

JONATHAN SWIFT IN THE HISTORY
OF THE ENGLISH NOVEL

By

SHELLEY HOWE RUTHERFORD

Bachelor of Arts
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
1940

Master of Arts
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois
1942

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
May, 1969

Thesis
1969D
R975j
wp. 23

SEP 29 1969

JONATHAN SWIFT IN THE HISTORY
OF THE ENGLISH NOVEL

Thesis Approved:

Loyd Douglas

Thesis Adviser

Harry M. Campbell

Daniel R. Grace

John E. Lushy

D. D. Durham

Dean of the Graduate College

725068

PREFACE

Jonathan Swift's genius and the power of his mind and personality are so great that the ablest critics for more than two centuries have been attracted to him and have examined every phase of his thinking -- but if one small aspect of genius is the infinite capacity for taking pains, then this study, which is concerned mainly with Swift's place in the history of the English novel, should also reflect, in his meticulous forging of a narrative technique, another aspect, even though in a small way, of his genius.

I wish to thank the members of my committee -- Dr. Harry Campbell, Dr. Daniel Kroll, and Dr. John Susky -- for their encouragement and help both as my teachers and as my advisors in my graduate work.

I am indebted to Dr. Agnes Berrigan for the use of her materials in the field of the novel. I have a special indebtedness to Dr. Loyd Douglas, my advisor, whose knowledge of Swift is both wide ranging and deep.

Finally, I am grateful to the Oklahoma State University Library staff for their courtesy and help.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: ITS LIMITATIONS, ITS SCOPE, AND ITS METHOD	1
II. DEFINITIONS OF NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES: ELEMENTS: NORMS	12
III. <u>A TALE OF A TUB</u> : A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN <u>A TALE OF A TUB</u>	32
Plot	41
Characterization	52
Setting.	86
Dialogue	104
Style	114
IV. SELECTED WORKS: NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES . . .	125
<u>Directions to Servants</u>	125
<u>Polite Conversation</u>	140
"A Meditation Upon a Broomstick"	166
V. <u>GULLIVER'S TRAVELS</u> : NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN <u>GULLIVER'S TRAVELS</u>	171
VI. CONCLUSION.	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	202

CHAPTER I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: ITS LIMITATIONS, ITS SCOPE, AND ITS METHOD

The importance of Jonathan Swift in the history of English literature has been great enough to make him the subject of innumerable studies, but it seems curious that there has been an almost total omission of his name as one of the precursors of the novel. Even when mentioned by one of its greatest authorities -- George Saintsbury -- Swift's relationship to the novel is barely referred to and not developed. His ability in characterization, narrative techniques, dramatic effects, poetic use of language, and understanding of the classics have been noticed by many critics, but they have never been recognized as having a significant relationship to and influence on the creation of the novel genre.

One problem in the criticism of Swift seems to arise from the fact that he is considered almost wholly a satirist with little recognition that the "idiom" which he forged for his purpose is closely related to the techniques of prose fiction which later developed into the perfected novel form. Most critics are so single-minded in this respect that in discussing Swift's style, even his misanthropy, his religious or political beliefs, they do not seem to realize that there

must be some significance merely in the fact that they have to use terms from prose fiction in order to analyze his style and his meaning, for this proves his work has, at least, many of the qualities of the novel. Curiously, instead, most critics make it a point to emphasize the fact that Swift did not have any influence on the development of the novel.

Some scholars, such as Ricardo Quintana and W.B.C. Watkins, refer to the many examples in Swift's works which reveal his dramatic and poetic ability, but they do not indicate in any way his being a forshadower of the novel. In discussing what he calls Swift's "satiric idiom," Mr. Quintana uses terms related to both the drama and the novel such as plot, episode, dramatization of situations. He states that A Tale of a Tub creates suspense, that it is "intellectual comedy," that it has the spirit of "a comedy of manners," that it has the coherence and unity of an organism.¹

Concerning Swift's poetic ability, Mr. Quintana writes that Swift not only uses the imagery and language of poets, but he has mastery of every type of poetic language, both serious and in parody: highly figurative, imaginative, metaphorical, epigrammatic, epic, dramatic, comic, and satiric.²

¹Ricardo Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction* (London, 1962), p. 58.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 51-66. In this section, Mr. Quintana discusses Swift's poetic ability and "A Tale of a Tub," "The Battle of the Books," and the "Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" both as three acts of a play and as three separate comedies.

Though Mr. Quintana uses terms relating to both poetry and drama in his description of Swift's style, he does not mention that there is any fictional significance in Swift's peculiar blending of drama, comedy, and poetry, which constitutes his satiric idiom. It seems significant that Swift's peculiar blend of these three genres is far closer to that found later in the novel itself than the techniques used in the generally accepted precursors to that genre.

Swift realized that the classical principles governing poetry and drama also governed successful prose fiction, the medium which he felt would be the best vehicle for his satire. In creating his idiom for satire, Swift applied these literary rules to prose. By keeping their essential meaning and by being true to the laws of nature, to human experience, and to the law of probability, Swift devised a prose medium which was not only effective for his satire but pointed the way to the pattern from which the novel genre could develop.

Swift found his idiom early in his literary career: in verse in his "Verses wrote in a Lady's Table-Book" (1698) and in prose in his A Tale of a Tub, which he wrote between 1696 and 1698 but which he did not publish until 1704; he used this idiom in all his subsequent works.³ It is important to remember that Swift developed his idiom at this early date, for this fact disproves the conclusions of many critics that Swift was indebted to Daniel Defoe for his narrative style and his use of

³ Every point in Gulliver's Travels, even the impractical experiments of the scientists in Laputa, is foreshadowed in A Tale of a Tub.

fictional elements in Gulliver's Travels;⁴ whereas, the truth is that he had brought these techniques to a high degree of perfection before Defoe's narratives appeared.⁵

Swift used this "satiric idiom" in all his works after 1696; he even adapted it to the persona or the narrator of each work. For example, the story of the three brothers and their coats in A Tale is told in the "highly figurative style"⁶ of the modern historian; whereas, the style of Gulliver's Travels is straightforward and simple as an unimaginative person such as Gulliver would use.

Though Mr. Quintana, to be sure, praises Swift's "incomparable matching of substance and voice,"⁷ in each work, he does not mention that this ability reveals Swift's creative genius in character drawing and plot construction. In order for him to fit the persona's style to

⁴Many authorities on the novel make this statement. Ian Watt even names Daniel Defoe as the first novelist and gives him credit for introducing many of the techniques that Swift used in A Tale. Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding (Berkeley, 1964).

⁵Not all authorities agree with the Defoe thesis. John F. Ross is one of those who claim that Defoe was indebted to Swift rather than Swift to Defoe. John F. Ross, Swift and Defoe: A Study in Relationship (University of California Press, 1941). Mr. A. E. Case states that the theme of Gulliver is that of A Tale, "worked out more clearly, more concretely and more universally; it is the effect of folly upon the fate of humanity." Arthur E. Case, "Commentary," Gulliver's Travels (New York, 1938), p. 342. In reviewing the possible sources of Gulliver, Mr. Case not only does not mention Defoe, but he emphasizes the fact that it is impossible to find the exact sources, for Swift selected what he needed from his wide reading and experience and molded all of it into a "new and original pattern." "Commentary," p. 350.

⁶Quintana, An Introduction, p. 63.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 68.

his personality, background, and education, Swift had first to understand clearly himself what type of person his narrator was; only then could he make each persona speak and act in character, according to the law of probability. Swift recognized as does the novelist the truth of the classical precept that to make his characters credible, a writer must be careful to have each one act and speak according to his nature; he must never be out of character.

Swift was so successful in understanding the personality of each of his characters that he has caused many critics to consider each one of them as being autobiographical, a conclusion that has resulted in much confusion in the interpretation of Swift's works and of his personality. These critics have been sincere in their assumption that by collecting all the quirks and prejudices of each of Swift's personae, they will have the essence of Swift's mind and character. They do not realize how illogical their plan is, for no single individual, even with a complex personality like Swift's, could have all the conflicting traits of his personae: of the four Grub Street writers, alone, not counting those of the three brothers in A Tale, Bickerstaff, Gulliver, and all the other personae which he later created. These personality traits are so contradictory that they could not be incorporated into one personality; it would be against the laws of human nature and the law of probability. On the other hand, these critics are unconsciously paying Swift one of the highest compliments a novelist could hope to receive-- that his characters are vivid and credible. Since they consider Swift

a satirist only rather than a writer of prose fiction, they can only explain his ability to create living characters by assuming that each persona is autobiographical. I repeat that this view is too limited. The only explanation is the one I hope to prove, that is, that Swift uses this idiom not autobiographically but as a writer of fiction would use it.

Like the other critics, Mr. Quintana does not seem to notice that there is even a probable connection between Swift's idiom and the novel genre. Though he emphasized the fact that Swift's satire is idiomatic, that it encompasses a broader literary field than ordinary satire, Mr. Quintana does not notice that this area of difference in reality is an approach to or preparation for a new prose genre -- the novel.

Another recognized authority on Swift, who sees both the dramatist and poet in him, but who does not see his relationship to the novel is W. B. C. Watkins. He states that Swift had the same type of mind and understanding as Shakespeare,⁸ particularly as he reveals them in Hamlet, that they have the same ability to combine comedy and tragedy in order to heighten the effect of the tragedy, and that in their "poetic handling of language," (p. 5) they have the same "electric quality," and the "same immediacy of imaginative appeal" by which they seize the "imagination" (p. 5) of the reader, but it seems not to have occurred to Mr. Watkins that the work of a man with these literary qualities might have foreshadowed the novel.

⁸W. B. C. Watkins, Perilous Balance: The Tragic Genius of Swift, Johnson, and Sterne (Princeton, 1939), p. 26.

Mr. Watkins considers that the "most remarkable thing" about Swift's prose is that he "wrote prose like a poet." (p. 6)

His style, usually unadorned and colloquial but with occasional admixture of richer elements, is comparable in effect to some of Donne's poetry or to Shakespeare's. (p. 7)

Mr. Watkins recognizes

Swift's genius for making simple, homely words tingle with imaginative power and intensity of feeling. Like Shakespeare and Donne, he knew the effectiveness of mingling unusual and simple words -- 'indefatigable,' 'exalted,' 'altitude,' for instance, in sharp contrast to 'squeeze' and 'thrust.' (p. 7)

No one can deny that this power in the use of words is equally an asset to the novelist in the creation of fiction.

While describing Swift as the only writer of his age to have "the emotional and imaginative power of the great Elizabethans," (p. 6)

Mr. Watkins explains that drama was closed to Swift because of the low level to which it had sunk in his day. (p. 6) By 1696, when Swift started writing, the heroic tragedies and Restoration comedies had degenerated into bourgeois tragedy and sentimental comedy, which to Swift were works to be satirized and not followed.

Like Mr. Quintana, Mr. Watkins praises Swift's dramatic and poetic ability, but he does not mention the possibility that Swift foreshadowed the novel or that he influenced the early novelists, particularly Henry Fielding, who was also a dramatist and a classical scholar, and who had a great influence on the development of the novel.

In this study, I shall make the center of my discussion

A Tale of a Tub for four reasons. It foreshadows the elements of the novel with remarkable clarity. It is the work in which Swift created his "satiric idiom," the medium in which he did the rest of his writing. It is a technique which early novelists like Henry Fielding and Lawrence Sterne knew and which there is evidence they applied in their novels. It was written between 1696-1698 and was published in 1704, this early date proving that Swift did not borrow his narrative techniques from Daniel Defoe.⁹

By showing in detail that A Tale of a Tub foreshadows the pattern of the novel and its narrative techniques which also appear in Swift's later works, it will be necessary only to show these techniques more briefly in the later works. I shall approach A Tale of a Tub from the standpoint of my definitions and, as nearly as possible, analyze it through each of the narrative techniques: plot, character, setting, dialogue, and style. It must be kept in mind, however, that this separation of elements is an artificial one used solely for the purpose of

⁹Robinson Crusoe was published April 25, 1719, The Farther Adventures of Crusoe in 1719, and Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe in 1720. Gulliver's Travels was published October, 1726, but had been started years before. Richard Garnett in his article on Swift in the Encyclopaedia Britannica states that Swift had the first hint of Gulliver's Travels during the first meetings of the Scriblerus Club in 1714 and that the work on Gulliver was well-advanced by 1720 (New York, 1911). George Aitken makes this same point. He states that Swift had discussed Gulliver with his friends in the Scriblerus Club for several years before he published the work. George Aitken, "Swift," The Cambridge History of English Literature (New York, 1933), Vol. IX, p. 115. The long period over which Swift worked on Gulliver's Travels alone disproves the claim that he learned his narrative techniques and received his idea for Gulliver's Travels from Defoe's Crusoe.

clarification. It is only when they are fused that the work becomes alive. Criticism demands the analysis, even if in a work of art the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

It would be obvious to any historian of the novel that the novel did not appear with Swift. This study, however, is limited to an examination of Swift's narrative techniques which he admittedly developed as a method or idiom of satire; however, he brought this narrative technique to a perfection that gave the novel when it did appear a more highly developed medium which none of the acknowledged precursors of the novel had ever developed.¹⁰ Surprising as was his perfecting of those techniques, Swift even goes one step further than any one would expect that early in the history of the novel, that is, the fusion of the elements which Henry James, one of the greatest critics of the novel, says is a necessity.

The most direct method of substantiating the claim that Swift belongs unmistakably in the historical growth of the novel seems to be that of making a thorough and detailed analysis of A Tale of a Tub which came early in his career. This will be followed by a less detailed study of the same narrative techniques with emphasis on those parts in which some technique has been developed to a higher degree,

¹⁰ As an example, one has only to compare, for instance, the unwieldy prose, the flat characters, and the clogged narrative in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, which has always been recognized as a precursor of the novel, to see that the early novelists found in Swift a medium already perfected for their purpose.

such as dialogue in Polite Conversation.

Though Swift has not been credited with foreshadowing the novel and is considered a satirist only, each critic or author who analyzes his work agrees that Swift's idiom is not conventional satire and that it is different from most satirical works; but it does not occur to them that the very fact they must use fictional terms to describe Swift's satire (just as they must use satirical terms to describe Fielding's novels) is significant. The true significance is that the style of both writers is a combination of the techniques of both the satiric and prose fiction genres.

Swift used his idiom for satire, but in creating it, he forged narrative techniques that were later developed in the novel. Oddly, critics have not attempted to explain the many correlations between Swift's A Tale of a Tub and Fielding's Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones. Neither do they mention the complimentary references Fielding makes to Swift as a writer and a genius.¹¹ This omission by the critics shows that although aware of many aspects of Swift they have strangely

¹¹For example, in his chapter entitled "An Invocation," Fielding invokes the assistance of Genius to help him as she has aided great writers such as Swift. Notice in what good company, Fielding has placed Swift:

Come, thou that hast inspired thy Aristophanes, thy
Lucian, thy Cervantes, thy Rabelais, thy Moliere,
thy Shakespear, thy Swift, thy Marivaux, fill my
pages with humor.

Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones: A Foundling (New York, 1917), Vol. II, Bk. XIII, Chap. I, p. 222.

disregarded what may be proved as a clear-cut direction toward novel techniques and the novel itself.

My position is that what Mr. Quintana dismisses as a "satiric idiom" is in reality the formula which Swift developed admittedly for the purpose of satire but which is actually a perfection of a narrative technique which the later novelists found ready to their hands.

All in all, the majority of authorities of the novel have failed to recognize that Swift's work has any relationship to the development of the novel genre and thus do not include him with the other writers who have been accepted as precursors of the novel as an art form. I hope to establish the fact that in creating his "satiric idiom," Swift turned his dramatic and poetic ability to the creation of a narrative form which actually was the lightly sketched pattern of a design that influenced the development of a new genre -- the novel, and with this accomplishment placed himself among the precursors of the novel.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITIONS OF NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES: ELEMENTS: NORMS

Even where critics have been conscious of narrative qualities in Swift, the difficulty in much of Swiftian criticism has seemed to arise from the fact that these critics have not applied a clear definition of the novel form as distinguished from other narrative forms. It is true that the novel more than any other art form, is an open-ended genre, making it possible for books as different as Samuel Richardson's Pamela and James Joyce's Ulysses to be included in the same genre. It is also true that the novel is the most flexible of all forms of literature. It has borrowed from drama, poetry, history, essay, biography; however, it still keeps a distinguishable norm. Within this norm there are innumerable variations. For instance, there can be an emphasis on plot, on character, or on setting. It is not often, even in the highly developed novel, that there is a work like William Makepeace Thackeray's Henry Esmond, which has plot, character, setting, dialogue, and style so equally balanced that it is an almost perfect novel.

From a study of accepted novel techniques and their development in the eighteenth century novel, I have formulated definitions by which it will be possible to judge Swift's place in its history. I have chosen

a definition which gives the novel a distinguishable norm.

The novel is fictitious prose narrative of considerable length in which life-like characters and events are portrayed in a plot.

Although this is a working definition, it does do what a definition is expected to do -- it delimits the field so that at least it shows what a novel is not and gives it a distinguishable norm. Each phase of this definition specifically delimits the field of narrative within the novel and leaves one with that distinguishable norm -- which one must have if he considers the novel as a specific genre.

The first word of the definition "fictitious" eliminates the actual and mere chronicle of events such as biography, autobiography, and most of history; "prose narrative" eliminates all narrative in verse; "considerable length" obviously eliminates the short story; "the life-like characters and events" eliminates the characters and events of pure romance which is outside the novel genre; "the portrayal in plot" eliminates the rambling, simple narrative with only chronological instead of causal relationship between the events. This latter quality -- the plot -- puts the novel among the art genres.

The ideal novel is one in which plot, character, setting, dialogue, and style are equally balanced, but there can be novels that reach near-greatness in which one part or the other may be emphasized. Since every part of my definition is capable of a greater or lesser degree of emphasis on plot, on character, or on setting at the expense of the others, I feel that it is a norm from which to work. In the development

of the parts of this definition, it is necessary to define and consider them separately.

For two reasons I have confined myself largely to the eighteenth century novels for illustrative purposes. First, they were closer to Swift and, therefore, would show more clearly any indebtedness. Second, as George Saintsbury pointed out, every technique used in the later novel was introduced in this period.

Thus, in almost exactly the course of a technical generation -- from the appearance of Pamela in 1740 to that of Humphry Clinker in 1771 -- the wain of the novel was solidly built, furnished with four main wheels to move it, and set a-going to travel through the centuries.¹

The four wheels, of course, were Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), Henry Fielding (1707-1754), Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), and Lawrence Sterne (1713-1768).

After a study of Swift's works, a study of earlier narratives which are accepted as part of the history of the novel, and a close re-reading of the eighteenth century novels, I have become convinced that Swift can not be ignored in the development of the novel genre. Though I have examined all of Swift's works, I am concerned particularly with the prose selections: A Tale of a Tub, Polite Conversation, Directions to Servants, "A Meditation upon a Broomstick," The Partridge-Bickerstaff Papers, and Gulliver's Travels.

I have analyzed these pieces from the standpoint of the techniques

¹ George Saintsbury, The English Novel (London, 1913), p. 132.

of the novel in Swift's treatment of plot, character, dialogue, setting, and style. It must be kept in mind that Swift did not write novels; the genre did not come into being until after his death; however, it is important to remember that the novel, like drama, as an art form could not have materialized when it did without the groundwork done by its precursors.

In the case of Jonathan Swift, these novel techniques are obviously more easily identified in his works that have narrative such as A Tale of a Tub and Gulliver's Travels, but the foreshadowing of one or more of them is to be found to a degree in everything that he wrote: from his non-satiric works such as his History of England and his character analysis of his friend Mrs. Howard to his satiric pieces such as An Argument against Abolishing Christianity and "A Meditation upon a Broomstick."

Narrative techniques include not only the plot, the actual movement of the story, but also the setting, characters, and dialogue, for easy and natural dialogue helped to make the novel possible. For clarity's sake I have given a definition of each of the narrative techniques as it has been accepted by recognized critics and practiced by successful novelists.

In their definition of plot, twentieth century novelists and critics do not agree concerning the necessity of a tight plot in the Aristotelian sense, but most of them agree that plot does differ from simple narrative, which is merely chronological. Plot has

arrangement and design; the arrangement of the incidents gives the pattern which makes the incidents significant. In devising his plot, every novelist has to select just those incidents which in their right sequence will give this design. Thus the novel is a work of art; it is not simple narrative.

In the novel proper, the relationship between events must be causal; in fact, this relationship is the essence of plot, for each incident arises from the one that precedes it and in turn causes the one that follows it. Thus plot has the same function to the events that the skeleton has to the body; it is that which gives it its shape.

Plots can have differing degrees of tightness with the tightest being the dramatic plot, a strictly causal plot with a beginning, middle, and end in the Aristotelian sense. The next degree is the epic in which several plots take place at the same time but are all part of one action. A plot becomes feebler in proportion to the looser degree of its causal connection. For example, the episodic plot's only unity is in the episodes' being connected with one person. These plots are often chronological, such as Charles Dickens's David Copperfield, which takes David from his birth to his maturity.

Though modern writers do not agree on a definition of plot, they all agree that there can be no story without some type of conflict. Indeed, the essence of plot is a conflict of forces: man against society, man against a woman or another man, or man against himself. The point of view which the novelist wishes to present will determine

the type of conflict he selects and the particular incidents with which he will form his design.

Mr. Ian Watt points out that the difference in the emphasis in Samuel Richardson's Clarissa Harlowe and Henry Fielding's Tom Jones arises from the difference in the type of conflict in the two stories and in the point of view of the authors. For instance, since Richardson is depicting "the crucifixion of the individual by society" and Fielding is portraying "the successful adaptation of the individual to society," each writer has to approach his story with "a very different relation between plot and character." Thus in "Clarissa the individual must be given priority in the total structure." "In Tom Jones. . . society and the larger order which it represents must have priority, and the plot's function, therefore, is to perform a physical rather than a chemical change. . . ." ²

On the whole, the plots of Tobias Smollett are somewhat looser than those of Clarissa and Tom Jones, but in Humphry Clinker, Smollett has the action take the precedence, for each character reveals himself through his reaction to each situation. These conflicts, of course, can be found, too, in simple narration which is merely chronological. For example, Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe is based on man's conflict with nature, but it is simply a chronological account of what happens to Crusoe; it is not a causal plot.

²Watt, pp. 270-271.

Characterization is the result of a complete realization and presentation by the novelist, as far as it is in his power, of the personality of the people involved in the action. As in real life, the author makes a pattern out of the evidence which the character gives him, but he must be able to analyze a character in real life before he can create a character that lives and is true to human nature. As Percy Lubbock defines the author's responsibility in presenting characters, they must "move in a created world but also in our world."³

Characters in a book must be founded on life, and they must be consistent in their actions. Here novelists agree with Aristotle that a character must be consistent; if he is inconsistent, he must be consistent in his inconsistency.

There are three ways in which the reader learns to know each character. In the first two, the character reveals himself through what he says and does and the degree of difference between what he says and does and the degree of difference between what he says and what he does. The third is through what others say about him; these are judged according to what is said and who said it. For example, if a friend says something good about a character, the reader does not know whether it is true or not; he must accept the comment with reservations until he finds out by some other means whether it is accurate or not. If a friend says something bad about the character, it causes the reader to wonder if the speaker is really a friend, or if he is a true friend, whether or not he is in a position to judge clearly.

³Percy Lubbock, The Craft of Fiction (New York, 1931), p. 45.

If an enemy says something bad about the character, the reader takes it with a grain of salt, but if an enemy says something good about the character, the reader is not unwilling to accept the character as genuine. But this method may be complicated further. In his characterizations, Swift realized, as did Fielding, that for an ulterior motive an enemy will say something good about a person but not mean it. For example, a hypocrite like Jack in A Tale of a Tub and Blifil in Tom Jones will praise his enemy if he can benefit himself by so doing. It must be realized that this aspect of characterization is more complex than it seems, because in a hypocritical enemy this praise may be damaged by that false praise being followed by a statement which undermines the preceding praise and which reflects not only on the character described but on the character speaking. Even the contradiction between the two reveals character.

Through his observation of individuals in real life, Swift recognized that there is a constant interplay of persons on each other. Thus in the creation of his personae, Swift uses the interplay of one character on another as part of his method of revealing the character of each. In so doing, he foreshadowed another area of characterization that has been used by novelists.

Good characterization is achieved by the careful balancing of these methods against each other. When one of them contradicts the other, the reader must realize that one of them is more important than the other. When what a man says contradicts what he does, the truth is more in what he does than in what he says. It must be remembered that a character in a book is like one in real life; the character has a

design just like plot. Its design is imposed on it by the observer from the facts that he has seen. If he has seen too little, the character is over-simplified. If he has seen wrongly, the character is poor.

Setting in the novel includes all the circumstances tangible and intangible which shape the action in any way: time, place, background, environment, religious and political beliefs, moral standards, superstitions, even all circumstances which people take for granted.

For example, Tom Jones laid in the London slums would have been a different story than it was as laid in the country. Tom's life would have been radically different if he had not been accepted and reared as a gentleman by an honorable, kind man like Squire Allworthy, but instead had either fallen into the hands of a criminal who taught him to follow a criminal career or had grown up as an unclaimed little waif, cuffed and abused by everyone around him. In fact, a plot concerning Fielding's Tom Jones which was laid after he was twenty-eight years old would be different from that which took place when Tom was eighteen, because by that age he had learned prudence which enabled him to evaluate each situation more clearly and thus make more prudent decisions. In this sense, setting includes every element which causes each plot to have its particular design.

Like Swift, the eighteenth century novelists realized that setting is influential in determining the sequence of events, but they did not dwell on it in detail as did the nineteenth century novelists. Whereas the nineteenth century writer gave every detail in each of his

descriptions, the novelists of the eighteenth century followed Swift's method of describing a character or evoking a scene through suggestion, that is, through the scene démeublé. In depicting the setting of each scene, the nineteenth century novelist mentioned every element of it: the exact date, type of day and time of day, color of the sky, cloud formations, gardens -- whether neglected or well-cared for, homes and the rooms within described in detail -- both according to the color and style of furnishings, simple or ornate, as well as the type of atmosphere -- whether dreary or cheeful, comfortable or uncomfortable. Swift needed only a suggestion to evoke not only the character but the setting -- a suggestion which gives the illusion of reality to the scene. For example, when the reader sees Peter clapping three hats on his head at once and hears the jangling of the big bunch of keys at his waist, he can see and hear a part of the setting while he also recognizes Peter's personality traits -- vanity and ostentation -- through his outward appearance, which is also a part of that setting.

Thus Swift in his management of setting anticipated the eighteenth century technique. Fielding, for instance, follows the same method. He does not describe Mr. Allworthy's house in detail, but through suggestion Fielding enables the reader to visualize Mr. Allworthy's house as one of the noblest buildings in the "Gothic stile," a house that has "an air of grandeur that struck you with awe," that "rivalled the beauties of the best Grecian architecture," that was as "commodious

within as venerable without."⁴

Dialogue is an important area in the novel. In fact, Percy Marshall considers dialogue and conversation as being two of the most important methods in presenting a character.⁵ One can see that it can do even more: reveal character, further plot, reflect setting.

In both the novel and the drama, dialogue must be flexible, easy, and broken into short remarks, for people do not talk in long sentences. Swift used flexible dialogue, the dialogue of real life in his works; he recognized the mistake of the writers of heroic tragedy who had their characters speak in long declamations on honor, friendship, and love. This flexible, easy dialogue was an important contribution to the later novel. In fact, the novel could not have developed with a heavy dialogue which would impede action.

There have been almost as many definitions of style as there have been great writers and critics. Most writers, including Swift, would agree with Percy Lubbock's statements that "form and matter must coalesce," that "the best form is that which makes the most of its subject," and that "form and matter should be so closely united that they will hold together on analysis."⁶ Swift would certainly agree with Aristotle's definition that perfection of style is clarity without

⁴Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. 1, Bk. I, Chapt. IV, p. 10.

⁵Percy Marshall, Masters of the English Novel (London, 1962), p. 17.

⁶Lubbock, pp. 40-41.

meanness. However, any use of language which heightens the power of writing to move us is an undeniable aspect of style. This includes the writer's use of language: imagery, sentence structure, and the use of words. One of the most important decisions that the novelist must make is to decide on the style which best fits his subject. For instance, choice of words, sentence structure, imagery are totally different in Joseph Conrad's almost mystical approach to the sea and in Ernest Hemingway's stark realism in "The Killers."

George Meredith has given us one of the best expressions of the use of images -- that the most effective means of the author's sharing his vision with his reader is through the figure of speech. In his own words, Meredith said that the purpose of the figure of speech is "to spring the imagination with a word or phrase";⁷ in one or two lines the author can evoke a clearer picture, mood, or meaning than would be possible in several sentences of description or straight comment.

The best method of explaining an abstract subject is by a concrete image. The point is made by an image to the physical eye which enables the reader to hear, to feel, and to see it. This meaning reaches the brain, the mind's eye, which understands the abstraction because of its relationship to the concrete image. Thus through the concrete image, the author enables the reader to hear, to see, and to feel as he himself has heard, has felt, and has seen. Longinus in

⁷ George Meredith, Diana of the Crossways (New York, 1910), p. 205.

his essay "On the Sublime" gives this excellent definition of the image; this use of the image is in line with the Longinian concept of the use of the image in literature.

Images, moreover, contribute greatly, . . . to dignity, elevation and power as a pleader. In this sense some call them mental representations. In a general way the name of 'image' or 'imagination' is applied to every ideal of the mind, in whatever form it presents itself, which gives birth to speech. . . . you think you see what you describe, and you place it before the eyes of your hearers.⁸

Longinus discusses two types of images -- the poetical and the rhetorical; each has a different purpose but both arouse the reader. The "design of the poetical image is enthrallment, of the rhetorical-vivid description."⁹ Swift and Fielding used both types correctly, but they added humor and meaning to the development of plot, revelation of character, and description of setting by also using them incorrectly. By this last method, Swift, first, and Fielding, later, proved that they understood the essence of Longinus's warnings against the misuse of language, of images, of figures of speech and that they also recognized their value in revealing character.

For example, by using the Longinian principle that our "defects usually spring, for the most part, from the same sources as our good points,"¹⁰ Swift has each of his modern author personae in A Tale

⁸ Longinus, "On the Sublime," trans. by W. Rhys Roberts. The Great Critics, ed. by James Harry Smith and Edd Winfield Parks. Third edition (New York, 1951), p. 82.

⁹ Ibid., p. 82

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

reveal his character through his mistakes in writing. Indeed, one might say that in A Tale Swift complements the warnings of Longinus, for through the literary mistakes of his modern authors, Swift provides concrete examples illustrating each misuse of language which Longinus mentions. For instance, Persona C is aware that Longinus has said that to be great, literature must have a quality known as the Sublime, a quality which he feels his work has; but through his comment that his work has reached "the depths of the Sublime" as well as through his mistakes in writing, Persona C reveals that, at the same time, he both misunderstood Longinus and is ignorant of the classical principles of writing.¹¹

Although these basic critical standards of narrative writing have been accepted by recognized critics and narrative writers for many centuries of narrative art both before and after the novel appeared, it is important to remember that Swift's discovery of them was no accident. The skill and thoroughness with which he uses them might prove that. But there is further proof that Swift started his literary career with a saturation in these principles. This proof is found in his recognized knowledge and recognition of Aristotelian principles,

¹¹Swift, Jonathan, "The Preface," A Tale of a Tub, ed. by A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, Second Edition (Oxford, 1958), p. 44. Persona C is my name for the writer of "The Preface." Of the five modern author personae, Swift identifies only two: the historian and the bookseller. For clarity's sake, I have identified the other three by different letters: Persona A the writer of "The Apology," and Persona B of "The Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity."

particularly those found in the Poetics. We know from the curriculum at Trinity College, Dublin, which he studied that Swift was saturated with the Poetics. He knew the Poetics well enough to know that Aristotle himself said that new genres might appear which might necessitate the adaptation and modification of his theories to these possible new genres. Criticism recognizes that drama uses the same essential elements of plot, character, dialogue, even language as does the novel, so that it is reasonable and easy to adapt Aristotle's theory of drama to prose fiction. Therefore, it is not surprising that Fielding, who got his training in drama, added so much to the development of the novel.

Further proof that Swift's knowledge of narrative techniques is not an accidental one may be found through the work of critics like John Bullitt. Mr. Bullitt made a thorough analysis of Swift's use of Aristotle, although he put his emphasis on Swift's knowledge of Rhetoric, Politics, Logic, and Ethics. He showed that in his university work, Swift had been steeped in the study of Aristotle. Swift, himself, adds the Poetics to those areas to which Mr. Bullitt confined his study.¹² There is no doubt of Swift's knowledge and admiration of Aristotle. He even wrote a character sketch of Aristotle in

¹²John M. Bullitt, Jonathan Swift and the Anatomy of Satire (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 116-122. Another discussion of the subject is that of Irwin Ehrenpreis, Mr. Swift and his Contemporaries (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). Vol. I of Mr. Ehrenpreis's complete work on Swift, Swift: the Man, his Works, and the Age. Two vols, . . .

which he praises his knowledge of literature and calls him "the most comprehensive genius who ever lived. "

He ̄Aristotlē writ upon logick, or the art of reason -
ing; upon moral and natural philosophy; upon oratory,
poetry, etc. and seems to be a person of the most
comprehensive genius that ever lived.¹³

Mr. Bullitt gives us a summary of Swift's class assignments which show the thoroughness with which he had mastered Aristotle. In his class assignments, Swift had to use the principles of each field both to prove and disprove each subject that was assigned him. By the time his university training was ended, Swift had absorbed them to the extent that he could either use them correctly or misuse them in every conceivable way.

These principles with which Swift was undoubtedly acquainted may be seen clearly in the following brief summary of Aristotle's rules. The changes Swift made in interpretation of the rules of the Poetics and his combination of genres which form the basis of his "satiric idiom" was a re-interpretation of literary principles which was necessary before an anti-romance prose fiction genre such as the novel could be developed.¹⁴ Thus Swift in devising his pattern for his idiom was also

¹³Swift, "Character of Aristotle," Herbert Davis, ed., The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift (Oxford, 1962), Vol. V, p. 345. Italics are mine.

¹⁴J. J. Jusserand discusses this point in his work The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, trans. by Elizabeth Lee (London, 1894), pp. 411-412. Mr. Jusserand states that the writers of the seventeenth century who tried to write fiction other than the heroic romance were not successful, but they did not know why they failed. My point is that they did not apply the principles governing poetry and drama to prose fiction.

devising an undoubted advance, which made a long stride in the direction of a new genre -- the novel.

There are a number of clues to Swift's success in finding, in the Poetics, the narrative techniques from which he developed the form of his "satiric idiom" and which give him a clear position in the history of the English novel. The first clue is found in Aristotle's own recognition that, in the future, new genres might develop in literature. This opened to Swift the possibility of using the standards of the Poetics outside and beyond the limit of tragedy as well as in the field of comedy, particularly that side of comedy in which he was essentially interested-- satire.

The second clue is found in the fact that tragedy, on which the Poetics is centered, is also in its essence narrative. When Aristotle at the beginning of his great definition of tragedy says that "Tragedy is an imitation of an action, in the form of action not narrative," he is emphasizing only that tragic drama is presented in the actual form of action with characters moving around and saying their own speeches in a setting which the audience sees instead of hears about. But essentially every aspect of narrative art is found in tragedy -- the plot, characters, setting, dialogue, style. The form only of drama is different; the essence is the same.

A short summary of those rules of the Poetics which deal with standards easily adaptable to narrative techniques other than those of pure drama will show how any narrative may gain by the observance of

these rules. In regard to plot, Aristotle says first there must be one action. It is true that there are dramas and novels with more than one action, but it still remains true that the novel or drama with one action has a concentrated power that more diffused action lacks. This could be particularly adaptable and useful to satire. This one action must have form -- a beginning, middle, and end. This too is undeniably effective in any form of narrative art. The dictum of "a certain magnitude," the power of embellishment, and even Katharsis (in a tragic novel) can be adapted without distortion. The standards of probability, necessity of movement (in terms of movement from good fortune to bad), the function of action in the revelation of character, and even what at first glance may seem close to tragedy alone -- "recognition and reversal of intention" -- may add power to narrative whether the narrative is the end in view, as in the novel, or as a means to an end, as Swift used it in satire.

In the matter of characterization, Aristotle is equally helpful to any narrative writing. The necessity for the revelation of character in action, the need for consistency in character even if it is only consistency in inconsistency, the "tragic flaw," which can be as adaptable to all forces of comedy (including satire) as to tragedy.¹⁵ There is nothing in the Poetics' discussion of character that is not easily adapted to other forms of prose fiction.

¹⁵ Note the comic flaw in George Meredith's Willoughby Patterne in The Egoist or in Henry Fielding's Blifil in Tom Jones.

Setting, to be sure, in Greek drama, consequently in Aristotle's discussion of it, is reduced to a minimum. But even here the prose narrative can profit from the implication of setting in a speech or action of a character.

It is almost an axiom in literature that part, if not much of the power of a piece of writing, rests on style -- diction, magical combination of words, images, the use of figures, sentence structure -- all that Aristotle includes in "embellishments." Any examination of Swift's work reveals how thoroughly he mastered these ideas of style, though limiting them to his own purpose.

Finally, Aristotle, in his basic classification of the ways at looking at human beings in art, gave to Swift a tenable position for his own satiric purpose. Aristotle says that basically there are only three ways to depict human beings: as better than they are (tragedy), as worse than they are (pure comedy), as they are (merely unemphasized realism). Satire for its own purposes deliberately shows people as worse than they are -- in the sense that emphasis is on man's follies, absurdities, stupidities, and the even more dangerous traits that these can lead to. Swift saw almost too clearly not only the follies of mankind, but the stupidities as well, and one gets a deepening sense of this as his work develops.

The misfortune of Aristotle's Poetics has too often been in a static instead of a dynamic interpretation. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries insisted on the letter of the law -- an insistence

which led, for instance, to the absurd lengths to which the idea of the three unities was carried -- an insistence not found in the Poetics itself.

The twentieth century has too often concluded that the Poetics was a strict, formalized law, no longer tenable in a changing world of art.¹⁶ It is a part of Swift's greatness that in an age given to a strict static interpretation of the Poetics, he should have recognized the essential fluid and dynamic quality in Aristotle. Thus Swift, who we know was thoroughly trained in the Poetics and who had expressed his admiration for it, had in it an admirable (one is tempted to say the best) manual on the writing of the narrative. An examination of his work shows his use of it, and it is this successful use of these narrative techniques that make it impossible not to include him as one of the precursors of the novel -- a more important precursor than criticism has yet recognized.

¹⁶ Maxwell Anderson, "The Essence of Tragedy," Off Broadway (New York, 1947), pp. 56-57. One notable exception to this is the dramatist Maxwell Anderson, who in an essay on tragedy attributed his success to a dynamic interpretation of the Poetics.

CHAPTER III

A TALE OF A TUB: A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN A TALE OF A TUB

An examination of the narrative elements in A Tale of a Tub reveals first what is a logical reason for the general lack of awareness, on the part of critics, of the power of Swift's narrative skill. The narrative is so perfectly fused with the satire that one is reminded of the same fusion of narrative and allegory in John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, generally accepted as one of the most nearly perfect fusions in literature. And like Bunyan's narrative, Swift's narrative elements can be separated so clearly that even children can thoroughly enjoy the story when it is lifted from the satire and is seen by itself. Critics, absorbed in the satire in A Tale, have been carried along by the narrative so smoothly that whereas children can ignore the satire the critics have similarly ignored the technique, which adds so much to the greater element -- the satire. Even this fusion, and the further fusion of character, plot, dialogue, setting, and style are evidence of high narrative skill. This fusion in itself is an important narrative quality as seen from this quotation from Henry James, who was not only a great novelist but a great critic of the novel.

People often talk of these things as if they had a kind of interecine distinctness, instead of melting into each other at every breath, and being intimately connected parts of one general effort of expression. I cannot imagine composition existing in a series of blocks, nor conceive, in any novel worth discussing at all, of a passage of description that is not in its intention narrative, a passage of dialogue that is not in its intention description, a touch of truth of any sort that does not partake of the nature of incident, or an incident that derives its interest from any other source than the general and only source of the success of a work of art -- that of being illustrative. A novel is a living thing, all one and continuous, like any other organism, and in proportion as it lives will it be found, I think, that in each of the parts there is something of the other parts.¹

All the elements of a highly developed narrative technique are found in A Tale of a Tub, and not merely the techniques of simple narrative, but, what is the aim of this study to prove, the techniques that go in the direction of the more highly developed novel genre. Admittedly, Swift does not become a novelist, but the tools of the novelists are forged here with a precision that has been under-rated when it has not been totally ignored. Plot, character, setting, dialogue, style are all evident once we can look at them clearly unobscured by their purpose in furthering satire.

Swift not only creates his action and characters but his own narrative frame work and thus takes Aristotle's advice that a poet should show invention of his own. Swift's manner of presenting his subject as

¹Henry James, "The Art of Fiction," Partial Portraits (New York, 1888), pp. 12-13.

a biography in A Tale arises from his conception that the prose writer is a combination of both an historian and a poet in the Aristotelian sense. The method is new in prose with Swift, representing a combination of the traditionally accepted function of both the poet and the historian. Swift gives both the universal (the poet's point of view) and the particular (the historian's point of view.)²

Thus Swift's actions and characters are fictitious but life-like; they are not people who have actually lived or actions that have actually occurred but are his creations. But, at the same time that he stresses the universal as does the poet, Swift presents the particulars in his mentioning the actual coffeehouses, theaters, taverns, fashions, and people of the late seventeenth century London, the period and setting of A Tale of a Tub.³

Swift gives only the incidents which are important to the plot,

² Earnest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel (New York, 1961), Vol. III, p. 167. It is interesting to note that E. A. Baker in his monumental history of the English novel said that this method became so popular among the eighteenth century novelists that it has been called their typical approach. Related to the biographical form is the autobiographical which Swift used in Gulliver's Travels.

³ Swift refers to Will's Coffee house in Bow Street, Covent Garden (pp. 75: 242 & n. 1), Locket's, a fashionable tavern at Charing Cross, named after its first landlord, its reputation lasting from 1675 until shortly after the death of Queen Anne (p. 75, n. 2), the Rose, a tavern in Russell Street popular with men of fashion (p. 82, n. 5), also referred to by John Dryden in The Hind and the Panther. In fashions, the shoulder-knots were introduced from France about 1670 (p. 82, n. 1). Swift creates universal characters in the father and his three sons, but he also mentions particular persons who lived in London such as Lord Clifford, who is Charles Boyle who died in 1704, and Sir John Walter of Sarsden, who was M. P. for Appleby in 1697 (p. 86, n. 2).

skips the years in which no relevant incident takes place, summarizes the incidents which have a degree of influence on the plot, and stresses those incidents which are an integral part of the plot.

Unlike the seventeenth century dramatist, Swift does not begin with a signal day near the end of the action. Unlike the heroic romance writer, he does not begin with a meeting of the lovers. Unlike the traditional historian or biographer, he does not give every detail of the subject's childhood, youth, middle age, and old age in chronological order. Thus in all these respects, Swift is nearer the novel genre than he is to the older, simpler narrative. Although A Tale of a Tub is well known to any reader of Swift, an outline of narrative, lifted from the satire, can give a bird's eye view of the plot, characters, and setting which will make it easier for the reader to see the relationship of these parts in the analysis that follows.

A dying father, worried about leaving his three half-grown sons alone in the world, has selected a legacy for them which will insure their having prosperity and peace throughout their lives if they will abide by its terms. The legacy, which consists of a plain, one-piece coat for each of the brothers, not only requires that the brothers wear their coats untrimmed, keep them clean, and maintain them in their original condition, but that they live together. If they do so, they will always be prosperous and happy. If they do not, they will suffer in many and various ways, one of which will be that they will not find happiness and peace of mind.

After their father's death, the lads, no one knowing which is the oldest, visit strange countries in which they fight and slay several dragons. They prosper and live in peace with each other, for they have followed the terms of their father's will in living together and in caring for their coats properly. They have had no temptation to do otherwise until they reach "the proper Age for producing themselves," (p. 74) journey to the city, and are exposed to the fashions and manners of the members of a particularly worldly and artificial type of society.

Their father's commandment that they not put any trimming on their coats prevents the brothers from following society's fashions; therefore, they attempt to break into this social clique by imitating the vicious actions of its members, but to no avail. The ladies refuse the brothers' attentions, the men scorn them, and the servants ridicule them. Goaded by "forty Mortifications" that arise from their not wearing the current fashion of "shoulder-knots," the brothers search their father's will to find his "positive Command" (p. 81) to wear them. Peter, being the learned brother, takes the initiative in rationalizing these terms in order to enable them to wear shoulder-knots with good conscience, so that they will be accepted by society and yet will not be punished by their father.

Peter reasons that if they can find each letter of the word "shoulder-knots" in the will they can consider that they have their father's order to wear them. The brothers find all the letters except "k," which Peter says is merely a new spelling for "c," which letter

is in the will; therefore, they can consider that they have their father's order to wear "shoulder-knots" as long as they spell "knot" with a "c," instead of a "k."

With each new fashion change, Peter finds that he has to make an entirely new type of justification in order to correlate their father's terms with the current fashion of society. Since fashions change so fast and no punishment from their father seems forthcoming, Peter grows tired of trying to correlate the two. Each new justification is more far-fetched than the preceding one until, finally, Peter gives up attempting to relate the two. He locks up the will and refers to it no more.

By now, Peter has become such an accomplished sophist that he manages to persuade a noble lord to let him tutor the lord's children and to allow him and his brothers to live in the lord's house; next, at the lord's death, Peter forges a deed which gives the house to him and his heirs. The deed holds up legally, and Peter turns the lord's children out of their home. From then on, Peter treats his two brothers tyrannically; however, they do not rebel until he gives them only bread at mealtime, insisting that it is wine and mutton. One day, while Peter is away from home, Martin and Jack break down the door into the wine cellar, drink Peter's wine, and steal a copy of their father's will, which Peter has kept locked up.

Though Martin and Jack move into the same lodging when they leave Peter's house (with his curse on their heads), they do not stay

together long, for their reactions to their disobedience to their father's rules result in their conflict. Martin has gradually become aware of his own wrongdoing. Then, on reading his father's will, he finds how far they have all three wandered from it. To compensate for his failure to follow their father's instructions, Martin is very careful in taking the trimming off his coat so that he can restore his coat as nearly as possible to its original condition; therefore, he leaves the trimming in those places in which it is doubly sewed, for he will damage the material of the coat if he tries to remove it.

Jack's reason, however, for tearing off the trimming is not remorse for disobeying their father but rather his hate of Peter. He wishes to remove the trimming so that his coat will bear no resemblance to Peter's and thus no one will know that he is related to Peter. In his zeal to take off all the ornamentation, Jack tears his coat from top to bottom and even damages the material that he does not tear. Though he rips off much of the ornamentation, there is much he can not get off in his hurry. Thus though his coat is torn, frayed, and tattered, it still has enough trimming to look like Peter's; whereas, Martin's coat is still in one piece, is not torn or frayed, and does not look like Peter's or Jack's, in spite of the fact that Martin has left on the trimming that is sewed on so tightly that he would have injured the material of the coat if he had tried to take it off.

The rupture between Martin and Jack arises from Jack's envy of the good condition of Martin's coat and the ruined state of his own.

When Jack finds that he can not persuade Martin to ruin his coat by tearing off the doubly-sewed-on trimming, he loses his temper; in a rage, he moves into lodgings of his own. Thus the three brothers, instead of living together as their father has commanded, live in separate establishments.

Though there is no clear-cut conclusion, since the original manuscript is said to have been lost, the narrator-historian of A Tale writes that the story of the three brothers does have a conclusion, which he has read in the original and which he sums up so that the reader will know approximately what happens to Peter, Martin, and Jack. The historian adds, however, that though he remembers in general what events occur, he has forgotten "the Particulars of all these, with several others, which have now slid out of my Memory, and are lost beyond all Hopes of Recovery." (p. 205) The historian's account is credible and true to life, for the catastrophe in each brother's life is in character with his particular traits and in proportion to his degree of acceptance of the ways of the world.⁴

Jack is the most vicious and unscrupulous of the three, Peter is a close second to him, with Martin's being the most honest. Jack's degeneration being greater than Peter's is credible, for Jack's actions stem from his character traits of hypocrisy and deceit and thus are

⁴ Ibid., pp. 203-205. The historian persona who narrates the story of the three brothers claims to have read the original manuscript and thus can summarize the sequence of events that lead to the catastrophe in each brother's life.

further removed from his nature than are Peter's actions which arise from his dominant traits of vanity and ostentation. The hypocrite has to plan his actions and comments ahead of time, for he must always remember to act in direct opposition to the way he wishes to act; whereas the vain man can act or speak on the spur of the moment, since he does not try to hide his desire for power, money, and show. Thus Jack's degeneration is the greater because he must act opposite to his natural inclinations.⁵

Jack and Peter never see themselves as they are and thus never suffer remorse or try to improve, but Martin recognizes his faults and does his best to try to improve; however, he does not have the qualities to be as good as his father has hoped they will all be. Martin has shown himself to be shallow and frivolous; he has been both willing and eager to rationalize the terms of their father's will so that he, too, would be accepted by fashionable society. Gradually, he has become aware that Peter has stretched the terms of the will too far, but

⁵ Henry Fielding, The Adventures of Joseph Andrews (New York, 1930), p. 8. In Fielding's "Preface" to Joseph Andrews he makes this distinction. ". . .for though the vain man is not what he would appear, or hath not the virtue he affects, to the degree he would be thought to have it; yet it sits less awkwardly on him than on the avaricious man, who is the very reverse of what he seems to be."

Martin has not had the courage to do anything but weakly object⁶ until Peter gives Jack and him only bread to eat; only then do he and Jack rebel, drink Peter's wine, and make a copy of their father's will.

When he, finally, does realize how far they have strayed from following their father's instructions, Martin is remorseful and tries to restore his coat as nearly as possible to its original condition, but he has sunk to such a low level before his awakening that he keeps the marks permanently; he can never be as good as his father has hoped. However, this weakness in his character makes him aware of the tricks that Peter and Jack have planned together to catch him. Peter and Jack are enemies, but they team up together because of their mutual hatred for Martin, but Martin is intelligent enough to escape the trap they set for him. It takes a thief, even a reformed one, to catch or even to recognize a thief.

The story ends with the three brothers going their separate ways, unable to break all the ties with each other but living in a state of armed neutrality when it has not been mutual suspicion.

Plot

In A Tale of a Tub, Swift, like the later novelists, has created an

⁶Swift, A Tale of a Tub, p. 88. Their father had stated in his will that they must never wear silver fringe. Peter said that the same word that meant "fringe" also meant "broomstick." Since their father believed in broomsticks, Peter felt that the father had given them his order to wear silver fringe. Martin objected to this interpretation, for a "broomstick" was made of "silver." Peter answer that this was

original arrangement and design for his plot -- the creative history or biography, a design in which Swift combines the particular (the historian's function) with the universal (the poet's function). To do so, Swift has combined the biographical form in which the historian relates the sequence of events which have occurred in the life of an actual person with the created events and characters, which are in the province of the poet.

Swift has placed the fictitious, highly selected events in the lives of his three brothers, put them into an actual setting of his own day, and arranged them in a causal sequence, which forms the pattern of the plot. This is a genuine combination of the function of both historian and poet.

The plot, to be sure, is slight. It is used obviously to further Swift's main purpose -- that of satire, but it is unmistakably plot -- not simple narrative. A recapitulation here of the main standards by which a plot is distinguished from simple narrative will help to bring into focus what the following analysis aims to achieve, namely the proof that here are unmistakable indications that Swift's techniques go in the direction of the novel genre not those of the older, simpler narratives. The main standards by which we judge a plot are as follows: a unity of action, incidents highly selective, causal relationships, necessity for conflict, movement which creates suspense, and even possible hints of recognition and reversal of intention, both valuable in the creation

"understood in a mythological and allegorical sense." Hence Martin said no more but wore his quota of silver fringe as did his brothers.

of plot.⁷

The unity of action in A Tale of a Tub is clear. It involves the three brothers working together to correlate -- on the surface only -- the terms of the father's will with those of society.

This is the single action in the story. There is a single catastrophe in their subsequent moral degeneration. Each of the brothers reveals his own character traits in his action in and reaction to each event in the conflict between each new temptation from society and its particular denouncement in the father's will.

This single action begins as late as possible when the dying father calls his three sons to him to receive his legacy. The legacy has definite restrictions and the entire story is concerned only with the working out of the sons' attempt to reconcile what they want to do with the terms of the will. There is no action in the story which is not concerned with this main, central action.

This single action has the beginning, middle, and end which belong to a highly organized plot. The beginning is clear-cut in the action of the dying father's giving their inheritance with strict limitations placed upon them if they are to enjoy that inheritance.

The middle is concerned with their successive temptations to reconcile the life which they desire in the city to the strict terms of their father's will. They are aware that they will lose their inheritance

⁷ A full discussion of these standards it will be remembered are found in Chapter II.

completely if they do not conform to the will; against this if they do not conform to the whims of fashionable society, they will be outsiders there.

The middle moves toward the end with each succeeding temptation to stretch the will becoming greater as they involve themselves more deeply in this artificial social life. The end, however, is not so conclusive as the beginning and the middle, but Swift overcomes this, perhaps, by using the fiction that the full details of the final end were lost. Still a clear-cut ending is evident in the fact that the three brothers do deteriorate, and the story ends with their complete separation.

It is easy to illustrate how highly selective Swift is in his choice of incidents -- a selectivity which is the mark of a developed plot. In describing their activities during this period, Swift manages, in just a few lines, to catch the worst essence of city life in the eighteenth century, a frivolous, complicated life that eighteenth century novelists took whole chapters to describe. The brothers in A Tale reveal their mediocrity in their listening to senators who are silent in Parliament but loud in the coffee houses; they show their hypocrisy in pretending to dine with lords whom they do not know and in claiming to go to drawing rooms that they have never entered; they reveal their lawlessness by bilking coach-men, beating the night watch, being in debt to shopkeepers and then sleeping with their wives. (p. 75) One aspect of the tightness of the plot is the close causal

relationship of the incidents which exists from the beginning to the end. The first causal relationship springs from the fact that the three brothers are born so closely together that even the midwife does not know which is the oldest. From this springs the initial equality of the brothers. It is only as time goes on that their different characters begin to emerge and Peter takes the lead.

The next causal relationship is the fact that the father has no estate and can only leave his sons these three good coats. Out of that grow the specific instructions which the brothers are forced to follow to insure their continuing peace and success.

Their journey to the city is the cause of their first tampering with the will. Their growing involvement in the fashionable world causes their increased and more dangerous tampering with the will. Their gradual estrangement grows causally out of the fact that Peter is more ingenious in interpreting the will and begins to assume a precedence over them which they increasingly resent. As Peter's pride and arrogance grow, the other two brothers join forces against him. This joining of forces gives them the courage to steal the will and thus find out how Peter has abused his power.

When the two brothers separate from Peter, their different reactions to Peter's high-handed interpretation of their father's will causes the conflict between them to arise. Martin is sorrowful that they have strayed so far from their father's intentions; whereas Jack is angry and resentful of Peter's assumption of the authority which he

has used against them.

These different attitudes resulting from the assumption of Peter's authority causes each of them to react, individually, in his choice of the method to restore his coat. Martin, on the one hand, does his best to restore his coat to its original condition, so he takes the trimming off carefully in order to keep his coat intact; whereas Jack, instead of working carefully, tears off the trimming with such zeal that he damages the material beyond repair. In fact, he tears off more in three minutes than Martin does in three hours. (p. 138).

This damage to his own coat causes Jack to look enviously at Martin's whole coat which in turn causes Jack to try to persuade him to tear off all the trimming from his coat, so that it will be in as disreputable a shape as his own. Jack's angry separation from his brother arises from Martin's refusal to damage his own coat (again the strong causal relationship.)

Since the plot is a causal one, Swift omits the periods in the brothers' lives in which no relevant events take place and summarizes the incidents in those years in which the action is outside the main plot but still has a bearing on its development. Thus he foreshadows the method for developing plot that novelists used later.⁸ As we have

⁸ Swift, "An Apology," A Tale of a Tub, p. 17. For example, Henry Fielding not only follows Swift's method of omitting or summarizing events or details that he feels are not necessary, but he also uses Swift's term "chasms" in referring to them. Thus, writes Fielding, he will give all the details of every scene relevant to the action, but he will omit "whole years" in which nothing relevant happens

noted before, the plot is a slight one, but the causal relationship is tight.

The conflict which is essential to the plot is twofold but so skillfully fused that it seems one. The obvious conflict -- the conflict which is first noticed -- is the conflict between Peter, Martin, and Jack and the society which they hope to conquer but which first rejects them. That conflict causes the conflict between the three brothers which is the essential conflict -- the conflict which causes the catastrophe -- the separation of the three brothers.

The generating condition of this conflict lies in the brothers' finding that simply imitating the vicious actions of this fashionable world is not enough to gain the love of the ladies or the respect of the members of this type of society; they must also dress in fashion which means sewing the latest trimming on their long, plain coats. Thus the conflict within the brothers is intensified, and they "were strangely at a loss" (p. 81) to know what to do.

and thus the reader need "not be afraid of a chasm in our history"; Tom Jones, Bk. II, Chap. I, p. 49. Fielding said that he would let the reader fill in the blanks of time with any incidents he so desired; thus Fielding allowed the reader to fill in the twelve-year space between little Tommy Jones's second year and his fourteenth. Bk. III, Chap. I, pp. 89-90. The length of this first blank is approximately the same as Swift's first one in A Tale, for Swift begins with the birth of the three brothers and then moves immediately to their fourteenth year. Swift's use of the word "chasm" is satiric in the "Apology" of A Tale. Persona A, its author, constantly mentions as "chasms" the blank areas left by the anonymous author in his story of the three brothers and their coats.

For, on the one side, the three ladies they address'd themselves to, (whom we have named already) were ever at the very Top of the Fashion, and abhorred all that were below it, but the breadth of a Hair. On the other side, their Father's Will was very precise, and it was the main Precept in it, with the greatest Penalties annexed, not to add to, or diminish from their Coats, one Thread, without a positive Command in the Will. (p. 81)

That they must dress as society decrees as well as act like it becomes evident to the brothers "before they were a month in Town," (p. 82) with the vogue for shoulder-knots. Swift enables the reader to have empathy with the brothers in their fight with the temptations of the world by listing in climactic order the increasing pressures that cause them to seek permission in their father's will for the wearing of shoulder-knots. In every sentence, Swift gives us the incentives in the world as the brothers see them.

For example, take the sentence "Strait, all the world was Shoulder-knots. . . ." (p. 82) The reader can see, as do the brothers, every person on the street, in the chocolate houses and taverns, in the theatres and drawing rooms sporting his shoulder-knot, every one except the brothers. Then the incentives for the brothers to wear them, too, begin to build up: first, there is "no approaching the Ladies' Ruelles without the Quota of Shoulder-knots;"⁹ next, the brothers are pointed out on the street by strangers who cry, "That

⁹ Swift, A Tale of a Tub, p. 82 and note 2. A "ruelle" was "the passage by the side of a bed," which "came to signify a boudoir of ladies of fashion." The word came from the court of Louis XIV and is found in English by 1676.

Fellow. . . has no Soul; where is his Shoulder-knot?" (p. 82) Indeed, there are "forty Mortifications and Indignities" which the brothers meet with in the places of entertainment, each one being a greater insult than the preceding one, for it is worse to be spurned by the footman of a lady than by the doorkeeper of a playhouse. These incentives are great enough to cause the brothers to tamper with their father's precepts in spite of their fear of the punishments he might send them. Here the conflict is clear.

There are three, perhaps less important, aspects of plot which should be considered: movement, recognition, and reversal of intention. The first is movement. There can be little interest and no suspense without that feeling of movement in the narrative. Swift accomplishes this by the rising temptations which the boys meet in London, by the climactic order of the forty mortifications, and by the growing separation of the three brothers which makes the catastrophe in the plot.

In choosing four specific examples to represent "the forty Mortifications and Indignities," (p. 82) Swift makes an excellent selection to show movement. In climactic order, he gives one from each of the areas involving the brothers' social life, each one's being a stronger incentive than the one before to cause the brothers to dress in fashion. Swift lists these mortifications in climactic order in their persuasive effect as incentives which will cause the brothers to attempt to find an excuse to wear shoulder-knots. The reader feels

movement in the mortification of the brothers when they realize that the doorkeeper has shown them up to the twelve-penny gallery without even asking how much they are willing to pay for tickets; the reader watches as the brothers call a boat to sail down the Thames and hears the Water-man say, "I am first Sculler," (p. 82) implying that his customers would have to help row the boat. The reader sees the brothers stepping inside the door of the Rose Tavern to drink a bottle and feels their humiliation as the drawer cries out on seeing them, "Friend, we sell no Ale." (pp. 82-83) Here is a double humiliation: the indignity of the action of the drawer's assuming that the brothers belong in an ale house, not in an assembly of gentlemen, and at the same time his attracting the attention of the other customers, who turn and stare at the three brothers standing just inside the door in their long, plain coats without shoulder-knots. The greatest insult and thus their final incentive to search their father's will for permission to wear shoulder-knots is the action of the footman of a "lady"; he will not show the brothers up to her automatically but instead says, "Pray, send up your Message." (p. 83)

Now the brothers feel justified in searching the will "for the Positive Command in the Will" (p. 81) which their father said they must have before they can add anything to their coats. The brothers show their cowardliness in their fear of ignoring their father's instructions, for they are afraid of the punishments they might receive if they do so. Their solution to their conflict is to try to correlate the instructions

in their father's will to the dictates of fashionable society and thus they believe they will win both ways: not be punished by their father and still be accepted by society.

In this unhappy Case, they went immediately to consult their Father's Will, read it over and over, but not a Word of the Shoulder-knot. What should they do? What Temper should they find? Obedience was absolutely necessary, and yet Shoulder-knots appeared extreamly requisite. (p. 83)

There is even suspense, in a small way, as the reader wonders how far the brothers will go in their attempts to read into the will what they want to find there; how far they can go before their father's dreaded punishment can fall upon them; there is suspense in the widening rift between the brothers which leads to the catastrophe.

It may seem too much in a plot as slight as this and one which is only a means to a greater end to expect the refinement in plot structure which Aristotle refers to as recognition and reversal of intention. However, there is the gradual recognition by the two brothers of the position that Peter is placing them in; this recognition grows slowly until it reaches the point when reconciliation is impossible and the two brothers realize that they must separate -- the separation which is the catastrophe toward which both the story and the satire move. There is another minor recognition in the fact that Martin is the only one who recognizes how far they have gone from their father's will. We may even say that there is reversal of intention in the fact that Martin tries to follow his father's instructions after he recognizes that he has disobeyed them. There is also

reversal of intention in the fact that the brothers' attempts to misuse the will to their advantage boomerangs and thus succeeds only in their complete separation which is the catastrophe.

This is obviously not plot in the sense of complicated pattern such as one finds in Clarissa Harlowe or even in Humphry Clinker, but it is unmistakably plot, and more tightly organized than in Daniel Defoe, who has been given not only credit as the great precursor of the novel proper but has even been considered by a few critics as the first English novelist. Swift has shown here what pattern in narrative can do to make that narrative more powerful.

Characterization

The analysis of Swift's characterization in A Tale of a Tub reveals the same anticipation of novel techniques that has been noted in his handling of the plot structure. It is the more remarkable when one remembers that the novel itself did not appear until 1740, almost forty years later; that Defoe's work, the prose work closest to the actual novel form, did not appear until 1719; that in the many years of powerful and intensive criticism of Swift it has hardly been noticed.

This analysis of characterization will take a slightly different form from that of plot. The separate elements of revelation by action, by speech, by commentary are so constantly fused and so constantly reacting on each other that a discussion of each separately would be less effective not only in the revelation of character but in the revelation of growth in character. It must be remembered always that this discussion is not of Swift as a novelist which he obviously is not, but

the emphasis is on those aspects of his technique which definitely foreshadow the novel and of which I will speak in terms of the novel.

At the beginning of A Tale of a Tub the brothers have no separate identity; they have the same heredity, background, education; since they are equal heirs of their father, they must follow the same instructions or suffer the same penalties; not one of them apparently has any advantage over the other, not even the distinction of being the oldest, for the three were born so close together that not even the midwife could tell for certain which was the eldest. (p. 73) Each brother reveals his personality gradually through his choices, actions, dialogue and their relationship to those of his brothers. Once they are independent, every speech and action are relevant to characterization, for each one reveals an additional aspect of the personality of at least one of the brothers. As in the later developed novel, it is the action that initiates characterization.¹⁰

Since Swift includes only those incidents in which the brothers reveal their character and which at the same time serve an organic function in the unfolding of the plot, he omits the fourteen-year period between their birth and their father's death, for there is no action in this period which reveals any of their personality traits except through implication. The terms of their father's will implies that during their childhood they have shown themselves to be morally weak,

¹⁰ Swift, here, too, follows Aristotle.

shallow, and unable to think for themselves; otherwise, their father would not have felt it necessary to leave detailed instructions on how they should live and to lay down penalties to force the brothers to follow those instructions.

If they had been thoughtful young men, they would have been touched and impressed by their father's anxiety and desire to see them in the coats that he had chosen for their legacy. His concern would have revealed to them how important he felt the coats and their proper care were to their happiness in the future; however, the fact that the boys are more or less apathetic over both their father's death and their legacy prepares the reader for their mediocre achievements during the period following their father's death and to their falling into the temptations of society when they reach the city. They reveal that they have no sense of values, for they do not recognize the shoddiness and falseness of the frivolous society of which they decide to be a part. They show that they do not think for themselves, for as they have accepted their father's legacy without question, they accept the rules of society the same way.

The implication in the father's will that the brothers are morally weak and incompetent is justified through their dishonest attitude and mediocre achievements during the seven-year period following their father's death and summed up in ten words: the brothers "encountred a reasonable Quantity of Gyants, and slew certain Dragons." (p. 74)

Through the connotative meaning of three of these words, Swift

reveals two more character traits the brothers have in common: mediocrity and laziness. The words "encountred," "reasonable," and "certain" are favorites of mediocre and lazy people, for they suggest that something worthwhile has been accomplished, but at the same time they are so indefinite that they do not actually indicate what has been achieved. In this sense, each of the words has a negative connotative meaning. For example, in their reference to their killing "certain Dragons," the brothers reveal their mediocrity, for "certain" is a word with an indefinite meaning but which, at the same time, suggests that it has a specific meaning. Thus lazy people often use it in referring to their mediocre accomplishments, for they hope that it suggests that they have achieved something worthwhile. All this reveals the desire, common to most untried young people, to conform to the expectations of their world.

These connotative meanings are important to the development of the brothers as life-like, credible characters, for they reveal that even during the period in which the brothers have been following the terms of their father's will, they have shown their mediocrity and their tendency to be hypocrites. Their pretence to have been more successful than they actually were makes credible their hypocritical actions after they reach London. Here they claim to have dined with lords they have never known and pretend that their bill from the washerwoman is a billet-doux from a great lady. They memorize lists of names of lords so that they can reel them off as if those lords

were their intimate friends.

Thus Swift has indicated from the beginning of the narrative -- first, by implication through the precepts and penalties of the father's will, and, second, through the connotative meaning of the words in the summary of their achievements following their father's death that all three brothers have shown themselves to be shallow, dishonest, and morally weak: the qualities that cause them to fall to temptation when they reach the city. They are essentially conformists -- conformists as are found in any walk of life -- who show little differentiation in character until the necessity for action brings to the surface the individual character of each.

Thus Swift plays fair with the reader in indicating from the first of the story what type of individuals the brothers are, and he also reveals his ability to create personae that are credible and life-like, each one's remaining in character in each of his actions, speeches, and choices. To do so, Swift had to understand what a particular type of person each one is and what that type of individual will do or say in any given situation.

The character of each brother is different. They are all shallow and frivolous but not to the same degree. Peter is vain, dictatorial, and ostentatious -- traits that grow on him in the same degree that he gains wealth and power. Martin seems shallow, at first, but innately he is a careful person who weighs one point against another. Thus he does awaken to the fact that the three of them have

strayed far from their father's instructions, and with this recognition comes his remorse. Martin proves that his sorrow is genuine by trying to follow his father's instructions from that time on. Thus he does not take the trimming off his coat from hate of Peter as Jack does but only to restore his coat as nearly as possible to its original condition. The difference in the motives of Martin and Jack in ripping off the trimming from their coats makes all the difference in revealing the type of person each one is.

However, Swift adheres to the law of probability in characterizing Martin and does not do as the writers of sentimental comedy who present a character as a wastrel and fop through four acts and then have him become a repentant, fine hero in the last act.¹¹ Thus Martin can not be as good as their father had hoped the brothers would be, for he has shown himself to be weak and shallow. He has been willing to rationalize the terms of his father's will, at first, just as have Peter and Jack; Martin has worn shoulder-knots, gold lace, flame colored satin linings, silver fringe, and Indian figures with the best of the fashionable society with whom they have moved.

Like Peter and Jack, Martin, too, has refused to pay his bills, has ruffled up the tradesmen who try to collect what he owes them, and has played the hypocrite by pretending to have gone to court and to drawing-rooms in which he has never been and to have dined with lords

¹¹Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. I, Bk. VIII, Chap. I, p. 390

that he has never seen. Thus he has learned enough about trickery to anticipate the trap his brothers set for him and escape it. Though he does not fall to the depths of degeneracy that Peter and Jack do, for Martin does awaken to his faults and tries to improve, he does know enough about the nature of evil to be alert to the type of unscrupulous tricks that his brothers can use to harm him. Swift recognizes this psychological fact which Fielding expressed in Tom Jones.

To say the truth, in discovering the deceit of others, it matters much that our own art be wound up, if I may use the expression, in the same key with theirs.¹²

Jack is the last of the three brothers to reveal his personality, a point which is credible, psychologically, because Jack is a coward by nature and, therefore, remains silent while he hates but still fears Peter. Being a coward, of course, he is also a bully; therefore, when he ceases to be afraid, he tries to bully everyone who he thinks is helpless. He is also a hypocrite with a martyr complex and tries to make his neighbors think he has suffered much to help them, when, of course, he has not. For example, Jack will stand on a street corner and beg the passers-by to strike him or lash him across the back and return home and tell his neighbors that he has received the welts on his back in protecting his neighbors' wives and daughters from being kidnapped by the French king or the Pope. (p. 198)

Peter and Jack have much in common; both are about the same

¹²Ibid., Vol. I, Bk. VI, Chap. III, p. 260.

size physically; both are good haters, who want to harm anyone whom they do not like; indeed, they both hate Martin so much that they even temporarily bury their hatred for each other in order to trick him into a spunging-house;¹³ however, they fail, for Martin is intelligent enough to anticipate their plan. The rest of the time Peter and Jack try to stay apart. To do so, they have chosen homes that are at the opposite sides of town, but, true to the law of probability, since they want to avoid each other they are constantly running into each other or into townspeople who mistake one for the other. This is very mortifying to Jack, since he has tried so hard to keep from resembling Peter, but it can not be helped.

. . . it was among the great Misfortunes of Jack, to bear a huge Personal Resemblance with his Brother Peter. Their Humours and Dispositions were not only the same, but there was a close Analogy in their Shape, their Size, and their Mien.
(p. 199)

Though Peter and Jack appear to be alike, they act differently since their degeneracy rises from two different sources: Peter's from ostentation and vanity, Jack's from hypocrisy and deceit. In presenting them so, Swift shows that he recognizes the psychological fact, that Fielding is to analyze later, that individuals can appear to be the same type on the surface, but be unlike in nature; thus their

¹³ Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, Mass., 1913), pp. 2018:2023 (Variant Section.) The bailiff's house in which debtors were kept for a day in order to compromise with their creditors. It was so named for the extortionate charges for food and lodging. Swift uses a dialectal English spelling.

similar actions are, on analysis, found to be different, for they arise from opposite traits of character. Fielding states that only authors who are close observers realize this fact and recognize the difference that each shows in his action in the same situation.¹⁴ Swift is a writer who is just such a close observer.

Thus Peter and Jack each has his own form of rationalizing their father's instructions and in planning unscrupulous projects. One example of this difference is shown in the treatment of the copy of the will itself. The arrogant Peter, being tired of finding sophistical arguments by which he can correlate the terms of the will with the rules of fashion, locks up the will "in a Strong-Box" and does not examine it any more; he only refers to "its Authority" whenever it is in his interest. (p. 90) On the other hand, the hypocrite Jack takes his copy of the will with him, so that he can twist it any way he wishes, whether to serve his physical comfort or to cover his hypocritical acts.

JACK had provided a fair Copy of his Father's Will, engrossed in Form upon a large Skin of Parchment; and resolving to act the Part of a most dutiful Son, he became the fondest Creature of it imaginable. For, altho'. . . it consisted wholly in certain plain, easy Directions about the management and wearing of their Coats, with Legacies and Penalties, in case of Obedience or Neglect; yet he began to entertain a Fancy, that the Matter was deeper and darker, and therefore must needs have a great deal more of Mystery at the Bottom. . . . In consequence of which Raptures, he resolved to make use of it in the most necessary, as well as the most paltry Occasions of Life. He had a

¹⁴Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. 1, Bk. VIII, Chap. I, p. 390.

Way of working it into any Shape he pleased; so that it served him for a Night-cap when he went to Bed, and for an Umbrello in rainy Weather. (p. 190)

With Analogy to these Refinements, his common Talk and Conversation ran wholly in the Phrase of his Will, and he circumscribed the utmost of his Eloquence within that Compass, not daring to let slip a Syllable without Authority from thence. (p. 191)

Swift, also, reveals his understanding of psychology in his recognition that two people living under the same tyranny work together and thus do not have an opportunity to show their individual traits, and so it has been with Martin and Jack while they are living under the domination of Peter. Only after they have left his house and are living in equality with each other do they show their differences.

These two Martin and Jack had lived in much Friendship and Agreement under the Tyranny of their Brother Peter, as it is the Talent of Fellow-Sufferers to do; Men in Misfortune, being like Men in the Dark, to whom all Colours are the same: But when they came forward into the World, and began to display themselves to each other, and to the Light, their Complexions appear'd extreamly different; which the present Posture of their Affairs gave them sudden Opportunity to discover. (p. 134)

Martin's and Jack's first disagreement leads to their rupture: the manner in which they should take the trimming off their coats and the reason that they should take it off.

In the natural movement of the narrative, the necessity for interpreting the will brings Peter to the foreground first, and it is only later, still following the movement of the narrative, that Swift develops the characters of Martin and Jack.

Peter is sophistical, in the worst sense. He is also extravagant,

ostentatious, vain, insolent, lawless, and even shameless.¹⁵ These qualities are shown clearly in his speeches, actions, and the reaction of the brothers to him. It is he who begins the Jesuitical interpretation of the will. Peter's character is more elaborately drawn since his control of the action has a longer duration, and it is only later when Martin and Jack begin to revolt from his authority that their characters develop.

It is not until the three brothers come up to London and find it impossible to reconcile their desire to enter society with the strict terms of their father's will that Peter first shows his character as the leader of the three. Apparently in the interval between their father's death, which Swift sums up in a few words (as outside the main narrative) Peter has already proved mentally quicker than the other two. In fact, they refer to him as the scholar and unhesitatingly follow his lead in using his interpretation of the will to get them out of their social difficulty. Peter's sophistry is shown at once as he searches the will for permission to put shoulder-knots on their coats. Swift makes it possible to see the two brothers watching Peter as he goes through the will. The same sophistry is revealed in increasing strength as he manages to twist the will to include gold lace, then crimson satin linings, on to the inclusion of silver fringe and, finally, heavy embroidery.

¹⁵Longinus, On the Sublime, p. 110. It is interesting to note that in these qualities of Peter, Swift follows Longinus's list of the changes in character that result from the possession of wealth, qualities that Peter developed after his acquisition by fraud of the property of his employer.

A brief summary of his reasoning in connection with the shoulder-knots lets Peter through his own action and reasoning reveal his own character. There are no shoulder-knots mentioned in the will, so Peter has his brothers search the will to find the words used separately. When they do not find them, Peter suggests looking for the syllables that make the words; these, too, can not be found. Then he decides that if they find all the letters of the two words, they can feel that shoulder-knots are included in the will. They find all the letters except "k" in "knots." Martin and Jack are stumped, but not Peter, the learned brother, who diverts his learning into sophistry. He announced that "k" is a "modern illegitimate Letter, unknown to the Learned Ages, nor anywhere to be found in ancient Manuscripts."

(p. 84) Peter does admit that "the Word Calendoe hath in Q. V. C. been sometimes writ with a K, but erroneously, for in the best Copies it is ever spelt with a C." Thus concludes Peter, ". . . it was a gross Mistake in our Language to spell Knot with a K, but that from hence-forward, he would take care it should be writ with a C." Through this sophistry of Peter's, the brothers pretend that they have their father's permission to wear shoulder-knots if they spell "knot" with a "c." The brothers then buy the largest shoulder-knots they can find and, with a swagger, make their first step into fashionable London society. (p. 84)

Peter follows the same procedure in pretending to justify each of the additional fashions -- gold lace, flame-colored satin-linings, silver fringe, and embroidery. One amusing sophistry is Peter's use of his

memory of a comment made by his grandfather's dogkeeper, which is perhaps better given in Swift's own words. Here Peter is using the custom of adding codicils to wills in order to justify their buying flame-colored satin.

. . . says He Peter that was the Scholar; 'I remember to have read in Wills, of a Codicil annexed, which is indeed a Part of the Will, and what it contains hath equal authority with the rest. Now, I have been considering of this same Will here before us, and I cannot reckon it to be compleat for want of such a Codicil. I will therefore fasten one in its proper Place very dexterously; I have had it by me, some Time, it was written by a Dog-keeper of my Grand-father's, and talks a great deal (as good Luck would have it) of this very flame-colour'd Sattin.' The Project was immediately approved by the other two; an old Parchment Scrawl was tagged on according to Art, in the Form of a Codicil annex, and the Sattin bought and worn. (p. 87)

The extravagance which this social life forces them into drives Peter to the necessity of raising funds to keep up this position. This extravagant life of the theater, the coffee houses, the gambling houses, the taverns, the river trips, to mention only a few -- extravagances which they are forced into to keep in the swim of this gilded society and which, finally, drive Peter into cheating his employer's heirs out of their house and fortune.

With a house and fortune, Peter begins to reveal his other traits -- the qualities of ostentation, vanity, then the blacker qualities of insolence, lawlessness, and even shamelessness. He develops these traits to such a degree that the author warns the reader that "he will henceforth hardly know the Hero of the Play, when he happens to meet

Him; his part, his Dress, and his Mien being so much altered."

For no sooner had Our Learned Brother Peter. . . got a warm House of his own over his Head, than he began to look big, and to take mightily upon him. . .

He told his Brothers, he would have them to know, that he was their Elder, and consequently his Father's sole Heir; Nay, a while after, he would not allow them to call Him, Brother, but Mr. PETER; and then he must be styl'd Father PETER; and sometimes, My Lord PETER. (p. 105)

To support this Grandeur, which he soon began to consider, could not be maintained without a Better Fonde than what he was born to; After much Thought, he cast about at last, to turn Projector and Virtuoso, wherein he so well succeeded, that many famous Discoveries, Projects and Machines, which bear great Vogue and Practice at present in the World, are owing entirely to Lord Peter's Invention. I will deduce the best Account I have been able to collect of the Chief amongst them, without considering much the Order they came out in; because, I think, Authors are not well agreed as to that Point. (p. 105)

Swift allows Peter to reveal through his own actions the further depths of insolence, lawlessness, and shamelessness to which he fell. He turns out his own wife and his brothers' wives and brings in the first strollers on the street, he begins to sell pardons, he goes into the business of raising bulls, and he peddles fake cures; he deprives his brothers of all food except bread, which he insists includes meat and wine. After making them suffer "endless Indignities," he drives them from the house. As a crowning shamelessness, he announces that he is God. With his three crowns on top of his head, his keys jangling at his waist, and his angling rod in his hand, Peter calls himself "God Almighty, and sometimes Monarch of the Universe." (p. 115)

Thus Swift allows us, as a novelist might allow us, to see Peter, to hear him, to get his character through his own actions and speech and through the power he has over his brothers. He comes out, not the flat character of the earlier prose fiction or of satire, but almost a completely round one.

After Peter has thrown them out, Martin and Jack take a lodging together and then begin to reveal themselves as individuals. They are facing a crisis, for as a result of their having been content with Peter's home and friends, they now have neither money nor friends. Here again, Swift shows his understanding of psychology in his recognizing that individuals who are "at their lowest Ebb" (p. 133) will reveal their individual differences much faster than if they have money, friends, and only minor problems. So with Martin and Jack -- they have only to live together a very short time before they change from working together in amity, as they have done at Peter's, to their disagreeing slightly, then to their ending in the rupture between them, and to Jack's moving to lodgings of his own. This is Jack's fault, not Martin's. Martin would have liked for them to live together in obedience to their father's request.

At the time of their rupture with Peter, Martin and Jack have not revealed any of their traits except their mediocrity, their desire to improve in the ways of the world, and their cowardice in allowing Peter to make all the adjustments in their father's will and their just abiding by them. This policy of theirs has proved satisfactory so far, for

they have worn the clothes in fashion and thus have been accepted by society; yet they have not had to take an active part in tampering with the terms of their father's will.

Their degree of selfishness and cowardice is revealed in their failure to remonstrate with Peter as long as he does not interfere with their own physical comforts even though he is growing more and more tyrannical and arrogant. Thus Peter gives them "a wretched Time." His first act is "to kick both their Wives one Morning out of Doors..." (pp. 115-116) Martin and Jack remonstrate only mildly until Peter interferes with their personal comfort: first, by nailing up the cellar-door and not allowing "his Brothers a Drop of Drink to their Victuals" (p. 116) and, next, by serving them bread only at their dinner but insisting that the bread is wine and mutton. This is too much for Martin and Jack to accept. At first, they remonstrate politely; at which, Peter becomes violently angry. Then they ask to see their father's will, but Peter refuses their request and leaves the house in a great rage.

Martin and Jack are still acting as one, for they are still under the shadow of Peter. The fact that they are two against one in number brings them courage and their deprivation of mutton and wine gives them the incentive to steal a copy of their father's will. In re-reading it, they find how far they have strayed from following their father's instructions and how much Peter has taken advantage of them.

For example, they find that they have been left equal heirs with

Peter and, therefore, have a right to the wine in the cellar; this gives them the courage to break down the cellar-door and drink a bottle of wine. Both of them recognize Peter for the unscrupulous tyrant that he is; in fact, they tell a solicitor who has come to buy a letter of pardon from Peter for a Fellow at Newgate that Peter is the one "who deserv'd to be hang'd much better than his Client. . . ." (p. 122)

Peter, coming home at this moment, reveals his alertness in sensing trouble, his ability in analyzing a situation instantly, and his confidence in his own ability in solving it through instant action. Thus on arriving home and "gathering from all Hands what was in the Wind, " Peter "by main Force, very fairly kicks them /Martin and Jack/ both out of Doors, and would never let them come under his Roof from that Day to this." (p. 122)

After Peter has thrown them out, Martin and Jack take a lodging together. They show that they are not as astute as Peter, for they do not analyze their problems until "their first Leisure. . . ."

. . . at their first Leisure, they began to reflect on the numberless Misfortunes and Vexations of their Life past, and could not tell, on the sudden, to what Failure in their Conduct they ought to impute them; When, after some Recollection, they called to Mind the Copy of their Father's Will, which they had so happily recovered. (p. 133)

The degree of Martin's and Jack's slow-thinking and shallow-mindedness is shown in their having to "begin" to analyze all the events that have happened to them since their father's death in order to find out where they have failed, for they "could not tell, on the sudden, "

what they have done wrong. In fact, it is only "after some Recollection, " that they remember that they have a copy of their father's will. This degree of slow-thinking is one of their traits that has made it possible for Peter to deceive them and tyrannize over them for such a long time.

If they had been alert young men, Martin and Jack would not have had to "begin" to analyze their situation, for they would not have allowed Peter to place them in this menial position in the first place; however, even if by some deception he had tricked them, Martin and Jack would not now be helpless "on the sudden, " to know to "what Failure in their Conduct they ought to impute them." They would have remembered what their father's instructions were from their previous study of the provisions of the will and thus would be conscious of their having disobeyed them. Long before Peter had given them only bread with no meat or wine, they would have reflected on each of their "numberless Misfortunes and Vexations" as it occurred, and they would have rebelled long before their misfortunes had become "numberless."

Martin and Jack also reveal their degree of slow-thinking in the fact that they not only need a long period of time in which to brood over their problem, but they can not begin to think about it until they have finished moving into their new lodgings. Thus they show that they can do only one thing at a time: first, they move; then they become settled; only then, "at their first Leisure" do they consider their new

situation. If they had been alert, they would have been analyzing their problems mentally while they were moving their belongings, but the brothers can not do mental and physical work at the same time.

Lastly, the slowness of their thinking is revealed in the fact that "only after some Recollection" do they remember that they have a copy of their father's will; not until then do they decide to study it to see if it holds a clue as to "what Failure in their Conduct they ought to impute" their misfortunes.

Although they have known all through the years when they lived with Peter and moved in the world of fashion that they were disobeying their father's will, in this re-reading of it they resolve to follow the instructions he has given them.

This their father's will was immediately produced, and a firm Resolution taken between them, to alter whatever was already amiss, and reduce all their future Measures to the strictest Obedience prescribed therein. (pp. 133-134)

The brothers are still in agreement, for they are here in the same serious situation; neither has the advantage over the other. After reading their father's will, they even agree that they have disobeyed their father in decorating their coats with each new, fashionable trimming and that they must take it all off.

Upon which, they both resolved without further Delay, to fall immediately upon reducing the Whole, exactly after their Father's Model.
(p. 134)

When the brothers, each thinking for himself, "began to display

themselves to each other, and to the Light, their Complexions appear'd extreemly different. . . ." (p. 134)

Martin and Jack show their differences: first, in their motive for taking the trimming off their coats and, second, in the manner in which they do it. Martin recognizes how far they have strayed from following the terms of their father's will; he is remorseful over it and sincerely wishes to restore his coat as nearly as possible to its original condition. Jack, on the other hand, is a coward, a bully, and a hypocrite. He is not remorseful over disobeying his father nor interested in returning his coat to its original condition. His only reason for taking the trimming off his coat is to rid it of having any resemblance to Peter's coat, for he now hates Peter blindly and acts accordingly, as he once followed Peter blindly.

Just as Martin and Jack each reveals his temperament in his reason for taking the trimming off his coat, so each one reveals it in his manner of removing it. Thus the situation or circumstance is the same -- restoring their coats to their original condition; but the temperaments of the brothers are different, so each one reacts to it in a different way and thus reveals his personal character.

Through his approach to the problem of taking off the trimming of his coat, Martin shows himself to be deliberate and rather philosophical. By balancing one point against another, he tries to find what is the right method. His attitude, of course, arises from his having the right motive for his actions. He is sincere in wishing to restore

his coat as nearly as possible to its original condition. Thus he does not try to juggle the terms of the will so that they will seem to permit him to do what he wants to do as Jack does. Jack reveals his hypocrisy by pretending to remove the trimming to be obedient to their father, when in reality he wishes to remove it because of his hatred of Peter. True to the character of a hypocrite, Jack never uses an argument that is not hypocritical. Thus he tries to deceive himself, Martin, his neighbors, and even the passers-by on the street. At first, the brothers begin together in restoring their coats.

THEY both unanimously entred upon this great Work, looking sometimes on their Coats, and sometimes on the Will. Martin laid the first Hand. . . (p. 135)

Martin is the first to attempt to take off the trimming. In his eagerness to obey his father and in his ignorance of the right method, Martin begins the process by just pulling the decorations off in a hit or miss manner.

. . . at one twitch he brought off a large Handful of Points, and with a second pull, stript away ten dozen Yards of Fringe. (pp. 135-136)

Then his caution checks his enthusiasm, and Martin reveals his analytical quality by checking to see the results of his first attempt.

. . . the first Heat being over, his Violence began to cool, and he resolved to proceed more moderately in the rest of the Work; having already very narrowly scap'd a swinging Rent in pulling off the Points, which being tagged with Silver. . . the judicious Workman had with much Sagacity, double sown, to preserve them from falling. (p. 136)

Thus Martin finds that though he has nearly caused a rent in the

material, he has not hurt his coat so far, but the fact that he could have damaged it by taking off the trimming hastily results in his decision to take off the rest of the trimming with care. Being anxious not to damage the original material and in being naturally careful, Martin realizes that he must work slowly and painstakingly in removing the rest of the decorations.

. . . he pickt up the Stitches with much Caution, and diligently gleaned out all the loose Threads as he went, which proved to be a Work of Time. Then he fell about the embroidered Indian Figures of Men, Women and Children; against which. . . their Father's Testament was extreamly exact and severe: These, with much Dexterity and Application, were after a while, quite eradicated, or utterly defaced. For the rest, where he observed the Embroidery to be workt so close, as not to be got away without damaging the Cloth, or where it served to hide or strengthen any Flaw in the Body of the Coat, . . . he concluded the wisest Course was to let it remain, resolving in no Case whatsoever, that the Substance of the Stuff should suffer Injury. . . (p. 136)

Thus in the progression of his work in restoring his coat, Martin reveals the degree of caution and sincerity which he has, a degree which is large enough to make these qualities essential traits of his character. Once he realizes that he has nearly harmed the material of his coat in his first approach, he never sways from his decision to take out the stitches slowly and carefully and to analyze each new removal problem in its own light and thus find the best means to solve it. For example, when he encounters the difficult problem of removing "the embroidered Indian Figures of Men, Women and Children," he finds that even "with much Dexterity and Application,"

he can not remove it all, for the figures have been sewn so closely that it is almost impossible to take out the threads without harming the material of the coat. Analyzing the situation, Martin uses his common sense and wisely decides that since part of "the Embroidery" is "workt so close, as not to be got away without damaging the Cloth," and that some of the embroidery is necessary for "it served to hide or strengthen any Flaw in the Body of the Coat," he should let it alone. In reaching his decision, Martin balances two orders of his father: one, that they must never damage the material of their coats, and, the other, that they must never embroider Indian figures on their coats. Weighing one rule against the other, Martin decides that his father would prefer that he leave the embroidery on than damage the material of the coat itself. His decision not only shows Martin's analytical mind, but it also reveals his sincerity of purpose in following his father's precepts from then on.

. . . he concluded the wisest Course was to let it remain, resolving in no Case whatsoever, that the Substance of the Stuff should suffer Injury; which he thought the best Method for serving the true Intent and Meaning of his Father's Will.
(pp. 136-137)

Martin also shows his sincere desire to obey his father not only in his [Martin's] refusal to let Jack persuade him to tear off all the trimming and thus damage his coat, but in his trying to persuade Jack to restore his coat carefully so that its material will not be harmed and it will be as nearly as possible in its original condition. In keeping the terms of their father's will, he reminds Jack that their father

told them to live in "Agreement, and Friendship, and Affection," and that it is better to live together in friendship and work toward "the Advance of Unity, than Increase of Contradiction." (p. 139)

Filled with envy at the sight of Martin's well-preserved coat and his own damaged one, filled with hatred of Martin for not ruining his coat, and filled with hate of Peter for deceiving them, Jack, true to his deceitful nature, uses hypocrisy in order to persuade Martin to tear the trimming off his coat and thus wreck it. Therefore, he addresses Martin as if in fraternal good-will, "Ah, Good Brother Martin." As does the hypocrite, Jack uses emotional language to convince Martin to follow his Jack's method. Thus at the same time Jack is begging Martin to use his method of stripping, tearing, pulling, renting, and flaying to rid his coat of its decorations so it will not look like Peter's, Jack asks him to do it "for the Love of God." Thus he attempts to camouflage his revenge motive for pulling off the decorations in this destructive manner as if he were doing it in a religious sense, "for the Love of God."

. . . 'Ah, Good Brother Martin. . . do as I do, for the Love of God; Strip, Tear, Pull, Rent, Flay off all, that we may appear as unlike the Rogue Peter, as it is possible: I would not for a hundred Pounds carry the least Mark about me, that might give Occasion to the Neighbours, of suspecting I was related to such a Rascal.' (p. 139)

Martin is not the type, as is Jack, to let his emotions unbalance his reason. Being phlegmatic and sedate as well as sincere in wishing to abide by their father's instructions, he "begged his Brother of

all Love, not to damage his Coat by any Means; for he never would get such Another. . . ." He reminds Jack "that it was not their Business to form their Actions by any Reflection upon Peter's, but by observing the Rules prescribed in their Father's Will. " Thus Jack must remember that "Peter was still their Brother, whatever Faults or Injuries he had committed; and therefore they should by all means avoid such a Thought, as that of taking Measures for Good and Evil, from no other Rule, than of Opposition to him. " (p. 139)

Jack is a coward, a bully, and a hypocrite. He has revealed his cowardice in catering to Peter, his bullying qualities in his trying to force Martin to tear the trimming off his coat, and his hypocrisy in pretending to rip the trimming off his coat in obedience to his father's command when in reality he is doing it because of his hatred of Peter. His manner of removing the decorations from his coat reveals these qualities and explains why his method is different from Martin's, for Jack

. . . entred upon the Matter with other Thoughts, and a quite different Spirit. For, the Memory of Lord Peter's Injuries, produced a Degree of Hatred and Spight, which had a much greater Share of inciting Him, than any Regards after his Father's Commands, since these appeared at best, only Secondary and Subservient to the other. (p. 137)

But, like Peter, Jack is rationalizing, by pretending that his actions, which are contrary to their father's commands, are the right ones. Thus Jack claims that he is not tearing off the trimming because of his hatred of Peter but because of his "Zeal. " Jack is "brimful of this

miraculous Compound, " the degree of which is heightened through his
 "reflecting with Indignation upon PETER's Tyranny, and farther provoked by the Despondency of Martin. . . " (p. 138)

Having thus kindled and enflamed himself as high as possible, and by Consequence, in a delicate Temper for beginning a Reformation, he set about the Work immediately, and in three Minutes, made more Dispatch than Martin had done in as many Hours. For. . . Zeal is never so highly obliged, as when you set it a Tearing: and Jack, who doated on that Quality in himself, allowed it at this Time its full Swinge.
 (p. 138)

Rather than admitting that his zeal rises from his hatred of Peter and his frustration with Martin, Jack insists that it is an honorable emotion which is experienced by all people who wish to set the world right.

Jack reveals his careless and destructive nature by his wrecking his coat. Even after his initial attack on his coat proves disastrous to the fabric, Jack continues to tear off the trimming in the same rough, careless way. While "stripping down a Parcel of Gold Lace, a little too hastily, he rent the main Body of his Coat from Top to Bottom"; (p. 138) this damage is nothing, however, to that which results when he reaches the embroidery.

. . . For, being Clumsy by Nature, and of Temper, Impatient; withal, beholding Millions of Stitches, that required the nicest Hand, and sedatest Constitution, to extricate; in a great Rage, he tore off the whole Piece, Cloth and all, and flung it into the Kennel, and furiously thus continuing his Career. . . .
 (pp. 138-139)

Since Martin has taken the trimming off his coat carefully, particularly

the stitches in the embroidered figures, many of which he left rather than damage the material of his coat, he has succeeded in making his look much as it did originally, and yet he has not damaged the material of which it is made; whereas Jack, through his zeal, has changed his coat into "a Meddley of Rags, and Lace, and Rents, and Fringes," (p. 141) which still nevertheless bears a resemblance to Peter's coat.

Jack is jealous and envious of the good condition of Martin's coat, and, therefore, tries to persuade Martin to wreck his coat, too. He shows that his nature is primarily destructive, for, though he would "have been extreamly glad to see his Coat in the Condition of Martin's," he would have been "infinitely gladder to find that of Martin's in the same Predicament with his." (p. 141) This is merely one example in which Jack shows that while he is jealous of everyone's success, he is happier in pulling each one down to his level than in raising himself up to that person's level. He has neither the patience nor the desire develop the ability to do the careful work necessary, as does Martin, to remove the trimming without harming his coat. He has no ability to conserve or to build. For example, when he tears his coat from top to bottom, he makes a futile attempt to mend it, but "his Talent was not of the happiest in taking up a Stitch, he knew no better way, than to dern /sic/ it again with Packthred and a Scewer." (p. 138) Jack's failure in mending his coat does not bother him as much as his failure to persuade Martin to reduce his coat into the same "ragged, bobtail'd Condition." (p. 141) Jack's anger is so great that he can hide it no

longer, a reaction which is true to life in deceitful people; they expose themselves through their temper when they find that their tricks have not worked. Then "after a Million of Scurrilities against his Brother, " Jack runs "mad with Spleen, and Spight, and Contradiction. " (p. 141) Thus begins the "mortal Breach" between Jack and Martin, resulting in Jack's moving to new lodgings.

Jack is also a Pharisee, a condition which is related to deceit and hate but which indulges in both under the cloak of religion. When Jack intended to play some "Roguish Trick, " he would kneel where he could be seen (often in the gutter), raise his eyes, and "fall to Prayers. " (p. 194) When he prayed in this way, "those who understood his Pranks, would be sure to get far enough out of his Way," for they knew that he intended to harm them as much as possible. (p. 194) "In all Revolutions of Government, " he always applied for the "Office of Hangman General" and in his exercise of this office, in which he is "very dextrous, " he "would make use of no other Vizard than a long Prayer. " (p. 195)

Jack shows his stubborn and rebellious nature through his dress. It reveals that he is defiant, belligerent, and "anti" everything; he is a rebel without a cause.

In Winter he went always loose and unbuttoned, and clad as thin as possible, to let in the ambient Heat; and in Summer, lapt himself close and thick to keep it out. (p. 195)

Indeed, through his selection of dress, each brother gradually reveals his personality. Beginning with the plain coats, which are alike and

which they receive from their father, passing through the various fashions of the month while they move in the fashionable society of London, up to the point of their rupture, their differences are not apparent. From that time on, each one reveals his individual qualities through his personal treatment of his coat. Thus Swift does not leave the brothers until he has let each reveal the type of person he is and also his individual qualities within that type. They are not figureheads as some critics have pronounced them. Rather they are distinctly drawn characters, the type novelists will insist on later when the novel comes into being. One proof that they are clearly drawn is that their names have been applied constantly to individuals of the same type through the years since A Tale of a Tub was first printed. In fact, critics, authors, and readers alike refer to this particular Peter, Martin, and Jack as if they were people they have known -- in the same way they speak of Fielding's Tom Jones, Thackeray's Becky Sharp, and Faulkner's family -- the Snopeses.

Thus the reader sees the brothers at the conclusion of A Tale of a Tub: the vain, arrogant, ostentatious Peter, who reveals these traits through the state of his coat, which has such "an infinite Quantity of Lace, and Ribbands, and Fringe, and Embroidery, and Points" that "there was hardly a Thread of the Original Coat to be seen. . . ." (p. 135) This, of course, is the result of Peter's decision that as he adds each new type of trimming which is in fashion, he will not take the old trimming off. Thus as he added the gold lace, he left

on the shoulder-knot, a policy which he never abandons.

Patient, careful Martin, who has had the right motive in taking off the trimming -- that is, to obey their father -- has succeeded admirably in giving the appearance of having restored his coat to its original state but without having damaged the material. His coat looks much as the three coats looked at first and, therefore, bears no resemblance to Peter's and Jack's coats.

Jack's coat bears a resemblance to Peter's coat as Jack's nature bears a resemblance to Peter's. They are both unscrupulous individuals, both are excellent haters, and both desire revenge on anyone whom they hate, but they differ in the personality trait which is the source of these qualities. Peter's unscrupulous acts arise from ostentation, and thus he is open in all the evil that he does; whereas, Jack's arise from his deceit and hypocrisy, so he always hides his evil deeds under the cloak of religion. However, he does not succeed in hiding his duplicity, so his actions show their relationship to those of Peter.

In this same way, the ruin of Jack's coat reminds people of Peter's. To deceive people so they will not know that Peter is his brother, Jack has ripped the trimming off in such haste and has torn his coat so badly that it is "a Meddley of Rags, and Lace, and Rents, and Fringes," (p. 141) but it still shows its relationship to Peter's, a fact which angers Jack greatly. Therefore, he continues "to grind away the Remnants of Lace and Embroidery" that remain until "little

. . . was left of the main Substance of the Coat. . . " (p. 199) But Jack fails here, too.

For, as it is the Nature of Rags, to bear a kind of mock Resemblance to Finery; there being a sort of fluttering Appearance in both, which is not to be distinguished at a Distance, in the Dark, or by short-sighted Eyes: So, in those Junctures, it fared with Jack and his Tatters, that they offered to the first View a ridiculous Flanting, which assisting the Resemblance in Person and Air, thwarted all his Projects of Separation, and left so near a Similitude between them, as frequently deceived the very Disciples and Followers of both. (p. 200)

A final proof of Swift's skill in characterization is found where one would least expect to find it -- in the characters of the father, who is dying when the story begins but whose character is revealed indirectly through his will and through his sons' reaction to his personality as it is shown in the will, and in the personae, who are somewhat like Laurence Sterne's characterization of "My, dear, dear Jenny"¹⁶ -- whom George Saintsbury characterizes as "a shadow of a shade"¹⁷ but very much alive.

The father reveals even in this shadowy, pre-novel manner that he is a person. In Swift's words he is a "good Father, " (p. 74) for he loves his sons equally, wishing to leave each one of them -- not just one or two of the brothers -- the same inheritance. His strong sense

¹⁶Lawrence Sterne, The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman (New York, 1935), Bk. I, Chapt. XVIII, p. 30.

¹⁷Saintsbury, p. 131.

of responsibility toward providing for their future and his analytical turn of mind are revealed in the fact that he has "long considered some good Legacies" (p. 73) in order to find which one is best. Thus he has analyzed many different legacies before making his selection. He has given each of them the same legacy and advice on how to care for and use their coats. He warns them in clear terms that their future happiness and success depend on their following his will which gives "full Instructions in every particular concerning the Wearing and Management" of their coats. (p. 73)

His logical turn of mind is also shown in the fact that he has analyzed his own position in relationship to his sons and gives them two specific reasons, both of which are credible, in causing his action: (1) that he has "purchased no Estate" and (2) that he was not "born to any. . ." (p. 73) His statements also help identify the father as a character, for they suggest the type of events that have occurred in his life. That he was not born to an estate suggests the hardships that he endured in his childhood and youth -- hardships which he hopes to protect his sons from facing. That he has not purchased an estate indicates the uphill financial struggle in which he has tried both to support his family and save enough to purchase an estate large enough to divide among three sons. Realizing that he can not do so and recognizing that he is to die while his sons are still young, the father has shown his care of and caution for them by selecting the best legacy possible for him.

Sternness is another facet of the father's character which is shown in his warning his sons that if they do not follow his instructions exactly he has designated penalties "for every Transgression or Neglect." His knowing what evils to warn them against is credible, for he has experienced them, since he has grown up without having been born to an estate.

'You will find in my Will. . . full Instructions in every particular concerning the Wearing and Management of your Coats; wherein you must be very exact, to avoid the Penalties I have appointed for every Transgression or Neglect, upon which your future Fortunes will entirely depend. I have also commanded in my Will, that you should live together in one House like Brethren and Friends, for then you will be sure to thrive, and not otherwise.'

(pp. 73-74)

Through his choices, actions, and dialogue-situation, the father reveals that he is probably middle class. He was not born to an estate; he has not been able to purchase one, though he has made enough money to leave his sons a legacy; he is conscious of the time and money he has spent in acquiring their legacy, for he tells the boys that he has selected the coats "with much Care as well as Expense"; (p. 73) in selecting the legacy, he has chosen sober, durable material for very simple, undecorated coats. This position -- of his being in the middle class -- is also indicated by the father's being educated which he shows in his ability to express himself clearly and succinctly, for he has given his sons "plain easy Directions about the Management and Wearing of their Coats, with Legacies and Penalties, in case of Obedience or Neglect. . . ." (p. 190)

Thus Swift has made credible and living a character who appears for only a few minutes at the beginning of A Tale of a Tub and is dying in those few minutes.

Outside the narrative itself, Swift has created five other personae: the historian who narrates the story of the three brothers, three other Grub Street writers, and a bookseller, each of whom is not only a pedantic Grub Street modern but who is also an individual within the Grub Street type. Like a character in an epistolary novel, each one reveals himself through his writing: his particular type of Grub Street arrogance, ignorance of or contempt for traditional literature and literary principles, and egotism. Each in his own way says one thing and means another, misquotes classical writers, uses Latin words and phrases in the wrong places without realizing it, uses many words to say nothing, tries to explain an ambiguous meaning by using an analogy which does not relate to any part of the original statement, and follows the lifeless letter of the law. Each one has all the faults of the pseudo-scholars and critics whom Fielding attacked as well in his introductory chapters of Tom Jones. Fielding, too, condemns such writers' adherence to the lifeless letter of the law, their emphasis of form over content, their failure to adhere to the law of probability, and their tendency to write about life among people with whom they have not had any personal experience. But as these personae of Swift's are connected with the tale of the three brothers only as far as they are interested in the details of its publication and in criticism -- the

historian's purpose for writing it, the Grub Street controversy, and the conflict between the followers of the classical and the moderns -- interesting as they are, as one can see from the foregoing, they are outside the actual narrative details of the brothers' story to which this study is confined. But even outside the main narrative as they are, these personae are still a tribute to this side of Swift's narrative technique and thus help the remarkable fusion of narrative and satire.¹⁸

Setting

In the words of Percy Lubbock in The Craft of Fiction, the characters "must move in a created world but also in our world."¹⁹ In the case of A Tale of a Tub, this means that the setting or milieu in the story is the world of Swift, and from our reading of the eighteenth century novelists and even from Daniel Defoe we get the contemporary accounts to prove how close to his own world Swift is in the setting of A Tale.²⁰ Anyone who has read the Bath scenes from Humphry Clinker and the London scenes from Evelina, who remembers the social life around Lady Bellaston in Tom Jones, who remembers Jane Austen's

¹⁸In considering the nature of these personae, the reader should remember that both Fielding and, especially, Sterne have been commended for their skill in giving "character" to what is often hardly more than a shadow.

¹⁹Lubbock, p. 45.

²⁰This has been the case even in the work of established critics as has been noted in earlier chapters.

satiric view of her own society can easily fill in the details of the setting in A Tale of a Tub. The difficulty arises from the fact that, as in the case of the novelists, the reader is so interested in the story that he sometimes fails to notice the satire, so in Swift the satire is so powerful that it is easy to overlook the power of Swift's narrative techniques, even those concerned with setting.

It is a world the portrayal of which almost reaches the great standard of Joseph Conrad -- a world that one can hear, feel, and see.²¹ It is a world of fashionable coffee houses and chocolate houses, actual places of Swift's own time: they ate "at Locket's," a fashionable ordinary at Charing Cross; they "loytered at Will's," a Coffee-house in Bow Street, Convent Garden; they gathered at the Rose in Russell Street, a tavern frequented by men of fashion -- all of this to a degree which Swift characterizes as "haunted." (pp. 74-75)

Swift has given a summary of their amusements (which seem to be their main objective in life).

BEING now arrived at the proper Age for producing themselves, they /the three brothers/ came up to Town, and fell in love with the Ladies, but especially three, who about that time were in chief Reputation: The Dutchess d'Argent, Madame de Grands Titres, and the Countess d'Orgueil. On their first Appearance, our three Adventurers met with a very bad Reception; and soon with great Sagacity guessing out the Reason, they quickly began to improve in the good Qualities of the Town: They Writ, and Raillyed, and Rhymed, and Sung, and Said, and said Nothing; They Drank, and

²¹Joseph Conrad, "Preface," The Nigger of the Narcissus: A Conrad Argosy (New York, 1942), p. 82.

Fought, and Whor'd, and Slept, and Swore, and took Snuff: They went to new Plays on the first Night, haunted the Chocolate-Houses, beat the Watch, lay on Bulks, and got Claps: They bilkt Hackney-Coachmen, ran in Debt with Shop-keepers, and lay with their Wives: They kill'd Bayliffs, kick'd Fidlers down Stairs, eat at Locket's, loytered at Will's: They talk'd of the Drawing-Room and never came there, Dined with Lords they never saw; Whisper'd a Dutchess, and spoke never a Word; exposed the Scrawls of their Laundress for Billets-doux of Quality: came every just from Court and were never seen in it; attended the Levee sub dio; Got a list of Peers by heart in one Company, and with great Familiarity retailed them in another. Above all, they constantly attended those Committees of Senators who are silent in the House, and loud in the Coffee-House, where they nightly adjourn to chew the Cud of Politicks, and are encompass'd with a Ring of Disciples, who lye in wait to catch up their Droppings. (pp. 74-75)

Here is a setting concerned only with that fashionable world that is the background of this particular story. Here are the same choice and limitation of background that is found in Henry James, who purposely limited himself to the portrayal of a fashionable world, but here also is everything that is included in the accepted definition of setting: all the circumstances, both tangible and intangible, which affect the action.

We can see the Thames and the way in which the fashionable life used it: the river craft, for instance, adapted for the gentry, for business, and for the poorer people. We can see the relationship of the merchants to their clients -- even their shrewd understanding of the element of snobbery in their clients' buying. For example, the Mercer knows that the three brothers will wish to buy their flame-colored satin from him if they think that he caters to wealthy and

fashionable clients. Therefore, when he shows them a length of it, the Mercer adds, ". . . An please your Worships. . . My Lord C--, and Sir J. W. had Linings out this very Piece last Night. . . ." (pp. 86-87)

We can see the insolent servants taking their cues from their masters, who respect wealth and fashion more than they do anything else; for instance, the brothers are told by the drawer in a fashionable tavern where gentlemen are drinking wine that there is no ale sold here. We can see the footmen refusing them admittance into houses because their dress is not up to the moment's fashion. In fact, the brothers' desperate attempts to adjust their father's will to their desires for this life show how pervasively this atmosphere of snobbery, wealth, and rank permeates the whole setting. This is an excellent example of how the milieu can actually affect the action.

We see the passion for the latest fashion and the frantic necessity for wearing shoulder-knots, first; then gold lace.²² This quick change in fashionable styles is best described in Swift's own words.

BUT, as human Happiness is of a very short Duration, so in those Days were human Fashions, upon which it entirely depends. Shoulder-Knots had their Time, and we must now imagine them in their Decline; for a certain Lord came just from Paris, with fifty Yards of Gold Lace upon his Coat, exactly trimm'd after the Court-Fashion

²² Swift, A Tale of a Tub, p. 84. How universal Swift's recognition is of this quick turnover of fashion may be amusingly noted in the fact that a great, modern store like Marshall Field of Chicago, Illinois, entitled its fashion catalog Fashions of the Hour; whereas Swift refers to this quick change as the Fashion of the Month. "Gold-Lace. . . the Court-Fashion of that Month. "

of that Month. In two Days, all Mankind appear'd closed up in Bars of Gold Lace: whoever durst peep abroad without his Complement of Gold Lace, was as scandalous as a ---, and as ill received among the Women. (pp. 84-85)

Swift gives just the suggestion of the scene, of course, for he uses his narrative as a vehicle for his satire; whereas the novelist is concerned primarily with his narrative and thus may expand each scene, giving greater detail concerning the setting, characters, and their actions. However, many novelists have presented a scene by suggestion only -- the scene démeublé -- and done so very effectively.

A fine example of Swift's use of the scene démeublé is the one in which the Mercer brings the Brothers a piece of flame-colored satin for their inspection. Through his selection of just the right words, Swift not only makes us hear, feel, and see physically with the characters but also mentally and emotionally. We are watching the scene and at the same time we are in the room with the characters and are participants with them. Thus Swift reveals that he has that quality which Percy Lubbock feels is a requirement for the great novelist, that he has the "gift. . . by which we the reader turn the flat impressions of our senses into solid shapes. . . ."²³

Swift gives enough detail to suggest the situation, the mental and emotional state of each character, the dialogue, action, reactions, and interplay of one character on another; then Swift lets the reader fill

²³Lubbock, p. 9.

in the details. Swift gives the reader all he needs to visualize the scene, the actions, and the characters and set his imagination at work to fill in the rest in as much detail as he wishes to include. This is in a recognized tradition of the novel, especially of the démeublé novel.

A while after, there came up all in Fashion, a pretty sort of flame Coloured Sattin for Linings, and the Mercer brought a pattern of it immediately to our three Gentlemen, 'An please your Worships' (said he) 'My Lord C--, and Sir J. W. had Linings out of this very Piece last Night; it takes wonderfully and I shall not have a Remnant left, enough to make my Wife a Pin-cushion by to morrow Morning at ten a Clock.' Upon this, they fell again to romage the Will, because the present Case also required a positive Precept, the Lining being held by Orthodox Writers to be of the Essence of the Coat. After long search, they could fix upon nothing to the Matter in hand, except a short Advice of their Fathers in the Will, to take care of Fire, and put out their Candles before they went to Sleep. (pp. 86-87)

This is, of course, only a foreshadowing of the scene where the dialogue may suggest setting as well as action as it always does in drama and always does in the novel when the dialogue is good.

The words that introduce the scene -- "A while after, there came up all in Fashion, a pretty sort of flame Coloured Sattin for Linings" -- suggests to us, as they do to the brothers, that all the leaders of fashion are sporting coats with this showy lining. We see the fashionable gentlemen strolling up and down the streets, moving around the drawing rooms, strutting through the theater while the play is in progress, with coats thrown open to reveal this beautiful lining and thus show the world that they are up-to-the-minute in their dress. After

seeing coats lined in flame-colored satin everywhere they go, the brothers are psychologically ready to buy it (and so is the reader) when the Mercer brings a "Pattern" of the satin to their lodgings. This is not the fully developed technique of the novel, but it is the same technique developed further than one would expect so early.

Through his sales approach, the Mercer identifies himself as a member of the high pressure salesmen of all time as well as an individual within that type. As we listen to his fast sales talk, we realize he is using the same methods as high pressure salesmen in every century and in every country: he has superior merchandise to that of his competitors, important people are buying from him, his stock is selling so fast it is almost gone, and he is doing his customer a favor to give him the opportunity to buy before the stock is gone. Indeed, the Mercer knows the necessity of hurrying customers to buy quickly, for the fad for each style will pass as quickly as it came.

The Mercer studies the psychology of each customer, so he will know the type of sales approach which will be successful on him. Having noticed that Peter, Martin, and Jack are frivolous young men who are extremely anxious "to improve in the good qualities of the town," the Mercer realizes that his best approach is through flattery, through an appeal to their snobbery, and through hurrying them into making a decision.

The Mercer identifies himself as an individual in his period in his use of the first person in his comments, in his reference to his shop, to

specific customers, and to his wife, and in his expressions, which are individual with him: for example, his comment that his satin is selling so fast that he "shall not have a Remnant left, enough to make my Wife a Pin-cushion by tomorrow Morning by ten a Clock." His reference to his wife, to the pin-cushion, and to 10 A. M. seem to identify the Mercer as an individual -- a particular mercer in London. In fact, his life apart from the scene with the brothers is suggested to us. We can see him, in the past, giving his wife the material he has not sold while it was in fashion; then we can see her trying to find ways to use it so it will not be a complete loss. We can imagine the Mercer's relief, at this moment, that he is selling all his satin, and we can hear his satisfied and smug comments, later to his wife, that he has managed to sell all his flame colored satin while it is still in vogue. Somehow we see his shop through his reference to the bolt of satin that he has brought from there to the brothers' lodgings, and we can also visualize him and his sales approach when he waits on his important customers -- "My Lord C---, and Sir J. W."

The Mercer flatters the brothers by bringing a sample of his satin to their home as if he thinks of them as important customers. Then he impresses them with his reference to the noblemen who not only have bought satin from him but purchased it from "this very Piece" and did so only "last Night." This approach is the right one for the brothers, for it not only appeals to their sense of snobbery, but it is a subtle compliment, for the Mercer seems to be saying that they are

as discriminating as a lord since he is showing them the same piece from which a lord has bought his satin and bought it as recently as "last Night"; thus the brothers feel that they will be fashion pace setters, too. This appeal is enough to convince the brothers that the Mercer is telling the truth; it never occurs to them that My Lord C--- might not be the Mercer's customer, that he might not have bought satin from the Mercer at all, let alone from "this very Piece," and that the Mercer might not be selling his satin as fast as he claims. In the brothers, Swift's Mercer knows his customers and uses the right sales approach; in fact, he is quite convincing to us, the readers, too, in making us realize the need for haste in purchasing this beautiful satin. All of this suggests many aspects of the setting.

With the brothers, we watch the Mercer as he unfolds a piece of the flame colored satin and says that last night My Lord C--- and Sir J. W. had linings out of "this very Piece," thus implying that he has brought his finest piece of satin to show the brothers. The Mercer displays the satin temptingly before the brothers (and the reader), thus letting the piece help sell itself. We can understand the brothers' temptation to buy it, for we, too, can see "this very Piece" of satin as it glows and shimmers in the candle light, we can feel the lustrous, silky quality of the material, and we can understand the temptation that this satin has for the brothers, for we know the temptation it has for us, even if it were not the fashion of the month.

As we listen to the Mercer's words, we see his actions, gestures,

facial expressions, and we hear the different tones of voice -- enthusiastic, wheedling, fawning, confidential, at times, perhaps, apparently indifferent -- his tone changing according to each reaction of the brothers, whom he is studying. We share the Mercer's thoughts and mental reactions as he interprets the brothers' facial expressions and movements which indicate their favorable or unfavorable reaction to buying his satin. However, he knows his customers in the shallow-minded, fashion conscious brothers and knows by their expressions and actions that they want to buy the satin, so he hurries them into making their decision by the psychological approach -- that if they do not decide immediately to buy this piece of satin, they will not have another chance to buy any, for it is selling so fast that, as he says, "I shall not have a Remnant left, enough to make a Pin-cushion by tomorrow Morning at ten a Clock," This is setting which is alive and is clearly affecting the action.

The Mercer's sales talk is adequate motivation to convince the brothers that they must have the flame colored satin and thus sends them "to romage the Will," to find a "positive Precept" which will allow them to line their coats with flame colored satin. The Mercer has aroused our enthusiasm for satin linings, too, so we can understand the brothers' making an immediate and painstaking search to find the father's Precept which will enable them to buy the satin. The Mercer has convinced them so thoroughly that they must buy the satin

that though they do not find a "positive Precept" after their "long search" through the will they accept Peter's suggestion that their father's will is faulty since it does not have a codicil, one which Peter "tagged on according to Art" and in which he mentions that a dogkeeper of his grandfather's had talked "a great deal (as good Luck would have it) of this very flame-colour'd Sattin." The brothers are satisfied and "the Sattin bought and worn." (p. 87)

The dialogue is taken from life. Though Swift gives only one speech of the Mercer, the suggestion of the Mercer and his speech are given and made a credible part of the background or setting. We can imagine the conversation that has taken place the evening before between the two young lords and the Mercer when they bought their satin, and we can also imagine the dialogue of the brothers and the Mercer in this scene: the brothers asking the Mercer questions about the satin and, then, assuring him that they want to buy it, next, their comments to each other as they try desperately to find permission in their father's will for them to wear flame colored satin linings.

On first thought, one might consider the matter of names of characters to be more legitimately in the discussion of character, and there is indisputably some argument for this point of view. But as even today the choice of names may reflect a certain social class, I have chosen to think of the names of characters as a part of the discussion of setting. In the case of Fielding, for instance, the name of "Allworthy" would affect the action of the character carrying the name. One would

not expect heroic action from Dickens' Uriah Heep; in John Galsworthy's Forsyte Saga, the family name is as much a part of the setting as the over-decorated town houses or the amusements of that upper middle class society.

Mr. Ian Watt states that one of the most important changes in the novel over the earlier literary genres was the novelists' break with tradition in the naming of characters -- that is, giving them names that sound like "ordinary realistic ones," but still are "subtly appropriate and suggestive."²⁴ In this area, the novelist differs from the classical dramatist who usually chose a hero from history or folklore and thus had to use the hero's own name. The novelist also differs from the writers of heroic tragedies and heroic romances who gave their characters exotic names that seemed to have come from far-away countries or who chose names from literary works either from the past or from foreign countries; for example, Roger Boyle, writer of heroic romances, chose the fancy name of Parthenissa for his romantic heroine in the book by the same name. John Dryden, writer of heroic tragedy, selected the foreign sounding names of Almanzor and Almahyde for his hero and heroine in his play "The Conquest of Granada."

Though the change to "ordinary realistic" names that are "subtly appropriate and suggestive" does come and is found in several

²⁴ Watt, p. 19

eighteenth century novels, it is odd that Mr. Watt gives the credit for this change to Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson by virtue of the fact that they are the first writers who do not borrow the names for their characters from mythology, from classical tradition, or from the literature of other periods or other countries as all preceding writers had done.

Though Mr. Watt can ignore Swift as a novelist, for, of course, Swift is not a novelist, he can not ignore Swift as an earlier writer than Defoe and Richardson who breaks with tradition and gives his characters or personae "ordinary realistic" names that are still "subtly appropriate and suggestive." It is true that Robinson Crusoe is an ordinary name that suggests the character of Crusoe, but Defoe follows Swift in making this change from tradition.

In naming his characters, Swift chose names from ordinary life which also suggest the type of person each character is. For example, in A Tale of a Tub what names can be more "ordinary realistic" and still "subtly appropriate" than the names of the three brothers -- Peter, Martin, and Jack.

In discussing the names of the brothers, Swift shows that he is aware of the traditional practice of writers' borrowing names from other works and the controversy concerning the origin and meaning of names. Thus two of Swift's Grub Street writers argue over the names of Peter, Martin, and Jack. Persona A states that the author of the story of the three brothers has been accused of borrowing their names

from a letter of the late Duke of Buckingham, but he defends the author from such a charge. In the author's defense, Persona A states that the author did not borrow the names, though the Duke did use those three names in his letter; however, the author is willing to give up "Whatever Wit is contained in those three Names. . . at the same time protesting solemnly that he never once heard of that Letter. . . So that the Names were not borrowed as he affirms, tho' they should happen to be the same. . . ." Persona A does not think that the names seem to be alike though they are the same names, but of the three, he feels "that of Jack" is "not quite so obvious as the other two." (p. 13)

Swift uses a variety of name types, which are related to the satire as well as suggestive of character, thus foreshadowing the names used by novelists. For example, besides the ordinary names of Peter, Martin, and Jack, Swift uses initials for some characters such as Mr. W.W.T. and descriptive names for unidentified characters such as the First Answerer, the Second Answerer, and the Reflector. Samuel Richardson followed Swift's lead in giving initials only as the name of some characters, such as Mr. B. in Pamela, a name which Fielding made "ordinary" but "suggestive" by filling it out as Mr. Booby, in his novel Joseph Andrews.

In naming the ladies with whom the brothers fell in love, Swift gives names that suggest the type of person each one is but at the same time are romantic, glamorous French-sounding names that suggest those of heroic romances. These are the type of names such ladies

would have, the type of names the brothers would expect to hear in fashionable society, but at the same time each name suggests the character who has it. The fact that each lady seems to have a title adds glamor and mystery to the three ladies and helps explain why these three ladies "were in chief Reputation" at the time the brothers arrived in the city. In fact, to be true to the law of probability, Swift has to use fancy names for the three ladies with whom the brothers fall in love, for these are the type of names such frivolous, shallow ladies would have and the type of names that would impress such naive young men as Peter, Martin, and Jack.

Jack, Peter, and Martin do not fall in love with the ladies themselves but with their fashionable, foreign-sounding names, their impressive-sounding titles, their fashionable clothes, and their being "in chief Reputation. . ." (p. 74) The brothers accept these surface characteristics, the names being one of the most important of them, as proving that these ladies actually are members of the highest class of society and thus have wealth, power, and station.

Their varying titles not only suggest the characters of the ladies but also add credibility and verisimilitude, for they reveal that this class of society in which the brothers find themselves is made up of disparate groups who have nothing in common except that they are artificial, worldly, and dishonest. They include people from many stations of life, including the brothers who are naive boys from the country as well as people who pass for lords and ladies.

Though the brothers love all the ladies they meet, the particular three whom they are anxious to win are the Duchess d'Argent, Madame de Grands Titres, and the Countess d'Orgueill. In falling in love with these ladies, the brothers show their naiveté by not only being impressed with the titles of the duchess and the countess, but by thinking that "Madame" is a title which represents wealth and power as do the other two.

Each lady's name suggests the type of person she is; the duchess loves money, the "Madame" desires several titles, and the countess exults in self-pride. The names also suggest character traits that are found among persons of this worthless, artificial level of society (traits that have nothing to do with the allegory.) Thus the ladies' names reveal their character traits as do the names of Fielding's Squire Allworthy, who is a worthy man in every area of his life, and Thwakum, who believes in the rod as being the best learning device that can be found. Both as individuals and part of this group, the ladies' names reveal that all three of them have character traits which would cause them to see nothing of a young man but his suit of clothes and thus they would give a "very bad Reception" (p. 74) to any one who was out of fashion "but the breadth of a Hair." (p. 81)

Thus the names of the ladies not only suggest their character traits but also their state of mind. The duchess and countess, each of whom has a title, is concerned with other desires: the duchess for money and the countess for admirers -- the duchess loving gold and

the countess filled with overweening pride. On the other hand, Madame de Grands Titres does not have a title; she reveals her great desire for one through her name which suggests that she has several great titles. This reaction of hers is psychologically true, for a woman living in an artificial, fashionable society but not having a title will be the one who is the most interested in appearing to have one -- like Fielding's beggar who rides in a coach and six.²⁵ On the other hand, it is psychologically true that those individuals -- like the three brothers -- who know nothing about society will be impressed by her name "Madame de Grands Titres" and thus believe that she has a title, for her name sounds as if she has a title. It has the right "sound."

Thus Swift gives his personae names that "suggest" their character traits: whether the name is artificial -- such as the Duchess d'Argent and suggests shallow, frivolous individuals -- or is taken from ordinary life and thus suggests ordinary young men such as the names of Peter, Martin, and Jack, the choice not only reflects character, but reflects the social setting of the action. Their names suggest the mediocrity of the three brothers just as the name "Gulliver" suggests Lemuel Gulliver's gullibility.

Novelists have followed this same practice -- that of giving names which suggest the personality traits of the character, examples of which are legion. For instance, Laurence Sterne in choosing the name of

²⁵Fielding, "Preface," Joseph Andrews, p. 9.

"Shandy" gave the family a surname that has the quixotic quality that the family has, and Sterne's name of Dr. Slop for the male midwife suggests the man's sloppiness and inefficiency. Fielding's names of Tom Jones, Squire Western, Mrs. Honour, Mr. Nightengale, Squire Allworthy all fall into this same category as do Tobias Smollett's names as illustrated in Squire Matthew Bramble and his sister Tabitha.²⁶ In the nineteenth century, novelists followed this same practice. Take for example, Charles Dickens in the naming of his characters: Mr. Murdstone, Peggoty, Aunt Betsy Trotwood from David Copperfield and Sally Brass from Old Curiosity Shop.

Mr. Watt has mentioned a significant change between the traditional names of characters and those of the novels -- that they are names that sound like "ordinary realistic ones," but at the same time they are "subtly appropriate." However, in giving credit for this change to Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson -- as being the first writers to make this change, Mr. Watt has ignored the fact that Swift made it in A Tale of a Tub, which he wrote twenty-one years before Defoe published Robinson Crusoe and which Swift printed fifteen years before Robinson Crusoe and thirty-six years before the publication of Richardson's first novel, Pamela.²⁷

²⁶ Sterne's Tristram Shandy, Fielding's Tom Jones, and Smollett's Humphry Clinker.

²⁷ Swift, "Introduction," A Tale of a Tub, pp. XXVIII-XXX. Swift also used ordinary but suggestive words in the title of this work. Mr. Nicholas Smith states that the phrase "a tale of a tub" means "an

Dialogue

The modern reader, immersed in the movement and lively world of the developed novelists of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, usually is unaware of how much that movement and verisimilitude are owing to dialogue. Good dialogue developed later than plot and characterization, for even more than in the other aspects of the art of the novel, it was considered an attribute of drama alone, and, in fact, did not appear in a finished form before Fielding.²⁸ Its development in Swift's work gives even more proof to Swift's right to a place in the history of the novel. Swift's natural dislike of the absurd romances of his period may have had an influence on this development. The dialogue in these romances was stilted, sentimental -- often saccharine. Pelham Edgar explains this tendency as arising from the

idle discourse" was an ordinary, popular expression in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is found in the works of many writers including those of Sir Thomas More and Ben Jonson. Swift combined this phrase with the meaning of another one -- that of the cask that was supposed to divert the attention of a whale from a boat. This meaning stemmed from a seaman's term and was used, too, by writers during this period, one of whom was Andrew Marvell, who refers to it in his "The Rehersal Transposed: The Second Part," (1673). Edward Rosenheim, ed., "Introduction," Jonathan Swift, Selected Prose and Poetry (New York, 1961), p. 1. Mr. Rosenheim feels that the title is significant, for it justifies much of the apparent shapelessness in the book.

²⁸ It is interesting and logical that Fielding's use of dialogue was not so much a discovery as a natural outgrowth of his own experience in drama.

fact that romance had its origin in "an idealized attempt to escape from reality. Men craved impossible situations, and the language of narration also consorted with this demand."²⁹ Swift's interest in satire tended to sharpen any weapon he used. His interest in satire also set him in the direction of a more natural, pliable prose -- a better vehicle for satire and incidentally for the later novel.

Swift recognized the falsity of artificial dialogue just as Fielding did -- the falsity which he ridiculed many times in Tom Jones.

Twelve times did the iron register of time beat
on the sonorous bell-metal, summoning the ghosts
to rise and walk their nightly round. -- In
plainer language, it was twelve o'clock, and all the
family, as we have said, lay buried in drink and
sleep. . .³⁰

Notice the difference between the artificial language and that of real life, a difference which Swift also ridicules. Language, which, of course, is a part of dialogue, helps give the novel its sense of reality -- the feeling that though it is fictitious, its plot is taken from real life and its characters are life-like. In its highest form, it may realize Conrad's theory that the reality of great fiction is more real than reality itself.³¹

Thus in Swift's A Tale of a Tub, the dying father, in looking

²⁹ Pelham Edgar, The Art of the Novel: From 1700 to the Present Time (New York, 1934), p. 13.

³⁰ Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. 2, Bk. X, Chap. IX, p. 88.

³¹ Conrad, "Preface," p. 81.

around for the coats so he may see how his sons look in them, does not say, "Behold, my sons, your raiment rare"; instead, he says, simply and colloquially, ". . . here they are. . . ." (p. 73) This tiny bit of dialogue reveals not only the easy, undecorated speech, by means of which a narrative may move swiftly but, in looking around for the coats, the father gives what on the stage would be a stage direction, and also reveals a facet of his own character -- a genuine fatherly and worldly interest, seeing how the coats look on his sons.

In still greater detail, Swift describes the father's death bed scene. The reader sees the dying father with his boys standing around the bed. With great physical effort, the father raises himself up, calls weakly to his lads, to come closer to him so that they can hear him, and then he tells them about their legacy. While explaining the advantages of the coats, the father interrupts himself to say, "Here they are." This is a natural action and a natural remark for an anxious, dying father to make. His words imply that he has the coats either on the bed with him or on a chair near him, for he says, "Here they are." These words indicate that he picks up the coats or, at least, points to him. If the coats had not been close enough for him to touch, he would not have used the adverb "here," for it suggests his making a gesture toward them. Although this may seem overdone, the implication is important.

The father speaks directly to the brothers as he explains the two virtues of the coats.

'Now, you are to understand, that these Coats have two Virtues contained in them: One is, that with good wearing, they will last you fresh and sound as long as you live: The other is, that they will grow in the same proportion with your Bodies, lengthning and widening of themselves, so as to be always fit.' (p. 73)

Through his next speech, the father indicates that he is handing the coats to the boys and asking them to try them on, so that he can have the comfort of knowing how the boys look in them. This is a natural request for an anxious, dying father, especially since his anxiety suggests that he is afraid that they are shallow-minded boys who will not follow his instructions and thus will make foolish decisions which will lead them to a calamitous end. He loves them so much that he wants to save them from the bitterness and unhappiness that he knows they will bring on themselves if they do disobey him. Through his words, he reveals his love and anxiety for them.

'Here, let me see them on you before I die.. So,, very well, Pray Children, wear them clean, and brush them often. You will find in my Will (here it is) full Instructions in every particular concerning the Wearing and Management of your Coats; wherein you must be very exact, to avoid the Penalties I have appointed for every Transgression or Neglect, upon which your future Fortunes will entirely depend.' (pp. 73-74)

We share both the father's anxiety and his hope that the boys will respect his wishes as we watch with the father as the boys pick up the coats, put them on, and then parade up and down beside the bed as they model them for their father. We are, of course, not as deeply emotionally engaged here as we are in great similar scenes in the

fully developed novel, but here again the technique takes us farther toward the novel than did the earlier prose fiction.

Thus Swift, in his use of dialogue, foreshadows the novelist's use of it: that every speech must do one or all of three things: reveal character, further plot, reflect setting. Pelham Edgar in an excellent chapter on Dialogue in his work The Art of the Novel gives a number of requirements for good dialogue in which dialogue reveals character and movement of plot.³² It must be remembered that Mr. Edgar has taken his requirements from the standards developed in two hundred years of practice in the fully developed novel, but it will be the more surprising to readers of Swift to find how many of them he was aware of and used. Briefly summarized Mr. Edgar's requirements are -- with my illustrations of Swift's use of each -- as follows.

1. Conversation scenes usually bring action into the immediate present. For instance, Swift has the dying father ask his sons to try on the coats he is leaving them, so he can see how they look on the boys. "Here, let me see them on you before I die." The reader is aware that the brothers have put on the coats, for the father says, "So, very well." The reader can also hear him say, "Pray Children, wear them clean, and brush them often." This is a scene in which conversation is suggested; it brings the action into the immediate present

³²Edgar, pp. 10-16.

and makes the reader feel he is sharing the scene.

2. Recovered dialogue is a device for going back in time. It is related to the epistolary novel conversations. Through it, the author reconstructs from the past or from speeches conveyed by the first person character of the autobiographical novel or by the narrator. Swift uses this device in the scenes in which Peter rationalizes the terms of their father's will by pretending to remember statements he heard as a boy which will give them their father's permission to wear the current fashion.

. . . 'For Brothers, if you remember, we heard a Fellow say when we were Boys, that he heard my Father's Man say, that he heard my Father say, that he would advise his Sons to get Gold Lace on their Coats, as soon as ever they could procure Money to buy it. ' 'By G---that is very true, ' cries the other; 'I remember it perfectly well, ' said the third. And so without more ado they got the largest Gold Lace in the Parish, and walk'd about as fine as Lord /sic/. (p. 86)

The brothers pretending to "recover" a conversation that occurred when they were boys gives their words an air of truth, for Peter has given the time the dialogue took place -- "when we were Boys," with whom it took place -- a friend of their "Father's Man," and the supposed advice of their father that this man had repeated to them.

3. Dialogue to reveal character must be unmistakably that of the character involved. For instance, in Tom Jones, one could not transfer the words of Molly Seagrim or Mrs. Honour to the lips of Sophia Western, nor could Sophia's conversation be transferred to

Mrs. Bellaston -- even though they are of the same social class.

In Swift's A Tale of a Tub, the arrogant and sophisticated dialogue of Peter could be transferred to neither of his brothers. In fact, almost any of Peter's speeches could be lifted from the context, without the speaker's name, and any reader could identify them -- just as in the case of Shakespeare -- a speech of Hamlet's does not have to be remembered of itself -- one knows unmistakably that Horatio or Polonius or Laertes could not possibly have said it.

For example, Peter, being the learned Brother, always shows off his learning by interspersing Latin phrases or references to hypothetical ancient writers or learning in each of his speeches. Peter could make up these learned references on the spur of the moment.

'Brothers,' said he, 'You are to be informed, that, of Wills, duo sunt genera, Nuncupatory and scriptory: that in the Scriptorium Will here before us, there is no Precept or Mention about Gold Lace, conceditur: But, si idem affirmetur de nuncupatorio, negatur. For Brothers, if you remember, we heard a Fellow say when we were Boys, that he heard my Father's Man say, that he heard my Father say, that he would advise his Sons to get Gold Lace on their Coats, as soon as ever they could procure Money to buy it.' (pp. 85-86)

And in this speech, as in all his others, Peter also reveals his egotism. Thus he refers to their father as "my" father. This tendency of his grows until he claims that he is not only the oldest son but the father's only heir. After his successful reading of the will concerning shoulder-knots, Peter never again uses any pronoun but the first person singular.

4. Conversation is an easier way as well as a short cut to characterization. It is natural for two people to discuss a character's virtues and vices or his defects, and so, in their discussion, they reveal the qualities of one or more of the other characters. Thus the novelist can point out the characteristics of any particular person by making them the subject of general comment. Jack's and Martin's conversation concerning Peter illustrates this aspect of dialogue. Through his hatred of Peter as well as his own self-centeredness, Jack bases Peter's vices primarily on those actions in which Peter has taken the advantage of Jack and Martin; though Jack refers to Peter's public reputation of being a rascal, he does so only in a brief, off-handed way. In his own words, Jack describes Peter to Martin.

. . . 'A Rogue Peter that lock'd up his Drink,
turned away our Wives, cheated us of our Fortunes;
paumed his damned Crusts upon us for Mutton; and
at last kickt us out of Doors; must we be in His
Fashions with a Pox? a Rascal, besides, that all
the Street cries out against. ' (p. 138)

5. The range of subjects in dialogue varies with the degree of mentality assumed in the speaker. Each speech must reveal the type of person the character is and at the same time be in character with the qualities that the character has already shown that he has. Thus Jack reveals his hypocrisy when he tries to persuade Martin to tear all the trimming off his coat even if he ruins the material.

. . . 'Ah, Good Brother Martin, ' said he Jack,
'do as I do, for the Love of God; Strip, Tear, Pull,
Rent, Flay off all, that we may appear as unlike the
Rogue Peter, as it is possible: I would not for a

hundred Pounds carry the least Mark about me,
that might give Occasion to the Neighbours, of
suspecting I was related to such a Rascal,' (p. 139)

When this appeal to his "good Brother" is not successful, Jack tries stronger and stronger ones. Finding that none of them persuades Martin to ruin his coat, Jack flies into a rage, breaks relationships with Martin, and moves to new lodgings.

6. There should be a distinction between comments that are made in the author's voice and those which are revealed dramatically. The historian persona who tells the story of the three brothers speaks to the reader in two capacities: in his own person and in quoting the brothers indirectly. In his own person, the historian uses the first person -- sometimes singular, sometimes plural -- and explains or philosophizes over a scene or a character or gives a reason for a particular action. For example, in his own person, he stops the reader -- after the rupture between Peter on the one hand and Martin and Jack on the other -- to clarify the situation for him.

BUT, here it is good to stop the hasty Reader,
ever impatient to see the End of an Adventure,
before We Writers can duly prepare him for it.
I am to record, that these two Brothers began
to be distinguished at this Time, by certain
Names. (p. 134)

An example of the historian's quoting both directly and indirectly from a character is found in the dinner scene in which Peter gives his brothers bread but tells them that it is wine. In answer to his brothers' desire "to pledge" "His Lordship" with a glass of wine, Peter gives this reply.

'That you shall,' said Peter, 'I am not a Person to refuse you any Thing that is reasonable; Wine moderately taken, is a Cordial; Here is a Glass apiece for you; 'Tis true natural Juice from the Grape; none of your damn'd Vintners Brewings.' (p. 119)

After giving this direct statement of Peter's, the historian, then, quotes Peter's dialogue indirectly for the rest of the scene.

Having spoke thus, he /Peter/ presented to each of them another large dry Crust, bidding them drink it off, and not be bashful, for it would do them no Hurt. (p. 119)

7. Dialogue may be used where dramatists would use stage directions. This use provides movement in the narrative and so affects plot. Thus the reader can watch Peter, at the head of the table, telling his brothers to eat heartily and even volunteering to serve them.

'Come Brothers,' said Peter, 'fall to, and spare not; here is excellent good Mutton; or hold, now now my Hand is in, I'll help you.' (pp. 116-117)

Thus Swift as early in his career as A Tale of a Tub had developed the dialogue, one of the most difficult techniques of the narrative art, to a remarkable degree. It is also one of the few aspects of this art that he developed further in his later work. In the other aspects, he already had developed them to a high degree in A Tale of a Tub. At least, the principles were there. Swift only needed more adaptable subject matter to show how far he had gone.

Through Swift's skill in narrative techniques seems to be at its height in Gulliver's Travels largely because the material is much more adapted to the use of narrative techniques and to the average reader's

expectation of what a narrative should be, yet in A Tale of a Tub one sees a masterly use of these techniques in material which is less obviously adapted to the narrative method. The early date of the composition of A Tale and its extraordinary fusion of satire and narrative justify the greater detail in the treatment given that work.

Style

Although many contemporary novelists seem to be little concerned with style, yet in any consideration of the novel as a literary genre it is impossible to omit it. There are many aspects of style and many definitions,³³ but for the purposes of this study I have confined myself to two, and even these two can be only partially used since this study is confined to the narrative style of A Tale of a Tub.

"Le style est ceci: ajouter à une pensée donnée toute les circonstances propres à produire tout l'effet que doit produire cette pensée."³⁴ There is also the use of style that includes the use of words, imagery, rhythms -- all that Aristotle calls embellishment -- which taken as a whole have the power to move us -- the power to add

³³ John Middleton Murry, Essay on Style (London, 1922), p. 99. "Le style est l'homme; the grand style of the great poetic dramatists; style as the French often use it when they speak of a writer's having style meaning a perfectly clear, wholly adequate mode of expression; Bernard Shaw's definition that 'The Alpha and Omega of style is effectiveness of Assertion, etc. '"

³⁴ Ibid., p. 99. Stendhal's definition as cited by John Middleton Murry.

to the sum of the total of the substance. These two definitions, even taken in part, will serve the purpose of illuminating Swift's narrative style in A Tale of a Tub.

It is difficult to say which of the narrative techniques that Swift developed is more important than another, but, in a genre like the novel, the slow moving, heavily decorated style of the sixteenth and seventeenth century prose could only clog movement, which is an essential element of the novel. Few, if any, of the precursors of the novel developed a medium so well adapted to narrative techniques as Swift has shown us in A Tale of a Tub. Even Somerset Maugham, after almost two hundred years of the perfected novel, turned to Swift when he began searching for the best medium through which to write his own satiric novels. He tells us in his autobiography The Summing Up that he was first attracted to the seventeenth century styles and steeped himself in the prose of the King James Version of the Bible and in the prose of Jeremy Taylor. Realizing they were not what he wanted, he turned to Swift:

The prose of Swift enchanted me. I made up my mind that this was the perfect way to write and I started to work on him in the same way as I had done with Jeremy Taylor. I chose The Tale of a Tub. . . .I cannot imagine that English can be better written. Here are no flowery periods, fantastic turns of phrase or high-flown images. It is a civilized prose, natural, discreet and pointed. There is no attempt to surprise by an extravagant vocabulary. It looks as though Swift made do with the first word that came to hand, but since he had an acute and logical brain it was always the right one, and he put it in the right place. The strength

and balance of his sentences are due to an exquisite taste. As I had done before I copied passages and then tried to write them out again from memory. I tried altering words or the order in which they were set. I found that the only possible words were those Swift had used and that the order in which he had placed them was the only possible order. It is impeccable prose.³⁵

Considering Maugham's achievement in the field of the novel and his self-conscious searching for the best medium for his work, his choice of Swift as a model is evidence that Swift had gone far in producing a narrative style that was highly polished before the novel itself appeared.

Although through the last of the sixteenth and through the seventeenth century, there was a growing taste for fiction, yet the style was too ornate, too heavy for the novel itself. It would be difficult even to imagine Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Tobias Smollett, or Jane Austen achieving what they did if they had tried to manipulate prose like the following: Sir Philip Sidney's description of a landscape in his story Arcadia,

There were hills which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble valleys whose base estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers; meadows, enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which, being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so too by the cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs were bleating oratory craved the dams' comfort; here a

³⁵W. Somerset Maugham, The Summing Up (New York, 1938), pp. 26-27.

shepherd's boy piping, as though he should never be old; there a young shepherdess knitting, and whithal singing, and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work and her hands kept time to her voice-music.³⁶

the artificially balanced style of John Lyly in Euphues,

. . . though Euphues abhor the beauty of Lucilla, yet will he not abstain from the company of a grave maiden.

If my tongue were able to utter the joys that my heart hath conceived, I fear me though I be well beloved, yet I should hardly be believed. Oh my Lucilla, how much am I bound to thee, which preferrest mine unworthiness, before thy Father's wrath: my happiness, before thine own life? How might I excell thee in courtesy, whom no mortal can exceed in constancy? I find it now for a settled truth, which earst I accounted for vain talk, that the purple dye will never stain, that the pure Civet will never change his colour, that beauty can never be blotted with discourtesy.³⁷

or the stilted, awkward dialogue of the heroic romance which is the opposite from that of ordinary speech:

Astrea. Who is that graceful Person that appears upon the high Loll in his Chariot and six horses? They seem to cut the Air with the Swiftness of their Motion, scarce to touch the ground beneath, like flying Clouds, Venus' Doves, or Juno's Peacocks.

³⁶ Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (1590) (London, 1898), p. 12.

³⁷ John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wyt, Euphues and his England (1578) (New York, 1964), p. 109.

There's something of a solemn Joy upon his Face,
which flashes out notwithstanding his endeavours
to the contrary.³⁸

John Bunyan writes in the slower, almost Biblical, style.

'England shakes and totters already, by reason of
the burden that Mr. Badman and his Friends have
already laid upon it,' he cried; 'Yea, our earth
reels and staggereth to and fro like a Drunkard,
the transgression thereof is heavy upon it.'³⁹

Even as far ahead of her contemporaries in style as Mrs. Aphra Behn was, in this description of her hero Oroonoko there is more than a hint of the grand manner admired in the French romances which were so popular in the seventeenth century.

I have often seen and conversed with this Great Man, and been a Witness to many of his mighty Actions; and do assure my Reader, the most illustrious Courts could not have produced a braver Man, both for Greatness of Courage and Mind, a Judgment more solid, a Wit more quick, and a conversation more sweet and diverting. He knew about as much as if he had read much. . . . He had an extreme good and graceful Mien, and all the Civility of a well-bred Great Man.⁴⁰

To get an immediate recognition of what Swift's style accomplished for narrative, one needs only to glance at the foregoing quotations and then

³⁸Mrs. Mary de la Riviere Manley(1663-1724), Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of both Sexes. . . From the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediterranean (1709). Cited in The History of the English Novel, ed. by Robert Morss Lovett and Helen Sard Hughes (New York, 1932), pp. 26-27.

³⁹John Bunyan (1628-1688), The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680). Cited in Lovett's History of the English Novel, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰Mrs. Aphra Behn (1640-1689), Oroonoko or The History of the Royal Slave (1688), The Works of Mrs. Aphra Behn, ed. by Montagu Summers (London, 1915), Vol. V, p. 135.

compare these quotations with examples taken at random from the narrative in A Tale of a Tub.

Take Swift's description of Peter's greatest rarity, his set of Bulls; here the metaphoric comparison to actual bulls is clear and realistic.

BUT of all Peter's Rarities, he most valued a certain Set of Bulls, whose Race was by great Fortune preserved in a lineal Descent from those that guarded the Golden Fleece. Tho' some who pretended to observe them curiously, doubted the Breed had not been kept entirely chaste; because they had degenerated from their Ancestors in some Qualities; and had acquired others very extraordinary, but a Foreign Mixture. The Bulls of Colchos are recorded to have brazen Feet; But whether it happen'd by ill Pasture and Running, by an Allay from intervention of other Parents, from stolen Intrigues; Whether a Weakness in their Progenitors had impaired the seminal Virtue: Or by a Decline necessary thro' a long Course of Time, the Originals of Nature being depraved in these latter sinful Ages of the World; Whatever was the Cause, 'tis certain that Lord Peter's Bulls were extremely vitiated by the Rust of Time in the Mettal of their Feet, which was now sunk into Common Lead. However the terrible roaring peculiar to their Lineage, was preserved; as likewise that Faculty of breathing out Fire from their Nostrils; which notwithstanding many of their Detractors took to be a Feat of Art, and to be nothing so terrible as it appeared. . . . (pp. 110-111)

Swift's use of dialogue is natural and realistic, a give and take of comments which is like the dialogue of real life -- the free exchange of speech which made dialogue in the novels easy and natural. Notice, too, that Swift does not use a character's name before his speech as do Mrs. Manley and even John Bunyan. They followed the example of dramatists in indicating that a character was going to speak by placing

his name before his speech. Swift also foreshadows the novelists by giving each speech naturally as it arises in the normal course of conversation and only casually mentioning the name of the speaker -- placing his name somewhere in the middle of his comment. For example, take the exchange of conversation of the three brothers during the dinner in which Peter served his brothers bread but claimed that it was mutton.

'Come Brothers,' said Peter, 'fall to, and spare not; here is excellent good Mutton; or hold, now my Hand is in, I'll help you.' At which word, in much Ceremony, with Fork and Knife, he carves out two good Slices of the Loaf, and presents each on a Plate to his Brothers. The Elder of the two not suddenly entering into Lord Peter's Conceit, began with very civil Language to examine the Mystery. 'My Lord,' said he, 'I doubt, with great Submission, there may be some Mistake.' 'What,' says Peter, 'you are pleasant; Come then, let us hear this Jest, your Head is so big with.' 'None in the World, my Lord; but unless I am very much deceived, your Lordship was pleased a while ago, to let fall a Word about Mutton, and I would be glad to see it with all my Heart.' 'How,' said Peter, appearing in great Surprise, 'I do not comprehend this at all ---' Upon which, the younger interposing, to set the Business right; 'My Lord,' said he, 'My Brother, I suppose is hungry, and longs for the Mutton, your Lordship hath promised us to Dinner.' 'Pray,' said Peter, 'take me along with you, either you are both mad, or disposed to be merrier than I approve of; If You there, do not like your Piece, I will carve you another, tho' I should take that to be the choice Bit of the whole shoulder.' 'What then, My Lord,' replied the first, 'it seems this is a shoulder of Mutton all this while.' 'Pray Sir,' says Peter, eat your Vittles, and leave off your Impertinence, if you please, for I am not disposed to relish it at present;' . . . 'My Lord,' said he, 'I can only say, that to my Eyes, and Fingers, and Teeth, and

Nose, it seems to be nothing but a Crust of Bread.' Upon which, the second put in his Word: 'I never saw a Piece of Mutton in my Life, so nearly resembling a Slice from a Twelve-peny Loaf.' (pp. 116-118)

Notice the choice of words and images that give the reader a visual picture of this incident and make him feel the action as well.

In the midst of all this Clutter and Revolution, in comes Peter with a File of Dragoons at his Heels, and gathering from all Hands what was in the Wind, He and his Gang, after several Millions of Scurrilities and Curses, not very important here to repeat, by main Force, very fairly kicks them his two brothers/ both out of Doors, and would never let them come under his Roof from that Day to this. (p. 122)

Through the comments of the historian persona on the principles underlying plot and character development, Swift reveals that his skillful use of narrative techniques is not accidental. Clearly and succinctly, he explains the duty of the author in developing plot and character -- that he must raise his hero "by gradual Steps" and he must "follow the Truth, step by step, whatever happens, or where--ever it may lead me." (p. 133) Thus there must be no deus-ex-machina and both action and character must be true to the law of probability. Neither is it by accident that Swift knows just what details to select to evoke every aspect of a scene in the reader's mind. Thus we see the traveller's point of view -- whether he is tired, refreshed, or stupid -- , the villagers, dogs, and all the action and noise that accompanies a galloping horseman in a small village. Swift makes us hear, feel, and see the total picture.

. . . a Traveller and his Horse are in Heart and Plight, when his Purse is full, and the Day before him; he takes the Road only where it is clean or convenient; entertains his Company there as agreeably as he can; but upon the first Occasion, carries them along with him to every delightful Scene in View, whether of Art, of Nature, or of both; and if they chance to refuse out of Stupidity or Weariness; let them jog on by themselves, and be d-n'd; He'll overtake them at the next Town; at which arriving, he Rides furiously thro', the Men, Women, and Children run out to gaze, a hundred noisy Curs run barking after him, of which, if he honors the boldest with a Lash of his Whip, it is rather out of Sport than Revenge: But should some sourer Mungrel dare too near an Approach, he receives a Salute on the Chaps by an accidental Stroak from the Courser's Heels, (nor is any Ground lost by the Blow) which sends him yelping and limping home. (pp. 188-189)

Each of Swift's images could be used as an example for George Meredith's definition of an image -- that it is a short-cut to a picture. Each of Swift's images also illustrates Maugham's statement that nothing that he wrote in A Tale of a Tub could be better expressed. For example, take the distance metaphor which not only shows that Jack lost his patience and became very angry at Martin but also expresses the degree of his anger and his entire emotional state. "Jack was already gone a Flight-shot beyond his Patience." (p. 140) Or take Peter's Universal Pickle which looked like a common pickle but which could preserve "Houses, Gardens, Towns, Men, Women, and Cattle. . . as Sound as Insects in Amber." (p. 109) Or take again the description of the ruined state of Jack's coat after he had tried to tear off all the trimming. By using the simile of the condition of a shoplifter's clothes after she had been left to the mercy of the exchange

women, Swift enables the reader to see the coat both in its totally ruined state and in its similarity to Peter's coat, for the material that was not torn was "still in Peter's Livery. So that he looked like . . . a discovered Shoplifter, left to the Mercy of Exchange-Women . . ."⁴¹ As the shoplifter's clothes, though torn, still bear some resemblance to their original appearance, the material of Jack's coat where it was not torn still looked like Peter's coat. Swift's genius in the aptness of metaphor is found in the long images as well as in the short ones. For example, take the simile of the compasses which shows that though Jack and Peter hate each other and live at opposite sides of town so that they will not meet, they still keep running into each other.

. . . For, the Phrenzy and the Spleen of both,
 having the same Foundation, we may look upon
 them as two Pair of Compasses, equally extended,
 and the fixed Foot of each, remaining in the same
 Center; which, tho' moving contrary Ways at first,
 will be sure to encounter somewhere or other in
 the Circumference. (p. 199)

and

Their Jack's and Peter's Lodgings were at the
 most distant Parts of the Town, from each other;
 and whenever their Occasions, or Humors called
 them abroad, they would make Choice of the oddest
 unlikely Times, and most uncouth Rounds

⁴¹ Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 140, n. 4. The galleries over the porches of the Royal Exchange were shops that were kept mostly by women. The same use was made of the New Exchange in the Strand. Later, these buildings were torn down and the shopkeepers removed from the Royal Exchange into Cornhill, and the adjacent streets. The New Exchange was on the south side of the Strand, near the site of the Adelphi. It opened in 1609 and was torn down in 1737.

they could invent; that they might be sure to avoid one another: Yet after all this, it was their perpetual Fortune to meet. The Reason of which, is easy enough to apprehend. . . .
(pp. 198-199)

Here you have the qualities admired by Somerset Maugham, which gave the great eighteenth century novelists a far better model for style than the earlier precursors of the novel had given. Here you have all the qualities of Stendhal's demand of style -- "To add to every given thought all the proper circumstances to produce the total effect which that thought is capable of producing." For example, in the compass simile, one has an image that brings out the fact that both Jack and Peter have the same frenzy and thus can not keep from continually meeting each other just as do the legs of a compass. It would be hard to imagine anything that would add to that effect.

After this analysis of Swift's narrative techniques in A Tale of a Tub, techniques which Swift used only as a means to an end, techniques which antedated those of Daniel Defoe to whom so much credit is given as a precursor of the novel, it seems suitable to let Swift himself end this chapter on A Tale of a Tub. Near the end of his life, on re-reading A Tale, Swift could say, as he did, "What a genius I had then."

CHAPTER IV

SELECTED WORKS: NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES

Directions to Servants

Directions to Servants, written by a former footman, gives the point of view of the servants and their coalition against their employers. Donald J. Bruce describes the work as being "the intricate flunkey-lore, the omniscience below stairs."¹ This work of Swift is obviously limited in scope and offers little or no hint of plot, except, that, as in so many of the precursors of the novel, it offers possibility of plot. One can imagine endless possibilities for intrigue with a footman's hating his master and thwarting his every move. However, as Swift's work stands, while there is no real plot, it is far more than mere "flunkey-lore." It shows remarkable advance in the use and suggestion of setting -- all the tangible and intangible circumstances which affect the action -- the standard definition of setting. In this respect, it not only foreshadows later novelists, but actually goes further than before and even closely resembles the skill of Tobias Smollett in Humphry Clinker -- a quality in Smollett that is often compared favorably with the same quality in Balzac, one of the acknowledged masters in the use of setting.

¹Donald J. Bruce, The Radical Doctor Smollett (London, 1964), p. 197:

It brings to life the eighteenth century world of the servants from an unscrupulous footman's viewpoint -- the same milieu that Henry Fielding gives us in his novel Joseph Andrews -- with only one difference. Fielding's footman -- Joseph Andrews -- is honest and naive; thus he has a different attitude from that of Swift's Footman,² who compiles his directions to servants. Directions to Servants is most important in its foreshadowing (and achieving) setting, but it also has excellent characterization. As this work of Swift's is not narrative in essence and as the interaction is so close, it will be more illuminating to make one unified discussion of character and setting.

Through his advice to the various servants, Swift's Footman reveals his own unscrupulous character, but at the same time gives a picture of life in the great houses of England with their hierarchy of servants, the staff of each house being a world in miniature -- with both honest and dishonest servants; however, in character with his dishonest nature, Swift's Footman places his emphasis on the servants' potential for vice rather than virtue: rivalry, competition, revenge, each servant scheming for his own benefit to outwit his fellow servants, his master and mistress, guests, tradesmen, the small and large coalitions against each other, against the master and mistress, or against a guest, the jealousy of each in guarding his perquisites of office, the rigid lines between duties that belong to a certain office, and the class

²Since Swift's footman persona does not have a name, I shall refer to him simply by capitalizing his name -- Footman.

distinction between types of servants.

Swift's Footman, skilled in duplicity and casuistry, emphasizes the importance of servants not letting their individual quarrels blind them to the fact that they must work together against their common enemy -- their master and mistress.

I do most earnestly exhort you all to Unanimity and Concord. But mistake me not: You may quarrel with each other as much as you please, only bear in Mind that you have a common Enemy, which is your Master and Lady, and you have a common Cause to defend. Believe an old Practitioner; whoever out of Malice to a Fellow-servant, carries a Tale to his Master, shall be ruined by a general Confederacy against him.³

Through this exhortation, the Footman proves himself a clear, hard, logical thinker who does not let his emotions or sentiment run away with his reason. He reflects his attitude towards life by suggesting that the basis for friendships among servants is simply self-interest. Thus he advises the cook to be friends with the butler, "for it is to both your Interests to be united: The Butler often wants a comfortable Tit-bit, and you much oftener a cool Cup of good Liquor." (p. 32)

Swift's persona introduces himself as having been a footman in a great house for seven years; thus he has the experience and knowledge to justify his giving directions to all servants as well as to his own

³ Jonathan Swift, Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces: 1733-1742, ed. by Herbert Davis (London, 1959), Vol. XIII, p. 11.

brethren -- the footmen.⁴

I have a true Veneration for your Office /the footmen/, because I had once the Honour to be one of your Order, which I foolishly left by demeaning myself with accepting an Employment in the Custom-house. -- But that you, my Brethren, may come to better Fortunes, I shall here deliver my Instructions, which have been the Fruits of much Thought and Observation, as well as of seven Years Experience. (p. 34)

Through this advice as to the type of work by which a footman can better advance himself, the Footman shows that he is not interested in honest work but in well-paying employment; thus he feels he has demeaned himself by entering the custom-house. His advice to his fellow footmen is that they must not grow old in the office of footman, but if they can not find a lucrative position any other way to become highwaymen and have a short life but a merry one. In this profession, too, they will meet many of their old brethren and "make a Figure" at their exit.

To grow old in the Office of a Footman, is the highest of all Indignities; Therefore, when you find Years coming on, without Hopes of a Place at Court, a Command in the Army, a Succession to the Stewardship, an Employment in the Revenue . . . or running away with your Master's Niece or

⁴Ibid. , p. xii. In his introduction to Directions to Servants, Mr. Herbert Davis states that Swift had originally thought of using the character of the butler as his persona, but "found himself slipping into the role of a footman, and perhaps decided that this was a better vantage point for his purpose. It seems to have offered more scope for picturesque details. . . ." Mr. Davis also mentions that adopting a specific role is characteristic of Swift "so as to put himself into a particular place, to make his observations always in the same scale and avoid the blurring caused by changing the point of view."

Daughter; I directly advise you to go upon the Road, which is the only Post of Honour left you: There you will meet many of your old Comrades, and live a short Life and a merry one, and make a Figure at your Exit, wherein I will give you some Instructions. (p. 44)

Through the nature of his advice and his references to his past experience, the Footman reveals himself. Opportunism, egotism, indolence, snobbishness, malevolence, insincerity, lack of compassion, callousness, heedlessness, wastefulness are all evident in him. He is a dissembler, a distorter of facts, skilled in every type of duplicity, chicanery, casuistry. But he has the gay qualities of the highwayman, too, for he believes in a gay life though a short one, a life filled with ladies, pleasures, dress, the admiration of everyone who is impressed with appearances only. He attempts to give the impression that he is a man of the world with an estate; but through his comments, he reveals his dishonesty by suggesting unscrupulous means of acquiring money, and his snobbishness by referring to everyone who is not well-to-do as composing "the Rabble."

We see the other characters clearly but indirectly through the advice given for different problems that come up in the household. The chambermaid who broke the japanned mirror and told a foolish lie about it reveals her fear that she will lose her job and her terror of her employers; the footman who refused to replace a nail that had fallen from a hanging because he had not been hired for that particular task shows his obstinacy and laziness; the butler who felt entitled to keep every valuable object a guest left, such as a snuff box, reveals his

rationalized dishonesty, the cook who used a silver spoon instead of an iron one to scrape and clean the kettles exposes her careless, wasteful nature; the footman, butler, and cook, who blamed every breakage or theft on the dog, a child, or the servant who was dismissed last, expose themselves. Their lack of compassion is highlighted in their hiring helpless children to do the heavy, unpleasant work and in their paying them in foul pieces of bread and meat that no one wants.

Most of all the advice to servants reveals other aspects of eighteenth century life and manners. We see the hierarchy of servants, the staff of each house being a world in miniature -- rivalry, competition, small and large coalitions for either self-interest or revenge. We find there is a difference in the duties between the same type of servant in a wealthy family and one in a middle income family; thus the Footman explains to the chambermaid that her duties will differ according to "the Quality, the Pride, or the Wealth of the Lady you serve." (p. 52) A great house had three types of maids to perform the duties assigned to one maid in a small household. This led to the snobbishness that the servants in a wealthy family maintained toward the servants in a poorer family as well as toward the middle class masters and mistresses.⁵ Class distinction existed between members of the

⁵ Fielding, Joseph Andrews, Bk. II, Chapt. V, p. 136. Through Miss Slipslop, the waiting-maid of Lady Booby, Henry Fielding illustrates this type of snobbishness. Miss Slipslop looked down on Miss Grave-airs when she was thought to be a member of a gentleman's family of small fortune. But Miss Slipslop admired Miss Grave-airs on finding she was allied to the upper servants of a great family in the neighborhood.

staff in the same household; the servants in each office were as class conscious and as jealously protective of their position as were their master and mistress. Thus the footman tells the cook that in a rich family it is "below the Dignity of your Office" to roast or boil, rather she should leave that "to the Kitchen Wench, for fear of disgracing the Family you live in." (p. 28)

Swift's Footman lists the servants who comprised the staff of a great house in the days of Queen Anne. There were five types of maids: the lady's or waiting-maid, the chamber-maid, the housemaid, the children's maid, and dairy maid. There were the butler, cook, housekeeper, groom, coachman, footman, porter, house steward, land steward, nurse, governess, and laundress besides the scullery-maids and boys who did the heavy work and unpleasant tasks. At the top of the hierarchy were the upper servants: the housekeeper, butler, cook, governess, coachman, and the personal maid of the mistress. From here the scale descended through various levels to the bottom at which were the wenches and boys. Each group had to behave according to its place on the scale -- obeying those servants above them, dictating to those below them, and being familiar only with those on the same level.

The upper servants were virtually dictators, for each one was in charge of his own division. Among themselves, they were equals who

could sit together in the housekeeper's parlor⁶ and exchange confidences; the other servants had to obey them, stand in their presence, and never dare to become familiar in any way. Swift's Footman reminds each of them of his particular advantages and perquisites. Thus he reminds the cook and butler that if they work together they have the "Power to make every Fellow-servant" a friend and win the affection of the master's children by giving them "a good Bit or a good Sup." (p. 27) At the same time, however, they must be careful not to quarrel, for as they can be strong through their alliance, they will be weak and powerless if they are enemies.

A Quarrel between you /the butler and cook/ is very dangerous to you both, and will probably end in one of you being turned off; in which fatal Case, perhaps, it will not be so easy in some Time to cotton with another. (p. 27)

Each high office had its own perquisites, which no one else dared to take. Thus the butler had the privilege of selling the candle ends, the old decks of playing cards, and the last of each cask of ale and bottle of wine. The cook and housekeeper had the advantage of taking the best tidbits either to eat or to use as bribes; the waiting-maid was supposed to have free access to the tea caddy and sugar canister, though in some households she was cheated of this right by a mistress

⁶Charlotte Bronte, Jane Eyre. As the new governess at Thornfield, Jane was surprised at first that Mrs. Fairfax bade her sit with her in her parlor. Then Jane found Mrs. Fairfax was the housekeeper and not the mistress of Thornfield, which explained why Mrs. Fairfax treated Jane as an equal.

who locked the tea and sugar chests and then kept the key; the footman had the opportunity to pick up bribes by bargaining with the merchants at his master's expense.

Both rivalry for positions and the desire for revenge are shown in the Footman's suggestions on how the servants can work together to ruin the reputation of a servant who is a favorite or who they think has been a tell-tale. The Footman recommends that if the guilty servant is the butler, they should lock the cat or dog in the pantry so it will break the china; if the cook, "throw a Lump of Soot or a Handful of Salt in the Pot"; if the waiting-maid, tear her clothes in the laundry; if the footman, follow him upstairs, with a ladle of soup and "dribble it all the Way up Stairs to the Dining-room. . . ." (p. 15)

The servants' desire for revenge extends to the master and mistress. Thus the Footman, who is a blackmailer at heart, suggests that the servants listen in at the keyhole in order to learn all the secrets of the family and then exchange those secrets with the servants of other families. Though he does not actually say so, he implies that they would then have their employers in their power.⁷

At the same time that we learn of the vices of servants, however, we are also introduced to the tremendous amount of work that was entailed in carrying on life in those great houses. Thus we understand

⁷Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. II, Bk. XV, Chapt. VII, p. 355. One is reminded of the incident in Tom Jones in which Mrs. Honour was hidden in Tom's room when Lady Bellaston visited it. Thus Mrs. Honour was assured a position in the home of Lady Bellaston.

the natural desire of servants to make their work as light as possible. We can sympathize with the footman who leaves two or three doors open, against orders, for it would be no easy matter for him to open and close the many doors between the kitchen and dining room and to carry great silver trays and serving dishes at the same time. After his making many trips up and down the stairs in serving the dinner and drinks, he would be tempted, after dinner, to throw the soiled china and silver down the stairs so that he could collect it at the foot of the stairs and carry it into the kitchen at one time. We can understand the butler's failure to get all the "whitening" off the great, embossed silver trays and dishes when he cleaned them.

Through the eyes of the Footman, we not only see life as it was lived below stairs in the eighteenth century, but an unpleasant aspect of life as seen by the master and mistress. Usually we think of the beauty and grace of the eighteenth century mansions with their great hall and main stairs lighted with candles in silver sconces, the drawing room with its tea table, marble fireplace, and mirrors, the dining room with its long damask covered table, set with silver and china, the sideboard with its decanters and glasses, the bedrooms with their fireplaces and canopied beds -- all in all -- a home in which we would love to live, for in our imagination we combine all the beauty of the eighteenth century mansion with all the conveniences of the twentieth century home -- central heating, lighting, and plumbing. Through his advice to the servants, the Footman brings us back to reality and enables us

to envision the discomfort of living in one of those beautiful homes.

We feel the coldness, emptiness, and darkness that their owners felt: the chill dining room in winter, when the footman failed to light the fire in the fireplace until two minutes before the dinner was to be served; the drafts up the staircases when the servants left all the doors open, including the outside one; the damp, musty, unaired bedrooms and bedclothes;⁸ the exasperation of having the butler delay bringing the candles until a half-hour after dark though he had been asked to bring them early; the frustration of finding your book wet with the dew or rain because the maid had placed it on the window seat and then left the window open; and the bedroom bellows ruined by the carelessness of the footman or maid and the resultant cold bedroom in which you must sleep; the diseases you might contract through the unsanitary habits of the servants, which included the cook's combing her hair over the cooking food and not washing her hands until after she had prepared the meal,⁹ and the butler's pouring the wine and ale that by guests in their glasses into the glasses of other guests.

We see the society of the time -- its admiration of wit and

⁸ Tobias Smollett, Humphry Clinker (New York, 1929), p. 332. Compare this with the instructions which Miss Tabitha Bramble sent her housekeeper before they came home, which included her airing the beds and bedrooms and lighting the fire in each bedroom every day before they arrived.

⁹ Fielding, Tom Jones, Vol. II, Bk. IX, Chapt. IV, p. 64. Compare to Mrs. Honour, Sophia Western's maid, who went into the kitchen at the inn to watch the preparation of their dinner and to be sure the cook washed her hands before she started preparing the meal.

polish, its interest in the theater and in politics, and in fashions. And all this is put into a different key as we see the servants admiring and imitating, even while they cheat their employers. Thus the Footman puts his master's shoes too near the fireplace to dry so that he will be given them the sooner to wear himself. So he, too, can enjoy his master's wine, the Footman takes two empty pint bottles to the merchant instead of a quart one; then he will have a pint to drink and still his master will have the full bottle of wine which he had ordered.

In the eighteenth century, everyone had to make an appearance of being witty and debonair, the servants being no exception. No one had any status who did not know something about the latest plays, who could not make witty remarks or small talk, and who did not dress fashionably. Thus we see the Footman attending the play-house where they have "an Opportunity of becoming Wits and Criticks," (p. 34) learning "the new-fashion Words, and Oaths, and Songs, and Scraps of Plays," (p. 35) hoping to get a service in which the livery does not "immediately betray your Office," such as green and yellow. Instead, the footmen try to get service in a family in which the colors are "Blue, or Filemot, turned up with Red," so that "with a borrowed Sword, a borrowed Air, your Master's Linen, and a natural and improved Confidence," they can pretend to have any title they wish in any place they are not known. (p. 41)

Swift's close observation of character is shown through a comment he once made to an old friend that since they had sat down to dinner,

the servants had committed fifteen faults.¹⁰ Thus we see Swift at a dinner party, talking with his host or the guests, definitely a man of the great world, while he never misses a human quality, even in the servants.

Polite Conversation and Directions to Servants are admittedly minor works in Swift's total contribution; however, they show what skill he had achieved in the narrative techniques of dialogue and setting particularly.

Some of his greater works, greater in their satiric value -- The Battle of the Books, A Modest Proposal, The Partridge-Bickerstaff Papers, and others, important as they are to satire, reveal no newer aspects of the narrative techniques which we are discussing. A prolonged discussion of them would be nothing but repetition. How deeply engrained these narrative techniques had become in Swift is amusingly illustrated in his creation of the great Staff family of Staffordshire. I shall confine myself to this one work as an example of this living narrative technique which runs through all Swift's satire even when it is the least narrative in essence.

That the narrator persona of at least three of Swift's works were members of the Staff family shows that Swift became interested in his personae as individuals in the same way a novelist does in his characters. Swift's understanding of his persona the astrologer

¹⁰ Bruce, p. 197.

Isaac Bickerstaff, which he created in 1708, grew until he not only individualized Isaac to the extent that he became so well-known among the reading public that Richard Steele adopted him for his own writing, but Swift also created the family to which Isaac belonged, a family complete with ancestors, brothers, cousins -- all the ramifications of a great county family. We learn of its history in a letter to Bickerstaff from a cousin D. Distaff, who states that the Staffs are an ancient family that originated in Staffordshire and from which have descended two main branches: the major one -- including the Bickerstaffs and Wagstaffs -- which springs from Jacobstaff, the older brother, and the minor branch -- including the Distaffs -- which descends from Isaacstaff, the younger brother.¹¹

True to the law of probability, Swift has D. Distaff send this family history to Isaac Bickerstaff at a logical time in relationship to the events in the life of Bickerstaff and the family, just as a novelist would have done. Thus Distaff writes to his cousin on May 5, 1709, for this is the year that Bickerstaff has become famous through his successful foretelling of the date of John Partridge's death. Distaff wishes to acquaint his prominent cousin with the origin and connections of the family and to inform him that Bickerstaff's ancestor -- Jacobstaff -- was a renowned astronomer, too. For the sake of credibility (a point which also helps to individualize D. Distaff as a person), Distaff even explains why he knows the family history whereas the other members

¹¹Jonathan Swift, "Letter from D. Distaff," *The Tatler*, ed. by George A. Aitken (New York, 1899), No. 11, May 5, 1709, pp. 102-105.

do not. Distaff has inherited his interest and ability in tracing a family from his mother, who was Welsh. Since he is her only child, he is the only member of the Staff family who has a natural turn for genealogy.

So real was the Staff family to Swift that he returned to it for the author persona of Polite Conversation -- Simon Wagstaff, a descendant of the line stemming from the original Jacobstaff's third son and a person who is in character with Distaff's description of the members of that line, "a merry thoughtless sort of people, who have always been opinionated of their own Wit."¹²

As he did with Isaac Bickerstaff, Swift gives Simon Wagstaff identity -- his age, the date of his decision to write his book, his address. In his Introduction to Polite Conversation, Simon tells us that in the year 1695, when he was thirty-six years old, he started to collect the "choicest expressions"¹³ that were uttered at each type of party; through the years, he enlarged on them and then presented them to society as a pattern of genteel conversation.

Simon Wagstaff reveals himself to be a smug, snobbish member of the fashionable set. He has lodgings next door "to the Gloucester Head in St. James's Street;" (p. 23) he has just published the first edition of Polite Conversation, and he confidently expects to print the

¹²Ibid., p. 103.

¹³Jonathan Swift, "An Introduction to the following Treatise," by Simon Wagstaff, Polite Conversation, "Introduction, Notes, and Extensive Commentary," by Eric Partridge (New York, 1963), p. 22.

second edition shortly. He also shows his egotism by expecting his grateful readers and pupils to drink his health every day at dinner and supper during his lifetime, and, after that, drink to his memory. He exposes his city snobbishness toward the country in his patronizing attitude toward Sir John Linger, the squire from Derbyshire. Wagstaff states that the only reason he mentions Sir John is to expose the crudeness of the country person who speaks in dialect and then to show "Scholars how to avoid it." (p. 36)

All this is further evidence that these narrative techniques of plot, characterization, dialogue, setting, and style had become so engrained in Swift, so completely part of his satiric idiom that he used them naturally and inevitably even in that part of his work which we would least associate with fiction in the ordinary sense of the word.

Polite Conversation

In Polite Conversation, we have one of the lighter satires of Swift -- a satire that is as skillfully done technically as the greater ones. The light-weight material here does not justify the savage satire of which Swift was capable when he was aroused. Polite Conversation is the vapid, often absurd world of the Haut Monde with which Swift was familiar. As a satire, it would not deserve the length of treatment which it needs to reveal how far Swift had developed two important sides of the techniques of the novel -- dialogue and its use in showing continuity of action.

It must be remembered that though at first glance dialogue may

seem to be much less important than plot, character, and setting, yet without it and its possibilities of portraying character, revealing setting, and showing continuity of action besides giving realism to the narrative, the novel as we know it now could not have developed.

A mere glance at the rapid-paced dialogue of Fielding in comparison with that of Richardson, good as he was, will recall to any reader the advancement that dialogue made in the development of the novel.

Polite Conversation is a revelation of how far Swift developed dialogue, developing it to a degree beyond that which was possible in A Tale of a Tub and in Gulliver's Travels, developing continuous action as the dramatist and novelist must do.

In both Polite Conversation and Directions to Servants one is constantly tempted to enjoy and analyze the satire -- satire with as sure and light a touch as in the greater works it was sure and savage. Both of these lighter works are, as far as Swift's satire is concerned, an unimportant part of his whole contribution to literature, but skill even in a light work can be important. As Thomas Huxley once said, an educated mind is able to spin the gossamers of the mind as well as forge the anchors.¹⁴ In the achievement of that lightness and sureness of touch, Swift developed dialogue far beyond what it had been in earlier prose fiction. It is this technical advance -- even when seen in a minor work -- that is the major interest of this investigation of

¹⁴Thomas Huxley, "A Liberal Education; and Where to Find It," (1868) Science and Education: Essays (1893) (Akron, Ohio, 1938), p. 86.

Swift's place in the history of the novel. The title itself is satiric and reveals Swift's looking more than a little scornfully at what passes for Polite Conversation in this artificial society. But it must be remembered that to the participants in the scene this conversation is on the level which they feel belongs to their class and rank.

Swift's development of dialogue is not only interesting but important, for dialogue is a narrative technique which gives naturalness and a more rapid movement, both of which were essential to the novel later. An analysis of Polite Conversation will show that Swift measured up in many aspects of dialogue even to our contemporary critical standards of what dialogue can and should do.¹⁵

Polite Conversation can hardly be said to have a plot. It is a sketch, but it is an extraordinarily dramatic sketch with characters, setting, dialogue, and even some slight action. It does have a beginning, middle, and end. In fact, it was acted successfully on the Dublin stage in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Although the dialogue is not in the easy give and take manner of the developed novel, it is in technique and total effect astonishingly like a chapter in a longer narrative. In

¹⁵For Pelham Edgar's discussion on the functions of dialogue see the section on Dialogue in this paper. Chapt. III, pp. 104-114.

¹⁶Baker, Vol. III, p. 248. Genteel Conversation was actually presented as a play in Dublin in 1738. The proceeds from the production were "ample enough to relieve the immediate necessities of his /Swift's/ friend Mrs. Barber, to whom he had given the manuscript when she was in financial difficulties. Swift's title is A Complete Collection

fact, it would take only minor changes, for it to be a chapter in a Fanny Burney novel.

The action opens in St. James's Park a few minutes before 11:00 A.M. with the meeting of the three men who will be guests of Lady Smart for breakfast at 11:00. We are introduced to them -- Lord Sparkish, Colonel Atwit, and Tom Neverout -- first, through their greetings to each other and, next, through their conversation as they walk to the home of their hostess. There they meet the ladies -- Lady Smart, Lady Answerall, and Miss Notable. Except for two people -- the host, Lord Smart, and one guest, Sir John Linger -- the same persons have four meals at Lady Smart's that day: breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper, and then play Quadrille until 3 A.M., at which time the guests all comment on their weariness, say "Good-night," and leave in their chairs.

Swift's plan of beginning with the friends' first meeting of the day and ending with their last one not only brings the day's activities to a successful conclusion but also the piece itself, for it gives the reader the effect that the work has been brought to an effective end with all the parts neatly woven into place. Each of the three dialogues has its own conclusion, but each also closes with a situation that leads to

of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, According to the Most Polite Mode and Method Now Used at Court, and in the Best Companies of England. The title has been shortened by critics to both Genteel Conversation and Polite Conversation. I have followed the practice of George Saintsbury and Eric Partridge by calling it Polite Conversation, but sometimes I have had to refer to it in the footnotes as Genteel Conversation. I have done so in this footnote since E. A. Baker, whom I am quoting, refers to the work as Genteel Conversation.

the action in the next dialogue just as does a scene or act in a play or a chapter in a novel. Thus after their breakfast and tea are over, the men suddenly realize that it is past twelve and each of them has business to attend to; however, they both accept Lady Smart's invitation to return to dinner which will be served "punctually at three."¹⁷ Just after they leave, one of Lady Smart's footmen returns from his errand to report that Lady Club will not be able to play cards with them that night for she is engaged. Thus through the conversation of the hostess with her guests and her servant at the conclusion of the first section, Swift introduces the action for both the second and third sections. This gives the work as a whole continuous movement and thus continuity, and it also suggests the activities of the characters: the men attending to their business but checking on the time so that they will not be late for dinner, the footman carrying invitations to Lady Smart's friends, the guests partaking of dinner that afternoon and enjoying the card party that night. At the same time, the dialogue has the give and take of conversation in ordinary life and thus adds naturalness to the scene.

Continuity of the movement and the naturalness of real life are established through the conversation at the opening of the second section,¹⁸ which begins with all the characters who had breakfast

¹⁷ Swift, Polite Conversation, p. 119.

¹⁸ In his title, Swift refers to the three sections as three dialogues. Mr. Partridge entitles them as follows: "St. James's Park," "Second Conversation," and "Third Conversation."

together now assembled for dinner. Though the conversation is concerned primarily with comments on food, gossip, and plans for future parties, references are made to the events of the morning. These add naturalness to the scene and also give the impression of unbroken movement in the narrative. Swift makes the connection between the gathering at breakfast and the one at dinner in the first speech, which appropriately is made by Lord Smart, the host. Lord Smart welcomes his guests and then apologizes for his absence that morning.

I'm sorry I was not at home this Morning, when
you all did us the Honour to call here. But I
went to the Levee To-Day. (p. 121)

Lord Sparkish makes the courteous though stereotyped reply, "O, my Lord; I'm sure the Loss was ours." (p. 121) Another comment which establishes continuity is that of Colonel Atwit's concerning the weather, for it harks back to the comments at breakfast about the rain, and it also makes the reader conscious of the progress of the day. Thus when the Colonel states that "the Day is finely cleared up," (p. 121) the reader sees the day as a whole: a rainy morning and noon-time with the sun coming out in the late afternoon. Even the comments on the weather reveal continuity and movement instead of setting.

The "Second Conversation" ends as did the first dialogue -- on a note which both concludes the action in that section and leads to the action in the next one. Thus the section on the dinner ends with the ladies rising at Lady Smart's suggestion that they leave the gentlemen to themselves; the events of the next dialogue -- the "Third

Conversation" -- are introduced by Lord Smart's assurance that the men will join the ladies in an hour. The events of that hour are suggested by the comments of the gentlemen after the ladies have gone. Lord Smart tells his butler John to bring clean glasses and more liquor. The amount of drinking which will ensue is suggested by the Colonel's speech, the one on which the scene closes, that he does not want a clean glass.

I'll keep mine /glass/, for I think the Wine
is the best Liquor to wash Glasses in.
(p. 160)

Another method by which Swift establishes the feeling of movement and naturalness is by suggestion. Through the comments of each character concerning his own activities and those of his friends, Swift evokes the pictures of many types of action, all of them taking place at the same time. Thus we see Colonel Atwit excuse himself for half an hour during the breakfast so that he can attend to urgent business; we seem to have been at the Levee with Lord Smart and to have listened to his conversation with his old friend Sir John Linger, a squire from Derbyshire, when they met accidentally that morning and Lord Smart invited Sir John to dinner that afternoon; and we can visualize the kind of talking and drinking that followed during the business transaction of Sir John and the gentleman who bought some of Sir John's oxen; the transaction was so pleasant that Sir John forgot to keep track of the time and thus arrived at Lord Smart's late for dinner, everyone having been seated and served before Sir John comes puffing

in. We watch as the guests move their chairs closer together at their host's suggestion in order to make room for Sir John at the table.

Indeed, through the welcome given to Sir John by Lord and Lady Smart and through Sir John's reply, Swift suggests several types of action: that in which the guests act together -- moving their chairs to make room for Sir John, that in which they act singly -- each guest according to his own nature -- with the various actions taking place at the same time, and, finally, the type of action or movement which is suggested by the progress of time.

In her role as the hostess, Lady Smart encourages her guests to eat and thus suggests action that is done singly but at the same time.

My Lord, will you help Sir John to some Beef.
 Lady Answerall, pray eat, you see your Dinner.
 I am sure, if we had known we should have such
 good Company, we should have been better pro-
 vided; but, you /Sir John Linger/ must take the
 Will for the Deed. I'm afraid you are invited to
 your Loss. (p. 127)

A few minutes later, Lord Smart asks his guests to make room for Sir John, a request which makes us realize that Sir John must require more room at the table than the average person and which also suggests action in which the guests act in unison -- with the moving and scraping of chairs and the momentary confusion caused by each person's trying to find the right place to set his chair. In his comment, Lord Smart also suggests action in his mention of the progress of time and in his choice of words through which he invites Sir John to eat heartily.

Pray edge a little to make more Room for Sir
 John. Sir John fall to, you know half an Hour is
 soon lost at Dinner.¹⁹

Sir John's answer suggests still another aspect of action.

I protest, I can't eat a Bit; for I took Share of
 a Beefstake, and two Mugs of Ale with my Chapman,
 besides a Tankard of March Beer as soon as I got
 out of Bed. (p. 127)

After making the statement that he can not eat anything more, Sir John eats and drinks heartily while he continually reminds the guests that he must leave early for he has to ride fifteen miles that night and must also keep his promise to smoke a pipe with an old friend before he can leave London.

The movement of the action is revealed through the conversation of the guests with each other and with their host and hostess as well as through the directions that the hostess gives to the footmen in inviting friends to her home. The guests being friends and part of the same social group discuss parties and events of the preceding week, events that are taking place in the lives of their friends -- births, marriages, deaths --, and plans for that evening and for the coming week. Through the conversation, the friends describe their activities so clearly and naturally that the reader feels that he has been a participant in each of them. For example, take the actions involving each of the guests the

¹⁹Ibid., p. 127. Eric Partridge states that "edge a little" means "move, or re-arrange yourselves, a little" and that "half an Hour is soon lost at Dinner" is a catchphrase that is original with Swift and is "reminiscent of very long sessions."

night preceding their breakfast party as they describe them in their conversation. Lady Smart and Lady Answerall walked in the Park until nearly eleven o'clock; it was such a fine night. Tom Neverout kicked his foot on a stone, tore off the heel of his shoe, and had to limp to a cobbler in Pellmell to have it put on. (p. 87) Miss Notable had attended a party at which Lady Forward, Miss Toandagain, Sir John Ogle, and my Lady Clapper were also guests. (p. 97)

Sprinkled through their comments to each other concerning their appearance, their tea, their activities, the guests mention juicy tidbits of gossip about friends or ask about rumors concerning those friends or acquaintances. For example, Lady Smart asks Lord Sparkish about the rumor of an engagement. She wonders if he has heard that "Miss Caper is to be married to Sir Peter Gibeall." (p. 79) Lord Sparkish asks Tom Neverout if his Friend Ned Rattle is married. In his answer, Tom reveals his attitude toward marriage and to Mrs. Rattle.

Yes, Faith, my Lord; he has tyed a Knot with his Tongue, that he can never untye with his Teeth. (p. 116)

Lord Sparkish asks Lady Smart if she does not think "Mrs. Fade is mightily altered since her Marriage?" Rudely, Lady Answerall interrupts without giving Lady Smart a chance to answer and states that Mrs. Fade "was handsome in her Time," but has become a walking skeleton. She concludes her comments with this pessimistic statement, "Poor Creature, the black Ox has set his Foot upon her already." (p.106)

Lady Smart makes a more optimistic comment by saying that Mrs. Fade's husband "is very fond of her still. " (p. 106)

In discussing a deceased friend, Colonel Atwit inquires if it is "certain that Sir John Blunderbuz is dead at last? " Lord Sparkish answers, cheerfully, "Yes, or else he's sadly wrong'd; for they have bury'd him. " Miss Notable adds a jingle, "Why, if he be dead, he'll eat no more Bread. " The Colonel is still not convinced that Sir John Blunderbuz is deceased, so he repeats his question, "But is he really dead? " Lady Answerall answers it. "Yes, Colonel, as sure as you're alive. " The Colonel wants to continue to discuss Sir John Blunderbuz, so he makes the comment, "They say he was an honest Man. " Lady Answerall, who is quite biting and sarcastic, adds, "Yes, with good looking to. " Then Miss Notable changes this gloomy subject to herself by asking Lady Smart for a patch to cover a pimple that has just appeared on her face.

The movement of the narrative is continued through the statements the characters make concerning their plans for dining late that afternoon, playing cards that evening, and for visiting during the next week. Lady Smart informs Miss Notable that she will be over to visit her the next day; Colonel Atwit and Lord Smart promise to visit Squire Linger in Derbyshire in the near future.

Not only does Swift use dialogue to further the action but also to reveal character and to reflect setting. In so doing, he reveals himself to be master of dialogue as are the dramatist and novelist.

Through the conversation of the characters in Polite Conversation, the people of that eighteenth century society come alive just as they do in the novels of Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Fanny Burney, and Jane Austen.

The characters in Polite Conversation are individuals, revealing themselves through their conversation and remaining in character throughout the work; however, at the same time, each one exemplifies some trait of human nature that is universal. We feel that we are sitting at the dinner table with them -- watching their faces and listening to their comments. Here is Colonel Atwit who refers to everything in military terms; for instance, empty wine bottles to him are "dead men." There is Sir John Linger, a country squire who reminds us of Matthew Bramble and who speaks in the Derbyshire dialect; his retort to young Tom Neverout's display of learning is a good example of his manner of speaking.

The Devil take your Wit, if this be Wit: for it
spoils Company. Pray, Mr. Butler, bring me a
Dram after my Goose; 'tis very good for the
Wholesoms.²⁰

The dialogue not only reveals character but, at the same time, is in character with the person who gives it. Thus the speech could not be placed in the mouth of any other character but the one who makes it, a requirement of all good dialogue.

²⁰Ibid., p. 144. Mr. Partridge considers this speech dialectal.

Swift's dialogue has a give and take quality, one person's comment causing each of the others to respond in character, their remarks being typical of "smart" conversation around the dinner table in any period. For instance, in the scene in which Lady Smart serves the venison pasty, each guest answers her in kind. Sir John Linger says that he does not eat venison but would like part of the crust of the pasty. Lord Sparkish, who prides himself on his wit, twits Sir John by commenting that he might as well eat the devil as the broth he is boiled in. (p. 141) The perverse Lady Answerall tells Lady Smart that she does not like venison; in fact, she can not endure its sight, but Lady Smart can pass her a "good Piece of Meat and Crust." (p. 135)

Thus the conversation continues throughout the meal. As in all social discourse, the subject concerned changes quickly from one matter to another, sometimes moving to a related subject, sometimes to one that seems unrelated to that which they had been discussing. In the same way, the tone changes quickly -- from being serious, to being flippant, to being witty or philosophical, and then back to being serious again. The dialogue also corresponds to the actions of each of the characters, which also reveals character. Thus it is natural that young Tom Neverout, who is trying so hard to act poised and debonair before Miss Notable, would be the guest who would overturn the salt-shaker. Immediately, Lady Smart, the match-maker type, warns Mr. Neverout that his overturning the salt is a "Sign of Anger." She

adds that she is afraid he and Miss Notable will now "fall out." (p. 138) In her reassurance to young Tom, Lady Answerall reveals both her perverseness and superstition. "No, no; throw a little of it into the Fire, and all will be well." (p. 138) We can see her throw the salt into the fire that is burning in the open fireplace.

Through his comments, young Tom Neverout reveals that he has the impudence of youth toward adults and the typical "line" of a young man trying to impress a young lady and, yet, at the same time, exchanging tit for tat with her. His rudeness is shown in his ignoring Lord Sparkish, at first, when they met in the Park and in his impudent answer to Colonel Atwit's greeting. Thus when the Colonel met him with a pleasant "How do you do, Tom?" Tom answered with a surly "Never the better for you." (p. 54) His ability at chitchat is shown in his answer to Miss Notable who, sitting between Tom and Colonel Atwit, refers to herself as "a Rose between two Nettles." Young Tom quickly twists the meaning of her statement. "No, Madam, with Submission, there's a Nettle between two Roses." (p. 88)

Through her dialogue, Miss Notable discloses that she is a typical socially-minded young girl of any period but that she is living in the early eighteenth century. We hear about her resentment at having to ride in a hackney coach in order to entertain three friends from the country, about her fear of floating down the Thames to Hyde Park, about her love for fashionable dress, her being bored with people in whom she is not interested, her adoration of her lap dog Countess, and

her adoration of rank even to naming her dog Countess.

Indeed, Miss Notable is a well-rounded character. She is complete with an adoring father who has given her a fine etui case and a diamond ring, a watchful mother who has sent her own chair and servants for Miss Notable rather than trusting to one of the gentlemen to bring her home. We watch her stirring the fire under the teakettle, coquettishly playing with her handkerchief, flirting with young Tom Neverout, playing Colonel Atwit and Tom against each other over her; yet, Miss Notable has a mind of her own; she will accept just so much raillery and no more; she can give an intelligent, short answer to any gentleman who goes too far or she can make a comment that passes for humor if the situation warrants it. She also has a certain set of principles for she refuses Colonel Atwit's suggestion that he take her home; rather she seems relieved that she does not have to depend on him but has her mother's chair and the protection of her mother's servants. Miss Notable has faults, too, which make her true to life. She shows she is spoiled by her pouting because she is not one of the first served at dinner and by her irritation at the behavior of one of Lady Smart's children, who is running wild around the drawing room. Miss Notable thinks the child should be whipped until he bleeds, an attitude which Lady Answerall criticizes as she placates the boy with a sugar plum. ". . . Why Miss, you forget that ever you was a child yourself." (p. 110)

Miss Notable can be sarcastic, a trait which she discloses when

she belittles Lady Dimple whom the men have been praising, and she can be jealous, a quality which she reveals when she finds that young Tom Neverout, in whom Miss Notable claims she is not interested, has been seen at the theater with another young lady.

Her very natural, sometimes spiteful jealousy, as well as her other personality traits are not given by Swift but come out of the dialogue, through which she reveals herself. It will be remembered that when Thackeray reached a climax in his novels he always gave that climax in a great scene in which the character revealed himself in his words and in his actions. Thus does Swift give us the vivacious Miss Notable. Indeed, she is so very much alive that George Saintsbury, one of the greatest critics of the novel, wrote that when he was seventeen years old, he actually fell in love with Miss Notable.²¹

In creating Sir John Linger, Swift has added another interesting member to the group of squires who have been individualized by eighteenth century novelists. Sir John reveals himself to be a country squire who is much like Henry Fielding's Squire Western, Tobias Smollett's Matthew Bramble, and Fanny Burney's Captain Mirvan. Sir John enjoys London when he is there on business, but he loves the country and is anxious to go home as soon as his business is finished. When asked by Lady Smart when he will return to London, he answers,

²¹Ibid., p. 17. Cited in Eric Partridge's "Introduction" to Polite Conversation. Mr. Partridge quotes Saintsbury's analysis of Miss Notable's character. "'I fell in love with her when I was about seventeen, I think; and from that day to this I have never wavered for one minute in my affection for her.'"

"Why, Madam not 'till the Ducks have eat up the Dirt, as the Children say, " which would indicate his returning in the late Spring, of the next year. (p. 155) Sir John feels that all the products in Derbyshire, where his home and land are, are superior to those of London, particularly the October Ale. He speaks in dialect and is considered a rustic by the young sophisticate Tom Neverout, but Sir John is really quite shrewd, a close-observer, somewhat coarse, but a man with his feet on the ground, one who is not in the least impressed with London, its size, or its cultural milieu. Thus when Colonel Atwit questions him on how he likes the town after such a long absence, Sir John calmly answers, "Why, I find little London stands just where it did when I left it last." (p. 127) Young Tom Neverout can not stand this slighting reference to London, so he tries to pose a question that will force Sir John to admit that London has grown tremendously since he has last seen it. Asks Tom, "What do you think of Hanover-Square, why, Sir John, London is gone out of Town since you saw it." (p. 127) Tom fails in his purpose, however, for Sir John just ignores his remark.

Sir John keeps all his enthusiasm for Derbyshire and its products. He sincerely believes that everything in Derbyshire is superior to that of London or of any other place. He reveals this attitude in his criticism of his host's prize ale. When Lord Smart has the butler bring up the big tankard of October Ale for Sir John to try, Lord Smart politely states that he knows that this ale is very good, but he does not feel sure that it equals Sir John's in Derbyshire. Sir John tastes it, then

responds in his blunt, honest but egotistical manner that the October Ale is "Not as well as my own in Derbyshire. 'Tis plaguy small. "

(p. 147) For the sake of her husband as a judge of ale and as a host, Lady Smart tries to soften Sir John's statement by explaining that she has never tasted malt liquor but that everyone says Lord Smart's October Ale is "well Hopp'd. " Her comment brings this scornful reply from Sir John.

Hopp'd! Why, if it had hopp'd a little further, it would have hopp'd into the River. O, my Lord; my Ale is Meat, Drink, and Cloth. It will make a Cat speak, and a wise Man dumb. (p. 147)

Lady Smart continues her defense of their ale. "I was told, ours was very strong." Sir John brusquely dismisses her observation.

Ay, Madam, strong of the Water: I believe, the Brewer forgot the Malt, or the River was too near him. Faith, it is meer Whip-belly-Vengeance: He that drinks most, has the worst Share. (p. 148)

Sir John, however, can become gracious and somewhat humble when the guests praise his estate. The Colonel tells him that he has heard that Ale is as plentiful as water at Sir John's, and Lady Smart states that she has heard he has the nicest, cleanest garden in England which compliment causes him to say, "O, Madam, you are pleased to say so. " (p. 148)

Sir John loves to linger wherever he happens to be, but he does not realize it. For example, his excuse for arriving late for dinner at Lord Smart's was that he "was kept by a Fellow, who bought some Derbyshire Oxen" from him. (p. 126) One realizes after hearing

Sir John's long leavetaking at Lord Smart's that Sir John probably detained the buyer rather than the other way around. He is also discourteous in his reference to his wife. When Lady Smart mentions his recent marriage, Sir John answers ungallantly that ". . . one can't do a foolish Thing in one's Life, but one must hear of it a hundred Times." (p. 129)

In developing a character, Swift follows the same technique as did the dramatists and as will the novelists: that not only does the character reveal himself through his own actions and speech, but he is also seen through the eyes and comments of other characters. Thus as soon as Sir John leaves the table, the other guests and their host reveal their individual opinions of him, but none of them are complimentary. Colonel Atwit ridicules him.

I was once with him /Sir John/, and some other Company, over a Bottle; and I'gad, he fell asleep, and snored so loud, that we thought he was driving his Hogs to Market. (p. 156)

Lord Sparkish dismisses Sir John with an indifferent comment which is as insulting as if he had turned his back on Sir John.

Well, since he's gone, the Devil go with him, and Sixpence; and there's Money and Company too.

In his remark, Tom Neverout gives the most just analysis of Sir John of any of them. This fact reveals that Tom is more honest than Colonel Atwit and Lord Sparkish, for they pretend to like Sir John to his face, then laugh at him behind his back. But Tom speaks up against Sir John in front of him when they do not agree; now that

Sir John has gone, Tom sums up his personality fairly.

Faith, he shall have a clean Threshold for me, I never darkned /sic/ his Door in my Life, neither in Town, nor Country; but, he's a queer old Duke, by my Conscience; and yet, after all, I take him to be more Knave than Fool. (p. 156)

This same skill in differentiating characters with the same social background is found to the same degree in all the characters. Just as one sees in the more polished man of the world Lord Sparkish the type of man young Tom Neverout may become, we have that difference between age and experience shown through the dialogue.

Through the dialogue, Swift also reflects the setting. The setting, of course, involves the time and place of the actions as well as all the circumstances which determine the action. Through the conversation, Swift supplies everything we need to make us feel part of the circle. Having watched and listened to this same group as they converse over breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper, we become fairly well acquainted with them and the type of life they lead. We learn what dishes are served at each meal, architectural features of the homes, fashions in dress and manners, London pleasure spots, aspects of the servant problem, rising prices, courtship, marriage, the same subjects as those discussed in the eighteenth century novels as well as today.

Swift brings in so many aspects of life at this time that the reader feels caught up in the milieu of the London and Derbyshire society in the days of Queen Anne: social customs, laws, dress,

appurtenances of dress, the type of dishes served at dinner, the best blend of tea, types of strong drink, places of entertainment, differences in the customs between the city and country; however, through their social chitchat, the characters not only show that they lived during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but that they are credible human beings of anytime or place. Thus they love to eat, gossip, go to places of amusement, discuss their reactions to a certain situation, exchange opinions on various friends or on a particular party; the young people exchange tit for tat and the man from the country and the one from the city wage a continual but subtle battle, each one defending his own section.

Through their comments, we find that the scene is laid on a rainy, summer Saturday. It is a hot, humid, changeable day, for Miss Notable remarks that it is so hot that the butter melts on her bread. (p. 59) The weather is changeable, the men commenting on the fact that there was both rain and shine when they arrived at 11:00. The rain stops, starts again, stops once more, clears off beautifully in the afternoon, and then looks so stormy by late afternoon that they warn Sir John Linger not to leave for Derbyshire that evening for he will be caught in a bad storm. Sir John's answer reveals that the guests are meeting on Saturday, for he says that he must leave London that night -- storm or not -- for he cannot travel on Sunday. (p. 153)

Not only do we find that it is summer through Miss Notable's comment concerning the butter melting on her bread, but also through

the plans the friends make concerning their amusements, for they discuss only summer pastimes: boating down the Thames River to Hyde Park, strolling in St. James's Park, riding in the Mall, watching the puppet-shows.

The passage of time is shown through the progress of each meal, the actions of each character during the meal, and the discussion of their activities of the preceding week and their plans for that night and the forthcoming week. For example, the passage of time during breakfast is revealed by the progress of their drinking tea. Everyone eagerly drinks his first few cups, the cups are continually emptied and then refilled, the teakettle is put on the fire to make more tea; this tea, too, is finished, until, finally, all the guests have had enough. When Lady Smart asks Miss Notable "Miss, shall I fill you another Dish of Tea?" (p. 62), Miss Notable answers that she can not drink any more. The amount of tea that they have consumed is shown by their having to put the teakettle on the fire to heat more water. Lady Smart asks Miss Notable to stir the fire so the kettle will boil (p. 63), but we find that this last pot of tea is not as strong as the earlier one, for Lady Smart mentions that her tea canister is almost empty, proof of which Miss Notable can testify to when she tastes her last cup of tea. She describes it as not being tea "but Water bewicht." (p. 67) However, this tea has the attribute of being very hot, for Tom Neverout burns his mouth when he takes a sip of his.

Through their comments, we learn that a cup of tea in Queen

Anne's day was referred to as a "Dish of Tea," that china was very expensive thus Lady Smart was much grieved when she broke a tea cup, that tea was served with hot cream, which had to be heated very carefully or it would be burned or scorched and could not be used. We hear about the early part of the eighteenth century just as we do about the middle and late eighteenth century in the novels of Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Fanny Burney, and Jane Austen. With the characters, we feel we have attended the new plays²² and puppet shows, boated on the Thames, ridden to Highgate in a hackney coach to please visiting friends from the country, and have viewed with pleasure and pride the fashionable new residential sections, such as Hanover Square.²³

As we listen to the conversation, we watch the actions of the characters. We see Miss Notable stir the fire under the teakettle, we hear the teakettle hiss, we sympathize with Tom Neverout when he burns his hand in lifting the kettle off the crane and then burns his mouth in sipping tea that is too hot; we cough from smoke which suddenly pours from the chimney into the room, but we enjoy the coziness of the blazing fire in the open fireplace as we listen to the rain on the windows. We sympathize with Lady Smart when she breaks a teacup and when the Colonel spills his tea on her rug; we, too, seem

²²Ibid., p. 75. Colonel Atwit refers to a new play called "Love in a Hollow Tree," written by a Lord. Eric Partridge finds that its complete title is The Lawyer's Fortune: Love in a Hollow Tree and was written by William Luckyn, Viscount Grimston. It was published in 1705.

²³Ibid., p. 127. Hanover Square was begun about 1715, Partridge's note.

to have tasted the scorched tea when we hear that Betty, the maid, has burned the cream when she heated it. We watch Miss Notable fill Tom's teacup, at his request, listen as Colonel Atwit complains at having cut his thumb with one of Lady Smart's sharp knives, and sip weak but expensive Bohea tea. While we are listening to the conversation and watching the movements of the characters, we hear the rain outside, then notice that the sun has come out, next realize that the sky is clouding up again, and then hear the rain once more. At the same time, we can visualize the beauty of the preceding night, in which the moon was so bright and beautiful that Lady Smart and Lady Answerall walked in St. James's Park until nearly 11:00 o'clock, and Colonel Atwit said it was a "delicate Night to run away with another Man's Wife." (p. 87)

At dinner, through the power of suggestion, we, too, seem to be sharing all the good things that are on the menu and, at the same time, we find what an enormous variety of food was eaten at one meal. Each person begins his meal with relish and not only concentrates on eating, but does not stop when Sir John Linger rushes in late. The guests are so interested in the delicacies on the table that though they greet Sir John, they have to be asked to move over to make room for him. They sample everything that is served and eat until like Sir John each of them is "weily brosten."²⁴

²⁴ Ibid., p. 150. Partridge states that "weily brosten" is a dialectal form for "well-nigh burst."

Through the conversation and through the words of the host and hostess as they serve the guests, we find what the menu includes, something about the way food is prepared, and that in this period as today people differed in their taste. For example, some of the guests enjoy their food highly peppered and others do not, some like one cut of meat and others like another; we even hear that some like one part of a dish but not the rest of it -- as Sir John Linger does not want any Venison Pasty but he will take some of the broth it was cooked in. Lady Smart asks Lady Answerall if she likes Bohea tea; Lady Answerall replies that she likes it but Bohea tea does not like her. Young Tom Neverout reveals his youth in pretending to be important and a man of the world. Thus though he eats heartily, he does not praise any dish. When he criticizes the beef, Lady Answerall takes him down by saying that he is proving himself a real Englishman -- for he is never satisfied. The Colonel when offered a piece of shoulder of veal accepts it and then begins discussing the fact that "there are thirty and two good Bits in a Shoulder of Veal," meaning that there are only two good pieces. (pp. 124-125)

The customs are revealed through the remarks of the characters. For example, Colonel Atwit mentions the handsomeness of Lady Smart's watch, and she answers bitterly that it is not her watch but her husband's, for a woman can not own anything "but her Wedding-Ring, and her Hair-Lace." (p. 171) When Colonel Atwit asks Miss Notable what lover gave her her retui case, Lady Answerall speaks up immediately that the case

was given to her by a man who will love her better than any other man ever will -- "her own dear Papa." (p. 68) Tom Neverout shows his interest in diamond rings -- an interest which many men must have had in this period. For instance, in Evelina, Fanny Burney describes the young fop Mr. Lovel, who held his hand so that everyone could see his diamond ring.²⁵ Thus young Tom Neverout's interest in wearing a diamond is true to the period in which he lives; however, he does not manage to persuade Miss Notable to give him hers. When Tom says, playfully, "Miss, I want that Diamond Ring of Yours," she answers, "Why then, Want's like to be your Master." Neverout replies, "Well, if I had such a fine Diamond Ring, I would not stay a Day in England. But you know, far fetch'd and dear bought, is fit for Ladies. I warrant this cost your Father two Pence half Penny." (p. 88) The reader also finds out the predicament of younger sons during this period. Lady Answerall tells young Tom Neverout that he must marry a wealthy girl or widow, for he must remember that he is a younger son.

Here we have a bit of the eighteenth century world as alive and full of movement and color as one would find in any of the eighteenth century novelists. It is notable that this realistic reflection of eighteenth century manners and background was achieved by narrative techniques, particularly in dialogue, beyond any that Daniel Defoe created later

²⁵ Fanny Burney, Evelina (London, 1925), p. 92.

and twenty-six years before the novel itself appeared.²⁶

A Meditation Upon a Broomstick

When Swift used his narrative technique on A Tale of a Tub, he was dealing with actual narrative material, even if it was a simple, almost elementary narrative. When he wrote Polite Conversation and Directions to Servants, Swift was dealing with even more complicated narrative elements, and in dialogue brought his techniques in that field far beyond those of any of his precursors in prose fiction. Now in A Meditation Upon a Broomstick, he deals with material that in itself has no obvious narrative elements. His mastery of narrative technique, his medium for satire, shows clearly that this mastery was so complete that he took advantage of it even in material quite outside the ordinary narrative medium, and with it enhanced the power of his satire.

A Meditation Upon a Broomstick anticipates three of the techniques of the novel: setting, dialogue-situation (in which, however, only the narrator speaks), and character -- each of which is present in the first sentence.

²⁶ Swift, Polite Conversation, p. 13. Defoe printed Robinson Crusoe in 1719; Samuel Richardson published Pamela in 1740. Though he did not publish Polite Conversation until 1738, Swift had begun it as early as 1704 and had written most of it by 1714. Though Swift revised it between 1734 and 1736, he was merely polishing it. His revision had nothing to do with his original use of narrative techniques which antedates the work of Defoe. The dates concerning the composition of Polite Conversation are taken from the 'Introduction' written by Partridge, editor of this edition.

This single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a Forest: It was full of Sap, full of Leaves, and full of Boughs. . . .²⁷

As the novelist recognizes later, Swift also recognizes the importance of setting in bringing the reader immediately into the action. He makes us so conscious of the scene that we feel a part of it. It is as if we are sitting in a room, listening to a discussion on man and his potential; the persona of A Meditation is the member of the group who is speaking at the moment, A Meditation itself being his contribution to the general discussion.

With a few descriptive words, Swift makes us see what he sees. He has the ability of word selection which Percy Lubbock refers to as "that gift" by which the novelist enables us "to turn flat impressions of our sense into solid shapes."²⁸

For instance, we see "this single Stick," not vaguely as an abstraction but vividly as a "Wither'd Bundle of Twigs tied to its Sapless Trunk." Our eyes turn with the speaker's to the "neglected Corner" where the broomstick is lying. The adjective "neglected" is not as concrete as is "Wither'd," but its connotative meaning is specific enough to enable us to visualize this corner as shadowy, dusty, and full of miscellaneous bits of trash.

²⁷ Jonathan Swift, "A Meditation Upon a Broomstick," A Tale of a Tub: With Other Early Works 1696-1707, ed. by Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1939), Vol. 1, p. 239.

²⁸ Lubbock, p. 9.

These slight touches which give the scene reality are similar to the descriptive method used in the novel demeuble. Today we are so accustomed to the "furnished novel" of Tobias Smollett, Honore Balzac, and Arnold Bennett that we often forget the "unfurnished novel" which depicts a scene by suggestion, as in the works of Henry Fielding, Jane Austen, George Meredith, and Willa Cather.

A Meditation is related to dialogue through its implication that there are listeners. The effect of dialogue among a group of people is established in the first three words "This single Stick." Here the speaker is pointing out to his friends "this /particular/ broomstick." He demands their (and our) attention in the words "which you now behold" and indicates the particular corner of the room, "that neglected Corner," in which the broomstick is lying. He is individualized through his use of the first person and reflective expressions such as "I once knew."

As in the novel, the speaker reveals his character through his comments. He shows himself to be a close observer, to be oblivious to certain humorous connotations of the analogies he presents, and to be of a philosophical turn of mind. For instance, he has observed this particular tree grow, flourish, be cut down, be made into this specific broomstick, and then be used carelessly by "every dirty wench." His philosophical bent is reflected in his perception of a relationship existing between a vain man and a broomstick.

Through the speaker's remarks concerning the menial who uses the broom, Swift anticipates the sympathetic attitude of the novelist

toward his characters which eventually resulted in the psychological method of characterization, for he presents the maid both from the objective and the subjective points of view. This dual approach reveals the persona's mixed emotional attitude toward her. He is inclined to be unsympathetic as he deplores her carelessness and sloppiness but at the same time to have empathy with her in her hopeless life as a drudge.

Through his skillful use of language, Swift, in one sentence, shows these contradictory emotions and thus hints at the persona's complexity of character. "'Tis now handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her Drudgery." The persona's reference to the girl as a "dirty wench" shows his smugness and hardness toward her and, at the same time, supplies humor to the passage, for he is unconscious of the fact that his words reveal that he has the same false pride as the man who is like the broomstick. Then with the words "condemned to do her Drudgery," the persona shows that he understands her antagonism toward her work and shares with her the feeling of sullenness and resentment that a person would naturally have when "condemned to . . . Drudgery." He sympathizes with her taking out her frustrations on his broom, which she uses carelessly, flings into the corner, and leaves lying there -- "ingloriously."

In A Meditation we find one other relationship to the novel genre -- the use of images that are concrete, true to life. Percy Lubbock defines a novel as "a picture of life we can understand without being a

student or scholar. A picture of life as it is known to us."²⁹ In this work of Swift's, we do not have to be a scholar to understand the vain man as does the speaker, and neither will any other reader -- no matter in what country or century he lives -- have any difficulty doing the same. By comparing the arrogant man to a broom, which is a common household item found in every period and every place, an object that is timeless and universal, Swift gives us a little picture of life as it is which Lubbock says is essential to the novel. In action a man is like a broomstick when his vanity causes him to set himself up to be "an universal Reformer," for he brings "hidden Corruptions to the Light, and raises a Mighty Dust where there was none before, sharing deeply all the while in the very same pollutions he pretends to sweep away." (p. 290)

Even here Swift is placing himself in the tradition of the novel as he uses comedy as do the novelists Henry Fielding, George Meredith, and William Makepeace Thackeray: to try -- through laughter -- to help man recognize his faults and then desire to correct them.

²⁹ Lubbock, p. 9.

CHAPTER V

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS: NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

Swift brought to the final revision (1735) of Gulliver's Travels a narrative technique so perfected that it gives the reader the same impression that the technique of an accomplished pianist or artist gives him -- the impression that the technique is so much a part of the performance that one is hardly aware that it exists. It must be kept in mind always that Swift is not a novelist. It was still too early for that, and even more important, this narrative still was to Swift only the means to an entirely different end. But it is also true that a novelist could learn much of his own art from Swift's narrative methods, which are perhaps at their best in Gulliver. There is, of course, in Gulliver none of the brilliant dialogue which we find in Polite Conversation, but the dialogue he does use belongs as surely to the lower middle class world to which Gulliver belonged as the lightness and wit of Polite Conversation belong to the glittering world of eighteenth century fashion. In this Swift is vastly different from the dialogue of the fashionable prose fiction of his time where all the dialogue is on an affected, wholly unreal level -- dialogue which would never have been found in any society.

In Gulliver's Travels, Swift chose material that was essentially

adapted to narrative writing, and, consequently, we see almost all the aspects of this narrative art in use at the same time; whereas before we find one or two predominating in the earlier work -- dialogue, for instance, in Polite Conversation, setting in Directions to Servants.¹

The average reader -- even the professional critic -- has tended to think of Gulliver's Travels as written in the form of four separate voyages bound together largely by the deepening savagery of the satire. Even the title suggests this form.² But an examination of the narrative itself -- as separate from the satire -- reveals much of the closer organization and continuity between the voyages than has been generally noticed. A few Swiftian authorities, such as Ricardo Quintana, do recognize that there is a difference in Gulliver from other works, and they have tried to find just what that difference is. Mr. Quintana, for instance, classifies Gulliver's Travels as being in the "imaginary voyage" genre, but he adds that the important point is not to consider how much Swift was influenced by the seventeenth century books on voyages or the satiric works on imaginary voyages, but "the extent to

¹Though Polite Conversation was not published until 1728 and the unfinished manuscript of Directions to Servants until 1738, each of them, as well as Gulliver's Travels, was started early in Swift's life and almost completed during the reign of Queen Anne -- 1702-1714.

²Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels (Oxford, 1941), Vol. XI. The title page of the 1735 edition is Volume III of the Author's Works containing Travels into several Remote Nations of the World in Four Parts, viz. I. A Voyage to Lilliput. II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag. III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib and Japan. IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships.

which he departed from these characteristics and worked in an original manner. . . ."³ All we should be concerned with is to analyze the "manner in which Swift's satiric idiom does not conform to this pattern."⁴ I have tried to show that here, too, as in Swift's A Tale of a Tub, Polite Conversation, and Directions to Servants, Swift's satiric idiom is really the foreshadowing of the basic techniques for the novel.

In Gulliver's Travels, Swift has organization that is closer to plot than is simple narrative. Though each voyage is complete within itself and thus can be read alone, the four voyages form a complete unit, too, and are connected in the manner of the novel: in narrative or action, in the character of Gulliver, in setting, in dialogue, and in style. All together these techniques are moving more in the direction of the novel and away from the techniques of simple narrative.

As a unit, Gulliver has a beginning, middle, and end, connecting links between the voyages, and a causal sequence of events, which distinguish it from simple narrative, which is merely a chronological account of events. Gulliver's decision to publish his Travels and to include just these particular four countries out of the many which he had visited arises from his aim -- to instruct and inform his fellow citizens. He selected Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa, and Houyhnhnmland, for they were countries he had visited which were unknown to the English

³Ricardo Quintana, The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift (New York, 1936), p. 296. Italics are mine.

⁴Ibid., p. 297. Italics are mine.

and the Europeans. Gulliver realized that if the people of England and Europe were to learn and improve from his account of the citizens of these four remote, strange countries, he would have to publish it, which he did. Even his short, autobiographical sketch at the beginning of the Travels, his summary of the events occurring in the five years since he has returned home, his letter to his Cousin Richard Sympson, and Richard Sympson's letter to the reader are all organic parts of the complete work and help fuse the various parts into a complete whole. Each event and detail mentioned is an organic part of the causal sequence of the narrative and is credible and true to the law of probability.

Since the narrative is a causal sequence of events, Swift omits all that happened to Gulliver which is not relevant to these four voyages; Gulliver summarized just the facts of his life that were connected with them. Thus he told the reader that he was not a surgeon by choice but by circumstances, his father's being too poor to continue financing him (Lemuel) at Emanuel-College, Cambridge, and, instead, having to apprentice him to a London surgeon, Mr. James Bates. Following this, Gulliver's father and Uncle John financed his trip to Leyden, Holland, where he stayed for two years and seven months while studying subjects that he thought he might need if he ever traveled: mathematics, navigation, physics, and languages. These facts are all necessary to the credibility of the events of these four voyages and to their causal relationship. The fact that Gulliver did not wish to be a

surgeon explains his inability to be one and results in his failure in private practice, which he attempted twice in his lifetime. This failure in private practice forced him to go to sea as a ship's surgeon so that he could support his wife and family. His being a surgeon in addition to his having studied subjects, while at Leyden, that were necessary to a seaman makes it credible that he would turn to the sea for his livelihood and that he would always find a berth.

His love of travel and his interest in the language, customs, flora, and fauna of every country he visited also has a causal relationship to the Travels, for these interests were so strong within Gulliver that they induced him to keep a journal in which he recorded the information in these areas as he found them in each of these remote countries: Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa, and Houyhnhnmland.⁵ These are the accounts which Richard Sympson persuaded Gulliver to publish as his Travels. Gulliver had, at first, refused to print them, but he finally agreed since his Cousin Sympson appealed to him through the positive effect the information would have in helping the English and Europeans learn and improve.

Gulliver, however, did not agree to print the Travels until 1720, five years after he had returned from the fourth voyage. Though it might be said that Gulliver's agreement to print his work was based on

⁵My supposition that Gulliver kept a journal is based on two things: first, Gulliver is a pedantic person, one who is tiresomely accurate, just the type who would keep such a journal; second, Gulliver could not have remembered every detail, if he had not kept an account of it.

his vanity and egotism, his decision is also part of the casual sequence of the narrative. Vanity and egotism alone would have caused him to print the Travels immediately without any persuasion from an outside source; however, Richard Sympson had to entreat Gulliver for five years before he could persuade him to publish them. Gulliver described his cousin's persuasions as being of such "great and frequent Urgency" that his cousin finally "prevailed" on him to print them. (p. IV) These persuasions then are causal, for "great and frequent Urgency" over a five year period would finally "prevail" by wearing a person down and thus would cause him to act accordingly. (p. 273)

The Travels themselves comprise sixteen years, seven months, and one day in the life of Captain Gulliver. They began with his sailing from Bristol on the Antelope on May 4th, 1699, on a trip to the South-Sea but which took him to Lilliput, instead; they ended on December 5th, 1715, when he landed at the Downs after his voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms. Every event has a cause and is credible: the circumstances concerning his leaving England on each voyage, the accidents causing his separation from his companions and tossing him on each strange shore, and the events surrounding his rescue and return to England. Thus in the first voyage, their ship was blown out of her course during a storm and was split on the rocks. Gulliver and five companions managed to escape in a lifeboat; however, they were already exhausted from fighting the storm on shipboard, so they could not row more than three leagues. They made the mistake of resting

and letting the boat drift, which resulted in its being overturned. Gulliver managed to swim to shore, which proved to be that of Lilliput, but his companions were lost. It is a believable accident, not an example of deus ex machina, which caused Gulliver's companions to drown off the coast of Lilliput and thus not be with Gulliver when he reached the shore. In describing his escape from the sea, Gulliver revealed that it was due to credible causes. Gulliver had worked with the sea and the wind, and it was his familiarity with these forces that saved his life.

For my own Part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by Wind and Tide. I often let my Legs drop, and could feel no Bottom; But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my Depth; and by this Time the Storm was much abated. (p. 5)

The situation which caused him to be the only one of his crew to visit Brobdingnag though they all landed on its shore was different from that of Lilliput but was also credible. During this voyage, their ship had weathered a storm, but their supply of fresh water was low. Members of the crew did not know where to locate any, for the storm had blown them so far out of their course that "the oldest Sailor on Board could not tell in what part of the World" they were. (p. 68) They landed on the first shore they found. The rest of the crew searched for fresh water and so stayed close to the shore as they were looking for creeks. This action saved their lives, for when they saw a giant walking toward them, all they had to do was jump into their long boat and row for their ship and safety. On the other hand, Gulliver --

naturally -- was exploring the land to satisfy his curiosity. He strayed too far from his companions and became separated from them; thus they had to abandon him in Brobdingnag, for this was the country on whose shores they had landed. If Gulliver had helped his shipmates search for fresh water as he should have done, he would have been with them when the giant appeared and would have escaped in the long boat. But his own action caused him to be left on the shore and also made credible the fact that he was the only member of his crew to visit the land of Brobdingnag, though his fellow crew-members had also landed on its shores.

This same sequence of credible circumstances, causally not merely chronologically connected, attend his third and fourth voyages, both in the ship's reaching the location of these remote countries and in Gulliver's being separated from his companions and arriving alone in the country itself.

It is a sequence that is also found in the conclusion of each of the voyages as well as in the conclusion of the Travels as a whole. Indeed, this credible sequence fuses the four voyages into a single unit. Take for example, the conclusion of the third voyage, the events of which are made credible through their relationship with the events in Gulliver's autobiographical sketch at the beginning of the Travels and through his reference to his years in Holland throughout the work itself.

In order to return to England from Laputa and its adjacent countries, Gulliver was forced to go to Japan first, and then take

passage on a Dutch ship bound for Amsterdam. Since there was great enmity between the English and the Dutch, or, at least, Gulliver thought so, Gulliver acted accordingly. He was sure that his life depended on his pretending to be a Dutchman. He knew that if he ever made a slip and revealed that he was an Englishman, he would be killed. This fear was incentive enough to induce Gulliver to act the part of a Dutchman to perfection. That he could do so is made credible by the fact that he has already told us in his autobiographical sketch that he had studied for two years and seven months in Leyden. Thus Gulliver had the knowledge of Holland and its people which enabled him to play his part thoroughly; he selected the role of a Dutch merchant who had been shipwrecked in a remote country but had finally reached Japan where he "knew my Countrymen often traded," (p. 200) and with whom he would be able to return to Europe. To convince the Dutch sailors beyond a shadow of a doubt that he was one of their countrymen, Gulliver even named his Dutch parents and the section of Holland in which he had been born. Gulliver credited his being able to act the part convincingly to his having lived in Leyden for almost three years.

I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my Studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well: The Seamen soon knew from whence I came last /Luggnagg/; they were curious to enquire into my Voyages and Course of Life. I made up a Story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest Part. I knew many Persons in Holland; I was able to invent Names for my Parents, whom I pretended to be obscure People in the Province of Guelderland. (p. 201)

The narrative itself connects the voyages and relates them to each other. If the reader ignores the title page between the voyages, he becomes aware of the continuity in the narrative. For example, notice the smooth continuity between the last paragraph of the third voyage -- the one to Laputa -- and the first paragraph of the fourth voyage -- the one to Houyhnhnmland. In reading the Travels, one is likely to miss this close connection because the voyages are separated by a title page.

On the 10th of April, 1710, we put in at the Downs. I landed the next Morning, and saw once more my Native Country after an Absence of five Years and six Months compleat. I went strait to Redriff, whither I arrived the same Day at two in the Afternoon, and found my Wife and Family in good Health. (p. 202)

I continued at home with my Wife and Children about five Months in a very happy Condition, if I could have learned the Lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor Wife big with Child, and accepted an advantageous Offer made me to be Captain of the Adventure, a stout Merchant-man of 350 Tuns: For I understood Navigation well, and being grown weary of a Surgeon's Employment at Sea, which however I could exercise upon Occasion, I took a skilful young Man of that Calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my Ship. We set sail from Portsmouth upon the 7th Day of September, 1710. (p. 205)

This passage compares favorably with a similar narrative situation in Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.

As I had once done thus in my breaking away from my Parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy View I had of being a rich and thriving Man in my new Plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate Desire of rising faster than the Nature of the Thing admitted; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest Gulph of human Misery that ever Man fell into, or perhaps

could be consistent with Life and a State of Health in the World.

To come then by the just Degrees, to the Particulars of this Part of my Story; you may suppose, that having now lived almost four Years in the Brasils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my Plantation; I had not only learn'd the language, but had contracted Acquaintance and Friendship among my Fellow-Planters, as well as among the Merchants at St. Salvadore, which was our Port; and that in my Discourses among them, I had frequently given them an Account of my two Voyages to the Coast of Guinea, the manner of Trading with the Negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the Coast, for Trifles, such as Beads, Toys, Knives, Scissars, Hatchets, bits of Glass, and the like; not only Gold Dust, Guinea Grains, Elephants Teeth, Etc. but Negroes, for the Service of the Brasils, in great Numbers.⁶

Defoe was interested in narrative writing per se. Swift used it as a means to another end. It is true that Defoe came far closer to the novel genre than did Swift, but a comparison of the foregoing quotations shows how in a similar narrative situation Swift and Defoe used the same methods with much the same result and though admittedly not achieving all that Defoe did Swift was successful enough not to be ignored in the history of the novel.

The structural similarity throughout the four voyages of Gulliver which serves as a unifying device that fuses them into one whole has already been mentioned in the discussion of the credible sequence of events which surrounds Gulliver's arriving at each country and his returning to England from it, but there is also a similarity that relates

⁶ Daniel Defoe, The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (Oxford, 1940), Vol. I, pp. 42-43.

the voyages to each other through the plan of each; that is, Gulliver comments on the same aspects of each country and lists them in much the same order, an order which in itself is credible.

Thus Gulliver always finds himself alone on each new shore. He notes first the type of vegetation, which, the reader learns later, suggests the type of inhabitants of that particular country. Next, Gulliver meets one or more of the natives of the country. Then, he becomes acquainted with their dress, diet, and language. Only after he has learned their language can he become familiar with their customs, type of government, and culture. This is the logical sequence in which a traveller would gradually learn about a country.

For example, take Gulliver's comments on the vegetation in each country and notice its relationship to the type of persons in that country. In Lilliput, Gulliver noticed that the grass "was very short and soft" (p. 5); we find out the degree of "shortness" when we learn that the Lilliputians are six inches tall. In Brobdingnag, Gulliver found the grass was "above twenty Foot high," (p. 69) just a hayfield to the gigantic citizens of that land. Laputa had no grass, the absence of which Gulliver mentioned in his notes describing the capital city Legado. Gulliver said that there was no ". . . Expectation either of Corn or Grass, although the Soil appeared to be excellent." (p. 159) However, on the estate of Lord Munodi, a practical man who governed his estate by common sense, there was everything that makes a beautiful country: nice homes, ". . . Fields enclosed, containing

Vineyards, Corngrounds and Meadows." (p. 160). Continuing this narrative unity through a similar order and type of observation is Gulliver's first description of the grass when he reached the land of the Houyhnhnms.

. . . The Land was divided by long Rows of Trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great Plenty of Grass, and several Fields of Oats. (p. 207)

The vegetation and lay of the land are appropriate to a country inhabited, as we discover later, by civilized horses and uncivilized yahoos. Neither group would understand planting and agriculture as man has developed it. Thus the trees grew naturally instead of being planted to form a balanced design as one found in Queen Anne gardens.

One of the strongest narrative links unifying the voyages is a strong continuity of sense impressions. There are three aspects relating to this continuity of sense impressions: first, that everything small looks attractive to someone larger, for the blemishes do not show up. Second, everything large is ugly to someone smaller, for its blemishes are revealed. Logically, then, the smaller a person is the more acute his senses are. Third, there is a psychological relationship between a person's senses -- particularly those of smell and taste -- and his reaction toward an object or an individual.⁷

⁷ It is well to remember how strongly Joseph Conrad in what is considered the greatest preface on the art of the novel emphasizes the necessity for this strong continuity of sense impressions.

Thus in Gulliver's eyes, the ladies and gentlemen of Lilliput were beautiful and handsome, with delicate, flawless complexions; whereas the ladies in Brobdingnag were coarse and ugly with skin that had great blotches, pimples, and pores. On the other hand, while he was in Lilliput, Gulliver had not realized that he had looked to the Lilliputians as the Brobdingnagians looked to him. During his stay, however, in Brobdingnag, when he was overcome with repulsiveness of its citizens, he remembered comments the Lilliputians had made to him, comments which showed that he had repulsed them the same as the giants did Gulliver. Gulliver never did recognize how close that connection was, however. One example of Gulliver's disgust occurred when he was held by various Brobdingnagian ladies in waiting, an action of theirs which repulsed him because of their offensive smell, but which also caused him to remember that one of his intimate friends in Lilliput had commented on his (Gulliver's) having just such a strong smell.

. . . I was much disgusted; because, to say the Truth, a very offensive Smell came from their Skins; which I do not mention or intend to the Disadvantage of those excellent Ladies, for whom I have all Manner of Respect: But, I conceive, that my Sense was more acute in Proportion to my Littleness; and that those illustrious Persons were no more disagreeable to their Lovers, or to each other, than People of the same Quality are with us in England. . . I cannot forget, that an intimate Friend of mine in Lilliput took the Freedom in a warm Day, when I had used a good deal of Exercise, to complain of a strong Smell about me; although I am as little faulty that way as most of my Sex: But I suppose, his Faculty of Smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this People. (pp. 102-103)

Gulliver meditated also on the relativity of beauty in relationship to size: that to a giant a small person looked beautiful, but to the small person the giant was ugly regardless of his appearance to those of his own size. Thus, while in Brobdingnag, Gulliver remembered how close to physical perfection the Lilliputians had seemed to be.

I remember when I was at Lilliput, the Complexions of those diminutive People appeared to me the fairest in the World. . . (p. 76)

This was the same type of comment that the people of Brobdingnag were making about Gulliver. In describing him, the Brobdingnagians said that he "had the finest Limbs in the World, and a Complexion fairer than a Nobleman's Daughter of three Years old." (p. 80)

Gulliver mentioned this same relativity in regard to ugliness when he noticed how "nauseous" the skin of the Brobdingnagian nurse appeared to him with its "Spots, Pimples and Freckles." (p. 75) His reaction reminded him of the comment his Lilliputian friend had made concerning Gulliver's appearance to him.

. . . he said, that my Face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the Ground, than it did upon a nearer View when I took him up in my Hand, and brought him close; which he confessed was at first a very shocking Sight. He said, he could discover great Holes in my Skin; that the Stumps of my Beard were ten Times stronger than the Bristles of a Boar; and my Complexion made up of several Colours altogether disagreeable. . . (p. 76)

At the same time, Gulliver's Lilliputian friend had remarked that all the ladies at the Emperor's court were not attractive as Gulliver had thought they were but had different degrees of beauty. For example,

"one had Freckles, another too wide a Mouth, a third too large a Nose," characteristics which Gulliver admitted he could not distinguish. (p. 76) Thus he realized that many of the Brobdingnagians were well-proportioned and handsome to each other.

In Laputa, Gulliver noticed the lack of sensuousness as being more apparent than an interest in it. Only the few people living under Lord Munodi, the women, and the flappers recognized that they had five senses, but the intellectual men and the men of the court attached no importance to sense reactions. They lived in a world of abstraction, a dream world in which they meditated and needed their flappers to awaken them so that they would not walk off the edge of the island while they were lost in thought.

In the land of the Houynhnahms, however, Gulliver, who had been gradually reaching that moment of awareness when he recognized the failures of the human race but not its virtues, now reached that moment of recognition and linked it with the smell of the Yahoos, their disgusting habits, the dirt and filth in which they lived; all these were associated in Gulliver's mind with human beings because he came to accept the identity of Yahoos and people.

Accompanying this state of recognition came Gulliver's reversal of intention, which was one like that of Timon of Athens, to hate mankind

and avoid the haunts of men.⁸ Instead of becoming a kind, compassionate person such as the King of Brobdingnag, Lord Munodi of Laputa, and Don Pedro de Mendez, the Portuguese ship captain who brought Gulliver back to Europe from Houyhnhnmland, Gulliver became a moral cynic.

The smell of human beings was linked so closely in Gulliver's mind with their proving they were Yahoos that Gulliver, when he was first rescued, could not stand being near anyone. When Captain Mendez embraced Gulliver at parting, Gulliver bore it as well as he could. When his wife embraced and kissed him, Gulliver fainted. The only smell he cared for was that of horses, the stable, and the stable boy, for these smells reminded him of the Houyhnhnms. Indeed, his family and their odor was so repugnant to him that for the first year he could not endure their presence in the same room with him, and was only gradually becoming a little more accustomed to them.

. . . During the first Year I could not endure my Wife or Children in my Presence, the very Smell of them was intolerable; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same Room. To this Hour they dare not presume to touch my Bread, or drink out of the same Cup; neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the Hand. The first Money I laid out was to buy two young Stone-Horses, which

⁸ Jonathan Swift, "Letter to Alexander Pope," September 29, 1725, The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. by Harold Williams (Oxford, 1963), Vol. III, p. 103. Gulliver, not Swift, was the misanthrope in Timon's manner. In this letter, Swift explains that man should not be called "animal rationale" but only rationis capax. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy (though not Timon's manner) the whole building of my Travells is erected. . . ."

I keep in a good Stable, and next to them the Groom is my greatest Favourite; for I feel my Spirits revived by the Smell he contracts in the Stable. (pp. 273-274)

Here again we have an illustration of this sensuous thread which has been noted through all four voyages.

As the Travels itself is a whole, so each voyage is complete within itself as well as being an organic part of the entire work. In this, Swift is curiously like Henry James in his technique of making each separate division of a novel a living organism in itself while at the same time contributing to the whole. Thus Swift has Gulliver omit every incident and detail that is not relevant to that particular voyage. For example, in his discussion of the first voyage, Gulliver gave the details concerning the actual sailing of the ship -- its name, the name of its captain, its destination; Gulliver summed up the events of the first half of the trip simply by saying that "our Voyage at first was very prosperous." (p. 4) Thus he omitted all the incidents between the time the ship set sail from Bristol on May 4th, 1699, until the coming of the terrible storm that wrecked the ship and cast Gulliver on the shores of Lilliput on November 5th, 1699. Gulliver dismissed the events that took place in that six month period with the comment that it was not necessary to mention them.

It would not be proper for some Reasons, to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of our Adventures in those Seas: Let it suffice to inform him, that in our Passage from thence to the East-Indies, we were driven by a violent Storm to the North-west of Van Diemen's Land. (p. 4)

Everything irrelevant is omitted to the development of Gulliver's character, to the background, and to the possibility of plot. The necessary facts are given concerning each voyage, Gulliver's reason for going, and the situation causing him to be separated from his crew members and to be cast on the shore of that particular country. At the same time that nothing is added which is not needed, neither is anything omitted which is necessary to an understanding of the trip. The reader does not have to read about Gulliver's trip to Lilliput in order to understand his voyage to Brobdingnag.

The events are given in a credible, causally connected sequence. In smooth, logical order, each event arises from the preceding one and causes the following one. For example, it is credible that the Brobdingnagian farmer kept Gulliver, for he was an oddity; in fact, he was unique. Next, it was natural that the farmer in showing Gulliver to his friends decided to show him for a price. As soon as he had shown Gulliver to everyone in his county, the farmer naturally took him to the capital city Lorbrulgrud where lived the majority of the population including the King, Queen, and Court. Naturally, when the Queen saw Gulliver, since she was interested in dwarfs, she wanted to buy him. The farmer was glad to sell Gulliver, since he realized that Gulliver was dying from exhaustion, having had to go through his routine many times a day. Thus the farmer decided that he would be ahead financially, if he sold Gulliver for a good price instead of having Gulliver die on his hands. The farmer was also glad to allow his daughter to remain

to care for Gulliver, since she would be at court and be educated by the Queen.

Gulliver's escape stems from causes that can be easily recognized. Glumdalclitch, the farmer's daughter, watched Gulliver very carefully, but she could not be with him all the time. One afternoon when she was ill and Gulliver wanted to be carried for a walk along the sea coast, she allowed the footman to take him. The footman left Gulliver alone in his traveling box for a short time, just long enough for an eagle to pick up the case by its ring. Credibly, the case and Gulliver were too heavy even for a Brobdingnagian eagle, a weight so great that it caused him to drop it into the ocean. That he fell into the sea kept Gulliver from being killed in the fall and also caused him to be near a sea lane in which an English ship captain saw him and rescued him before he could drown.

Finally, there is one other point which sums up many aspects of Swift's narrative skill, that which Henry James calls "saturation" or "intensity of vision" and which includes the writer's ability to guess the "unseen by the seen."⁹

To Henry James, a novelist of no ordinary stature, and to most critics since Henry James, saturation has been considered one of the most necessary assets of the novel. The word "saturation" defines itself. As a novelist knows his subject from every angle, both broadly

⁹James, p. 56.

and deeply, this saturation is one of the characteristics of the novel that applies to every aspect of the novel: plot, character, setting, dialogue, and even to a certain extent to style. The depth of this saturation is remarkable in Gulliver's Travels. For instance, the close causal relationship between events in each voyage and between the voyages themselves is an illustration of this saturation in the action itself.

Each voyage reveals Swift's complete saturation with every aspect of these separate countries, different as they are from each other. For example, there is never a lapse in the Lilliputian or Brobdingnagian point of view. Almost any group of illustrations of this "intensity of vision" will range from action to character to setting to dialogue. These are sometimes so integrated (as they should be) that it is difficult to separate them. In fact, Swift has that ability which James mentions as being necessary to the novelist, "the power of the author to make the reader consciously see with the mind's eye, hear with the mental ear, weigh, feel, apprehend with every sense. They are always perceived by the mind only, but with the vividness and sensation as if they were objectively perceived or remembered."¹⁰

Swift is saturated with every detail of each of the four strange, remote countries which Gulliver visited: Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa, and Houyhnhnmland. He makes us, the readers, hear, feel, and see everything concerning each of the countries and its inhabitants

¹⁰Ibid., p. 56.

-- geographically, physically, and culturally -- both from Gulliver's point of view toward the natives and their culture and the natives toward Gulliver, his possessions, and his ideas. Swift achieves this through the use of vivid, concrete images, each image illustrating George Meredith's definition that it is a shortcut to a picture just as a figure of speech is a short cut to an image.¹¹ By choosing just the right image, Swift makes each scene, with its action, characters, setting, and dialogue, come alive. Suddenly, we believe that each of these four countries does exist, that we are visiting them with Gulliver, and that they will still be there for us to visit again, this time without Gulliver. In other words, each country exists in the world -- each one with its own vegetation, inhabitants, and culture -- as do England and the Congo.

The number of these concrete images -- each one's being taken from English life in Queen Anne's day but also being universal and true to the law of probability -- is endless, but for my illustrations I have selected those images which to me have the additional qualities of fusing all aspects of the scene into one and of adding verisimilitude, for these images are so true to the action and entire milieu that the reader feels that the writer would not have thought of mentioning them if he had not actually witnessed them taking place. These are images that only the writer who is completely saturated with the world about which he is

¹¹Meredith, p. 205. See Chapt. II, p.23, n. 7 of this paper.

writing would ever think to mention. They are those images which make the imaginary country real and its inhabitants alive, so vivid and true that they can not be forgotten.

One of the most effective images in the first voyage is that of the King of Lilliput being taller "by almost the Breadth" of Gulliver's nail than any of his courtiers and that his height alone "is enough to strike an Awe into the Beholders." (p. 14) The trueness of this comparison not only makes us see the King, towering over his subjects, who were less than six inches tall, but enables us to feel his pride in his great height and his subjects' awe of him. Gulliver's nail would have to be at least a half inch wide, which, though its smallness seems almost nothing to us, would constitute a great difference in size to the Lilliputians.

Two fine images from the trip to Lilliput which reveal Swift's power "to guess the unseen from the seen" are the statement of Gulliver that he had watched "a young Girl threading an invisible Needle with invisible Silk," (p. 41) and his remark that a few times he had dined on a sirloin so large that he had to eat it in three bites, but that this size of steak was rare in Lilliput. (p. 48)

The scenes in Brobdingnag are made alive and vivid with this same type of concrete image. For example, as Gulliver sat for dinner with the farmer's family, the purr of the Brobdingnagian cat, which sounded to Gulliver "like that of a Dozen Stocking-Weavers at work," enables us not only to see and hear the cat, but through this clever use

of superfluous detail, to be struck by the verisimilitude of the dinner itself. (p. 74)

One of the finest examples that illustrates Swift's saturation is Gulliver's answer to the English sailors who rescued him from his traveling case after the Brobdingnagian eagle dropped it into the sea. The sailors had found Gulliver's case floating in the ocean and had tied it to their ship; when they heard Gulliver calling for help, they answered that their carpenter would saw a hole in the cover of the box so they could rescue him. Gulliver called to them that this would not be necessary, to "let one of the Crew put his Finger into the Ring, and take the Box out of the Sea into the Ship, and so into the Captain's Cabbin." (p. 127) The convincing logicalness of Gulliver's mistake reveals Swift's saturation with the country of Brobdingnag. Gulliver reveals in his answer that he, a normal sized human being, has been living in a world of giants; it does not occur to him that people his size are rescuing him. As Thackeray commented, anyone who had been living with giants would have responded as Gulliver did.

Gulliver makes the mistake of thinking that his Brobdingnagian box can be put in the cabin which is one 1/4 the size of the box. It is the 'veracity' of the blunder which is so admirable. Had a man come from such a country as Brobdingnag, he would have blundered so.¹²

Another scene which impressed Thackeray and also reveals

¹²William Makepeace Thackeray, "Swift," The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1953), p. 54.

Swift's saturation is the action of the Houyhnhmn, whom Gulliver considered his Master, in honoring Gulliver by raising his hoof for Gulliver to kiss good-by. Gulliver, who had been ready to prostrate himself before his Master Houyhnhnm in order to kiss his hoof, was overwhelmed at the great honor his Master had showed him, for the action revealed that the Master Houyhnhnm considered Gulliver several levels above the Yahoo. Thackeray states that "it is Truth Topsy-turvy, entirely logical and absurd."¹³

Thackeray is right in his comment, but my point is also true, that if Swift, like the novelist, had not been saturated with the world of the Houyhnhnms -- and of the other three remote countries that Gulliver visited -- he (Swift) could not have envisioned scenes which revealed "Truth, Topsy-turvy, entirely logical and absurd."

Two scenes in the third voyage which reveal Swift's saturation and add verisimilitude to the four voyages as a complete whole and to the character of Gulliver occurred in Glubbdubdrib when Gulliver was talking to the spirits of famous people who had died. Gulliver, who enjoyed food and had heard that the Roman Emperor Heliogabalus loved gourmet food, requested the Governor of Glubbdubdrib to have "Eliogabalus's Cooks to dress us in a Dinner." (p. 182) This was a logical request for Gulliver to make, for he had shown his interest in food in each of the voyages. The scene adds verisimilitude through the fact that the Roman cooks "could not shew us much of their Skill, for Want of

¹³ Ibid., p. 37.

Materials." (p. 182) This lack reveals that Glubbdubdrib is a country in itself and naturally does not have either the same climate or culture as ancient Rome and thus its cooks do not have the same ingredients with which to cook, just as the English cooks of the eighteenth century could not have served avocados if some one from Mexico had requested them.

The other scene concerned Gulliver's interest in and ability to learn and speak many languages fluently. One incident, among the many in which he referred to this characteristic throughout the four voyages, that gives verisimilitude was Gulliver's surprise that his small knowledge of modern Greek did not help him very much in his understanding the ancient Greek used by Alexander the Great. (p. 179) It had not occurred to Gulliver that ancient and modern Greek would not be the same, but this fact was known to Swift. This recognition of the distinction between ancient and modern Greek -- unrecognized by Gulliver but recognized by Swift -- is another example of Swift's saturation in the character of Gulliver.

From the beginning to the end of Gulliver's Travels, the narrative (not simple but anticipating the closer organization that later made the novel possible) carries the satire which was Swift's major concern. All this skill which Swift had developed for his own satiric purpose and had adapted to the most malleable material makes Gulliver the most memorable of Swift's contributions to narrative art.

Thackeray's interest and delight in it are a great novelist's tribute to it.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the long and slow history of the development of prose fiction toward the distinguishable norms of a new genre, the novel, there have been many distinguished names: Sir Thomas Malory, Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Nash, Boccacio, and many minor ones. The progress towards the novel has not been a steady one, nor have the most distinguished names contributed the most. Malory, at the beginning of the history, as it is usually recorded, made an enormous step forward in his Morte d'Arthur in showing the possibilities of plot and character in an unwieldy mass of loosely connected romances. In his Arcadia, Sidney made an advance by a fusion of the old romance with the heroic romance of his own time and touches of quite modern realism; Nash gave realism in portraiture and, to some extent, in style in Jack Wilton: The Unfortunate Traveler.¹ But sometimes an almost completely obscure and untalented writer accidentally hit on a technique that added to the stock-in-trade of the prose fiction writer. Such is the Elizabethan writer Emanuel Ford. In his prose work Parismus, Prince of Bohemia (1598), Ford made an advance toward the novel in description, in

¹See the section on style in this paper. Chapt. III, pp. 114-124.

selection of incidents, and in arousing the reader's interest over the other romances in the Amadis pattern.²

In that long line of the precursors of the novel, although minor contributors like Ford have been recognized, Swift has been curiously almost ignored. The greatest historian of the novel, George Saintsbury, mentioned him only as a possibility for study because in his history of the entire English novel, Saintsbury had no time to elaborate on Swift. This extended study of Swift's narrative techniques has been the result of that omission.³

It is easy to understand, as has been pointed out, why the critics, the students of Swift, have not pursued the narrative element in Swift. They have been interested in the dominating aims of Swift -- his satire, and Swift has so skillfully fused his narrative (only the means to his end) and the satire (his main concern) that only a study which lifts and separates the narrative from the satire has made it possible to see how far Swift went in developing narrative techniques.

Swift was not a novelist. He is far from the techniques of Samuel Richardson -- even from those of Daniel Defoe who, near as he was to the new genre, still missed it. But a careful examination of Swift's narrative methods from the earlier work to the later, from the minor work to the great Gulliver, shows increasing skill in this part of his

² Saintsbury, pp. 41-42.

³ Ibid., pp. 72-76.

satiric method. Sometimes Swift has used only the suggestions of later, more fully developed techniques; sometimes he has, when it suited his purpose, taken them further. This practice of Swift's has involved some repetition in my analysis, naturally, and some of what may seem to be a certain amount of chasing shadows on a wall. But behind these shadows is the substance that created them, and a close study of Swift has shown that unmistakably the substance is there.

There can be no mistaking the evidence, drawn from not only one book, but from the main body of his work, and from his classical training which gave him his sense of form, that Swift has gone further in the development of narrative techniques than many of the previously recognized precursors of the novel. No adequate history of the novel can afford to bar him from that company. He did not do everything. He did not intend to. He was not even aware of what he was doing in relation to a still undeveloped genre. Part of what he did was often sketchy for the same reason. But it is clear that in the basic elements of the novel he did recognized work and deserves a page, if not a chapter, in any history of the novel.

To summarize: Swift has unmistakably the continuity of action that prepared the way to plot in the fully developed novel. The one action of the Travels as a whole is the series of credible, logical events which have caused Gulliver to change from a self-confident,

egotistical, curious ship surgeon to a misanthrope in Timon's manner.⁴

The sequence of events is causal; each event arises from the one preceding it and causes the one following it. This causal connection is further emphasized from the interplay between Gulliver's temperament and the circumstances in which he is involved.

Swift created characters that extend from the faintly drawn father of the three brothers who is a "shadow of a shade" to the clearly drawn Lemuel Gulliver, who is a well-rounded character with a family, a definite personality, and a conflict resulting from the interplay of his temperament on circumstances and circumstances on his temperament.

In setting, Swift makes different aspects of eighteenth century life alive for us, from the often absurd world of fashion to a plodding, rather colorless middle class life. His dialogue is brilliant and flexible, dialogue without which the novel could not have developed. He had a flexible, lively style that he was able to change and adapt as he wished. The eighteenth century novel, as might be expected, was a realistic novel, far from the seventeenth century romances which people were still reading, even in Swift's time. This realism could not have been achieved with the style of those romances -- heavy, ornate, artificial. This flexible style of Swift's, far from this heroic style, gave a dignity to contemporary speech which the novelists were

⁴See Chapt. V, p. 187, n. 8 of this paper. It is Gulliver, not Swift, who is the misanthrope in Timon's manner. Swift's creation of Gulliver adds to the evidence of Swift's ability to create characters outside himself.

able to use.

These narrative techniques of Jonathan Swift -- his continuity of action, his development of character, his setting, his dialogue, his style, are clearly precursors of the techniques which go unmistakably in the direction of the novel according to definitions drawn from the best contemporary critics and from the usage of the great novelists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acworth, Bernard. Swift. London: Eyre & Spotteswode, 1947.
- Aldington, Richard. Portrait of a Rebel: The Life and Work of Robert Louis Stevenson. London: Evans Brothers, 1957.
- Anderson, Maxwell. "The Essence of Tragedy." Off Broadway. New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1947.
- Aristotle. Poetics. Trans. S. H. Butcher. The Great Critics. Ed. James Harry Smith and Edd Winfield Parks. 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1951.
- Austen, Jane. Emma. New York: Macmillan, 1928.
- _____. Mansfield Park. New York: Dutton, 1934.
- _____. Northanger Abbey. New York: Dutton, 1934.
- _____. Persuasion. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1934.
- _____. Pride and Prejudice. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1933.
- _____. Sense and Sensibility. New York: Dutton, 1933.
- Baker, Ernest A. The History of the English Novel. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961. 10 Vols.
- Baugh, Albert C., Ed. A Literary History of England. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948.
- Behn, Aphra. Oroonoko. Ed. Montagu Summers. London: W. Heinemann, 1915.
- Bruce, Donald. The Radical Dr. Smollett. London: Victor Gollancz, 1964.
- Bullitt, John M. Jonathan Swift and the Anatomy of Satire. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

- Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Burney, Fanny. Evelina. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1925.
- Burton, Richard. Masters of the English Novel. New York: Henry Holt, 1923.
- Case, Arthur E. Four Essays on 'Gulliver's Travels.' Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958.
- Cather, Willa. Not Under Forty. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1936.
- Church, Richard. The Growth of the English Novel. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961.
- Clifford, James L., Ed. Eighteenth Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Collins, Norman. The Facts of Fiction. London: Victor Gollancz, 1932.
- Connely, Willard. Lawrence Sterne as Yorick. London: The Bodley Head, 1958.
- Conrad, Joseph. "Preface." The Nigger of the 'Narcissus.' New York: Doubleday Doran, 1942.
- Cox, C. B. The Free Spirit. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Cross, Wilbur L. The Development of the English Novel. New York: Macmillan, 1927.
- Defoe, Daniel. The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton. Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1940.
- _____. The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1940. 2 Vols.
- _____. Moll Flanders. Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1940.
- DeVoto, Bernard. The World of Fiction. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950.
- Dilworth, Ernest Nevin. The Unsentimental Journey of Lawrence Sterne. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948.

- Drew, Elizabeth. The Modern Novel: Some Aspects of Contemporary Fiction. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926.
- _____. The Novel: A Modern Guide to Fifteen English Masterpieces. New York: Dell, 1963.
- Dobson, Austin. Samuel Richardson. New York: Macmillan, 1902.
- Dyson, A. E. "Swift, The Metamorphosis of Irony." Essays and Studies. New Series. Vol. XI (1958).
- Edgar, Pelham. The Art of the Novel: From 1700 to the Present Time. New York: Macmillan, 1934.
- Ehrenpries, Irvin. Swift: The Man, His Works, and The Age. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962. 2 Vols.
- Ewald, William B. The Masks of Jonathan Swift. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954.
- Fielding, Henry. The Adventures of Joseph Andrews. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- _____. The History of Tom Jones: A Foundling. Ed. William Allan Neilson. New York: P. F. Collier, 1917. 2 Vols.
- Flanagan, Thomas. The Irish Novelists: 1800-1850. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Forster, E. M. Aspects of the Novel. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1927.
- Garnett, Richard. "Swift." Encyclopedia Britannica. London: Encyclopedia Britannica Publishing Company, 1911.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall. The Patterns of English and American Fiction: A History. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1942.
- Hartley, Lodwick. This is Lorence: A Narrative of the Reverend Lawrence Sterne. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943.
- Hopkins, Annette Brown and Helen Sard Hughes. The English Novel Before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types. Boston: Ginn, 1915.
- James, Henry. The Art of Fiction: and Other Essays. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.

- _____. Partial Portraits. "The Art of Fiction." New York: Macmillan, 1884.
- _____. The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.
- _____. The House of Fiction: Essays on the Novel. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957.
- _____. Notes on Novelists: with Some Other Notes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.
- Johnson, Samuel. Rasselas. New York: Rinehart, 1958.
- Johnston, Denis. In Search of Swift. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959.
- Jusserand, J. J. The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare. Trans. Elizabeth Lee. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.
- Kahrl, George M. Tobias Smollett: Traveller-Novelist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.
- Karl, Frederick R. The Contemporary English Novel. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1962.
- Kettle, Arnold. An Introduction to the English Novel. London: Hutchinson House, 1951. 2 Vols.
- Kiely, Robert. Robert Louis Stevenson and the Fiction of Adventure. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Knapp, Lewis Mansfield. Tobias Smollett: Doctor of Men and Manners. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963.
- Landa, Louis. Jonathan Swift: A List of Critical Studies: 1895 to 1945. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1945.
- Leavis, F. R. The Great Tradition. New York: G. W. Stewart, 1948.
- Legouis, Emile and Louis Cazamian. A History of English Literature. Macmillan, 1930.
- Longinus. On the Sublime. Trans. W. Rhys Roberts. The Great Critics. Ed. James Harry Smith and Edd Winfield Parks. 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1951.

- Lovett, Robert Morss and Helen Sard Hughes. The History of the Novel in England. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932.
- Lubbock, Percy. The Craft of Fiction. New York: J. Cape & H. Smith, 1931.
- Lyly, Sir John. Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit; Euphues and his England. Ed. Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964.
- Mansfield, Katherine. Novels and Novelists. Ed. J. Middleton Murry. Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1930.
- Marshall, Percy. Masters of the English Novel. London: Dennis Dobson, 1962.
- Maugham, Somerset. The Summing Up. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1938.
- McCullough, Bruce. Representative English Novelists: Defoe to Conrad. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.
- McKillop, Alan Dugald. The Early Masters of English Fiction. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1956.
- _____. "Richardson, Young, and the Conjecturers." Modern Philology, XXII (1925), 391-404.
- _____. Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist. Chapel Hill: The Shoe String Press, 1960.
- Meredith, George. Essay on Comedy, and the Uses of the Comic Spirit. London: Constable, 1919.
- Moore, John Brooks. "The Role of Gulliver." Modern Philology, XXV (1928), pp. 469-480.
- Murry, John Middleton. Essay on Style. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- _____. Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography. London: Jonathan Cape, 1954.
- Nashe, Thomas. The Unfortunate Traveller or The Life of Jack Wilton. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.
- Paulson, Ronald. Ed. Fielding: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1962.
- _____. Theme and Structure in Swift's 'Tale of a Tub.' New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Pearson, Hesketh. Lives of the Wits. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

- Price, Martin. Swift's Rhetorical Art: A Study in Structure and Meaning. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Priestley, J. B. The English Novel. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1938.
- Quintana, Ricardo. Swift: An Introduction. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- _____. The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Radcliffe, Ann. The Mysteries of Udolpho. London: George Routledge & Sons, n.d.
- Repplier, Agnes. In Pursuit of Laughter. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936.
- Richardson, Samuel. Clarissa. New York: Random House, 1950.
- _____. Pamela. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1935. 2 Vols.
- Ross, John Fredric. Swift and Defoe: A Study in Relationship. University of California Publications in English, Vol. XI. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941.
- Saintsbury, George. The English Novel. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1913.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. London: Sampson Low Marston, 1898.
- Smollett, Tobias. The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. New York: Random House, 1929.
- _____. Roderick Random. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1915.
- Starkman, Miriam Kosh. Swift's Satire on Learning in 'A Tale of a Tub'. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.
- Sterne, Lawrence. The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman. Ed. Samuel Holt Monk. New York: Rinehart, 1950.
- Stevenson, Lionel. The English Novel: A Panorama. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960.
- Swift, Jonathan. The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift. Ed. Harold Williams. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963. 3 vols.
- _____. The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift. Ed. Herbert Davis. Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1940-1962. 13 Vols.
- _____. Jonathan Swift: Selected Prose and Poetry. Ed. Edward Rosenheim. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.

- _____. Gulliver's Travels. Ed. Arthur E. Case. New York: T. Nelson & Sons, 1940.
- _____. Gulliver's Travels: An Annotated Text with Critical Editions. Ed. Robert A. Greenberg. A Norton Critical Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 1961.
- _____. Gulliver's Travels. Ed. John F. Ross. New York: Rinehart, 1960.
- _____. Swift's Polite Conversation. Ed. Eric Partridge. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- _____. A Tale of a Tub. Ed. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- _____. "Letter from D. Distaff." The Tatler. No. 11. Ed. George A. Aitken. New York: Hadley & Mathews, 1899.
- Taylor, W. D. Jonathan Swift: A Critical Essay. London: Peter Davies, 1933.
- Teerink, Herman. A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853.
- Traugott, John. Ed. Discussions of Jonathan Swift. Boston: Heath, 1962.
- Van Doren, Carl. The American Novel: 1789-1939. New York: Macmillan, 1921.
- _____. Swift. New York: Viking, 1930.
- Voigt, Milton. Swift and the Twentieth Century. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. Cavalcade of the English Novel. New York: Henry Holt, 1943.
- Walker, Hugh. English Satire and Satirists. New York: Octagon Books, 1965.
- Walpole, Horace. The Castle of Otranto. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Walsh, William. A Human Idiom: Literature and Humanity. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964.
- Ward, A. W. and A. R. Waller. The Cambridge History of English Literature. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 14 Vols.

Watkins, W.B.C. Perilous Balance: The Tragic Genius of Swift, Johnson, and Sterne. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939.

Watt, Ian. The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

VITA

2

Shelley Howe Rutherford

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: JONATHAN SWIFT IN THE HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH NOVEL

Major Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Houston, Texas, February 19, 1918, the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. J. Holland Howe.

Education: Attended public schools in Gridley, Illinois, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Ponca City, Oklahoma, graduated from Ponca City High School in 1936, attended Ward-Belmont School for Girls, Nashville, Tennessee, 1936-1938, and received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Oklahoma, Norman, with a major in English and a minor in French in June, 1940. Received the Master of Arts degree from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, with a major in English, in August, 1942. At Northwestern University, studied with one of the most prominent scholars in Swift, Professor Arthur E. Case. Between 1952 and 1962, worked on the doctoral level at the following universities: 18 hours at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, 8 hours at the University of Colorado, Boulder, again with a recognized critic in the field of Swift, Professor Samuel Nathaniel Bogorad, visiting professor from the University of Vermont, and 12 hours at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, under Professor T. C. Duncan Eaves, a critic of the eighteenth century novel. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree, with a minor in English, at Oklahoma State University, in May, 1969, under the direction of Professor Loyd Douglas.

Professional Organizations: Oklahoma Education Association,
National Council of Teachers of English, Modern
Language Association, American Association of
University Professors.

Professional Experience: Taught English at the University of
Illinois, Champaign, in the Army Specialized Training
Program the last year of its existence--1943. Taught the
Survey Courses in English and American Literature at
Sterling Junior College, Sterling, Colorado, 1944-1946.
Have taught English at Oklahoma State University,
Stillwater, since the Fall of 1956.