

Preface to Temple's *Letters*

Commentary

TO HIS / Most Sacred Majesty / William III.] “The usefulness of the dedication,” Elias points out, “came not in its doubtful appeal to William himself ... but its likely effect on the general reading public, including people whom Swift might find useful the next time he sought favors or patronage in England. Just as Swift’s preface makes much of his dutiful and admiring relationship with the great man Temple, the dedication should also have reminded the public of Temple’s close relationship with the King himself, whose marriage he had helped to negotiate” (*Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 72-73).

THE Publisher’s Epistle| The Editor’s.

THE Collection of the following Letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton] See LINDSAY, p. 85 (SwJ 485). For a more detailed description of the Downton transcript of Temple’s *Letters*, see Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 4-16, 207-8n8, 311-13.

Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of Sir William Temple’s Secretaries] Thomas Downton was one of Temple’s chief secretaries during his first embassy at The Hague from 1668 to 1670. After Sir William’s return to England in September 1670, Downton accompanied him and was on hand to copy the bulk of the transcript letters after having been selected by Temple (Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 311-13). He also wrote one letter in the collection on behalf of Temple, who was “being kept in his Bed by an Illness that seized him the first Night of his arrival” at Aix-la-Chapelle (To Mr Williamson, 30 April 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 365).

The War with Holland, which began in 1665] During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (called the First Dutch War by contemporaries, 4 March 1665 to 31 July 1667) England tried to end the Dutch domination of world trade. As Temple explained in retrospect: “All I knew of the Grounds or Occasions of our late War with *Holland*, was, that in all common Conversation, I found both the *Court* and the *Parliament* in general, very sharp upon it; complaining of the *Dutch* Insolencies, of the great Disadvantages they had brought upon our Trade in general, and the particular Injuries of their *East-India* Company towards Ours”

(To Sir John Temple, Brussels, 10 October 1667 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 119-20); echoed later in *Miscellanea*: “THE State of *Holland* in point both of riches and strength, is the most prodigious growth that has been seen in the world” ([London: by A. M. and R. R. for Edward Gellibrand, 1680], p. 26). Historians take this war to be “the clearest case in [English] history of a purely commercial war” (Sir George Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], p. 63), caused by royalist ideologues who intended to prevent the Dutch from achieving universal monarchy, often used in relation to Louis XIV. As John Evelyn noted in his introduction to a projected history of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, “whoever Commands the Ocean, Commands the Trade of the World, and whoever Commands the Trade of the World, Commands the Riches of the World, and whoever is Master of That, Commands the World it self” (*Navigation and Commerce: Their Original and Progress* [London: by T. R. for Benj. Tooke, 1674], p. 15; see also Steven C. A. Pincus, “Popery, Trade and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War,” *The English Historical Review*, 422 [1992], 1-29 [p. 20]). After initial successes (“For the *Hollanders*, they were certainly never worse at their ease than now; being braved and beaten both at Sea and Land” [*Letters*, I, 12]), the English suffered a naval disaster in the Raid on the Medway, during which their fleet was partly destroyed, a humiliating experience which decided the peace: the Treaty of Breda was signed on 31 July 1667 (see, for the texts between the various warring parties, Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple, Bart.*, 2 vols [London: Longman, *et al.*, 1836], II, 431-35); for a partisan account of the English advantages by the war, see Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, *A Short and True Account of the Material Passages in the First War, between the English and Dutch since his Majesties Restauration*, 2nd ed. ([London]: H. Herringman, 1672).

The Treaty between His Majesty and the Bishop of Munster] In the summer of 1665, the warlike Bishop of Münster, Christoph Bernhard Freiherr von Galen (1606-78), was induced by promises of English subsidies to support Charles II against the Dutch, his old enemies. Sir William Temple was chosen as negotiator: “The King had received an Overture from the Bishop of *Munster*, to enter into an Alliance with his Majesty against the *Dutch* ... My Lord *Arlington* told me, the main Articles were already agreed on here, and the Money adjusted, but that it was necessary for the King to send over some Person privately, to finish the Treaty at *Munster*, and to see the Payments made at *Antwerp*, where the Bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go (if I undertook it) without Train or

Character, and pass for a *Frenchman* or a *Spaniard* in my Journey” (To Sir John Temple, Brussels, 6 September 1665, *Letters*, I, 2). In a first meeting, Temple met the Bishop at Coesfeld, a country town some 25 miles west of Münster. There, he “stay’d but three Days, was brought to [the Bishop] only by Night, agreed all Points with him, [and] perfected and Signed the Treaty” (*Letters*, I, 4). The following year, Temple reminded the Bishop twice of their alliance and made him an offer of more money, at the same time warning him against the French (*Letters*, I, 37-42, 49-51). In April 1666, he travelled to Münster (*Letters*, I, 59-63) in order to stop the Bishop from mediating a peace between the French and the Dutch (*Letters*, I, 53). In a letter to his brother John, Sir William described van Galen in some detail: “He is a Man of Wit, and, which is more, of Sense, of great Ambition, and properly, *Un Esprit remuant*: But the Vigour of his Body, does not second that of his Mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty Years old, and pursued with the Gout ... he was a Soldier in his Youth, and seems in his Naturals, rather made for the *Sword* than the *Cross* ... He speaks the only good *Latin* that I have yet met with in *Germany*, and more like a Man of Court and Business than a Scholar” (To Sir John Temple, Brussels, 6 September 1665, *Letters*, I, 4-5). However, his reputation in England was bad, as one of Samuel Butler’s *Prose Observations* reveals: “That monster of Bishops, the Bishop of Munster” (ed. Hugh de Quehen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 215, 378).

The French Invasion of Flanders in the Year 1667] Louis XIV invaded the Spanish Netherlands during the War of Devolution in 1667. Temple recorded the Dutch reaction to this invasion in a letter of 10 October 1667 (N.S.) to his brother John: “The *Dutch* are much exasperated at this Invasion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous, and as scornful, to them in particular; for they say that *France*, till the very Time of their March, gave constant Assurances to the *States*, both by the *French* Ambassadors here, and by their Ambassadors at *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders* without first taking their Measures upon it, with the *States* themselves” (*Letters*, I, 127-28); and in his “Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders; with their Relation to England in the Year 1671,” he described the importance of the French victory for Louis XIV: “The Invasion and easie success in *Flanders*, fed his Glory, and encreast the reputation of his Power” (*Miscellanea*, pp. 35-36).

The Peace concluded between Spain and Portugal, by the King’s Mediation] The peace treaty between Spain and Portugal was concluded on 13 February 1668,

putting an end to a war which had originated with the Portuguese Revolution of 1640. It was due to the mediation of Charles II, who was married to a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. The Portuguese had long aspired to this treaty, by which Spain finally recognized Portugal's independence, as Temple's letter to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, reveals: "[The *Marquess*] speaks with much Earnestness and Passion for concluding ... either a Peace or Truce, between *Spain* and *Portugal*; in which he very much presses His Majesty's Interposition at this Time, because nothing else will take away the Dishonour on the *Spanish* side, but the Respect given to so Great and Powerful a King's Mediation" (Brussels, 13 October 1665 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 8-9). A few months later, Temple wrote to Pensionary Johan De Witt: "I told [the *Marquess*], my Opinion was; That they drove on this Affair, because they believ'd, that without a Peace with *Portugal*, *Spain* would not recover it self enough to make head against *France*, and reduce Affairs of *Christendom* to the Ballance that is necessary" (Antwerp, 27 February 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 288-89).

The Treaty at Breda] The Treaty of Breda was signed on 31 July 1667 but brought an inconclusive end to the Second Anglo-Dutch War (see p. □). In its wake, the Dutch increased their control of world markets, a consequence that made Temple deride it as early as 10 October 1667 (N.S.) as "a snarling Peace" (To Sir John Temple, Brussels, *Letters*, I, 128).

The Tripple Alliance] The Triple Alliance, which was signed on 23 January 1668 by Sir William Temple, Johan De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, and the Swedish representative at The Hague (for example, *Letters*, I, 173-74), was intended to stop the expansionist policies of Louis XIV, as an alliance between the three countries for "mutual Defence" (To Sir Orlando Bridgeman, The Hague, 27 January 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 166). It never engaged in military action against France, but it forced Louis XIV into signing the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with Spain. Again, Temple was Charles II's chief negotiator. His achievement, the Dutch alliance, "was long regarded as a master-stroke of diplomacy" (Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, p. 73), and eulogies were accordingly showered on him, as Temple proudly told his Secretary of State, Lord Arlington: "*Monsieur de Witt* made me a most obliging Compliment, of having the Honour which never any other Minister had before me, of drawing the *States* to a Resolution and Conclusion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greatest Importance, and a *Secours* of the greatest Expence they had ever engaged in" (The Hague, 24 January 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 145). The French Privy Counsellor, Jean Hérault de Gourville, concurred in his letter from 22 February 1668: "ALL your modest Reasoning will not hinder me

from believing that any other Minister the King of *England* could have sent to the *Hague*, would not have finished in many Months what you have done in four Days” (*Letters*, I, 457). The assessment of Temple’s achievement was mixed, however. While Abraham van Wicquefort, whose *Mémoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics* were in Swift’s library, is full of praise for Temple (“M. Temple s’est rendu inimitable en celle qu’il a faite de l’Estat des Provinces Unies” [Cologne: Pierre du Marteau, 1676], p. 627 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1965-66]), the nineteenth-century historian Ephraim Emerton casts doubt on it (*Sir William Temple und die Tripleallianz vom Jahre 1668* [Berlin: Carl Jahncke’s Buchdruckerei, 1877], pp. 49, 52, 57-58, 73-74, 90). Swift had the text of the Triple Alliance “copied from the Original Papers” (*Letters*, I, 241-78).

The Peace of Aix la Chapelle] The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed on 2 May 1668 (*Letters*, I, 371-72), was mediated by the Triple Alliance of England, the United Provinces, and Sweden, and it ended the War of Devolution between France and Spain (1667-68), not without a good many delays and provocations till the very end of the negotiations (*Letters*, I, 376-77). France returned the detached province of Franche-Comté, or Burgundy (*Letters*, I, 184, 477) but kept her conquests in Flanders (Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple*, II, 457-59).

the Negotiations in Holland in consequence of those Alliances ... by which they came to decay] Although Temple took great pains to convince De Witt of Charles II’s commitment to the Anglo-Dutch alliance, in which he himself firmly believed (*Letters*, II, 11-14, 67-68), the old commercial and maritime rivalry between the two countries prevailed. During the very negotiations resulting in the Triple Alliance, Charles II told his sister Henrietta Anne in their private correspondence that none of his engagements stood in the way of a close understanding with France (see Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, pp. 76-77). Soon after the Triple Alliance had been signed, Temple began to notice in Lord Arlington an insistence on disputes with the Dutch. In a letter of 2 October 1668 (N.S.), Temple voiced his confusion, urging Arlington in no uncertain terms: “I must be furnish’d with Arguments to maintain the Points against [*de Witt*], if they must be insisted on; for I confess I can find none of my own” (*Letters*, II, 31). In another letter to the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Temple relays De Witt’s conviction “that *England* would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the Course of all those Councils they had taken with *Holland* and *Sueden*, though ... the Secret was yet, in very few Hands, either in the *French* or the *English* Court” (The Hague, 24 April 1669 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 65). All of Temple’s and De Witt’s diplomatic

endeavours were effectively undercut on 1 June 1670, when the Kings of England and France signed the secret Treaty of Dover.

The Journey and Death of Madame] After her marriage to *Monsieur*, Philippe d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIV, Henrietta Anne of England, youngest daughter of Charles I and his Queen Henrietta Maria (1644-70), became known as *Madame* at Court (on her birth and early years, see Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969 {1888}], III, 371, 373, 387 [VIII, 71, 73n, 93]; IV, 250 [X, 115n] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 94]) for a portrait, see César-Pierre Richelet, *Les Plus belles lettres des meilleurs auteurs françois, avec des notes*, 2 vols [in one] [Brussels: Josse de Griecq, 1696] (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1597), p. 97 and n). Together with her brother Charles II, to whom she was very close, she helped negotiate the secret Treaty of Dover (1670). Although Temple had heard about Madame's journey to England (*Letters*, II, 199), he was ignorant about its purpose, the alliance between England and France having been sealed behind his back. One of his letters presents a detailed account of Henrietta Anne's sudden and mysterious death on 30 June 1670, just two weeks after her return to France (*Letters*, II, 213-16). Rumour had it that the princess had been poisoned. Charles II, however, preferred to rely on the official report that she had died of peritonitis. Temple commented: "I WAS very glad to find that the great Measure of his Majesty's Grief upon *Madame's* Death, was a little lessened by the Satisfaction he had received, that it had passed without *that odious Circumstance* which was at first so generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my Discourse here, to allay the Suspicions since I see his Majesty is convinced" (To Lord Arlington, The Hague, 15 July 1670 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 221).

The seizure of Lorraine, and his Excellency's recalling] The seizure of Lorraine in August 1670 was a first step towards the Franco-Dutch War. For De Witt, it entailed "the cutting off *Burgundy* wholly from the rest of the *Spanish* Dominions" (To Lord Arlington, The Hague, 2 September 1670 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 275). In this situation, the United Provinces availed itself of Sir William Temple's services in an appeal to England for support, reminding Charles II of the Triple Alliance (*Letters*, II, 276-84). Having been informed in London of the King's devious new policy, however, Temple revealed his shock and dismay in a letter to his brother John: "You know first the Part I had in all our Alliances with *Holland*; how far my own personal Credit was engaged upon them to Monsieur

de Witt ... that I would never have any Part in breaking them whatever should happen” (London, 22 November 1670 [N.S.], *Letters*, II, 290).

the first Unkindness between England and Holland, upon the Yacht's transporting his Lady and his Family] Swift here refers to a well-planned provocation leading to the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1672. On 24 August 1671, the yacht *Merlin*, with Lady Temple aboard, sailed through the Dutch fleet and demanded a salute. Since this was denied by the Dutch (*Letters*, II, 304-6), the incidence was taken for an insult to the British flag (Clark, *The Later Stuarts*, p. 77), even though Temple, in an audience with the King, showed himself at pains to make a jest out of it: “I said, that however Matters went, it must be confessed that there was some Merit in my Family; since I had made the Alliances with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to have the Honour of making the War” (To Sir John Temple, London, 14 September 1671, *Letters*, II, 306). However, the incident seems to have preoccupied Sir William for a long time, as his reflections on a separate peace with the Dutch in 1673 reveal: “No peace we can have will seem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a ground at pleasure for opening a War” (“Written to the Duke of Ormond in October 1673, upon his Graces desiring me to give Him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjunction,” *Miscellanea*, p. 158). Refusing to salute was generally considered a major diplomatic offence, as another example told by Edmund Ludlow in his *Memoirs* illustrates: “The two Captains returned to their Fleet; which coming within Cannon-shot of *Dover-Castle* with their Sails up, and Flag at the Top-mast, not saluting the Fort according to Custom, the Garison was constrained to fire three Guns at the Hollanders, to put them in mind of their Duty” (*Memoirs*, 2 vols [Vevay {London}, 1698], I, 405; see also 407 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]).

the beginning of the second Dutch War in 1672] The Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74) was part of the larger Franco-Dutch War (1672-78) fought by France, Sweden, and England, among others, against the United Provinces. Although England, the Dutch Republic, and Sweden had entered into the Triple Alliance against France in 1668, on 1 June 1670, Charles II signed the secret Treaty of Dover with France, which made England a pensioner of France and forced it into joining the French attack on the United Provinces on 28 March 1672 (O.S.). Temple notes about the French subsidies in 1673: “For supplies from *France*, it must be considered how their money has been drained out of that Kingdom since this War began, by their payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Bishops of *Colen* and *Munster*, and some other Princes of *Germany*” (“Written to the Duke of

Ormond in October 1673,” *Miscellanea*, p. 152). However, since the Royal Navy was frustrated several times in its attempts to blockade the Dutch coast and Charles lacked the funds to continue the war, the Treaty of Westminster of 19 February 1674 (Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple*, II, 460-61) ended hostilities between England and the United Provinces after less than two years (David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 8th ed. [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1967], p. 433).

I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French and Spanish] See Historical Introduction, p. G and nn40, 41.

the few Spanish Translations, I believe, need no Apology] Temple’s sister Lady Giffard presumably translated the Spanish letters into English (Historical Introduction, p. G and n41).

It is generally believed, that this Author, has advanced our English Tongue] According to Sheridan’s *Life*, “Swift acquired his first lights with regard to propriety and purity of style, which he was afterwards allowed to carry to a greater degree of perfection than any English writer whatsoever” from “the frequent revisal of that great man’s works, under his own inspection” ([Dublin: Luke White, 1785], p. 25).

Pensionary John de Witt] Johan De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, an office comparable to that of Prime Minister, from 1653 to 1672, initiated a policy which favoured the interests of his own wealthy merchant class, at the same time subscribing to religious moderation and a pragmatic foreign policy. Under De Witt’s leadership, the Dutch Republic grew in wealth and influence. He created a strong navy, which put him in a position to engage in the Second Anglo-Dutch War from 1665 to 1667. This ended with the Treaty of Breda, generally regarded as “the most successful achievement” in De Witt’s career (Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 428). In 1672, after Charles II and Arlington had negotiated the secret Treaty of Dover, which led to the French and English attack on the United Provinces in the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the supporters of William of Orange seized power by force and had De Witt assassinated by a lynch mob (Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 423-32).

Four years earlier, Sir William Temple first met the Grand Pensionary privately in September 1667 (*Letters*, I, 122-26, 131) and formed a high opinion of this “very able and faithful Minister to his *State*” (To Sir John Temple, London, 2 January 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 132). Later, he went as far as to praise

De Witt as “a Minister of the greatest Authority and Sufficiency, the greatest Application and Industry that was ever known in [*Holland*]” (*Miscellanea*, p. 93). In the years after 1667, Temple recorded with profound satisfaction the “great Confidence arisen between the *Pensioner* and me,” noting in particular: “He is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere open way of dealing, and I with all the Reason in the World am infinitely pleased with him upon the same Score; and look on him as one of the greatest Genius’s I have known, as a Man of Honour, and the most easie in Conversation, as well as in Business” (To Monsieur Gourville, The Hague, 7 February 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 179-80). At the same time, De Witt was happy to make his feelings about his English opposite number known to Temple’s superior, Secretary of State Arlington: “It was impossible to send a Minister of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of [his] Nation, than *Sir William Temple*” (De Witt to Lord Arlington, 14 February 1668 [N.S.], *Letters*, I, 209). Given the fact that the many letters exchanged between them evince a development from profound esteem into “sincere Friendship” (*Letters*, I, 517), Temple’s dismay at the duplicity of Charles II was heartfelt and sincere. While he was negotiating the Triple Alliance between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden (*Letters*, I, 134-45) with De Witt, and the Swedish envoy, to stop Louis XIV from completing the French conquest of the Spanish Netherlands – a diplomatic feat that, as Gilbert Burnet noted in the *History of his Own Time*, could have been “both the strength and the glory of [Charles’s] reign” (2 vols [London: Thomas Ward, and Joseph Downing and Henry Woodfall, 1724-34], I, 254) – the King and Arlington were busy hoodwinking their own envoy with the secret Treaty of Dover (see p. □).

It has been justly complained of ... that the English Tongue, has produced no Letters of any value; to supply which, it has been the Vein of late Years, to translate several out of other Languages, tho’ I think with little Success] In a letter of October 1735 to Pope, Swift referred to the letter writers whom he regarded as paradigmatic: “I have observ’d that not only Voiture, but likewise Tully and Pliny writ their letters for the publick view, more than for the sake of their correspondents ... Balsac did the same thing” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, IV, 203). Cicero and Pliny the Younger as well as Jean Louis Guez de Balzac and the French diplomat Vincent de Voiture were all well represented on the shelves of the Deanery (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 407-8, 414; II, 1463-64; I, 769-70; III, 1937-38). While schoolboys would read the letters of Cicero and Pliny either in Latin or in English translation facing the Latin text, Tom Brown and others “indefatigably issued volumes of freely translated French letters, so that even those who could not read French were exposed to the tradition of Jean Louis Guez de

Balzac and Vincent Voiture” (James Anderson Winn, *A Window in the Bosom: The Letters of Alexander Pope* [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1977], pp. 14, 45-49, 50-53, 55-63; Benjamin Boyce, *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory: Grub Street in the Age of Dryden* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939], pp. 92-96). Since Swift owned none of the English translations, however, it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty which ones he saw or studied. What is more, next to nothing is known about the reception history of the translations Swift may have come across. Finally, his rather sweeping assertion that “the English Tongue [had] produced no Letters of any value” is historically inaccurate. Not to mention remarkable collections like the *Conway Letters* (eds Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992]), unpublished yet at the end of the seventeenth century, it is true, one exception to the rule is the edition of *Familiar Letters, Written by the Right Honourable John, Late Earl of Rochester, to the Honourable Henry Savile, Esq.*, published by Samuel Briscoe in 1697, and judged to be “good examples of the conscious epistolary style of the Restoration wits” and “phrased with that casual-seeming grace for which the court wits labored and for which they are justly famed” (*The Rochester-Savile Letters, 1671-1680*, ed. John Harold Wilson [Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1941], pp. vii-viii).

the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus] Titus Pomponius Atticus (110-32 BC), Cicero’s “intimate acquaintance ... as appears by his several Epistles to him.” Withdrawing “from *Rome* to *Athens* during the Civil Wars” (MORÉRI, s.v.), he lived there for many years (whence his cognomen Atticus): “*Atticus*,” Temple enthused in “Upon the Gardens of Epicurus,” “appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the *Romans*, Learned without pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Design, a Friend to all Men in misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatness or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all” (*Miscellanea: The Second Part* [London: by T. M. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690], pp. 17-18). Cicero’s letters to Atticus begin in 68 BC and testify to their friendship, which had its origin when they were fellow students and which continued until Cicero’s death. Not to mention Cicero’s *Opera omnia* in his library, which also contained the letters to Atticus, Swift owned two individual editions of Cicero’s *Epistolae ad Atticum*, one of which he acquired in 1693 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408 [3-VII] and 414 [6]). Since he is known to have read “*Cicero’s Epistles*” during his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-29), it is likely that Swift was referring to this edition annotated by an eminent French classical scholar, Lambin. Swift used to quote from the letters to Atticus especially in his later writings quite frequently

(PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 416-18; *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 576 and m2, 5).

the Author has had frequent Instances from several great Persons both at home and abroad]

whatever Memoirs he had written ... were burnt] If this statement is true, there is no evidence for it.

never could prevail for Leave to publish them]

after the Peace of the Pyrenees] The Treaty of the Pyrenees, which was signed on 7 November 1659 (Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple*, II, 424-31), ended a Franco-Spanish war of twenty-four years, which had begun during the Thirty Years' War in 1635. It may be said to complete the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 inasmuch as it established permanent national frontiers (Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 225).

His Majesty's happy Restoration in 1660] "My letters today tell me," Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary of 8 May 1660, "how it was entended that the King should be proclaimed today in London with a great deal of pomp" (*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds Robert Latham and William Matthews [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970], I, 131 and m). For a scholarly account, see Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), pp. 160-76. Sir William Temple referred to "the King's happy Restoration" in *Memoirs of What Past in Christendom* (London: by R. R. for Ric. Chiswell, 1692), sig. A3v, and *Miscellanea: The Third Part* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701), p. 48; as well as to "the Kings glorious restauration" in *Miscellanea*, p. 93). The phrase seems to have become formulaic in subsequent years both among adherents of the monarchy and those who were currying favour with Charles II (Andrew Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd and The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part*, ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], pp. 43, 135; Sir William Petty, *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick* [London: Robert Clavel and Henry Mortlock, 1699], pp. 27, 270 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9, 1413-14]).

the Remainder of a War between Spain and Portugal] Swift here refers again to the Portuguese Restoration War (1640-68) which ended with the Treaty of Lisbon (1668) and which was mediated by Charles II (see p. □).

I beg the Readers Pardon for any Errata's which may be in the Printing, occasioned by my Absence] An excuse which was commonplace in the seventeenth-century history of the book trade (see Percy Simpson, "Proof-Reading by English Authors of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Proceedings and Papers*, II, pt i: 1927-30 [1928], 10-15, 24 and *passim*). See also *Prose Works*, I, 6, 9. Having ensured that his own text was identical in substantives with that of 1700, the anonymous editor of *The Works of Sir William Temple* (1720) rightly cancelled this apology. Faulkner's 18mo of 1762, although not identical with Swift's 1700 text, simply followed suit.

Errata's] It seems strange that a good Latinist like Swift should have accepted this plural (*recte* "errata," from singular "erratum"), even if the incorrect plural was common throughout the seventeenth century (OED).

not knowing how soon I may cross the Seas into Ireland] Swift set out for Ireland on 18 July 1699, the *terminus ante quem* for the draft. On 3 June, "[the Earl of] Berkeley was known to be the new Lord Justice of Ireland"; he was sworn in on 23 August (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 140n3). See also DAYBOOK, s.v. "Summer 1699."

how near I have been perishing more than once in that Passage] As Archbishop King points out, "[crossing] the *Irish Seas*, so famous for their boisterousness and Shipwracks," was a hazardous affair (*The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government* [London: Robert Clavell, 1691], p. 95), so perilous in fact that Swift arranged "in good time for a duplicate copy to be made [of his masterpiece, *Gulliver's Travels*] by transcription in Dublin" (David Woolley, "The Stemma of *Gulliver's Travels*: A First Note," *Swift Studies*, 1 [1986], 51-54 [p. 51]). Evidence of the danger is also provided by the Argument of Milton's *Lycidas*: "In this Monody the Author bewails a learned Friend, unfortunately drown'd in his Passage from *Chester* on the *Irish Seas*, 1637" (John Milton, "Lycidas," *The Poetical Works*, ed. Helen Darbishire [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], II, 165), and James Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ: Familiar Letters, Domestick and Foreign*, 8th ed. (London, 1713), p. 488: "I Heartily congratulate your return to *England*, and that you so safely cross'd the *Scythian Vale*, for so old *Gildas* calls the *Irish Seas*, in regard they are so boisterous and rough." In their joint letter to Swift after his final return to Ireland in October 1727, Gay and Pope voiced "great concern" about the Dean's "many perils" after a tempestuous crossing (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 135 and n4), and in April 1732, the yacht carrying Lord Lieutenant Dorset, on return from

Dublin to Parkgate, was driven North to Carrickfergus in 48 hours, “whence a second attempt was later made and they put in to Parkgate on the 29th, seven days late” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 466n2).