SWIFT'S USE OF MULTIPLE PERSONAE IN

A TALE OF A TUB

Ву

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There cannot be an adequate critical appraisal of A Tale of a Tub without considering the roles of the personae that deliver what is perhaps Swift's best piece of satire. Before one can set about commenting on what is said in the Tale, one must identify the speaker of the words and the meaning those words have when spoken by that particular persona. Much has been written about the particular abuses that Swift was attacking in his Tale, but it has been only recently that scholars have considered the importance of the role of the persona in relation to those abuses.

The controversy stirred up in its own day has caused George Sherburn to say of Swift's <u>Tale</u>: "His reputation in the first decade of the new century doubtless depends on <u>A Tale of a Tub</u>, which was a sensation if not altogether a success...." In a letter to William King, a street sweeper said in 1704, the year of the publication of the <u>Tale</u>:

I expected to have found something Witty at the End, but it was all of a piece; so stuffed with Curses, Oaths and Imprecations, that the most profligate Criminal in New-Prison would be ashamed to repeat it.²

^{1&}quot;Jonathan Swift", A Literary History of England, ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York, 1948), p. 860.

²William King, <u>Some Remarks on The Tale of a Tub</u> (London, 1704) p. 8.

The so-called nastiness or obscenity of the <u>Tale</u> has bothered many readers until our time. The religious allegory also bothered many people because they felt that it was irreligious. William Wotton, who was attacked in the book had this to say of the religious allegory:

But the rest of the Book...is so crude a Banter upon all that is esteemed as sacred among all Sects and Religious among men, that, having so fair an Opportunity, I thought it might be useful to many People who pretend they see no harm in it, to lay open the Mischief of the Ludicrous Allegory, and to shew what that drives at which has been so greedily brought up and read. In one Word, God and Religion, Truth and Moral Honesty, Learning and Industry are made a May-Game, and the most serious Things in the World are described as so many several Scenes in a Tale of a Tub.³

This statement is part of a preface to a set of notes that Wotton drew up to show the dangerous parts of the <u>Tale</u> and bring disfavor on the author.

Not all readers of the Tale felt that the religious allegory was irreligious. In a key to the Tale, printed for Edmond Curll in 1710, the reader was advised that the aim of the key was to "plainly demonstrate, that the true Intent and Aim of the Authors was not to ridicule all Religion, but to assert and defend the Purity of our Church's Doctrine..."

Those who saw the satire involved in the Tale realized that Swift was not attacking religion but the abuses in religion. Unfortunately for Swift, many people identified the "Author" of the Tale and his views with Swift, and it hurt his chances for advancement in the Church

³A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning in answer to Sir William Temple and others. With Observations upon the Tale of a Tub (London, 1705), p. 48.

⁴A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub. as published in Jonathan Swift, A Tale of a Tub, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1958), pp. 316-17.

of England.

Throughout the rest of the eighteenth and then through the nineteenth century the controversy raged over whether Swift was defending or attacking religion. Samuel Johnson said "...of this book charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of peculiar character, without ill intention; but it is certainly of dangerous example." Johnson recognized the genius displayed by the author of the Tale and because of that genius refused to believe that Swift wrote it.

Thackeray, not recognizing the <u>persona</u> involved in most of Swift's work called him an ogre. Showing a misunderstanding of Swift's intentions and his art, he calls Swift "Dean Drapier Bickerstaff Gulliver." He says that "The Queen, and the bishops, and the world, were right in mistrusting the religion of that man." Thackeray's condemnations set the study of Swift back many years because it was felt that a man of Thackeray's repute could not be that wrong, and besides Swift was hard to understand. The most damaging, and most remembered criticism of Swift by Thackeray was of the Fourth Voyage in <u>Gulliver's Travels</u>, but the effect carried over into all Swift criticism for quite a while.

It is Yahoo language; a monster gibbering shriek, and gnashing imprecations against mankind, -- tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in word, filthy in thought, furious, raging, obscene.⁸

Although he was not as passionate in his declamation, James Russell

⁵Lives of the English Poets (London, 1906), II, 189.

⁶The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century: A Series of Lectures (New York, 1853), p. 38.

⁷Ibid., p. 28.

⁸Ibid., p. 37.

Lowell, in a review of Forester's <u>Life of Swift</u>, said that "Revengefulness is the great and hateful blot on his character..." He thought of Swift as a brooding and morbid genius who turned on friend and foe alike, and whose "most playful scratch had poison in it." Lowell did, however, feel the humanity and genius of Swift as the following passage will show.

Swift's diseased eye had the microscopic quality of Gulliver's in Brobdingnag, and it was the loathsome obscenity which this revealed in the skin of things that tainted his imagination when it ventured on what was beneath. But with all Swift's scornful humor, he never made the pitiful mistake of his shallow friend Gay that life was a jest. To his nobler temper it was always profoundly tragic, and the salt of his sarcasm was more often, we suspect, than with most humorists, distilled out of tears. 10

Coleridge, somewhat earlier, had noted that what others had been calling misanthropy was "a false misanthropy grounded upon an exclusive contemplation of the vices and follies of mankind." The "obtrusion of physical dirt and coarseness" helped falsify the misanthropic tone. 11

As men became more aware of the satire of the <u>Tale</u>, they also became aware of the genius of Swift; not a misanthropic genius, but a genuinely human one. One of the first major critics to comment on this genius was William Hazlitt. He was much more sympathetic to Swift than were earlier critics, and he seemed to sense the correctness of the so-called obscenity. He found it hard to fathom that the same work that kept Swift from getting a bishopric was later thought to be too brilliant, by Johnson,

⁹The Nation (April 13, 1876), XXII, 249.

¹⁰Ibid., (April 20, 1876), XXII, 265.

¹¹The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Professor Shedd (New York, 1858), IV, 280.

to have come from Swift's pen. 12

The ludicrous in Swift arises out of his keen sense of impropriety, his soreness and impatience of the least absurdity. He separates, with a severe and caustic air, truth from falsehood, folly from wisdom...and it is the force, the precision, and the honest abruptness with which the separation is made, that excites our surprise, our admiration, and our laughter. 13

The genius of Swift that had been recognized by Hazlitt was granted further recognition at the end of the nineteenth century by James Hay in his biography of Swift. Hay, although not a scholar or critic of any note, had the critical insight to recognize that the <u>Tale</u> was a good piece of literature. "The <u>Tale of a Tub</u> for a century and a half has been lustily censured and rapturously applauded, and shall continue to be so until the end of time." Hay, marking the cleverness of Swift's satire and the timelessness of thought expressed in it, said that "as a work of genius, no praise can be too high for it. It is doubtless the greatest prose satire in any language."

In the early part of the twentieth century much of the criticism of Swift and the <u>Tale</u> still centered around Swift's ability to disgust and destroy. The author of the <u>Tale</u> was still being thought of as Swift rather than as a <u>persona</u>, and the unifying principle of the <u>Tale</u> was being sought. In 1934, F. R. Leavis commented that "In his use of negative materials -- negative emotions and attitudes -- there is some-

^{12&}quot;On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, Etc.," <u>Lectures on the English</u>
Poets (London, 1818), I quote from The Complete Works of William
Hazlitt in Twenty One Volumes, ed. P. P. Howe (London, 1930), V, 110.

¹³ Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁴ Swift: The Mystery of His Life and Love (London, 1891), p. 47.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 45.

thing that it is difficult not to call creative, though the aim is always destructive." Leavis recognized the fact that Swift used a <u>persona</u> in the <u>Tale</u>, but when he spoke of the negativeness of the piece, he seemed to be speaking of Swift rather than of the <u>persona</u>. This caused him to say that

He was, in various ways, curiously unaware -- the reverse of clairvoyant. He is distinguished by the intensity of his feelings, not by insight into them, and he certainly does not impress us as a mind in possession of its experience. 17

"Only Swift makes us retch at the irrational." This thought is from Ricardo Quintana's excellent biography The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift. 18 One can consider this book to be one of the stepping stones scholars have used to go from the old frame of reference in regard to Swift to the new one that considers not the nastiness but the purpose behind it. The controversy continues over the misanthropy, obscenity, and madness of Swift, but the proponents of the theory that he was a demented, nasty old man are rapidly giving way before the preponderance of evidence against their theory. One no longer finds competent critics making statements like the following one made by W. D. Taylor in 1933:

He scribbles his nastiness over all the magnificent enthusiasms and fine endeavours of mankind. No wonder that many people still look at the book with aversion. 19

In the late 1940's scholars started examining the devices used by Swift to achieve his satire in the Tale and came up with some very

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^{16&}quot;The Irony of Swift," Scrutiny, II (1934), 370.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 378.

¹⁸New York, 1936, p. 83.

¹⁹ Jonathan Swift: A Critical Essay (London, 1933), p. 46.

interesting studies. There were two definite threads of satire noticed: one on religion and one on learning. The use of rhetorical devices here-tofore unnoticed were announced as present in the <u>Tale</u>, and a study of the "Author" of the <u>Tale</u> was started by many. All of these areas seemed to produce fruit, and the genius of Swift seemed beyond question. Tuveson best sums up the twentieth century situation in the introduction to his collection of essays on Swift.

Thus if the critical opinion of Swift was to change, there would have to be change on two fronts: there would have to be constructed a new "image" of the author himself and of his work, and there would have to be a reconstruction of his age as it really was, in its politics, ideas and literature. The twentieth century, especially since the First World War, has in considerable measure accomplished both these feats, although it would be an exaggeration to say that all the mists have now been dissipated; but at least we are in all probability closer to Swift's ultimate meanings than any generation before. 20

Herbert Davis, looking back on two and one-half centuries of confusion, cautions us to be careful in our study of the Tale.

But no one can go far into the study of Swift's work without discovering that he needs to be read with care; and we may remember that he found it necessary to write an Apology for his Tale of a Tub five years after it was first published in order to warn his readers not to forget that the "Author" had been indulging in parody and irony.²¹

Davis states that he feels that the "real object of Swift's satire in the <u>Tale</u> is the corruption he saw in English letters."²²

Martin Price, Harold D. Kelling, and Charles Allen Beaumont have all studied the Tale from the idea proposed by Davis that the rhetorical

²⁰ Swift: A Collection of Critical Essays ed. Ernest Tuveson (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), p. 2.

York, 1964), p. 5. Essays on His Satire and Other Studies (New

²² The Satire of Jonathan Swift (New York, 1947), p. 17.

errors of seventeenth century authors caused Swift to write the Tale.²³

These works generally show that Swift used good rhetoric in the Tale to ridicule the poor rhetoric then being written by the Grubstreet hacks.

These studies helped to unify the apparent chaos of the Tale in the minds of other scholars who proceeded along different modes of wit. The fact that there really was a unity in the piece caused others to look for more unifying principles.

The allegorical tale of Peter, Martin, and Jack is an obvious satire on religion, and many scholars looked for unity provided by this theme. Bernard Acworth found a unity provided by the religious satire and also found a reason for the Tale. "It was his aim to make Humanity feel, not uplifted, but downcast -- the first and essential step in a true pilgrim's progress." Miriam Kosh Starkman also found Swift's moral purpose as a unifying principle in the Tale. "Much of the 'savage indignation' in A Tale of a Tub is the exasperation of the militant moralist at the serene imperturbability of the happy sinner." Although her study was directed primarily to the satire on learning in the Tale, Mrs. Starkman found much to recommend Swift's religious attitude as the basis for the whole of the Tale. "Swift was a satirist because he was so earnest a Christian, he was a pessimist." Philip Harth studied the religious background of the

²³ Swift's Rhetorical Art: A Study in Structure and Meaning (New Haven, 1953). "Reason in Madness: A Tale of a Tub," PMLA, LXIX (1954), 198-222. Swift's Classical Rhetoric (Athens, Ga., 1961).

²⁴Swift (London, 1947), p. xix.

²⁵ Swift's Satire on Learning in A Tale of a Tub (Princeton, 1950), p. 44.

²⁶Ibid., p. 23.

Tale and came up with a slightly different concept from that of Mrs.

Starkman's. He felt that there were two separate satires linked together only mechanically. The addition of the pulpit to the three oratorical machines linked the two threads of satire together, and Harth felt, this, was the only point of tangency.²⁷

In 1951 Robert C. Elliott published an article in which he claimed that the unity of the apparent jumble of the <u>Tale</u> was to be found in the <u>persona</u> who speaks throughout the piece. 28 Elliott's article seems to have since noted that all of the various threads of satire eventually lead back to the "Author." The problem of seeking unity through the "Author" was that he seemed to be himself at one time and Swift at another. William Bragg Ewald, Jr. felt that the <u>persona</u> was meant to represent many people and therefore was somewhat inconsistent. 29 Ronald Paulson also felt the inconsistency in the "Author," but attributed it to the momentary exploitation by the <u>persona</u> of his handiwork. 30 Henry W. Sams stated that the <u>persona</u> was used only to establish an initial relationship with the reader and then was incidental to the <u>Tale</u>. Sams' point was that the satire was based on the reader being taken in by Swift's rhetoric and becoming the butt of the satire by his own foolish identification with an untenable position. 31 Ricardo Quintana in his

Tale of a Tub (Chicago, 1961), p. 9.

The Religious Background of A

²⁸"Problems of Structure in <u>Tale of a Tub,</u>" PMLA, LXVI, (1951), 441-55.

²⁹The Masks of Jonathan Swift (Oxford, 1954), pp. 22-3.

P. 29. Structure in Swift's Tale of a Tub (New Haven, 1960),

^{31&}quot;Swift's Satire of the Second Person," ELH, XXVI (1959), 36-44.

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excellent work, <u>Swift:</u> <u>An Introduction</u>, recognized not one <u>persona</u> in the body of the <u>Tale</u> but three. He felt that there was one <u>persona</u> telling the <u>Tale</u> proper, one telling the digressions, and one standing in the background who makes the statements sometimes attributed to Swift's dislike of mankind. 32

Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr. sets up a spectrum of satire ranging from the punitive to the persuasive and claims that Swift has his "Author" range up and down this spectrum. The persona, however varied the response he may elicit, never entirely ceases to be a persona and hence a fiction. This viewpoint then allows for some changeability in the "Author" without inconsistency.

Between the extreme of the uniquely destructive parodic role and the minimally-disguised service as Swift's alter ego lie the countless permutations in which the persona can combine shrewdness and stupidity, logic and fancy, fact and falsehood in ever differing proportions. 35

This then, seems to be the most logical and tenable position to take concerning the "Author" of the <u>Tale</u>. To allow inconsistancies in the "Author" would be to subject the reader to a state of confusion that would not allow him to correctly interpret Swift's meaning. If one knows that it is never Swift speaking and always the <u>persona</u>, correct judgments can be made on the objects of the satire.

The purpose of this study is to isolate the character of not only the "Author" persona, but also to study the "Bookseller" and the author

³²London, 1955, pp. 53-55.

³³ Swift and the Satirist's Art (Chicago, 1963), pp. 17-19.

³⁴Ibid., p. 145.

³⁵Ibid., p. 152.

of the "Apology." It must be through the identification of these personae that the ultimate meaning of the Tale will come.

In Chapter II I will deal with the character of the Bookseller and the relationship he has with the rest of the <u>Tale</u>. A comprehensive study of his character and of his work will shed more light on the intentions of Swift in the piece and on the character who is the "Author." Chapter III will deal with the "Author," and through a careful delineation of his character, eventually the meaning of the satire in the Tale.

The Bookseller and the "Author" have been recognized by most recent scholars as personae, but little attention has been paid to the author of the "Apology." Is the "Apology" a work of Swift's, in his own voice, with no satiric intent to it; a studied attempt to explain the Tale, or is it another instrument of satire seized upon by Swift? It will be shown that the "Apology" is another piece of satire that provides both a "key" and a norm for the rest of the work. It will be demonstrated in Chapter IV that the "Apology" was added because circumstances both allowed and dictated that it be added, just as the Partridge-Bickerstaff papers were enlarged by circumstances.

Chapter V will be a putting together of the three personae of the Tale into a framework that will square with the known facts about Swift's life and works. It will attempt to show that the abuses of reason and self-love are the ultimate targets for Swift's satire. Although religion, learning, and enthusiasm are mentioned by name, they are only mentioned when extremes of irrationality or self-love are involved.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOKSELLER

Ricardo Quintana stated in <u>Swift</u>: <u>An Introduction</u> that "the <u>Tale</u> is probably too ingenious, and its repeated failure -- in Swift's own day and ever since -- to exhibit its true satiric intentions immediately and unmistakably can in large part be attributed to its excessive cleverness of invention." I would have to agree with this statement except that one important aspect of the <u>Tale</u> has been almost completely overlooked by readers of the piece since it was first published. There has been no real thought given to the function of the Bookseller in the over-all scheme of the <u>Tale</u>. He is usually given a cursory inspection, and then the reviewer goes on to the more "nasty and obscene" sections written by the "Author."

Since <u>The Battel</u> was published in the same volume with the <u>Tale</u>, the decline in English letters has been given as a probable object of the satire in the <u>Tale</u>. Herbert Davis states a common position taken by many scholars when he says "the real object of Swift's satire in the <u>Tale</u> is the corruption he saw in English letters during the latter half of the seventeenth century, destroying...its finest achievements." The battle between the ancients and the moderns had cooled considerably, but the

¹p. 59.

²The Satire of Jonathan Swift, p. 17.

subject was still open for debate as evinced by the feud between Sir William Temple and William Wotton a few years before the turn of the century. Swift was in sympathy with the ancients and this controversy very easily could have provided the germ of the Tale.

In his essay "Ancient and Modern Learning," Sir William Temple ridiculed the Modern analogy of the latest generation of writers and thinkers being dwarfs on the shoulders of the ancient giant, and who, by
their altitude, could see so much more than the giant.

Let it come about how it will, if we are dwarfs, we are still so though we stand upon a giant's shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally shorter sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from weakness either of heart or brain.³

This is essentially the position that Swift maintained and he set out to prove his point by writing A Tale of a Tub.

It does not seem to be a reasonable assumption, in view of the many human foibles covered in the <u>Tale</u>, that <u>only</u> the Ancient and Modern controversy spurred Swift on to write the <u>Tale</u>, but it will provide a convenient starting point from which to consider the Bookseller.

The Bookseller is in many respects the most important <u>persona</u> in the <u>Tale</u> because he sets the stage, one might say, on which the "Author" is to perform. By his sometimes innocent and sometimes knowing remarks he describes the state of English letters in a very few pages. He readies the reader for the modern writer who will attempt to dazzle us with his knowledge and his wisdom.

He performs perhaps a more important service in that he hints to

³Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple, ed. Samuel Holt Monk (Ann Arbor, 1963), p. 51.

the reader that what follows will be ironical. It is necessary that the reader be ready for the irony before it takes place, or part of it will be entirely missed. Martin Price has said

The ironist must also make clear that he is ironic. He must be recognizable but inacceptable; we must know that he is only pretending. We must not only recognize the mask, we must also recognize that it is a mask.

He goes on further to say

In order to be read at all, irony must be read critically; the reader must supply the good sense that the speaker lacks and that the reader himself too often failed to exercise.⁵

This is the task set before the Bookseller. He must make the reader aware that what follows is to be ironic; that judgments will have to be made; that good sense will be the order of the day.

The "Dedication" to Lord Sommers is the first view the reader has of the state of literature in England in 1704, and the view is not one that would inspire a young writer. The Bookseller states that the Author has written a Dedication, but it is not likely that the Prince it is written to and the Bookseller will ever be known to each other. This Prince, who turns out to be posterity, is not highly regarded by the "present Writers," and so the Bookseller just dismisses him and pens his own dedication. As soon as the reader has turned back to the "Dedication to Prince Posterity" to see who this lightly regarded prince is, he is immediately aware that what follows will be ironic and he must be careful to supply correct interpretations.

The Bookseller's "Dedication" is to an actual person and can be

⁴Swift's Rhetorical Art, p. 63.

⁵Ibid., p. 66.

considered as somewhat straight forward in its intent and meaning. The "Author's" "Epistle Dedicatory, to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity" is obviously an allegory addressed to future generations. Since both of these dedications are in the same piece the reader is aware that one of the two dedications is wrong in its estimate of the value of the Tale. The opening lines of the "Author's" dedication is presented in such a boastful tone with such insincerity that the reader is sure that the Bookseller has the most correct estimate.

I Here present Your Highness with the Fruits of a very few leisure Hours, stollen from the short Intervals of a World of Business, and of an Employment quite alien from such Amusements as this: The poor Production of the Refuse of Time which has lain heavy upon my Hands, during a long Prorogation of Parliament, a great Dearth of Forein News, and a tedious Fit of rainy Weather....6

The difference of opinion between the "Author" and the Bookseller, the tone of the "Epistle Dedicatory," and the comment by the Bookseller that the Prince is "not at all regarded, or thought on by any of our present Writers," cause the reader to suspect that he should take the "Author's" remarks with a "grain of Salt."

The reader is aware of the irony to follow, he has been advised of the Bookseller's thoughts about the present crop of writers, and by implication, is aware that the Bookseller is a shrew businessman. He says that "I do not fear the Sale of the Book...Your Lordship's Name on the Front, in Capital Letters, will at any time get off one Edition." The

⁶Jonathan Swift, A <u>Tale of a Tub</u>, <u>To which is added The Battle of the Books and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nicol Smith (Oxford, 1958), p. 30. Hereinafter cited as <u>Tale</u>.</u>

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

flattery of Lord Sommers and the mock humility displayed by the Bookseller in the first paragraph of the "Dedication" mark him as a practical man and also reflect upon the reason some authors pen an elaborate dedication to a person of high station, i.e., "Help, to grow an Alderman." The reader should reflect at this point on the object of the "Dedication," written by the "Author." It was written to posterity, with the hope, possibly, that the flattery would make up for obvious deficiencies in the quality of the text.

What then follows is an elaborate description of the Bookseller's search for a proper list of virtues that will adequately favor Lord Sommers. This search very cleverly brings out the actual noble quality of Lord Sommers, but more important to the Tale, it brings out the ignoble qualities of the Grubstreet hacks. When one considers that later in the Tale the "Author" is proud of his membership in this group of hacks, he must realize that the Bookseller is giving him a working description of the "Author." Swift here satisfies Price's demand that "The ironist must also make clear that he is ironic." He is giving a very unflattering view of the very author who has written the piece we are about to read.

The Bookseller says that as a "Dedicator" he should give a "List of your own Virtues, and at the same time, be very unwilling to offend your Modesty...."

This sounds as though dedications must be very flattering, even to the point of being untrue. The reason for this flattery is then brought out. "I should celebrate your Liberality towards Men of

⁸Ibid.

⁹Swift's Rhetorical Art, p. 63.

¹⁰Tale, p. 23.

great Parts and small Fortunes, and give you broad Hints, that I mean myself." The flattery is only for the reward of the writer, not the love or admiration of the writer for the person being praised. One must keep in mind that the Bookseller is not making up his procedure, but is following the usual procedure of the hacks who work for him. The usual method of preparing a list of noble qualities is not by knowing the person to be flattered but to "peruse a hundred or two of Dedications, and transcribe an Abstract, to be applied to your Lordship...."

These comments on the usual practices of the Grubstreet hacks tell the perceptive reader much about the sincerity, talent, and imagination of the Bookseller's clients. Self-worship and an eye for an advancement by way of an "Abstract" applied as a Dedication, seem to characterize the brotherhood.

The important idea of the pride of the Grubstreet hacks is also introduced at this time by the Bookseller. In his search for the "Worthiest" person to whom to dedicate the <u>Tale</u>, the Bookseller discovers that each and every poet and hack thinks that he is the most worthy person in all of England. The Bookseller exhibits some pride also, but he is just human, and pride, or self-love, is a very real characteristic of humanity. The hacks, on the other hand, exhibit an overabundance of pride and this, as will be shown later, is the core of Swift's attack on Modernity.

When the Bookseller asked his writers to translate the Latin <u>DETUR</u>

<u>DIGNISSIMO</u>, they could not do it although they were frequently employed

by the Bookseller to translate out of Latin. This, of course, comments

on the honesty of the hacks, but even more to the point of Swift's

¹¹ Ibid.

satire, it points up their inadequacy in the classics. This took the dwarf off of the shoulders of the giant and put him on the same ground level. This is exactly where Swift wanted him, because he hoped to show how ignorant modern man was in his pride. The Bookseller asked his writers to pen a panegyrick on Lord Sommers because he was not used to writing such dedications, and they ransacked "Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato, Tully, Atticus, and other hard Names." The list given him by the hacks is deficient and the man suspects he has been cheated. The reader knows that he has been cheated because the hacks have already demonstrated their skill in Latin, and he can imagine what it is in Greek. Sir William Temple had commented on the possibility of the Dwarf being short sighted and weak in either heart or brain, and the Bookseller has proved all of that as well as dismounting the tiny creature.

The foregoing argument is only as good as the veracity of the Bookseller. We have noted that he is aware of all the stock methods of writing deceptively, but the man does not take advantage of these dishonest practices. We have also noted his shrewdness and practicality, and by implication his ignorance, because he cannot translate Latin, and furthermore, that he is uneducated because he is not familiar with the "other hard Names." He is, however, honest because he readily admits that he is ignorant in these areas. There is a basic common sense that pervades the judgments made by the Bookseller that recommends him to us as a person worth trusting. He follows the maxim about giving the title of first to the one everybody admits is second, 13 he realizes that the hacks are

^{12&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 24.</sub>

^{13&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

not publishing for the future generations, 14 and he follows the wise men's advice on the subject of dedications. 15

Swift has given the reader all of this information about the Bookseller and the "Author" in the "Dedication," and then lets the Bookseller speak directly to the reader in "The Bookseller to the Reader." The reader should have already made up his mind as to the veracity of the Bookseller and the quality of his judgments. The remarks he makes to the reader now are from one normal human being to another. The reader may like to think that he is a little more intelligent than the Bookseller, but Swift will remedy that situation if it occurs. Of the Bookseller Paulson says:

Standing at the portal of the <u>Tale</u>, he is the single point of undisputed reality, a fact to take hold of. He is the plain, blunt businessman who knows that "the Fruits of a very few leisure Hours" is a laborious piece of hack writing and "a world of Business" is the producing of more such "Fruits." 16

There seem to be two main purposes to the Bookseller's short address to the reader. A few more comments are made as to the quality of the piece to follow and of the dishonesty being practiced in the profession of letters. The Bookseller is worried that a pirated edition of the <u>Tale</u> may be printed, so he is hurrying to publish his copy, with all of its defects. The reader is warned that the Bookseller does not know if the "Author" has placed his "last Hand" on the work. The second purpose, I am going to call it a purpose, was to advertise for a Key to the <u>Tale</u>.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶Theme and Structure, p. 166.

Wotton and Bentley had answered Temple's essays several years earlier, and Swift was a good enough judge of human nature to suspect that they would answer his charges against them. The pride of the Moderns in their reason caused Swift to write the Tale and it appears he was counting on this weakness to draw them into another argument. The Key that Wotton provided to the Tale bears out this theory, and Swift's, and will be discussed in Chapter IV.

The Bookseller has provided the reader with a satiric norm of his own character, and has also provided an excellent character description of the "Author" of the <u>Tale</u>. The reader knows both the intellectual and moral qualities of the hack and can be ready to enjoy the irony and satire that Swift is about to display before him. Quintana speaks of a satire as a complete world in itself.

This special world is a most complex structure, having a logic of its own which governs feeling and speech. It is at once a way of looking at things, a way of feeling, and a way of speaking. 17

This is what the Bookseller has opened up to us. He is our contact with normality and our basis for judgment. He is not a man to be admired necessarily, but then he is not to be looked down upon either. He is a satiric norm and our entry into the world of the Grubstreet hack.

^{17&}quot;Situation as Satirical Method," <u>University of Toronto Quarterly</u>, XVII (1948), 131-33.

CHAPTER III

THE GRUBSTREET HACK

The role of the "Author" of the <u>Tale</u> has caused most of the controversy during the past two and one-half centuries over the meaning of the <u>Tale</u>. More often than not Swift was identified with the "Author" and his ideas, to the detriment of both Swift and the meaning of the <u>Tale</u>. The areas of satire have long been identified, but the particular meanings have been somewhat unclear. If Swift is speaking his own thoughts, the satire is irreverent and irreligious. If Swift at times appears in the work to lash out at some abuses, when is he Swift and when <u>persona?</u>
W. D. Taylor, for instance, states that Swift actually wrote against Christianity and the Church of England in the <u>Tale</u>. He felt that the <u>Tale</u> is nasty, vile, and obscene. This position is extreme for a modern critic, but it was not so very extreme one or two centuries ago.

The "Author" has generally been accepted today as a <u>persona</u> created by Swift to drastically present the abuses which Swift wished to satirize. There has been, however, much misunderstanding of the character of the <u>persona</u> by critics because each has had a theory to prove and has had to bend the <u>persona</u> to fit that theory. Harth for example in trying to show the religious background of the <u>Tale</u> says

Jonathan Swift, pp. 48-57.

²Ibid., p. 59.

In the absence of this impersonation, we are certainly justified in regarding the "Speaker" in the sections concerned with abuses in religion as Swift himself, sometimes adopting the irony of pretended impartiality, at other times employing inverted irony of pretended praise, but at no time assuming the identity of another person.³

This agrees with the theory that Swift's mask slips at points in the satire and he comes forward to rail at abuses. 4 David P. French sums up this point of view when he comments

Actually the Dean of St Patricks was not Henry James, and he felt no compunctions about switching suddenly from omniscient author to biassed bystander; while the monk in Browning's Spanish Cloister is dependable in his falsifications of reality, the speakers of \underline{A} Tale of \underline{a} Tub are not.

Rhetoric and madness have also been the central point of various literary theories concerning the <u>Tale</u>, and have distorted the image of the <u>persona</u> so that the theory would work. Martin Price has built his case around the rhetorical examples found in the <u>Tale</u> and has had to account for the places where the mask does not fit the theory.

It is important to see these masks in their fictional integrity first of all. Swift may not be consistent in maintaining them; they become at moments transparencies through which his irony shines in full intensity, but much of the nonsense that has been written about Swift's works derives from a failure to observe the character of their spokesmen.⁶

It would appear that Price has fallen into the very error he has cautioned against. He has failed to observe the character of the spokesman of the Tale. Ricardo Quintana has also noted an apparent slipping of the

³Swift and Anglican Rationalism, p. 6.

⁴Elliott, p. 448. Leavis, p. 373.

^{5&}quot;Swift, Temple, and 'A Digression on Madness,'" <u>Texas Studies in Literature</u> and Language, V (1963), 42-57.

⁶To The Palace of Wisdom: Studies in Order and Energy from Dryden to Blake (Garden City, 1964), p. 196.

mask, but he does not feel that Swift comes forward to speak. He feels that there are three personae narrating the piece; one who tells the religious allegory; one who speaks in the digressions; and one who remains in the background most of the time, and who comes forward only to speak for Swift, but who is not actually Swift.

Ewald, in his study of Swift's <u>personae</u> comments on the places where other scholars have felt inconsistencies in the characterization. "Such 'defences' as these do not indicate that Swift has abandoned his <u>persona</u>. The author is defending his modern brotherhood in the manner appropriate to him." Paulson feels that there is a touch of madness in the "Author" that accounts for the unusual statements made by him. He compares the Hack to Quixote:

The main difference between the Hack and Quixote is between the Hack's self-confidence and Quixote's dignity. The latter shines through Quixote's madness, while the Hack's materialistic background shines through his. In the Tale madness has reached the level of language..."

Philip Pinkus also sums up the unity of the <u>persona</u> with a statement about his madness but adds one very important qualification. He notes that the listing of the works of the <u>persona</u> gives a selective description of the character of the "Author." This is a move in the right direction because it looks at the internal evidence for the character of the hack rather than trying to fit him to an outside theory. It has

⁷Swift: An Introduction, pp. 53-55.

⁸The Masks of Jonathan Swift, p. 29.

⁹Theme and Structure, p. 84.

¹⁰ The Upside-Down World of A Tale of a Tub," English Studies, XLIV (1963), 162.

already been noted in Chapter II that the Bookseller has given us a fairly complete description of the "Author," and now we shall look at the view that he gives us of himself.

The curious reader has probably looked to the "Epistle Dedicatory, to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity" when it was mentioned by the Bookseller in the beginning of his "Dedication" to Lord Sommers. It should be apparent that the piece is written as an allegory with Time and Future Generations as the main two characters. There are two main hints as to the character of the "Author" given to us by this fact. In the first place the "Author" must think rather highly of himself and his abilities if he is addressing the work to posterity. Secondly, the persona has a faculty for making allegories, and we should not be too surprised later when the allegory of the three brothers appears. The Bookseller has forewarned us of the pride of the hacks and poets, and the boastful "Dedication" to Prince Posterity is no surprise.

The opening lines of the "Dedication" which claim that the Tale is just the "Fruits of a very few leisure Hours" help place the "Author" in the brotherhood of modern writers. These lines would have been very obvious to anyone in Swift's day because they were such a stock convention. The title of the first Treatise mentioned on the back of the title page is "A Character of the present Set of Wits in this Island." The opening of the "Dedication" labels the "Author" as one of the "present Set of Wits." The "present set of Wits" which the "Author" belonged to was the set who really had no novel ideas or original thoughts but used an ornate style to hide their lack of invention. Swift, as an exponent of classical rhetoric, would have been opposed to the modern false wit or faulty rhetoric and thus makes his persona one of these "Wits." The very

shallowness of this wit causes the <u>persona</u> to come to some pretty illogical conclusions later in the digressions.

As the allegory moves into the "Virtues" of Posterity and the personification of Time as the governing agent who will dictate what Posterity will read, there is a curious mixture of Truth and unrecognized satire. Posterity is decreed as the "sole Arbiter of the Productions of human Wit, in this polite and accomplished Age": Time is shown to be the "Person" to whom the education of Posterity is committed: Yet when the "Author" claims that Time will persuade "Your Highness, that our Age is almost wholly illiterate, and has hardly produc'd one Writer upon any Subject," he does not realize he has proved the worthlessness of the literature of his day. He is dealing in a pretty conceit and does not seem to care what the conclusion of the argument he has set up is. This is an example of the poor rhetoric which Swift was satirizing in the Tale. Pride in his ability as a maker of allegory has so blinded the "Author" that he cannot see the folly of the position he has adopted. The reader has been warned of this overweening pride by the Bookseller and should be able to relate the "Author's" remarks in the "Dedication" to the Bookseller's in his "Dedication."

As the "Author" continues his cry against the judgment of Time he claims that the reduction of the authors of his age to a "Number so insignificant as I am asham'd to mention." He describes his anger in terms that an eighteenth century audience would be sure to mark. He says "it moves my Zeal and my spleen." The term Zeal would immediately bring

¹¹ Tale, p. 31.

^{12&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

to mind the many jests and coarse satires against the Puritans and other dissenting sects, and the word <u>spleen</u> would help to describe the possible madness or passionate temper of the <u>persona</u>. If the reader has followed the cue of the Bookseller, he has been looking for the marks of the satire in the work of the "Author" and is aware of the damning delineation of character being presented to him.

"Tis not unlikely, that when Your Highness will one day peruse what I am now writing," 13 once more shows the unfounded pride that the "Author" has in his own abilities. He is sure, in the face of evidence to the contrary, that his production will live on into the future. He has been telling that the writings of the present day are no more to be found, and yet he is sure that his will be present for Posterity. His pride in his fellow hacks and their works is brought to light as he asks where the numerous publications of the brotherhood have gone. He creates an analogy or metaphorical conceit comparing Time to an ocean. In his joy at having constructed such an ingenious device, he completely overlooks the fact that when he claims the works "were light enough to swim upon the Surface for all Eternity," he has made a condemning judgment upon their merit. In his rage over the loss of the works of the modern writers to Time, he exhibits both his "Zeal" and his "Spleen." His questions about where the works have gone, and his description of Time, with his long hard nails and teeth, show that the "Author" has a better than average intellect but he does not know how to use or control it. 14

It is an essential characteristic of the "Author" that he cannot

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 32.

recognize paradox. It has been shown above that when the analogies created by the "Author" act to the detriment of his cause, he cannot understand that he has defeated his own purpose. Because of the zeal and enthusiasm with which he constructs his analogies and conceits, the damnation of the Modern cause becomes intense. The "Tyranny and Destruction" of Time are described in heart rending terms by the persona as he compares the works so destroyed to babes "barbarously destroyed, before they have so much as learnt their Mother-Tongue to beg for Pity,"15 The idea that he has convicted his brotherhood of not knowing their Mother-Tongue never even crosses his mind. His "Zeal" has blinded his reason, and his pride has caused him not to recognize fact. This sounds very much like Sir William Temple's description of the modern dwarf who is "dazzled with the height...from weakness either of heart or brain."16 It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the influence of Temple on Swift, but there is at least a common analogy in their treatment of this theme.

The "Dedication" thus far has dealt only with general terms and has not gotten down to specific writers and poets. Swift first had to establish the character of the hack so there would be no doubt in the reader's mind as to which class of writers he belonged to. The Bookseller described the class of hack writers and the "Author" identified himself as one of the group. Swift cannot let the prime offenders in the abuse of pride, zeal, and irrationality escape unharmed, so he has the hack construct a list of poets and writers who are identified as members of

¹⁵Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁶Essays, p. 51.

the same class of hack writers. Dryden, Tate, Durfey, Rymer, Dennis, Bentley, and one William Wotton, B. D. are listed as the finest Wits in the Island. This identification, of course, puts these men in the class of scribblers who lived in the garrets on Grubstreet. Swift is here dealing with what the "Ancients" considered the sad state of English letters at the end of the seventeenth century.

As the "Author" finishes his "Dedication," he gives the reader one final expression of his pride and his excess zeal for knowledge. He tells Prince Posterity that he intends to write a "Character of the present Set of Wits in our Nation: Their Persons I shall describe particularly, and at length, their Genius and Understandings in Mignature." He then presents the Prince with a "faithful Abstract drawn from the Universal Body of all Arts and Sciences." It is obvious that the "Author" considers himself as one of the Wits in the nation, and he considers himself qualified to write a treatise on "all Arts and Sciences." By speaking of describing persons at length and intellectual qualities in Mignature, the hack gives us a preview into his ideas on the relative importance of the external appearances as opposed to the internal aspects. This notion is confirmed by the boastful statement that he will present an "Abstract drawn from the Universal Body of all Arts and Sciences." It has been amply demonstrated by the hack's analogies and conceits that he is only concerned with surface illusions and his profession of knowledge substantiates the reader's and the Bookseller's fears that the Wits are not really very well grounded in the fundamentals

¹⁷ Tale, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸Ibid. p. 38.

of anything.

Before going on to the "Preface" it will be to the advantage of the reader to take stock of the persona who will narrate this "faithful Abstract drawn from the Universal Body of all Arts and Sciences," entitled A Tale of a Tub. Two basic traits are evident in the characterization of the hack: pride, or self-love, and illogical use of reasoning powers. These faults are aggravated by the enthusiasm and zeal with which his undertakings are accomplished. These traits are at the very foundation of Swift's attack on the Moderns and will be found in every instance where Swift is being satiric. Kathleen Williams, in a chapter entitled "The Treasure of Baseness in Man," points out that Swift realized that reason and self-love were two human characteristics that could cause either good or evil behavior. Swift did not detest either reason or selflove, as they are God-given traits. He detested the perversion and improper uses of these two faculties. 19 Abuses of reason and self-love, then, provide the basic unity in the Tale as they are demonstrated by the "Author."

The "Author" starts out his "Preface" by giving the reader the circumstances behind the writing of the Tale. The Wits of the day are starting to "pick Holes in the weak sides of Religion and Government," and the Grandees of Church and State" are becoming apprehensive. A project or system is going to be set up to fend off these Wits, but until it can be put into effect, the "Author" will write A Tale of a Tub with which they can sport. Another analogy is set up by the "Author" explaining how the Tale got its name. The analogy is a cleverly devised piece

¹⁹ Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise (Lawrence, Kansas, 1958).

of satire on the part of Swift, but it is not meant to be satire by the hack. He is dead earnest when he describes the Whale, the Ship, and the Tub.²⁰ It is only through the reader's prepared judgments that the irony of the passage takes form.

The hack then comments on his genius when he has his "Imagination... make the tour of my Invention, and thrice it has returned empty; the latter having been wholly drained by the following Treatise." The conceit is clever but the conclusion shows the real character of the hack's Wit. He goes a step further in showing the type of Wit he is by claiming to be a "devoted Servant of all Modern Forms." He has faith in forms, not the matter that fills the form but the form itself. He writes a Preface because it is a Modern Form; and the same for an Introduction and many digressions. Because the form is correct but the matter filling the form is so erroneous the reader is shown the falseness of the Modern Wit.

The height of irrationality spurred on by enthusiasm in this passage comes when the hack claims that he has written "so elaborate and useful a Discourse without one grain of Satyr intermixt." This comment on "Satyr" causes him to launch out into a several-page explanation of satire and its history. The discourse is completely uncalled for since he is not concerned with satire, but the process gives us a further insight into his character. This digression readies the reader for the

²⁰Tale, pp. 39-41.

²¹Ibid., p. 42.

²²Ibid., p. 45.

²³Ibid., pp. 48-53.

digression that will follow in the <u>Tale</u>, and provides an example of the Modern showing off his learning. These two traits become very important later in the <u>Tale</u> when it seems that Swift is stepping out from behind the mask.

As the "Preface" is brought to a close, the hack tells of his satisfaction with the present state of the world, and his plan to write a "Panegyrick upon the World." This work, which is one of those mentioned on the back of the title page, has been some years in the making because the hack's commonplace book has been filling at a rather slow rate. He does not realize, as does the reader, that the reason that the book is filling so slowly is that the world does not have many good things about it. 24 The hack is instantly recognized as a poor judge of a situation and one further facet of his character is exposed. With one further burst of pride the "Author" announces that he, "having duly prepared" the reader's "Mind by a preliminary Discourse, shall gladly introduce him to the sublime Mysteries that ensue." This statement is the epitome of the hack's enthusiastic pride in the powers of his mind.

A Tale of a Tub starts with a digression on philosophy rather than with the actual Tale. This might not be fully expected by the reader because he has just finished a rather lengthy "Preface," but it is keeping with persona. The hack again constructs an analogical argument about the height of philosophical institutions which on the surface is clever.

Once started on this course, however, the enthusiastic "Author" can not be stopped and he narrows the number of proper institutions for dispensing

²⁴Ibid., pp. 53-54.

²⁵Ibid, p. 54.

philosophical truth down to three. A short elaboration lets the reader know that much time and effort went into forcing everything into these three institutions, but that "the profound Number THREE is that which hath most employ'd my sublimest Speculations, nor even without wonderful Delight." The hack, obviously proud of his fine conceit, lets his enthusiasm run away with his reason and sings the praises of the Pulpit, the Ladders, and the Stage-Itinerant. The statements made in this discourse are obviously intended as satire by Swift, on the dissenting sects, the practice of collecting speeches of hanged criminals, and on the Mountebank's Stage. The persona does not realize the satire involved in this passage as he has already told us, but the reader does.

The conceit so pleases the hack that he uses it to demonstrate the reasoning behind the design of the theater of the day. 28 He has invented a system, and he will fit all to it that he can possibly do.

NOW this Physico-logical Scheme of Oratorial Receptacles or Machines, contains a great Mystery, being a Type, a Sign, an Emblem, a Shadow, a Symbol, bearing Analogy to the spacious Commonwealth of Writers, and to those Methods by which they must exalt themselves to a certain Eminency above the inferiour World. ²⁹

How excellent an example of the thought processes of the hack is given to us in this passage. Nothing is ever seen in its actual context but in a context it is forced into by the mind of the Modern. If something is not understood it is forced into a conceit until some "logical"

²⁶Ibid., p. 57.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 58-60.

²⁸Ibid., p. 61.

²⁹Ibid., p. 61.

pattern emerges. The mind is then happy at its success, and does not question the validity of the analogy or the meaning of the equation created. Swift is creating satire by having the hack create analogies which operate on two levels. Swift and the reader move along the satiric and comic level, and the "Author" moves along, in dead earnest, at the surface level.

The Tale proper is finally introduced by the hack, and it is no surprise to the reader that it is the form of an allegory. The basic structure of the allegory is very sound, as is the basic structure of most of the conceits used by the "Author." Swift did not want the Tale told by an idiot; he wanted it told by a person of above average mental capacity, so that the effects of the overextension of reason would be more pronounced. Not reason, but the misuse of reason gets the hack into the untenable positions we so frequently see him in. Reason separated man from the lower animals, and Swift had no quarrel with its proper use.

The story of Peter, Martin, and Jack is a fairly easy allegory to understand, and the only confusion arises when the hack lets his enthusiasm get control of his story. The reader may not know the specific object of satire in the allegory, but the sense of the irony is apparent. The section which has caused the most dissension among critics of the religious allegory is Section VIII. This section is a satire on the "Inspired" religions of the time and comes about by the construction of a metaphorical conceit around the subject of wind.

The Learned AEolists, maintain the Original Cause of all Things to be <u>Wind</u>, from which Principle this whole Universe was at first produced, and into which it must at last be resolved; that the same Breath which had kindled, and blew up the Flame

of Nature, should one Day blow it out. 30

The hack equates <u>Spirit</u>, <u>Breath</u>, and <u>Wind</u>, and freely substitutes one for another in any context whatever. There are many references to the Bible, most of which are distorted by the substitution of a wrong or improper meaning of a word, and the whole sense of the passage is perverted by irrationality. The hack has demonstrated these qualities before in almost every passage of the <u>Tale</u>, but now he is dealing with concepts close to men's hearts, and the irony tells a little more than when only literary issues were at stake.

Much of the disgust that critics have experienced in the <u>Tale</u> is caused by this section. The inspired take to belching, blowing up their bowels with bellows, and disgorging their "sanctified Breath" into the gaping mouths of the faithful. The inspired priests are placed upon a barrel from which they receive "Oracular <u>Gusts</u>" through their posteriors. Female priests were used "whose organs were understood to be better disposed for the Admission of those Oracular <u>Gusts</u>." All of these examples incite disgust in the reader, and Swift has been severely censured for them. These physical perversities are, however, consequences of the misuse or over-extension of reason on the part of the hack, not Swift. The perverted physical specimens are in reality parallel to the perverted rational specimens, and this is a dramatic presentation. The mental perversions were just as disgusting to Swift as the physical were to other men. In both instances man was abusing a God-given gift.

The condemnation of the hack is even more complete in this section,

³⁰ Ibid., p. 150.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 153-57.

however, than just the ridiculous extremes his analogy is taken to. The reader has seen the excesses and has become disgusted with the "AEolists." The hack has held a more or less neutral position throughout the discussion and has only referred to what the ancient records and the Bible show. Finally at the end of the section the hack convicts himself of stupidity.

I have long sought after this Opportunity, of doing Justice to a Society of Men, for whom I have a peculiar Honour, and whose Opinions, as well as Practices, have been extreamly misrepresented, and traduced by the Malice or Ignorance of their Adversaries. For, I think it one of the greatest, and best of humane Actions, to remove Prejudices, and place Things in their truest and fairest Light; which I therefore boldly undertake without any Regards of my own, beside the Conscience, the Honour, and the Thanks. 32

Irrationality has produced the "AEolists," and it has just defended them. The hack is proud of his defense of the sect and shows the result of the misuse of his mind by showing that he accepts the perversions as the word of God. The hack is proud of his misuse of reason and the reader can plainly see both the errors. These are the same errors that the hack demonstrated in the prefatory material, and which Swift and the Ancients felt were responsible for the state of English letters.

Swift again resorts to physical terms in Section IX, "A Digression on Madness." Using much of his theory of wind from the last section, the "Author" constructs a theory of vapors concerning the mind of man. The hack builds another system to explain greatness and madness, and again his enthusiasm and pride run away with his reason. Exactly the same consequences result from his "logic," and it is strange that so many scholars and critics have failed to see that this "Digression" is

³²Ibid., p. 161.

parallel to every other instance in the Tale.

The system built up by the "Author" is based on vapors ascending to the human brain and causing a reaction there. It does not matter where the vapors come from, "and the Fumes issuing from a Jakes, will furnish as comely and useful a Vapor, as Incense from an Altar."³³ The effects produced are governed by the type of brain and the angle at which the vapors strike the brain. Following this system to the "logical" conclusion makes all of the inmates of Bedlam geniuses. The hack claims to have been once an inmate there, but is can be suspected that he only says that so he may be considered a genius also.³⁴

In the section on the AEolists, the "Author" arrived at a physically disturbing position, and in this digression he arrives at a mentally disturbing position. "This is the sublime and refined Point of Felicity, called, the Possession of being well deceived; The Serene Peaceful State of being a Fool among Knaves." This is not a statement made by Swift, stepping out from behind the mask, but a position arrived at through a process of analogy by a man whose pride in his learning and enthusiastic reasoning has over-stepped the bounds of propriety. Madness and genius have been equated by the hack because they are both caused by these vapors striking the brain. He feels that the Modern definition of madness is that "Disturbance or Transposition of the Brain, by Force of certain Vapours issuing up from the lower Faculties..." There is a "peculiar

³³Ibid., p. 163.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 175-80.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

³⁶Ibid., p. 171.

String" in human understanding that replies in harmony with other minds drawn to the same tightness that causes a man to be called a fool in one company and a philosopher in another. 37 Fool and philosopher can now be equated by the hack in the analogy just as wind, vapors, and spirit were equated in the section about the AEolists. Fiction is shown to be vastly superior to truth "because Imagination can build nobler Scenes, and produce more wonderful Revolutions than Fortune or Nature will be at Expence to furnish." Things imagined are better than things remembered because things imagined can be said to exist, whereas things remembered are in the past. This leads up to the statement that "How fade and insipid do all Object accost us that are not convey'd in the Vehicle of Delusion. 38 Fiction is better than truth, Delusion better than reality, and next the surface of things is better than the depth. "Last week I saw a Woman flay'd, and you will hardly believe, how much it altered her Person for the worse."39 It is much better to be deluded and deceived by surface appearances than to know the truth of the depth of things. Thus if you are a true philosopher (fool), you have achieved the "sublime and refined Point of Felicity, called the Possession of being well deceived; The Serene Peaceful State of being a Fool among Knaves." The method of analogy, the substitution of values, and the irrational position arrived at by the hack are exactly parallel to the "Preface," the "Introduction," the section about the "AEolists," and to the perversions of the Father's Will by the three brothers in the allegory.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 167.

³⁸Ibid., p. 172.

³⁹Ibid., p. 173.

Swift has cleverly used parallel constructions in the fields of letters, religion, and philosophy to show that man's pride in reason was the cause of the instability and confusion of the day. Self-love and reason were given to man so that he could achieve his salvation, but man had perverted them into what Swift called the Modern philosophy. The persona created by Swift is the embodiment of all that Swift detested in Modernity.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUTHOR OF THE APOLOGY

The reception accorded A Tale of a Tub was probably not as cordial as Swift would have liked it to be. His satire was meant to provoke thought, to remind men of the middle way of life, and to show some of the abuses in letters and religion in England. Swift undoubtedly thought that men of learning and intelligence would recognize that his hack was the embodiment of irrationality and vanity and would try to correct some of the errors pointed out. If Swift had known that many would think the Tale a piece of sacrilegious trash, he might have had some reservations about publishing it. The Tale probably cost him a bishopric in the Church of England, and made him contemptible in the eyes of many.

Arthur Maynwaring called Swift "the first Man who introduc'd those figures of Rhetoric, we call Cursing and Swearing, in Print..." He went on to say that Swift was a man "who to please the very worst Men among us, the <u>Deists</u>, <u>Socinians</u>, and <u>Free-Thinkers</u>, made a Satyr upon Religion, is the only fit Person to be employed in such a Drudgery of Scribbling." He was recommending Swift for a writing task which he

¹A. Bell <u>The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwarning</u>, <u>Esq.</u> (London, 1715), p. 200.

²Ibid., pp. 275-76.

considered contemptible. Wotton considered that the <u>Tale</u> made "God and Religion, Truth and Moral Honesty, Learning and Industry...a May-Game..."

3 Bernard Acworth in commenting upon the reception of the Tale said

The consequences of the publication of the <u>Tale</u> were immediate. Though anonymous, and never directly claimed as his own work, Swift was at once recognized in the inner circle of Church and State, and of the literary world, as the author. Politicians, sceptical writers, and atheists, concentrated on the famous parable of the three brothers, in order to deflect attention from the more important part of the work in which they themselves were exposed as fools and knaves, this secular device having been successfully continued from his own day to this. 4

In a letter to Archbishop King, dated January 1, 1708, Swift noted:

I should be surprised at what your Grace tells me of the Clergy, if I were not sensible how extream difficult it is to deal with any Body of men, who seldom understand their Interest or are able to distinguish their Enemyes from their Friends.⁵

This comment probably refers to the reaction of the churchmen to the Tale. Swift had hoped to remove some of the errors of men, and they thought he was trying to destroy religion.

Swift had to defend himself against charges that the Tale he had written was immoral and irreligious, so in 1710 he published the fifth edition of the Tale with an "Apology" appended to the front of it. The "Apology" explained Swift's position and tried to clear up the many misconceptions of what the Tale was about. The minds of the Moderns were even more irrational than Swift had calculated. Not being one to give up easily or to pass up a chance to get in a satirical thrust at an

³A <u>Defense of the Reflections</u>, p. 48.

⁴Swift, p. 29.

⁵The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. Harrold Williams (Oxford, 1963), I, 62.

opponent, Swift used the "Apology" as an additional instrument of satire, and for good measure added some footnotes from Wotton's attack on the Tale (see footnote 3 in Chapter I). Of the "Apology" and notes, James Hay said

but the yelping critics have all perished, all save one -the loudest and most learned, Wotton by name, whom Swift cleverly caught and harnessed to his triumphant chariot, amid the
laughter and hosannahs of a nation.⁶

Although this statement may be a bit overly dramatic, it does point up the fact that Swift, by a stroke of genius, added Wotton's notes to elucidate the Tale when he had been trying to condemn it by those elucidations.

The "Apology" itself has been the source of much confusion, much to the detriment of the meaning of the <u>Tale</u>, and the reputation of Swift.

Mrs. Starkman claims

The "Apology" is scarcely satiric in either tone or intention. It is the norm in A Tale of a Tub; to read it as if it were satire is to reject the very real help it offers in our understanding of A Tale of a Tub.

Davis admits to being confused by the authorship of the <u>Tale</u> and the "Apology."

I confess that I find this particular doctrine of a trinity of persons a little confusing, and I would like to make a plea for a less abstract conception of authorship. 9

The "Apology" provides proof for David P. French that both Swift and a

⁶Swift, pp. 45-46.

^{7&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁸Swift's Satire, p. 112.

⁹Jonathan Swift, p. 8.

persona, who is a "dullard," are present in the Tale. 10

The confusion centers around two questions: Did Swift mean for the "Apology" to be satiric, or is it just a "key" to the Tale? And is Swift speaking in the "Apology," or is this another persona? If we can pin down the voice in the work, we should have an insight into the answer to the first question. One must know who is speaking before any values can be placed upon what is said. By the same process used on the personae of the Bookseller and the "Author," I propose to show that the author of the "Apology" is definitely a new persona who is neither Swift nor the "Author" of the Tale. I shall demonstrate further that Swift used a persona to deliver the "Apology" in order to increase the satiric effect of the Tale as well as to try to remove the stigma he had received as the author of the Tale.

The character of the Bookseller and the "Author" were determined by internal evidence; so the character of the author of the "Apology" will also be determined from internal evidence. Since the "Apology" was added in 1710, six years after the <u>Tale</u> was originally published, there will be no supporting evidence for this <u>persona</u>, as there was for the "Author," in the Bookseller's comments. We should, however, expect to be able to judge the author of the "Apology" against the <u>Tale</u> to determine whether he fits the description of that "Author," or whether he is a completely separate persona or character.

Many critics have felt that Swift was speaking in his own voice in

^{10&}quot;Swift, Temple, and 'A Digression on Madness," p. 56.

the "Apology." 11 W. D. Taylor, a critic not at all sympathetic to Swift, felt that Swift, in his own voice, was boasting that the <u>Tale</u> was "calculated to live, at least as long as our language." Taylor said that Swift did not publish the <u>Tale</u> earlier because he was afraid of the consequences. When Swift's fears were realized upon publication, he added the "Apology" to try to reduce the harm it had done his career. 12 George Kitchin also feels that Swift is the intended author of the "Apology." "In his serious apology for the <u>Tale of a Tub</u>, Swift warns the reader that he has inserted parodies of living authors." 13 When Kitchin says "Swift" here, he does not mean through a persona, but in his own voice.

In commenting on the whole Tale, Quintana asks

Who is it that is addressing us? It is not Swift, save possibly in the very first fragment of all, the Apology, and even this is written impersonally with Swift -- if it is Swift -- appearing merely as "the Author." 14

This comment notes the author of the "Apology" is not the same as the "Author" of the Tale, that he seems closer to Swift, and yet, for Quintana, does not really seem to be Swift. Paulson, noting this same confusion, says "It is an error to suppose that the 'Author's Apology' is spoken by Swift himself; its 'Author' is as much a part of the fiction as the Hack." He goes on to note that the author of the "Apology" is to

Ewald, p. 14. Harth, p. 6. James Robert Wilson, "The Narrators of Jonathan Swift," (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1953), p. 59. Milton Voigt, Swift and the Twentieth Century (Detroit, 1964), p. 62.

¹²Jonathan Swift, p. 43.

¹³A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English (London, 1931), p. 158.

¹⁴ Swift: An Introduction, p. 51.

be used as a standard of normality as is the Bookseller. 15

A close examination of the statements made by the author in the "Apology" will clear up the confusion surrounding this issue. If the tone of voice, the characteristics of thought, and the foolish display of learning identified as traits of the hack are present in the "Apology," it will be a valid assumption that he is the author of this piece also. If these traits are not present, it should be proof that a new speaker is present and will have to be identified. The comments made by this new speaker should square with known facts surrounding the Tale, if he is Swift. If the facts relate to the Bookseller's account of the publication of the Tale, then Swift is not the speaker, and a new persona is present.

The three most outstanding traits of the hack were his pride, his enthusiasm, and his irrationality parading as reason. His most common stock in trade was the extended analogy with a dazzling display of learning. These traits should be present in the "Apology" if the hack is the author. An examination of some of the metaphors and analogies in the "Apology" proves to be the most expeditious way of attacking this problem.

The author spends several pages explaining that the "Author" of the Tale meant nothing irreligious by his work, and then passes on to speak of some of the attacks made on the allegory of the three brothers. He praises the Tale as a good piece of literature that will be viewed by future generations, and compares the tracts written against it to weeds.

This Apology being chiefly intended for the Satisfaction

¹⁵Theme and Structure, p. 163.

of future Readers, it may be thought unnecessary to take any notice of such Treatises as have been writ against this ensuing Discourse, which are already sunk into waste Paper and Oblivion; after the usual Fate of common Answerers to Books, which are allowed to have any merit: They are indeed like Annuals that grow about a young Tree, and seem to vye with it for a Summer, but fall and die with the Leaves in Autumn, and are never heard of any more. 16

The analogy is perfect and this is as far as it is carried. The hack would have continued on for several more pages, arriving at an absurd conclusion proving the oposite of that which he set out to prove. Two examples of specific cases of scribblers attacking a good work are cited as examples to prove the analogy and a calm summary of the whole is made:

Men would be more cautious of losing their Time in such an Undertaking, if they did but consider, that to answer a Book effectually, requires more Pains and Skill, more Wit, Learning, and Judgment than were employ'd in the Writing it. 17

This well thought out discourse is not at all like those enthusiastic outpourings of the hack in the <u>Tale</u>. The calmness of tone and the logicality of thought suggest a man of taste and education.

As the author undertakes to answer Wotton's charges against the Tale, he readily admits that Wotton has done an admirable job of annotating the text,

but, it is the frequent Error of those Men (otherwise very commendable for their Labors) to make Excursions beyond their Talent and their Office, by pretending to point out the Beauties and the Faults; which is no part of their Trade, which they always fail in, which the World never expected from them, nor gave them any thinks for endeavouring at. 18

An analogy is made here to provide a more graphic illustration of what

^{16&}lt;sub>Tale</sub>, p. 9.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

^{18&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 15.</sub>

is meant.

The dull, unwielding, ill-shaped Ox would needs put on the Furniture of a Horse, not considering he was born to Labour, to plow the Ground for the Sake of superior Beings, and that he has neither the Shape, Mettle or Speed of that nobler Animal he would affect to personate. 19

This analogy, like the previous one is short, to the point, and shows the rational good sense the hack completely lacked.

Wotton has made some attempts to guess the authorship of the <u>Tale</u>, and has missed the mark completely so the author takes him to task for it.

A Man who receives a Buffet in the Dark may be allowed to be vexed; but it is an off kind of Revenge to go to Cuffs in broad day with the first he meet with, and lay the last Nights Injury at his Door. And thus much for this discreet, candid, pious, and ingenious Answerer. 20

Another very fine analogy has been constructed by the author with no excess enthusiasm or prideful boasting. The subject is broached, dealt with properly, and dismissed. There are no practiced shows of learning, no substitutions of wrong meanings for words, and no stretching of analogies until they become invalid. This surely cannot be the same man who wrote the Tale.

There is another piece of internal evidence that suggests that the hack is not the author of the "Apology." The writer of the "Apology" speaks of his own actions in the first person and always speaks of the actions that have gone on in relation to the <u>Tale</u> and the "Author" thereof in the third person. This in itself is not enough to prove that the author is not the hack, but when this is coupled with the above

¹⁹Ibid., p. 16.

²⁰Ibid.

evidence, it seems certain beyond all doubt. One could argue that this is the same man but many years later, after he had gathered his wits about him, but that would also imply a change of persona. A persona is created by the literary circumstances in which he appears. He is a fictional character with no physical existence outside of the world of literature. To speak of a persona growing up is like wondering what kind of little boy Hamlet was. If Swift had wanted the reader to know that this was the same persona, he would explicitly have told him. Since Swift does not say "this is the same man grown wiser," and since he does not exhibit any of the characteristics of the hack, one must assume that this is a completely different person.

It is true indeed that the author of this "Apology" takes Swift's position in the defense of the <u>Tale</u>. This could lead one into the assumption that Swift is the voice in this defense. Note, for example, the similarity between this passage on page 5 of the "Apology"

And I wish, there were no other Instance of what I have too frequently observed, that many of that Reverend Body are not always very nice in distinguishing between their Enemies and their Friends.

in which Swift speaks of the clergy of the Church of England, and the following from a letter to Archbishop King.

I should be surprised at what your Grace tells me of the Clergy, if I were not sensible how extream difficult it is to deal with any Body of men, who seldom understand their true Interest or are able to distinguish their Enemyes from their Friends. ²¹

A similarity like this can be used by scholars to prove that Swift did write the Tale, but other evidence must be supplied to prove that Swift

²¹Correspondence, p. 62.

meant the voice in the "Apology" to be his own.

The first several pages of the "Apology" are a key to the <u>Tale</u>. It confirms what the judicious reader already knows about the <u>Tale</u>: that it is in part a religious allegory, that it is in part an attack on abuses in Learning, and that "some of those Passages in this Discourse, which appear most liable to Objection are what they call Parodies, where the Author personates the Style and Manner of other Writers, whom he has a mind to expose." The excuse made by the author for the zeal of the Hack is that "The Author was then young, his Invention at the Height, and his Reading fresh in his Head." The author seems to accept as a fact that the Grubstreet hack meant the work to be a satire. Apparently the hack has told him this because

he thought the numerous and gross Corruptions in Religion and Learning might furnish Matter for a Satyr, that would be useful and diverting: He resolved to proceed in a manner, that should be altogether new, the World having been already too long nauseated with endless Repititions upon every Subject.²⁴

The Bookseller has already shown the reader that the hacks and poets that he deals with are not very honest. The "Author" has identified himself with the brotherhood of hacks and so must be thought to possess the same qualities they do. If anyone's honesty must be questioned it would be the hack's. The <u>Tale</u> was the production of pride, enthusiasm, and irrationality, and because it epitomized the absurdity of Modern thought it made a fine satire. The hack did not even know he had written a satire. "'Tis a great Ease for my Conscience that I have writ so elaborate

²²Tale, pp. 4-7.

²³Ibid., p. 4.

^{24&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

and useful a Discourse without one grain of Satyr intermixt."²⁵ When the piece was published, it was taken by those of "Tast" to be a "Satyr," and the hack is going to capitalize on his good fortune. He will now call it a "Satyr."

With mock humility "he gave a Liberty to his Pen, which might not suit with maturer Years, or graver Characters, and which he could have easily corrected with a very few Blots" 26 the hack has pleaded his way out of his stupidity, and into the good graces of the gentleman who wrote an "Apology" for his <u>Tale</u>. The excuse for not correcting these blots was that he had not "been Master of his Papers for a Year or two before their Publication." This agrees with what the Bookseller said except that the hack accuses the Bookseller of having the "surreptitious Copy."

This though not regarded by Readers, was a real Truth, only the surreptitious Copy was rather that which was printed, and they made all hast they could, which indeed was needless; the Author not being at all prepared; but he has been told, the Bookseller was in much Pain, having given a good Sum of Money for the Copy. 28

Now it is obvious that someone is lying. The hacks have been identified as a class of crooks by the Bookseller, and the hack is now claiming that he wrote a "Satyr" when he specifically states in the <u>Tale</u> that he did not write a satire. The Bookseller has been frankly honest concerning his ignorance and his lack of learning, but the hack has deviously

Tras. Andrews

²⁵Ibid., pp. 47-48.

²⁶Ibid., p. 4.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. 17.

tried to impress us with his learning. He had left blanks in the manuscript when he could not prove a point, hoping that the reader would assume that the manuscript was damaged. All evidence points to the hack being the dishonest person. He has lied about the publication of his Tale.

The above argument also excludes Swift from among the possible candidates for the position of author. He, of course, knew the circumstances of publication since the Bookseller and the hack were both inventions of his. If Swift meant to be himself in the "Apology," he would have omitted the references to this false situation. Swift used the "Apology" both as a defense of his intentions in the Tale and a defense of his intentions in the Tale and a satiric thrust at those critics who had been drawn in by his cleverly constructed trap. He created a new persona to enhance the satire of the Tale.

In "The Bookseller to the Reader," the Bookseller had asked "If any Gentleman will please to furnish me with a Key, in order to explain the more difficult Parts, I shall very gratefully acknowledge the Favour, and print it by it self." The Tale had not only satirized many of the modern institutions and follies, but had also mentioned several learned gentlemen by name. His references to "one William Wotton, B. D." were very pointed and asked to be answered. Wotton "has written a good sizeable volume against a Friend of your Governor, 30 is a True Critick descending in a direct line from Momus and Hybris, 31 has written a book of

²⁹Ibid., p. 29.

³⁰Ibid., p. 37.

³¹ Ibid., p. 94.

great usefulness on his" sublime Discoveries upon the Subject of Flies and Spittle," and, of course, partock of the fight in the library in The Battel. Swift had laid a trap for Wotton in the Tale, because in many ways Wotton epitomized the pride, irrationality, and complacency that characterized Modernity. Wotton had also challenged Sir William Temple on the subject of ancient and modern learning and had been ungentlemanly in his method of reply. The Bookseller had advertised for a "Key," and Swift hoped that Wotton would supply it. His hopes were not in vain.

In 1705, Wotton published a work entitled A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning in Answer to Sir W. Temple and Others. With Observations upon the Tale of a Tub. Swift added the "Apology" to the Tale and included the notes Wotton had made on the Tale, and in that way caused Wotton to become a party to the very work he was trying to discredit. The Partridge-Bickerstaff Papers are an example of this same device. Whether the reply by John Partridge was actually his or no, the method is the same and is based on an excellent understanding of human nature.

The <u>Tale</u> was now complete. A hack had written a "faithful Abstract drawn from the Universal Body of all Arts and Sciences;" a Bookseller had published the work even though he thought it not very good, and he asked for a key; one of the Moderns had fallen for the ruse and supplied the key; and Swift used that key and added another <u>persona</u>, in the person of a gentleman of "Tast," to display Wotton, a real life version of the hack.

³²Ibid., pp. 128-29.

The "Apology" showed that Swift had not meant to satirize Christianity, but the errors men had added to it. The basis for these errors was
the type of irrational behavior displayed by the hack. That the "Apology" was needed to explain the <u>Tale</u> was in itself an ironic display of
the shallowness of Modern thought. The gentleman of "Tast" who fixed the
"Apology" to the <u>Tale</u> showed, by properly using his reasoning powers,
that the work was not what a shallow reading might convey to the reader.
It was a comment on basic human frailty that could be overcome.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The unity of the <u>Tale</u> comes from within its own little satiric world. The use of three separate <u>personae</u> to tell the <u>Tale</u> is a conscious attempt by Swift to dramatically portray the characteristics of humanity, noble and ignoble. Critics have generally failed to find a unity in the <u>Tale</u> because they have tried to impose a unity from without, when the unity was already inherent in the work. The gravest error of critics seems to be the separation of the <u>Tale</u> into prefatory material, religious allegory, digressions, and comments on the state of English letters in the late seventeenth century. All of these "breakdowns" of the Tale into its component parts destroy the unity that is inherent in the <u>personae</u> who narrate the work.

Ricardo Quintana, commenting on the almost inexhaustible quality of Swift's satire said;

Swift's energy -- more precisely, the kinetic quality of his satire -- cannot well be accounted for unless he is regarded as a fully conscious artist, a literary craftsman using considered means to attain desired effects. 1

Perhaps scholars and critics have not been equal to the energy that Swift has displayed, and in looking for the one unifying device have missed the most obvious, Humanity.

Swift: An Introduction, p. 39.

James Brown in an article entitled "Swift as Moralist," pointed out that "Swift's despair at the existence of speculative reason is the fact that man's physical nature inevitably perverts the accurate functioning of reason."² He went on to say

The rather spectacular weakness of reason in the face of passion is a mark of man's nature and asserts the inevitability of man's psychology; reason's limited capacity -- which requires its augmentation by faith -- is a mark of the limited reality of man's world and asserts the true reality of God.³

Martin Price also sees man's inherent weaknesses as the basis for Swift's satire.

Characteristically, he sees intellectual and moral confusion as chosen: men fail to see clearly because their interests and passions make them prefer something more comfortable than truth.

As has been pointed out in Chapter III, self-love and reason were two God-given treasures that could be the source of immense good or evil. Swift chose to portray physical parallels to these mental functions because they would excite more disgust in men than would the parallel abuses in the mental. He knew that just pointing out the abuses to men would not stir them up enough to make them see the correct method of behavior. By showing how the perversion of the mental processes could lead to a revolting physical conclusion, he hoped to show men the folly that they had embarked upon. Swift dramatically portrayed the abuses through the hack just as he later did through the Yahoos and the Houyhams in Gulliver's Travels. In the Tale Swift used the whole of England

²PO, XXXIII (1954), 374.

³Ibid., p. 386.

⁴To the Palace of Wisdom, p. 189.

of 1700 as a theater in which to demonstrate the evil of overindulgence.

Swift used two personae in the Tale so that he might demonstrate dramatically the fallacy of the state of mind called Modernity. The Bookseller was to be a norm by which to judge the hack. The Bookseller to some extent might even be said to be the opposite of the hack in that he didn't fully use his gifts. The hack used his gift to an extreme and of course achieved some ridiculous positions. The positions reached by the hack were so ridiculous that many people did not recognize the process by which he had gotten to them and condemned the author, Swift, as anti-religious.

The Tale was only a partial success because people saw only the particular satire against specific institutions and persons and not the general satire on a way of life. They did not see that Swift was aiming at persons who had grown so self-complacent and smug about the learning of the day and the reasoning powers of the human mind that they had even corrupted Christianity. Swift knew that it was only human to make errors, but man did not have to be so proud of his errors and parade them as if they were some sort of finery.

Kathleen Williams, in a very fine study of Swift, saw him trying to reach a compromise between the weaknesses of man and his use of these weaknesses in ways that turned him from God and the church.

When we look at the works themselves we see not idealistic extremism but practical and fruitful compromise: not a devotion to reason but a conviction that reason is not enough; not a scorn of the bodily nature of man but the certainty, frequently reiterated and shaping the very form and manner of his satire, that only through mind and body, through feeling as well as thought, can man live humanly and well. 5

⁵Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise, p. vi.

This certainly is the meaning of the <u>Tale</u> that underlies all of the specific satire. Learning had not caused any evil, religion had not caused any evil, letters had not caused any evil. Man, within these institutions, had perverted what had been given to him to raise him above other animals and thus become the object for satire.

That Swift used a <u>persona</u> in the "Apology" is a testament to his fear of his own pride. If he had appeared in his own voice he would have had to assert his own superiority over other humans and thus be guilty of the very sins he was preaching against. If he pointed to himself as an example of the model man he would have been no better than the hack. By using a <u>persona</u> in the "Apology," Swift was able to have a man demonstrate the "middle way" by his words and actions, and that man could not be prideful because he had no existence outside of the <u>Tale</u>. This <u>persona</u> joined the Bookseller in providing a norm or an object of stability from which to judge the hack. Kathleen Williams points out Swift's position in relation to humanity as just another sinner.

Indeed it is his sense of his own, and all men's sinfulness that -- among other things -- makes Swift so great a satirist. We accept his picture of mankind because we recognize that he includes himself as one of the miserable mortals; he too is the animal, man.⁶

Thackeray did not understand Swift's purpose in the <u>Tale</u> or in <u>Gulliver's Travels</u>, and thus looked to the obscenity and filthiness as reflections of Swift's mind. He did not see that these vile objects were just the objectification of corruptions in the mind and heart of man. Although he did not recognize these qualities of Swift's mind, he

⁶Ibid., p. 65.

did recognize the quantity of it.

An immense genius: an awful downfall and ruin. So great a man he seems to me, that thinking of him is like thinking of an empire falling. We have other great names to mention -- none I think, however, so great or so gloomy.

Samuel Johnson also disliked Swift as a person but his literary tastes forced him to recognize the Tale as the work of a genius.

It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction, such as he afterwards never possessed, of never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar, that it must be considered by itself; what is true of that, is not true of any thing else which he was written.

These comments upon Swift's genius and the greatness of A Tale of a Tub, must eventually come back to the tremendous scope of that work. There was some satire in the Tale for everybody, and everybody could recognize both himself and his neighbor in the work. Mrs. Starkman has this to say about the scope of the Tale:

Much of the satire in A Tale of a Tub is universal in the best sense of that word; much of it is purely occasional. That is, in A Tale of a Tub Swift is battling not only Modernity, not only Bentley and Wotton as Moderns, but Bentley and Wotten, two presumptuous critics of Sir William Temple.

Although the scope large, there was one basic underlying theme, the perversion of God-given human qualities. People did not always see themselves in the Tale because the scope was so large, and they did not always relate the actual objects of Swift's attack to their own position in life. The persona who is presented in the "Apology" was intended by Swift to represent the average middle-of-the-road Englishman using his

⁷English <u>Humourists</u>, p. 49.

Elives, p. 210.

⁹Swift's Satire, pp. 12-13.

reason and pride properly and with whom all could identify. This persona was not Swift defending himself nor was he the hack who wrote the Tale. He was the model of human behavior from which to judge the improper behavior of the hack and all that he represented. He was to provide the proper portal into the world of the irrational so that it could be viewed in its entirety, and in its proper perspective. The was the noble animal, Man.

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