The Exiled Swift's New Community

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Department of English Literature

University of Virginia
December, 2011

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Introduction

Jonathan Swift, one of the most influential of eighteenth-century writers, was an ambitious man who strove for political and literary fame. He abandoned his Irish birthright in favor of the wider scope and better prospects of England. During the first years of his adult life, his plan seemed to go well. Swift acquired his doctorate of divinity, setting him on the road to religious preferment and a solid living that would allow him plenty of time and energy for writing. He took a position as a secretary to the well-placed Sir William Temple, who would naturally serve as a means to advancement. Although Swift grumbled at his menial duties, his relationship with Temple was friendly. Swift's first book, the 1704 *Tale of a Tub*, was inspired by the arguments with which Temple was engaged at the time. William Temple, however, was falling from grace, and the political contacts that Swift made at court could not save him from the queen's animosity.[1] In 1713 Swift was, as he saw it, banished to Ireland.

His appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Ireland's foremost church, in Dublin, its capital city, was hardly an exile. Swift was in the center of Irish culture. Yet Swift pined, asserting a "long agony over his exclusion" from England. [2] He felt "unappreciated and mistreated."[3] Critics often cite Swift's letter to Charles Ford shortly

1 For a discussion of Swift's hopes and ambitions under Temple, see: Irvin Ehrenpreis, "Last Years at Moor Park," *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), I.247-264.

2 Pat Rogers, "Swift and the Poetry of Exile," *Swift's Travels: Eighteenth-Century British Satire and its Legacy*, ed Nicholas Hudson & Aaron Santesso (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 125.

3 Wanda J. Carter, "'The Most Mortifying Malady': Jonathan Swift's Dizzying World and Dublin's Mentally Ill," *Swift Studies* (2004), 45.

after Swift was installed in St. Patrick's: “I have been hindred by perfect Lazyness, and Listlessness, and anneantissement . . . since I came here”[4] and his assertion to Pope that *“Perditur haec inter misero lux*:” lost are the miserable days.[5] He was “anxious, embittered,” and conflicted, torn between a sympathy for his native Ireland and a longing to be accepted in the more rarefied English circles.[6] Swift felt his new position as an exile, putting an end to his hopes for advancement, and separating him from his friends in England. As a self-proclaimed Englishman in Ireland, a genius among fools, and an upholder of law and authority against modern writers who valued originality above taste and intelligence, Swift has usually been considered as a solitary, lonely man during his years in Ireland. Yet, during this period Swift was surrounded by a large group of people and spent very little of his time alone.

Swift's years in Ireland were spent surrounded by a community of social inferiors whose care and respect soothed and brightened his declining age. This paper will show how, contrary to the critics' belief, Swift's servants and parishioners formed a family group that compensated Swift for his lost companions. Both Swift's desire for authority and power and his conviction of duty led him to assume leadership and responsibility for those around him. Swift lived in, and presided over, a community that he formed around himself. As the Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift took charge of his parishioners. He fed their minds with his sermons and ministered to their bodily needs both through works of charity and through his political tracts. Closest of all to Swift were his household

4 Letter to Charles Ford, August 1714. Jonathan Swift, *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford,* ed David Nichol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), II.60.

5 Letter to Alexander Pope, June 28, 1715. Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed Harold Williams (New York: Clarendon Press, 1963), II.177.

6 Kirsten Ewart Sundell, “'A Savage and Unnatural Taste': Anglo-Irish Imitations of *A Modest Proposal*, 1730-31,” *Swift Studies* (2003), 85.

servants, over whom he exercised a paternal authority. His servants made up a close family which infuriated, amused, and exasperated him by turns, and gave him a set of companions often ignored by modern scholars. Rather than, as most critics believe, being lonely and isolated as the Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift settled into the company of the parishioners and servants with whom he was both morally and emotionally involved.

Contemporary accounts of Swift's life combine with his own letters and public writings to show how Swift made his parishioners and his servants into a substitute family. By choosing his companions from the people surrounding him, Swift created a patriarchy, where he presided as the father of a widespread community of social and intellectual inferiors. This community and his relations to them are evident in his writing, both in the sermons that he wrote for their edification, and the satires that exposed the flaws in their behavior.

Isolation

It is commonly believed by critics that Swift was isolated during his time in Ireland. He was surrounded by people, certainly, but not the people whose company would have been most congenial to him or those most in accord with the station in which he saw himself. Swift's closest friends lived in England, but after his final departure from London he could no longer speak with them regularly. His communication with them now continued entirely through letters. Those letters, he complained, were not as frequent as he would have wished.[7] Despite his removal from England, however, Swift led an active social life in Ireland, gathering around himself a group of people whom he could

7 David Womersley, "Swift's Shapeshifting," *Swift's Travels: Eighteenth-Century British Satire and its Legacy*, ed Nicholas Hudson & Aaron Santesso (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 108.

trust.

When discussing reasons for Swift's supposed isolation, some scholars focus primarily on Swift's physical distance from his London circle during his years in Ireland and his refusal to claim Irishmen as his equals. Although Irish by birth, Swift saw himself as an exile, and longed for the friendships and triumphs of England. Swift took great pleasure in his Irish social sphere, but "liked to pretend otherwise," insisting that only his English friends could relieve his loneliness.[8] This pose helped him to continue to think of himself as English and as an exile from his native land. Pat Rogers discusses the absence of any of "Swift's Dublin acquaintances" from his "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift."[9] "In this poem on friendship," he points out, "only four persons merit a name when Swift considers the moment of his dissolution," and none of those four were Irish.[10]

Although he soon expanded his circle to include select members of his parish and his clerics, Swift does not appear to have found the close male friendships of his time in London, often preferring men's wives to the company of the men. Victoria Glendinning writes that "he was seeing no one except Archdeacon Walls, Stella and Rebecca Dingley, and other old friends,"[11] a far cry from his eager embrace of public life in London. As Glendinning points out, Swift's early years as Dean, when he was still associated with unpopular Jacobite politics, were the most isolated. He reports being "set upon by unknown assailants," and his terror of these brought Swift into closer contact with his servants, as he feared to walk or ride alone, and insisted on having a servant remain with

8 Carter, "'The Most Mortifying Malady,'" 36.
9 Rogers, "Swift and the Poetry of Exile," 133.
10 Rogers, "Swift and the Poetry of Exile," 134.
11 Victoria Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: A Portrait* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999), 142.

him during his frequent excursions.[12]

Other scholars discuss ways in which Swift suffered from a physical isolation enforced by disease. Wanda Carter claims that he suffered from an isolation caused by his intermittent attacks of Ménière's disease.[13] His position in the Deanery, she argues, made it "easier to begin withdrawing" from society in order to avoid the threat of having an attack in an unfamiliar environment.[14] While he appreciated the care that his friends, especially Stella, showed to him while he was ill, Swift "preferred to avoid most people when the illness struck."[15] He felt it deeply embarrassing and difficult to function in social situations while suffering an attack and, as Ehrenpreis points out, "for a man who loved conversation, there could be fewer greater miseries than deafness," especially when in company.[16] It was at least partly due to his illness that Swift never returned to England after his disastrous visit to Twickenham, where both he and Pope were ill. This argument is sound so far as it goes, but Carter notes that part of his attachment to the Deanery was "the comfort of his own home and servants."[17] These servants, and especially his housekeeper, were the ones to nurse him through his final illness, and the comfort he drew from them was, in part, due to his relationship with his household.

Other critics focus on Swift's mental alienation. Louise Barnett emphasizes Swift's physical and mental distance from his family. His father died before he was born, and

12 Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: A Portrait*, 145.

13 Ménière's disease is characterized by attacks of vertigo, hearing loss, aural fullness, and tinnitus (the perception of loud ringing sounds in the ears). Vertigo is the most debilitating symptom of this disease, but deafness and the inability to understand other people caused by tinnitus cause difficulties in communication that, while not physically dangerous, can have detrimental effects on relationships and social situations. Lloyd A. Minor, David B. Schessel, and John P. Carey, "Meniere's disease," *Current Opinion in Neurology* 17.1 (2004): 9-16.

14 Carter, "'The Most Mortifying Malady,'" 37.

15 Carter, "'The Most Mortifying Malady,'" 44.

16 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.858.

17 Carter, "'The Most Mortifying Malady,'" 46.

while Swift performed his filial duties to his mother "there is little evidence of an affectionate attachment."[18] Instead, Swift focused on himself, his friends, and, this paper argues, on his household of servants and parishioners. Brian Connery says that whether he circulated within the writers and politicians of England, the "Anglo-Irish circle in Dublin," or the people in his parish at St. Patrick's Swift was most "often out of his class."[19] What Connery does not say is that Swift enjoyed being out of his class. While he recognizes Swift's insistence on the equality of conversation, and the wide inclusiveness of that conversation, Connery does not expand this to discuss the way in which Swift's very inclusiveness provided a reinforcing of his hierarchical beliefs. Viewing hierarchy as a family, allowing one's inferiors to speak, and being listened to with respect by one's superiors is a necessary part of the teaching which Swift saw as so important within his parish, and in his own family.

Scholars often note and wonder about Swift's relationships with women. His most famous relationships, those with Stella and Vanessa, began early in his life and contain the seeds of a romance that was a source of irritation for Swift during his own lifetime, and inspires scholarly debate even today. The rumors that Swift secretly married his frequent correspondent and friend Esther Johnson, or "Stella," irritated him, and he refused to acknowledge any romantic feelings either in public or in his writings. His friendship with Stella was close and loving but afflicted with uncertainties, and Stella clearly suffered from jealousy and insecurity. One scholar, Victoria Glendinning, suggests that Swift found his emotional response to Stella terrifying and responded by "flight from

18 Louise Barnett, *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 106.

19 Brian A. Connery, "Hints Toward Authoritative Conversation," *Representations of Swift,* ed Brian A. Connery (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 161.

all risk of grief, pain or disappointment," a flight which, she insists, cut him off from "the pleasure and sweetness" of a fully realized relationship.[20]

Critics look not only at Swift's relationship with Stella and Vanessa but also at his relationships with all women as being tainted by his supposed misogyny. Barnett's book, *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Women*, is one of the most recent publications on the subject of Swift's relationships with women. Barnett notes that "Swift got along with women across the social spectrum," not only spending time with aristocratic ladies but cultivating friendly relationships with "the poor street vendors he patronized with charity and encouragement, his long-time housekeeper . . . and the middle-class and aristocratic ladies" of both London and Dublin.[21] She, however, views these relationships as "calculating," sees Swift as taking advantage of the social position and learned admiration for older men that these women displayed, and focuses her critical attention on using these relationships to examine the question of how Swift's sometimes misogynistic writing can be resolved with his friendly relationships with real women. Although Barnett acknowledges Swift's pleasure in his authority over women, she does not take into account the fact that Swift's predilection for the company of those who were unequal to him in status was a part of his general practice in Ireland. Cut off from the society of those of higher status among whom he could take the position of a dutiful inferior and son, Swift took his position at the Deanery as an indication that it was now his turn to fill the place of the patron and be father and mentor to his parishioners.

When critics examine Swift's relationships to his inferiors, they rarely focus all

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20 Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: A Portrait,* 223.
21 Barnett, *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Women*, 73.

their attention on the subject. For the most part, critical discussion of Swift's servants and parishioners ignores his religious and fatherly duties and affections toward his parish. Sean Shesgreen, for example, looks at the contrast between Swift's vicious writings and his actual behavior to the beggars of Dublin. Shesgreen emphasizes the fact that while Swift wrote as though he despised these people and would refuse to give them alms, he actually spent large amounts of time on the street talking to poor women and beggars, and paying ten times what their meager offerings were worth. Shesgreen's conclusion ignores the fact that it was Swift's duty as a priest and a member of a higher class to care for these poor parishioners, and concludes that Swift's behavior stemmed from isolation. Swift, he wrote, was "a marginal person in a marginal world" and finally came both to identify with and to despise himself for his closeness to these beggars.[22] Ehrenpreis, whose biography of Swift is still the primary source for modern scholars, discusses Swift's relationship with his servants, but primarily as a way of understanding the *Directions to Servants*.[23]

This paper examines accounts of Swift's life, and his own writings on hierarchy in order to understand how Swift related to his inferiors, and how these relations influenced not only works specifically focused on hierarchical relations like his sermons and the *Directions to Servants* but his pattern of writing. Critics discuss Swift's satire in terms of his "rebellious bitterness"[24] and his assertion that "he was treated as an inferior."[25] But satire requires more than just bitterness. John Bullitt defines satire as a mediator between

22 Sean Shesgreen, "Swift, Reynolds, and the Lower Orders," *Representations of Swift*, ed Brian A. Connery (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 209.
23 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.33, 323-4.
24 Sidney Dark, *Five Deans* (New York, Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1969), 113.
25 William Bragg Ewald, Jr., *The Masks of Jonathan Swift* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954), 2.

how things ought to be and how they are, which means that a satirist must have a strong sense of "what man ought to be."[26] Swift's sense of what men ought to be and how they ought to behave was strongly influenced by his position as a priest and his duty to his social inferiors.

Swift's association with his parishioners and his servants is echoed by that of Gulliver in Laputa. Separated from the learned men and wits of the time by distance, by disease, and by his own acerbic temper Swift, like Gulliver, was driven to talk "with Women, Tradesmen," and servants because "these were the only people from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer."[27] As the Dean of St. Patrick's, a position that he knew would last for the remainder of his life, Swift turned to his social inferiors to create a community that acted as a substitute family. He walked through Dublin dispensing charity and chatting to the beggars in the streets. He worked with the cathedral infrastructure and wrote acerbic letters about the choir's intractability. He opened his house to what Lord Orrery snidely called "a constant seraglio"[28] of women whose company he enjoyed and among whom he dispensed advice and teaching. And even in his own house Swift was surrounded by the group of servants who he felt were necessary to his position.

Swift was indeed isolated from "friendship and intimacy" with the exalted circles which he had enjoyed in England.[29] The people who surrounded him in Ireland were socially inferior to Swift and very different from his English circle. Yet it is to these

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26 John M. Bullitt, *Jonathan Swift and the Anatomy of Satire: A Study of Satiric Technique* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 1.
27 Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), 173.
28 John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, ed João Fróes (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 168.
29 Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: a portrait*, 105.

people that Swift turned for help, comfort, and companionship during his years in Ireland. This paper is designed to look more closely into the relationships that Swift formed with his social inferiors in Ireland and how these relationships shaped his thought and writing.

The Duties of the Dean

Although Swift complained of the appointment, he did his best to fulfill the duties of his position as the Dean of St. Patrick's. His official duties were to organize and take charge of the members of the cathedral staff and the church choir, and to give sermons every fifth Sunday.[30] In addition, Swift made it his practice to take personal care of the younger clergymen in the parish, to do works of charity, and to set an example for his parishioners. Each of these duties helped to display both Swift's authority and that of the church.

The duties which Swift undertook as the Dean of St. Patrick's were, naturally, related to his religious beliefs and convictions. But what exactly he believed is something that neither contemporary nor modern critics fully understand.[31] Already in the *Memoirs* of Letitia Pilkington, published only a few years after Swift's death, there is a desire to "vindicate him from the wicked aspersion of being deemed an unbeliever."[32] Therefore, although this paper is not primarily concerned with his religion, it is important to be aware of how Swift's position as a pastor and the religious beliefs which related to that position shaped his actions and attitude to his parish.

Swift's respect for religious authority and teaching is clear in his first publication, the *Tale of a Tub*, where his defense of the ancient writers is tied to his defense of the

30 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, II.75.

31 For an excellent summary of the history of and reasons for the charge of irreligion, see: Nathali Zimpfer, "Swift and Religion: From Myth to Reality," *Swift Studies* (2009): 46-69.

32 Letitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, ed J. Isaacs (The Mayflower Press, 1928), 50.

antique authority of the Bible. Throughout the *Tale of a Tub* Swift emphasizes the importance of the Bible, represented by the will, and the Christian doctrine, the coats which are given to the three sons of God. In following the authority of the Bible, the Church must "be very exact" for upon this "your future Fortunes will entirely depend."[33] Swift trusts the Bible, the church fathers and the "primitive Writers of the Church,"[34] and follows the teaching of the Anglican church in which he was ordained.

Despite his early acquisition of a Doctorate of Divinity, it is unlikely that Swift ever intended to settle down as a simple cleric. When he acquired a priestly living in Kilroot, Ireland through the help of Sir William Temple, Swift remained there only two years and left as soon as his petition for non-residence was accepted.[35] He had political ambitions, and living full-time at a small church in Ireland had no part in them. Swift received his living wage from the priesthood, but he hoped to gain power and influence through writing and politics in England rather than to settle down in his Irish parish.[36]

Although Swift looked at the church as a means of both earning a living and advancing to political power, Swift's writing shows that his inclination toward the church was not purely political. He dreamed of being a great and popular preacher who people would flock to hear,[37] and his disappointment and frustration at failing to meet his own standards prompted him to depreciate his sermons, writing to his successor at Kilroot, that "They were what I was firmly resolved to burn . . . the idlest trifling stuff that ever

33 Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub With Other Early Works 1696-1707*, ed Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 44.
34 Jonathan Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, ed Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948), 75.
35 Joe Queenan, *The Malcontents: The Best Bitter, Cynical, and Satirical Writing in the World* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2002), 392.
36 Dark, *Five Deans,* 113.
37 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.74.

was writ."[38] He also wrote of his clerical position as a religious calling. In his "Thoughts on Religion" Swift writes that "I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence" to carry out his duties and to defend his people.[39]

Swift's conception of religious duty was informed by the legend of his grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Swift, a vicar with a romantic, if slightly scandalous, life. Thomas Swift was a royalist "distinguished for his active devotion to the cause"[40] despite pressure from Parliamentary forces and repeated raids on his house.[41] Thomas Swift "preached vehemently in support of the King,"[42] using the popular royalist text "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's,"[43] and encouraging his parishioners to take active, practical steps to restore the hierarchy in which he believed.

Although Jonathan Swift never met Thomas Swift, the family legends of his courage and his suffering made a strong impression on the younger Swift's imagination. Swift wrote about his grandfather in the fragmentary "Family of Swift,"[44] and spent much time and effort attempting to gain more information about his grandfather.[45] In 1726, Jonathan Swift decided to "set up a suitable memorial to his grandfather's memory."[46] He set up "a chalice" and an inscribed tablet, which he enthusiastically showed to his friend

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38 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 97.
39 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 262.
40 Sir Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1871), II.1342.
41 Walter Scott, *Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, D. D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1826), II.214.
42 Nigel Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 10.
43 King James Bible, Matthew 22:21
44 Jonathan Swift, *Miscellaneous and Autobiographical Pieces, Fragments, and Marginalia*, ed Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 187-191.
45 Christopher Fox, "Getting Gotheridge: Notes on Swift's Grandfather and a New Letter from Thomas Swift," *Swift Studies* (2005): 10-29.
46 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character,* 12.

Alexander Pope.[47] Pope sent a poem back in affectionate mockery. This poem included a dig at Swift's stubborn claim to being English despite his Irish heritage: “come from Gotheridge . . . is an Irish dean . . . For England hath its own,” and the modest memorial Swift made: “a cup and a can, sir, / In respect of his grandsire.”[48]

Like those of his respected grandfather, Swift's sermons focus on immediate social and political evils rather than on abstract and abstruse theological topics. Although Swift was a well-educated clergyman, having received his Doctorate of Divinity in 1701,[49] and thus equipped to do so he made no attempt to explore the mysteries of religion. Instead, his approach to religion is entirely practical. Swift saw God's commandment as clear and simple: man is to discover his duty through the medium of the scriptures and the teachings of the church, and then to do it.[50]

Swift's idea of duty is based on a hierarchical structure of authority. Swift's political and theological arguments indicate the need for the control and containment of human nature, which could only be gained through the imposition of external authority.[51] Critics recognize Swift's belief that the “hierarchical nature of his society was providentially ordained”[52] and his need to “control – to be acknowledged as in the right, to be met with acquiescence rather than argument.”[53] Thackeray sneers at him for demanding more subservience than was his due, saying that if you are “his inferior in

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47 John Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 408.
48 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 14.
49 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, II.76.
50 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 47.
51 Jack G. Gilbert, *Jonathan Swift: Romantic and Cynic Moralist* (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1973), 89.
52 Todd C. Parker, *Swift as Priest and Satirist,* ed Todd C. Parker (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2009), 27-8.
53 Barnett, *Jonathan Swift in the Company of Women,* 17; Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 30.

parts . . . his equal in mere social station, he would have bullied, scorned, and insulted you."[54] Thackeray's depiction is perhaps unfair, but Swift certainly believed in a hierarchy based on both parts and social station.

Although Swift has been criticized for elevating himself above his given position, he firmly believed in the importance of hierarchy, and his interactions with others demonstrate that belief. To his superiors in rank, Swift attempted an intimacy spurred by his recognition of his own genius, but he did not forget their status. He was condescending to his inferiors, but under that condescension and desire for recognition of his authority lay a great and fierce charity. As a pastor and therefore one of the earthly representatives of God, Swift had the right and duty to use the authority which he desired for the good of his parish.

Parishioners

Swift's position as the Dean of St Patrick's gave him religious and paternal authority over his parish and his church. Swift presided over a church hierarchy which "consisted, working downwards, of the Dean and twenty-three others."[55] Among the men who made up Swift's church staff were a canon who Swift used as a general runner and servant, a choir, and several other priests. The Liberty of St. Patrick's extended beyond the church building itself and consisted of "one hundred and twenty houses, extending to an area of approximately 5 1/2 acres surrounding the cathedral."[56] Here lived the mass of Swift's parishioners, which group included beggars, clergymen, and simple citizens, and with whom Swift interacted on a day-to-day basis.

54 William Makepeace Thackeray, *The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1896), 6.
55 Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: a portrait*, 145.
56 Louis Landa, *Swift and the Church of Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 68.

As the leader of his flock Swift felt the necessity of caring for and instructing his people. Ehrenpreis describes how, although Swift "had no taste for music," he "used to hear the choir sing the anthem on Sunday evening . . . he would follow the words to make sure the choir left none out."[57] His own disinclination for music did not prevent Swift from carrying out his duty. He cared for the reputation and the strength of his parish and strove to reach perfection not only for himself but also for others, taking the duties of his position along with the benefits.

Modern views of authority and hierarchy tend to focus on the distancing effect of social classes. Eighteenth-century notions of authority, however, viewed authority not as "a boss-worker connection but a familial tie:"[58] a paternal and familial relationship. Patriarchal authority in the eighteenth century was both more important and more powerful than it is today. Sir Robert Filmer's radical and highly controversial book, *Partriarcha*, published in 1680, both codified and spread the seventeenth-century idea of the absolute power and authority of the father. Filmer links the idea of a patriarch with that of a monarch, discussing the monarch's fatherly right "to dispose of the life of his child contrary to the will of the magistrates or people."[59] While Filmer's assertion that the king, as the father of the people, had absolute authority was not easily accepted in the turbulent years after the English Civil War, the conflation of authority with family was a common eighteenth-century trope. John Locke argues against Filmer, claiming that patriarchal authority only accrues to one's immediate parents, but he also accepts the idea

57 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.75.
58 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, II.461.
59 Sir Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and other Writings*, ed Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 18-9.

that the natural growth of cities and governments is based on a patriarchal model.[60] Daniel Defoe invokes this style of patriarchal authority in *Robinson Crusoe*, where Friday's relationship to Crusoe is like that of "a child to a father . . . he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine."[61]

The eighteenth-century ideal of hierarchy as a familial relationship informs both Swift's relationships with his own superiors and his manner of presiding over his parish. His filial respect to his superiors can be seen in his interactions with Harley, the first Earl of Oxford, sometime Lord of the Treasury, and one of Swift's most illustrious patrons. Swift indignantly refused a monetary reward for his services but accepted dinner invitations and the illusion of belonging to the high-ranking men in Harley's political circle. Although Swift saw their relationship as familial and familiar he did not see them as equals, but wrote of Harley as having "always treated me with the tenderness of a parent" and "never refused me any favor I asked for a friend."[62] This letter reveals the way in which Swift saw familial hierarchy working in his own life.

Swift acted as a deferential and dutiful son to his superiors and a kindly and generous father and friend to the equals and inferiors who composed his parish family. Whether his generosity should come in the form of money or the more genteel and familial form of recommendations to higher positions, fatherly advice, and guidance depended on the strength of the relationship and the distance between equal and inferior. Swift gave money to beggars, but the inferiors closer to his station he helped with "letters of recommendation to several eminent persons,"[63] such as he provided for Matthew

60 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London, 1728), 56-7.
61 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, edited by Angus Ross (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 211-2.
62 Letter to Archbishop King, March 8, 1711. Swift, *Correspondence*, I.215.
63 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 86.

Pilkington, and positions where they could work toward their own advancement. In his relations with both superiors and inferiors Swift expected to be recognized for his genius, but he also recognized his superiors.

Swift enjoyed exercising his authority, and acting as a patron. To those who were willing to recognize Swift's innate genius and treat him in the manner that he desired Swift was a powerful and fiercely partisan helper. To his political dependents as well as to his church Swift took the position of a loving patriarch. His corrections could be harsh, his sermons biting, but his hands were open to give and his pen was always ready to smooth the way for a member of his flock.[64]

Charity, for Swift, was a direct command from God, not a vague command to love one another, but a "limited and strictly practical" way of living.[65] He believed that men were fallen and disgusting creatures, but the biblical command was clear: men should give their worldly goods to those in need. Even "the poorest Person is not excused from doing Good to others," Swift declared in his sermon "On the Poor Man's Contentment."[66] Charity was "the highest standard for human behavior"[67] and although he did not practice it openly, Swift made a regular habit of charitable giving. Although known to be parsimonious, and vociferous in his hatred of beggars, Swift's private charity sat in ill accord with his public denunciations. His housekeeper informed Mrs. Pilkington that Swift chose to "debar himself of what he calls the superfluities of life, in order to administer to the necessities of the distressed."[68] Victoria Glendinning estimates that he

64 Gilbert, *Jonathan Swift: Romantic and Cynic Moralist*, 45.
65 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 59.
66 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 197.
67 Kathleen Williams, *Jonathan Swift & the Age of Compromise* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1968), 87.
68 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 64.

"gave away about a third of his income to charity."[69] Swift's thriftiness was in part due to his practice of charity. He was not a wealthy man, and it was some time before his shrewd investments could both keep him in comfort and allow him to benefit others without inconveniencing himself.[70]

Charitable deeds did not alter Swift's harsh nature. He could be as brusque and unkind in giving charity as he was in delivering chastisement. In one recorded instance when distributing alms to the beggars in his church Swift refused one beggar woman because she offered him "a very dirty hand." Although he had given money to all the rest, and despite her evident need, "he told her very gravely: 'That though she was a beggar, water was not so scarce but she might have washed her hands.'"[71] Despite his unkindness of manner, Swift's impulse was toward giving, and he was always eager, indeed he felt it his duty "to use all my little Credit towards helping forward Men of Worth,"[72] a subject often repeated in his sermons.

Swift was patient with those who he felt were actually incapable rather than ignorant. Although normally "the sternest of judges, [he] softened his criticism for the incompetent."[73] Impatient as he was with slowness or stupidity in conversation, Swift willingly read literature drafts by aspiring writers and recommended them to friends. He made "many efforts on behalf of those whom he felt were deserving,"[74] even when, like the young George Berkeley, these young men proved incapable of capitalizing on the opportunities that Swift provided.

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69 Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift: A Portrait*, 148.
70 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age,* III.324-5.
71 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington,* 50.
72 Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella,* ed Harold Williams (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), II.659.
73 Charles Whibley, *Jonathan Swift* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 354.
74 Gilbert, *Jonathan Swift: Romantic and Cynic Moralist*, 45.

Despite what some have characterized as misanthropic impulses,[75] Swift understood the importance of loving one another, and his sermons emphasize fraternity, charity, and "Brotherly Love." The misanthropic tendencies which Swift embraced in his later life were firmly directed toward the faceless mass of humanity, whereas individuals were given the benefit of Swift's charitable openness. Anyone who cringed and irritated the Dean, he called "a blockhead," but those who amused the Dean or stood up to his teasingly tormenting behavior became his favorites.[76] Both friends and strangers were the beneficiaries of Swift's casual charity, which he used as an example to his parishioners.

Swift set an example to his parishioners by administering charity to others and carrying out his assigned duties. He also taught them more directly by giving sermons, and by tutoring people, especially women, in better methods of speech and writing. Although Swift was a harsh teacher, many people sought to learn from him. Swift was one of the few men of his age who believed in education for women.[77] He was willing, even eager, to teach, and as his reputation grew women flocked to learn from him. "To be taught by Swift," however strict and however cruel he might have been, "was an accolade for any lady."[78] Of the women who he took under his wing, several took their cue from Swift and became writers in their own right. Stella wrote and published poetry. Letitia Pilkington's *Memoirs* of her time with Swift kept her solvent after her husband abandoned her. Both of these received Swift's help and encouragement. To the women whom he saw as both his students and his friends Swift was especially attentive.

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75 Robert Mahoney, "Certainty and Irony in Swift: Faith and the Indeterminate," *Swift as Priest and Satirist*, ed Todd C. Parker (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2009), 37.
76 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 56.
77 Herbert Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and other Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 60.
78 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character,* 64.

Although he has been accused of abandoning Stella for Vanessa and the gaiety of the city, "it is quite clear that he wrote a great many more letters"[79] than any of his friends overseas, and did his best to maintain the friendly relationship.

Strict he certainly was, in relation to both his servants and his students, but his strictness was the product of his firm belief in the efficacy of his methods and the necessity of keeping a firm hand upon the reins. Those who shrunk from him or who misunderstood him he despised but those who took his discipline in the spirit in which it was meant became Swift's closest companions. Letitia Pilkington asks: "who that knew him could take offence at his bluntness?"[80] She and the other women who formed Swift's circle understood that a word of praise from Swift was always unfeignedly delighted, and that "those that responded well to this curriculum" were treated to the sight of Swift "at his gayest and most ardent."[81] In "Cadenus and Vanessa" Swift both praises and justifies his interest in teaching women, explaining that a master loved to see his pupils succeed at their studies, and

> That innocent Delight he took
>
> To see the Virgin mind her Book,
>
> Was but the Master's secret Joy
>
> In School to hear the finest Boy. (550-3) [82]

Swift's behavior to his students was harsh but he believed that it was necessary, and he was no more scornful of his students than his guests. His sharp tongue and cutting

79 G. K. Chesterton, "Contradicting Thackeray," *Lunacy and Letters*, ed Dorothy Collins (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 177.
80 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 68.
81 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 64.
82 Jonathan Swift, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), II.704.

wit were turned on everyone without discrimination, and students who were unwilling or unable to live up to his expectations were “made to squirm under black glares and hideous rages”[83] as well as physical punishment. Mrs. Pilkington reports the “black and blue flowers” that she “received at his hands.”[84] He was unorthodox and often unkind and his methods to improve his student's performance rarely gentle.

Whether Swift was the immediate teacher or merely watching others learn, he struggled to maintain his temper and his patience. The church choir was an especial source of frustration to Swift. The choir, a group of boys under the direction of Swift's choir-master, was both a necessary part of the church and a separate group not completely under Swift's authority. Although he recognized the choir as among the assets to his congregation, and supported the choir-master's request for an increase in salary, he was continually plagued by misbehavior among the choristers.[85] Even in his last years as Dean Swift was still writing to complain that the dignity of the church was affected by the public lack of respect among members of the church choir.[86] The choir was an important part of the church's public facade, and Swift worked hard to maintain its appearance and ability.

In addition to teaching the laypeople, Swift acted as guide and mentor to the young clerics and preachers in his parish. Having met, liked, and been impressed by the intelligence of Matthew Pilkington, Swift's response was to ask “him to preach one Sunday at the Cathedral.”[87] Other preachers were already assigned to him, and those

83 Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 64.
84 Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 75.
85 Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 111.
86 Ewald, *The Masks of Jonathan Swift*, 176.
87 Walter & Clare Jerrold, *Five Queer Women* (New York: Brentano's Ltd, 1929), 285.

Swift guided in how to sermonize, eventually writing a pamphlet so that his instructions could be sent to all those young clerics he wished to teach. Swift was intensely interested in the process of writing and giving sermons, and his pamphlet, "A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately entered into Holy Orders," written under the guise of a concerned layman, shows some of the errors that he saw his own priests falling into. This pamphlet was written both to improve the sermons preached in Swift's own parish of St. Patrick's and to expand Swift's circle of students to a wider audience.

Sermons and Writings for the Parish

Although Swift's sermons never managed to satisfy his own critical standards, as the Dean of St. Patrick's he was a popular preacher, and his sermons were well attended.[88] Something of Swift's technique must have been learned in his first living, where he spent two years before returning to his place with William Temple, but his comments on preaching suggest that he learned as much from listening to others as through his own experience. As the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Swift used his sermons to instruct his parishioners in "what is their Duty."[89]

Clergymen must learn how to speak clearly and well "for want of which early Warning, many Clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous" (64). Swift was always careful of his dignity, demanding respect from both social inferiors and superiors, a tendency which could be infuriating to those who felt themselves his equals or betters. Swift's warning to young clergymen that unclear speech can lead to ridicule reveals one of his own fears, possibly the result of an early attempt at public speaking or simply

88 Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.75.
89 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 70. In the following section references to this source are incorporated parenthetically within the text.

gleaned from watching others stumble over words and phrases and empathizing with the audience.

In addition to clarity of speech, Swift recommends that young preachers “acquire a Stile” (232) of speaking. In order to determine how to adapt his style to his audience, Swift tells his readers, he has attended and listened to many other sermons and taken down lists of words and phrases which preachers use that the laypeople surrounding him completely fail to understand. Young clergymen may be tempted to prove their knowledge by “frequent use of obscure terms” (233), but when none of their audience understands their words, the argument has the opposite effect. Use of technical terminology can be used to obscure a lack of knowledge, and Swift's instructions suggest that any question suitable to preach on in front of a group of laypeople is also capable of being translated into layman's terms.

Swift's insistence on simplicity extends to the subjects of sermons. As has been mentioned, Swift preferred to focus on the day-to-day questions of religion, discovering what the instructions in the Bible mean when applied to the practicalities of everyday life and leaving the paradoxical theological questions such as the inherent division and unity within the Trinity to the schooled divines, a group which he did not feel to include the ordinary clergyman. Swift's interpretation suggested that God gave men unsolvable mysteries in part to encourage them to trust him without questioning. “Neither did our Savior think it necessary to explain to us the Nature of God; because, as I suppose, it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other Faculties than we possess at present” (244), Swift reasons, but he does not insist that others agree with him in this

interpretation. He was happy to let other men study theology and try to solve the puzzles and discover the mysteries so long as they did not allow it into their preaching.

Whatever young divines may understand, or believe that they understand, Swift insists that they are not "directed in the Canons, or Articles, to attempt explaining the Mysteries of the Christian Religion" (249). The "bulk of the common people" (252) neither need nor want to hear these mysteries told. They need to hear what they are to do, and how they are to do it. As Swift tells his readers, the purpose of preaching is "to tell People what is their Duty; and then to convince them that it is so" (240). In order to carry out these tasks a preacher use the language that is intelligible to the common people. Swift takes the chambermaid as the lowest common denominator, using the example of Lord Falkland (233) who would test his works on his chambermaid.

One part of adjusting one's speech to the ability of the hearers is the use of proper sources and citations. While it may be perfectly normal to discuss the latest theological writers among other clergymen or young divines, the same is not true when speaking to the congregation (246). Swift actively encourages his readers to use the works of the ancient pagan writers in their sermons, insisting that despite their lack of understanding of the true religion the ancients understood the building blocks on which Christianity was built. "Even that Divine Precept of loving our Enemies, is at large insisted on by *Plato*" (243) Swift declares, and if the ancient philosophers could understand that divine command they are capable of understanding and explaining other difficult matters. Although their system of morality "falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel" (243) that does not make their teachings useless or give preachers license to

abuse them in sermons, as has been done.

Although Swift encourages clergymen to respect the ancient writers and to include their teachings in sermons, he has the opposite response to modern writers. Indeed, even though he defends the ancient writers, Swift discourages clergymen from quoting these writers in sermons, and he is even harsher in his condemnation of those who continually quote modern philosophers and divines. No matter how brilliant the modern philosophies may be, clergymen should write sermons on their own authority and that of the Bible. To "mention Modern Writers by Name" he claims, "is altogether intolerable" (246) and to quote them worse. While modern writers may be brilliant, the church authorities and writers "appear to be rather most excellent holy Persons, than of transcendent Genius and Learning" (245), and this is the example which clergymen have been set to follow.

Genius does not matter to a clergyman. Goodness does. Brilliance is not a requirement in sermons. The showy quotations which Swift had heard and mocked contribute little to the morality or the understanding of the congregation. Modern philosophical speculation is useless to a preacher and a rhetorician, no matter how fascinating it may be to the young men just graduating from a school of divinity. You "cannot be too sparing" with quotations, Swift tells his audience, then pauses and corrects himself. You cannot be too sparing with quotations "except from Scripture, and the primitive Writings of the Church" (245). Even there Swift thinks that it is better to create one's own argument than to simply "turn over a Concordance" and "introduce as much of the Verse as will serve your turn," but he is willing to admit that "interweaving Texts of

Scripture through the Style of your Sermon" can be a useful and effective method (246).

The beliefs and teachings in Swift's sermons are of a piece with his straightforward, practical approach to both writing and religion. Through his sermons Swift hopes to better the world, and he does so through clear, precise advice as to how his parishioners should act. Swift also published "A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately entered into Holy Orders," giving advice on how to write sermons and a picture of how he wrote his own. As described in the "Letter," Swift's method was careful, methodical, and included a typical combination of scorn and careful concern toward his lower-class audience.

Swift felt that his sermons should "tell People what is their Duty," "convince them that it is so," and help them to carry it out.[90] The first part of his duty was, therefore, to discover what men's duties were. An orthodox Christian, Swift's beliefs were formed through his studies at Trinity and his careful reading of the *Bible* and the *Book of Common Prayer*. The structure of his prayers for Stella show his debt to the *Book of Common Prayer* and his care to retain the orthodox structure of prayer.[91] It is here that Swift shows "at his best as an Anglican priest" and theologian.[92] Swift's sermons, contrarily, bear more resemblance to his political pamphlets than to "the main stream of eighteenth-century" sermonizing and theology, which focused on "ethical preaching" and abstract subjects.[93]

Writing and giving sermons was an important part of priestly life, and "one

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90 Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces,* ed Herbert Davis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), 70.
91 Swift. *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 253-6.
92 João Fróes, "Swift's Prayers for Stella: The Other Side of the Satirist," *Swift Studies* (2003), 59.
93 Arthur Pollard, *English Sermons* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1963), 31.

important way Swift exercised what limited authority he possessed" as an Irish priest.[94] In these sermons Swift emphasized brotherly love, communal duty, and the function of social hierarchy. These virtues, as Swift taught them, were practical and moral, relating directly to the lives of the men who surrounded him. Swift compared his sermons to political pamphlets, which told his parishioners exactly what he wanted them to do.[95] Although Swift's sermons range over diverse subjects, all of them stress the importance of hierarchy to political, social, and religious life, and the way in which religious duty to one's neighbors involves finding and conforming to one's hierarchical position. Swift spoke as an authoritative father giving advice and commands to his recalcitrant children.

As Ball notes, Swift's sermons were "written with some direct philanthropic or political purpose." Sometimes that purpose dealt only with the duty of his parishioners. Other times he included himself in his audience. "On the Wretched Condition of Ireland" is the sermon that deals most immediately with Swift's own duty as the Dean of St. Patrick's and which provides the justification for his interest in teaching others. Swift touches on problems he has already discussed in his pamphlets: the hardships of life under English rule, the general disdain for Ireland and Irish goods, and the vanity and luxury of men and women who buy products from abroad, but the main thrust of this sermon is "to give some Directions concerning the Poor of this City."[96] Swift claims that if his parishioners would teach the children of the poor, they could "abolish that Part of Barbarity and Ignorance, for which our Natives are so despised . . . bring them to think and act according to the Rules of Reason" and introduce "a Spirit of Industry, and Thrift,

94 Todd C. Parker, "'The Idlest Trifling Stuff that Ever was Writ,' or, Why Swift Hated his Sermons," *Swift as Priest and Satirist*, ed Todd C. Parker (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 61.
95 Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and other Studies*, 221.
96 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 202.

and Honesty" (202). All of these things, he emphasizes, can be done by remedying one fault: the lack of proper schooling for Irish children. As has been seen already, Swift made it his business to teach his parishioners, and he saw it as their duty to spread that knowledge by helping to build schools and by encouraging the poor to attend.

Because they are not given a proper education, the children of the Irish poor lie, steal, cheat, and forget the respect they owe to their betters. These faults, which, Swift says, will cause the nation's "utter Ruin" (200), are most evident in Irish beggars and servants. Most beggars, Swift claims, "owe their present Poverty to their own Faults."[97] They have squandered their own wealth and now wander from city to city, draining the resources of others. The few beggars whose position is not their own fault are unable to gain enough charity to care for themselves because the sheer number of undeserving beggars prevents the attention which would have saved them. Swift's own charity focused on those who did more than just beg. He looked for the poor women, who could not earn enough to feed themselves, and "paid for every half-penny-worth, at least sixpence" or "added something to their stock: with strict charges of industry and honesty."[98]

Swift did not want to stop people from giving to beggars. He wanted to regulate that giving so that those who were most deserving gained the most. Swift had already written a tract suggesting that beggars should be restricted to their home parish. This way the community which had failed them would be responsible for their upkeep. In this sermon he reiterates his advice and prophesies a dire future for those who continue to ignore him. The beggars who clutter the streets clamoring for alms they do not deserve

97 Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 206.
98 Patrick Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writing of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1754), 132-3.

prevent the deserving poor from gaining the means to live.

These beggars, and even worse, uneducated servants, form “the greatest part of our Thieves, Pickpockets, and other Vagabonds” (203). Swift claims that servants are “the Causes and Instruments” (204) of all the misfortunes of private families. Because of their “Undutifulness” (204), servants spread “Folly and Ignorance” “Fraud and Knavery,” and a “wasteful squandering Temper.” (203) Poor children should be “bred up in such a manner as would give them a teachable Disposition” (204), able to recognize and obey authority and willing to learn. This will make them “good, honest, [and] diligent” and would “prevent Abundance of Mischief in the Family” (205).

The poor, like the wealthy and middle-class members of the parish to whom this sermon was primarily addressed, should be taught to know, love, and serve God. They should be taught their duty, and all of the knowledge they will need to carry out that duty. Unfortunately, Swift points out, the poor are given no such education. Is it any wonder, he asks, that the faults of these poor children grow to not only destroy their own peace and prosperity but to infect all of Ireland with the vices of the poor?

Swift's “On Doing Good” is also an extension of an existing set of pamphlets, in this case his famous *Drapier's Letters*.[99] Although this sermon was, “as he termed it himself, a pamphlet against Wood's halfpence,”[100] it also deals with Swift's hierarchical themes: the duty of every man to his neighbor, the importance of both rich and poor, and God's judgment on those who abuse their authority. “On the Martyrdom of King Charles I” and “On the Testimony of Conscience” stress the importance of following political and

99 Swift's *Drapier's Letters* were written against a patent given to William Wood granting him the right to privately manufacture a new and, Swift believed, inferior, copper coinage. These letters inspired a popular boycott against Wood's half-pence and the patent was finally withdrawn.

100 Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and other Studies*, 221.

religious hierarchies respectively while “On Brotherly Love” implies that the lower class's meddling with politics has been the root of many of the world's evils.[101] Duty and position are submerged themes in “On the Difficulty of Knowing One's Self,” which discusses the rule which governs behavior towards others, and “On False Witness,” which explains witnessing as a duty to man's authorities.

As a preacher, Swift encouraged his parishioners to obey religious as well as temporal authority. “On the Wisdom of this World” shows the triumph of scriptural authority over modern philosophy, and “On Sleeping in Church” is a clear plea for common men and women to listen to and respect scriptural and priestly authority. “On the Trinity” focuses on the duty that we owe to God and our service to him. Swift claims that we should not seek to understand the Trinity because we have a duty to subject ourselves and to simply have faith. Swift declares that God has made humans incapable of understanding the mysteries of faith, that the constitution of the Trinity is “a Mystery which God intended to keep secret from us”[102] in order that we should learn to trust in his authority and his word. Although he was unable to choose the subject of his sermon on the Trinity, Swift refused to explain the church doctrines. Instead, Swift spends some time separating Scriptural quotation from doctrinal interpretation. Swift uses the opportunity of speaking on the Trinity to cement in his listeners the importance of hierarchy and of obedience to God and to priestly authority.

In “On the Poor Man's Contentment” Swift argues that “with respect to their Happiness in this World and their Capacity of attaining their Salvation in the next” (190),

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101Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 177.
102Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 168.

the poor are more blessed than the rich. This blessedness only accrues, however, to "the honest, industrious" (191) and deserving poor, those who know their own position in the hierarchy which God has established, and fulfill their duties within that hierarchy. These poor folk are in a happier position than the rich due to superior health and fewer responsibilities. Although even "the poorest Person is not excused from doing Good to others" (197) it is the rich men, Swift explains, who bear the greatest responsibility, being bound to protect, encourage, and support their poor brethren. This sermon purports to be an encouragement to the poor, but ends as a reminder of Swift's hierarchical design for society.

Swift expands on his ideas of subjection and authority in his sermon "On Mutual Subjection," where he separates hierarchy and duty. He draws his text from 1 Peter 5:5 "Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all *of you* be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." Swift focuses on the central order in the verse: "*Yea, all of you be subject one to another*" (141). The verse seems to forecast a call for equality, but Swift turns this text into the basis for a sermon on the necessity of hierarchy.

"On Mutual Subjection" begins by reminding Swift's listeners that Paul, the same apostle who here commands Christians to submit themselves to one another, also gives instructions about the proper behavior of "the subject to the prince, the child to his parent, the servant to his master, the wife to her husband, and the younger to the elder" (141). Without a defined hierarchy, Swift asserts, "there would be nothing but everlasting Variance in the World" (145). And yet, the submission which this verse calls for is not a

mere lip-service to humility which "some of those who explain this Text" (142) suppose. The Bible makes it clear that "God hath contrived all the works of nature to be useful, and in some manner a support to each other" and so, Swift extrapolates, "we are obliged to act as far as our Power reacheth, towards the Good of the whole Community" (142). This obligation, this duty, is one that drove Swift all his life. As a political writer he was bought by convincing arguments or by the charisma and personal connections that could convince him that he was doing right. As the Dean of St. Patrick's, freed from the necessity of adhering to a party, Swift taught, gave, and wrote in order to help to make the world a better place.

Man's mutual subjection is the necessity for each to look to others for help, and for each to give the help that they can to others. The particular virtues which each man has dictate what he can give. The Biblical parable of the talents,[103] of which Swift reminds his readers, says that to him who has more shall be given, and that from he who buries his talents even what he has shall be taken away. So it is, Swift declares, with wealth and power. Authority has been given to men by God so that it can be used for the benefit of men.

Authority, power, and wealth do not make their possessors better people, nor "more honorable in the Sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a Respecter of Persons" (142), but that does not mean that Swift believes that all men should be equal. God "hath assigned every Man his particular Station to be useful in Life" (143) and the beggar is acting in his station as much as the king, and to the same future glory. Submission is not given to those who are better, is not a reward for good behavior. It is a

103King James Bible. Matthew 25: 14-30; Luke 19:12-28.

necessary part of the government of nations. “Thus servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands” not because one is better than another, “but because otherwise there would be nothing but Confusion” (143). Without hierarchy, wives mistake their situation, contradict their husbands, and create chaos; servants do whatever they wish rather than what is most useful, and create confusion; and children run wild, destroy possessions, and fail to learn the lessons that will help them grow into God-fearing men and women.

Hierarchy gives men purpose. It gives them a station in life, a plan for their future, and a mentor to help them to become better people and to grow closer to God. By accepting their place in the world, men can take on duties and gain guidance. As children to their parents, “a Servant owes Obedience, and Diligence, and Faithfulness to his Master; from whom at the same time he hath a just Demand for Protection, and Maintenance, and gentle Treatment” (144). In a properly run world, servants give their service and their respect; beggars give gratitude and the promise to use their gifts for their betterment; and kings give their time and money to the service of their people. All have gifts to give, and all men should “rest contented in the several Stations of Life wherein God hath thought fit to place us” (147). All gifts have worth in God's plan, but without being used in the service of others even wisdom is not a blessing. Swift quotes from the wisest man in the world, King Solomon, saying that “in much wisdom *is* much sorrow”[104] without God's loving guidance. Wisdom should be used “to instruct the Ignorant, to be a faithful Counsellor either in public or private, to be a Director to Youth, and to many other Ends” (149). This conception of the duty of authority is the belief which Swift

104Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 148. This is Swift's own paraphrase of Ecclesiastes 1:18.

applied to himself as the Dean of St. Patrick's and shows the relationship that he believed was both possible and necessary to create with one's inferiors.

Swift and his Servants

The duties of a pastor and of the master of a household of servants were intertwined. As he did with his parishioners every Sunday, Swift "took care to read prayers to the whole household every evening,"[105] a traditional duty of the master in the familial model of servitude.[106] He felt it his duty to both servants and parishioners to teach them and to protect them as a father does his children. As the Dean, Swift was the father of his flock, following the divine command to "feed my sheep"[107] and as the head of his household he was in the position of a father to his servants.

Swift always kept servants, from the ubiquitous manservant Patrick when living in London lodgings to a complete staff at the Deanery. In 1715, two years after his removal to Ireland, Swift wrote that

> I live in the corner of a vast unfurnished house. My family consists of a steward, a groom, a helper in the stable, a footman, and an old maid, who are all at board wages . . . My amusements are defending my small dominions against the Archbishop, and endeavouring to reduce my rebellious choir.[108]

He also drew on "the cathedral staff" when he required extra help.[109] In addition, Swift mentions Mrs. Brent, his "Presbyterian housekeeper" who gave him advice.[110] Swift's

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105Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.324.
106J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), 99.
107King James Bible. John 21:16
108Letter to Alexander Pope. June 28, 1715. Swift, *Correspondence*, II.177.
109Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.32.
110Letter to Alexander Pope. April 20, 1731. Swift, *Correspondence*, III.458.

household was not stable, and he struggled with finding new servants and turning bad ones off – or seeing them run away. Ehrenpreis notes that although his housekeeper, Mrs. Brent, "was intelligent, honest, and dependable" and Robert, his valet, "was well trained," his groom, as had others before him, "turned out badly and was at last dismissed."[111]

After years in Dublin with his servants around him, Swift felt that he could not do without the "servants . . . which I have here at hand."[112] In 1734 he describes himself as living very simply, with only "three horses, two men and an old woman, in a large empty house."[113] Having become used to keeping at least three servants at all times, it is no wonder that Swift sometimes saw himself as a harried father, struggling to keep up with the mischief and misbehavior of his servants.

Two main ideas about relationships with servants circulated during the 18th century and Swift, as was his wont, followed the older model. His servants were part of the family. Indeed, one dictionary of the time defines "Family" as "father, mother, children, and servants."[114] As Kristina Straub explains, the "image of the domestic servant as a child to be taught came readily to the imagination of British readers."[115] Although there was a clear difference between children and servants, a man was in much the same position in relation to each, and had the same duty to love and cherish, to teach and correct, and to provide for his servants as he did for his children. This paradigm of

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111Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.322.
112Letter to Alexander Pope. July 8, 1733. Swift, *Correspondence*, IV.171.
113Letter to John Barber. March 1, 1734-5. Swift, *Correspondence*, IV.301.
114Abel Boyer, *Boyer's Royal dictionary abridged*, ed J.C. Prieur (London, 1797. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 10, 2011), image 587.
115Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 19.

relationships had been slowly growing throughout the history of domestic service. In 1589, Robert Cleaver wrote that a servant ought to act "as a dutiful child to his father,"[116] and by the 18th century, servants were consistently being discussed in the same language as were children.

Servants' role in society, however, was slowly altering away from the older, familial model and toward a more modern contractual model of service.[117] The 18th century was a "restless, transitional stage" and the ambitions of the country were reflected in every station of life, from the empire-building of kings to the aspirations of the servants to the status of gentlemen.[118] Servants were beginning to feel that they had a right to the tips and other "Perquisite[s]"[119] that were often given them, that their positions were flexible, and that they could take liberties in speaking to their social superiors. Daniel Defoe's pamphlets complain that servants "are so puffed up with Pride, now a Days" that they wish to be treated as equals to their masters.[120] Worse, servants often gave notice after only a short time in service, or left without giving notice, leaving their former masters searching for a new servant. Charities had been in place since the seventeenth century that gave money or other rewards to servants who remained with their masters for several years, and 18th-century writers often suggested that these establishments could be enlarged to provide servants with an incentive to remain in one position.[121] The increasing ambition and willfulness of servants was often blamed on "the

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116Robert Cleaver, *Godly Forme of Household Government*, (London, 1598), 387.
117Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, 71.
118E. S. Turner, *What the Butler Saw: Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Servant Problem* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1963), 14.
119Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 18.
120Daniel Defoe, *Every-Body's business, is No-Body's Business* (London, 1725. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. September 14, 2011), 4.
121Frank E. Huggett, *Life Below Stairs: Domestic Servants in England from Victorian Times* (London:

new framing of master-servant relations as being contractual" and the loss of an internalized hierarchy.[122]

Defoe explicitly defines a servant's behavior in relationship to "what it was in former times."[123] While previously servants knew their place and kept to it, now their "Sauciness, Drunkenness, and abusive Language" make servants a trial to their masters.[124] He traces this behavior back to one main cause: increasing wages. Defoe's complaints focus on the extravagant wages demanded by servants and the power that the increasing demand for servants gives. Because of this high demand, he points out, servants can get away with demanding high wages for light duties and with being saucy and unmannerly. Defoe's pamphlets are aimed at both employers and the government, asking that they gather together and "settle and limit their Wages" and to give encouragement to "Servants who should continue long in a Place," treating the family in which they serve as their own rather trading places to increase their wages.[125]

While some writers, like Defoe, created pamphlets aimed at employers and lawgivers, other writers created pamphlets to be read by servants.[126] One such is Haywood's *A present for a servant-maid*, which is addressed to "every Servant-Maid."[127] Haywood's book is less political and more immediately practical, containing advice such as to be humble and meek, and to "calculate the first Thing you do in the Morning . . .

John Murray, 1977), 113.

122Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, 9.

123Daniel Defoe, *The behaviour of servants in England* (London, 1726. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 14, 2011), 8.

124Defoe, *The behaviour of servants in England*, 14.

125Defoe, *Every-Body's business, is No-Body's Business*, 14.

126References to additional contemporary works on servants appear in the Appendix.

127Eliza Fowler Haywood, *A present for a servant-maid* (London, 1743. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 14, 2011), ii.

and contrive it so as it may come within as little Compass of Time as possible" so as to avoid both the accusation and the fact of laziness.[128]

A Present for Servants, although also purportedly addressed to servants, is much less focused on practical matters, instructing servants to "*mind chiefly where you may have the greatest advantages for your souls*."[129] The author insists on humility, saying that "God has not set you as Companions with your Masters, nor does he allow of a sawcy Carriage." (36) Most importantly for masters like Swift, this book emphasizes the master's religious duties toward his servants. In the prologue, addressed to the masters who will supposedly be distributing this book to their servants, the author insists that a man should act as "a Priest in his own Family," taking the responsibility for the souls as well as the bodies of his servants. (5) It is in this way, he says, that masters and servants should understand their obligations to one another, and for this reason that servants should be subject to their masters.

Swift's satirical *Directions to Servants* places him as a part of this group of writers who reacted against the contemporary and modern idea of servitude as a contractual system. He preferred to think of his servants as part of the older system of servitude, where the servants were considered part of the family, and where the master was considered to be responsible for his servants' souls. The contractual idea of service went completely against the grain for men used to the familial ideal, and explains why Swift, Defoe, and other writers were so vehement against servants who followed the contractual model. Men like Swift anticipated keeping their servants for years, often until the death

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128Haywood, *A present for a servant-maid*, 12.

129*A Present for Servants* (London, 1710. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. September 14 2011), image 32.

of either master or servant, a state of affairs which some sought to enforce by law.

Legislation relating to servants was under pressure during the 18th century. Old laws enforcing minimum one-year contracts were being contested and broken.[130] In order to control labor, the law was usually interpreted "to set maximum wage rates" (80). Labor-laws increased as a response to increasing conflicts, and "a series of important statutes enacted between 1720 and 1832" resulted in a body of law that "was considerably harsher toward workers than that of a century before" (82).

In order to keep control over his servants, and likely in response to the increasing legislation in Great Britain, Swift wrote a set of Laws "for his own servants, promulgated on 7 December 1733," in which he set out his most common complaints and the penalties he would inflict for them.[131] Swift's laws for his servants at the Deanery may seem to imply a contractual form of thinking, but in fact the behaviors they emphasize are those belonging to the older order.

One of the old beliefs slowly being worn away by the improving economic position of servants was the idea that "the servant's time, from the moment he was engaged, was supposed to belong to his master."[132] Of many points that Swift complained of, the most problematic for him was the fact that modern servants did not put themselves at their master's disposal, but used their time as if it were their own. He notes several methods by which servants steal time, and especially the fact that "servants sent on Messages, are apt to stay out somewhat longer than the Message requires, perhaps two,

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130Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 66.

131David Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 404.

132Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, 72.

four, six, or eight Hours" at a time.[133] Swift's laws emphasize the need for servants to be always ready to attend their master, making allowance for servant to have free time, but ascertaining that there will always be at least one servant available to keep the house and to tend to Swift's needs – a completely understandable concern given some of the tricks that Swift's manservant Patrick played on him in England.

Having finally been driven to create a contractual set of laws, Swift uses them to focus the servant's attention on Swift's place at the top of the hierarchy. Swift's insistence that "no servant shall presume to be absent without giving notice to the Dean, and asking leave"[134] is both a purely practical means of ensuring that he received prompt service and also a means of ensuring that his servants paid attention to his movements and were aware of his wishes. One clause near the end of the short document makes Swift's authoritarian stance clear. "Whatever other laws the Dean shall think fit to make, at any time to come" he says, "all the servants shall be bound to submit to."[135]

Swift enforced these laws by means of severe monetary penalties. According to Hecht, who examined newspaper advertisements, diaries, letters, and account books to determine the wages of the average servant, the average footman's wages in 1733 varied between 5 and 6 pounds a year, that is, between 23 and 27 pence a week.[136] Swift, who Ehrenpreis estimates paid Patrick 5 shillings, or 60 pence, a week,[137] was an exceedingly generous master, but his penalties reflected his correspondingly high expectations. If Swift found one of his men-servants drunk, he would dock him "an English crown," that

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133Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 8.
134Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 161.
135Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 162.
136Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, 144.
137Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, II.552.

is, 60 pence or a little less than 3 week's wages for the average servant. Leaving the house without Swift's permission caused him to forfeit “sixpence for every half-hour that he is absent” with even harsher penalties ensuing to the servant who left the house empty. Servants were also punished for neglect or disorder with a sixpence fine or worse at “the Dean's discretion.”[138]

Swift had every reason to complain of the audacity and villainy of servants. If we believe the portrait painted by Letitia Pilkington in her memoirs, Swift's own servants were rude, encroaching, and incompetent. Even in her first visit to the Dean's house she noted the misbehavior and “squabbling” of his servants.[139] His difficulties with his cook serve as the basis of several jokes by Mrs. Pilkington, and Swift himself often discusses servants in his letters. Swift's problems with servants went beyond simple insolence. As he gathered his staff in Dublin, he complained that “I am plagued to death with . . . servants; my Scotch groom ran away from me . . . and robbed me and several of the neighbourhood.”[140]

When we look at the long list of errors that Swift sees servants make and his suggested punishments, it is easy to view Swift only as a strict master, but the strictness which Swift showed to his servants was balanced by a corresponding leniency and feeling of duty to the men under him. No matter how much the behavior of his servants angered him, Swift was reluctant to turn them out onto the street, with the exception of one groom who made a drunken attack on Swift and whom Swift dismissed. During Swift's years in England, he kept Patrick for years after Swift's declaration that he “will

138Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 161.
139Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington*, 51.
140Letter to Knightley Chetwode. October 20, 1714. Swift, *Correspondence*, II.138.

positively turn him off to the wide world, when none of you are by to intercede for him."[141] Although Swift was often angry and disappointed in Patrick, he was also more than fair. His letters show his struggle between charity, amusement at his servant's antics, and fury at his constant drunkenness and disregard of Swift's requirements. He calls Patrick "that dog" (I.63 etc.) but also brags that Patrick is "an artist" at "denying me" (II.565) to unwelcome visitors. Despite such tricks as Patrick locking him out of his house (I.236), vanishing when Swift wanted to dress (I.280), and locking away his ink and quill (I.118), Swift kept the man on. It was not until Patrick himself chose to leave Swift's service that Swift felt himself relieved of his duty toward the man.

Swift's desire to lose his misbehaving servant may be nothing but hyperbole, as he makes the declaration early on in the *Journal* and does nothing towards getting rid of the man for years, but his reaction to Patrick's resignation contradicts this idea. Swift writes: "the Rogue Patrick left me these two Months to my great Satisfaction" and "I have got another, who seems to be much better" (II.436). Patrick, however, was not so satisfied. Nearly a year later, Swift writes that "Patrick has been soliciting to come to me again: but in vain" (II.565). It is possible that Patrick had been unable to find another job, but in the bustling London market, where a servant only expected to remain with a master "between three and four years," there was a constant demand for replacement labor.[142] Another, and more plausible explanation for Patrick's desire to return to his former master is Swift's characteristic generosity. He paid his servants "high wages, with extra money for special duties"[143] and permitted them plenty of time to themselves so long as his own needs were

141Swift, *Journal to Stella*, I.28-9.
142Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*, 82.
143Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.33.

tended. The careful specification of when each servant could leave and for how long laid out in his "Laws" shows that Swift was aware that his servants desired time to themselves, and gave it to them willingly.

Despite Swift's strictness with his servants, he was close to his servants and they were loath to leave him. The wit and scorn with which he treated his servants was evidently habitual, friendly, and accepted by them in that spirit. At one point in his *Journal to Stella* he writes that "Patrick has been out of favour these ten days; I talk dry and cross to him" and scornfully says that he has "called him friend three or four times" well aware that Patrick will take the change from his usual brusque manner as the insult he intends.[144] His two closest servants at the Deanery were Alex McGee and Mrs. Ridgeway "and Sheridan tells of another servant, Blakely, who was in tears when Swift threatened to dismiss him."[145] Swift felt genuine affection toward his servants and treated them with "so much real consideration (under his scolding and teasing) that he rarely saw one leave him voluntarily."[146] Swift was especially close to McGee, who Swift considered a friend as well as a servant. When McGee died in 1722, Swift wrote "I have the best servant in the world dying in the house, which quite disconcerts me. He was the first good one I have had, and I am sure will be the last. I know few greater losses in life."[147] He gave McGee a "gentleman's funeral" and put up a tablet in own cathedral as a memorial. Ehrenpries notes that Swift's original intention had been to commend McGee not as a servant, but as a "friend and servant," but he was persuaded otherwise, possibly

144Swift, *Journal to Stella*, I.180-1.
145Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography*, 404.
146Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.33.
147Letter to Knightley Chetwode. March 13, 1721-22. Swift, *Correspondence*, II.422.

by Sheridan,[148] and his final inscription runs:

> Here lieth the body of Alexander McGee, servant to Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. His grateful master caused this monument to be erected in memory of his discretion, fidelity and diligence in that humble station.[149]

Friendship was not a part of the ideal relationship between master and servant, but caring and even love were. Swift was close to his servants, although none so much or so publicly as McGee. He referred to his servants familiarly in his letters and often by name. He refers to Patrick in his Letters to Stella, and Tom,[150] his footman at the Deanery. He took to calling his cook "Sweet-heart,"[151] an affectionate if ironic name for a woman who he describes as "old and ugly."[152] Swift's relations with his servants were companionable. He lived in the midst of them, and talked to them as to equals. His was an eighteenth-century household, not the Victorian household which first springs to the modern mind.

Swift cared for his servants and his parishioners in similar ways. He used his sermons and his influence to encourage learning in his parishioners and to encourage them to teach the poor who would become their servants. He points out in *Directions to Servants* that most "can neither write nor read"[153] and that if they could they would not only be better people for it, having learned the discipline that school teaches, but also more useful to their masters. This appeal both to servants and their masters asks that servants may be taught their reading, writing, and arithmetic and learn not only the basics

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148Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.323.
149Anthony W. Lee, *Mentoring in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 77.
150Letter to Knightley Chetwode. July 7, 1715. Swift, *Correspondence*, II.181.
151Letter to Archdeacon Walls. December 6, 1716. Swift, *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, II.228.
152Letter to Knightley Chetwode. October 20, 1714. Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, II.138.
153Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 12.

of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also the self-discipline and the refinement that attends such learning. He recommends schooling for both servants and all the poor of the parish, indeed all the poor of the kingdom, so that the young boys and girls may grow into men and women who will bring glory and honor to Ireland. The directions he gives in this sermon show how seriously he takes his duties, and how much of his duty he sees as ministering to the poor as well as to the wealthy of his parish.

Indeed, Swift said that "I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned,"[154] and his method of writing bears this out. One characteristic of all Swift's works is their clarity and "economy of phrase."[155] This clarity comes in part from his habit of reading his works out "in the presence of two men servants from his household" to make certain that they could understand his ideas, and, perhaps, at the same time to impart those ideas to the family of servants with whom he lived.[156]

Servants in Swift's Writing

Swift's interest in hierarchy, and specifically hierarchical relations with servants, is clear in many of his works. His own status depended on who he speaking to, and his writings reflect his perception of his status. Servants were an important part of his authoritarian circle, and his writing often contains or discusses the position of servants in relationship to their superiors. Swift's maid-servant poems, with their "air of garrulity"[157] and servant narrator, are one example of how Swift looked at hierarchy boundaries. Frances Harris' dependence on the generosity of her master and mistress, Mary's struggle

154Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 203.
155Whibley, *Jonathan Swift*, 369.
156Shesgreen, "Swift, Reynolds, and the Lower Orders," 201.
157Pat Rogers, "Comic maid-servants in Swift and Smollett: The proverbial idiom of Humphry Clinker," *Papers on Language and Literature* 39.3 (2003), 308-9.

to express herself "in a civil way," without insolence,[158] and Hannah's dependence on her mistress for her own status[159] demonstrate Swift's continual struggle to articulate the ways in which servants ought to behave.

Gulliver's Travels is another fascinating example of Swift working out the principles of servitude. In each of his fantastical stops, Gulliver deals with hierarchical reality. In Lilliput, he signs articles intended to make him "a useful Servant."[160] In Brobdingnag, Gulliver first serves as the amusement of a small, lower-class family, and then as the attendant of the queen, with his own servant to care for him. In Laputa, Gulliver finds only the women and the servants capable of coherent conversation, and discovers that his own status sinks through association with these groups. In Balnibarbi, servants are not dealt with directly, but Swift takes care to mention how the governors' actions affect their laborers and other men under them. In Glubbdubdrib Gulliver sees how "Cruelty, Falsehood, and Cowardice" grew by the inter-mixture of "Pages, Lacqueys, Valets, Coachmen," and other servants with noble families. (199) In Luggnagg, the prince's improper behavior to his subjects is shown by his harshness to his noble subjects, who must lick the floor before his throne, and his leniency to his page, who is not punished for having killed "a young lord of great hopes." (205) Finally, with the Houyhnhnms, Gulliver discovers that his own greatest happiness is found when he takes the place of a servant to these virtuous masters.

These examples are only a few of the many ways in which Swift integrates servitude into his writing. Servants not only form a part of Swift's message in these larger

158"Mary the Cook-Maid's Letter," Swift, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, III.985.
159"The Grand Question Debated," Swift, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, III.866-873.
160Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, 44.

works; they are also the subject of both exhortation and satire in their own right. The difference between Swift's satiric style and the style that he associated with pamphlets, or with the sermons that he discussed as pamphlets,[161] is partially due to his perception of hierarchy, and his right to authority. Swift's prose falls generally into two types: satires and pamphlets. In this division, he puts his sermons with his pamphlets, because his sermons, like his pamphlets, are eminently practical, suggesting exercises and behaviors which will, he claims, fix problems in society. His satires offer no such hope. Swift's satires point out a problem, not a solution. Instead of introducing solutions in his satire, Swift used pamphlets, tracts, and sermons to suggest solutions to the problems which he exposed in his satires.

The division between his satires and his sermons is connected to his audience. He was denigrated by those in political power, but he received the authority and acclamation that he craved in his position as the Dean of St. Patrick's and in his relationships with his friends, who "vastly valued" him.[162] With his friends, the servants under his authority, and his parish, Swift could give direct orders. His sermons are "plain and business-like, straightforward and sparing of decoration."[163] The rest of the world, he felt, required a lighter touch. The structure of his sermons, when compared to that of his satires, demonstrates the difference between his fatherly relations to his parishioners and his scornful disdain for his literary "equals." Despite these differences, Swift's message is unchanged. His sermons do not express any new ideas or facts, but instead "say very plainly and gravely what the satirical writings express with enormous ingenuity and

161Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and other Studies*, 221.
162Dark, *Five Deans*, 129.
163Pollard, *English Sermons*, 30.

levity."[164]

Swift needed to be heard because the values of the world around him were backwards, and he could help to set them right. Swift's passionate sense of justice, right and wrong, and the proper way to behave in society expresses itself through both fervent declarations of his true beliefs in his sermons and pamphlets and the humorous inversions of virtue seen in his satires. His satires and his sermons deal with many of the same issues: the failure and problems of the political system, the insufficiencies of the human mind, even the topic of Wood's half-pence. One topic of both his satires and his pamphlets was the issue of hierarchy, and of servitude. Swift's interest in the behavior of servants surfaced early in his life as he began to understand the hierarchical relationships which made up his world. He used servants as a way to understand the lower classes, a fact that he points out in the "Letter to a Young Gentleman," where he reads his sermon to a chambermaid to make certain it is understandable, a practice that he, in fact, carried out with his footmen at the deanery.[165]

His interest in servants may have been inspired in part by his own position as a secretary to William Temple. Although Temple treated him well, his position in the household was that of a hired worker, in fact, a servant. That status inspired him to look more closely at the lives of servants, and he began drafting what now survives as the *Directions to Servants* in 1704, while living with Temple.[166] Having gained insight into the character of servants through long experience, Swift wrote a set of laws for his own servants, a sermon, a pamphlet, and a satire.

164Dennis, *Jonathan Swift: A Short Character*, 36.
165Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 65.
166Davis, "Introduction," *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces,* xx-xxi.

Swift's pamphlet, the "Duty of Servants at Inns," is short, sincere, and direct. He points out briefly the duties that accrue to servants at inns or when accompanying their master away from their own home. These servants are commanded to put their master first, to do everything for his comfort, and to trust no duty to foreign servants.[167] This short piece may have provided the inspiration for his letter to grooms in the satirical *Directions to Servants,* where Swift advises grooms accompanying their master to inns to do as little as possible, and to direct the inn staff to take over as many of his duties as he can get away with (47).

While the list of "laws" that Swift wrote for his servants is punitive, it is not nearly so long or so detailed as either his sermon *On the Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland* or the *Directions to Servants*. *Directions to Servants*, although purportedly aimed at servants, is nothing like the vast mass of eighteenth-century literature written to servants.[168] Swift's book is entertaining and engaging, but offers no sincere advice and may be read as much as a warning to masters that these are the problems that they must watch out for as a warning to servants that these are faults they ought to avoid. Like *A Modest Proposal*, which is meant as much for English as Irish consumption, *Directions to Servants* is a general satire, elliptically warning about egregious wrongs but offering no sincere remedy.

Swift's ideas about servants, expressed through his two primary styles, can be seen in these two works. He wrote one satirically and one sincerely, the satire exposing the faults the sermon intended to cure. In his sermon, Swift complains of many great and

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167Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces,* 164.
168See Appendix.

general faults, while the *Directions to Servants* illustrates and expands upon these faults. The sermon accuses servants of sloth; the book begins by advising servants to avoid work and to "Never submit to stir a finger in any business but that for which you were particularly hired."[169] The sermon accuses servants of theft and embezzlement; the book suggests several ways of cheating your master, whether by paying more for an item than it's worth or simply taking whatever "you can pilfer in the day"(7) to share with your fellow servants. The sermon talks about servants wasting and destroying property; the book assumes that servants will do so and suggests ways to hide their faults.

An important fault that Swift critiques in the *Directions to Servants* but not in his sermon is uncleanliness. A fault that Swift points out time and again in his *Directions to Servants*, uncleanliness is part of the disgusting nature of the human body that Swift satirizes in his poetry and prose. His complaints in the *Directions to Servants* echo those he made to his own servants. Swift says in a letter that "I pulled Tom's locks the wrong way for holding a plate under his armpit,"[170] one of many complaints which he levels against footmen in the *Directions to Servants*.[171] Although uncleanliness is a fault that Swift hated, it is not a spiritual danger, as are the other faults Swift discusses in his sermon. The *Directions to Servants* is full of filth, but Swift leaves this purely secular criticism out of his sermon.

Confederacy is a stranger fault, and one which is hinted at in the sermon when Swift suggests that robbery and murder are carried out "by Confederacy with our Servants."[172] In the *Directions to Servants* this confederacy becomes more explicit, and

169Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 9.
170 Letter to Knightely Chetwode. July 7, 1715. Swift, *Correspondence*, II.181.
171Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 35.
172Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 204.

Swift talks about servants lying for each other, covering up each other's faults, and treating their master as the enemy. Swift notes especially that servants gang up against their master without any fellow-feeling between themselves, so that their confederacy has not even the virtue of promoting peace among the servants. The servants quarrel with each other, neglect the children of the house, and fight with their master.

In addition to physical loss, the masters of such undutiful servants must also face social and psychological hardships. Servants are "pert and sawcy"[173] in front of guests, making their masters look bad, and deny their faults to their masters. Swift's sermon calls servants liars, and the *Directions to Servants* goes even farther, instructing servants to "never tell a lie to your master or lady, unless you have some hopes that they cannot find it out in less than half an hour" (12). Lies are a tool to be used whenever possible to gain money, goods, or reputation. In addition to lying to their masters, servants spread false and malicious gossip when they believe it will benefit them, and spread their master's secrets to other servants.

Swift accuses servants of lewdness, immorality, and of luring young women into marriage with them. Maids pass love-notes along and their light talk leads young ladies to romantic delusions, but their danger is nothing compared to that of the footman. The footman is presented as an incorrigible rake, looking to "pick up a fortune, perhaps [the] master's daughter" (33) or a neighbor's girl. Being close to the family, the footman is in a position to hear and remember fashionable speech and to "become the delight of nine ladies in ten" (35). Moreover, the clothes given to footmen in fashionable families are so good as to allow the servant to set himself up as a gentleman. This can lead to unsuitable

173Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 42.

and ruinous marriages or to the servant being packed off with a large pension to keep the daughter safe. Between such liaisons and the habit of pilfering which Swift ascribes to all servants, the *Directions to Servants* suggests that the final destiny of every footman is "to be hanged" (44).

Of all the faults which Swift found in his servants the most egregious was drunkenness. Swift had several bad experiences with drunken servants. Patrick used to leave his post to go drinking, leaving Swift helpless without the keys to unlock his doors and chests. Once Swift was locked outside his rooms for hours before Patrick finally returned from the pub.[174] Swift finally resolves not to give Patrick ready money because he "gave Patrick a half-crown for his Christmas-box, on condition he would be good, and he came home drunk at midnight."[175] Even worse, one of his grooms once became roaring drunk and terrified Swift, who was forced to flee.[176] In the *Directions to Servants*, Swift accuses all servants of drunkenness, and advises them to keep their drink hidden – a very good plan for his own servants, who stood to lose a crown from their wages for every transgression.[177] Swift was well aware of the evils of drunkenness and as both temporal and spiritual guardian of his servants he took it as his duty to keep them from that evil.

Even simple mistakes become part of Swift's case against modern servants, whose blunders, he claims, "are able to ruffle and discompose the mildest Nature, and are often of such Consequence, as to put whole Families into Confusion."[178] He knew from his own experience how close men grew to their servants, and he foresaw the troubles that would

174Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II.375-6.
175Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II.445.
176Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, III.33.
177Swift, *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces*, 161.
178Swift, *Irish Tracts and Sermons*, 204.

come if these servants did not adhere to the rules of society. Hierarchy, authority, and order were needed to keep society intact.

Conclusion

Swift's writing reflects his need for authority and dignity and his belief that he knew and could teach the right method of behavior. His sermons and his *Directions to Servants* reveal his policy and methods in dealing with not only his servants but all of the people who were placed under his authority. He maintained a strict hierarchy, within which each level of power came with a corresponding responsibility for those under it. For Swift, that responsibility was to correct, to educate, and to give generously. He used his satires to correct, his sermons and pamphlets to educate, and his money, his time, and his help to all of those under his care in his greatly extended family of inferiors. Through all of his works, Swift shows an awareness of hierarchical duties, and he places his characters definitively in their societal positions. His first book, the *Tale of a Tub,* teaches the importance of following the authority of the Bible, showing how the three brothers' attempts at social climbing cause them to forsake right precepts. His tracts, and his *Directions to Servants* lay out his plan for right society and show how far below the ideal modern behavior stands. And in the last book Swift published, Gulliver's adventures teach him to content himself with a lower station, and show him the difficulties and perils of politics. Swift's long-term interest in servants expanded over his lifetime into a friendly interest in individuals and a furious reaction against ignorance, incompetence, and cliquishness.

His hierarchical relationships with his parishioners and his servants supported

Swift through his years as the Dean. They gave interest and inspiration to his works, and a purpose beyond his frustrated attempts at political power. Although he missed the egalitarian friendships he had cultivated in England, Swift created a close and dependent family of social inferiors for himself in Ireland. Duty and friendship were both important parts of his relationship with this family, whom he chose out of the multitude and who then placed themselves under his paternal care. Swift's years in Ireland were not solitary, despite the many factors that may have combined to make them so, but instead were enriched by a circle of intimates very different from that in which he had lived in England.

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Oxford University Press, 1985.

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Appendix: Contemporary Works on Servants

Servants were a popular topic of complaint in eighteenth-century England. This appendix lists several contemporary works which focus on the problems masters experienced with their servants. Although each of the works included in this appendix deals with the same issues – the misbehavior and increasing difficulty in controlling servants – these books vary in message and style depending on the audience to which they were addressed.

The books addressed to lawgivers outline the problems with modern servants and suggest measures that could be used to enforce proper behavior. Various measures are suggested, some lenient and some harsh. These range from offering rewards to servants who remain with one family for fixed lengths of time to removing servants' right to tips, leftover meats, and old clothing, to insisting that servants have a certificate from their master before seeking new employment, to fixing servants' wages and compelling them to work.

The books addressed to servants contain instructions for how to behave toward their masters, usually emphasizing the importance of industry, humility, and permanence. Some of these are written as moral homilies from fictional characters to their friends or relatives, others as well-meaning advice to a general class of servants. The majority of these works are written familiarly, with authors adopting pseudonyms and backgrounds from among the same class as that which they were addressing, but others make little or no attempt to disguise their high-class origins. One important exception to the tendency

of masters to write to their servants under the guise of a fellow-servant is the work of Robert Dodsley, who did indeed serve as a footman before his literary creations allowed him to establish himself as a bookseller.

The books addressed to masters contain instructions for how to treat one's servants and often include tracts, prayers, or sermons to be read to the servants in question. The directions given in these books range from to warnings to be careful of misbehavior to injunctions to care for servant's souls as if they were children and philosophical notes on the innate equality of man. There are some books addressed to both masters and servants, but these do not constitute a separate genre, being a mere combination of the second and third types.

Literary works were also written to address the servant problem. These works are primarily satirical in nature and include poetry, plays, and satires like Swift's *Directions to Servants*. Because of the wide variance in the form and content of these works, the literary works section of this Appendix is annotated, while the content of the works in the other sections is too similar to require individual annotation.

Addressed to Lawgivers and the Public

Considerations on the dearness of corn. London, 1767. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011 <find.galegroup.com/ecco/>

Defoe, Daniel. *Augusta Triumphans*. London, 1728. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.

Defoe, Daniel. *The behaviour of servants in England*. London, 1726. *Eighteenth Century*

Collections Online. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Defoe, Daniel. *Every-Body's business, is No-Body's Business*. London, 1725. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Defoe, Daniel. *The great law of subordination consider'd*. London, 1724. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Hanway, Jonas. *Eight letters to His Grace ---- Duke of ----, on the custom of vails-giving in England*. London, 1760. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Huntingford, John. *The laws of masters and servants*. London, 1790. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Miège, Guy. *The new state of England, under our present monarch K. William III*. Part II. London, 1701. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011. 174-175.

Paterson, James. *Pietas Londinensis*. London, 1714. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 Oct. 201.

A Proposal for the amendment and encouragement of servants. London, 1752. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Reflections on the relative situations of master and servant. London, 1800. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Tancred, Christopher. *A scheme for an act of Parliament for the better regulating servants*. London, 1724. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Addressed to Servants

A Present for Servants. London, 1710. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. September 14 2011.

B., J. *The footman's looking-glass: or, proposals to the livery servants*. London, 1747. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Barker, Anne. *The complete servant maid*. London, 1770. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Barnard, John, Sir. *A Present for an Apprentice*. London, 1740. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Broughton, Thomas. *Serious advice and warning to servants*. (London, 1763.) *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Dodsley, Robert. *The footman's friendly advice to his brethren*. London, 1730. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Glass, Hannah. *The servant's directory*. London, 1760. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Haywood, Eliza Fowler. *A present for a servant-maid*. London, 1743. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Heasel, Anthony. *The Servants Book of Knowledge.* London, 1733.

Johnson, Mary. *Madam Johnson's Present*. London, 1759. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Julian. *Poor Julleyoun's warnings to children and servants*. Boston, 1733. *Eighteenth*

Century Collections Online. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Laurence, Edward. *The Duty of a Steward to his Lord*. London, 1727. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Lucas, Richard. *The duty of servants*. London, 1710. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Mordant, John. *The complete steward*. 2 Volumes. London, 1761. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Nicholls, William. *The duty of inferiours towards their superiours*. London, 1701. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Seaton, Thomas. *The conduct of servants in great families . . . composed for the Especial Use of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Servants*. London, 1720. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

The servant's friend. Edinburgh, 1793. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

The Servants Pocket-Book. London, 1761.

Trimmer, Sarah. *The servant's friend*. London, 1787. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

W., R. *A sacramental catechisme: Designed for the use of Poor Servants*. London, 1701. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Waugh, John. *The duty of apprentices and other servants*. London, 1713. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Addressed to Masters

The Christian Instructor, and Monitor. Bristol, 1742. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

A regular method of governing a family. London, 1768. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Bonhote, Mrs. *The parental monitor*. Volume 2. Dublin, 1796. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.

Burkitt, William. *Family instruction*. London, 1704. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Cecil, Richard. *Friendly advice from a minister to the servants of his parish*. London, 1793. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Dunton, John. *Petticoat-government*. London, 1702. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Gisborne, Thomas. *An enquiry into the duties of men in the higher and middle classes of society*. London, 1795. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.

Hanway, Jonas. *Domestic happiness, promoted*. London, 1786. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Hanway, Jonas. *Virtue in humble life*. London, 1777. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Perkins, John. *Every Woman Her Own House-Keeper*. London, 1796.

Addressed to both Masters and Servants

The House-keepers guide. London, 1706. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Dodsley, Robert. *Servitude: a poem . . . In Behalf of Good Servants, and to excite the Bad to their Duty.* London, 1729. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Francklin, Thomas. *Sermons on the relative duties*. London, 1770. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Rimbron, Thomas. *The domestic monitor*. Bristol, 1790. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Secker, Thomas. *On the relative duties between parents and children, and between masters and servants.* Dublin, 1787. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Instructions for masters, traders, labourers, &c. Also for servants, apprentices, and youth. London, 1718. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

Literary Works

Defoe, Daniel. *The maid-servants modest defence*. London, 1725. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

In this satire, Defoe responds to his previous pamphlet *Every-Body's Business*

is Nobody's Business. He quotes large portions of his previous piece, reintroduces the idea of his law, and offers as a defense the fact that ladies themselves are so "Slatternly" and the youths surrounding them so "Vicious" and "artful" that poor serving-maids are lucky if they manage to escape with their virtue intact. Over the course of this book, the only charge against servants which is not subtly strengthened is that of outright theft, while the charge of the more common fraud is indirectly defended. This satire purports to defend the poor country maid-servant while tacitly accepting that there are London wenches against whom those same charges could be made with perfect truth. The ending, especially, reveals the satirical character of the whole, as it consists of a moralizing address to the maid's "*Sisters* and *Friends*" among the maid-servants, calling them to present and preserve proper behavior in order to avoid being guilty of that which the squire accuses them.

A Treatise on the Use and Abuse of the Second, Commonly Called, the Steward's Table. London, 1758. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

This anonymous book targets the abuses of servants, not only the stewards mentioned in the title but all servants, purporting to sympathize with the injustice of turning out servants for acting against orders, leaving the house without permission, and other such misbehavior. The list of servants' abuses ends with the suggestion that if masters only paid enough attention to their households to know what was going on inside them, then perhaps no such injustice would occur, and masters and servants could live in perfect harmony.

Hanway, Jonas. *The sentiments and advice of Thomas Trueman.* London, 1760.

Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Like his more straightforward *Eight Letters to His Grace,* this pamphlet uses a combination of sly satire and straightforward reasoning to convince servants that the custom of vails-giving, or of tipping servants when you visit another man's house, harms both the master and the servants. Purportedly written from one footman to another, this short work describes vails as an underhanded method of extortion that would be better replaced by higher wages and improved conditions for servants.

Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees*. London, 1714. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.

Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees, Part II*. London, 1729. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.

Mandeville's poetic satire compares England to a bee-hive and unsubtly critiques the fraud, dishonesty, disobedience, lewdness, and other faults that he sees in English society. Mandeville plays with epic convention, describing Justice as a god in her chariot, chased out of the beehive by the misbehaving bees, and using Jupiter to force his bees into proper behavior.

Swift, Jonathan. *Directions to Servants and Miscellaneous Pieces, ed* Herbert Davis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959.

Swift's *Directions* contains a series of letters purporting to give servants advice on how to behave. His advice is ironical, bitter, and humorous, including such ridiculous suggestions as: “Never make use of a Spoon in any thing that you can do with your Hands” (30) but also deals with serious concerns about dishonest practices,

theft, and misbehavior.

Townley, James. *An apology for the servants*. London, 1760. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Townley, James. *High life below stairs. A farce of two acts.* London, 1759. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

"Mend your behavior and we'll mend ours," this pair of works says to the gaming, wenching, drinking masters of servants. The farce and responding apology by the same author expose the licentiousness of servants and compare their behavior to that of their masters. The overall effect is a critique not only of the servants themselves but of the moral degeneracy of society.

Witherspoon, John. *The history of a corporation of servants. Discovered a few years ago in the interior parts of South America*. Glasgow, 1765. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 14 September, 2011.

John Witherspoon's satire describes a visit to a country where, in order to keep servants well-behaved and contented, servants had been given everything that they demanded – high wages, respectful consideration, and hours of leisure. Instead of being content with this, however, the corporation of servants thus formed had become worse behaved and even led a revolution, until eventually the government was forced to suppress the servants, enforce strict rules governing their behavior, and force them to cease their politically and morally disruptive behavior. The latter half of the book is concerned with examples of different types of misbehavior attributed to these revolting servants.

Other Important Contemporary Resources on Servants

Cook, Ann. *Ann Cook and Friend*, ed Regula Burnett. London, 1940.

Hughes, James. *Observations on the Labouring Poor*, London, 1785.

Laws concerning masters and servants. London, 1767. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 17 September, 2011.

Macdonald, John. *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman*, ed John Beresford. Routledge, 2004.

Ruggles, Thomas. *The history of the poor*. Volume 2. London, 1793-94. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed 3 October, 2011.