No. 16 *The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)*
From the New York Packet. Tuesday, December 4, 1787.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 16 discusses the importance of a strong federal government in maintaining peace and security within the nation.

One of the key arguments in Federalist Paper No. 16 is the need for a united and strong federal government to prevent external threats to the nation. Hamilton argues that a weak central government would be unable to defend the country against foreign powers that sought to undermine its sovereignty. He points to the example of

European countries that have been forced to maintain large standing armies to protect themselves from external threats.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a strong federal government in maintaining peace and order within the nation. He argues that a weak central government would lead to a state of constant turmoil and discord among the states, as each would seek to protect its own interests at the expense of the collective good. Hamilton warns that this lack of unity could lead to civil unrest or even civil war.

Another important point that Hamilton makes in Federalist Paper No. 16 is the need for a strong federal government to regulate commerce and promote economic prosperity. He argues that a weak central government would be unable to establish a uniform system of trade and commerce, which would hinder the nation's economic growth and development. Hamilton believes that a strong federal government is necessary to ensure that the country can compete in the global marketplace.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of taxation in Federalist Paper No. 16, arguing that a strong federal government is necessary to ensure that the country can raise the revenue needed to support its operations. He points out that a weak central government would be unable to levy and collect taxes efficiently, which would lead to financial instability and economic hardship. Hamilton believes that a strong federal government is necessary to ensure that the country can meet its financial obligations and provide for the common defense.

In addition, Hamilton discusses the importance of a strong federal government in promoting national unity and loyalty. He argues that a weak central government would lead to a state of disunion and division among the states, as each would seek to pursue its own interests at the expense of the nation as a whole. Hamilton believes that a strong federal government is necessary to foster a sense of common purpose and identity among the citizens of the United States.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of state sovereignty in Federalist Paper No. 16, arguing that a strong federal government is necessary to prevent the states from encroaching on each other's rights and interests. He points out that a weak central government would be unable to enforce its authority over the states, which would lead to a state of constant conflict and competition among them. Hamilton believes that a strong federal government is necessary to ensure that the states can coexist peacefully and cooperatively within the nation.

Hamilton also discusses the role of the federal judiciary in Federalist Paper No. 16, arguing that a strong central government is necessary to ensure that the courts can enforce the laws and uphold the Constitution. He points out that a weak federal government would be unable to establish a uniform system of justice, which would lead to a state of lawlessness and chaos.

No. 17 *The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)*
For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, December 5, 1787
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

In Federalist No. 17, Hamilton discusses the need for a strong federal government in order to protect the nation from external threats and to promote unity among the states.

Hamilton by addressing the criticism that the proposed Constitution would give too much power to the federal government at the expense of the states. He argues that a strong federal government is necessary to maintain the peace and security of the nation, particularly in the face of foreign threats. Hamilton points to the historical examples of European nations, where weak central governments have led to division and conflict.

Hamilton goes on to explain that the proposed Constitution does not infringe on the rights of the states, but rather strengthens the union by providing a central authority to regulate relations between the states and foreign powers. He argues that a strong federal government is necessary to coordinate the defense of the nation and to negotiate treaties with other countries.

Hamilton also addresses the concern that the federal government would abuse its power and oppress the states. He argues that the proposed Constitution includes checks and balances to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful. He also points out that the states will retain certain powers and responsibilities under the new Constitution.

Hamilton emphasizes the importance of a strong federal government in maintaining the unity of the nation. He argues that a central authority is necessary to prevent the states from becoming preoccupied with their own interests and to promote cooperation among them. Hamilton points out that a weak central government would lead to division and conflict between the states.

Hamilton also addresses the question of how the federal government will be able to raise revenue to support its operations. He argues that the proposed Constitution grants the federal government the power to levy taxes and tariffs, but emphasizes that these powers are limited and subject to the approval of the states.

He argues that a central authority is necessary to coordinate the defense of the nation and to promote unity among the states. Hamilton cautions against the dangers of division and conflict that would result from a weak central government.

No. 18 *The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)*
For the New York Packet. Friday, December 7, 1787
MADISON, with HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

In Federalist Paper No. 18, Hamilton discusses the necessity of a strong national government to ensure peace and security among the states.

Hamilton begins the essay by emphasizing the importance of unity among the states in order to protect against external threats and ensure stability within the nation. He argues that a weak central government would leave the states vulnerable to foreign aggression and internal conflicts, leading to chaos and disintegration.

Hamilton then proceeds to compare the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, illustrating how their inability to unify and consolidate power ultimately led to their downfall. He points out that a lack of central authority resulted in constant warfare and instability, highlighting the need for a strong federal government to prevent similar pitfalls in the newly established United States.

The author goes on to address the benefits of a centralized system of government, asserting that it would promote economic prosperity, establish uniform laws, and facilitate interstate commerce. By creating a common market and regulatory framework, Hamilton argues that a strong federal government would foster cooperation and collaboration among the states, ultimately leading to increased prosperity for all.

Hamilton discusses the power of taxation as a means of funding the central government and providing for the common defense. He explains that a unified system of taxation would ensure equitable distribution of resources and prevent states from engaging in harmful fiscal competition that could undermine the stability of the nation.

Hamilton also touches upon the importance of a standing army and navy to protect against external threats and maintain national security. He argues that a strong military force is essential to deter potential enemies and safeguard the interests of the United States both at home and abroad.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of federalism and the division of powers between the national government and the states. He asserts that while state governments play a crucial role in upholding individual rights and promoting local interests, a strong central government is necessary to coordinate national policies and address issues that transcend state boundaries.

No. 19 *The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, December 8, 1787
MADISON, with HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 19 discusses the ability of the federal government to properly manage commerce and finance in a way that protects the interests of the states while also promoting national unity. Hamilton argues that the federal government's power over commerce and finance is necessary to prevent states from engaging in destructive economic behavior that could lead to conflict and instability.

Hamilton outlines the dangers of allowing individual states to regulate their own commerce and finance independently of the federal government. He argues that such a system would lead to competition and discord between states, as each would seek to gain an economic advantage over the others. This could result in trade barriers, tariffs, and other obstacles to commerce that would harm the national economy and undermine the unity of the newly-formed United States.

Hamilton then asserts that a strong federal government is needed to ensure that commerce is conducted fairly and efficiently across state lines, reasoning that states could easily undermine each other's economies by imposing discriminatory taxes or regulations on goods and services from other states. This could lead to disputes and conflicts that would threaten the stability of the entire country.

Hamilton stresses the importance of a unified national currency and financial system in promoting economic growth and prosperity. He points out that a fragmented system of state currencies and financial regulations would create unnecessary barriers to trade and investment.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of taxation, arguing that the federal government must have the power to levy taxes in order to fund its operations and fulfill its obligations to the states and the people. He acknowledges that taxation is a sensitive issue that can easily provoke opposition and resentment, but he insists that it is necessary for the government to be able to raise the revenue it needs to function effectively and meet the needs of the nation as a whole.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of uniformity in commercial regulations and standards across the country. He argues that a consistent set of rules and regulations is essential for promoting economic efficiency and ensuring fair competition among states.

Without such a government, he warns, the United States would be vulnerable to economic instability, conflict, and division that could undermine its unity and threaten its future as a nation.

No. 20 *The Same Subject Continued (The Insufficiency of the Present Confederation to Preserve the Union)*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, December 11, 1787.
MADISON, with HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 20 begins by acknowledging the failures of the existing government system, which he believes lacks the power to effectively govern the nation. He argues that a stronger centralized government is necessary in order to maintain order and stability within the United States.

Madison highlights the importance of having a government that can enforce its decisions and policies nationwide. He points out that under the Articles of Confederation, states have the ability to ignore or disobey laws passed by the central government, leading to chaos and disunity. Madison argues that a federal system with a strong central authority would prevent this kind of disobedience and ensure that laws are enforced uniformly across all states.

The author also discusses the need for a government that can regulate commerce and trade between the states. He emphasizes the importance of having a uniform system of regulation in order to prevent conflicts and disputes among states. Madison argues that a federal government with the power to oversee interstate commerce would promote economic growth and prosperity throughout the nation.

Madison further explains that a federal union would strengthen the United States both domestically and internationally. He argues that a unified government would have greater authority and influence in dealing with foreign affairs and negotiating treaties. A federal government, he posits, would be better equipped to protect the nation's interests and ensure its security in the face of external threats.

Madison also discusses the importance of creating a government that can effectively manage the debts and finances of the nation. He points out that under the Articles of Confederation, the central government lacks the power to levy taxes or raise revenue, leading to financial instability and economic hardship.

Madison states that a strong central government would be better equipped to enforce laws, maintain order, and protect individual liberties. Madison believes that a federal union would provide a more stable and secure environment for citizens to live and thrive.

The author also addresses concerns about the potential for tyranny and abuse of power in a centralized government. Madison argues that a federal system with a system of checks and balances would prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful. He emphasizes the importance of creating a government structure that limits the power of individuals and ensures accountability and transparency in decision-making.

No. 21 *Other Defects of the Present Confederation*
For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, December 12, 1787
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 21 discusses the need for the federal government to have the power to tax in order to maintain the financial stability of the nation.

Federalist Paper No. 21 begins by arguing that the power to tax is essential for the government to function effectively. Without the ability to levy taxes, the government would be unable to fulfill its responsibilities and maintain the common defense and general welfare of the country.

Hamilton then goes on to address the concerns of those who are wary of giving the government too much power to tax. He argues that the power to tax is necessary for the government to pay off its debts and provide for the common good of the people. He asserts that without the power to tax, the government would be unable to function and the nation would be at risk of falling into chaos.

Hamilton also points out that the power to tax is a necessary check on the power of the states. Without the ability to tax, the federal government would have no way of ensuring that the states fulfill their obligations and contribute to the national government. Hamilton argues that the power to tax is essential for maintaining the balance of power between the federal government and the states.

Hamilton addresses the fear that the power to tax could be used by the government to oppress the people. He argues that the Constitution provides safeguards against this abuse of power, such as the requirement that all tax bills originate in the House of Representatives, which is directly accountable to the people.

He also touches on the issue of taxation without representation, a key grievance that led to the American Revolution. He argues that under the Constitution, the power to tax is vested in the elected representatives of the people, making it a legitimate exercise of government authority.



No. 22 *The Same Subject Continued*
(Other Defects of the Present Confederation)
From the New York Packet. Friday, December 14, 1787.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 22 discusses the importance of federal supremacy in the United States. Hamilton argues that a strong centralized government is necessary in order to prevent chaos and facilitate the execution of national laws. He emphasizes the need for a system that allows the federal government to assert its authority over the states, especially in matters of national security and commerce.

Hamilton begins by addressing the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, the first governing document of the United States. He points out that under the Articles, the states had too much power and the federal government lacked the ability to enforce its laws. This led to conflicts between the states and hindered the country's ability to function as a unified nation.

Hamilton argues that a central government with the power to enforce its own laws is essential for the stability and prosperity of the country. He explains that without a strong federal government, the United States would be vulnerable to external threats and internal discord. He uses examples from history to illustrate the dangers of a weak central authority and the benefits of a strong one.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a unified system of taxation and regulation. He points out that without a central authority to oversee these matters, the states would be free to pursue their own interests at the expense of the nation as a whole. This would lead to economic inefficiency and inequality among the states.

Hamilton acknowledges that some people may be wary of granting too much power to the federal government, but he argues that a balance must be struck between state and federal authority. He believes that a strong federal government is necessary to protect the rights and interests of all citizens, regardless of their state of residence.



No. 23 *The Necessity of a Government as Energetic as the One Proposed to the Preservation of the Union*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, December 18, 1787.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 23 advocates for a strong central government in the newly formed United States. Hamilton argues that a standing army is necessary for the protection and defense of the nation. He addresses concerns about the potential abuse of power by a centralized military force, and provides a detailed explanation of the role of the federal government in maintaining national security.

Hamilton begins his argument by asserting that a standing army is essential for the preservation of peace and security within the country. He points out that other nations maintain standing armies, and the United States must do the same in order to protect itself from external threats. Hamilton emphasizes the importance of a military force that is properly trained, disciplined, and equipped to defend the nation in times of crisis.

Hamilton then addresses the potential dangers of a large standing army, acknowledging the fears of many Americans about the risks of a centralized military power. He argues that these concerns can be mitigated through a system of checks and balances within the government, which would prevent any one branch or individual from abusing their power. Hamilton also emphasizes the need for civilian control over the military, stating that the government must be vigilant in ensuring that the military remains subordinate to civilian authority.

Furthermore, Hamilton discusses the importance of a well-regulated militia in addition to a standing army. He argues that a militia composed of citizens who are trained and prepared to defend their country is essential for national defense. Hamilton explains that a militia can serve as a supplementary force to the standing army, providing additional support in times of need.

Hamilton addresses concerns about the financial cost of maintaining a standing army, acknowledging that a strong military force can be expensive. However, he argues that the benefits of national security and defense outweigh the costs, and that the government must be willing to invest in its military capabilities to ensure the safety and protection of its citizens.



No. 24 *The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, December 19, 1787
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 24 discusses the importance of a strong federal government in order to protect the nation from external threats.

Hamilton begins by pointing out that the goal of the federal government is to secure the common defense of the nation. He argues that the current system under the Articles of Confederation does not provide the necessary power for the federal government to effectively defend the country. He emphasizes the importance of having a strong central government that is able to respond quickly and decisively to external threats.

Hamilton then goes on to discuss the need for the federal government to have the power to raise and maintain a standing army. He points out that under the current system, the states are responsible for their own defense, which can lead to inefficiency and disorganization in times of crisis. He argues that a standing army under federal control would be more effective in protecting the nation.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of the federal government having the power to regulate commerce and trade. He argues that without this power, the states would be able to enact their own tariffs and regulations, creating chaos and hindering economic growth. He emphasizes the need for a uniform system of commerce and trade laws to ensure the prosperity of the nation.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of national security and the power of the federal government to protect against foreign influences and infiltrations. He argues that without a strong central government, the nation would be vulnerable to external threats and manipulation. He stresses the importance of having a federal government that is able to monitor and control foreign interactions to safeguard the country's interests.

Hamilton also touches on the issue of financial stability and the need for a strong federal government to manage the nation's finances. He argues that without the power to levy taxes and regulate currency, the federal government would not be able to maintain the necessary resources for defense and security. He emphasizes the importance of having a centralized financial system to ensure the stability and prosperity of the nation.

Hamilton discusses the importance of having a strong executive branch in order to effectively manage the affairs of the nation. He argues that without a strong executive, the federal government would be unable to respond quickly and decisively to crises and threats. He emphasizes the need for a centralized authority that is able to coordinate and lead the nation in times of need.

No. 25 *The Same Subject Continued 96 (The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered)*

From the New York Packet. Friday, December 21, 1787.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 25 discusses the necessity of a strong federal government to protect the United States from foreign threats and ensure national security. In this paper, Hamilton argues that without a strong central government, the country would be vulnerable to attacks from foreign powers and unable to defend itself effectively.

Hamilton begins by highlighting the weaknesses of a weak central government, pointing out that a confederation of independent states would not be able to coordinate their efforts to defend the country against external threats. He argues that a strong federal government is essential for the defense and security of the nation, as it can mobilize resources and coordinate military efforts more effectively than a decentralized system.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of foreign interference in the affairs of the United States, warning that without a strong central government, the country would be at risk of manipulation and control by foreign powers. He emphasizes the importance of a united front in the face of external threats, arguing that a strong federal government is necessary to protect the nation's interests and maintain its independence.

Another key point in Federalist Paper No. 25 is the idea that a strong central government is necessary to prevent internal conflicts and maintain order within the country. Hamilton argues that a decentralized system would lead to power struggles and disputes between the states, which could destabilize the nation and threaten its security.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a standing army and navy to protect the United States from foreign threats. He argues that a strong federal government is needed to maintain a powerful military force, capable of defending the country and deterring potential aggressors.

Hamilton addresses the issue of funding for the military, highlighting the need for a centralized system of taxation to support the national defense. He argues that without a strong federal government with the power to raise revenue and allocate resources, the country would not be able to maintain a sufficient military force to protect itself.



No. 26 *The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered.*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, December 22, 1788
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 26 focuses on the importance of a strong federal government in promoting national defense. He emphasizes the need for a standing army under federal authority to uphold national sovereignty and deter potential aggressors.

Hamilton asserts that a well-regulated military force is crucial for maintaining order and security, as well as for responding swiftly and effectively to crises. Hamilton also highlights the importance of a centralized command structure in coordinating military operations and ensuring unity of purpose.

Hamilton stresses the need for a strong executive branch with the power to make timely and decisive decisions. He argues that a unified and efficient government is essential for addressing security threats and protecting the nation's interests. Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a well-trained and disciplined military force to ensure the effectiveness of the national defense strategy.

Hamilton warns against the dangers of relying on state militias or ad hoc volunteer forces, as they may lack the organization and resources necessary to confront a well-equipped enemy. Hamilton argues that a permanent army under federal authority is better suited to defend the nation's interests and uphold its sovereignty.

Hamilton also argues that a system of checks and balances can prevent government overreach and protect individual rights. He underscores the importance of public oversight and congressional scrutiny in monitoring the activities of the military.

Hamilton concludes by affirming the necessity of a strong federal government in promoting national defense and safeguarding the nation's security. He argues that a standing army under federal control is indispensable for protecting the country against external threats and maintaining a secure and stable environment. Hamilton's reasoning reflects the Federalist position on the need for a centralized government to ensure the survival and prosperity of the young nation.



No. 27 *The Same Subject Continued (The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered)*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, December 25, 1787.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 27 delves into the role and responsibilities of the federal government in the United States. Hamilton argues in favor of a strong central government and addresses the concerns and criticisms raised by opponents of the proposed Constitution.

He wrote about the necessity of a unified and organized federal government to effectively govern a diverse and expansive nation like the United States. Hamilton emphasizes the importance of a government that has the authority and resources to maintain order, protect the rights of citizens, and promote the common good. He argues that a weak or fragmented government would be unable to handle the challenges and complexities of governing a large republic.

Hamilton refutes the idea that a federal government with limited powers would be sufficient to address the nation's needs. Without a powerful federal government, Hamilton warns that the United States would be vulnerable to internal conflicts, external threats, and economic instability.

Hamilton also asserts that the proposed Constitution contains checks and balances that prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful. Hamilton argues that a strong federal government is necessary to enforce the rule of law, protect individual rights, and prevent the tyranny of the majority.

Hamilton argues that a unified government is necessary to create a harmonious and prosperous nation, where laws are enforced uniformly and the interests of all citizens are considered. Hamilton asserts that a government with limited powers would be ineffective in addressing the diverse and complex needs of a large republic.

He argues that the Constitution clearly defines the powers of the federal government and limits its authority to specific areas such as national defense, foreign affairs, and interstate commerce. Hamilton assures readers that the federal government will not infringe on the rights and prerogatives of the states or individuals.

Hamilton advocates for a federal government with the authority and resources to address the diverse needs of a large and complex nation like the United States.

No. 28 *The Same Subject Continued (The Idea of Restraining the Legislative Authority in Regard to the Common Defense Considered)*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, December 26, 1787
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 28 discusses the importance of maintaining a strong central government and the need for a well-regulated militia in order to protect the country from internal and external threats.

Hamilton begins by addressing the concerns of anti-federalists who fear that a strong central government will lead to tyranny and oppression. He argues that a powerful central government is necessary for the security and prosperity of the nation, and that a weak government would leave the country vulnerable to attack and disarray.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a well-regulated militia as a means of protecting the nation from foreign invasion and internal uprisings. He contends that a well-trained and disciplined militia is essential for maintaining order and defending the country in times of crisis.

Hamilton discusses the concept of federalism and the division of powers between the federal government and the states. He believes that a balance of power is essential to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful and usurping the rights of the people.

Throughout the paper, Hamilton provides numerous examples from history to support his arguments, citing the Roman Republic and other ancient civilizations as cautionary tales of the dangers of weak governments and unprepared militias.

Hamilton also addresses the role of the federal government in regulating commerce and trade between the states. He argues that a strong central government is necessary to establish uniform laws and regulations across the country, which will promote economic growth and prevent conflicts between states.

Hamilton also discusses the need for a standing army to protect the nation in times of war. He argues that a well-funded and well-equipped army is crucial for maintaining national security and deterring potential threats from hostile nations.

Hamilton concludes the paper by reaffirming his belief in the necessity of a strong central government and a well-regulated militia to protect the country from internal and external threats. He urges the American people to support the new Constitution and trust in its ability to safeguard their liberties and maintain national security.

No. 29 Concerning the Militia

From the New York Packet. Wednesday, January 9, 1788
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 29 focuses on the role of the state militias in ensuring the security and defense of the United States. Hamilton argues that a well-regulated militia is essential to the maintenance of liberty and the protection of the country from foreign threats.

Hamilton begins by addressing the critics of the proposed Constitution who argue that the federal government will have too much power over the state militias. He contends that a well-regulated militia, composed of citizens who are trained and equipped to defend their country, is necessary for the security of a free state.

Hamilton goes on to explain that under the new Constitution, the federal government will have the authority to call forth the militia in cases of invasion or insurrection. This power, he argues, is essential for the defense of the nation and cannot be left to the discretion of the states.

He also emphasizes the importance of uniformity in training and equipment among the militias of the various states. Without such uniformity, Hamilton argues, the militias would be ineffective in coordinating their efforts in times of crisis.

Hamilton acknowledges that the state militias may be seen as a check against the power of the federal government, but he argues that this is a necessary and positive aspect of the system of government laid out in the Constitution. The militias, he contends, serve as a bulwark against tyranny, both foreign and domestic.

Hamilton also addresses the question of funding for the militias, arguing that the federal government should have the authority to provide for their support and maintenance. Without adequate funding, he argues, the militias would be unable to fulfill their essential role in defending the country.



No. 30 Concerning the General Power of Taxation

From the New York Packet. Friday, December 28, 1787.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 30 addresses the need for a strong federal government, specifically in regard to taxation and revenue generation.

Hamilton begins by acknowledging the fears of many Americans that a strong federal government would encroach upon the rights of the states. He argues, however, that a central government with the power to levy taxes is essential for the functioning and stability of the nation. Without the ability to generate revenue, the federal government would be unable to fulfill its obligations and duties.

Hamilton goes on to explain the various sources of revenue that a federal government may rely upon, including import duties, excise taxes, and direct taxes. He argues that these sources of revenue are necessary for the government to maintain the country's defense, repay debts, and fund essential services.

One of the main points Hamilton makes in this essay is the necessity of a uniform system of taxation. He argues that a uniform system would promote fairness and equality among citizens, as well as prevent the imposition of disproportionate burdens on certain individuals or regions.

Hamilton also addresses the concerns of those who fear that a strong federal government would lead to corruption and tyranny. He argues that a system of checks and balances, as outlined in the Constitution, will prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful.

Hamilton further argues that a federal government with the power to levy taxes is crucial for ensuring the stability and prosperity of the nation. He points to the examples of other countries that have struggled with economic instability due to a weak central government.



No. 31 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, January 1, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 31 discusses the necessity of a government that can maintain authority in times of crisis. It argues that a strong government is essential for ensuring the stability and security of a nation. Hamilton acknowledges the challenges of balancing state sovereignty with federal power, but ultimately asserts that a government with sufficient authority is essential for protecting the common good.

Hamilton begins by addressing critics who argue that a strong central government is unnecessary and may even be harmful to the interests of the states. He refutes these claims by pointing to the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, which failed to provide a unified government capable of addressing national crises. Hamilton argues that a more centralized government would have the ability to respond effectively to threats and maintain order.

Hamilton goes on to address the issue of state sovereignty, acknowledging the concerns of those who fear a loss of autonomy under a strong federal government. He argues that a balance must be struck between state and federal powers, with each level of government retaining certain rights and responsibilities. Hamilton believes that a strong federal government can complement the authority of the states, rather than supersede it.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of a government that is capable of enforcing its laws and maintaining order. He argues that a government that lacks authority is vulnerable to internal dissent and external threats. A government with sufficient power, on the other hand, can ensure the security and well-being of its citizens.

Hamilton emphasizes the need for a government that is able to adapt and respond to changing circumstances. He argues that a government must have the authority to make decisions quickly and decisively in times of crisis. Hamilton believes that a government that is hamstrung by excessive checks and balances will be ineffective in addressing urgent issues.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of factionalism and the potential for political parties to undermine the authority of the government. He argues that a strong federal government is necessary for controlling the influence of factions and preventing them from disrupting the stability of the nation. Hamilton believes that a robust government can serve as a check against the power of special interests.

No. 32 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*

From The Independent Journal. Wednesday, January 2, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 32 is a critical analysis of the concept of taxation as it pertains to the new government being proposed in the United States Constitution. Hamilton argues that the power to tax is essential for the government to function effectively and efficiently. He emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between the powers of the federal government and state governments when it comes to taxation.

Hamilton begins by examining the necessity of government revenue and the role that taxation plays in providing that revenue. He explains that without taxation, the government would not have the resources needed to carry out its duties and responsibilities. Hamilton also points out that taxes are necessary for funding public services such as defense, infrastructure, and education.

One of the key points Hamilton makes in Federalist No. 32 is the importance of uniformity in taxation. He argues that a uniform system of taxation is essential to prevent discrimination and favoritism. Hamilton believes that a uniform tax system would promote fairness and equality among all citizens, regardless of their wealth or status.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of federal versus state taxation. He argues that the federal government should have the power to levy taxes for certain purposes, such as national defense and foreign affairs. However, he also acknowledges the importance of allowing state governments to levy taxes for local purposes, such as education and public safety.

Hamilton discusses the potential for conflicts between different levels of government when it comes to taxation. He argues that the federal government must have the authority to overrule state tax laws in order to ensure the stability and effectiveness of the national tax system. Hamilton believes that uniformity in taxation is essential for maintaining order and preventing chaos.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of facing resistance from taxpayers. He acknowledges that no one likes to pay taxes, but argues that taxation is a necessary evil in order to maintain a functioning government. He emphasizes the importance of educating the public about the necessity of taxes and ensuring that they are applied fairly and equitably.

No. 33 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*
From *The Independent Journal*. Wednesday, January 2, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 33 discusses the power of Congress to levy and collect taxes. Hamilton argues that the Constitution grants Congress the authority to impose taxes for the general welfare of the nation. He explains that the Constitution explicitly lists the specific powers of Congress, including the power to tax, in order to prevent any misunderstanding or abuse of this authority. He criticizes the Articles of Confederation for its lack of clarity on taxation and its limitations on the power of Congress.

Hamilton begins by explaining that the power to tax is essential for the government to carry out its duties and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the nation. He argues that a strong central government is necessary to maintain order and protect the rights and liberties of the people. Hamilton quotes from the Constitution to demonstrate that the power to tax is explicitly granted to Congress, and that there are no limitations on the amount of taxes that can be imposed.

Hamilton also addresses the concern that the power to tax could be abused by the government, leading to tyranny and oppression of the people. He argues that the Constitution includes checks and balances, such as the separation of powers and the requirement for all revenue bills to originate in the House of Representatives, to prevent any abuse of the taxing power. Hamilton emphasizes that the people have the ultimate power to hold their elected representatives accountable for any misuse of the taxing authority.

Hamilton addresses the argument that the power to tax could infringe on the rights and liberties of the states and their citizens. He points out that the Constitution provides for the equal representation of the states in the Senate, which serves as a check on the power of the federal government. Hamilton also argues that the power to tax is necessary to fund the operations of the government and ensure the security and prosperity of the nation.

Hamilton argues that the Constitution provides the necessary safeguards to prevent any abuse of the taxing power and to ensure that the government acts in the best interest of the nation as a whole. Federalist Papers No. 33 highlights the importance of the power to tax in the functioning of a government and the need for clear and specific limitations on this authority.

No. 34 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*
From *The Independent Journal*. Saturday, January 5, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 34 discusses the limits of federal authority and the importance of flexibility in constitutional interpretation.

Hamilton begins by emphasizing the need for a strong central government to maintain order and security in the newly formed nation. He argues that a limited government would be ineffective in addressing the complex challenges facing the United States at the time. Hamilton asserts that the federal government must have the power to make decisions in times of crisis and to regulate commerce among the states.

Next, Hamilton addresses the issue of concurrent powers, or powers shared by both the federal and state governments. He argues that certain powers must be left to the federal government in order to prevent conflicts between the states and to ensure uniformity in laws and regulations. Hamilton believes that a strong central government is necessary to prevent the formation of factions and to promote national unity.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of the *Necessary and Proper Clause*, which grants Congress the authority to pass laws necessary for carrying out its enumerated powers. He argues that this clause is essential for ensuring that the federal government has the flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances and address unforeseen challenges. Hamilton believes that a strict interpretation of the Constitution would limit the government's ability to effectively govern.

Hamilton also defends the principle of federalism, or the division of powers between the federal and state governments. He argues that this system of government is necessary for maintaining a balance of power and preventing tyranny. Hamilton believes that federalism allows for a more efficient and effective government by delegating certain powers to the states while reserving others for the federal government.

Hamilton also addresses the idea of state sovereignty and the role of the federal government in relation to the states. He argues that while the states retain some degree of autonomy, they must ultimately submit to the authority of the federal government. Hamilton believes that a strong central government is necessary for maintaining order and stability in the nation.

No. 35 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, January 5, 1788
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 35 addresses the importance of having a strong federal government in order to protect the interests of the nation as a whole. Hamilton argues that a centralized government is necessary to ensure stability and unity among the various states.

He discusses the need for a federal government that is capable of handling the diverse interests and needs of the different states. He emphasizes the importance of having a government that can address national issues such as defense, foreign relations, and commerce. Hamilton argues that a strong federal government is essential in order to maintain peace and order within the nation.

He argues that without a strong federal government, the states would be prone to conflict and discord, which could ultimately lead to the dissolution of the union.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of taxation and revenue. He argues that a strong federal government is needed to ensure that all states contribute their fair share to the national treasury.

Hamilton argues that a centralized government is necessary in order to establish consistent regulations and policies that will promote economic growth and prosperity. Hamilton emphasizes the need for a government that can protect the interests of the nation as a whole in matters of trade and commerce.

He emphasizes the importance of having a centralized government that can respond quickly and decisively to military threats in order to safeguard the security and sovereignty of the nation.

Hamilton also argues that a centralized government is necessary in order to have a single, strong executive who can enforce the laws and policies of the nation. Hamilton emphasizes the need for a government that can act quickly and decisively in times of crisis.

Hamilton addresses the issue of checks and balances in Federalist Paper No. 35. He argues that a centralized government is necessary in order to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful. Hamilton emphasizes the need for a system of checks and balances that will ensure that no branch of government can abuse its power or infringe upon the rights of the people.



No. 36 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the General Power of Taxation)*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, January 8, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist No. 36 explores the importance of the federal government's authority to levy taxes and regulate commerce, highlighting the challenges and opportunities presented by the proposed Constitution.

Hamilton argues that without a strong federal authority, the new United States would be unable to fund essential functions such as national defense, infrastructure, and public services. Hamilton's central premise is that a well-structured revenue system is crucial to the success of the government and the country as a whole.

Hamilton acknowledges that it is a necessary evil that can be abused if not carefully monitored. He asserts that the Constitution's provisions for checks and balances, along with the separation of powers, will prevent the abuse of taxation power by ensuring that decisions are made through a deliberative process involving different branches of government. This system, Hamilton argues, will promote accountability and prevent the government from imposing oppressive taxes on its citizens.

Hamilton also highlights the federal government's role in overseeing interstate trade and promoting economic growth. He argues that a uniform system of commercial regulations is essential to prevent state conflicts and create a level playing field for businesses.

One of Hamilton's key points is the importance of creating a system of fiscal responsibility that will enable the government to borrow money and manage its debts effectively. He argues that a stable revenue system is crucial to maintaining the nation's creditworthiness and ensuring that the government can fulfill its financial obligations.

A strong federal government with the power to levy taxes and regulate commerce will create a favorable environment for business investment, innovation, and economic development.

In discussing the benefits of a national revenue system, Hamilton also highlights the potential for the government to address pressing issues such as public debt, national defense, and infrastructure development. He argues that a well-structured revenue system will enable the government to address these challenges efficiently and effectively, ensuring that the nation can confront its most urgent needs and secure its future prosperity. Hamilton's vision is of a government that can harness the power of taxation to promote the common good and advance the national interest.

No. 37 *Concerning the Difficulties of the Convention in Devising a Proper Form of Government.*
From the Daily Advertiser. Friday, January 11, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 37 acknowledges the difficulty of the task at hand – the formation of a government that can adequately protect the rights and liberties of its citizens, while also promoting the common good. Madison emphasizes the importance of a strong federal government that can effectively address the challenges facing the nation, such as managing the economy and conducting foreign affairs.

Madison asserts that the Constitution creates a system of checks and balances, where each branch of government has the ability to limit the actions of the others, preventing any one entity from becoming too powerful.

He also addresses the concerns of those who fear that the federal government will become too intrusive and encroach upon the rights of the states. He argues that the Constitution clearly outlines the powers of the federal government, and that any powers not explicitly granted to the federal government are reserved for the states.

One of the key points Madison makes is the necessity of a centralized government to manage the diverse interests and needs of the nation. He argues that a strong federal government is vital for maintaining order and promoting the common welfare, and that the Constitution provides safeguards to prevent both state and federal governments from overstepping their bounds.

Madison also discusses the importance of flexibility in government, arguing that the Constitution allows for adaptation to changing circumstances without sacrificing the core principles of governance. He points out that the Constitution includes a mechanism for amendment, ensuring that it can remain relevant and effective in a dynamic world.

Madison also addresses the criticism that the Constitution lacks clarity and specificity in outlining the powers of the federal government. He explains that the Constitution was intentionally written in broad terms to allow for interpretation and flexibility, and that the specifics of governance can be addressed through legislation and judicial review.

Madison demonstrates a deep understanding of the principles of government and the challenges of creating a lasting and effective system of governance. He argues persuasively for the merits of the Constitution and the importance of a strong federal government, while also acknowledging the need for limits on government power to protect individual liberties.

No. 38 *The Same Subject Continued, and the Incoherence of the Objections to the New Plan Exposed.*
From The Independent Journal. Saturday, January 12, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 38 discusses the dangers of factionalism and the importance of having a strong central government to prevent the tyranny of the majority.

Madison begins by acknowledging the existence of factions in society – groups of individuals who are united by a common interest or passion that is adverse to the rights of other citizens. He argues that factions are inevitable in a society as diverse as America, but they must be controlled in order to prevent them from overpowering the government and infringing on the rights of others.

Madison goes on to explain that the proposed Constitution is designed to prevent factions from gaining too much power by establishing a system of checks and balances within the government. This system of separation of powers and division of authority ensures that no one branch of government becomes too powerful, thus safeguarding the rights of all citizens.

Madison also emphasizes the importance of a strong central government in maintaining stability and order in a society. He argues that a government that is too weak or too decentralized will be unable to effectively protect the rights of its citizens and maintain peace and security within the nation.

Madison points out that the proposed Constitution provides for a system of representation that will ensure that the rights of minority groups are protected. By creating a system of government in which the interests of all citizens are taken into account, the Constitution safeguards the rights and liberties of all individuals.

Madison argues that the proposed Constitution is the best way to prevent the dangers of factionalism and protect the rights of all citizens.



No. 39 *The Conformity of the Plan to Republican Principles*
For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, January 16, 1788
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 39 explores the question of whether the new Constitution creates a national or federal government, and how it strikes a balance between the two.

Madison begins by addressing the crucial question of whether the proposed Constitution establishes a national or federal form of government. He argues that it is a mixture of both, borrowing elements from each type of government. This hybrid system, Madison claims, allows for a division of powers between the national and state governments, ensuring that both entities have their respective spheres of authority.

The Constitution grants certain powers to the national government, such as the authority to regulate commerce and conduct foreign relations. At the same time, it reserves other powers to the states, such as the ability to legislate on matters of local concern. This division of powers is essential in maintaining a balance between the national and state governments, preventing either from becoming too powerful at the expense of the other.

Madison also explains that the Constitution provides for a combination of popular and state-based selection methods, with members of the House of Representatives elected by the people and senators appointed by state legislatures. By blending these two approaches, the Constitution ensures that both the national and state governments have a stake in the federal system.

He emphasizes that federalism allows for a dual system of government, with each level of authority acting as a check on the other. This system of checks and balances is crucial in preventing the concentration of power in any one branch or level of government, thereby safeguarding the rights and liberties of the people.

Madison goes on to explain that, in contrast to countries where power is concentrated in a single national government, the American system of federalism ensures that power is dispersed among multiple levels of authority. This decentralized structure, Madison argues, is essential in preserving individual freedoms and preventing tyranny.

Madison addresses the issue of the supremacy clause in the Constitution, which establishes federal laws and treaties as the "supreme law of the land." This system, Madison argues, is essential in preserving the unity and stability of the United States while respecting the autonomy of its constituent parts.

No. 40 *On the Powers of the Convention to Form a Mixed Government Examined and Sustained.*
For the New York Packet. Friday, January 18, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 40 addresses the criticism that the proposed Constitution goes beyond the powers granted to the federal government under the Articles of Confederation. Madison begins by explaining that the Articles of Confederation were intended to create a weak central government in response to the tyranny of King George III, but that they have proven to be too weak to effectively govern the country.

He argues that the Constitution grants only those powers that are necessary for the functioning of government, and that it does not overstep its bounds by infringing on the powers reserved to the states. Madison asserts that the powers granted to the federal government by the Constitution are necessary for the preservation of the Union and the protection of the rights of the people.

Madison also argues that federalism is preserved by the division of powers between the federal government and the states, and that the Constitution strikes a balance between the two. Madison emphasizes that the powers granted to the federal government are limited and enumerated, while the powers reserved to the states are extensive and undefined.

Madison then addresses the concern that the proposed Constitution lacks a bill of rights to protect the rights of the people. He argues that a bill of rights is unnecessary because the Constitution itself is a bill of rights, which guarantees the protection of individual liberties. Madison points out that the Constitution contains provisions that prevent the government from infringing on the rights of the people, such as the prohibition of bills of attainder and ex post facto laws.

Madison asserts that the proposed Constitution is necessary for the preservation of the Union and the protection of the rights of the people. He argues that the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation have made it imperative to create a stronger central government, and that the proposed Constitution achieves this goal while still preserving the principles of federalism and individual liberty.



No. 41 *General View of the Powers Conferred by The Constitution*
For the Independent Journal. Saturday, January 19, 1788
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 41 discusses the limitations of the federal government's power to tax and its implications on the states.

Madison argues that the power to tax is essential for the federal government to operate effectively, but it is also important to ensure that the power is limited to prevent abuse. He begins by acknowledging that the power to tax is necessary for the government to raise revenue for its operations and to fulfill its obligations to the states and its citizens.

Madison then goes on to argue that the Constitution has placed clear limitations on the federal government's power to tax. He points out that the Constitution only grants Congress the power to levy indirect taxes, such as duties, imposts, and excises, and that direct taxes must be apportioned among the states based on population.

Madison explains that this limitation was put in place to prevent the federal government from imposing unfair or burdensome taxes on the states. He argues that by requiring direct taxes to be apportioned, the Constitution ensures that each state pays its fair share based on its population, rather than being subjected to arbitrary or excessive taxation.

Madison also addresses the issue of uniformity in taxation, noting that the Constitution requires all taxes to be uniform throughout the United States. This means that the federal government cannot discriminate against certain states or regions when imposing taxes, ensuring fairness and equality in the tax system.

Madison argues that the power to tax is a necessary check on the federal government's spending habits. By limiting the government's ability to raise revenue through taxes, it forces Congress to be more fiscally responsible and to prioritize its spending decisions based on the needs of the country.

Madison concludes the essay by reiterating the importance of maintaining these limitations on the federal government's power to tax. He argues that by protecting the states from unfair taxation and ensuring that taxes are levied fairly and uniformly, the Constitution helps to safeguard the rights and liberties of the American people.



No. 42 *The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered*
From the New York Packet. Tuesday, January 22, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 42 elaborates on the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the states.

Madison argues that the regulation of commerce among the states is essential for maintaining a fair and prosperous union. He asserts that the ability of Congress to regulate commerce is necessary to prevent conflicts and disputes between the states, which could potentially lead to civil war and the dissolution of the union. Madison emphasizes the importance of a unified commercial system to promote economic growth and national unity.

Madison also addresses the concerns of those who fear that giving too much power to Congress to regulate commerce would infringe upon the rights of the individual states. He argues that while the states should retain some authority in regulating commerce within their own borders, the federal government must have the power to regulate commerce between the states to ensure a level playing field and prevent discrimination against certain states.

Madison discusses the necessity of a uniform system of commercial regulations to promote fair competition and prevent monopolies. He asserts that without federal intervention, individual states could enact protectionist policies that would harm interstate commerce and stifle economic growth. Madison argues that a unified system of commerce regulation is essential for promoting commerce, encouraging innovation, and boosting national prosperity.

Madison emphasizes the importance of a unified system of navigation laws to prevent conflicts between the states and foreign nations, as well as to protect American interests abroad.

Madison argues that the federal government must have the power to negotiate treaties and establish tariffs in order to protect American industries and ensure fair trade with other countries. Madison emphasizes the importance of a strong federal government in conducting foreign commerce to promote American interests and ensure national security.

Madison also addresses the issue of slavery in the essay, arguing that the federal government must have the power to regulate the importation of slaves in order to prevent the spread of slavery to new territories. He emphasizes the moral and practical implications of slavery, and argues that the federal government must take action to prevent the expansion of slavery and promote the ideals of liberty and equality.

No. 43 *The Same Subject Continued (The Powers Conferred by the Constitution Further Considered)*
For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, January 23, 1788
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 43 discusses the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution, which gives Congress the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers of the Constitution. Madison argues that this clause is essential for the functioning of the government and ensures that Congress has the power to enact legislation that is not explicitly laid out in the Constitution.

Madison explains that the Articles were too restrictive and did not give the government enough power to effectively govern the country. The necessary and proper clause was therefore included in the Constitution to address these shortcomings and provide Congress with the authority to enact laws that were required for the proper functioning of the government.

Madison explains that the necessary and proper clause is vital for ensuring that the government can adapt and respond to changing circumstances. Because the Constitution cannot anticipate every potential situation that may arise, and Congress must have the flexibility to pass laws that are necessary for the common good. Without the necessary and proper clause, Madison warns that the government would be paralyzed and unable to address new challenges.

Madison argues that the clause is not a blank check for Congress to do whatever it pleases, but rather a necessary tool for the effective functioning of the government. Madison assures readers that the clause is not a license for unlimited government power and that Congress must still operate within the boundaries of the Constitution.

Madison also explores the concept of implied powers. He explains that the clause allows Congress to exercise powers that are not expressly enumerated in the Constitution but are necessary or proper for carrying out its specified powers. Madison argues that the Constitution must be interpreted broadly to allow for the implied powers necessary for effective governance.

Madison emphasizes that the necessary and proper clause is essential for the unity and strength of the federal government. He argues that without this clause, the government would be unable to function as a cohesive whole and would be subject to internal divisions and conflicts. The clause, therefore, plays a crucial role in ensuring that the federal government can operate effectively and efficiently.

No. 44 *Restrictions on the Authority of the Several States*
From the New York Packet. Friday, January 25, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 44 delves into the issue of the power of the federal government to tax and regulate commerce. It begins by acknowledging the importance of establishing a system of taxation that is both fair and effective, as it is necessary for the government to fund its operations. However, Madison argues that the proposed Constitution's grant of authority to the federal government to tax and regulate commerce should be carefully considered and limited to prevent abuse of power.

Madison argues that without the ability to raise revenue, the government would not be able to perform its essential functions, such as providing for the common defense and promoting the general welfare. However, he also cautions against giving the federal government unlimited power to tax, as this could lead to tyranny and oppression.

Madison discusses the importance of regulating commerce, as it is essential for promoting economic growth and ensuring the prosperity of the nation. He argues that the federal government should have the authority to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign nations in order to prevent conflicts and promote a unified economic system. However, he also stresses the need for limitations on this power to prevent abuse and protect individual liberties.

He argues that unchecked power could lead to tyranny and oppression, as the government could use its authority to suppress individual rights and freedoms. He therefore advocates for a system of checks and balances to ensure that the federal government does not overstep its bounds and infringe on the rights of the people.

Madison discusses the requirement for all tax laws to originate in the House of Representatives and the prohibition on states imposing duties on imports or exports. He also points out that the Constitution provides for a system of judicial review to ensure that any laws passed by the federal government are in accordance with the Constitution.

Madison concludes by stressing the importance of a strong and effective federal government that is able to perform its essential functions. He argues that the power to tax and regulate commerce is necessary for the government to function properly and serve the needs of the people. However, he also emphasizes the need for limitations on this power.

No. 45 *The Alleged Danger From the Powers of the Union to the State Governments.*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, January 26, 1788
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 45 discusses the division of power between the federal government and the states, as well as the importance of the federal government's role in protecting the rights and liberties of the American people.

Madison begins by asserting that the powers delegated to the federal government under the proposed Constitution are few and defined, while those reserved to the states are numerous and indefinite. He argues that the federal government will only have authority over specific issues that concern the union as a whole, such as foreign relations, national defense, and interstate commerce. The states, on the other hand, will retain control over all other matters that pertain to the daily lives of their citizens.

Madison also points out that the states are not capable of defending themselves against foreign aggression or regulating commerce among themselves, and therefore a central authority is necessary to address these issues. He highlights the need for a uniform system of taxation and currency in order to promote economic stability and prevent internal conflicts between the states.

Madison explains that the division of power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, as well as the system of federalism that balances state and federal authority, will prevent any one branch or level of government from becoming too powerful.

Madison also defends the concept of federal taxation by explaining that it is necessary for the federal government to raise revenue in order to fulfill its responsibilities. He assures readers that the power of taxation is limited to specific purposes and is subject to the approval of elected representatives in Congress, who are accountable to the people.

Madison argues that the federal government under the proposed Constitution will be a necessary and effective means of protecting the rights and liberties of the American people. He contends that a strong federal government is essential for national security, economic prosperity, and the prevention of tyranny. By outlining the limited powers of the federal government and the extensive powers of the states, Madison seeks to reassure readers that the Constitution strikes a balance between central authority and individual sovereignty.



No. 46 *The Influence of the State and Federal Governments Compared*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, January 29, 1788.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 46 discusses the balance of power between the states and the federal government in the United States. Madison sets the stage by acknowledging the concerns of those who fear that the federal government will become too powerful and will infringe upon the rights of the states. He asserts that the federal government is limited in its powers and that the states have numerous means of resisting any attempts by the federal government to usurp their authority.

Madison argues that the states have a natural advantage in terms of size and resources, and that they can use this advantage to resist any attempts by the federal government to overstep its bounds.

Madison then argues that the states can rely on their militia to resist any attempts by the federal government to impose its will upon them.

Madison also argues that the courts can serve as a check on federal power by striking down any laws or actions that are unconstitutional.

Madison discusses the importance of public opinion in preserving the balance of power between the states and the federal government. He argues that the states can rely on the support of the public to resist any attempts by the federal government to infringe upon their powers.

Madison argues that the separation of powers ensures that no one branch of government becomes too powerful and that each branch serves as a check on the others.

Madison discusses how the executive branch can serve as a check on federal power by vetoing any laws that are deemed unconstitutional.

Madison writes that the importance of federalism in preserving the balance of power between the states and the federal government. He argues that federalism ensures that power is divided between the states and the federal government, and that each level of government has its own sphere of authority.

The potential dangers of a centralized government and the need for a system of checks and balances to prevent any one branch or level of government from becoming too powerful are his next argument.

Madison concludes with the assertion that the balance of power between the states and the federal government is essential to the preservation of liberty and the protection of individual rights.

No. 47 *The Particular Structure of the New Government and the Distribution of Power Among Its Different Parts.*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, January 30, 1788.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 47 addresses the concept of separation of powers and its importance in maintaining a healthy and balanced government. He argues that the concentration of power in one branch of government would lead to tyranny and the erosion of the liberties of the people. Madison supports his argument by citing examples from historical events and the writings of political philosophers.

Madison begins the essay by emphasizing the need for a separation of powers within the government, stating that "the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny." He goes on to explain that the separation of powers is necessary to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful and abusing its authority.

Madison also discusses the importance of checks and balances in preventing the abuse of power. He stresses that each branch of government should have the ability to limit the powers of the other branches, thus ensuring that no one branch becomes dominant. This system of checks and balances, according to Madison, is essential for protecting the liberties of the people and maintaining the stability of the government.

Madison also argues that the separation of powers is not only necessary for preventing tyranny, but also for promoting good government. He contends that each branch of government has its own unique functions and responsibilities, and that these must be kept separate in order to ensure the proper functioning of the government. By maintaining this separation of powers, Madison believes that the government will be able to operate efficiently and effectively.

Madison addresses the issue of the executive branch's powers, arguing that the president must not have unchecked authority. Instead, Madison advocates for a system in which the branches of government are independent and able to check each other's powers.

Madison draws upon the writings of political philosophers such as Montesquieu, who argued that the concentration of power in one branch of government would inevitably lead to tyranny. Madison also cites historical examples, such as the Roman Republic, to illustrate the dangers of a government without a proper separation of powers.

No. 48 *These Departments Should Not Be So Far Separated as to Have No Constitutional Control Over Each Other.*

From the New York Packet. Friday, February 1, 1788.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 48 emphasizes the importance of preventing one branch of government from becoming too powerful and dominating the others. Madison argues that the accumulation of power in one branch would lead to tyranny and the destruction of the principles of a republican government.

Madison begins by discussing the nature of the relationship between the branches of government in a constitutional system. He argues that in order to maintain a balance of power and prevent tyranny, each branch must have the ability to check the powers of the others. He asserts that this system of checks and balances is essential to preserving the liberty of the people and preventing abuses of power.

Madison then goes on to examine the specific powers of each branch of government – the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. He argues that each branch should be able to check the powers of the others through various means, such as veto power, impeachment, and judicial review. This system of checks and balances ensures that no branch of government can become too powerful and override the will of the people.

Madison also discusses the importance of maintaining the independence of the branches of government. He argues that if one branch becomes dependent on another for its power or authority, it will be unable to effectively check the powers of the other branches. This independence is crucial for ensuring that each branch can fulfill its role in the system of checks and balances.

Madison further explores the role of the people in maintaining the balance of power within the government. He argues that the people have a responsibility to hold their elected officials accountable and ensure that they do not abuse their powers. The people have a right to petition their government and demand redress for grievances, ensuring that the government remains responsive to the will of the people.

Madison also addresses the potential dangers of a government with unchecked powers. He warns that a government that is not constrained by a system of checks and balances is likely to become tyrannical and oppressive. He argues that the best way to prevent this outcome is to maintain a strict separation of powers and ensure that each branch of government can effectively check the powers of the others.

No. 49 *Method of Guarding Against the Encroachments of Any One Department of Government by Appealing to the People Through a Convention.*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, February 2, 1788.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

In Federalist Paper No. 49, Madison explores the principles of separation of powers and checks and balances to prevent despotic rule.

He argues that the three branches of government – the legislative, executive, and judicial – should be kept separate and have the ability to check each other's powers in order to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful. T

Madison then addresses the idea of the separation of powers. He argues that the three branches of government should be distinct and have their own powers and responsibilities. By dividing the government in this way, each branch is able to act as a check on the others, ensuring that no single branch can dominate or abuse its power.

Madison also argues that the ultimate power in a republic lies with the people, who have the right to elect their representatives and hold them accountable for their actions. By participating in the political process, the people can ensure that their government remains responsive to their needs and does not exceed its constitutional limits.

Madison also argues that the federal government should have the power to check the actions of the states and ensure that they comply with the Constitution. This prevents individual states from acting in ways that are detrimental to the overall welfare of the country.

Madison then explores the idea of federalism, which refers to the division of powers. He argues that federalism is essential to maintaining a balance of power and preventing any one level of government from becoming too powerful. By dividing powers between the federal and state governments, the American system ensures that no single government entity can become tyrannical or oppressive.

He argues that the judiciary should have the power to interpret the laws and the Constitution, and to strike down any actions by the other branches of government that are unconstitutional. This power is essential to the protection of individual rights and the preservation of the rule of law in a democratic society.

Madison argues that a government that is based on the principles of separation of powers, checks and balances, and federalism is essential to the maintenance of liberty and the prevention of tyranny. By upholding these principles, the American system of government will ensure that the rights and freedoms of its citizens are protected and that the government remains accountable to the people.

No. 50 *Periodical Appeals to the People Considered*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, February 5, 1788.

MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 50 discusses the importance of the separation of powers and the necessity of the proper structure of government to prevent the abuse of power.

Madison starts by addressing the fear of a lack of accountability within the government. He argues that the key to preventing tyranny lies in the internal structure of government. Without proper checks and balances, the government could become corrupted and oppressive.

Madison then delves into the concept of checks and balances, emphasizing the need for each branch of government to have the ability to check the powers of the other branches. He highlights the importance of this system in maintaining the balance of power and preventing any one branch from becoming too dominant.

Madison also discusses the importance of a strong legislature in maintaining the integrity of the government. He argues that the legislature serves as a bulwark against the encroachment of executive power and is essential for the protection of individual rights and liberties.

Madison raises concerns about the potential for abuse of power within the government. He warns against the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals, as this could lead to corruption and despotism. He stresses the importance of a government that is accountable to the people and operates within the limits of its constitutional authority.

Madison also discusses the role of the judiciary in maintaining the integrity of the government. He argues that the judiciary must be independent and impartial in order to uphold the rule of law and protect individual rights. He emphasizes the need for a strong judicial branch to serve as a check on the powers of the other branches of government.

Madison concludes by reaffirming the importance of a well-structured government that is designed to prevent the abuse of power. He argues that a system of checks and balances, coupled with strong legislative and judicial branches, is essential for ensuring the proper functioning of government and the protection of individual liberties.

Madison provides a comprehensive analysis of the separation of powers and the importance of a well-structured government in preventing the abuse of power. He emphasizes the need for checks and balances, a strong legislature, and an independent judiciary in order to safeguard individual rights and prevent tyranny.

No. 51 *The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments.*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, February 6, 1788.
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 51 argues that the government must be structured in such a way that it is able to control the governed, but also be controlled by itself. This is achieved through the separation of powers, where the powers of government are divided among different branches - legislative, executive, and judicial. Each branch has its own distinct responsibilities and powers, which serves as a system of checks and balances to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful.

Madison also emphasizes that each branch being independent from the others in order to prevent any one branch from dominating the others. He states, "You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

Madison delves into the concept of federalism, where power is shared between the national government and the state governments. This division of power ensures that no one government entity has too much power, and that the states retain some level of autonomy and authority. Federalism is essential in preventing tyranny and protecting individual liberties.

He also addresses the issue of factions, or special interest groups. He acknowledges that factions are an inevitable part of human nature, but argues that a large and diverse republic can mitigate their harmful effects. By having multiple factions with varying interests and opinions, it becomes more difficult for any one faction to dominate and impose its will on others.

The judicial branch is tasked with interpreting and upholding the law, and serves as a check on the actions of the other branches. By ensuring that the judiciary is independent and impartial, it can act as a safeguard against abuses of power by the other branches.

Madison argues that limiting the terms of elected officials and periodically rotating them out of office helps prevent the accumulation of power and the emergence of entrenched political elites. This system of term limits and rotation ensures a more dynamic and responsive government that is accountable to the people.

Madison discusses the role of elections in holding government officials accountable to the people. By allowing for regular elections, the people have the opportunity to remove officials who abuse their power or fail to serve the interests of the public.

By carefully balancing the powers of government and ensuring accountability to the people, the United States will be able to maintain a stable and just system of governance.

No. 52 *The House of Representatives*

From the New York Packet. Friday, February 8, 1788.

MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 52 focuses on the qualifications and eligibility of members of the House of Representatives.

Madison begins by stating that the Constitution requires that members of the House of Representatives be chosen by the people, and that the qualifications for suffrage should be the same as those required for suffrage in the most numerous branch of the state legislatures. This ensures that the people's voice is heard in the selection of representatives.

Madison then discusses the various qualifications that must be met in order to be eligible for the House of Representatives. These qualifications include being at least 25 years old, a citizen of the United States for at least seven years, and an inhabitant of the state which they represent.

Madison emphasizes the importance of these qualifications as a means of ensuring that members of the House of Representatives are of good character and possess the necessary knowledge and experience to effectively represent the people. He argues that these qualifications are necessary in order to prevent individuals who lack the necessary qualifications from holding office and potentially harming the interests of the people.

Madison also addresses the issue of term limits for members of the House of Representatives. He argues that while term limits may seem like a good idea in theory, they may in practice lead to instability and a lack of accountability. He believes that the people should have the ultimate say in whether or not a representative should continue to serve, rather than imposing arbitrary term limits.

Madison believes that by setting standards for eligibility and qualifications, the Constitution ensures that the people will be represented by individuals who are capable of serving their best interests.

Madison argues that by setting strict qualifications and requirements for eligibility, the Constitution ensures that only qualified and knowledgeable individuals are able to hold office and represent the will of the people. He also emphasizes the importance of accountability and the role of the people in determining the continued service of their representatives. Ultimately, Madison believes that the Constitution's provisions regarding the qualifications of members of the House of Representatives are essential in maintaining the integrity and effectiveness of the legislative branch of government.

No. 53 *The Same Subject Continued (The House of Representatives)*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, February 9, 1788.

MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 53 examines the composition and structure of the House of Representatives in the proposed Constitution. Madison delves into the issue of ensuring representation and accountability in the government, as well as the balance of power between the states and the federal government.

Madison begins by discussing the importance of representation in a republic. He argues that the larger the society, the more difficult it becomes to have a truly representative government. He points out that in a large society, it is essential to have a system of representation that accurately reflects the will of the people. This is where the House of Representatives plays a crucial role.

Madison then goes on to address the issue of apportionment in the House of Representatives. He emphasizes the need for a fair and equitable system of representation, where each state is allocated a certain number of representatives based on its population. This ensures that smaller states are not overshadowed by larger states, and that each state has a voice in the government.

Madison also discusses the qualifications and elections of members of the House of Representatives. He argues that the qualifications for serving in the House should be minimal, in order to allow for a diverse and representative body. He also stresses the importance of regular and frequent elections, which help to ensure that representatives remain accountable to the people.

Another important issue that Madison addresses is the question of corruption in government. He acknowledges that no system of government is perfect, and that there will always be a risk of corruption and abuse of power. However, he argues that the structure of the House of Representatives, with its system of checks and balances, can help to mitigate this risk.

Madison also touches on the issue of direct taxes and representation in the House. He argues that the power to levy taxes should be given to the federal government, rather than the states, in order to ensure uniformity and fairness. He also stresses the need for representation in taxation, so that the people have a voice in how their money is being spent.

Federalist No. 53 provides a comprehensive analysis of the structure and function of the House of Representatives in the proposed Constitution. Madison outlines the importance of representation, accountability, and fairness in government, and argues for a system that balances the power of the states with that of the federal government.

No. 54 *The Apportionment of Members Among the States*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, February 12, 1788.

MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 54 discusses the controversial topic of representation in the newly proposed United States Constitution. He begins by acknowledging the importance of the issue, recognizing that it lies at the heart of the principles of democratic government. Madison explores the various arguments made by opponents of the Constitution who argue that the proposed ratio of representation in the House of Representatives is inadequate and will not adequately represent the people.

Madison then goes on to defend the ratio of representation established in the Constitution, arguing that it strikes a balance between the conflicting interests of the large and small states. He explains that the proposed ratio of one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants is fair and reasonable, ensuring that the House of Representatives will be a true reflection of the will of the people. Madison also addresses concerns about the possibility of the House becoming too large and unwieldy, arguing that the proposed ratio will prevent this from happening.

Madison also addresses the issue of representation for slaves in the House of Representatives. He acknowledges that many have criticized the Constitution for counting slaves as part of the population for the purpose of representation but not for taxation. Madison defends this decision by arguing that it is a necessary compromise to ensure the support of the Southern states for the new government.

Madison then addresses the question of whether it is fair for slaves to be counted as part of the population for the purpose of representation when they are denied the rights and privileges of citizenship. He argues that this is a complex issue with no easy answer, but ultimately concludes that it is necessary for the sake of national unity and stability. Madison also points out that representation in the House of Representatives is just one aspect of the government, and that the Senate provides a check on the power of the House.

Madison argues that the ratio of representation in the House of Representatives established in the Constitution is fair and just, striking a balance between the competing interests of the large and small states. He acknowledges that the issue of counting slaves as part of the population for representation is a difficult and contentious one, but ultimately argues that it is necessary for the sake of national unity. Madison also emphasizes the importance of the Senate in providing a check on the power of the House, ensuring that no one branch of government becomes too powerful.

No. 55 *The Total Number of the House of Representatives For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, February 13, 1788. MADISON To the People of the State of New York:*

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 55 provides a critical analysis of the issue of representation in government. Madison argues that in a republic, the size of the legislative body is important in order to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. He highlights the need for a balance between popular representation and effective governance to ensure that the government remains accountable to the people.

Madison begins by addressing the question of whether a large republic is more prone to factionalism and instability than a small one. He argues that while larger societies may indeed have more diverse interests and viewpoints, the sheer size of the population makes it less likely that a single faction could dominate the political landscape. In contrast, in a smaller society, he warns that one powerful faction could easily control the government to the detriment of the rest of the population.

Madison further delves into the issue of representation, emphasizing the importance of ensuring that elected officials truly represent the interests of their constituents. He warns against the dangers of a legislative body that is not a true reflection of the people it serves, as this could lead to tyranny and oppression. Madison advocates for a system of checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power by any one branch of government.

In discussing the composition of the House of Representatives, Madison argues that its size should be large enough to accurately represent the population, but not so large that it becomes unwieldy and ineffective. He stresses the importance of regular elections to hold representatives accountable to the people and ensure that they remain faithful to their constituents' interests.

Madison also addresses the issue of term limits for elected officials, arguing that frequent turnover in office is essential to prevent corruption and the entrenchment of a political elite. He advocates for a system of rotation in office to ensure that a diverse range of voices and perspectives are represented in government.

Federalist Paper No. 55 provides a thoughtful and nuanced analysis of the crucial issue of representation in government. Madison emphasizes the need for a balance between popular sovereignty and effective governance to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. By advocating for a system of checks and balances, regular elections, and term limits, Madison seeks to ensure that the government remains accountable to the people it serves.

No. 56 *The Same Subject Continued (The Total Number of the House of Representatives) For the Independent Journal. Saturday, February 16, 1788. MADISON To the People of the State of New York:*

SYNOPSIS

Federalist No. 56 offers a comprehensive analysis of the issue of congressional representation and the importance of holding elected officials accountable. Madison argues that representatives should be selected on the basis of merit and that their constituents should have the power to remove them if they fail to fulfill their duties.

Madison also addresses the concept of term limits for members of Congress, arguing that this would prevent corruption and ensure that elected officials serve in the best interests of the people. He believes that regular turnover in government is necessary to prevent the consolidation of power and the erosion of liberty.

Madison also emphasizes the importance of a balanced system of government, with checks and balances in place to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful. He argues that without these safeguards, the rights and freedoms of the people would be at risk of infringement.

Madison touches on the issue of representation for minority groups, arguing that all citizens, regardless of their background or beliefs, should have equal access to government and be able to participate in the political process.

Furthermore, Madison discusses the role of political parties in shaping the legislative process. He warns against the dangers of factionalism and the potential for parties to prioritize their own interests over those of the people.

Madison also addresses the issue of corruption in government, arguing that transparency and accountability are essential to maintaining the public's trust in their elected officials. He believes that a system of checks and balances can help prevent corruption and ensure that government remains accountable to the people.

Finally, Madison concludes with a call to action, urging citizens to uphold their responsibilities as voters and to hold their representatives accountable for their actions. He emphasizes the importance of an informed and engaged electorate in maintaining a healthy democracy.



No. 57 *The Alleged Tendency of the New Plan to Elevate the Few at the Expense of the Many Considered in Connection with Representation.*
From the New York Packet. Tuesday, February 19, 1788.
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No 57 discusses the structure of the House of Representatives and the qualifications for its members. He begins by discussing the importance of representation in a democratic government and argues that the House of Representatives should be the most democratic branch of government.

Madison then goes on to explain the qualifications for members of the House of Representatives. He argues that members should be chosen by the people and that they should be a true reflection of the community they represent. He also emphasizes the importance of having a diverse group of representatives in order to ensure that the interests of all citizens are properly represented.

Madison also addresses the issue of term limits for members of the House of Representatives. He argues that frequent elections are necessary in order to hold representatives accountable and prevent corruption. He also emphasizes the importance of rotating members of Congress in order to prevent the emergence of a political elite.

Madison then goes on to discuss the process of electing members of the House of Representatives. He argues that the mode of election should be left to the discretion of the states, but that it should be a fair and democratic process. He also emphasizes the importance of having a proper census in order to ensure that each state is accurately represented in Congress.

In the second half of the essay, Madison addresses the issue of the number of representatives in the House of Representatives. He argues that the number of representatives should be based on the population of each state in order to ensure fair representation. He also emphasizes the importance of having a large number of representatives in order to prevent corruption and ensure that the government remains accountable to the people.

Madison concludes the essay by emphasizing the importance of a strong and independent House of Representatives in order to protect the rights and liberties of the people. He argues that the House of Representatives is the most important branch of government and that it should be given the power to check the other branches and prevent tyranny.



No. 58 *Objection That The Number of Members Will Not Be Augmented as the Progress of Population Demands.*
For the Independent Journal Wednesday, February 20, 1788.
MADISON To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 58 discusses the importance of the House of Representatives in the new government and addresses the issue of representation and taxation.

Madison begins by explaining that the House of Representatives is designed to be the branch of government closest to the people, as its members are elected directly by the citizens. This structure ensures that the representatives are more likely to act in the best interests of their constituents, as they are accountable to them for their actions.

Madison then delves into the issue of representation and how it should be determined in the House of Representatives. He argues that while it is important for the representatives to be connected to and understand the needs of their constituents, it is equally important for them to act in the interest of the nation as a whole. Thus, the size of the districts and the number of representatives should be balanced to ensure both local and national concerns are addressed.

Madison also addresses the issue of taxation in relation to representation. He argues that since the power to tax is one of the most important powers of government, it is crucial that those who are taxed have a say in how those taxes are levied and spent. Therefore, the House of Representatives, being the branch closest to the people, should have the authority to initiate revenue bills.

Madison further explains that the House of Representatives was designed to be the branch of government most responsive to the will of the people. Its frequent elections and direct representation ensure that the interests of the people are heard and considered in the legislative process. This system of checks and balances ensures that no one branch of government becomes too powerful or tyrannical.

He also emphasizes the importance of a strong national government with the power to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. He argues that in order for the new government to succeed, it must be able to act decisively and efficiently in times of crisis. The House of Representatives, as the branch closest to the people, plays a crucial role in this process by representing the diverse interests of the nation.



No. 59 *Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members*
From the New York Packet. Friday, February 22, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 59 discusses the power of Congress to regulate the militia, specifically focusing on the power of the House of Representatives to fund and provide for the militia. Madison argues that this power is essential for both the security of the nation and the maintenance of the republic.

Madison argues that this power should be vested in the House of Representatives, as they are the elected representatives of the people and therefore have a direct connection to the will of the people.

Madison also delves into the issue of funding for the militia. He argues that the power of the purse, or the ability to allocate funds, is crucial in ensuring that the militia is properly maintained and equipped. Madison emphasizes the importance of maintaining a well-regulated militia in order to defend the nation against external threats and to maintain internal order and security.

Madison argues that the House must act in the best interests of the people and that any abuse of power would be met with resistance from the people themselves. Madison believes that the system of checks and balances established by the Constitution would prevent any one branch of government from gaining too much power.

Madison also argues that, while the states have the authority to appoint officers and train the militia, the power to fund and provide for the militia should be vested in the federal government. Madison believes that a uniform system of regulations and provisions for the militia is essential in order to ensure the security of the nation as a whole.

Madison argues that the federal government must have the power to ensure the security of the nation and that any conflicts between the federal government and the states should be resolved through the proper channels of government.

Madison also discusses the importance of maintaining a well-regulated militia in order to preserve the freedom and rights of the people. He argues that a strong militia is essential in order to protect the nation from external threats and to prevent tyranny from within. Madison believes that the power given to the House of Representatives to regulate the militia is crucial in ensuring that the rights and freedoms of the people are protected.

No. 60 *The Same Subject Continued 234 (Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members)*
From The Independent Journal. Saturday, February 23, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper Federalist No. 60 delves into the topic of the term limits for members of Congress.

Madison discusses the issue of term limits for members of the House of Representatives, which were not included in the Constitution. He argues against the idea of imposing term limits, stating that it may actually weaken the power and effectiveness of the government. Madison believes that members of Congress should be able to serve as long as they have the trust and support of the people.

Madison also emphasizes the importance of experience in government, suggesting that limiting the terms of representatives could result in a constant turnover of inexperienced politicians. He argues that this could lead to a lack of stability and continuity in government, ultimately hindering the ability to make long-term decisions and address complex issues. Furthermore, Madison points out that term limits may not necessarily prevent corruption or promote accountability, as new members of Congress may still be susceptible to these issues.

Madison acknowledges the concerns of those who support term limits, such as the fear of entrenched politicians becoming too powerful or detached from their constituents. However, he argues that these concerns can be addressed through other means, such as regular elections and the possibility of impeachment for misconduct. Madison also stresses the importance of the people in holding their representatives accountable through their ability to vote them out of office if they are dissatisfied with their performance.

In addition, Madison explains the process by which amendments can be made to the Constitution, highlighting the deliberate and thorough nature of this process. He argues that term limits should not be imposed hastily or without careful consideration, as they could have far-reaching consequences on the functioning of government. Madison urges for a measured approach to addressing the issue of term limits, emphasizing the need for prudence and careful deliberation.

Madison concludes Federalist No. 60 by reaffirming his belief in the importance of a stable and effective government, which he believes can be best achieved through experienced and knowledgeable representatives.



No. 61 *The Same Subject Continued (Concerning the Power of Congress to Regulate the Election of Members)*
From the New York Packet. Tuesday, February 26, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 61 discusses the issue of the composition of the House of Representatives and the implications of its structure on the functioning of the government.

Hamilton begins Federalist No. 61 by addressing the importance of having a fair representation in the House of Representatives. He argues that having a proportional representation of the states in the House is crucial for ensuring that the government is accountable to the people. He also emphasizes the need for a check on the power of the Senate, which represents the interests of the states rather than the people.

Hamilton goes on to discuss the different proposals for the composition of the House of Representatives that were considered during the Constitutional Convention. He explains that the decision to base representation in the House on population size was made in order to ensure that the government would be responsive to the needs of the people. He also argues that having a large number of representatives in the House would help to prevent corruption and abuse of power.

Hamilton then turns his attention to the issue of apportionment, or the allocation of seats in the House of Representatives among the states. He argues that the Constitution's provision for a decennial census to determine the number of seats each state is entitled to is a fair and effective way of ensuring that representation in the House remains proportional to the population.

Hamilton also addresses the question of how vacancies in the House of Representatives should be filled. He argues that the power to fill vacancies should be given to the executive authority of each state, rather than to the federal government. This, he says, would help to prevent the federal government from exerting undue influence over the states.

Hamilton concludes by emphasizing the importance of creating a system of government that is responsive to the needs and interests of the people. He argues that having a fair and proportional representation in the House of Representatives is essential for achieving this goal. He also stresses the importance of ensuring that the government is structured in a way that prevents the abuse of power and corruption.



No. 62 *The Senate*
For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, February 27, 1788
MADISON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 62 addresses the issue of the composition and powers of the Senate, as outlined in the proposed Constitution.

The main argument in Federalist No. 62 is that the Senate should be a stable and independent body, free from the whims of the public and capable of providing a check against the potential tyranny of the majority. To achieve this, Madison argues for a longer term of office for Senators, who would be elected for six years compared to the two-year term of Representatives in the House of Representatives. This longer term would allow Senators to focus on the long-term interests of the country rather than being influenced by short-term political considerations.

Madison also defends the idea of staggered terms for Senators, meaning that only one-third of the Senate would be up for re-election at any given time. This, he argues, would ensure continuity and stability in the Senate, preventing sudden shifts in power that could disrupt the functioning of the government.

Madison also discusses the composition of the Senate, which would be comprised of two Senators from each state, regardless of size or population. This arrangement was intended to ensure that all states, no matter their size, would have equal representation in the Senate, thus protecting the interests of smaller states from being overrun by the larger ones.

Madison addresses the powers of the Senate, which include confirming appointments made by the President, ratifying treaties, and serving as jurors in impeachment trials. These powers are intended to provide a check on the executive branch and ensure that no one branch of government becomes too powerful.

Madison emphasizes the importance of the Senate as a deliberative body, where considered judgment and debate can take place. He argues that the Senate should be a forum for reasoned discussion and debate, rather than a place for hasty decisions made in the heat of the moment.

Madison defends the idea of the Senate as a representative body, where Senators would be chosen by state legislatures rather than by popular vote. He argues that this arrangement would help to ensure that Senators would be more likely to act in the long-term interests of their states, rather than being swayed by the passions of the moment.

No. 63 *The Senate Continued*

For the Independent Journal. Saturday, March 1, 1788
MADISON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 63 discusses the importance of a stable and efficient government in order to ensure the success and prosperity of the new nation.

In Federalist No. 63, Madison focuses on the role of the Senate in the government structure established by the Constitution. He begins by highlighting the importance of the Senate as a deliberate and stable body that serves as a counterbalance to the House of Representatives. Madison argues that the Senate's role in the legislative process is crucial in ensuring that hasty and ill-considered decisions are not made.

Madison goes on to discuss the qualifications and responsibilities of Senators, emphasizing the need for wisdom, experience, and integrity in those who serve in this body. He argues that the longer terms of Senators, as opposed to the more frequent elections of Representatives, allow them to develop a deep understanding of complex issues and to act in the best interests of the nation as a whole.

Another key point made by Madison is the importance of the Senate's role in ratifying treaties and confirming appointments made by the President. He argues that the Senate's independent judgment in these matters helps to ensure that the government is not subject to the whims of any single individual or faction.

Madison also addresses concerns about the potential for corruption and undue influence in the Senate. He argues that the Senate's smaller size and longer terms make it less susceptible to these dangers, as Senators are more likely to act in accordance with their own conscience and the interests of the nation rather than being swayed by outside pressures.

Throughout Federalist No. 63, Madison emphasizes the importance of a strong and independent Senate as a crucial component of the government's system of checks and balances. He argues that the Senate's role in moderating the passions and impulses of the people and preventing the concentration of power in any one branch or individual is essential to the success of the American experiment in self-government.



No. 64 *The Powers of the Senate*

From The Independent Journal. Wednesday, March 5, 1788.
JAY

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 64 discusses the power of the Senate in relation to treaties and foreign relations.

Jay explains that treaties are the means by which a nation enters into formal agreements with other nations, and they have the potential to greatly affect the welfare and security of a country. Jay argues that this power should be entrusted to a body that is stable and permanent.

Jay then focuses on the role of the Senate in treaty-making. He points out that the Constitution grants the Senate the power to approve or reject treaties negotiated by the President. This is a crucial check on the President's power, ensuring that treaties are not entered into lightly or without proper consideration. Jay praises the Senate for its wisdom and stability, qualities that are necessary for the careful deliberation required in matters of foreign relations.

Jay also acknowledges that there are legitimate reasons for keeping certain aspects of treaty negotiations confidential, but he argues that the Senate should be involved in the process to ensure accountability and transparency. He emphasizes the importance of public trust in the government's actions, particularly in matters of foreign policy.

Jay then discusses the potential for conflict between the executive and legislative branches over treaty-making. He acknowledges that this tension is inevitable in a system of checks and balances, but he argues that the Constitution strikes a balance between the powers of the President and the Senate. He points out that while the President has the authority to negotiate treaties, the Senate has the final say in their approval.

Jay also addresses the issue of divided loyalties in treaty-making. He acknowledges that members of the Senate may have personal connections or interests that could influence their decisions on treaties. However, he argues that the Senate as a whole is more likely to act in the best interests of the nation, rather than being swayed by individual interests.

Jay reflects on the importance of the Senate's role in treaty-making. He argues that the Senate's involvement in the process helps to ensure that treaties are carefully considered and in the national interest. Jay concludes by emphasizing the need for a strong and stable government to effectively conduct foreign relations and protect the country's security.

John Jay argues that the Senate's involvement in the process is essential for ensuring accountability, transparency, and the national interest.

No. 65 *The Powers of the Senate Continued*
From the New York Packet. Friday, March 7, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 65 discusses the powers and responsibilities of the Senate in the process of impeachment. The essay begins with Hamilton asserting that the Senate is the proper body to try cases of impeachment because of its independence and impartiality. He argues that the Senate's composition, which includes members from different states, protects against bias and partiality in the impeachment process.

Hamilton goes on to explain the process of impeachment, which he describes as a political and legal procedure for addressing misconduct by public officials. He clarifies that impeachment is not intended to punish individuals but rather to protect the public interest and ensure the integrity of the government. Hamilton emphasizes the seriousness of impeachment and suggests that it should only be used in cases of grave misconduct.

Hamilton then outlines the specific roles and responsibilities of the Senate in the impeachment process. He explains that the Senate acts as a court of impeachment, responsible for hearing evidence, deliberating on the charges, and rendering a verdict. Hamilton emphasizes the importance of the Senate's impartiality and notes that its members serve as jurors in the trial of impeached officials.

Hamilton also discusses the power of the Senate to convict and remove individuals from office through impeachment. He argues that the Senate's decision to convict must be based on evidence and facts, rather than political considerations or personal biases. Hamilton emphasizes the gravity of impeachment and suggests that it should only be used in cases of serious misconduct that threaten the stability and integrity of the government.

The essay concludes with Hamilton reflecting on the importance of the Senate's role in the impeachment process. He suggests that the Senate's independence and impartiality make it the most suitable body to try cases of impeachment and hold public officials accountable for their actions. Hamilton stresses the need for a fair and transparent impeachment process that upholds the rule of law and protects the public interest.

Alexander Hamilton argues that the Senate's independence and impartiality make it the proper body to try cases of impeachment and hold public officials accountable for their actions. Hamilton emphasizes the seriousness of impeachment and suggests that it should only be used in cases of grave misconduct that threaten the stability and integrity of the government.

No. 66 *Objections to the Power of the Senate To Set as a Court for Impeachments Further Considered.*
From The Independent Journal. Saturday, March 8, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 66 discusses the power of the Senate in relation to its role in the impeachment process.

Hamilton begins by acknowledging the importance of impeachments as a means of holding government officials accountable for their actions. He argues that the power of impeachment must be held by a body separate from the executive branch to prevent corruption and ensure justice is served. Hamilton asserts that the Senate is the most appropriate body to carry out the impeachment process due to its size, stability, and impartiality.

Hamilton explains that the Senate serves as a court for trials of impeachment, where the accused official is tried for their alleged offenses. He argues that the Senate's role in impeachment provides a necessary check on the executive branch, as it holds the power to remove officials who have abused their authority or committed crimes while in office. Hamilton emphasizes the importance of impartiality in the impeachment process, stating that the Senate's deliberations must be free from political bias or personal vendettas.

Hamilton discusses the criteria for impeachment, stating that officials can only be impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors." He argues that this term encompasses a wide range of offenses, including abuse of power, corruption, and betrayal of the public trust. Hamilton notes that impeachment is a political process, but it must also be guided by legal principles to ensure justice is served.

Hamilton addresses concerns about the Senate's ability to conduct impeachment trials fairly and effectively. He argues that the Senate's size and stability make it a suitable body for handling such important matters. Hamilton believes that the Senate's reputation for impartiality and independence from the executive branch make it the ideal court for impeachment trials.

Hamilton also highlights the importance of public participation in the impeachment process. He argues that transparency and accountability are essential for ensuring the legitimacy of impeachment proceedings. Hamilton calls on the Senate to conduct impeachment trials with the utmost care and integrity, in order to uphold the principles of justice and the rule of law.

Hamilton emphasizes the importance of holding government officials accountable for their actions and ensuring that justice is served.

No. 67 *The Executive Department*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, March 11, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 67 discusses the powers of the President of the United States, particularly in regards to the appointment of officers.

Hamilton begins by addressing the criticisms that have been leveled against the President's power of appointment. Hamilton points out that some critics have argued that the President should not have the sole authority to appoint officers, as this could potentially lead to corruption and favoritism. However, Hamilton argues that the President is better suited to make these appointments than any other body, as he is the most accountable to the people and is able to act quickly and decisively.

Hamilton goes on to explain the rationale behind the President's power of appointment. He argues that in order for the government to function effectively, the President must have the authority to appoint officers who are loyal to him and who will faithfully execute the laws of the land. Furthermore, Hamilton argues that the President's power of appointment is necessary in order to ensure that the executive branch is able to carry out its duties without interference from other branches of government.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of checks and balances in the appointment process. He acknowledges that the Senate has the authority to confirm or reject the President's appointments, but he argues that this should not be a routine practice. Instead, Hamilton argues that the Senate should only reject appointments in cases where there is clear evidence of incompetence or misconduct on the part of the appointee.

Hamilton also discusses the potential for abuse of the President's power of appointment. He acknowledges that there is a risk of corruption and favoritism when it comes to presidential appointments, but he argues that this risk is outweighed by the benefits of having a strong and efficient executive branch. Hamilton points out that the President's power of appointment is necessary in order to ensure that the government is able to function effectively and serve the interests of the people.

Hamilton defends the President's authority to appoint officers, arguing that this power is necessary in order to ensure that the executive branch is able to carry out its duties without interference. While acknowledging the potential for abuse of this power, Hamilton ultimately concludes that the benefits of having a strong executive branch outweigh the risks.

No. 68 *The Mode of Electing the President From The Independent Journal. Wednesday, March 12, 1788.*
HAMILTON *To the People of the State of New York:*

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 68 discusses the process of electing the President of the United States.

Hamilton begins by describing the importance of the position of President and the need for a strong and stable leader. He argues that the method of electing the President should be carefully considered in order to ensure that the person chosen is capable and qualified for the job. Hamilton emphasizes that the President should be chosen by a select group of electors, rather than by the general population.

Hamilton goes on to explain the process by which the President is elected. He describes how each state appoints a certain number of electors, equal to the number of senators and representatives the state has in Congress. These electors then meet in their respective states and cast their votes for President. The candidate who receives the majority of electoral votes is then elected as President.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of corruption and external influence in the election process. He argues that by having a group of electors rather than a direct popular vote, the risk of corruption and manipulation is minimized. Hamilton believes that electors will be more invested in choosing a qualified candidate, as they are selected for their knowledge and judgment.

Hamilton further discusses the role of the Electoral College in the election of the President. He explains that the Electoral College serves as a safeguard against the dangers of factionalism and the potential for a demagogue to rise to power. Hamilton believes that the Electoral College ensures that the President is chosen based on merit and qualifications, rather than popularity or demagoguery.

Hamilton acknowledges that the Electoral College system may not be perfect, but he argues that it is the best method available for selecting a President. He believes that the Electoral College strikes a balance between the interests of the states and the need for a strong and capable leader. Hamilton warns against making drastic changes to the system, as it could lead to chaos and instability.

Hamilton argues for the importance of a select group of electors choosing the President, rather than a direct popular vote. He believes that the Electoral College system is necessary to safeguard against corruption and ensure that the President is chosen based on merit and qualifications.

No. 69 *The Real Character of the Executive*

From the New York Packet. Friday, March 14, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 69 compares the powers of the President of the United States to that of a monarch, exploring the similarities and differences between the two roles.

Hamilton begins by acknowledging that one of the main concerns of the anti-federalists was the fear of a monarchical form of government. He argues that the powers of the President outlined in the Constitution are significantly different from those of a monarch. The President, Hamilton explains, is elected by the people and is limited to a four-year term, while a monarch inherits their position and rules for life.

Hamilton goes on to discuss the powers of the President. He explains that the President has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, but this power is limited to federal crimes. A monarch, on the other hand, has the power to grant pardons for any crime.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of the President's power to make treaties with foreign nations. He explains that while the President has the authority to negotiate and sign treaties, they must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate in order to take effect.

Another important power of the President is their role as commander-in-chief of the military. Hamilton argues that this power is necessary for national security and defense, but again, it is subject to the control of Congress, which has the power to declare war and to raise and support armies. This ensures that the President cannot unilaterally use the military for their own purposes.

He also explains that while the President has the power to nominate officers, they must be approved by the Senate. Additionally, the President can be impeached and removed from office for high crimes and misdemeanors, providing another check on their power.

Hamilton argues that the powers of the President are carefully balanced and designed to prevent any one branch of government from becoming too powerful. He emphasizes that the President is subject to the constitution and to the will of the people, and that the separation of powers and system of checks and balances ensures that no individual can become a tyrant.

Hamilton argues that the President's powers are limited and subject to checks and balances, ensuring that the government remains a democracy and that the people's rights are protected.

No. 70 *The Executive Department Further Considered*

From The Independent Journal. Saturday, March 15, 1788. HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 70, titled "The Executive Department Further Considered", focuses on the powers and responsibilities of the executive branch of government, primarily the office of the President. Hamilton argues that a strong executive, with powers concentrated in a single person, is necessary for effective governance and to protect against tyranny. He advocates for a unitary executive, as opposed to a plural executive, in order to ensure accountability and decisiveness in government.

Hamilton outlines the key functions of the executive branch, including the execution of the laws, management of foreign affairs, and protection of the country against internal and external threats. He emphasizes the need for energy and efficiency in the executive, highlighting the dangers of weak and divided leadership. Hamilton argues that a single executive will be more effective in executing the will of the people and enforcing laws than a multi-headed executive, which can lead to confusion and inefficiency.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of term length for the President, advocating for a four-year term with the possibility of reelection. He argues that a longer term allows for greater experience and continuity in government, while term limits ensure that the President remains accountable to the people. Hamilton also discusses the importance of a fixed salary for the President, as a means of preventing corruption and ensuring that the President is not beholden to special interests.

Hamilton refutes arguments made by opponents of a strong executive, such as fears of tyranny or a monarchy. He asserts that the Constitution contains sufficient checks and balances to prevent abuses of power by the President, including the separation of powers and the system of federalism. Hamilton argues that a strong executive is necessary for a government to function effectively and meet the needs of the people.

Hamilton also discusses the role of the President as Commander-in-Chief of the military and as the chief diplomat of the United States. He stresses the importance of a unified and decisive leadership in times of crisis and conflict, and the need for the President to have the authority to act quickly and decisively in defense of the nation. Hamilton argues that a strong executive is essential for the preservation of national security and the protection of American interests abroad.

No. 71 *The Duration in Office of the Executive*
From the New York Packet. Tuesday, March 18, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 71 focuses on the issue of the duration of the Executive Magistrate's term of office. In this essay, Hamilton argues for the necessity of a four-year term for the President, as opposed to a shorter term, in order to ensure stability in government and prevent executive abuse of power.

Hamilton asserts that a longer term for the President is necessary in order to prevent instability in government. He argues that frequent elections of the Executive Magistrate would create uncertainty and fluctuations in policy, as the President would constantly be focused on winning re-election rather than governing effectively. A longer term, Hamilton contends, would allow the President to focus on the long-term interests of the nation rather than short-term political gains.

Hamilton argues that a longer term for the President would help prevent abuse of power by the Executive branch. In a system with frequent elections, Hamilton fears that the President would be more susceptible to the influence of special interests and popular opinion, leading to decisions that are not in the best interests of the nation as a whole.

Hamilton also argues that the Constitution provides checks and balances to prevent such behavior, such as the power of impeachment by Congress. Additionally, he points out that the President is elected by the people and must ultimately answer to them, providing a further safeguard against abuse of power.

Hamilton also considers the possibility of re-election. He argues that allowing the President to seek re-election is essential in order to ensure accountability and prevent corruption.

He argues that a longer term allows the President to gain valuable experience and knowledge, making him better equipped to handle the challenges of governing. By having a four-year term, the President has the opportunity to learn from his mistakes and build on his successes, ultimately leading to better decision-making and leadership.

Hamilton argues that frequent changes in leadership would lead to uncertainty and chaos, making it difficult for the country to progress and thrive. Having a longer term for the President ensures stability in government, prevents abuse of power, and promotes accountability and expertise in the Executive branch.

No. 72 *The Same Subject Continued, and Re-Eligibility of the Executive Considered.*
From The Independent Journal. Wednesday, March 19, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 72 discusses the term limits for the office of the President of the United States.

Hamilton argues in favor of a four-year term for the President without the possibility of reelection. He believes that a longer term would make the President too powerful and could potentially lead to corruption. By limiting the President to one term, Hamilton believes that the individual in office would be more focused on serving the country rather than seeking reelection.

Hamilton also highlights the importance of having a President who is experienced and knowledgeable in matters of governance. He argues that a President who serves multiple terms could become too comfortable in office and may not be as effective in his duties. By limiting the President to one term, it ensures that new and capable leaders are regularly elected to the highest office in the land.

Hamilton also discusses the dangers of having a President who seeks to prolong his time in office through reelection. He argues that this could lead to a concentration of power in the hands of one individual, which goes against the principles of the Constitution. By having a one-term limit, it prevents any potential abuse of power by the President.

Hamilton also addresses the issue of succession in the event of the President's death or incapacity. He argues that having a clear and defined line of succession is essential to maintaining stability in the government. By limiting the President to one term, it ensures that there is a smooth transition of power in case of an unforeseen event.

Hamilton acknowledges that some may have concerns about limiting the President to one term, as it may prevent a popular and effective leader from continuing in office. However, he believes that the benefits of having term limits outweigh any potential drawbacks. By ensuring that there is regular turnover in the office of the President, it prevents any one individual from becoming too powerful and entrenched in office.

Hamilton believes that a one-term limit would prevent any potential abuse of power and ensure that new and capable leaders are regularly elected to the highest office in the land. By limiting the President to one term, it helps to maintain the principles of democracy and prevent any concentration of power in the hands of one individual.

No. 73 *The Provision For The Support of the Executive, and the Veto Power*

From the New York Packet. Friday, March 21, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 73 addresses the role of the executive branch in the governmental structure of the United States. The central argument put forth in this essay is the importance of a strong and independent executive that is able to protect the interests of the country while also ensuring the rights of its citizens. Hamilton argues that a strong executive is necessary in order to maintain stability and protect against external threats, while also being accountable to the people through regular election cycles.

Hamilton begins the paper by acknowledging the concerns of Anti-Federalists who fear that a strong executive could lead to tyranny. However, he argues that a system of checks and balances, including the ability of the legislature to impeach the executive, prevents such abuses of power. Hamilton also stresses the importance of a unitary executive, as opposed to a plural executive, in order to ensure clear accountability and decisive action.

One of the key points Hamilton makes in Federalist Paper No. 73 is the need for a strong executive to serve as a check on the powers of the legislature. He argues that a weak executive would be unable to resist encroachments from the legislative branch, leading to the breakdown of the separation of powers. Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a fixed term for the executive, as opposed to a term limit, in order to prevent the executive from becoming a puppet of the legislature.

Another important aspect of Hamilton's argument is the role of the executive in foreign affairs. He argues that a strong executive is necessary in order to conduct diplomacy and negotiate treaties in the best interest of the country. Hamilton also stresses the need for a consistent and stable executive in order to maintain credibility and reputation on the world stage.

Hamilton concludes the paper by reiterating the importance of a strong and independent executive in the governmental structure of the United States. He argues that a strong executive is necessary in order to protect the country from external threats, maintain stability and order, and uphold the rights of its citizens. Hamilton's arguments serve as a defense of the executive branch and its vital role in the functioning of the government.



No. 74 *The Command of the Military and Naval Forces, and the Pardoning Power of the Executive.*

From the New York Packet. Tuesday, March 25, 1788.
HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 74 is a detailed analysis of the power of the President to grant reprieves and pardons in the United States. In this essay, Hamilton explains the rationale behind giving the President the authority to grant reprieves and pardons, and argues that this power is essential for ensuring justice and promoting the public good.

Hamilton starts by noting that the power to grant reprieves and pardons is an essential feature of any government, as it allows for mercy and leniency in the administration of justice. He argues that without this power, governments would be too harsh and inflexible in enforcing the law, leading to injustice and tyranny. Therefore, Hamilton believes that giving the President this power is necessary for ensuring that the law is applied in a fair and just manner.

Hamilton also addresses concerns that granting the President the power to pardon could lead to abuse and corruption. He acknowledges that there is a risk that pardons could be used for political gain or to protect cronies, but argues that this risk is outweighed by the benefits of having a flexible and merciful legal system. Hamilton suggests that having checks and balances in place, such as requiring the President to seek the consent of the Senate for pardons in cases of treason, helps mitigate this risk.

Furthermore, Hamilton argues that the power to grant pardons is essential for maintaining national unity and reconciliation. He notes that in times of civil strife or unrest, the President's ability to pardon can help heal wounds and bring adversaries together. By offering clemency to those who have committed crimes, the President can foster forgiveness and promote a sense of unity among the people.

Hamilton also discusses the limitations of the President's power to grant reprieves and pardons. He emphasizes that this power does not extend to cases of impeachment, where the Senate has the sole authority to try and convict government officials. Hamilton argues that this limitation is necessary to prevent the President from using pardons to shield themselves or others from accountability for grave offenses.

Hamilton also addresses the question of whether the power to grant pardons should be given to a single person or to a council. He argues that having a single person,

rather than a committee, make decisions about pardons is more efficient and effective. Hamilton believes that a single person is better able to weigh the circumstances of each case and make a just decision, rather than having decisions be subject to the biases and conflicting interests of a group.

Hamilton also argues that the power to grant pardons should be vested in the executive branch of government, rather than in the judiciary. He believes that giving judges the power to pardon would compromise their independence and impartiality, as they would be put in the position of having to decide whether to overturn their own rulings. Hamilton asserts that it is better to have the President, who is accountable to the people, exercise this power in order to ensure that justice is served.

Hamilton argues that while treason is a serious crime, the President should have the discretion to pardon individuals who have been convicted of this offense. Hamilton believes that pardons in cases of treason can be used strategically to promote national unity and reconciliation, and to prevent further bloodshed and division.

Hamilton also discusses the potential implications of denying the President the power to grant pardons. He argues that taking away this power would make the law too harsh and rigid, leading to injustice and resentment among the people. Hamilton emphasizes that the power to grant reprieves and pardons is essential for ensuring that justice is tempered with mercy, and that the public good is always kept in mind.

Hamilton argues that this power is necessary for ensuring justice, promoting national unity, and upholding the public good. He acknowledges the risks and limitations of this power, but ultimately believes that granting the President the authority to pardon is essential for maintaining a fair and merciful legal system in the United States.



No. 75 *The Treaty-Making Power of the Executive*

For the Independent Journal. Wednesday, March 26, 1788

HAMILTON

To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 75 discusses the executive branch, specifically focusing on the power of the president to make treaties. Hamilton argues that the power to make treaties should be vested in the president, rather than in the Senate, as some have suggested. He believes that this power should be placed in the hands of the president because he is better equipped to negotiate with foreign powers and because having the Senate involved would make the process more cumbersome and less efficient.

Hamilton starts by acknowledging that some people may be wary of giving the president too much power, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. However, he argues that the president is better suited to handle treaty negotiations because he is the one who represents the country as a whole and has the authority to make decisions quickly and decisively. He also points out that the president would have to seek the advice and consent of the Senate before a treaty could be ratified, so there are still checks in place to prevent abuse of power.

Hamilton explains that the president's role in making treaties is important because treaties are a crucial aspect of foreign relations. He argues that the president is in a better position to understand the nuances of diplomacy and to negotiate on behalf of the United States. He also believes that having the president as the primary negotiator would prevent conflicts of interest that could arise if the Senate were involved in the process.

Hamilton addresses concerns about the president's ability to abuse his power in making treaties. He argues that the president would have to seek the advice and consent of the Senate, which would provide a check on his power. He also points out that the president is accountable to the people through the electoral process, so there are mechanisms in place to hold him accountable for his actions.

Hamilton contends that having the Senate involved in treaty negotiations would be impractical and inefficient. He argues that the Senate is a large body and that having them all involved in the negotiation process would lead to delays and complications. He also points out that the president is in a better position to keep negotiations confidential and to act swiftly when necessary.

Hamilton argues that the power to make treaties should be vested in the president because he is better equipped to handle foreign affairs and negotiate with foreign powers. He believes that having the president as the primary negotiator would make the process more efficient and effective. He also points out that there are checks in place to prevent abuse of power, such as the requirement for the president to seek the advice and consent of the Senate before a treaty can be ratified.

No. 76 *The Appointing Power of the Executive*
From the *New York Packet*. Tuesday, April 1, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 76 focuses on the appointment of officers by the President of the United States.

Hamilton states that the President should have the power to appoint officers because he is accountable for ensuring that the laws are faithfully executed, and he must have the authority to appoint officers who will help him achieve this goal.

Hamilton argues that if the President had to seek the approval of the Senate for every appointment, it would create unnecessary delays and could lead to a lack of accountability in the government. By giving the President the power to appoint officers, Hamilton believes that the executive branch will be more efficient and effective in carrying out its duties.

Hamilton acknowledges that there is a risk that the President could appoint unqualified individuals to office for political reasons. However, he argues that this risk is mitigated by the Senate's role in confirming appointments. The Senate serves as a check on the President's power by providing oversight and ensuring that only qualified individuals are appointed to office.

Hamilton discusses that the power of appointment is essential for preserving the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches. By allowing the President to appoint officers, the Constitution ensures that each branch of government has its own distinct responsibilities and roles to play in the governing of the country.

Hamilton argues that a single executive is more accountable to the people than a plural executive or a committee. By giving the President the authority to appoint officers, the Constitution ensures that there is a clear chain of command and accountability in the executive branch.

Hamilton also acknowledges that there may be instances where individuals are appointed for reasons other than their qualifications. However, he argues that these instances are rare and can be addressed through oversight and accountability measures. Hamilton believes that the benefits of having a single executive with the power of appointment outweigh the potential risks of abuse.

Hamilton wrote that the President should have the authority to appoint officers in order to effectively carry out the responsibilities of his office. He believes that the power of appointment is a necessary and important function of the executive branch and helps to maintain the balance of power in the government. The Constitution ensures that the executive branch is accountable to the people and can fulfill its duties in an efficient and effective manner.

No. 77 *The Appointing Power Continued and Other Powers of the Executive Considered.*
From *The Independent Journal*. Wednesday, April 2, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 77 delves into the specific roles and responsibilities of the President, examining the reasons behind certain provisions in the Constitution and discussing the importance of a strong executive leader.

Hamilton asserts that the purpose of the President is to carry out the laws of the land, rather than to make them. He emphasizes the need for a single executive figure to enforce the laws and ensure the proper functioning of the government. This is essential for maintaining order and stability within the nation.

The powers granted to the President include the authority to grant reprieves and pardons, make treaties, and appoint ambassadors and other officials. Hamilton defends these powers as necessary for the effective operation of the government, stressing the importance of a capable and independent executive branch.

Hamilton also addresses concerns about the potential for abuse of power by the President, particularly in regards to the appointment of officials. He argues that the Constitution includes mechanisms to prevent such abuse, such as the requirement of Senate approval for appointments.

Hamilton examines the role of the President as Commander in Chief of the military. This power is essential for national defense and security, but he also emphasizes the need for congressional approval for the declaration of war. This ensures that the decision to go to war is not made by a single individual.

Hamilton addresses the issue of impeachment, describing it as a necessary safeguard against executive misconduct. He explains the grounds for impeachment as "high crimes and misdemeanors," which he interprets as encompassing a broad range of offenses that undermine the integrity of the government.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of a strong judiciary to interpret and uphold the laws. He argues that the separation of powers between the branches of government is crucial for ensuring the rule of law and preventing tyranny.

Hamilton concludes the essay by affirming his support for the Constitution's provisions regarding the powers of the President. He argues that a strong executive branch is essential for the functioning of the government, and that the checks and balances built into the system are sufficient to prevent abuse of power.

No. 78 *The Judiciary Department*
McLEAN'S Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 78 discusses the role of the judiciary in the new federal government and argues for the importance of an independent judiciary.

Hamilton argues that without a separate and independent judiciary, the rights of individuals would be at risk of being trampled by the legislative and executive branches of government. Hamilton believed that the judiciary should serve as a check on the power of the other branches and ensure that the Constitution is followed.

Hamilton describes the role of the federal courts in interpreting and applying the laws, as well as their power to declare laws unconstitutional. Hamilton emphasizes the importance of judicial review in ensuring that the government remains within the bounds of the Constitution and that the rights of individuals are protected.

One of the key points is the concept of judicial independence. He argues that judges must be free from political pressure and influence in order to make impartial and fair decisions. Hamilton believed that the judiciary should not be subject to the will of the majority or the other branches of government, but should instead be guided by the rule of law and the Constitution.

Hamilton also argues that judges should be appointed for life, or during good behavior, in order to insulate them from political pressure and ensure their independence. Hamilton believed that lifetime appointments would allow judges to make decisions based on the law and the Constitution, rather than on political considerations.

Hamilton argues that the judiciary should not have the power to make or enforce laws, but should instead act as a check on the other branches of government. Hamilton believed that the judiciary should interpret and apply the law, rather than create it, and that judges should exercise their authority with restraint and respect for the principles of the Constitution.

Hamilton's defense of judicial independence and the importance of an impartial and fair judiciary have been cited in numerous Supreme Court cases and legal scholarship.

Hamilton's defense of an independent judiciary and the importance of judicial review have had a lasting impact on the interpretation of the Constitution and the role of the judiciary in the federal government.

No. 79 *The Judiciary Continued*
McLEAN'S Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 79 discusses the subject of judicial power and its limitations under the proposed Constitution.

Hamilton emphasizes the importance of the separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. He argues that the judicial branch should have the power to interpret and apply the laws, but that this power must be carefully limited to prevent tyranny.

According to Hamilton, the judiciary is the least dangerous branch of government because it has neither the power of the purse nor the power of the sword. The judiciary relies on the executive branch to enforce its decisions and on the legislative branch to provide funding for the courts.

Hamilton also discusses the independence of the judiciary, arguing that judges should be appointed for life to insulate them from political pressures. He believes that this will allow judges to make decisions based on the law and the Constitution, rather than on popular opinion or political considerations.

Hamilton addresses the potential abuse of judicial power, acknowledging that judges may be subject to personal biases or prejudices. However, he argues that the checks and balances built into the Constitution, such as the power of impeachment and the requirement for Senate confirmation of judicial appointments, will prevent judicial tyranny.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of the federal judiciary in interpreting and enforcing the Constitution. He argues that the federal courts must have the final say on constitutionality, as state courts may be biased in favor of state laws or interests.

Hamilton defends the power of judicial review, arguing that the federal courts must have the authority to strike down unconstitutional laws passed by Congress or state legislatures. He believes that this power is necessary to protect the rights of individuals and to prevent the abuse of power by other branches of government.

Hamilton concludes by asserting that the federal judiciary will serve as a bulwark against tyranny and ensure the rule of law in the United States. He believes that an independent and impartial judiciary is essential to maintaining the separation of powers and protecting the rights of all citizens.

No. 80 *The Powers of the Judiciary*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 80 argues that the federal judiciary must have the power to decide disputes between states, between a state and a citizen of another state, and between citizens of different states.

Hamilton also discusses the importance of having a federal court system that is independent of the legislative and executive branches of government. Hamilton argues that a strong and independent judiciary is necessary to uphold the rule of law and protect the rights of individuals.

Hamilton outlines the need for a Supreme Court to serve as the highest authority on legal matters, as well as for lower federal courts to handle cases at the district and appellate levels. He believes that this hierarchical structure will ensure a fair and efficient administration of justice.

He argues that judges should be appointed for life, or for a term of good behavior, in order to insulate them from political pressure and ensure their independence. Lifetime appointment will allow judges to make decisions based on the law and the Constitution, rather than on popular opinion.

Hamilton argues that a uniform system of federal courts is essential to resolving conflicts between the states and ensuring that the Constitution is upheld. Hamilton believes that a strong federal judiciary is crucial to maintaining the balance of power between state and federal governments.

He argues that the federal courts must have the authority to interpret the Constitution and strike down laws that are not in accordance with its provisions. Hamilton believes that this power of judicial review is essential to preventing the abuse of power by the legislative and executive branches of government.

Hamilton also argues that the judiciary must serve as a check on the actions of the majority, and ensure that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are upheld for all citizens. Hamilton believes that a strong and independent judiciary is essential to safeguarding liberty and preventing tyranny.

Hamilton also discusses that a national judiciary is necessary to mediate conflicts between different jurisdictions and to promote consistency in legal rulings. Hamilton believes that a strong federal court system is essential to maintaining the unity and strength of the new nation.

No. 81 *The Judiciary Continued, and the Distribution of the Judicial Authority.*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788.
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 81 focuses on the power of the federal judiciary and the need for a strong system of checks and balances to ensure that it remains independent and impartial.

Hamilton begins by addressing the concerns that have been raised about the potential for the federal judiciary to become too powerful and undermine the authority of the other branches of government. He argues that the structure of the federal judiciary, as outlined in the Constitution, is designed to prevent this from happening by ensuring that judges are appointed for life and can only be removed through impeachment for misconduct.

Hamilton also emphasizes the importance of having a federal judiciary that is separate from the executive and legislative branches of government in order to maintain its independence and impartiality. He argues that this separation of powers is essential for ensuring that the rights of individuals are protected and that the government remains accountable to the people.

Hamilton also discusses the role of the federal judiciary in interpreting and enforcing the laws passed by Congress. He argues that the judiciary must have the authority to review the constitutionality of laws and strike down those that are inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution. This power, he asserts, is crucial for limiting the potential for government overreach and protecting the rights of citizens.

Hamilton also highlights the importance of having a system of checks and balances within the federal judiciary itself to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful. He explains that the Constitution provides for the establishment of lower courts that are subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, which serves as the final arbiter of legal disputes. This system, he argues, helps to ensure that no one judge or court can exert undue influence over the judicial process.

Hamilton addresses the issue of judicial review and the power of the federal courts to declare laws unconstitutional. He argues that this power is necessary to ensure that the government remains within the bounds of the Constitution and does not violate the rights of the people. However, he also cautions against the abuse of this power and stresses the importance of judicial restraint in interpreting the Constitution.

Hamilton argues for a system of checks and balances within the judiciary to ensure its independence and impartiality, and emphasizes the importance of judicial review in safeguarding the rights of citizens.

No. 82 *The Judiciary Continued.*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Papers No. 82 emphasizes the importance of judicial independence and the role of the judiciary in safeguarding the rule of law.

Hamilton addresses the Anti-Federalists' concerns about the potential abuse of power by the federal judiciary. He argues that the federal judiciary is essential for impartially interpreting and applying the laws enacted by the legislative branch. Without an independent judiciary, Hamilton contends, there would be a lack of accountability and the potential for tyranny.

Hamilton also defends the provision in the Constitution granting federal courts jurisdiction over cases involving disputes between states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between citizens of different states. He explains that these provisions are necessary to prevent conflicting interpretations of laws and ensure uniformity in the application of federal laws.

Hamilton emphasizes that the federal judiciary is limited in scope and can only exercise jurisdiction in cases explicitly defined by the Constitution.

Hamilton acknowledges that no system of government is perfect, but argues that the federal judiciary is designed to minimize the risk of abuse through mechanisms of accountability and oversight.

Hamilton argues that the federal judiciary should have the authority to review and overturn state court decisions that are in conflict with federal law. He contends that without this power, there would be a lack of consistency in the application of federal laws across different states.

He argues that the federal judiciary serves as a bulwark against the potential tyranny of the majority and ensures that the rights of all citizens are protected under the rule of law.

Hamilton argues that the federal judiciary must exercise restraint and only intervene in cases where the Constitution is being violated. He emphasizes the importance of judicial independence and impartiality in upholding the principles of the Constitution.

Hamilton reiterates the necessity of a strong and independent federal judiciary in safeguarding the rule of law and ensuring the proper functioning of the government. He argues that the federal judiciary plays a crucial role in interpreting and applying the laws of the land, protecting individual rights, and ensuring that the government operates within the bounds of the Constitution.

No. 83 *The Judiciary Continued in Relation to Trial by Jury*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 83 argues against the Anti-Federalist contention that the absence of a jury trial in civil cases poses a threat to individual liberties and rights.

Hamilton states that a jury trial is unnecessary and would be impractical in the federal court system due to the complexity and technical nature of many civil disputes. He asserts that a judge, who has expertise in the law, is better equipped to handle these cases efficiently and fairly. Hamilton also points out that the absence of a jury trial in civil cases is not a departure from the common law tradition, as some Anti-Federalists claim, but rather a practical necessity in the federal judiciary.

Hamilton argues that the right to a jury trial in criminal cases, as guaranteed by the Constitution, is sufficient protection for individual liberties and rights. He contends that civil cases do not involve the same level of jeopardy to personal freedom as criminal cases, and therefore do not require the same level of procedural protections. Hamilton also highlights the fact that the Constitution does not prohibit states from providing for jury trials in civil cases, so individual states are free to make their own decisions regarding this issue.

Hamilton argues that the federal judges, who are appointed for life and subject to impeachment for misconduct, are more likely to be impartial and fair in their rulings than local juries, who may be swayed by personal biases or prejudices.

Hamilton also explains that the Bill of Rights was intended to limit the powers of the federal government, not the states, and that the issue of jury trials in civil cases falls within the purview of the states.

Hamilton argues that the system of checks and balances established by the Constitution, including the separation of powers and the appointment of judges by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate, serves as a safeguard against judicial overreach. Hamilton asserts that the federal judiciary is subject to the same constitutional limitations and constraints as the other branches of government, and that there are mechanisms in place to hold judges accountable for their actions.

Hamilton also points out that the lack of jury trials in civil cases in the federal judiciary is not an anomaly, as many state courts also do not provide for jury trials in certain types of civil disputes.

Hamilton asserts that the exclusion of jury trials in civil cases in the federal judiciary is a practical and necessary measure to ensure the efficient administration of justice. He argues that judges are better equipped to handle complex and technical civil disputes than juries, and that the right to a jury trial in criminal cases provides sufficient protection for individual liberties and rights.

No. 84 *Certain General and Miscellaneous Objections to the Constitution Considered and Answered.*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 84 argues against the inclusion of a specific bill of rights in the Constitution, stating that it is unnecessary and could even be detrimental to the rights and liberties of the American people.

Hamilton argues that a bill of rights would be redundant and could potentially limit the rights of the people by implying that those not specifically listed are not protected. Hamilton also asserts that the Constitution itself serves as a bill of rights, as it outlines the powers and limits of the federal government, ensuring that the rights of the people are protected.

Hamilton notes that the Constitution already sets limits on the powers of the government and outlines the rights and freedoms of the people, making a bill of rights unnecessary. Hamilton suggests that adding a bill of rights could lead to confusion and conflict, as different interpretations of the document could arise, creating more problems than solutions.

Hamilton argues that the Constitution clearly outlines the limits of government power and protects the rights of the people. Hamilton points out that a bill of rights could actually weaken these protections by implying that only the rights listed are protected, leaving others vulnerable to infringement.

Hamilton also brings up the issue of precedent. He argues that once a bill of rights is included, future generations may feel obligated to amend it, potentially leading to erosion of the rights and freedoms of the people. Hamilton cautions against the dangers of establishing such a precedent, as it could undermine the stability and integrity of the system of government outlined in the Constitution.

Hamilton emphasizes the importance of maintaining the integrity and effectiveness of the Constitution as it stands. He argues that the document already provides adequate protection for the rights and freedoms of the people, and that adding a bill of rights would be unnecessary and potentially harmful. Hamilton urges his readers to carefully consider the implications of including a bill of rights in the Constitution, warning that it could have unintended consequences that undermine the principles on which the document is based.



No. 85 *Concluding Remarks*
McLEAN's Edition, New York. Wednesday, May 28, 1788
HAMILTON
To the People of the State of New York:

SYNOPSIS

Federalist Paper No. 85 begins by acknowledging the various objections raised against the Constitution and discusses the importance of addressing these concerns in order to secure its ratification. One of the main criticisms of the Constitution was the lack of a bill of rights, which many feared would leave the door open for the government to trample on individual freedoms. Hamilton argues that a bill of rights is unnecessary, as the powers granted to the federal government are clearly enumerated and limited in the Constitution itself.

Hamilton goes on to explain that the Constitution already contains provisions to protect individual rights, such as the separation of powers, the checks and balances between the branches of government, and the representation of the states in the Senate. He also points out that the proposed government is a government of limited and enumerated powers, and that any powers not expressly delegated to the federal government are reserved to the states or to the people.

Another major concern raised by the anti-federalists was the potential for the new government to become too powerful and oppressive. Hamilton counters this argument by emphasizing that the government established by the Constitution is a government of the people, where power is derived from the consent of the governed. He also highlights the importance of a strong central government in maintaining order and protecting the rights and liberties of the people.

In Federalist No. 85, Hamilton also addresses the issue of the supremacy of the federal government over the states. He argues that the federal government is the supreme law of the land, and that any laws or actions by the states that conflict with the Constitution are null and void. This principle of federal supremacy is necessary to prevent the country from descending into chaos and anarchy, and to ensure that the new government can effectively carry out its duties.

Hamilton concludes by urging the public to put aside their differences and come together in support of the Constitution. He warns that failure to ratify the Constitution would result in a continuation of the weak and ineffective government under the Articles of Confederation, which would only lead to further discord and turmoil. Hamilton expresses his hope that the people will see the wisdom and benefits of the new Constitution, and choose to create a stronger and more stable government for the future of the United States.

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