"NO MORE EXISTENCE THAN THE INHABITANTS OF UTOPIA": UTOPIAN SATIRE IN GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

by

Joseph E. Argent

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Approved by

Janet E. Evans

Dissertation Advisor

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Dissertation Advisor James E Eckenrod

Committee Members James Ellis

Jean R. Buckert

[illegible]

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This study provides the first book-length examination of Gulliver's Travels as a utopian work. Swift relies on the genre of the utopia for the structure of each of the book's four voyages and as a means to further his satire on human nature, English society, and utopianism itself.

The first two chapters introduce to the reader the methods and vocabulary of Utopian Studies, the critical approach utilized in this dissertation. They lay the foundation for the later examination of Swift's complex manipulation of the genre by analyzing various definitions of utopia, by examining the connection between satire and the utopian tradition established by Thomas More, and by detailing aspects of the structure and themes of utopias that served as probable sources for Gulliver's Travels.

The remaining chapters explore each of Gulliver's four voyages as a separate utopia. Lilliput contains elements of both a eutopia and dystopia designed to serve as satiric analogies to Gulliver's England. Brobdingnag is a political utopia, whose virtues directly contrast to European corruptions. Laputa and Lagado are scientific dystopias which attack the utopianism of Francis Bacon's The New Atlantis and the Royal Society. Houyhnhnmland is an ambiguous utopia in which many of Swift's ideals are set

forth, while at the same time Swift satirizes Gulliver's irrational adherence to utopianism.

The conclusion suggests further study of Swift's participation in the utopianism of the opposition Patriot Movement, which was dedicated to bring back England's past virtues. Works by Swift, Bolingbroke, Pope, and Gay all contain utopian elements that further the criticism of England under the Walpole administration.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Peggy. Her patience, encouragement, and word processing skills have been invaluable. But most importantly, she has taught me the true meaning of utopia.

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I

INTRODUCTION: VISIONARY SCHEMES

"I have now done with all such visionary Schemes for ever."
--Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson

Utopia and Satire

Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels is at once a satire, a utopia, and a parody on utopias. More precisely, it can be called "a utopian satire" because the utopia serves to further the satiric ends. While working in the framework of a utopia, Swift masterfully manipulates the genre's conventions, bending the utopia to fit his satiric purposes, even when one of those purposes is to attack utopianism itself.

However, it would also benefit our understanding of Gulliver's Travels to see that the book stands on its own merits as a utopia, not in spite of its satirical agenda, but because of it. "[U]topia and satire," Robert C. Elliott

explains, "are linked in a complex network of genetic, historical, and formal relationships" (3). During the course of this study we will see that the satire of Gulliver's Travels is following closely in the utopian tradition established by Thomas More. Furthermore, we will see that the utopia provides the book with an overall structural and thematic unity, while within each of Gulliver's four voyages Swift explores the idea of utopia.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine Gulliver's Travels within its utopian framework and to provide the first book-length analysis devoted to Swift's complex, satiric use of the utopia and utopian themes. This study provides the needed breadth and scope to examine the utopian components of each part of Gulliver's Travels more fully than the existing articles and chapters of books. By examining the whole of Gulliver's Travels, I trace the utopian themes and motifs as they occur in each voyage. I also discover how Swift's use of the utopia creates one kind of coherence for the separate parts of the book. Finally, I reassess Swift as a satirist by examining how his own utopian impulse, as well as his reaction to other types of utopianism, shape the satire of Gulliver's Travels.

The emphasis on utopian satire will provide useful ways of reading several sections of the text. To accomplish this kind of interpretation, I rely on the critical approach of Utopian Studies, a field of inquiry designed to examine

various aspects of utopian thought.[1] The interests and vocabulary of Utopian Studies contribute to the consideration of probable utopian sources for Gulliver's Travels, isolating important utopian themes that Swift explores, discovering a multitude of motifs and techniques that are decidedly utopian, and supplying a precise terminology.

Through this approach I have been able to re-assess some of Swift's satirical methods by looking at Gulliver's Travels as a utopia which uses the conventions of the genre in a multitude of ways to comment on the prevailing ideas and attitudes of the early eighteenth century. The approach has also been useful in examining Swift's participation in the Patriot Movement of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, whose political opposition to the administration of Robert Walpole takes on utopian significance. Gulliver's Travels is a major literary work of this movement, which desired to take England back to its utopian roots through the leadership of an ideal king.

The remainder of this chapter comprises a survey of the scholarship on Swift's debt to the utopian tradition established by Thomas More. In the following chapter, I provide an analysis of utopia and utopian satire by examining several ways to define utopia, and by exploring the relationship between satire and utopia. I also establish the foundation for the later analysis of

Gulliver's Travels by examining the structure, themes, and motifs of several earlier utopian and quasi-utopian works which influence the utopian elements of Swift's book.

The remaining chapters analyze Gulliver's four voyages as separate utopias. In Part I, "A Voyage to Lilliput," Swift creates both a utopian and a dystopian Lilliput in order to establish his theme of England's degeneration from past ideals. Swift presents a nostalgic political utopia in Part II, "The Voyage to Brobdingnag," as a direct contrast to Gulliver's England. In Part III, "A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib and Japan," Swift attacks the mentality of one type of utopianism, the optimistic belief that science holds the key to the perfect society of the future, while continuing to develop his theme of nostalgic utopianism. In Part IV, "A Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms," Swift creates an ambiguous utopia which contains many of Swift's own ideals for England, while at the same time demonstrating the folly of Gulliver, who too eagerly embraces utopian sensibilities.

Utopia and Swift

Only within the past thirty to forty years have critics seriously considered Gulliver's Travels as a utopia. Significantly, this reading has corresponded with an increased interest in utopias and utopianism, which inspired the formation of Utopian Studies. Important examinations of

Swift's debt to the Utopia of Thomas More appeared in the 1950s and 1960s, and with them better analysis of Gulliver's Travels in relation to the genre of utopian literature. Not so coincidentally, this is also the period in which Utopian Studies began to organize as a recognized academic field (Levitas 9). As Ruth Levitas points out, Swift had often been placed in the minor category of "utopian satire" by utopian scholars, and while few would deny Gulliver's Travels its utopian elements, some critics would exclude satires from their lists of utopian works, thus eliminating Swift from the canon (33). For example, Marie Louise Berneri in Journey Through Utopia (1950) argues that Gulliver's Travels and other satiric works which contain utopian elements should not be deemed utopian because "they are just the opposite of ideal commonwealths" (174).

However, utopian critic A.L. Morton placed Swift prominently within the intellectual currents of utopian literature in his Marxist study The English Utopia, first published in 1952. Morton examined Gulliver's Travels as an important utopian work, which engages in the utopian speculations and social criticism of its predecessors in the genre. Morton recognized Gulliver's Travels as "a series of Utopias, some positive and some negative.... More than this, there are parts where both elements are found in conjuncture ..." (132). Morton's often cited book is also one of the first to recognize Defoe's Robinson Crusoe as a utopian

work. Morton linked Crusoe and Gulliver together as the first examples of the bourgeois hero to reach utopia. In addition, both characters were not merely observers like the narrators of other utopias, but they took an active part in the utopian world (122-23).

In 1961 John Traugott published the first major attempt to compare Swift's utopia of the Houyhnhnms with More's book.[2] Traugott emphasized Swift's admiration of Thomas More as a hero of English history, and his equally strong hatred of Henry VIII. "Few things are more remarkable," Traugott wrote, "than the salute passed from Jonathan Swift to Thomas More across the two intervening centuries" (535). Traugott referred to the "utopian passages of Gulliver's Travels" as owing a "philosophical debt to More" (535). He also described several important parallels between such utopian themes of human progress, rationalism, family dynamics, and eugenics, which appear in both works. Traugott's suggestion near the end of his essay that the Gulliver of the fourth voyage has much in common with the world-weary Raphael Hythloday of More's book continues to be a useful way to read both characters.

Brian Vickers also included this comparison in his 1968 article, "The Satiric Structure of Gulliver's Travels and More's Utopia." Though he briefly (and unfairly) dismisses Traugott's earlier article as "confusing" (233), he points to it as the only study up to the time of his own essay to

explore more fully the "connection" between the two works. "The possibility that More's Utopia provided a model for parts of Gulliver's Travels does not seem to have been taken very seriously," (233) he explained. He pointed to only a handful of critics since 1923 who even broach the topic. Vickers claims that the lack of critical attention was the result of the fact that "it is only recently that Utopia has been fully recognized as a work of satire" (233). Vickers's intent was to explain similarities between "satiric technique," "targets," and "persona" (250) of each work. Like Traugott, Vickers understandably focused his discussion of Swift on Part IV, though he did find a few utopian parallels in Part II. Vickers begins by briefly explicating the satiric components of Utopia and then comparing what he has revealed to Swift's book. Within this discussion, he points to the targets of the authors' satire--pride figuring largely in both. He completed his study by comparing Gulliver and Hythloday and their functions in these satires.

In The Shape of Utopia (1970) Robert C. Elliott also explored the important relationship between satire and utopia. His study begins with an examination of the myth of the Golden Age, the satire of literature depicting it, and the function of the Saturnalia festivals which united a celebration of the lost paradise of an earlier time with a mocking inversion of societal order. He traces the connection of satire and utopia through the Middle Ages to

the Renaissance, where he argues that "it is in Thomas More's Utopia itself that the two modes satire and utopia are most clearly seen to be indivisible" (22).

To Elliott the next utopia in this line is Gulliver's Travels:

> Just as satire gave the literary form 'utopia' its name, so, I should think, the utopias of Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Houyhnhnmland are essential to the satire of More's great follower, Jonathan Swift. (23-4)

In his short chapter entitled "Swift's Utopias," Elliott became one of the first authors to expand the discussion of Swift's debt to Utopia to include all four voyages.

Elliott and Vickers challenged the conventional conception of utopia, which emphasized its preoccupation with the "ideal." It is true that the humor and satirical edge which make the utopias of More and Swift such a delight to read tended to be de-emphasized in favor of earnestness and enthusiasm in the utopias which appeared in the intervening centuries. Campanella, Bacon, Harrington, and the lesser known writers of Puritan utopian tracts spent their utopian energies in serious speculation about their versions of the ideal society--be it scientific or theocratic. This convention, along with a failure to appreciate More's irony, undoubtedly gave rise to the narrow interpretations of utopia which also lead to a derisive connotation of utopia that insisted it had no connections

with reality. Elliott, by pointing out utopia's historic connection with satire, and Vickers, by focusing on the satire of More's book both made later contentions of Swift's claim to utopian status more acceptable.

The increasing critical interest in irony since the 1970s becomes the focus of two more recent comparisons of More and Swift: Eugene R. Hammond's "Nature-Reason-Justice in Utopia and Gulliver's Travels" (1982) and Edward J. Rielly's "Irony in Gulliver's Travels and Utopia (1992). Hammond insists that we need to view the "reason" that controls the Utopians and the Houyhnhnms with an eye sensitive to possible ironies:

> each time new weaknesses are discovered in either Hythloday or Gulliver, the possibilities increase that the societies they champion were also conceived ironically. In addition, the author's richly detailed descriptions of Utopian and Houyhnhnm life make these societies especially vulnerable to ironic readings, once irony is suspected, because each detail can be scrutinized for adequacy. Now after years of scrutiny, Utopia and Houyhnhnmland are rarely regarded as models of virtue.... But we can and should, while recognizing that More and Swift were playful in their portraits of Utopians and Houyhnhnms, locate crucial values in Utopian and Houyhnhnm "reason" (445).

Hammond brings up two crucial points. When we begin to read Utopia with an attention to irony, we begin to suspect it as a "model" society. Critics continue to point out discrepancies between what More believed and what he depicted in Utopia.[3] If Utopia is not to be taken too seriously as a utopia itself, then we can be more

comfortable with the contention that Houyhnhnmland is not to be taken too seriously as a perfect society. Secondly, within the playfulness of both works are very real "values," which run the gamut of human experience. Swift's comic sensibilities allow him to make fun of the smugness of the Houyhnhnms, who consider themselves "the Perfection of Nature" (203), and of Gulliver's complete, and ultimately deranged, attempt to emulate them while positing his personal ideals on many subjects with them. To sum up, these critics have allowed us to see that Swift's work is more utopian because More's is less utopian. Swift lives up to the ironic spirit of More.

Rielly limits parallels between the irony of More and Swift to the prefatory material of both works and (again) to the Houyhnhnm utopia. The first of these comparisons is useful in establishing Swift's acknowledgement of More's irony. Rielly compares Gulliver's letter to his cousin Sympson and Sympson's to the Reader with the letters and other material written by More and his friends commenting ironically on the existence of Utopia. In both cases, Rielly points out, these are humorous attempts to feign truthfulness, while having fun at the expense of those who fail to see the joke. Again, Swift very much follows More's lead. A vital point of both satires is that the ideal state does not exist. A sense of the earnestness that masks the fiction can be found in other depictions of the ideal state.

It is apparent that More and Swift wanted none of that.

Several other important studies on Swift and utopia have been published since Morton, Traugott, Vickers and Elliott initiated the inquiry. For example, the body of scholarship that comprises the "hard and soft schools" debate over the status of the Houyhnhnm utopia preoccupied Swift's critics from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s. Houyhnhnmland still dominates the scholarship, though the other three voyages have received increased critical attention for their utopian elements.

II

UTOPIA/UTOPIAN SATIRE/SATIRE OF UTOPIA

"Search out this Utopian Ground" --Swift, "Ode to Sir William Temple"

What is Utopia?

Utopia is literally nowhere, and from this location of a non-existent place we must start our journey into Swift's utopian satire. Depending on the critic, utopia can be an extremely exclusive or a highly inclusive genre. There is no consensus regarding Swift's own position in the canon of utopian authors. However, within the field of Utopian Studies there is a growing acceptance of Gulliver's Travels as a utopia in its own right rather than a utopian satire or a satire on utopia (though both of these labels fit as well).

Much of the value of Utopian Studies for a critic of Gulliver's Travels resides in its emphasis on what utopia is

and how the book fits within the parameters of a given definition of utopia. However, defining a literary utopia remains a difficult task. Thomas More's depiction of an ideal state, building on Plato's Republic and inspiring numerous similar inquiries into man's ability to achieve a perfect society on earth, has given its name to a body of work which bears (sometimes uncomfortably) the title "utopian." The variations on More's major themes are seemingly endless. They are expounded by philosophers, theologians, scientists, revolutionaries, poets, satirists, fantasy and science fiction writers. His island has been moved all over the globe, into outer space, and throughout time. Utopia at once sums up all of humanity's dreams for itself, but to some, it can also stand for the dangerously unrealistic.

The word "utopia" itself is one source of the difficulty with definition. Commentators constantly struggle with the name "Utopia" because the pun that Thomas More built it upon leaves the door wide open for differing interpretations. If all it means is "u" (no) "topos" (place) then utopia is "no place" and suggests an ironic reading of the contents of the work. How seriously are we to take the lessons of "No-place"? Or even if we do admire "No-place," its non-existence suggests that it can never be found on earth. On the other hand, if utopia should be read as "eu" (good) "topos" (place) or "good place," then a non-

ironic meaning is implied. "Good-place" becomes the model that we should strive to emulate. While the meaning of utopia varies between "no-place" and "good-place" in popular usage, Lyman Tower Sargent suggests that utopia should be read both ways as a "a non-existent good place" (xi).

This interpretation seems to be closest to More's intent. His Utopia is filled with ironic names, which are designed to remind us humorously that there is no such place. Consider the capital city Amaurotum (Aircastle) and Ademus (Nowater), the river which runs past it.[4] The name of More's guide through utopia, Raphael (Hebrew for "God has healed") Hythloday ("dispenser of non-sense") sums up the two-fold manner in which we are to read the book (Turner 8). More intended for his readers to understand that wisdom is revealed even in foolishness. Utopia and Hythloday are meant to be taken ironically by their very names. More, the writer, is able to distance himself from Hythloday's actual criticism of England, as well as that implied by comparison to the Utopian system (and thus avoiding the very real possibility of persecution), by naming him a fool. More, the narrator, also distances himself from Hythloday at the end of the book. More rejects the communistic base on which Utopia rests, but he does so with an ironic criticism that is actually aimed at luxury and pride, two of the vices which are at the center of his critique of European society (132). Still, More leaves his readers with a reminder that

his society needs to learn some lessons from the Utopians, "I cannot agree with everything that he said.... But I freely admit that there are many features of the Utopian Republic which I should like--though hardly expect--to see adopted in Europe (132).

Like Gulliver two centuries later, who proclaims that the Yahoos are "utterly incapable of Amendment by Precepts or Example" (V) and that he "should never have attempted so absurd a Project as that of reforming the Yahoo Race of this Kingdom" (VII),[5] the doubt that humans are willing to adopt positive change nags More's narrator. Utopia is the good place where many of the roots of unhappiness have been eliminated through the efforts of its citizens, but because there is no place like it on earth, nor is there likely to be one until man finds it within himself to change, it is also no-place. We will see that Swift understood the double-nature of utopia very well.

A second source of difficulty in defining the literary utopia comes from the many variations on the theme of the ideal society. Many standard definitions of utopia focus on the "eutopia," but this also brings up difficulties. The first is the existence of the "dystopia" or "bad-place," in works which exploit the themes of utopia to depict the corruption of societal ideals. J. Max Patrick coined the term "dystopia" to describe a work which is a " 'utopia' in the sense of 'nowhere'; but it is the opposite of 'eutopia,'

the ideal society" (Negly and Patrick 298). Can we call a work utopian if there is no good place? The satiric function of the dystopia also helps to raise questions about the work that uses utopian elements primarily to criticize society, while offering comparatively little in the way of a positive depiction of a better society. Should we include the utopian satire in the genre even if its main function is not utopia building? Conversely, we may need to ask ourselves whether all depictions of places better than the author's own are utopian?

J.C. Davis illustrates this generic problem by drawing some controversial, but nonetheless, useful distinctions between utopia and four other types of ideal societies. Besides utopia, Davis lists "Cockaygne," "Arcadia," "Perfect Moral Commonwealth," and "Millennium" as classes of literature which depict the ideal society.[6] He bases his major distinctions on how each genre approaches "the collective problem: the reconciliation of limited satisfaction and unlimited human desires within a social context" (36). In types of ideal societies excluding utopia either one side of the equation or the other is manipulated to solve the problem. In "Cockaygne" (a medieval poem describing a paradise of plenty) and similar tales of a land of "milk and honey" unlimited human desires are satisfied with unlimited supply. In "Arcadia" humanity is closer to nature, so that its desires are simpler and can be satisfied

through the bounty of nature. The citizens of the "Perfect Moral Commonwealth" are themselves more perfect than found in reality; they are intelligent moral beings who lack the desires and propensity towards vice of less perfect people. In the "Millennium" the ideal society is brought to humanity. Human problems are solved by an outside force which "will miraculously alter its [the societal system's] balance and function" (36-37). Only the utopia attempts to deal with social realities:

> The utopian is more 'realistic' or tough-minded in that he accepts the basic problem as it is: limited satisfactions exposed to unlimited wants. He seeks a solution not by wishing the problem away nor by tampering with the equation. He does not assume drastic changes in nature or man. In most utopias, indeed, the problem is never resolved completely on an individual level and has to be dealt with by the restraint or punishment of recalcitrant individuals. The utopian's concern is rather to control the social problems that the collective problem can lead to--crime, instability, poverty, rioting, war, exploration and vice. None of these evaporate in utopias. (37)

Davis's conception of utopia is very restrictive.[7] It downplays the utopian desire to envision perfection, no matter how impossible it may be. Yet, it will be helpful in our analysis of Swift. Davis emphasizes the attempts of the utopian builder to treat real problems in ways that can be implemented, as Swift does with his lists of "expedients" in "A Modest Proposal." And within the utopian system human nature has to be dealt with squarely; its failings cannot be wished away. To Davis, utopia is not a naive fantasy of the

type which drew the scorn of Swift (Fussell 25), but a work that attempts to engage genuine social and political concerns of the author's world. Brobdingnag may be the Swiftian land best suited for utopian status in Davis's scheme, because even with its enlightened political system, poverty and crime exist. Portions of Part One of Gulliver's Travels would also fit this conception of utopia. Because the Houyhnhnms, on the other hand, "are endowed by Nature with a general Disposition to all Virtues, and have no Conception or Ideas of what evil is in a rational creature" (Travels 233), they would not be utopian in this definition.

Raymond Williams also offers a more useful analysis of utopian varieties in his essay "Utopia and Science Fiction." Williams distinguishes four types of utopian fiction, based on the manner in which the ideal society is achieved. He also considers a corresponding dystopia for each category. The third and fourth types are especially applicable to descriptions of Swift's utopias. He begins with "the paradise" and its negative "the hell." These are places which exist "elsewhere" and are the "projections of a magical or a religious consciousness." Williams argues that they are "only rarely utopian" because they are "commonly beyond the conditions of any imaginable ordinary human or worldly life." Two members of this category which do meet the criteria for utopia are "the pre-lapsarian Garden of Eden," which in some traditions "can be attained by

redemption," and the Land of Cockaygne, because "it can be, and was, imagined as a possible human and worldly condition" (205). It is possible to consider the land of the Houyhnhnms as a type of "Eden" and Gulliver's exile and attempts to emulate his Master Houyhnhnm as analogous to man's expulsion from paradise and his desire for redemption.

Williams's second category is "the externally altered world." A new condition of life is brought about by some natural force. A flood, an earthquake, a volcano, or a passing comet may bring about the conditions for a better or worse way of life (205). No clear examples of this type are found in Swift's utopias, unless we consider the natural isolation of each society Gulliver visits. But this may be stretching the conditions of Williams's category further than we should.

Third is "the willed transformation." Human life is made better or worse by human design. Williams calls this the "characteristic utopian mode ... in the strict sense" (205). Social engineering, the deliberate manipulation of fundamental social structures to effect change, is at the center of such a conception of utopia. When the changes are just and successful, an ideal society results. When the changes are unjust and/or unsuccessful, dystopia occurs. More's Utopia would surely fall into this category, as would much of Gulliver's Travels. Swift's Lilliputian dystopia is the direct result of such a willed transformation. Within

the course of a few generations, Lilliput is transformed from a society which arguably achieved utopian status to a dystopia because of the folly of its leaders. Conversely, Brobdingnag has been able to eliminate the strife which led to disastrous civil wars of recent history through wise and benevolent rule.

Williams's final category is "the technological transformation." In this case, the conditions for utopia or dystopia are brought about by a scientific discovery or technological breakthrough (204). Laputa is a good example of this type of transformation in Gulliver's Travels. The technology that enables the island to fly has allowed a dystopia to develop, both for its citizens and for the populations below, which fall under Laputa's hegemony. The crazy "scientificism" which has transformed Balnibarbi from an agrarian ideal into a wasteland may also constitute a dystopia of this type in Part III, though a case can be made that the willingness of the citizens to adopt the mad schemes of the projectors also makes this a "willed transformation" dystopia.

Williams's emphasis on "transformation" as the basis of the final two categories is particularly apt in approaching the utopian elements of the first three parts of Gulliver's Travels. Transformation seems an irrelevant point with the Houyhnhnms, who are the "perfection of nature" and cannot remember a time when they were otherwise. On the other

hand, Swift time and again stresses the deliberate choices made by the citizens of Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Laputa to alter their respective societies. Choice, and the responsibility for that choice, are placed on the people and their rulers. They can make of their worlds what they want. Satire seems an especially apt mode for expressing frustration with a society that continuously makes the wrong choices.

Lyman Tower Sargent provides a more general and more inclusive approach to defining utopia than Davis and Williams. Recently, many utopian scholars have recommended the set of working definitions for utopia and its sub-categories of "eutopia," "dystopia," and "utopian satire," that are found in Sargent's bibliography, British and America Utopian Literature: 1516-1985. For Sargent, a work is utopian if it satisfies two criteria: (1) The society portrayed by the author does not exist; (2) The author presents a detailed exploration of the political and social life of the society. The utopia then is classified as an eutopia, a dystopia, or a utopian satire depending on the author's intent to portray the society:

> Utopia--a non-existent society described in considerable detail.
> Eutopia--a non-existent society described in considerable detail that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as considerably better than the society in which that reader lived.
> Dystopia--a non-existent society described in considerable detail that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as considerably worse

> than the society in which the reader lived. Utopian satire-- a non-existent society described in considerable detail that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as a criticism of contemporary society. (Sargent xii)

Each of these categories of utopia is found in Gulliver's Travels. The narrator, Gulliver, is abandoned on the isolated shores of four exotic lands. Through his adventures and by his own design to improve the human race, we learn of the political and social lives of each society. The detailed descriptions of these fictional socities make the entire work a utopia. Gulliver views portions of the Lilliputian and Brobdingnagian systems and the entire Houyhnhnm system as better than Europe. These, along with Lord Munodi's estate on Balnibarbi, are Swift's eutopias. He views parts of Lilliput and Laputa as worse. These are Swift's dystopias.

Since Swift's design is satiric, utopian satire seems the most appropriate label to use as an umbrella term to describe his multi-layered manipulation of utopian elements. Swift uses the conventions of past utopian literature to criticize his society. Like the narrators of the classic utopias, Gulliver learns about the daily life of isolated states from willing guides who escort him from city, to court, to countryside. In turn, he relates what he has learned for the proposed improvement of his country. Swift differs from the writer of the classic utopia in one

important way: he is more concerned with a critique of contemporary society than constructing positive models. This is "utopian satire" in a standard narrow sense.

Swift also masterfully parodies utopian writing in order to satirize a popular genre of his time as he does with the parodies of travel books and scientific treatises.[8] A sensitive reader may detect parodies of specific utopias, such as Bacon's New Atlantis, or as Vauhan Hart has recently suggested, Campanella's City of the Sun. As Roger Lund more correctly points out, Swift's "literary parody tends to focus not on particular works but on 'kinds of literature'" (81). This "satire of utopia" also helps to advance Swift's social criticism. He reduces to absurdity both the worship of science and the confidence in human advancement which form the core of one type of utopia.

Swift's versions of eutopia also form a vital part of his satire, for he can there put forth his ideals for English society. But these eutopias are satiric because they are designed to contrast to his society. The virtues of the original Lilliputian system, the Brobdingnagian government, Lord Monodi's estate, and Houyhnhnm rationalism accentuate the sins of Europe. The conclusions about Europe reached by the King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver's Houyhnhnm master, after their respective dialogues with Gulliver, could fit Sargent's definition of a dystopia if Europe was a non-existing society.

It is tempting to extend the boundaries of utopian satire to include not just Swift's utopias, but to cover all utopian fiction. Vincent Geoghegan argues that by definition, utopia lends itself to satire because it presents an alternative vision to the author's society:

> The classic utopia anticipates and criticizes. Its alternative fundamentally interrogates the present, piercing through existing societies' defense mechanisms--common sense, realism, positivism and scientism. Its unabashed and flagrant otherness gives it a power which is lacking in other analytical devices. By playing fast and loose with time and space, logic and morality, and by thinking the unthinkable, a utopia asks the most awkward, the most embarrassing questions. As an imaginative construction of a whole society, the utopia can bring into play the rich critical apparatus of the literary form and a sensitivity to the holistic nature of society, enabling it to mock, satirize, reduce the prominent parts, to illustrate and emphasize the neglected, shadowy, hidden parts--and to show the interrelatedness--of the existing system. (1-2)

Geoghegan recognizes the power utopias have to examine their contemporary society and how they reveal faults and suggest change. Robert C. Elliott asserts that "it is in Thomas More's Utopia itself that the two modes satire and utopia are most clearly seen to be indivisible (22). Since More is the starting point for the body of utopian speculation which followed, Elliott argues, satire is integral to the utopian model. Elliott suggests that the distinction usually made between More and Swift ignores this link between utopia and satire:

> I suspect that we distinguish between the Utopia as 'a utopia' and Gulliver's Travels as 'a satire' primarily because of the difference in the distribution of positive and negative elements in the two works. Both are necessary to both types. (23-4)

The term "utopian satire" may then be the more precise label for Gulliver's Travels, if only because the negative outweighs the positive. Though, Elliott suggests that this is not a very important criteria. We need to keep in mind that all utopias are in some manner satires. This fact will help us to a better understanding of the relationship of Gulliver's Travels to utopian literature.

Structure of Utopia

In order to read each part of Gulliver's Travels as a utopia it is essential that we see how the work compares in structure and theme to the utopias that preceded it. Ruth Levitas explains that a relatively few works are responsible for establishing the structural model of the utopia:

> If we were to identify a handful of texts as the agreed core of utopias, it would be Plato's Republic, Thomas More's Utopia, Francis Bacon's New Atlantis, Tomasso Campanella's City of the Sun, and Etienne Cabet's Voyage en Icarie. These are the works least often excluded from discussion (though rarely from mention); More's Utopia is the only work which is universally discussed. (11)

These five works are generally referred to as the "classic utopias." Plato, More, Campanella (1602), and Bacon (1627)

each influenced Swift's utopias in various aspects of structure, theme, or object of parody. We should add to this list three other works, which while not utopias in the classical sense, merit discussion because of their place in the evolution of the genre and their possible influence on Gulliver's Travels. The first of these is Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus," (and to an extent, other classic accounts of the Spartan ruler) because of key utopian themes which may be traced from it to Utopia and finally to Gulliver's Travels. So many important utopian topics emerge from "Lycurgus" that it an invaluable source of comparison within the present context. And while it is nominally a biography, its setting in Greece's mythical pre-history lends to it a utopian flavor.

The second of these works is Mundus Alter Idem (1610) attributed to Bishop Joseph Hall. Hall's work is literally an inverted utopia. It is an account of a traveller's observation through a series of dystopias located at the bottom of the world. Mundus Alter Idem is important for several reasons. As a satire on European politics, manners, and custom and a possible parody of More's Utopia, it presents the first true literary dystopia. J. Max Patrick coined the term in 1952 to describe the relation Mundus Alter Idem had to other utopian works (Negly and Patrick 298).

John Millar Wands argues that " Mundus provides another satiric source for Swift" (xxxviii). Wands points out that the dystopian societies of Part Three of Gulliver's Travels especially demand comparison to Mundus; there, for example, servants in Ucalegonium must open their masters' eyes for them and perform other chores similar to the flappers in Laputa. Also in Ucalegonium, a land of gluttons, hogs are used to plow the fields as they do in Lagado (xl). Mundus establishes a pattern of using the utopian scheme to view dystopian societies controlled by one major passion or vice, be it gluttony or drunkenness. The dystopias of Gulliver's Travels are also examples of irrational passions in control.

The third of these quasi-utopian works is Simon Tyssot de Patot's The Travels and Adventures of James Massey (1710). Maximillian E. Novak explains that Tyssot's book "has long been considered one of Swift's sources" (31). The book is essentially a picaresque fiction in which the title character, a ship's surgeon, travels the world having one adventure after another; however, as Novak points out, it does contain a utopia, Austral, which shares many characteristics with Brobdingnag (Novak 31). The two utopias have several common themes, but an especially significant parallel is the inversion of the standard utopian narrative structure that occurs in both works. For satirical purposes Tassot and Swift allow their narrators to describe their own societies in utopian terms to the

skeptical monarchs of the utopia they are visiting. Massey and Gulliver are placed in the position of defending European corruptions to the astute leaders of a superior system of government.

From the seven works mentioned above we can trace the narrative structure of the classic utopia from its origin to Gulliver's Travels and identify the similarities of key themes and motifs which in Swift are arguably utopian. Plato laid the foundation for the genre by being the first to explore in detail the ingredients for the ideal society on earth. His topics ranged from the size of the city, to the composition of its citizenry, the structure of the government, military, and the family unit, and education of the children. These topics are treated in various degrees in subsequent utopias. But Plato's Republic differs in one important way from subsequent utopias: his is a philosophical city of the mind. Plato admitted that it had no existence other than in the dialogue.

By the very name he chose for his commonwealth, More too gave no pretensions to its actual existence; however, he established the structural device of placing the utopia on a distant, isolated spot on the globe. Since the literary tradition of the fantastic voyage, going back at least to Homer, was already well established, More had many classical sources to draw upon, which depicted travel to far off lands and encounters with different peoples. The Age of Discovery

had also added volumes of travel literature that, while professing to be accounts of actual experiences, were sometimes as far removed from reality as The Odyssey. The character of Raphael Hythloday was supposed to be a member of three of Amerigo Vespucci's expeditions to the New World, and Utopia was located in that part of the globe; but thrilling his readers with strange tales of exotic races was not More's intent. His desire in part was to examine philosophically a state in which all the major impediments to human happiness had been removed by the populace. By presenting a society free from want and internal strife, he explores the causes of corruption, crime, and war. The isolation of the utopian commonwealth gave More and later utopian writers a social laboratory to experiment, free from the entanglements of other cultures. In Book One More first sets up his laboratory in the utopian society of Tallstoria. Though it is officially part of the Persian empire, Tallstoria's natural isolation gives it a great deal of autonomy:

> As they're a long way from the sea, practically encircled by mountains, and content to live on the produce of their own soil, which is extremely fertile, they have little contact with foreigners. They've never had wish to increase their territory, which is secured against external aggression both by the mountains and by the protection-money that they pay to the Great King. This means that they're exempt from military service, so they're able to live in comfort, if not in luxury, and be happy, if not exactly famous or glorious--for, apart from their immediate neighbors, I doubt if anyone has ever heard of them. (51)

In this passage More creates all of the conditions for the happy isolation of a utopian society. Geographical barriers help to foster the political isolation the Tallstorians enjoy. Despite the tribute they pay to the Persian King, they are left to govern themselves. Because of their fertile soil they are also able to feed themselves. This eliminates the need for territorial expansion and foreign trade.

Thus, distance from known civilization and isolation to the point of being hidden became the hallmarks of the utopia from More to Swift. Campanella's City is located near Sumatra or Sri Lanka, Bacon's is in the South Pacific, and Hall's, in Antarctica. Gulliver, of course, travels to four distant places on the earth. On the more practical level, the utopia needs to be isolated so that it can be "discovered." Part of the appeal of the utopia is this sense of discovery. Gulliver's accounting of miniature people, giants, floating islands, and rational horses would have been somewhat redundant if they had already been "discovered." Isolation also helps to account for the fact that the utopian society is previously unknown even though it may possess technologies surpassing Europe. The sailors who discover Bensalem in The New Atlantis wonder how this "happy island where we now stood was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world" (224). Bacon reconciles many of the possible problems that isolation

could cause by first having Christianity brought to the island by a miracle of revelation, and secondly having covert exploratory expeditions to Europe take place.

Finally, isolation helps to prevent contamination by other races. From Plato on, the citizens of utopias desire to limit their contact with outsiders. Lycurgus prohibited his citizens

> to travel abroad, and go about acquainting themselves with foreign rules of morality, the habits of ill educated people, and different views of government. Withal he banished from Lacedaemon all strangers who would not give a very good reason for their coming thither ... rather lest they should introduce something contrary to good manners. (72)

The first King of Utopia commanded that a channel be cut through the isthmus which connected the state to the mainland in order to form an island and limit outside contact. Only certain citizens of Bensalem travel for the express purpose to inform the rulers about the customs of the rest of the world. Travelers to their island are rare and even discouraged. And while they are extremely hospitable to the strangers they admit, laws exist which limit the visits to six weeks. The laboratory isolation allows the utopian society to evolve without pressure from more corrupt people.

Other important structural features of the utopia center on the role of the narrator. More narrats his encounter with the world traveller Hythloday, and comments

on what Hythloday had told him about the political and social life of Utopia. The structure of many of the later utopias allow the narrators to travel to the distant states and relate directly their experiences either through a dialogue or a journal. They invariably have a guide who escort them throughout the city and countryside, explaining the customs and laws as they go along. The language problem is overcome either by the similarities of the native language to a European one or by the natives' knowledge of European languages from previous contact. After a period of time observing the various advancements of the utopian society, the narrator returns home, eager to relate the superiorities of the utopia for the benefit of European society. As for Hythloday, this is the only reason for his return to Europe. Campanella's narrator returns to inform Europe about the fabulous astrological predictions revealed to him by the citizens of the City of the Sun. Bacon's narrator is required to leave by a law that limits the contact that outsiders can have with the population of the island of Bensalem. Gulliver is forced out of Houyhnhnmland, never to return. Through these shared structural features, we see that each part of Gulliver's Travels is a utopia. Gulliver travels, observes, and reports about the four civilizations. Swift's satire nicely fulfills Sargent's test for a utopia.

However, Swift also turns the tables on the utopian structure by reversing the roles of the guide and commentator for satiric purposes. Gulliver takes on the position of guide to the political and social life of Europe, briefly in Lilliput, and more substantially in Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland. The Lilliputians, the King of Brobdingnag, and the Master Houyhnhnm make scathing observations on the Europe that Gulliver describes. Instead of a narrator voicing praises on the utopia, the utopians pass judgement on the narrator's society. Gulliver's Europe is laid open for direct examination, each time, failing (contrary to Gulliver's wishes) to impress the representatives of utopia. Swift is able to have his readers see Europe through the eyes of other civilizations, and his satire is made stronger for doing so.

Themes and Motifs

When we accept that Swift was writing in the genre, we can recognize clearly many utopian themes and motifs in Gulliver's Travels. Below is a selection from four categories of the major utopian themes and motifs which are common to the earlier classic utopias. These have been selected because of their importance to a part or all of Gulliver's Travels. Each can be found in at least two of the earlier works, and often are present in all. I will avoid the claim of inclusiveness because of limited space

and unlimited speculation on the part of other critics who may wish to add to this list.

One manner in which to categorize the themes and motifs is to group them according to the components of the commonwealth itself--beginning with those concerning mainly the individual and then moving to the family, the larger community, and ending with the government. Some overlapping may occur, while other motifs may not comfortably fit in any category. Each will be discussed more fully in later chapters devoted to the four parts of Gulliver's Travels.

I. The Individual

The individual is a component of the utopia and is subservient to the well-being of the commonwealth. Individualism is not encouraged, and is often not tolerated. For this reason, utopians generally dress plainly and indistinctively. Lycurgus disdained all forms of luxury, including that of dress. Hythloday relates an incident where the Utopian children, unaccustomed to elaborate clothing, made fun of a foreign ambassador who thought he would impress the citizens with his rich dress (87-88).

The individual also must be productive and perform a useful task. Since luxuries and money are de-emphasized, trades relating to these are of little use. A useful skill is a requirement for admittance into Plato's city. More's citizens must perform a full day's work, even when travelling, before they are allowed to eat. By contributing

to the society and by obeying the laws of the commonwealth, the individual has freedom from wants and fears. The individual is allowed to grow spiritually and pursue personal interests as long they are useful to the state.

II. The Family

The family is also a component of the utopia that is subservient to the commonwealth. Because the community is of highest value, the individual owes first allegiance to the state. Traditional notions of parental and filial responsibility are de-emphasized in favor of the community. Often children are reared after a certain age by people other than the parents. For example, Lycurgus proclaimed that children should be taken to live together in groups supervised by instructors when they turned seven (60). Children in Utopia could go live with another family if they desired to learn a trade different from their father's (75).

The family surrenders control of several of its fundamental responsibilities to the community. The community, for example, often has a vested interest in marriages, propagation, and education of the children. Eugenics is often practiced to ensure the best offspring. "The Life of Lycurgus" offers the most overt example of community control of the family:

> Lycurgus was of a persuasion that children were not so much the property of their parents as of the commonwealth, and therefore, would not have his

> citizens begot by the first-comers, but by the best men that could be found. (58)

While the family still exists as the basic unit of the community, mechanisms including communal living arrangements and mandatory common meals are designed to supersede its position as primary agent of socialization.

III. The Community

The community is at the center of utopia.[9] Utopia is a humanistic dream of total co-operation within the community, which will in turn free humans to develop to their potential as a species. An important goal of the community is to produce good, productive citizens. To this end universal education is offered to both sexes. All knowledge that benefits the community is esteemed.

The utopia builder has helped the co-operation along by generally removing external threats to the security of the commonwealth, thus allowing the citizens to devote their energies to improving the community. The utopian also attempts to remove sources of internal strife within the community. There are no class struggles in the classic utopia; however, the utopia is not a classless society. The communism it practices has not advanced that far. Political equality exists, but a definite class structure is in place. The citizens accept the class structure as natural and efficient. Plato envisioned a system built on the trade classes, the military class, and the ruling class. More

solved the problem of the servant class by using criminals and prisoners of war as slaves.

Internal conflict is also reduced because utopian laws are often simplified so that misinterpretations and corruptions are avoided. "Lycurgus would never reduce his laws into writing; nay there is a Rhetra expressly to forbid it " (54). In Utopia,

> They have very few laws, because, with their social system, very few laws are required. Indeed, one of their great complaints against other countries is that, although they've already got books and books of laws, and interpretations of laws, they never seem to have enough. For according to the Utopians, it's quite unjust for anyone to be bound by a legal code which is too long for an ordinary person to read right through, or too difficult for him to understand. (106)

In the classic utopia each citizen can understand the law and act as his own advocate, fulfilling the ideal of the citizen. There is a noticeable absence of lawyers in these utopias.

The economic system is also simplified to do away with poverty and theft. Lycurgian Sparta and More's Utopians practice a form of communism in which communal ownership of property is stressed. In Utopia even occupation of houses is rotated to prevent any attachment from occurring (73). Money is devalued, if not completely done away with, and luxuries often scorned.

The simple communism found in "The Life of Lycurgus" supplies many of the classical precedents for the ideal of

the community later expressed in More. The passages from "Lycurgus" below express attitudes about the community, communism, and money that are similar to ideas found throughout Utopia:

> No one was allowed to live after their own fancy; but the city was sort of camp, in which every man had his share of provisions and business set out, and looked upon himself as not so much born to serve his own ends as the interest of his country. (68)

> So much beneath them did they esteem to the frivolous devotion of time and attention to the mechanical arts and money making. (69)

> It need not be said that upon the prohibition of gold and silver, all lawsuits immediately ceased, for there was now neither avarice nor poverty amongst them, but equality, where every ones's wants were supplies, and independence, because those wants were so small. (69)

> To conclude, he bred up his citizens in such a way that they neither would nor could live by themselves; they were to make themselves one with the public good. (69)

Northop Frye observes this simplification of "social structure and organization" is important to the ideal society expressed in the utopia (40). The utopian community, in many respects, followings a more primitive social structure, which, by removing obstacles to harmony, is closer to the idealization of the state of nature.

IV. The Government

The goal of the utopia is happiness through co-operation. However, the humans who make up the society are still human

and still prone to human weaknesses, unless the utopia maker has solved this problem by populating the land with already perfected people. Utopia, in most instances, must be built on laws which ensure the continued health of the community and governed by just and wise leaders such as Lycurgus, Plato's philosopher kings, and the elected officials which rule the other utopias.

The government takes an interest in many aspects of the daily lives of its citizens from conception to death. The classic utopia then, tends to be totalitarian, though benevolently so. An inherent contradiction exists in the desire for simplistic laws and the need for all-encompassing laws. Hythloday may say that the Utopians "have very few laws, because, with their social system, very few laws are required" (106), but he also describes a extensive monitoring system which ensures that everyone performs a day's work, "Everyone has his eye on you, so you're practically forced to get on with your job, and make some proper use of your spare time" (84). The freedoms from want and conflict that utopians enjoy are the result of increased governmental control over their lives.

In the realm of international affairs, the utopian government is hesitant to get involved with other states. Since self-sufficiency is its goal, trade is kept to a minimum. The only commodity the Utopians trade for is iron (85). And while the utopians may have a strong interest in

the laws and customs of other nations, they maintain a sort of smug xenophobia towards other governments. Despite their isolation, war is a threat to the utopia because of their prosperity. Though hesitant to engage in combat, the utopia is well armed and its citizens are well disciplined. Each of the Renaissance utopias mentions the advancements in armaments its society has achieved. The military application of gunpowder, however, is a motif that Hall and Tyssot satirize.

The appearance of so many of these themes and motifs in Gulliver's Travels suggests that Swift was well versed in the utopian tradition. He often manipulates them for powerful satirical effects, sometimes directed against types of utopianism. However, the fact that Swift treats many of the themes and motifs positively suggests that he is also a utopianist. His eutopias are descendants of utopian primitivism found in Plato's Republic, Lycurgian Sparta, and Utopia. His utopianism is marked by a nostalgic longing for the simple virtues expressed in these imaginary societies. As we will see in the next several chapters, Swift may have scoffed at the term "utopia," and he may have attacked aspects of the utopian impulse, but the utopia genre served as a powerful vehicle for his satire on mankind's corruptions, and his desires for England's return to its past virtues makes him a utopianist, perhaps in spite of himself.

III

LILLIPUT: TRANSFORMATION OF UTOPIA

"a most ingenious People"
"the most scandalous Corruptions into which these People are fallen" --Swift, "Voyage to Lilliput"

Utopian Capers

In utopian terms there are two Lilliputs. The first is an eutopian society of a technologically simpler, though clever people ruled wisely by a benevolent monarch. The second is a dystopian society of suspicion and faction ruled by megalomaniacs. The eutopia serves to put forth many of Swift's social and political ideals while satirizing various European shortcomings; the dystopia functions as a topical allegory ridiculing the corruption, faction, and intrigue of English politics. Swift moves back and forth between eutopia and dystopia in Part I of Gulliver's Travels depending on the target of his satire. When he wants to

shame the English legal system, he presents the Lilliputians as lovers of truth and justice, but when he wants to vex the Whig administration, he portrays the emperor and his advisers as scheming, power-mad politicians.

Like the political hopefuls of Lilliput, Swift walks a tightrope. He dances between both types of utopias, at the same time juggling the inevitable inconsistencies that are created by his attempts to exploit each for their satirical capabilities. Working initially in the structure of an eutopia, Swift establishes a positive depiction of Lilliput. Gulliver admires the populace for its courage and ingenuity. He praises the emperor for his magnanimity and learning. He is also made to feel embarrassed about English politics. But as Swift progresses through Part I, he seems to discover the satirical power of the dystopia. Gulliver becomes increasingly associated with the disgraced Tory leaders, the Viscount Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford, while the emperor and his treasurer Flimnap are analogous to George I and the Whig leader Robert Walpole, respectively.

That the satiric purpose and targets of Part I may have undergone revision can be seen in Swift's attempts to reconcile the two utopian Lilliputs. From the evidence of the first two chapters one may make the conjecture that Lilliput was originally conceived as a standard utopia and that Swift either discovered the dystopia through the course of writing Part I or later overlaid the dystopian elements

during a revision. Ricardo Quintana makes such an argument. He interprets Part I as a "work ... of two different periods." The earlier part, the conception of which arose in 1714 from Martin Scriblerus, a satirical collaboration between Swift, Alexander Pope and others, includes the first two chapters and a portion of Chapter VI. The second, which contains allusions to events after 1714, comprises the majority of the material from Chapter III on (307). Of Swift's original utopian intent Quintana states:

> ... it does not seem that Swift's original intention was to portray them as despicable creatures; that the flattering account of their customs and manners given in chapter vi suggests that he first conceived them as a Utopian people into whose kingdom a shipwrecked European traveler was to stay with amusing results. If this is the case, it was only as he preceded with the story that he perceived the satiric effect to be gained by a different treatment of the Lilliputians.... (309)

Swift then had to reconcile the two treatments by explaining that the original institutions of Lilliput had degenerated since the time of the current monarch's grandfather. This "history" accounts for the inconsistent characterization of the emperor and the abrupt (and less than satisfactory) shifts between the eutopia and the dystopia.

If Swift indeed altered his original utopia, he also made Lilliput more interesting despite the inconsistencies. The changes certainly add variety to the standard structure of a traveller discovering a politically and morally superior society, especially since Brobdingnag represents

the former and Houyhnhnmland the latter. Lilliput is a utopia transformed, both by the author and by the Lilliputians. Through this transformation Swift first reveals his particular utopian sense of history and his opinions on the utopian theme of the moral progress of mankind, both of which shape the tone of all four voyages.

"a most ingenious People": Eutopia

From Gulliver's first encounter with the Lilliputians, Swift seems to be creating the situation for an eutopia. While Gulliver's predicament of being tied to the shores of Lilliput and surrounded by hundreds of armed natives would be much more menacing if it were not so comical, we are quickly prepared for a scenario in which the giant would learn lessons in humanity, bravery, and ingenuity from a diminutive and technologically less-advanced race. The Lilliputians in the early chapters are fit inhabitants of a utopia. They possess many qualities that Swift would recommend: intelligence, practicality, and humanity. Lilliput even looks like a utopia. Gulliver is taken by the picturesque landscape and well-planned metropolis. "From the start the Lilliputians win our interest and liking," Samuel Holt Monk explains, for "these pygmies ingeniously capture the Hercules whom chance has cast on their shore; they humanely solve the problem of feeding him; their pretty land and their fascinating little city take our fancy" (58).

They do quickly gain our admiration as well as Gulliver's. While still lashed to the ground, Gulliver begins to develop a respect for their intelligence. Calling them "a most ingenious People" (7), Gulliver is impressed by the manner in which they initially supply him food and drink. He also praises the ointment they have developed to sooth his arrow stings and the device they have built to transport him to the capital. "These People are most excellent Mathematicians, and arrived to a great Perfection in Mechanicks" (10), Gulliver asserts as he describes the pulley system that lifts him and the cart that is constructed to move him. In a later chapter Gulliver also praises them for accurately figuring the amount of food he will require by calculating the difference between his body size and theirs. This calculational achievement prompts him to remark that, "the Reader may conceive an Idea of the Ingenuity of that People" (27). He also relates their cleverness in fitting him with new clothes by using a "mathematical Computation, that twice around the Thumb is once around the Wrist, and so on to the Neck and Waist (44).

The problem-solving abilities of the Lilliputians reveal a practical application of their knowledge, a point that is greatly contrasted with the inhabitants of Laputa in Part III, who cannot design a well-fitting suit for Gulliver despite all their supposed learning. Practicality is a

trait possessed by the other eutopias in the book and absent in the dystopias of Laputa and Lagado. These abilities also serve to advance the narration. Gulliver has to be fed, housed, and clothed while in Lilliput, and the Lilliputians are up to the challenge. Gulliver himself is compelled to include such details in the accounts of his travels, a quality that makes him somewhat comic for his over preciseness, but one that as well makes him more than an adequate utopian narrator in his descriptions of all aspects of the Lilliputians society.

The Technology of Utopia

Another utopian characteristic of the Lilliputians is revealed in Chapter II. When the emperor requires Gulliver to be searched, the officers who are assigned to catalog Gulliver's possessions are unfamiliar with many of the common objects he has on his person. They are ignorant of the material which composes some of these objects as well.[10] For example, they reveal their ignorance of both timepieces and glass in their attempt to describe Gulliver's watch, "a wonderful kind of Engine ... which appeared to be a Globe, half Silver, and half of some transparent Metal" (18). They also have never encountered tobacco, gunpowder, and firearms.

Though they are skilled and practical engineers and mathematicians, the Lilliputians prove to be a

technologically less advanced society than Europe. And though Gulliver dwells only a short time on this point, the contrast between European and Lilliputian technology is significant to the overall text because it establishes the characteristic of primitivism which is present in each of the book's eutopias. This technological primitivism also has an important role in the development of utopian literature. It makes the Lilliputians stand apart from the standard Renaissance utopian societies, which have a technology superior to Europe's. However, as we shall see below, the primitivism of Lilliput enhances its claim to utopian status in Swift's personal conception of an ideal society.

Since More's Utopia, advanced technology has been a hallmark of the ideal commonwealth. Moral, political, and technological progress go hand in hand in these societies. Since isolation and intelligent governing have eliminated external and internal conflict, the peoples of these utopias can turn their attention to making life better; thus science becomes a manifestation of their humanism. Science and technology are among the highest function of Campanella's and Bacon's utopias, allowing man to achieve a longer, healthier, and more satisfying life. In both utopias the world's greatest inventors are honored with portraits which hang in halls devoted to science.[11] The populations of both societies not only posses all of the world's important

technology, but they have also advanced far beyond Europe in science. More's own Utopians also consider "the scientific investigation of nature ... a most enjoyable process" (100). Through such research they have "become amazingly good at inventing things that are useful in everyday life" (101), a trait that Gulliver observes in Lilliput and one that the practical king of Brobdingnag values. However, "they also invent and manufacture most ingenious mechanical weapons" (116). Bacon's utopia also possesses advanced military weapons, and even honors the inventor of gunpowder. This is a technology that the Lilliputians chose not to exploit, as is evident in their reaction when Gulliver demonstrates his pistols, and one that later horrifies Brobdingnag's king.

Raymond Williams explains that there are examples of utopias in which science may be "positively controlled, modified, or in effect suppressed, in a willed return to a 'simpler,' 'more natural' way of life" (204). These societies are at once advanced and primitive. The Houyhnhnms are a prime example of such a utopia. Lilliput also qualifies in certain ways. One important exception to the stress placed on technological advancement in the utopias between More and Swift can be found in the utopian section of one of Swift's probable sources, Simon Tyssot's The Travels and Adventures of James Massey. A brief examination of two conversations the title character has with the natives of Austral about the role that technology

plays in an advanced society provides useful insight to the utopian primitivism of Lilliput. The first occurs with a chief priest, who has engaged Massey in a debate about the age of the world.

Like Gulliver, Massey is a physician who is often the voice for a standard European position on matters of philosophy, religion, and politics. His defense of European beliefs allows for the advancement of rational, and even deist counter-arguments on these topics. In one major example, Massey defends the accepted calculation of the age of the world as being not over 6000 years. After he first cites biblical authority, Massey turns to the absence of very ancient histories and the recent advances in technology to support his position:

> One proof that the world is not very ancient is that we have no Histories which go above 4000 years. The Arts are also very modern. We don't find that above 500 Years ago they had any Knowledge of the Mariner's Compass, of the printing of Books, of Gunpowder, Fire-Arms, Perspectives, Microscopes, and other fine Inventions. 'Tis certain likewise that the Use of Money was unknown to the ancient Writers. Clocks, Watches, Glass, Paper, tempered Steel, and abundance of other things, are of a very modern Date. I infer therefore, that in this, as well as in other Matters, 'tis absolutely necessary to be guided by the Word of God. (111)

A fine bit of irony in their conversation is that the priest dismisses Massey's shaky argument, which is based a great deal on the unquestioning acceptance of a religious dogma (a premise which the deist priest does not accept), with a

response based on reason:

> Most of the Arts that you have now mention'd are unknown to us, and yet for all this, our Part of the World is as old as yours; We may be here a Million of Years without knowing them, because we have no need of them, and 'tis not impossible but others may do without them a long time, as well as we. (111)

The important implication of this argument is that outwardly the society to which the priest belongs is in many ways similar to Massey's; the major difference is the European innovations. However, we are meant to understand that the priest's land, because of reason, is far more advanced morally, politically, and philosophically than Europe. There is little crime, no capital punishment, and war is almost unheard of. In this case, utopia is definitely achieved without a technological transformation and it is maintained in a static state of felicity without the latest innovations. The priest also makes an argument attacking the smugness of Massey's position on modern advances. It is one that Swift himself might have made:

> Who knows but those Arts, of which you pretend to the Inventions, were not known to your Predecessors? I plainly observe here that the Sciences are upon the Decay. My Great Grandfather was much better skill'd than my Father in Astronomy: I know even less of it than both; and by what I learn from them, the Knowledge they had of it was very obscure in comparison of what their Ancestors. 'Tis the very same in all other Families. There are Sciences which are cultivated at certain times, in complaisance to the Mode that then prevails, but are entirely neglected at others; and 'tis possible they may be so far bury'd in Oblivion, that those who are born afterwards, seeing no Trace of them, imagine when they come to the Exercise of 'em,

that they are the first Inventors. (112-13).

Like Swift, the priest is a supporter of the superiority of the "Ancients" and a proponent of the belief that modern man has decayed from the ideals that the ancients represented. In this case the priest turns to the sciences as an example. As we will see, Swift returns often to this theme of man's decay, and in one very pertinent example in Part III, he shows the disastrous results of the abandonment of ancient principles of architecture and agriculture in favor of ill-conceived modern "advances."

Massey's second conversation in which technology is prominent takes place between him and Austral's king. As we have seen, like the Lilliputians, the inhabitants of Tyssot's utopia are unfamiliar with many European inventions. Two in particular warrant the king's attention. The first is, significantly, clocks. The population is fascinated by the concept and mechanics of clocks, and Massey and his companion Le Foret, a clockmaker, are employed during their stay building clocks. By attempting to explain the principles on which clocks are based, Massey engages the king in a discussion of physics, which the king shows an intelligent interest in, though an imperfect knowledge of.

The second innovation is firearms, of which the king has a decidedly different opinion. As Massey explains,

"Fire-arms were also quite unknown to him, but the bad Use that they were put to, took off his liking to them" (138). Since their function is mainly to kill humans, the king wants nothing of them. The king reacts in disgust to Massey's depiction of European warfare, "Nothing affected him with so much horror as the Narratives I gave him now and then, of our Wars and bloody battles" (138). The king hears the especially bloody part gunpowder and fire arms played in the modern history of war. This king, in his attitude toward technology, is like the monarchs of Lilliput and Brobdingnag, who also value its proper, humane application.[12] It seems unlikely that all three of them would place the portrait of gunpowder's inventor on the hall of the shrine to science as do the brothers of Salomon's House in Bacon's New Atlantis.

Massey, like Gulliver after him, is frustrated by the priest and the king's lack of full appreciation for all things European. He, like Gulliver will later do, looks for the fault in their imperfect understanding of the world (113), but it is Massey's own Euro-centric arrogance that blinds him to the fact that a society can be more advanced than another which possesses a technology which he deems greater. This is a lesson Gulliver will especially learn in Houyhnhnmland.

The second chapter of the travels in Lilliput, though not overtly attacking the modern worship of technology, does

help to set the tone of Swift's backward glance to a simpler age, not too far removed from his own. In the later parts of Gulliver's Travels modern technology stands as a symbol of man's foolishness and corruption (the first chapters of Part III especially so). Conversely, all of the book's eutopias possess less technology than Gulliver's Europe. Therefore, the same nostalgia for less complicated, though well governed, times which infuses the description of Brobdingnag, Lord Monodi's estate, and Houyhnhnmland is present in the early sections of Part I.

As the sum of the book reveals, Swift's primitivism is a result of his respect for the virtues of classical Greece and Rome and a nostalgia for the "Gothic" English system under a monarch such as Queen Elizabeth (Correspondence 2. 372). In Viscount Bolingbroke's The Ideal of a Patriot King, a work which shared many of Swift's nostalgic sentiments about English politics and society, the reign of Queen Elizabeth stands as a model of proper government and represents a golden age of English prosperity (118-19). Swift's primitivism is also a reaction to the modern mania for "projects" and innovations which allowed the financial disaster of the South Sea Bubble in 1720 to occur.

Swift positively depicts a type of primitivism because he sees merit in the past and suspects the gadgetry of the present. But it is important to understand the complexity of his viewpoint. George Orwell points out:

> Swift, however, is not a simple-lifer or an admirer of the Noble Savage. He is in favor of civilization and the arts of civilization. Not only does he see the value of good manners, good conversation, and even learning of literary and historical kind, he also sees that agriculture, navigation and architecture need to be studied and could with advantages be improved. But his implied aim is a static, incurious civilization--the world of his day, a little cleaner, a little saner, with no radical change and no poking into the unknowable. (60)

Stature of its citizens aside, Lilliput is very similar to Gulliver's England, as is Brobdingnag. An eighteenth-century European like Gulliver would quickly feel, if not at home, at least then a comfortable sense of familiarity with the buildings and countryside of both nations, their dress, their food, as well as their sociological and political structures. These are civilized people despite their lack of the most modern technology. But they are not anti-technological either. Their monarchs are both patrons of practical technology and the citizens are skilled in useful sciences which make life comfortable. Also of significance is the fact that the most technologically primitive of the utopian races Gulliver encounters, the Houyhnhnms, are the ones he feels are the most civilized.

Gulliver's humorous account of the Lilliputian's mistaken conjecture about the function of his watch makes a brief, but pointed statement that sums up Swift's utopianism concerning technology. In the official report to the emperor, the officers assigned to examine Gulliver's effects

unintentionally draw some ironic conclusions about his watch:

> We conjecture it is either some unKnown Animal, or the God that he worships: But we are more inclined to the latter Opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any Thing without consulting it. He called it his Oracle, and said it pointed out the Time for every Action of his Life. (18)

The watch, as a symbol of modernism, runs Gulliver's life. He does, in truth, obey it like a god. Making a complaint that is as recognizable to contemporary readers as to those of the early decades of modern capitalism and those closing in on the industrial revolution, Swift laments that technology is controlling man instead of man controlling technology. Watches do not exist in Lilliput. And to this effect, the island is given a timeless quality befitting a utopia.

"a most magnanimous Prince"

Ruling over the admirable Lilliputians of Chapters I and II is the wise and practical emperor who initially seems to be made of the same stuff that we will see in the patriot king of the political eutopia of Brobdingnag. Only after the political allegories begin to develop in later chapters should readers suspect that the emperor is a satire of George I.[13] Thus, the positive descriptions Gulliver makes of him in these early chapters could only be interpreted as

ironic in hindsight. Until then, the emperor appears to be a strong and noble statesman. The fundamental change in the character of the emperor is significant in that it suggests that Swift changed the direction of the utopia he was creating. While an argument could be made that Swift is deliberately misleading his readers' expectations of the emperor and then heightening the satire by introducing character flaws and absurdities as the narration progresses, it seems more likely from Gulliver's absolute respect for him that Swift just changed his mind when he decided to satirize George I in particular and all kings in general.

The initial impression we have of the emperor is formed greatly by the description Gulliver makes of his person and the success of his reign in Chapter II. Gulliver draws him as a handsome and majestic figure who has "reigned about seven years, in great Felicity, and generally victorious" (13). Arthur E. Case argues that this description is designed to satirize the English monarch because it is "almost the exact antithesis of George" (71); however, the irony would be ineffective at this point because Swift has made no indication that the emperor should be viewed as anything but a positive figure. Gulliver does deflate him in the midst of his description of the emperor's dress: "He held his Sword drawn in his Hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three Inches long, the Hilt and Scabbard were Gold enriched with

Diamonds" (14). The image Gulliver presents is comic: a Lilliputian with a sword the size of a small pocket knife daring to stand up to Gulliver. The effect here is more to set a tone of incredulity at the bravado of this race than to begin the ridicule of the emperor which later takes place. Gulliver credits him with the quick, intelligent action which allows Gulliver to be captured as well as the foresight to drug his wine so he could be transported with minimal risk. If this was the action of the emperor of the latter chapters, who desires Gulliver to completely crush the nation of Blefuscu so he could be ruler of the entire world, we would suspect this to be the act of a paranoid and devious mind. But, at this point Gulliver can only praise the emperor:

> This Resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous and I am confident would not be imitated by any Prince in Europe on the like Occasion; however, in my Opinion it was extremely Prudent as well as Generous. For supposing these People had endeavored to kill me with their Spears and Arrows while I was asleep; I should certainly have awaked with the first Sense of Smart, which might so far have rouzed my Rage and Strength, as to enable me to break the Strings wherewith I was tyed; after which, as they were not able to make Resistance, so they could expect no Mercy. (9)

Not only does the emperor act wisely, but Gulliver feels that he shows courage and judgement superior to European rulers. Gulliver makes several other observations to the emperor's credit in the first three chapters. Gulliver

refers to him in Chapter I as "a renowned Patron of Learning" who has encouraged the Lilliputian interest in mathematics and engineering (10). In Chapter II he explains how the emperor wisely prevents the affairs of the kingdom from being neglected by sending the curious home and requiring a special licence to be purchased by those who wish to come within fifty yards of Gulliver (15). Gulliver also admires his courage and fortitude during the cataloging of Gulliver's possessions. While others in the crowd are filled with terror at the sight of Gulliver's sword, Gulliver remarks that "His Majesty, who is a most magnanimous Prince, was less daunted than I could expect" (19). The emperor, though shaken, is also able to remain standing while all others fall to the ground when Gulliver fires his pistol. In Chapter III Gulliver praises "the prudent and exact Oeconomy of so great a Prince" (27), which is greatly responsible for Gulliver's subsistence while in Lilliput.

Probably the most important passage which informs us of Swift's initial portrayal of the emperor as a good monarch is found in Chapter II. Gulliver represents him as a prudent and good leader who bears the expense of maintaining Gulliver without overtaxing the populace:

> For the due Payments ... his Majesty gave Assignments upon his Treasury. For this Prince lives chiefly upon his own Demesnes; seldom, except upon great Occasions raising any Subsidies upon his Subjects, who are bound to attend him in

his Wars at their own Expense. (15-16)

This is a ruler Swift could recommend! He is an emperor who lives within the means of the country and does not saddle the kingdom with crushing debts and unwarranted taxes. (Of course, it is the cost to the kingdom that the treasurer Flimnap later exploits in his campaign against Gulliver.) Even his wars are less costly to the kingdom because his citizen soldiers are not paid.[14]

As Isaac Kramnick points out, Swift's friend Bolingbroke envisioned a similar England under the reign of the Patriot King, "There would be few taxes," Kramnick explains in Bolingbroke's vision of England in this happy time, "and the specter of a national debt would be forever banished from her shores" (34). Both Swift and Bolingbroke were enemies of anything which would erode the power of the landed class, including the excessive taxes on property which they felt were being squandered by unscrupulous members of the government. In a 1721 letter to Alexander Pope Swift complained:

> I ever abominated that scheme of politicks, (now about thirty years old) of setting up a mony'd Interest in opposition to the landed. For I conceived there could not be a truer maxim in our government than this, That the possessors of the soil are the best judges of what is for the advantage of the kingdom: If others had thought the same way, Funds of Credit and South-seas Projects would neither have been felt nor heard of. (Correspondence 2. 372-730)

The emperor at this point will stand in contrast later to Flimnap, who as Lord High Treasurer, represents Walpole and the "mony'd Interest." In his campaign against Gulliver, Flimnap turns to the state of the treasury to convince the emperor to dismiss this drain on the kingdom's funds, ignoring Gulliver's valued service. In doing so he reveals both that money is his only true concern and he has been doing just what Gulliver earlier stated that the emperor was loath to do, manipulating money. Flimnap complains to the emperor that, "he was forced to take up money at great Discount" and "that Exchequer Bills would not circulate under nine per Cent. below Par" (45). Flimnap's position of influence which is first explained in Chapter III, is characteristic of the failed idealism that the Lilliputian dystopia will later represent.

Until this dystopia fully develops, Lilliput is not unlike the utopian England Bolingbroke describes in his The Ideal of a Patriot King. It is a place where "concord will appear, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land; joy sitting in every face, content in every heart" all brought about by the efforts of a strong, moral monarch

> who contributed his mite to carry on so good a work,and who desired life for nothing so much, as to see a king of Great Britain the most popular man in his country, and a Patriot King at the head of a united people. (Works 3. 125)

Bolingbroke's Patriot King rules only out of the interest of the nation; he surrounds himself with capable and moral advisers, and he does not condescend to party politics. Though he rules firmly, he is a supporter of a balanced constitution. For two chapters the emperor of Lilliput appears to be such a monarch. Besides the aforementioned examples of his beneficent rule, the emperor also appears to be, if not a proponent of a balanced government, at least one who is no tyrant and who keeps only his own council. After Gulliver makes several suits for his freedom, the emperor asks him to be patient. Though Gulliver's understanding of their language is still imperfect, he comprehends the emperor's reply to his entreaty to mean, "this must be a work of Time, not to be thought on without the Advice of his Council" (16). At this point we again see the emperor as a wise ruler similar to Bolingbroke's King, who relies on the advice of his nobles to come to important decisions, though is not controlled by them. The comic method of choosing political officials in Chapter III erodes our confidence in this council; however, Gulliver later assures us that it contains both wise men and corrupt men who deliberate on Gulliver's fate. The emperor's role in the history of party faction in Lilliput will also later help to disqualify him as a Patriot King, but Gulliver's explanation of Lilliput's original constitution in Chapter VI and its emphasis on justice, its rewarding of virtue, and

its valuing morality over capability should remind us of the emperor of the early chapters. Although by Chapter VI the emperor is no longer an admirable figure, he briefly regains his former reputation by repudiating Gulliver's more or less lenient attitude towards "a breach of Trust" (40). This inconsistency gives further support to the theory that Swift initially intended for the emperor to be a positive monarch.

"Our ancient Constitution"

Often when critics refer to the Lilliputian eutopia, their sole focus is given to Chapter VI. For Milton Voigt, Chapter VI provides the obvious starting point for a discussion of Gulliver's Travels in terms of Utopias-Dystopias because "students should be able to detect the sudden reversion to the utopian mode" (119). Here Gulliver, in the fashion of past utopian narrators, describes the superior system of justice and government under Lilliput's original constitution as well as details their practices of child rearing, education, and public welfare. This leads Morton to label Chapter VI "a direct utopia written very much nearer the classic manner of More" (134). Since the mid-1960s critics have been also making valuable parallels between the Lilliput of Chapter VI and the utopian descriptions of Sparta found in Plutarch and Xenophon. William H. Halewood was the first to argue that "The Life of Lycurgus" provided Swift a source for Chapter VI. Leon

Guilhamet later suggested that "Xenophon's The Politeia of the Spartans ... is a more likely source [than Plutarch] for Swift" (45). Ian Higgans credits both works as well as others for creating influential "political and social positives for Swift" (513). Students of utopias will see that Chapter VI serves a variety of utopian functions for Swift: (1) Gulliver's praise of the original constitution is another important manifestation of Swift's idealization of Greco-Roman antiquity and England's own "Gothic" past. (2) In its positive depiction of a well-governed and orderly society, Chapter VI also provides Swift with a platform to advance some of his personal ideals relating to politics and family and social issues, while satirizing at the same time those of Europe. (3) Gulliver explains the abandonment of the constitution in the reign of the current monarch's grandfather, and thus underscores Swift's theme of the moral degeneration of man and marks the genesis of Lilliput's willed transformation into the dystopia. The original constitution is first mentioned almost in passing in Chapter IV. However brief this reference may be, readers of Swift's day would have immediately recognized a politically charged Tory buzz-word which summarizes much of the presumed differences between the Whigs and Tories. In a conversation with his confidant Reldresal, Culliver learns about the factionalism between the political parties of the "high Heels" and "low Heels." Reldresal informs him that "It is

alleged indeed, that the high Heels [repressing the Tories in this political allegory] are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution" (30). As a symbol of a fading past, England's own "ancient constitution" held important significance to Tories such as Swift. The original Lilliputian system of law in turn becomes itself an ideal symbol of the spirit of England's gothic constitution. As Kramnick explains, to the Tories the ancient constitution represented rule by a well balanced mixed government comprised of the monarch, the nobles and the commons, all which served to balance the inherent vices of each system and accentuate their virtues. Tory historians, such as Bolingbroke and Swift's patron Sir William Temple, traced its origins back to Saxon rule, though they also found parallels to it in ancient Greece and Rome (Kramnick 137-181, 300). In his Remarks on the History of England Bolingbroke wrote that not even William the Conqueror and his sons "could destroy the old constitution; because neither he nor they could extinguish the old spirit of liberty" (Works 1. 317).

However, the Tory ideologues were convinced that the Whigs were actively undermining the constitution through the advancement of moneyed interests. The dystopian Lilliput results from the dominance of the Low Heels, the party in power during a great degeneration from the ideals of the constitution. The Lord High Treasurer Flimnap,

significantly, is at their head.

Shortly after the publication of Gulliver's Travels Bolingbroke himself published a utopian political allegory that both illustrated a Tory reverence for England's constitution and served as an indictment of Whig powerbrokers who were destroying it through the corrupting influence of money. In "The First Vision of Camilick" (Works 1. 184-88), which appeared originally in the opposition journal The Craftsman, the constitution is depicted as a miraculous parchment "encompassed with rays of gold" which appears over the heads of warring armies. The constitution initially brings about peace. But when its covenant is broken by the king, desolation ensues. However, when the next king of the land vows his allegiance to the parchment:

> the face of war was no more. The same fields, which had so long been the scene of death and desolation, were now covered with golden harvests. The hills were clothed with sheep. The woods sung with gladness. Plenty laughed in the valleys. Industry, commerce, and liberty danced hand in hand through the cities. (186)

When in force, the constitution presides over a nostalgic utopia similar to the idealization of Tudor England in Bolingbroke's The Ideal of a Patriot King.

The scene then abruptly shifts to a great hall where the king and nobles are paying homage to the parchment, exclaiming in reverent terms, "Let the heart of the king be glad; for his people are happy! May the light of the

covenant be a lanthorn to the feet of the judges; for by this shall they separate truth from falsehood." The constitution will end all oppression and infuse the entire nation with justice and wisdom.

Suddenly into the midst of the congregation came "a man, dressed in a plain habit, with a purse of gold in his hand." This is Robert Walpole, whose simple dress and bag of gold represent the "upstarts" who gained political power from money alone. Scattering gold as he advances, he walked up to the constitution unchallenged and "rumpled it rudely up, and crammed it into his pocket." Immediately, half of the assembly appeared in chains. The man has enslaved a cross-section of the ruling class, thus upsetting the balance of the constitution. His power lasts, however, only as long as the gold in his purse holds out. With the gold gone, "He sunk, and sunk for ever." With his descent

> The radiant volume again arose; again shone out, and reassumed its place above the throne ... Every chain dropped off in an instant. Every face regained its former cheerfulness. Heaven and earth resounded with liberty! liberty! (188)

Bolingbroke's utopia is preserved because the constitution is salvaged. The people have come to their senses and the liberty they enjoy is the freedom that is implicit in the balanced system once the corruption is eliminated.

Bolingbroke had Lilliput available as a model of his allegory. The ancient constitution of Lilliput described in Chapter VI is also such a utopian document. While in effect, it protected the liberty of the citizens, and when it was discarded, a dystopia followed. Furthermore, in the course of his description of the constitution, Gulliver informs us that he is describing the system of laws under "the original Institutions" and not as they are currently practiced (41). This makes the Lilliputian constitution a nostalgic document, and for Swift that means utopian, because it is a product, like the English constitution, of an idealized past.

It is also utopian in that it attempts to address real problems, even if the solutions are not realistic. The utopian Lilliput is not a perfect moral commonwealth. While the original institutions were followed, crime still existed and the need for swift and severe punishment was recognized. The constitution's framers shared Swift's suspicion of human nature, and attempted to protect the innocent and honest citizens from the cunning and unscrupulous. Man's natural depravity requires a strong and effective system of laws to keep it in check.

With understated irony, Swift has Gulliver introduce the utopian system of laws in a satirical manner reminiscent of several of More's qualified comments on Utopia's customs, "There are some Laws and Customs in this Empire very

peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear Country, I should be tempted to say a little in their Justification" (39).[15] Gulliver is in dead earnest, but Swift the satirist intends to vex the English for the very fact that the priorities of two systems do appear to contrast so greatly.

The Lilliputian system protects the innocent, punishes the guilty, and rewards the virtuous. By implication, we are to understand that these are principles contrary to Gulliver's "dear Country." Honesty in the Lilliputian system is held at a premium, as is evident from their attitudes towards what they consider two of the most serious crimes: bearing false witness and fraud, both which are punishable by death. These crimes are especially odious because the honesty of the victim cannot guard against them. In 1717 Swift delivered a sermon entitled "On False Witness," which attacked the epidemic of political "informing" that was plaguing England. He contended that "if ever innocence be too weak a defense, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to an high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men ... are inflamed only by party fury" (Prose Works 166). Because informing is often motivated by partisan rivalry, personal malice, or hopes for financial gain, Swift argued that "virtue and innocence are no infallible defence against perjury, malice, and subornation" (166). Swift lamented

that too often in England false informers succeed in their dirty business, but under the constitution of Lilliput, the crime is so swiftly and severely punished that its practiced is deterred. Gulliver explains how false accusers are

> immediately put to an ignominious Death; and out of his Goods or Lands, the innocent Person is quadruply recompensed for the Loss of his Time, for the Danger he underwent, for the Hardship of his Imprisonment, and for all the Changes he hath been at in making his Defense. (39)

The Lilliputians have a similar rationale for their intolerance of fraud: "Honesty is no Fence against superior Cunning" and "where Fraud is permitted or connived at, or hath no Law to punish it, the honest Dealer is always undone, and the Knave gets the Advantage" (39). By contrast, Gulliver reveals a greatly different European viewpoint about honesty:

> I remember when I was once interceeding with the King for a Criminal who had wronged his Master of a great Sum of Money, which he received by Order, and ran away with; and happened to tell his Majesty, by way of Extenuation, that it was only a Breach of Trust; the Emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer, as a Defense, the Greatest Aggravation of the Crime: And truly, I had little to say in Return, farther than the common Answer, that different Nations had different Customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed. (39-40)

At this time Gulliver, and by extension, all of England is made to feel the smart for failing to see the severity of a breach of trust. And if capital punishment for false

informers and defrauders is more severe than is palatable in Europe, and thus not a realistic or even a proposed solution for these crimes, Swift's intent then is to chastise the society which takes these offenses too lightly.

The Lilliputian constitution also takes another utopian stance on honesty. If it provides harsh punishments for dishonesty, it provides rewards for virtue as well. Gulliver observes, "Although we usually call Reward and Punishment, the two Hinges upon which all Government turns; yet I could never observe this Maxim to be put in Practice by any Nation, except that of Lilliput" (40). While Gulliver cannot recall any other nation which rewards its citizens for good behavior, Swift only had to turn to More to find a utopian precedent, "The Utopian system includes not only deterrents from crime, but also incentives to good behavior in the form of public honours" (2. 105-6).[16] Those citizens in Lilliput who have consistently obeyed the law are honored with a title, special privileges, and a stipend. The constitution also directs that morality should be chosen over ability when determining political appointments. The Lilliputians defend this position in terms that are later found in The Patriot King:

> they suppose Truth, Justice, Temperance, and the like, to be in every Man's Power; the Practice of which Virtues, assisted by Experience and a good Intention, would qualify any Man for the Service of his Country, except where a Course of Study is required. (40)

Conversely, the Lilliputians criticize the English system of laws for its absence of rewards. Gulliver explains, "And these People thought it a prodigious Defect among us, when I told them that our Laws were enforced only by Penalties, without any Mention of Reward" (40). Reflecting this belief is the Lilliputian symbol of justice, which proves to be a utopian symbol as well:

> the Image of Justice ... is formed with six Eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each Side one to signify Circumspection; with a Bag of Gold open in her right Hand, and a Sword sheathed in her left, to shew she is more disposed to reward than to punish. (40)

The many eyes of justice may call up totalitarian images of "Big Brother" to Swift's post-Orwellian readers (although totalitarianism of some form is a founding principle of the utopia since Plato). It may even seem inconsistent with Swift's own hatred of political informers. If Justice in Lilliput is not blind, it does, however, keep a constant vigil for right as well as wrong. This predisposition to reward reflects a very strong personal conviction Swift held towards the rewarding of merit.[17] Swift's own political ambitions were quashed by Queen Anne in the wake of the scandal caused by his The Tale of a Tub. Swift also saw the ambitions of his friend John Gay constantly disappointed while less capable, but well connected, men received preferments. It is significant that the first sign of dystopia in Lilliput occurs when Gulliver describes the

ludicrous preferment ordeals in Chapter III.

Swift's Utopia

It is safe to state that Swift shared to a considerable degree the sentiments expressed in the original constitution of Lilliput. He preached about the widespread suffering caused by political informers. The very real threat that fraud posed to the well-being of the nation was also a constant topic of his pamphlets and essays. In The Drapier's Letters he crusaded against the proposition of Wood's half-pence, a scheme that he considered a public fraud. Ending the dishonesty of merchants is one of the "expediences" required to end Ireland's misery in "A Modest Proposal."

In the remaining laws and customs that Gulliver details in Chapter VI we continue to find a Swiftian utopia that reflects the author's political beliefs as well as his personality and sensibilities. The High Tory churchman and staunch defender of the Sacramental Test Act would certainly concur with the Lilliputian ban on professed atheists from holding public offices.[18] The loyalty and gratitude he showed to his beloved patron Sir William Temple is consistent with the Lilliputian abhorrence of ingratitude, expressed for Swift in what may only be in slightly hyperbolic terms, "Ingratitude is among them a capital Crime" (41).

The Lilliputian customs of raising and educating children are another important reflection of Swift's own attitudes. Swift would have found plenty of antecedents for this section of Chapter VI in the utopias of Plato, Lycurgian Sparta, and More.[19] However, the psychological effects of his own childhood on his personality would have made the de-emphasis of the family in the rearing of the children, a central characteristic of the social units in each of these utopias, attractive as a model to Swift. In these utopias children have greater attachments to the community at large than to their parents. For example, Plutarch explains that "Lycurgus was of the persuasion that children were not so much the property of their parents as of the whole commonwealth" (58). To this end the children are removed from the homes at seven years to be educated by the state (60). Plato calls for a similar system in The Republic.

In his biography of Swift, Irvin Ehrenpreis details the life-long effects that the early separation from his parents had on the author's psychology. Swift's father died before he was born and he left home for grammar school at the age of six. Though it was not unusual for a six-year-old child of privileged family during this time to leave home for school, Swift enjoyed only infrequent visits with his mother from this point until her death well into his adulthood. During the crucial years of personality development, Swift's

teachers and school mates would have filled the void left by his natural family.

Swift also claimed that as an infant he was spirited away from his mother by his nurse.[20] This separation was for three years, after which he was returned to his mother. His return would also constitute a separation, this time from the surrogate mother who raised him for an important three years. All of this change would have left its mark on the psyche of the child. Ehrenpreis suggests that one result of Swift's childhood experience was his singular relationship to the important women in his adult life (27-33). It seems as likely that Swift would also adopt an unconventional attitude towards the family.[21]

If we take these childhood experiences into account and combine them with Swift's admiration of ancient Sparta and his aversion to the grossness of the physical body and his professed misanthropy, we can only interpret the Lilliputian attitudes towards child rearing as utopian reflections of the author's own inclinations. It is greatly significant that the Lilliputians place little official value on the role of parents:

> Their Notions relating to the Duties of Parents and Children differ extremely from ours. For, since the Conjunction of Male and Female is founded upon the great Law of Nature, in order to propagate and continue the Species; the Lilliputians will needs have it, that Men and Women are joined together like other Animals, by Motives of Concupiscence; and that their Tenderness towards their Young, proceedeth from the like natural

> Principle: For which reason they will never allow, that a Child is under any Obligation to his Father for begetting him, or to his Mother for bringing him into the World; which, considering the Miseries of human Life, was neither a Benefit in itself, nor was intended so by his Parents, whose Thoughts in their Love-encounters were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like Reasonings, their Opinion is, that Parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the Education of their own Children. (41)

Significantly, the Lilliputians get a jump on the other utopias by taking the children (except those of farmers and laborers) out of their parent's home at infancy and placing them in public nurseries to begin their education. To contemporary standards these nurseries would seem stern and humorless, but to Swift they would be worthy utopian institutions. As in Plato's utopia and Lycurgus's Sparta, the Lilliputian try to prevent the children from the corrupting influences of the menial servants by prohibiting the servants from conversing with the children so as not to fill their heads with silly stories. The penalty for this offense is public whipping, imprisonment, and exile. The children are also protected from the doting of their parents, who are allowed only two brief visits a year. Instructing them are "grave and learned Professors and their several Deputies who accompany them constantly." It is their duties to ensure that the children "are bred up in the Principles of Honour, Justice, Courage, Modesty, Clemency, Religion, and Love of Country" (42).

Also like the earlier utopias, Lilliput takes care to educate its girls as well. The aim of this education is to produce women who "are as much ashamed of being Cowards and Fools as the Men" (43). The Lilliputians wish to prevent the development of feminine vices. This, of course, is a commonplace topic of moralists of Swift's day as well as centuries before, and is a favorite subject of several of Swift's own satirical poems. In his political tract "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture" and his essay "A Modest Proposal" female vanity and the love of luxury are actually seen as threats to economy of Ireland. So it is no surprise that the girls in Lilliput are taught to "despise all personal Ornaments beyond Decency and Cleanliness" (43). This is also an important characteristic of the utopias of Plato, Lycurgus, and More.

A further justification the Lilliputians offer for the education of girls is one that was taken directly out of Swift's 1723 "A Letter to a Very Young Lady on Her Marriage." In this letter, Swift offers the new bride advice to prevent her "from falling into many Errors, Fopperies, and Follies to which your Sex is subject" (Prose Works 9. 86) in order that she may become a worthy companion to her husband, a gentleman of breeding and intelligence. Swift explains that for both her happiness and that of her husband:

> You must improve your mind.... And when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good Sense of others, you will arrive, in Time, to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable and agreeable Companion. This must produce in your husband a true rational love and esteem for you, which old age will not diminish. (Prose Works 9. 90)

This sentiment is echoed, at one point nearly word for word, in Lilliput. Gulliver explains that they provide upper class girls "a smaller Compass of Learning" than the boys for the exact purpose Swift gives in his letter, "For, their Maxim is, that among People of Quality, a Wife should always be a reasonable and agreeable Companion, because she cannot always be young" (43). For Swift, who confesses to Deborah Rochfort, the young lady of his letter, that he has "little Respect ... for the Generality of your Sex" (90), a nation in which the women are taught to converse intelligently with the men must be approaching the status of a utopia.

In the process of depicting the Lilliputian education system Gulliver reveals a final aspect of the utopia that bears some discussion. Lilliput is a rigidly structured society consisting of an aristocracy, professional and trade classes, and labor and servant classes. The children of each class are educated to their proper station. The children of the upper classes receive a superior education. Those of the merchant and trade classes are taught what they need to perform the responsibilities of their parents' vocation, while "The Cottagers and Labourers keep their

Children at home, their Business being only to till and cultivate the Earth; and therefore their education is of little Consequence to the Public" (43). A major effect of the Lilliputian educational system is to perpetuate this class system.

"The principal feature of Swift's ideal image of the world" Kramnick asserts, "... is the hierarchical ordering of society and nature according to the divinely ordained chain of being" (214). Swift's staunch classism is clearly defined in his sermon "The Duty of Mutual Subjection":

> As God hath contrived all the Works of Nature to be useful, and in some manner a Support to each other, by which the whole Frame of the World under his Providence is preserved and kept up; so, among Mankind, our particular Stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our Power reacheth, towards the Good of the whole Community. (Prose Works 9. 142)

For Swift, Lilliput is following the natural order in which each class is designed to perform a useful function for the benefit of the entire society. Class mobility is not a concern if each citizen is willing to accept two premises implied in his sermon: (1) Each citizen's first duty is to the state, (2) each condition in life is as honorable as the next (142).

Swift's Lilliput is again consistent with previous utopias. Utopia as conceived by Plato and More is not the classless society later envisioned in the works of Marx and

Engels and later nineteenth and twentieth-century conceptions of the ideal state. Class is the very basis of Plato's Republic. The ideal city is to be composed of several classes, each performing a separate and useful task. More's utopia also strongly depends on class structure in order to function, though class mobility does exist depending greatly upon intellectual capability. The children in Utopia are trained to perform the same profession as their parents, although they have the option of switching households if they desire to learn another trade. A great number of unpleasant tasks that are required to be performed, however, are assigned to a slave class that is composed of criminals, and occasionally voluntary foreign indentured servants.

To Swift, Lilliput under this system would be a utopia. It functions efficiently and humanely, for as Gulliver explains "begging is a Trade unknown in this Empire" (44). Significantly, one of the most indicative characteristics of the dystopia that Lilliput has fallen into is that class lines, and the quality of education that contribute to them, have come to be of little value in the field of public service. It requires little breeding for one to dance on a tight rope or to leap over sticks.

"the most scandalous Corruptions": Dystopia

While Swift explores extensively the eutopian nature of

Lilliput, the dystopia is what dominates most readers' impressions of the empire. And for very good reason. By the end of Part I Gulliver encounters the ugly realities of power struggles and petty political jealousies. The emperor reveals himself to be a megalomaniac, and faction, instead of justice, rules the land. Gulliver, the once honored-hero who defeated single-handedly Blefuscu's armada, has fallen from grace through the machinations of his rivals and has to flea for his life after learning of the unpleasant fate that will befall him if he remains.

The Lilliput that treats Gulliver as a traitor is greatly different from the one he admires in the first chapters and the one which followed its ancient constitution. If Swift's intent was to portray the empire as the eutopia of the early chapters, then the dystopia it becomes is a later addition and not foreseen as a part of the Lilliput to which Gulliver awakens. We can say that it did not exist to Gulliver nor to the Lilliputians who, as we are told in the second chapter, have experienced "great Felicity" during the reign of the current emperor (13). However, by the third chapter Gulliver begins to learn that the empire is not all that it seems. Here Gulliver witnesses its odd political customs and is given one of several history lessons which suggests that Lilliput is a silly and dangerous place to live. The more we learn of Lilliputian history the more we see it as a dystopia which

existed for at least three generations of rulers.

It seems very likely that Swift turned Lilliput into a dystopia to develop it more into a political allegory. Part I is by far the most topical of the four voyages. Its pointed satire on English politics especially begins in Chapter III once recognizable parallels to events, people, and policy begin to dominate Gulliver's descriptions. One problem that Swift must have encountered is how to make the transition from the eutopian framework into the dystopian. His solution, to represent the Lilliputians as once admirable people who have degenerated in the course of time, has it practical drawbacks as well as it thematic benefits. In order to accept Lilliput as a dystopia we are obliged to forget chapters one and two, because Gulliver's admiration of them as a race is inconsistent with how they behave later. The emperor's behavior is especially inconsistent. The wise ruler in these chapters and the one who is appalled in Chapter VI at Gulliver's cavalier defense of fraud does not seem to be the same person who desires to see Blefuscu completely crushed and who is easily swayed into declaring Gulliver a traitor. Swift may have intended to mislead his readers all along about Lilliput, but it seems more likely that he discovered during the course of writing or while revising Part I that the dystopia would suit his satirical purposes better.

By turning Lilliput into a failed utopia Swift would also be able to include in his satire his overarching worldview that mankind is in a state of degeneration. This theme is prevalent in each of the four parts of the book. In Lilliput, and later in Part III, this degeneration is demonstrated in the loss of a utopia. Raymond Williams's term "willed transformation," coined to describe a category of utopia in which a better or worse society is created "by human effort" (203), is especially useful in discussing this loss in Lilliput. Williams lists three cases in which a willed transformation results in a dystopia: "by social degeneration, by the emergence or re-emergence of harmful kinds of social order, or by the unforeseen yet disastrous consequences of an effort at social improvement" (204). Of these, social degeneration is the major source of Lilliput's dystopia. Lilliput has also experienced a change in social order brought about by religious and political factionalism and by its modern preferment system, which ignores class, education, and ability. But this change in itself is a major example of the moral degeneration that the Lilliputians have fallen into. At each point in which Gulliver learns of an absurd or corrupt political practice, he also discovers that these are modern innovations. In the end, Lilliput stands as a model of a vicious cycle in which moral corruption begets factions, which in turn beget corruption. The only hope for Lilliput would be for its

citizens to make another willed transformation back to the principles of their ancient constitution. But the time for this to ever happen, as is Swift's message to England, is rapidly passing away.

The first signs of the dystopia are found in Chapter III when Gulliver describes two "Diversions of the Court" (20), the customs of rope dancing and stick jumping for political office and rewards. Reserved only for "those Persons, who are Candidates for great Employment, and high favor, at Court" (21), which activities can be read as delightfully comic examples of misrule. Yet, as a part of Swift's satire of the English court, the Lilliputian means of preferment serves as a dystopian exaggeration of what Swift finds corrupt in the England. The Lilliputian court becomes a lunatic analogy to the English court, and this spectacle is symptomatic of the corruption in which the empire has fallen.

This corruption is no more apparent in the fact that the candidates for the vacancies (which are often created by the disgrace of the previous office holder) "are not always of noble birth, or liberal Education" (21). The Lilliputians ignore the values of what to Swift are the sources of true merit, and reward those who can best entertain the court. Significantly, Flimnap, Walpole's double, is the most accomplished in these tricks. To the Tory chagrin, Walpole used his power and that of royal

patronage to appoint placemen to important positions or have them elected to the House of Commons where he could manipulate the vote on important legislation (Kramnick 111). Many of these were considered by the opposition as upstarts with no family histories. In his analogy, Swift pictures them as merely pandering performers, while the climate which allows for their advancement is depicted as a circus.

As Gulliver learns of Lilliputian political history, he discovers that the current preferment system is a relatively new innovation. This is also true of the religious schism and party factionalism that threaten the peace of the empire (described in Chapter IV). All of Lilliput's political troubles can be traced back to events within the past three generations of rulers. Reldresal explains that Lilliput has been experiencing the evil of "a Violent Faction" between the parties of the High-Heels and the Low-Heels "for above seventy Moons past" (4. 30). This would place the origin of the rivalry near the beginning of the current emperor's seven year reign. The religious strife between the Big-Endians and the Little-Endians began with this monarch's great-grandfather (31). In Chapter VI Gulliver explains that the preferment system originated in the reign of his grandfather. If chapters I and II present a utopian Lilliput and Chapter VI supplies it with a befitting constitution, the contrasting portrait of the society plagued with the effects of the political folly of its

recent monarchs is truly a willed transformation dystopia. Lilliput's leaders have abandoned its utopian past, and the result is a troubled society much like Gulliver's England.

After beginning to develop the dystopia in chapters III and IV, Swift returns to the utopian Lilliput in Chapter VI when Gulliver describes the "original Institutions" of Lilliputian law, but not before hinting that these laws are no longer followed, "It is only to be wished, that they were as well executed" (39). However, in the middle of the chapter Swift abruptly and briefly returns to the dystopian themes. Gulliver makes an important observation about Lilliput's history which confirms its status as a dystopia. Realizing the contradictions between the spirit of the ancient constitution that he has just been describing and the modern practices he has observed, Gulliver is compelled to explain that Lilliput has degenerated as a society:

> In relating these and the following Laws, I would only be understood to mean the original Institutions, and not the most scandalous Corruptions into which these People are fallen by the degenerate Nature of Man. For as to that infamous Practice of acquiring Employment by dancing on the Ropes, or Badges of Favor and Distinction by leaping over Sticks, and creeping under them; the Reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the Grandfather of the Emperor now reigning; and grew to the present Height, by the gradual Increase of Party and Faction. (41)

For Swift, the source of the transformation into the dystopia is ultimately "the degenerate Nature of Man." The founders of Lilliputian laws understood that given the

chance, man would behave basely, so they created stern laws that would inhibit these proclivities. Once the constitution is abrogated, all types of corruptions begin to find their way into the society. Rope dancing is one corruption that is made worse by others (Parties and Faction) for which it paved the way.

Gulliver reacts to the new Lilliputian customs with a mixture of disappointment and disgust. These are the same emotions he has for the court. In Chapter VII he laments that in his first experience with court life he finds that the Lilliputians behave no different from Europeans:

> I had indeed heard and read enough of the Dispositions of great Princes and Ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible Effects of them in so remote a Country, governed, as I thought, by very different Maxims from those in Europe. (47)

In Chapter III, the malevolent "Dispositions" of the key figures in the court begin to be made apparent. In the introduction to the articles which allow Gulliver his freedom the emperor's megalomania is first suggested in the long series of epithets which accompany his name and title:

> Golbastro Momaren Evlame Gurdilo Shefin Mully Ully Gue, most Mighty Emperor of Lilliput, Delight and Terror of the Universe, whose Dominions extend five Thousand Blustrugs, (about twelve Miles in Circumference) to the Extremities of the Globe: Monarch of all Monarchs: Taller than the Sons of Men; whose Feet press down to the Center, and whose Head Strikes against the Sun: At whose Nod the Princes of the Earth shake their Knees; pleasant as the Spring, comfortable as the Summer, fruitful as Autumn, dreadful as Winter. (25)

The comic irony here is apparent. These great attributes are used to describe a person who easily can be held in Gulliver's palm. The egotism of the Lilliputians is in inverse proportion to their size, making for a tremendously comic situation. Yet, before this point, the emperor would not seem to be one who would feel comfortable with such naked flattery.

By Chapter V, however, the emperor proves that he may have sanctioned these epithets. After Gulliver returns from Blefuscu with the greater part of their armada in tow, he is horrified at the emperor's response:

> His Majesty desired I would take some other Opportunity of bringing all the rest of his Enemy's Ships into his Port. And so unmeasurable is the Ambition of Princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole Empire of Blefuscu into a Province, and governing it by a Viceroy; of destroying the Big-Endian Exiles, and compelling that People to break the smaller End of their Eggs; by which he would remain sole Monarch of the World. (34)

Gulliver loses favor with the emperor and other officials in the court when he refuses to comply. A nation cannot be any better than its rulers, a point that Bolingbroke emphasized in The Patriot King, and with an emperor such as this, Lilliput cannot finally be anything but a dystopia.

Gulliver had already made his first powerful enemy before his capture of Blefuscu's fleet. In Chapter III Gulliver cannot understand the animosity that he inspired in Skyresh Bolgolam, the Admiral of the Realm. Bolgolam is

responsible for the items Gulliver finds unfavorable in his Articles of Freedom. Bolgolam is Gulliver's initial rival and structurally we can see his unexplainable hatred as a foreshadowing of Gulliver's role in the defeat of Blefuscu's navy.

Such a powerful enemy alone may have been sufficient cause for Gulliver's later disgrace if Swift had not developed the dystopia. But as Lilliput becomes more closely associated with England, Flimnap takes over as Gulliver's chief rival. Flimnap as the Walpole figure, takes the lead in a campaign which Gulliver describes as "an Intrigue between his Majesty, and a Junta of Ministers maliciously bent against me" (5. 35). Flimnap is driven by petty jealousies to destroy the character of a national hero. To Gulliver's dismay, and though he expected better in Lilliput, he finds that politicians are the same all over the world.

Gulliver finds that by travelling half way around the world he has really gone nowhere at all. Lilliput's dystopia is really England's dystopia. Swift's use of a dystopia to satirize England allows him to examine his version of a humanistic tenet: Human nature is universal. And to Swift man is, if not individually corrupt, corruptible as a race. While Swift may not have intended it so in the beginning, the Lilliputians' stature in the end becomes symbolic of degeneration. Their dystopia of

intrigue, faction, and jealousy is made all the more disturbing because it represents a fall from an ideal past. This is also what the author finds unsettling about England.

The advantages of recognizing the two-fold nature of the Lilliputian utopia are many. At the level of textural criticism, we can find, if not the answers, many questions about the development of Part I that should prove to be useful in thinking about Swift's process of composition and revision. The inconsistencies especially become points of interest, not in order to pick out minor flaws in the structure, but to attempt to understand important shifts in focus and intent. At the thematic level, a close examination of the eutopia helps us to isolate Swift's conjecture of a better world than his own. We find that it is his own, or rather, was his own at a time in the past when the nation still followed the spirit of its ancient constitution and was guided by just rulers. In the eutopia Swift also introduces the topic of the practical and humane use of technology. Each of these themes receive treatment through the rest of the book. The dystopia introduces Swift's ubiquitous themes of human degeneration and natural character flaws that are made worse when the degeneration is allowed to go unchecked. The dystopian Lilliput is an exaggerated analogue to Swift's England, and thus serves as a comment to, if not a warning about, its own corruptions.

The two utopian modes also allow us to examine Swift's versatile use of satire. The eutopia shames England by example while the dystopia vexes by close comparison. The two utopias allow Swift to shift between targets and methods of ridicule at various levels. Lilliput may be surpassed only by Houyhnhnmland for the complexities surrounding its satiric use of utopian materials. A better understanding of Lilliput's utopias will provide an invaluable foundation to any discussion of the Houyhnhnm utopia as well as Swift's other utopias.

IV

BROBDINGNAG: A PATRIOT UTOPIA

"the Brobdingnagians, whose wise Maxims in Morality and Government, it would be our Happiness to observe."
--Swift, "Voyage to Brobdingnag"

Utopos Stands On His Head

Brobdingnag appears to be the type of utopia Swift intended for Lilliput before he altered the course of the first voyage. In many respects Brobdingnag is a continuation of Swift's vision of an ideal England found in the eutopian sections of Lilliput. Brobdingnag shares many utopian themes with Lilliput. (1) Brobdingnag represents a nostalgic England of the recent past. It is largely an agrarian society which is less complicated than Gulliver's England. (2) The Brobdingnagians, like the Lilliputians, value the practical application of technology. (3) Brobdingnag's political and legal systems, reflecting Swift's political

views, are offered as positive alternatives to those practiced in Gulliver's Europe. National debt and a professional standing army do not exist. A patriot king much like the Lilliputian monarch of the early chapters rules in the best interests of the nation. (4) Human degeneration is again explored; however, this time without an analogy to buffer the satire. European corruptions are held up to direct scrutiny. (5) Brobdingnag's history reveals a willed transformation to a utopia. The rivalry between the Crown, the Nobility, and the Commons, which resulted in civil wars, has been held in check by the force of law for three generations of rulers.

If Lilliput would have remained completely a eutopia, Brobdingnag would have served to balance as well as reinforce the lessons Gulliver learned from the Lilliputians. Gulliver would be instructed in humanity and government by both pygmies and giants. However, once the complexities of the dystopia are added to Lilliput, Brobdingnag stands out as the more "classical" utopia. Part II conforms well to the main conventions of a utopia. Through Gulliver's observations and discussions we see that Brobdingnag is a classically isolated kingdom which has been protected from the cultural pollution of other nations. It has also achieved a recognizably superior political system, which has in turn made great progress in solving many of the sources of human unhappiness.

In this sense, Brobdingnag is a more straightforward and consistent utopia than Lilliput. However, it also contains within its utopian framework complexities of its own. Swift again manipulates the standard conventions to achieve a multitude of satiric effects, as he turns to inversion to accomplish much of his satire in Brobdingnag. As we will see, he inverts the conventions of two visions of utopia, the perfect moral commonwealth and a carefree land of abundance, by including criminals and beggars in the kingdom. He inverts the standard rhetorical situation of the utopia by having Gulliver serve as the king's guide to the political and social life of England. Swift inverts Gulliver's utopian description of England by having the king counter with a dystopian interpretation of England drawn from Gulliver's own words. Finally Swift inverts the narrator's recognition of the utopia. Much of the comic and satirical force of Brobdingnag come from the fact that Gulliver fails to appreciate fully the kingdom as the utopia it is while he remains within its boundaries.

Swift indeed inverts utopia throughout Gulliver's Travels. What are the dystopias of Parts I and III if not inverted utopias? And Part IV may be Swift's greatest inversion of utopia: a utopia too perfect for humans. But only in Part II does Swift consistently depict a utopia which stands on it own merits as a positive and realistic contrast to Gulliver's England, while at the same time

turning the narrative techniques of the utopia on their heads.

An Imperfect Commonwealth

Earlier in this study we noted how J.C. Davis distinguishes the utopia from other depictions of ideal societies such as the "Arcadia" and the "Perfect Moral Commonwealth" largely on the basis of the writer's willingness to address real problems with realistic solutions. The utopian, Davis contends,

> seeks a solution not by wishing the problem away nor by tampering with the equation. He does not assume drastic changes in nature or man. In most utopias, indeed, the problem is never resolved completely on an individual level and has to be dealt with by the restraint or punishment of recalcitrant individuals. The utopian's concern is rather to control the social problems that the collective problem can lead to--crime, instability, poverty, rioting, war, exploration and vice. None of these evaporate in utopias. (37)

For Davis, the true utopian does not idly dream of a better place, nor does the utopian harbor unrealistic notions about human nature. The utopian must work with humanity as it is in order to envision solutions to its problems.

Swift, in Part II, proves to be such a utopian. Brobdingnag is a utopia, but it does not have unlimited resources or a perfectly moral population. We see that Swift intended it as a better place than Gulliver's England. Brobdingnag stands in contrast to much of what Swift sees

wrong with England as the results of the money-driven economy. But while Brobdingnag represents a type of well managed agrarian economy from Swift's idealization of England's past, it too must contend with the social ills of crime and poverty. And while many of England's political problems are either nonexistent or held in check in Brobdingnag, and while the Brobdingnagians ridicule England's politics of faction and self-interest, its citizens must stay on their guard against similar political jealousies and power struggles which have spurred civil wars within their recent history.

Judith Shklar contends that Brobdingnag is an "utopia of pure condemnation" because of its direct and savage criticism of English society. The implication of her argument is that since the king of Brobdingnag sees through Gulliver's panegyric on his native land, and makes an accurate depiction of England's corruption, and condemns England's vices outright, the Brobdingnagians are a morally superior race. By emphasizing their size and this overt rhetorical function of condemnation, she erroneously interprets the Brobdingnagians as "supermen" and their country as an "utopian supra-human kingdom" (106). But, as Robert C. Elliott later counters, "Brobdingnag is supra-human only in physical size, not in moral stature or political achievement; it is not an ideal, in the sense of perfect, state (55). Its citizens are imperfect. They are

replete with very human faults and require laws to check natural inclinations, unlike Swift's other utopian race, the Houyhnhnms. Ian Higgins correctly underscores the humanity of the giants, "Brobdingnag is recognizably a human society. It has avaricious farmers, raree shows, cruelly mischievous boys, beggars and executions of criminals. The King enjoys raillery and understands human corruption" ("Swift and Sparta" 529).

The humanness of the Brobdingnagians is essential for Swift's representation in Part II of a realistic utopian alternative. Without this quality, the achievements the Brobdingnagians make in transforming the kingdom into a utopia could not be seen as feasible. Swift, then, would be both engaging in the type of utopianism he disdained as useless in such works as "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," and he would ultimately be as guilty as Gulliver in his letter to his Cousin Sympson for madly ranting at humanity for a failure to achieve the unreachable perfection of the Houyhnhnms.[22]

What we are then left with as a positive model are the very human Brobdingnagians. Gulliver, to this point in his narrative, is still operating with modern prejudices that do not allow him to recognize the kingdom as a utopia. Though he admires the kingdom in general, "I should have lived happy enough in that Country, if my Littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome Accidents"

(92), not until his experiences with the Houyhnhnms strip him of his last vestiges of blind pride for his country and the human race is he able to see the Brobdingnagian society as superior to England. When Gulliver replaces his original prejudice and pride with those favoring the Houyhnhnms, and though he is unable to disassociate any humans from the Yahoos, he grants the giants a special status among Yahookind:

> For, who can read the Virtues I have mentioned in the glorious Houyhnhnms, without being ashamed of his own Vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning Animal of his Country? I shall say nothing of those remote Nations where Yahoos preside; amongst which the least corrupted are the Brobdingnagians, whose wise Maxims in Morality and Government, it would be our Happiness to observe. (257)

Gulliver deems the giants as "the least corrupted" of a corrupted race. But since his mind has been dazzled by the vision of perfection embodied in the Houyhnhnms, he is not completely able to see that the Brobdingnagians would be more practical models because they share the qualities of humanity.

As humans, the Brobdingnagians do not possess an intrinsic nature superior to that of Europeans, nor does Gulliver find that his initial fear true that they would prove "more Savage and cruel in Proportion to their Bulk" (66). Setting their giant stature aside, the Brobdingnagians are the most human of the races Gulliver

encounters. The Lilliputians are often exaggeratedly silly, the intellectual perversions of the Laputians lead to their almost inhuman physical grotesqueness and irrational behavior, the brutish Yahoos are subhuman, and the equine Houyhnhnms are of another species entirely. Only the Brobdingnagians as a race are consistently human-like. And again, since they are the most human, the Brobdingnagians are the best candidates for Swift's prescriptive utopia.

Utopia Magnified

This utopia, however, is not without its literal blemishes. Part of Swift's agenda in the second voyage is to use the giants' size to present a magnified perspective of mankind replete with its natural imperfections. Brobdingnag functions in part to deflate the vice of vanity through Gulliver's several close-up descriptions of the inhabitants, especially its women. The grotesque portrait of the nurse in the first chapter seems to establish a misogynist theme, which would then in turn seem to detract from Brobdingnag's utopian status. If our judgement of Brobdingnag came only from the disturbing physical descriptions Gulliver gives of its people, then it would be a land of giant female grotesques:

> I must confess no Object ever disgusted me so much as the Sight of her monstrous Breast.... It stood prominent six Foot, and could not be less than sixteen in Circumference. The Nipple was about half the Bigness of my Head, and the Hue both of that and the

> Dug so varified with Spots, Pimples and Freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous.... (71)

Swift returns to this theme in Chapter V with a description of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, whom Gulliver can observe closely because they think little of undressing in his presence, "Their Skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured when I saw them near, with a Mole here and there as broad as a Trencher, and Hairs hanging from it thicker than Pack-threads" (95). Gulliver acknowledges that these are among the most beautiful women in the kingdom, but he is sickened by the close view of their bare skin. Such unflattering attacks on the female body as this and the earlier description of the nurse, coupled with his satiric poems dealing with female beauty, have long provided critics evidence for charges of a misogyny against Swift.[23]

Is Brobdingnag then a misogynist utopia or a utopia at all since we find in it such treatment of human physical imperfection? Gulliver does qualify his observations of the female Brobdingnagians by explaining that no human's vanity can withstand such a close examination. After describing the nurse, Gulliver reflects on the women of England, "the fair Skins of our English Ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are our own size, and their Defects not to be seen but through a magnifying Glass, where we find by Experiment that the smoothest and whitest Skins look rough and coarse, and ill coloured" (71). Later, Gulliver

explains that a Lilliputian friend had also noticed Gulliver's own imperfections when he got a close view of his face, "He said he could discover great Holes in my Skin; that the Stumps of my Beard were ten Times stronger than the Bristles of a boar; and my Complexion made up of several Colours altogether disagreeable" (71). Gulliver is compelled to observe that these are natural human defects which are only identified by magnification and that the Brobdingnagians are not "actually deformed" but "are a comely Race of People; and particularly the Features of my Master's Countenance, although he were but a Farmer, when I beheld him from the Height of sixty Foot, appeared very well proportioned" (71).

Swift's magnified descriptions can be viewed in the light of a critique of luxury and vanity that has long been established in the utopian tradition. Plutarch explains how Lycurgus destined all luxury as a threat to Spartan strength. More's Utopians regard self-adornment with ridicule. They also believe that by eliminating luxuries they would eliminate an important source of human contention: covetousness. We should also remember that Swift's Lilliputians taught their girls to "despise all personal Ornaments beyond Decency and Cleanliness" (43). Gulliver describes the clothes made for him in Brobdingnag in a similar manner: "They were after the Fashion of the Kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the

Chinese; and are a very grave decent habit" (83).

In a recent article Laura Brown connects Swift's attack on female pride with the compelling argument that the apparent misogyny of Gulliver's description of Brobdingnagian women and the similar attacks on female beauty in such poems as "The Lady's Dressing Room," "The Progress of Beauty," "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," and "Strephon and Chloe" constitute "a critique of mercantile capitalist expansion" (432). Brown explains that:

> the association of women with the process and products of mercantile capitalism is a strong cultural motif in this period of England's first major imperial expansion, and the obsession with female adornment and dress is a prominent expression of this association. (429)

Swift's Ireland was especially susceptible to the economic impact of England's imperialism. England relied on Ireland as an important market for English goods, while Irish economic interests were either neglected or subverted to the benefit of English trade. Any student who turned to Swift to learn about Anglo-Irish relations in the early decades of the eighteenth century would read of a history of economic exploitation far more devastating than that the American colonies complained of later in the century.[24]

In several pamphlets and essays Swift reproached the English for their exploitation and the Irish for their

compliance. Swift described how much of Ireland's land was controlled by English nationals who collected the rents and took the money out of Ireland. These landlords also shipped raw materials from Ireland to England for refinement and manufacture, and the finished products in turn were sent back to Ireland for sale to eager Irish consumers who often ignored domestic goods. Swift constantly complained of the several acts of the English Parliament restricting Irish trade with other nations, especially, as in the case of woolen goods, when the Irish products competed with the English. In "A Short View of the State of Ireland" he summed up his view of this economic relationship:

> England enjoys every one of those Advantages for enriching a Nation ... and, into the Bargain, a good Million returned to them every Year, without Labour or Hazard, or one Farthing Value received on our Side. But how long we shall be able to continue the Payment, I am not under the least Concern. One Thing I know, that when the Hen is starved to Death, there will be no more Golden Eggs. (Prose Works 12. 12)

That the Irish preferred English or other foreign goods over home manufacture galled Swift, who on several occasions called for the boycott of non-Irish products. But it was the Irish women, whom Swift saw pouring much needed money out of the country on exotic cosmetics and clothes and other luxuries, who drew his special indignation. For Swift, vanity and luxury posed a real economic threat to Ireland. In "A Modest Proposal" Swift recommended curing women of

their addiction to luxuries as one of the "expediences" which Ireland needed to adopt in order to save the domestic economy. Brown points to the same theme in the Irish tracts. In "A Proposal that All the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufacture" Swift wrote "It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women ... that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instruments of our ruin" (Prose Works 12. 126). Swift brought out the same charge in "Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons":

> It is not the highest Indignity to human nature, that men should suffer the Kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the Vanity, the Folly, the Pride, and Wantonness of their Wives, who under their present Corruptions seem to be a kind of animal suffered for our sins to be sent into the world for the Destruction of Families, Societies, and Kingdoms; and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living, who by long practice can reconcile the most pernicious foreign Drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive.... (Prose Works 12. 80)[25]

In "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture" he suggested for a ban on "all Silks, Velvets, Calicoes, and the whole Lexicon of Female Fopperies," and asked why anyone who wore them should not "be deemed and reputed an Enemy of the Nation? (Prose Works 9. 16).

In contemporary political vernacular we might call Swift a protectionist as well as an isolationist. His mistrust of trade and foreign entanglements came largely

from the wanton profiteering he witnessed all about him and the misery which it caused. It is significant that Brobdingnag is protected from the abuses of imperialism and trade by its natural isolation. While isolation is an universal convention of the utopia in that it allows the nation to be discovered by the traveller, as well as provides a sterile laboratory environment for social engineering, for Swift this isolation possibly becomes a manifestation of a political ideal. The geography of the Brobdingnagian peninsula prohibits outside contact. High mountains and volcanoes stand as barriers to travel between the kingdom and the North American continent. To reach Brobdingnag by sea is also difficult:

> There is not one Sea-port in the whole Kingdom; and those Parts of the Coast into which the Rivers issue, are so full of pointed Rocks, and the Sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these People are wholly excluded from any Commerce with the rest of the World. (88-89)

The Brobdingnagians do not trade with other nations. They have no colonies and foreign wars. They do not exploit and are not exploited by others. Brobdingnag's isolation has a place within Swift's large body of anti-imperialistic criticism, as do its misogynous passages.

Brown argues that such an interpretation of Swift's attacks on women "is not a justification for misogyny, but it complicates a political reading of Swift" (432). The

same can be said of a utopian reading. The misogyny is not an attack on the Brobdingnagians in particular, but a general comment on humanity and vice. If we also read the misogynous passages as part of a larger criticism on imperialism, and see Brobdingnag as a representative of a society free of its influences, then Brobdingnag utopian status remains intact while England receives another sting.

An Imperfect People

Swift goes to great lengths to prevent the perception that Brobdingnag is a perfect moral commonwealth populated by perfectly moral beings. The Brobdingnagians can often be as earthy, cruel, avaricious, and prone to other vices as the citizens of Gulliver's England, though their isolation has perhaps prevented them from succumbing to many European corruptions out of ignorance. They can even at times appear foolish, as in the example of the king's scholars who pronounce Gulliver to be a freak of nature out of their desire to hide a defect in their understanding of the universe (82). Their histories also reveal that they are not immune to the corrupting nature of power, "the same Disease, to which the whole Race of Mankind is Subject" (114).

Gulliver's first encounter with Brobdingnagian vice is especially significant as an analogue to Swift's general appraisal of a source of the current corruptions in England.

Gulliver's first impressions of Brobdingnag are of the vast cultivated fields in which he attempts to hide from the giants and of the simple family of a yeoman farmer with whom he initially resides. His descriptions depict the type of a humble, but well-run agrarian community which Gulliver later idealizes in Glubbdubdrib during his third voyage. There he requests that the island's sorcerers bring forth the spirit of "some English Yeoman of the old Stamp ... once so famous for the Simplicity of their Manners, Dyet and Dress; for Justice in their Dealings; for their true Spirit of Liberty; for their Valor and Love of their Country" (173). Gulliver then laments how corruption stole into the proceeding generations:

> Neither could I be wholly unmoved after comparing the Living with the Dead, when I considered how all these pure native Virtues were prostituted for a Piece of Money by their Grand-children; who in selling their Votes, and managing at Elections have acquired every Vice and Corruption that can possibly be learned in a Court. (173)

The Brobdingnagian farmer, who has been treating Gulliver tolerably well, is also seduced by money into abandoning virtue. When a neighbor, who "had the Character of a great Miser" (75) advises the farmer how he could make money from Gulliver, the farmer subsequently neglects his farm duties and nearly works Gulliver to death as a travelling oddity. And when he finally sells Gulliver to the queen, Gulliver assures her "that if my Master had not thought my Life in

Danger, her Majesty perhaps would not have got so cheap a Bargain" (80). The farmer's "pure native Virtues" have been compromised by money, leading him to abandon his humanity towards Gulliver.

Gulliver also observes poverty, disease, and the execution of a criminal as he tours the kingdom. Each of these social ills, if not totally eliminated in many of the utopias of the past, is minimized. In More's Utopia, while some few recalcitrant individuals commit crimes and are punished, there is no theft because there is no real private property. Also, mandatory universal employment and a welfare system for the sick and aged ensure that there is no cause for begging.[26] Want and disease are practically eliminated by the science of Bacon and Campanella's utopias, so that crime is almost insignificant. The utopia depicted by Tyssot is a peaceful society with no experience with war and no capital punishment. When poverty, crime, or disease are discussed in these utopias, they are not presented as graphically as Gulliver's description of cancerous and vermin-infested beggars he encountered in Chapter IV or the execution of a murderer in Chapter V. Gulliver's magnified descriptions are shocking reminders that all of humanity is subject to the plagues of crime and disease. Brobdingnag is less perfect than many of the earlier utopias because it has not solved the all problems which would normally characterize a utopia, though it has for the present

eliminated the major issue of war. However, for Swift, since it has not, and possibly can never totally solve these problems, Brobdingnag is a more realistic model for England. It becomes Swift's example of what a human society can accomplish with a focus on moral government and an adherence to the sound principle of a balanced constitution. Brobdingnag becomes a political utopia because it represents Swift's visions of balanced, factionless rule which promotes civic virtue.

Gulliver's Other Eden

Departing from the conventions of the genre, Swift develops the portrait of Brobdingnag's political utopia out of a direct diatribe aimed at England. The majority of past utopias focus almost exclusively on the perfection of the newly discovered state, with only implicit criticism of the narrator's society. There are important exceptions. More does include a critique of English land enclosure practices in the first section of Utopia, and his criticism of European politics is never far from the surface. European religion, epistemology, justice, and warfare come under direct attack in Simon Tyssot's The Travels and Adventures of James Massey during the narrator's conversations with the natives. A similar rhetorical situation is found in Brobdingnag. We come to see Brobdingnag as a superior society largely through the king's abhorrence of England's

faults. This is what Shklar means by labeling Brobdingnag a utopia of "pure condemnation." Shklar does not acknowledge that Swift develops some vital aspects of the utopia independently of the king's critique; however, the circumstances which promote the characterization of Brobdingnag as a utopia do arise from the king's criticism of Gulliver's naive depiction of England.

Although allegory is the main satirical technique in Parts I and III, the more overt criticism of English politics in Part II is the result of Gulliver's attempts to describe his society to the natives of the utopia in Chapters III, VI, and VII. In a reversal of the utopian narrative convention, Gulliver becomes the guide to the different aspects of his society and the king acts as an evaluator and commentator to Gulliver's narration. During several interviews with the king, Gulliver, in typical utopian fashion, explains "the Manners, Religion, Laws, Government, and Learning of Europe" (84). The manner in which Gulliver presents this information is a utopian expostulation of England's virtues. During his audiences with the king Gulliver lapses into poetic raptures reminiscent of the famous speech by Shakespeare's John of Gaunt:

> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,

> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this
> England. (Richard II 2.1. 42-50)

Gulliver's England is just this kind of utopia. In similar language he praises England's military strength, dominance in European affairs, and emerging empire; its exemplary history, laws, and government; and its natural virtues and uncorrupted citizens.[27] In Chapter VI, Gulliver especially launches into a long utopian discussion of this other Eden's balanced government. He begins with an idealized depiction of the members of Parliament. Gulliver describes the Peers as

> Persons of the noblest Blood, and of the most ancient and ample Patrimonies. I described that extraordinary Care always taken of their Education in Arts and Arms, to qualify them for being Counsellors born to the King and Kingdom; to have a Share in the Legislature, to be Members of the highest Court of Judicature from whence there could be no Appeal; and to be Champions always ready for the Defense of their Prince and Country by their Valour, Conduct and Fidelity. That these were the Ornament and Bulwark of the Kingdom; worthy Followers of their most renowned Ancestors, whose Honour had been the Reward of their Virtue, from which their Posterity were never once known to degenerate. (104)

To this he adds an idealized description of the Bishops, "who were indeed the spiritual Fathers of the Clergy and the People" (104). The Commons, he explains, "were all principal Gentlemen, freely picked and culled out of the People themselves, for their great Abilities, and Love of

their Country, to represent the Wisdom of the Whole Nation" (104). Combined, Gulliver proudly explains, "these two Bodies make up the most august Assembly in Europe; to whom, in Conjunction with the Prince, the whole Legislature is committed" (104). Gulliver also describes the Courts in idealized terms:

> I then descended to the Courts of Justice, over which the Judges, those venerable Sages and Interpreters of the Law, presided, for determining the disputed Rights and Properties of Men, as well as for the Punishment of Vice, and Protection of Innocence. (104)

Gulliver ends his discourse by touching briefly on several other topics, "the prudent Management of our Treasury; the Valour and Atchievements of our Forces by Sea and Land," England's population, pastimes, and "any other Particular which I thought might redound to the Honour of my Country. And, I finished all with a brief historical Account of Affairs and Events in England for about an hundred Years past" (104).

Indeed, Gulliver's England is "another Eden," which is home to "a happy breed of men." Robert C. Elliott contends that "the most perfect utopia Gulliver writes of is England (unless, that is one happens to be a horse)" (53). Elliott calls Gulliver's England a "true no-place that has its being in the back of Gulliver's head" (54). More accurately, to Swift this place did exist in England's past, but, ironically, it has ceased to be during the same hundred

years Gulliver places it in. Gulliver's praise of English government takes on a dark irony because it stands in stark contrast to the realities of a system corrupted by money which the king of Brobdingnag correctly extrapolates from Gulliver's description. Gulliver's utopia does not exist, and to his obstinate disbelief, the king actually turns it into a dystopia, which Swift wants readers to accept as the more accurate interpretation.

A Modern Patriot

During both his description of England and his response to the king's criticism, Gulliver unintentionally undermines his utopia by aligning himself with "modern" thinking and innovations. The conservative Swift was suspicious of what he saw as an ideology which favored modern innovations over past tradition. The new capitalist system, which brought about the Bank of England, a national debt, foreign trade disputes, projection mania and the South Sea Bubble was a major manifestation of modern thinking. Swift also argued that modern notions of politics, favoring a centralization of power and placing less emphasis on the traditional importance of land, were eroding the foundation of England's balanced constitution. While Swift would not disparage all change, the rapid pace at which England was transforming itself in the early decades of the eighteenth century, a transformation fueled by new ideas that were

often hostile to past values, would leave Swift and his circle with a sense of a dread of what might be impending. The old England was passing away, and the new England appeared monstrous.

Gulliver, however, is the patriot of modern England. He is specifically a lover of his country at its present time in history. As a patriot, Gulliver believes it his duty to answer the king's inquires about England by painting his homeland in the best light possible. He envisions himself in the role of a classical orator delivering a panegyric to his nation:

> Imagine with thy self, courteous Reader, how often I then wished for the Tounge of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the Praise of my own dear native Country in a Style equal to its Merits and Felicity. (103)

Later Gulliver, ever the patriot, confesses that he intentionally withholds all of the truth from the king in order to stifle the king's correct, but derisive observations:

> I may be allowed to say in my own Vindication; that I artfully eluded many of his Questions; and gave to every Point a more favourable turn by many Degrees than the strickness of truth would allow. For I have always born that laudable Partiality to my own Country ... I would hide the Frailties and Deformities of my Political Mother, and place her Virtues and Beauties in the most advantageous Light. This was my sincere Endeavor in those many Discourses I had with that mighty Monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success. (109)

Gulliver is willing to overlook any faults that may exist in his country, and in his notion of patriotism, this is "laudable." However, the fact that the king can discover England's faults through Gulliver's less than forthright depiction angers him only in that his deception failed to win a convert.

Gulliver also believes it his duty as a patriot to be offended by any criticism of his country. His pride is clearly hurt when the king is able to sift through Gulliver's rhetoric to come to accurate conclusions of the true state of the nation:

> my Colour came and went several Times, with Indignation to hear our noble Country, the Mistress of Arts and Arms, the Scourge of France, the Arbitress of Europe, the Seat of Virtue, Piety, Honour and Truth, the Pride and Envy of the World, so contemptously treated. (85)

Eager to sing England's praises and loath to hear it disparaged, Gulliver humorously plays the role of straight man in the dark comedy of Brobdingnag, oblivious to the foolishness he espouses. Gulliver's is the naive patriotism of a citizen who unthinkingly accepts propaganda as truth.

As Gulliver praises contemporary England or attempts to defend it to the Brobdingnagian king, he also betrays himself as a modernist and an uncritical apologist of the politics of his times. He thinks in modern terms when he describes his homeland, and though he does not realize it, his very way of expressing himself often reflects the

corruption of his society. This satire can be seen most clearly in the method he uses to determine the population of England, which shows the king that England suffers from the evils of faction: "I computed the Number of our People by reckoning how many Millions there might be of each Religious Sect, or Political Party among us" (104). The king finds Gulliver's "odd kind of Arithmetick" amusing, but it reveals Gulliver's blindness to the central problems in his society.

Gulliver's modern bias surfaces time and again as he responds to the king's rebuke of Gulliver's English utopia. The reason the king fails to embrace England as the utopia Gulliver presents, Gulliver explains to his readers, is not any fault of the nation itself, but it is the result of the king's inability to understand the sophisticated manners of Europe. Gulliver admires the king's intelligence and analytical skills, "His Apprehension was so clear, and his Judgement so exact, that he made very wise Reflections and Observations upon all I said" (84), but he blames the isolation of Brobdingnag for the "prejudices" the king shows against England:

> But, I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved Country; of our Trade, and Wars by Sea and Land, of our Schisms in Religion, and Parties in the State; the Prejudices of his Education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right Hand, and stroking me gently with the other; after an hearty Fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a Whig or a Tory. (84-85)

Instead of trying to answer the king's criticism of England, Gulliver accuses the king of a lack of sophistication. Gulliver insists that "great Allowances should be given to a King who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the World, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other Nations" (109). Such isolation, Gulliver argues, produces "many Prejudices, and a certain Narrowness of Thinking; from which we and the politer Countries of Europe are wholly exempted" (109).

If Brobdingnag represents the admirable England of the past, then the implication of Gulliver's argument is that modern society has little use for old fashioned morality. "And it would be hard indeed," he insists, "if so remote a Prince's Notions of Virtue and Vice were to be offered as a Standard for all Mankind" (109). Gulliver, with his modern arrogance, condescendingly rejects the past as having little relevance in the sophisticated present.

He is especially impatient with the king's own ignorance and rejection of modern ideas. Gulliver blames the king's lack of European political savvy for causing him to reject Gulliver's project to introduce gunpowder and firearms into the kingdom. Expecting gratitude for supplying the king with the means to "destroy the whole Metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute Commands" (110), Gulliver is amazed at the king's

reaction to the European use of gunpowder:

> The King was struck with Horror at the Description I had given him of those terrible Engines, and the Proposal I made. He was amazed how so impotent and groveling an Insect as I ... could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and in so familiar a Manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which I had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines; whereof he said, some evil Genius, Enemy to Mankind, must have been the first Contriver. (110)[28]

Gulliver dismisses the king's outright condemnation of gunpowder as "a nice unnecessary Scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no Conception, let slip an Opportunity put into his Hands, that would have made him absolute Master of the Lives, the Liberties, and the Fortunes of his People" (111). Gulliver traces this "scruple" to the political naivety of the Brobdingnagians, who have not yet "reduced Politics into a Science, as the more acute Wits of Europe have done" (111).

Gulliver is proud of the modern mind which has produced "several thousand Books ... upon the Art of Government" (111). He is also frustrated by the king's failure to appreciate the modern science of politics:

> He professed both to abominate and despise all Mystery, Refinement, and Intrigue, either in a Prince or a Minister. He could not tell what I meant by Secrets of State, where an Enemy or some Rival Nation were not in the Case. (111)

Gulliver's sentiments, however, are not shared by his creator. Swift often expressed his dislike of modern political philosophers, especially the two most famous and influential English political scientists, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Swift charged that Hobbes was an opponent of "antient Learning and Language" because the virtues it taught would turn students away from the idea of an absolute monarchy, "Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the Writings of the Greeks and Romans, made young men imbibe Opinions against absolute Power in a Prince, or even in a first Minister; and to embrace Notions of Liberty and Property" ("A Vindication of his Excellency John, Lord Carteret" Prose Works 12. 161). The modernist Hobbes is portrayed as an enemy to the virtues contained in classical political theory. He is also an opponent to the freedoms of a balanced government. The Brobdingnagians, who support a balanced government, are clearly anti-Hobbesians.

Swift blamed Locke for obfuscating political vocabulary by introducing an enquiry into the "Idea of Government":

> Now, it is to be understood, that this refined Way of Speaking was introduced by Mr. Locke.... All the former Philosophers in the World, from the Age of Socrates to ours, would have ignorantly put the Question, 'Quid est Imperium?' But now it seemeth we must vary our Phrase; and since our modern Improvement of Human Understanding, instead of desiring a Philosopher to describe or define a Mouse-trap, or tell me what it is; I must ask what is contained in the Idea of a Mouse-trap? But then to observe how deeply this new Way of putting Questions to a Man's Self, maketh him enter into the Nature of Things; his present Business is to shew us, what is contained in the Idea

> of Government. The Company knoweth nothing of the Matter, and would gladly be instructed.... ("Remarks Upon a Book Intitled The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, etc. Prose Works 2. 81)

While Gulliver is impressed by the modernity of political dialogue after Locke, Swift, and the king of Brobdingnag have little patience for its needless complexities. The Brobdingnagians, again representing a Swiftian ideal, have many fewer books than the English. This is not meant to imply they lack intelligence, but to suggest that they do not fill their libraries like the English, as Swift continuously charged, with scribbling. Gulliver's description of their written language furthers this implied contrast, "Their stile is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not Florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary Words, or using various Expressions" (112).

Gulliver equates the modern with intricacy and sophistication, which is opposed to the simpler morality and provincialism he sees in outdated Brobdingnag. But, Gulliver's championing of the modern views of politics puts him in a foolish and unenviable position. He stands in direct contrast to the king, who serves as the voice of Swift's common-sense utopia:

> He confined the Knowledge of governing with in very narrow Bounds; to common Sense and Reason, to Justice and Lenity, to the Speedy Determination of Civil and criminal Causes; with some other obvious Topics which are not worth considering. And, he gave it for his Opinion; that whoever could make two Ears of Corn grow upon a Spot of Ground where only one grew before; would

> deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country, than the whole Race of Politicians put together. (111)

The Brobdingnagians have no use for the political scientists of whom Gulliver is so proud because their governmental system is simple enough that the average citizen can understand and participate in its proceedings. Here Brobdingnag represents Swift's interpretation of a classical ideal of participatory government. Swift is also following the utopian tradition of Lycurgus as is found in Plutarch and later in More. Lycurgus ruled that laws of Sparta were not to be written (54); More's Utopians have only few simply worded laws, "For, according to The Utopians, it's quite unjust for anyone to be bound by a legal code which is too long for an ordinary person to read right through, or too difficult to understand" (106). Lawyers have no place in these utopias because the laws are expressed in a manner which does not allow more than one interpretation. The citizens themselves, in the classical tradition, could serve as their own advocates and could judge the legality of a situation because they share a common understanding of the law. Similarly, the Brobdingnagians purposefully keep their laws short and plainly written so that each citizen can interpret them alike. Gulliver explains that "No Law of that Country must exceed in Words the Number of Letters; which consists only of two and twenty. But indeed, few of

them extend even to that Length" (111). To further prevent the type of legalistic wrangling the king observes in England, they also prohibit written commentaries on their laws. Modern notions of politics and law have little place in the Brobdingnag utopia, and to Gulliver's further dismay, the Brobdingnagians also have little use for other areas of modern learning:

> The Learning of these People is very defective; consisting only in Morality, History, Poetry and Mathematicks; wherein they must be allowed to excel. But, the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in Life; to the improvement of Agriculture and all mechanical Arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. As to Ideas, Entities, Abstractions and Transcendentals, I could never drive the least Conception into their Heads. (111)

Again, Brobdingnag represents the spirit of Swift's ideal society. Like the utopian Lilliputians of the early chapters of Part I, the Brobdingnagians are a practical race who excel in what is useful to better life. Gulliver finds their ignorance of modern theoretical sciences to be a tremendous fault in their education. He will have to wait until his voyage to Laputa to learn how impractical such learning is, and how dangerous it can be when a society devotes all its energies to the modern sciences and neglects those of the past.

Even though the Brobdingnagians constantly patronize the diminutive Gulliver, throughout the later part of his narration Gulliver, because of his modern arrogance, is

condescending towards the isolated Brobdingnagians. He especially dismisses the king as an unsophisticated, though otherwise intelligent, ruler whose convictions are worn-out commonplaces "not worth considering" in modern Europe. He feels embarrassed for the king because he knows that his old-fashioned beliefs would find little sympathy with the modern world. This arrogance, coupled with his faulty sense of patriotism, prevents him from acknowledging that Brobdingnag is indeed a utopia. Conversely he is unable to see that his own society has slipped into a dystopia.

The English Dystopia

The fact that Gulliver cannot recognize how corrupt England has become is a main indication of the corruption itself. Gulliver is not a politician or party man, who for power's sake or personal gain thrives by corruption while at the same time denying its existence. At this point in his travels he is a good, solid citizen. He understands that his society is not perfect, though he sincerely holds that it is still the envy of the world. If Gulliver, as the English everyman, fails to perceive the degeneration, then corruption has become accepted as the norm. What Gulliver fails to understand is that another pair of eyes may provide him with the means to an unbiased perspective on English society. However, Gulliver rejects that point of view from the king. His notions of patriotism blind him to what the

king, as a more objective observer, can see about Gulliver's own land. His patriotism also shields him from fully perceiving and intellectualizing what the king has concluded, that modern England has degenerated in the past hundred years to the point of dystopia:

> He was perfectly astonished with the historical Account I gave him of the last Century; protesting it was only an Heap of Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments; the very worst Effects that Avarice, Faction, Hypocrisy, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Rage, Madness, Hatred, Envy, Lust, Malice, and Ambition could produce. (107)

The king inverts each of Gulliver's positive descriptions of English people, history, government, and law, revealing a dystopia of corruption and misrule which even surpasses Lilliput. For that matter, no other dystopia Gulliver encounters can match the king's conclusion that the English people are "the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth" (108), unless we include a similar description of England given by Gulliver's Houyhnhnm master. The king describes a land in which money and political power often determine policy "opposite to the publick Interest" (105), a land in which party or religion are the ultimate arbitrators of justice, a land that over-taxes its citizens and still manages to run up a huge national debt, a land that engages in foreign wars for no other reason but to increase the profits of the monied, a land that keeps a

standing army during peace. Of Parliament, the king observes, "You have clearly proved that Ignorance, Idleness, and Vice are the proper Ingredients for qualifying a Legislator" (108). Of the Judiciary he adds, "That Laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose Interest and Abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them" (108). An equally revealing aspect of the English dystopia the king discovers is how little merit and virtue are valued in the government:

> It doth not appear from all you have said, how any one Perfection is required towards the Procurement of any one Station among you; much less that Men are ennobled on Account of their Virtue, that Priests are advanced for their Piety or Learning, Soldiers for their Conduct or Valour, Judges for their Integrity, Senators for their Love of the Country, or Counsellors for their Wisdom. (108)

The king does concede one important point to Gulliver, the once admirable nature of the English constitution. However, even this has been subverted within the period of history Gulliver relates to the king, "I observe among you some Lines of an Institution, which in its Original might have been tolerable; but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by Corruptions" (108). The abandonment of the constitution is the most clear sign of the dystopia into which England has fallen, for if the constitution was still enforced (as the example of Lilliput also suggests) then the natural corruptions of it citizens

would be better held in check by the force of moral law. Like Lilliput, England has become a dystopia in the space of two or three generations because it has turned its back on its principles of justice, virtue, and morality.

This period of one hundred years is significant throughout Gulliver's Travels. It is roughly the same time frame in which Lilliput began its transformation into a dystopia. It also marked the end of the Brobdingnagian civil wars and its transformation into a utopia. In Part III the founding of the Academy of Lagado and the ensuing desolation of Balnibarbi fall with in the last one hundred years. In Glubbdubdrib Gulliver calls up the spirit of the English yeoman just prior to the degeneration of his kind which began during this period.

Events in the English history during this time are a civil war, an execution of one monarch, the exile of another, and the ever-present threat of invasion by his progeny, expensive international conflicts, the start of empire building, the emergence of modern capitalism and political parties, and increased religious factionalism, each alluded to in Gulliver's Travels. For Swift, however, the one event that marked the beginning of the present degeneration of his day was the Puritan Revolution. In "Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I," a sermon Swift composed just prior to the publication of Gulliver's Travels, he pointed to the execution of Charles and the

subsequent experiments of the Puritan dominated Parliament to reshape the constitution as the point in English history which created the climate for the current political and religious problems England faced:

> That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religious or civil government, but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in Europe. (Prose Works 9. 223)

Swift argued that England had turned its back on its venerable system of government, and by eliminating the monarchy, upset the balance of powers. The results were nothing less than governmental chaos and tyranny. In Gulliver's Travels the religious and political factionalism ridiculed by the Brobdingnagian king would have found its roots the Revolution, though this event is only obliquely referred to in Part II.

An equal tragedy for Swift was the effects the Interregnum had on the civic virtue of the population, "The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the English nation, were wholely corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of those wicked people" (214). This period of English history spelled for Swift the downfall of the idealized English virtues which Gulliver still tries to

assign to his contemporaries. Within the course of two or three generations, these qualities so far degenerated in the English people that they are unrecognizable to the Brobdingnagian king.

For Swift, then, the seeds of the English dystopia were sown with the murder of Charles I, and the repercussions of the Revolution were still affecting the kingdom seventy-five years later. Swift argued that the fanaticism of the Revolution shook England's faith in its political and religious leaders. The monarchy had been destroyed, and even after the Restoration, the past loyalty to the crown had never fully recovered. The further political and religious upheavals caused by power struggles in and out of Parliament directly led to an erosion of civic virtues. This in turn opened the door wide for the moneyed interests to complete the corruption. This is Gulliver's true England.

The Patriot Utopia

In contrast to the English dystopia is the portrait of the Brobdingnagian utopia which develops out of the king's criticism of England. His negative assessment of English politics leads the reader to conclude that the Brobdingnagian system operates in a directly opposite manner. By censuring the various English corruptions brought about by greed and factionalism, the King implies

that such corruptions are not tolerated in Brobdingnagian government in that Brobdingnag is a political utopia free of parties and religious factions. Most significantly, Brobdingnag embodies Swift's political ideals of civic virtue. Brobdingnag is a patriot utopia, but not in Gulliver's sense of the term. The patriotism of the Brobdingnagians is the classical patriotism in which the welfare of the commonwealth is the highest function of the government. Unlike Gulliver's England, the spirit of civic virtue is alive and well in Brobdingnag, and it is preserved by its patriot king.

Since classical ideals of civic virtue are central to the rhetoric of the eighteenth-century political movement headed by Bolingbroke, the Brobdingnagian utopia is indicative of a major theme in the opposition literature. Bolingbroke, Swift, and other members of their circle took as their model the ancient Greek and Roman idealization of the public-spirited citizen, the person who devoted his talent and time to the advancement of the commonwealth. This was the citizen-legislator and the citizen-soldier, whose only pay was the knowledge that the nation had benefited from their service. England's salvation, the opposition argued, lay in bringing this public spiritedness back to a nation corrupted by personal ambition and greed.

In "On Doing Good," a sermon delivered in the same year as the publication of Gulliver's Travels, Swift argued that

true patriotism had been abandoned in England:

> This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of virtue, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all in it: And many great examples of this virtue are left to us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain....
> (Prose Works 9. 233)

For Swift, England's only hope to ward off further degeneration is to reclaim this classic patriotism, which he refers to by the name of virtue. This sentiment was shared by his political ally Bolingbroke, who adopted the word "Patriot" to describe the philosophy of his opposition movement against the Walpole administration.[29] Bolingbroke argued in his "Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism" that even after the Revolution of 1688 reestablished essential parts of the constitution, England lacked moral citizens willing to devote their lives to the protection of the liberties ensured by the constitution. Even with a sound constitution, England was in danger of fallen into irreversible corruption because men of virtue, true patriots who hold the public welfare in greatest esteem, were so few that they could not adequately fight the political battles against self-interest and avarice. Thus the absence of the

classical spirit of public service was England's greatest threat, "It is become so easy, [to protect liberty] by the present form of our government, that corruption alone could not destroy us. We must want spirit, as well as virtue, to perish" (Works 1. 19).

Several scholars of eighteenth-century opposition politics turned to the Renaissance writing of Niccolo Machiavelli as a further source of Bolingbroke's and Swift's notions of civic virtue. While many of Machiavelli's theories of power and morality are contrary to Bolingbroke's and Swift's,[30] his devotion to the state and his awareness of a need to counter the inevitable corruption nations fall into during the course of time appealed to these men who saw their own country falling into the corruption Machiavelli described. Kramnick's Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole examines how many of the classic ideals of civic virtue were filtered through Machiavelli to such English Machiavellians of the seventeenth century as James Harrington and finally to Bolingbroke and Swift. Kramnick argues that Machiavelli's notions on the natural corruptions which affect every state were taken up by Bolingbroke and the opposition. Machiavelli believed that in order for a corrupt state to revitalize itself it must return to the principles that governed it before the degeneration occurred. Kramnick points out that Bolingbroke, in his Remarks on the History

of England, directly evoked Machiavelli's tenet in his pleas for England to up hold its ancient constitution (25).

J.G.A. Pocock later expanded the significance of this point in particular and explored Machiavelli's influence on English political theorists in general in his The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition. Pocock refers to the point in which a nation attempted to come to grips with its corruption by looking back into its own history for the principles which it was founded upon as "the Machiavellian Moment." In eighteenth-century England, Pocock writes, this moment was seen by the opposition as resulting from the corruptions of capitalism. They resorted to a Machiavellian vocabulary to express an indictment of money-driven policies. Machiavelli's terms "virtue," standing for public spiritedness, and "corruption", standing for the forces which would erode this spirit, freely found their way into the opposition arguments (ix).

F.P. Lock examines Machiavelli's direct influence on Swift in The Politics of Gulliver's Travels. Lock argues that Swift shared many of Machiavelli's sensibilities, including a feeling of desperate pessimism that their respective nations might never recover from the corruption that grips them:

> A Renaissance writer who provided still more practical political analysis for Swift to draw on in applying his political ideals to the contemporary situation was

> Machiavelli. His ideal (like Plato's) was the small independent situation state of citizen soldiers, and his thought was strongly nationalistic and anti-imperialistic. Where the tone of his thought would have appealed strongly to Swift was in the sense of the almost irredeemable corruption of contemporary Italy, a corruption that Machiavelli thought could only be reformed by drastic measures and a return to political first principles. In his "Project for the Advancement of Religion" (1709) Swift drew on Machiavelli's "Discourses (III.i) for the idea that 'as there must always of Necessity be some Corruptions; so in a well-instituted State, the executive Power will be always contended against them, by reducing Things (as Machiavel speaks) to their first Principles'.... (42)[31]

In Gulliver's Travels a dystopia results because the Lilliputians abandon their constitution. In Brobdingnag we see the influence of Machiavellian principles when the king comments on how England has turned its back on its original political institutions.

Swift cited Machiavelli as an authority for several topics on questions of civil virtue and history that appeared in his political journal The Examiner.[32] One of these especially has significance in interpreting the Brobdingnagian utopia. In "No. 20", Swift evokes Machiavelli's arguments against the use of mercenary troops as an authority for his own dispute with England professional army.[33] The idea of mercenary troops worked against both Machiavelli's and Swift's theories of civic responsibility. Swift takes the argument even further by arguing against England keeping a paid army and a permanent professional officer corps during times of peace. Swift

held that each citizen should, like those of ancient Greece and Rome, be ready defend the commonwealth at no pay "because the Quarrel was their own" (Prose Works 3. 40). Swift compared the state to "a great Family" in which

> Mercenary Troops are only Servants armed, either to awe the Children at home; or else to defend from Invaders, the Family who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of Their Stock for paying their Defenders, rather than leave their Affairs to be neglected in their Absence. (41)

Years later, he revived the metaphor in a letter to Alexander Pope:

> I always took Standing Armies to be only servants hired by the master of the family, for keeping his own children in slavery ... I conceived that a Prince who could not think himself secure without Mercenary Troops, must needs have a separate interest from that of his subjects. (Correspondence 2. 372)

The king of Brobdingnag expresses his reservations towards England's professional army in much the same language:

> he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing Army in the Midst of Peace, and among a free People. He said, if we were governed by our own Consent in the Persons of our Representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my Opinion, whether a private Man's House might not better be defended by himself, his Children, and Family; than by half a Dozen Rascals picked up at a Venture in the Streets, for small Wages, who might get an Hundred Times more by cutting their Throats. (106-107)

The king's objections to a standing professional army, like

Swift's, take the form of an argument based on the ideal of civic virtue. Like a man defending his house, citizens would be the best defenders of the commonwealth because they have a vested interest in its safety. This defense is also a moral obligation because the commonwealth is a family, and the citizen-soldier should need no other reason to fight than to protect his family. The king also expresses one of Machiavelli's greatest arguments against mercenaries, the danger of placing faith in money to ensure protection. When money is the sole factor of a professional army's loyalty, Machiavelli argued in The Prince, allegiances are bought by those with the largest purses. Those hired to protect the family of the state can be hired to switch their allegiances by the enemy who offer them a relatively larger sum. Also, money can never take the place of patriotism to ensure that the army will risk all to protect the commonwealth (77-79). The Brobdingnagian king adds to this by pointing out that there is little to prevent the mercenaries from making an even larger profit by looting the country they were hired to protect.

In contrast to England's professional army, Brobdingnag's citizen-militia is a model of civic responsibility and effectiveness. Because Brobdingnag's military is not of the modern European sort, Gulliver only begrudgingly recognizes its merit:

> As to their military Affairs; they boast that the King's Army consists of an hundred and seventy thousand Foot, and thirty two thousand Horse: If that may be called an Army, which is made up of Tradesmen in the several Cities, and Farmers in the Country, whose Commanders are only the Nobility and Gentry, without Pay or Reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their Exercises; and under very good Discipline, wherein I saw no great Merit: For, how should it be otherwise, where every Farmer is under the Command of his own Landlord, and every Citizen under that of the principal Men in his own City, chosen after the Manner of Venice by Ballot? (113)

Gulliver cannot appreciate the superiority of Brobdingnag's army because there is no trick to achieving such a disciplined force when it operates under the natural lines of authority. He is unimpressed that Brobdingnag has perfected the most practical, as well as the most effective, army--a citizen militia.

This militia is one important example of how Swift's Brobdingnagian utopia embodies the Patriot solution of Bolingbroke's movement to the present English dystopia. As an idealization of England before the Civil War, Brobdingnag still adheres to the ancient principles of moral government and civic virtue, a fact revealed by the king's observations on Gulliver's England. Its monarch, a mirror of Bolingbroke's Patriot King, is an able champion of the public welfare. Bolingbroke describes the Patriot King as an intelligent and capable ruler whose morality and reason would be embraced by the people. This king is a patriot because the health of the nation is placed above all else:

> The good of the people is the ultimate and true end of government. Governors are, therefore, appointed for this end, and the civil constitution which appoints them, and invests them with their power, is determined to do so by that law of nature and reason, which has determined the end of government, and which admits this form of government as the proper means of arriving at it. Now, the greatest good of a people is liberty ... Liberty is to the collective body, what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleasure can be tasted by man: without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society. The obligation, therefore to defend and maintain the freedom of such constitutions, will appear most sacred to a Patriot King. (Works 3. 66-67)

Even though Gulliver feels that the Brobdingnagian king lacks the savvy to appreciate the intricacies of European-style politics, he admits that the king is "possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom and profound Learning; endued with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects" (110). The king is a moral and practical ruler who defends justice and liberty. During his comments on Gulliver's assessment of the English Parliament, their elections, justice system, taxation, national debt, and standing armies, the king uniformly reveals his concern about how each of these institutions can be perverted by avaricious individuals to the detriment of public interests. His stance is consistently on the side of public good; his stance consistently echoes the political concerns of Swift and Bolingbroke.

Concerning Parliament, the king wonders how much could corruption influence the creation of new peers when the need arises, "Whether the Humour of the Prince, a Sum of Money to a Court-Lady, or a Prime Minister; or a Design of strengthening a Part opposite to the publick Interest, ever happened to be Motives in those Advancements" (105). And if this proved to be true, "Whether they were always so free from, Avarice, Partialities, or Want, that a Bribe, or some other sinister View could have no Place among them" (105). He asks similar questions about the possibilities of bishops obtaining their positions through corrupt, political means.

Of the Commons, he extrapolates an accurate scenario of corruption from what Gulliver tells him the election process, "Whether a Stranger with a strong Purse might not influence the vulgar Voters to chuse him before their own landlords, or the most Considerable Gentleman in the Neighborhood" (105). The king's concern that an outsider with sufficient funds could buy an election away from the local landed gentry represents an especially problematic area to Swift, Bolingbroke, and their allies. Their theory of patriotism placed a large premium on the land. Who else would be better to represent the interests of the country than the landholders who owned the estates which formed the basis of the rural economy? An affiliation with the land also corresponded with their ideal of civic responsibility. Pocock explains that within this ideal land afforded the

gentry the independence to engage in the classical obligations of public affairs:

> There existed an ideal of the social and political personality epitomized by the term 'virtue,' entailing a conception of property which had more to do with ... classical than feudal values. It extolled the image of the 'patriot,' the individual rendered independent by his property and permitted an autonomous engagement in public affairs. This image was regularly opposed to that of the man of commerce and the latter had to fight its way to political recognition in the teeth of the 'patriot' ideal. (Virtue, Commerce, and History 109)

To the Patriot, the land owning-member of Parliament would have his constituents' best interest in heart because of the attachment to the land and the inherent responsibilities it entailed. Conversely, those with no landed interest in the district could never adequately represent those who elected them. Since their wealth came from commerce, their loyalties would be to the city interests and to those politicians who favored such ruinous capitalistic institutions as the national debt. The Brobdingnagian king realizes that in the current state of England as Gulliver describes it, the motives for many of those who run for Parliament stem from self-interest, not a love of the country:

> How it came to pass, that People were so violently bent upon getting into this Assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and Expense, often to the ruin of their Families, without any Salary or Pension: Because this appeared such an exalted Strain of Virtue and publick Spirit, that his Majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere: And he desired to know, whether such zealous Gentlemen could have any

> Views of refunding themselves for the Charge and Trouble they were at, by sacrificing the publick Good to the Designs of a weak and vicious Prince, in Conjunction with a corrupted Ministry. (105-106)

The king understands the essential duties of a moral Parliament to serve as a balance to the power of the monarch, especially in a case when the king is corrupt. But when the Parliament itself is corrupt, it becomes little more than the tool of the executive power, or its prime ministers. Pocock explains that according to the patriot ideology once the balance that protects the liberty of the people is lost, liberty and the spirit of virtue vanish:

> The Political idealogy--Commonwealth and Country, Old Whig and Tory in restless but stable combination--which had united Bolingbroke and the English poets in the denunciation of Walpole, supposed that the constitution was founded upon a principle of balance between independent parts. To abandon balance or compromise independence was to corrupt both constitution and virtue, since the political balance offered the only condition under which the individual could flourish as a moral and civic being. To think of the poet, scholar, or man of letters as engaged in the practice of public virtue was to affirm that he, too, was corrupted and frustrated by the rule of a corrupt minister. (Virtue, Commerce, and History 129)

In this ideology liberty, virtue, and a balanced constitution are so intrinsically tied together, that the loss of one means the loss of all. English history, Swift and Bolingbroke argued, is full of examples of the tyranny which resulted when the balance greatly shifts to either the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, or the Commons. The abuses

during the Interregnum were prime evidence of how one group sacrificed the public good in order to advance its own interests.

Through a brief explanation of Brobdingnagian history Swift demonstrates the effects of political self-interest and rivalry on the vital, but delicate balance between the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Commons. When each group ignores the common good of the nation in order to amass more power for itself, war results:

> in the Course of many Ages they have been troubled with the same Disease, to which the whole Race of Mankind is Subject; the Nobility often contending for Power, the People for Liberty, and the King for absolute Dominion. All which, however happily tempered by the Laws of that Kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three Parties; and have more than once occasioned Civil Wars, the last whereof was happily put an End to by this Prince's Grandfather in a general Composition.... (114)

Brobdingnag's superior laws could not protect the nation from the internal strife caused by the ambitions of those willing to sacrifice virtue for political gain. This is the same crisis in history (and during the same time frame) that Lilliput faced. Lilliput, too, contained conflict through the force of its original constitution. But, unlike Brobdingnag, Lilliput did not have a patriot king to turn the tide of history back to moral government. The argument arising from the examples of Swift's Brobdingnagian king and Bolingbroke's Patriot king is that England, too, is at this

crisis and is in need of leaders who hold the nation above faction or self. England's constitution, as Bolingbroke contends, provides the means for effective government; it lacks, however, the patriots to enforce it. Brobdingnag escaped the fate of Lilliput, a fate that seems destined for England, not because its people are immune from the corrupting influence of self-interest and power, but because Brobdingnag has been lead for three generations by patriots.

The king continues to show his patriotism as he works his way through Gulliver's description of England. His objections to the English national debt, professional army, political and religious factions, and even gaming all arise over his concern how each of these adversely affects the well-being of the commonwealth. His patriotism and keen understanding of politics show that he is a champion of morality and balance government. But perhaps what reveals his greatest claim to the title of Patriot is his violent rejection of Gulliver's scheme to amass absolute power through gunpowder. This king refuses to advance his personal ambitions to the detriment of his kingdom. Bolingbroke had only to keep Swift's monarch in mind to find a model of his Patriot King.

The latter chapters of the Brobdingnagian utopia comprise an excellent short course in Swift's political ideals. We find in it the author's vision of an England that once was, a devastating satire on the England of his

day, and a blueprint for an England that could be again if it can overcome its factionalism and to reclaim its sense of civic virtue. These chapters also demonstrate Swift's ability to effectively exploit the genre in which his satire is enveloped. He both inverts the themes of the utopia and creates a practical utopian alternative to England.

V

LAPUTA, ETC: THE PROSTITUTION OF UTOPIA

"You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem; nor free from all pollution or foulness. It is the virgin of the world." -- Bacon, The New Atlantis

"The Word, which I interpret the Flying or Floating Island, is in the Original Laputa; whereof I could never learn the true Etymology."--Swift, "Voyage to Laputa"

The Battle of the Utopias

A method that may prove to be useful in examining Part III of Gulliver's Travels is to view its structure as a series of paired, though diametrically opposed utopian visions. Each new society Gulliver encounters allows Swift the opportunity to further scrutinize utopias and utopianism. Thematically Gulliver's third voyage satirizes the irrational elements of the utopian mentality. The

dystopias of Laputa and Balnibarbi specifically are the results of a blind faith in mankind's capacity for abstract thought and an enthusiastic devotion to new technology. Recalling Raymond Williams's terms, these dystopias can be described both as a willed transformation into a system that embraces irrationality and a technological transformation, in which innovations directly bring about human suffering and political tyranny.

We can approach this satire on utopianism by viewing Part III as a dialectic between Gulliver and his author.[34] They have differing views on the subject, though at one crucial point Gulliver and Swift are on the same side. Swift establishes the contexts for the dialectic by initially placing Gulliver in the position of having to confront a mentality that represents the reductio ad absurdum of modern utopianism. Gulliver is a modern utopian by nature. He is fascinated by Laputa, initially calling it "the most delicious Spot of Ground in the World" (138), though this fascination soon wears off because of the tediousness of its people. Later Gulliver is excited about the prospects of visiting the Academy of Lagado. He is introduced to the projectors "as a great Admirer of Projects, and a Person of much Curiosity and easy Belief; which indeed was not without Truth; for I had my self been sort of Projector in my younger Days" (152). He even contributes to one project designed to uncover conspiracies

against the government. However, even Gulliver is revolted by the some of the projects that he encounters. Gulliver's voice temporarily becomes Swift's in Glubbdubdrib, but later in Luggnagg Gulliver's finally betrays his naive utopian nature during his enthusiastic discussion of the benefits of immortality. Swift's position in the dialectic is advanced each time Gulliver is confronted with the follies of such an outlook.

An important theme that runs through the dialectic is a continuation from the previous voyage of the modern/ancient dichotomy. In the first six chapters modern values are responsible for the dystopias of Laputa, Balnibarbi, and Lagado, while the ancient values are idealistically represented by Lord Munodi's estate, the only productive spot in Balnibarbi. The ghosts of historical figures that appear in Glubbdubdrib so strongly promote this theme that this section could serve as a supplement to Swift's earlier "Battle of the Books." The ancient world and gothic England receive idealized treatments in Chapter VIII, and, as if to validate the conclusions made by the king of Brobdingnag, the last century of English history is presented in dystopian terms. The episode of the Struldbruggs is designed to explode a modern utopian projection: the promise through science of greatly extended life. Gulliver's utopian rapture on the immortality of Struldbruggs is a satire of the over-confident attitude

expressed by modern scientific humanism.

Gulliver begins Part III where he left off in Brobdingnag, on the side of the moderns. He admires the Laputian's knowledge in astronomy and he professes an interest in projects. However, he is not so dogmatic that he cannot at least partially recognize how the technological dystopias of Laputa, Balnibarbi, and the Academy of Lagado contrast to Lord Munodi's utopian estate which follows the tested methods of agriculture and the best of ancient architecture. In Glubbdubdrib Gulliver appears for the moment to switch allegiances to the ancients, extolling their contributions to humanity over the moderns. He reverts to the moderns once more as he betrays his utopian enthusiasm for the Struldbruggs.

Of course Gulliver's observations on the utopias and dystopias of Part III do more than provide Swift further opportunity to continue the ancient/modern debate. Among other purposes, Swift uses them to comment on the role of technology in society and caution against political tyranny and the dangers of enthusiasm. However, all these topics can be placed in the penumbra of Swift's particular sense of history, which idealizes the ancient world for its virtue and condemns the modern for its arrogance.

The Etymology of a Dystopia

The flying island of Laputa, Swift's most savage satire on modern learning, embodies a perversion of the human intellectual capacity. Its very name is suggestive of this aspect of its dystopic nature. While Gulliver confesses that "I could never learn the true Etymology" (135) of Laputa, one suggestion is evident to his readers. Laputa is Spanish for "the whore," and we are therefore to interpret Laputa as an intellectual prostitute.[35] Laputa is in part designed to satirize the intellectual climate fostered by the Royal Society. It is populated with philosophers and has the ability to fly, but it produces nothing of real benefit to mankind. Conversely, it actively exploits the earthbound communities that are unfortunate enough to fall under its limited range. The society of Laputa has perverted the science that allows it to fly, using it to tyrannize those below. It has also seduced the once utopian island of Balnibarbi into abandoning its common sense and has infected it with the disease of projection mania.

Additional evidence for this interpretation of Swift's flying island is found in the work that Part III appears to most parody, Francis Bacon's utopia of science and technology, New Atlantis. Scholars have well established the connections between Baconian science and Swift's satire on modern science. Brian Vickers argues that the "difficulty is to know where to stop in suggesting

allusions" ("Baconian Idol").[36] Evidence in the New Atlantis suggests that Swift used Bacon's utopia for the inspiration of the name of his society of philosophers. Gulliver's attempt to discover the true origin of the name "Laputa" may be a parody of a similar passage in the New Atlantis, in which the narrator's guide explains the suggested etymologies of the scientific academy, Salomon's House. The guide explains that while it may be a corruption of the founder of the commonwealth, Solamona, he prefers to believe that it refers to the biblical king famed for his wisdom (229). A few pages later another guide explains that "there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem; nor free from all pollution or foulness. It is the virgin of the world" (235). If Swift indeed intended to satirize Bacon's utopia, then we can see how Gulliver's speculations on Laputa's name may be an ironic combination of both passages and a particular parody at the title "virgin of the world."

Laputa is figuratively unchaste. The unnatural and unproductive intellectual pursuits of the Laputians directly lead to several perversions. Their physical appearance is grotesque as a consequence of perpetual abstract contemplation, "Their Heads were all reclined to the Right, or the Left; one of their Eyes turned inward, and the other directly to the Zenith" (132). Their introspection cuts them off from normal human contact, each requiring

"flappers" to arouse them by shooting pebbles at their ears and mouth from an air bladder when they are addressed. Gulliver discovers that their obsessions with the abstract and astrological, and their propensity to quibble like mathematicians over minor points make them extremely poor conversationalists. After two months of talking mainly with "Women, Tradesmen, Flappers, and Court-pages ... the only People from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer," he declared his desire to leave the island, "being heartily weary of those People" (147).[37]

The chastity of Bensalem is also literally inverted in Laputa. The women carry on affairs right in front of their husbands' eyes because the deep introspection of the philosophers make them oblivious to all that is around them. So disagreeable company do the Laputians make that their wives prefer the humblest servants in the communities below them. While the women are deserving of the island's name, we sympathize more with them rather than with their husbands who have driven them into this behavior.

Jenny Mezciems suggests that Swift used the word "Laputa" to parody Bacon's utopia, which to Swift would have appeared as an "arrogant dream of a modern disguising himself as an ancient" (6). On the basis of Swift's love of word play, she tantalizingly associates Laputa with utopia:

> The name 'Laputa' itself may suggest a dystopia or, rather a perversion of utopia ... 'Laputa' is a near-anagram of 'utopia.' 'Utopia' means 'nowhere.'

> 'Nowhere' contains an anagram of 'whore.' 'Laputa' means 'whore.' The association of words and concepts is not so loose as to be untenable if my interpretation of Swift's use of Bacon's fantasy is accurate. (6)

While Mezciems herself warns that "Speculation on the process by which Swift invented names is perhaps a dubious enterprise" (6), the possibility that Laputa suggests such a play on the concept of utopia is consistent with the thematic nature of Part III. And if in order to defend an interpretation we read too much into the name, which is always a distinct possibility itself, such an error still affords the benefit of forcing us to examine closely Swift's attitudes towards a type of utopianism.

That Airy Region

It is most fitting that the scientific dystopia of Laputa is a society situated in the air. It is simple enough to resort to cliches to describe its citizens' flights of fancy into the rarefied atmosphere of abstract philosophizing. The Laputians are full of so much hot air, and their heads are stuck so far in the clouds that their intellectual endeavors, like soap bubbles, lack true substance. At the same time they cloud any rational thought.

The unnatural habitat of the Laputians helps to strip away their humanity. The Laputians are engulfed in airy things: astronomy, astrology, and neo-Platonic philosophy.

Their ears are in tune to the music of the spheres, but they cannot follow a normal human conversation. Though they are creatures of the intellect, a quality which distinguishes them from the lower animals, their intellect prohibits healthy human relationships and prevents them from engaging in other characteristically human activities.

Gulliver delights in the fact that his hosts are great astronomers, surpassing those of Europe. But their knowledge is ultimately of little use to them or, as Swift would have us believe, to mankind. In truth, in Laputa astronomy leads to the superstition of astrology and fuels their obsessions with possible astrological disasters. They cannot appreciate the beauty around them because they live in constant dread of a comet or the sun destroying the earth or the sun itself dying out.

The scientific bent of the Laputians makes them dreadful aesthetes. They use geometrical terms to describe beautiful women, and they are incapable of producing or appreciating art or literature. Gulliver observes that

> Imagination, Fancy, and Invention, they are wholly Strangers to, nor have any Words in their Language by which those Ideas can be expressed; the whole Compass of their Thoughts and Mind, being shut up within the two forementioned Sciences. (137)

The Laputians lack the essential human quality of creativity. Paul Fussell explains that to the eighteenth-century humanist, the imaginative use of the mind is largely

what makes one human:

> The humanist assumes ... that it is both the index and the privilege of the human consciousness to be largely a construction of man's own imaginative making, and that, therefore, the mind and imagination--what perhaps can be called the symbol-making power--are the quintessential human attributes. This is to insist that man becomes fully human, or properly realized, only when he uses his mind in a uniquely human way. (5)

The Laputians cannot use their intellect in this important human capacity. Their intellect also fails them in another determinate of humanity, "They are very bad Reasoners, and vehemently given to Opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right Opinion, which is seldom their Case" (136-7). Without imagination or reason, the Laputians appear to be less than human. They are certainly Swift's vision of among the worst that humanity could offer.

The Laputians also scorn the practical, a further sign that they lack essential human qualities. They are incapable of making clothes that fit or designing well constructed buildings. They sneer at "practical Geometry; which they despise as vulgar and mechanick" (136), and Gulliver observes that

> in the common Actions and Behaviour of Life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy People, nor so slow and perplexed in their Conceptions upon all other subjects, except those of Mathematicks and Musick. (136)

The Laputians again fail Swift's important test of humanity. They are impractical and cannot fashion anything to benefit

mankind.

The Laputians indeed are stuck in the clouds, and their learning lacks a solid foundation. Though we may cringe when these cliches and puns are used, Swift obviously intended to evoke similar imagery. Several years earlier, Swift resorted to this same imagery in The Tale of a Tub, his satire on religion, politics, modern learning, and writing. In The Tale air, wind, vapors, and the like symbolize enthusiasm, inspiration, nonsense, and madness, the empty cant of the Nonconformist and the giddy thoughts of modern philosophy. This shared imagery, along with other evidence such as the project for the Academy of Modern Bedlam, helps us to see that the inspiration of Part III of Gulliver's Travels can be traced back to ideas Swift expressed while composing the earlier satire.

Scholars, including Herbert Davis and Irvin Ehrenpreis, agree that it is likely that the idea of The Tale of a Tub itself came to Swift while he was a student at Trinity College in Dublin (1.ix, 186). In his biography of Swift, Ehrenpreis explains with apt metaphor that while at Trinity Swift encountered "the little cloud which was to float eventually over the whole world ... this is the natural philosophy, the new experimental philosophy, inspiring the Royal Society and producing in the end our own idea of science" (46-7). Ehrenpreis traces the origin of Swift's "themes of his satire of 'science', including several motifs

of both The Tale of a Tub and Gulliver's Travels" to the intellectual climate of Dublin and Trinity College (47). Especially influential on Swift's attitudes towards the new sciences was his tutor, St. George Ashe. Ehrenpreis explains that as a mathematician and member of the Royal Society, Ashe was noted for his ardent support of its mission and work. While Swift remained Ashe's life-long friend, and while Swift probably did not aim The Tale of a Tub at Ashe, the student gathered from the teacher's almost religious devotion to the new sciences material that appeared in his satire (47-56).

Another major target in the earlier satire is the abuse of words, both spoken and written. Among other themes, The Tale of a Tub is about a failure to communicate clearly and honestly. As a member of the fraternity of hack writers, its narrator demonstrates that air is too often the medium of exchange, not only in Grub Street, but in the pulpit, the political arena, and the academy as well. The world of The Tale is literally the world of words, which in turn is literally the world of the air. Its setting is one of the "Edifices in the Air" (Prose Works 33), constructed for "philosophers" to speak down to a crowd for hours without interruption.

This world of air is represented by the Aeolists in Swift's allegory of the three brothers who believe "the Original Cause of all Things to be Wind" (95).[38] The

Aeolists represent the enthusiasm and irrationality of the Nonconformists. The Aeolists are creatures filled with the air of inspiration[39] and are accomplished in the art of belching, their particular mode of discourse (96). Swift also uses the Aeolists to connect modern learning to the insubstantial nature of the air. They trace learning back to wind, the original cause of the universe. From this they have devised a belief "that Learning puffeth Men up" (96) and that "Words are but Wind; and Learning is nothing but Words; Ergo, Learning is nothing but Wind" (97).

Though the antithesis of the long winded Aeolists, a group of professors at the School of Languages in the Academy of Lagado developed a theory of words and wind that is strangely similar. Gulliver explains they have developed

> a Scheme for entirely abolishing all Words whatsoever: And this was urged as a great Advantage in Point of Health as well as Brevity. For it is plain, that every Word we speak is in some Degree a Diminution of our Lungs by Corrosion; and consequently contributes to the shortening of our Lives. (158)

For both groups wind is the essential stuff of life. While the entire section devoted to the School of Languages is essentially a satire on the Royal Society's attempts to develop a more precise language, it is also an example of Swift's long established use of air imagery to portray the emptiness of the scientific doctrines he is satirizing.

Swift also uses this imagery in both works to suggest the insanity of those who are associated with the air. In "a Digression Concerning Madness" the narrator of The Tale admits that the minds of Aeolists are "overturned". But insane himself, the narrator argues that madness is a useful state in that it facilitates the inspiration for great ideas and deeds: "The Establishment of New Empires by Conquest: The Advance and Progress of New Schemes in Philosophy; and the contriving, as well as the propagating of New Religions" (102). Air plays a vital role in the system he has worked out to explain the usefulness of madness to the commonwealth. The source of inspiration for the insane is the "Phoenomenon of Vapours, ascending from the lower Faculties to over-shadow the Brain, and thence distilling into Conceptions, for which the Narrowness of our Mother-Tongue has not yet assigned any other Name, besides that of Madness or Phrenzy" (105). He argues that "the upper Region of Man, is like the middle Region of the Air," the clouds that form there are composed of various sources, including "Steams from Dunghills" (102). The brains of the those who inspire to subjugate other nations and champion new philosophy and religion are affected by their own effluvium.

The Laputians and the Projectors in Lagado are the spiritual descendants of this doctrine. The Laputians live in the middle region of the air, thus their brains are subjected to the vapors of the lands below. The Laputians

actively engage in two of the three great endeavors the narrator of The Tale describes as being inspired by madness: they are imperialists of the first rank, extorting the materials for their own luxurious way of life by threatening to block the sun and rain from any land which lies under its hegemony; and they are the zealous proponents of the new philosophy of science.

The Laputians also fit the narrator's description in The Tale of an inmate in the New Academy of Bedlam (his project for using madness to the benefit of England):

> Behold a Fourth [inmate], in much and deep Conversation with himself, biting his Thumbs at proper Junctures; His Countenance chequred with Business and Design; sometimes walking very fast, with Eyes nailed to a Paper that he holds in his Hands: A great saver of Time, somewhat thick of Hearing, very short of Sight, but more of Memory. A Man ever in haste, a great Hatcher and Breeder of Business, and excellent at the Famous Art of whispering Nothing. (112)

The Laputians are just this self-absorbed. Their senses are of little use to them. Without their flappers, they do not see or hear other people, and they are so distracted by their own thoughts that they are in constant danger of running into objects or falling down from great heights. As long as they are busy with paper, their wives can carry on love affairs in their presence. And, as Gulliver concludes, they are also accomplished in the art of whispering nothing intelligible.

Lord Munodi, a character with his feet firmly planted on the ground of Balnibarbi, suggests that insanity results from exposure to the atmosphere in which Laputa exists. Balnibarbi has been transformed into a dystopia by citizens who have returned from a five month stay in Laputa "full of Volatile Spirits acquired in that Airy Region" (150). The emissaries infect nearly all of Balnibarbi with their insanity, and soon the landscape is ruined. Well-built edifices are torn down and replaced by poorly constructed ones based on the Laputian principles of architecture. Once fertile fields are spoiled by mad experiments to increase production. Every major town has established an academy of projectors whose experiments heap more misery on the island. The total effect of the insanity imported from Laputa is that Balnibarbi has been transformed into a giant insane asylum with the inmates in control. Gulliver observes that the people "looked wild, their Eyes fixed, and were generally in Rags" (149). And while after forty years of innovations Balnibarbi is at the point of ruin, Lord Munodi points out that the people madly continue their projecting, "they are Fifty Times more violently bent upon prosecuting their Schemes, driven equally on by Hope and Despair" (151).

The dream of "The New Academy of Bedlam" has been realized in Laputa and Balnibarbi. Insanity inspires both the regions above and below. These are lands where clear-thinking is not only scorned, but has become subversive.

Lord Munodi is hesitant to discuss with Gulliver in public the miserable conditions of Balnibarbi and may be forced to ruin his own estate by adopting the modern techniques in order to avoid "the Censure of Pride, Singularity, Affectation, Ignorance, Caprice; and perhaps increase his Majesty's Displeasure" (150).[40]

Laputa's physical detachment from the earth below it, and Balnibarabi's association with the flying island, symbolizes intellectual detachment from practical reasoning, common sense, and even sanity. They are true dystopias of the air.

Tyranny of Dystopia

The Laputians' intellectual detachment also results in political isolation. Their only concern about the world below is how they can maintain their exploitative relationship. Unlike the King of Brobdingnag who is eager to learn about other systems of government in case his kingdom could benefit from different practices, the Laputian king cares nothing of the knowledge of several types of governments Gulliver possesses from his travels. Laputa's main contact with the world is through demands lowered by packthreads. Its mobility affords it the opportunity to communicate with many different societies, but its intellectual indifference to anything other than their abstract pursuits, including the affairs of the world, makes

it perhaps the most isolated of Swift's utopian worlds.

But unlike the isolation of Brobdingnag, which is symbolic of Swift's disdain of imperialism, the isolation of Laputa does not prevent it from engaging in the worst kinds of imperialistic endeavors. Critics agree that the paragraphs concerning the city of Lindalino are designed to comment on England's exploitation of the Irish, including in them an allegory to the affair of Wood's half-pence. The ability and willingness to terrorize its dominions from the sky make Laputa an especially menacing tool of exploitation. Laputians block the sun and rain from any rebellious city, or they pelt it into submission with boulders, or lower the entire island on top of it, crushing the entire population. Gulliver feels that the Laputian king "would be the most absolute Prince in the Universe, if he could but prevail on a Ministry to join with him" (144); however, the king is unable to enlist the complete support of the nobles in such an endeavor, "but these having their Estates below on the Continent, and considering that the Office of a Favourite hath a very uncertain Tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their Country" (144).

Laputa is clearly designed to be a political dystopia as well as a scientific one. Swift intricately interconnects his satire on speculative science with an equally vigorous attack on the abuse of power, as the allegory of Lindalino reveals. The scientific nature of

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Laputa may be designed to satirize theorists of political absolutism.[41] Swift briefly returns to this theme in Luggnagg, whose monarch is a caricature of an oriental despot; however, the chapters which comprise Laputa and Lagado more fully explore how an underlying modern philosophy of science leads to the imperialism that Laputa demonstrates.

Imperialism is a natural outgrowth of the scientific world view which Part III is satirizing. In the New Atlantis the lead priest of Salomon's House proclaims that "The End of our Foundation is the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire, to the effecting of all things possible" (239). This dream is indicative of Bacon's view of man's relationship to nature. As Arthur Lovejoy points out, Bacon adhered to a belief supported by the biblical doctrine in Genesis that "all other created beings exist for man's sake" and that man himself is the center of his world (186-87). Since man already is given dominion over nature by divine fiat, Bacon's desire for "the enlarging of the bounds of the human empire" is a fulfillment of man's religious duty. To this end, the experimenters of the House of Salomon are akin to brothers of a holy order, and their leader, who is deemed "the Father" is their Abbot. In Salomon's House, religion and science are inextricably linked:

> We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for his marvelous works: and forms of prayers, imploring his aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning of them into good and holy uses. (247)

For Bacon and his followers, the new science is the means which man has at his disposal to delve into the secrets of the natural world, and thus complete his conquest of nature (Weinberger 19). The experiments at Salomon's House demonstrate this conquest by reshaping nature. The experimenters take great pride in their ability to manipulate nature in their laboratories by creating artificial weather or developing new species of plants and animals with characteristics contrary to what is found in nature:

> By art ... we make them greater or taller than their kind is; and contrariwise dwarf them, and stay their growth: we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is; and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways ... We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction; whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds; and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture what kind of creature will arise. (241)

It is not only the end results that inspire their enthusiasm, but it is their ability to create a dwarf or a giant, a barren tree from a once fruitful one, or a perfect worm that excites them. (The projector who has developed a wool-less sheep in Lagado ridicules this type of scientific

enthusiasm.) Bacon's experimenters state that the end of their order is "to the study of the Works of God" (229); however, they aspire to imitate God's creative power. It is significant that another name for Salomon's House is "the College of the Six Day's Works" (230); science has given them tremendous powers over life and death. In Salomon's House, man has become almost a god himself.

Bacon celebrates technology's ability to extend mankind's empire over nature. The technology of Bacon's world also allowed for the physical expansion of Europe's political empire during the age of exploration. In the gallery of inventors in Salomon's House the first three persons mentioned demonstrate Bacon's enthusiasm for the new empires which were being established by the technology of exploration: "There we have the statua of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies: also the inventor of ships: your monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder" (246).

James Holstun, in his study of seventeenth-century Puritan utopias, asserts that "Bacon's 'empire of men over things' is always also an empire over men considered as things" (54). Holstun points out that in his Novum Organum Bacon considered the tools of expansion to be the most significant inventions in the history of mankind. Bacon argued in this book:

> Again, it is well to observe the force and virtue and consequences of discoveries; and these are to be seen nowhere more conspicuously than in those three which were unknown to the ancients, and of which the origin, though recent is obscure and inglorious; namely printing, gunpowder, and the magnet. For these have changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world; the first in literature, the second in warfare, the third in navigation; whence have followed innumerable changes; insomuch that no empire, no sect, no star seems to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical discoveries. (qtd. in Holstun 51-52)

While magnets and gunpowder are obvious indispensable instruments for the discovery and control of new empires, Holstun argues that printing too was vital in the imperialistic expansion: "Print allows the dissemination of the language of the country inventing the printing, not (at least at first) that of the country without the printing, which may not even have a written language" (52).

While such imperialism could be justified for its scientific merits, Holstun points out that the expansion of Christianity also served as the rationale for the subjugation of newly discovered peoples by the advocates of the new sciences. Again science and religion are tied together in a mutually beneficial relationship. "Bacon's trinity of printing, gunpowder, and the magnet" Holstun writes, were seen as the tools which made possible the expansion of the Christian religion into the New World. "The advancement of Christ goes hand in hand with the advancement of learning and of European conquest" (132).

Swift's own assessment on this justification for imperialism is much more cynical. In his description of the modern colony in the final chapter of Gulliver's Travels Swift develops a scenario in which a storm tossed pirate ship discover a new land:

> they go on Shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless People, are entertained with Kindness, they give the Country a new Name, they take formal Possession of it for the King, they set up a rotten Plank or a Stone for a Memorial, they murder two or three Dozen of the Natives, bring away a Couple more by Force for a Sample, return home, and get their Pardon. Here commences a new Dominion acquired with a Title by 'Divine Right.' (258)

A cross fashioned from a rotten ship's plank is an appropriate memorial for the new colony. It is corrupt and unsubstantial, as is the religious cant which rationalizes the exploitation of the indigenous population.

And if the discoverers are pirates, the colonists of Swift's "Modern Colony" are no better. They torture and kill to find gold, and commit other atrocities with free licence granted from their home country. Swift rejects the religious claims of the colony, "And this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a modern Colony sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People" (258).

The irony does not escape Swift that a supposedly enlightened and Christian people could behave much worse than the uncivilized natives they nominally are attempting

to convert. With even more damning irony, Swift, screened behind Gulliver's voice, lays the charges at England's door by denying, like Thomas More before him, that his country is guilty of the crimes being condemned, "But this Description, I confess, doth by no means affect the British Nation, who may be an Example to the whole World for their Wisdom, Care, and Justice in Planting Colonies" (258). Swift specifically attacks the rationale of these colonies by praising England for practicing what can be termed the Baconian ideal of imperialism, "their liberal Endowments for the Advancement of Religion and Learning; their Choice of devote and able Pastors to propagate Christianity" (258).

Swift at this point may be describing any of England's colonies in the New World; however, the topic also allows the reader to see that it can be a comment on England's treatment of its nearest colony, Ireland:

> in supplying their strict Regard to the Distribution of Justice, in supplying the Civil Administration through all their Colonies with Officers of the greatest Abilities, most vigilant and virtuous Governors, who have no other Views than the Happiness of the People over whom they preside, and the Honour of the King their Master. (259)

The English indifference to the political rights of the Irish is examined more extensively by the allegory of Lindalino in Part III, in which one of the demands made by the rebellious city is "the Choice of their own Governor" (146).

Swift questions the purpose and motivation for England's colonial expansion by challenging the idealistic claims of its supporters at the basic level of humanity. When Gulliver simplistically comments "those Countries which I have described do not appear to have any Desire of being conquered, and enslaved, murdered or driven out by Colonies" (259) Swift is rejecting a Euro-centric arrogance. Swift's own humanism allowed for the basic dignity of the indigenous people. In "the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" he even appears to be embracing the enlightenment conception of the noble savage. Swift, behind the letter writer's persona, challenges the conception "that the fundamental Difference in the Point of Religion, between the wild Indians and Us, lies in this; that We worship God, and they worship the Devil" (Prose Works 1. 179). Swift prefers a humanistic interpretation of the universality of the basic religious principles:

> But there are certain Criticks, who will by no means admit of this Distinction; rather believing, that all Nations whatsoever, adore the true God, because, they seem to intend their Devotions to some invisible Power, of greatest Goodness and Ability to help them, which perhaps will take in the brightest Attributes ascribed to the Divinity. Others, again, inform us, that those Idolaters adore two 'Principles'; the 'Principle' of 'Good', and that of 'Evil': Which indeed, I am apt to look upon as the most Universal Notion, that Mankind, by the meer Light of Nature, ever entertained of Things Invisible. (179)

The writer of the "Mechanical Operation" goes so far as to make an ironic point that in their devotions the Aboriginal peoples practice a purer form of religion than modern Europe, "They are put oftener upon their Knees by their Fears, and We by our Desires; That the Former set them a Praying, and Us a Cursing" (179). Swift's high church Anglicanism has little tolerance for evangelicalism, and his humanism, in which a veneration of classic Greece and Rome is a major component, would not allow him to condemn outright the non-Christian world.

If the natives of the New World are in no immediate need of conversion, one justification of imperialism is thus eliminated. For Swift, a second is discredited by his personal sense of nostalgic primitivism. If Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and especially Houyhnhnmland represents Swift's true attitudes about the possibilities for the moral superiority of the technologically less advanced society (a fact that is both consistently stressed by Swift's championing of the ancients and throughout Gulliver's Travels), then the natives can do without many European advancements, and are better off without others. Swift's hatred of tyranny, fostered in part by England's dealings with Ireland, is consistent with his suspicions about imperialism. Laputa thus becomes, in part, an ugly symbol of the technological aspect of exploitation. It is very significant that the force that enables Laputa to fly,

magnetism, is included in Bacon's trinity of utopian inventions.[42] The compass allowed for the navigation of the open seas and thus opened the door for world exploration and exploitation. Laputa is like a giant pirate ship, sailing from port to port to exact tribute. Fortunately for the rest of Gulliver's world, its range is limited by the particular geographical conditions within the bounds of its empire.

The Utopian Academy

Laputa's most devastating legacy is the ruin of Balnibarbi. Before its fall, Balnibarbi was a well-governed agrarian utopia. With Lord Munodi as its governor, Balnibarbi represented Swift's idealistic conception of the England of a century before. The entire land flourished under the ancient principles of agriculture and architecture. The Balnibarbi that Gulliver visits, however, has been contaminated by the importation of Laputian science and technology. The old venerated system is overturned in favor of modern innovations, leaving only Lord Munodi and a few other representatives of the gentry to uphold the old ways.

The establishment of the Academy of Projectors in Lagado marks the beginning of the destruction of the utopia. With popular backing, the Projectors facilitate a visionary transformation of Balnibarbi along Baconian lines. Like the

Brothers of Salomon's House, the Projectors enthusiastically envision man's domination of nature:

> In the Colleges, the Professors contrive new Rules and Methods of Agriculture and Building, and new Instruments and Tools for all Trades and Manufactures, whereby, as they undertake, one Man shall do the Work of Ten; a Place may be built in a Week, of Materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing. All the Fruits of the Earth shall come to maturity at whatever Season we think fit to chuse, and increase an Hundred Fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy Proposals. (151)

The Projectors are full of the arrogance of the new scientific humanism. Swift treats the schemes as unrealistically utopian mainly because of the magnitude of their projects and the irrational devotion of the projectors. Elsewhere in Gulliver's Travels, science and technology are treated more favorably. As we remember, the monarchs of Lilliput and Brobdingnag are described as patrons of learning. In the utopian chapters of Part I the Lilliputians are praised for their mechanical and mathematical ingenuity. However, unlike the Projectors, the Lilliputians apply their technology to practical and productive ends. The King of Brobdingnag's desire to see agricultural production doubled reveals his faith that science can greatly benefit mankind; his is only a modest aspiration compared to the Projectors' dreams of an one-hundred fold increase.

Among the first sins of the Projectors of Lagado then is their arrogance about man's supposed ability to dominate nature, which itself implies that man even possesses the intellectual capacity to fathom nature's complexities. Another sin is the irrational zeal in which they embrace science. Swift similarly portrayed innovators of grand schemes in The Tale of a Tub. The enthusiastic force that inspires innovators to pursue "things agreed on all hands impossible to be known," the author of The Tale argues, has commonly been mistaken for insanity through out history:

> For, what Man in the natural State, or Course of Thinking, did ever conceive it in his Power, to reduce the Notions of all Mankind, exactly to the same Length, and Breath, and Height of his own? Yet this is the first humble and civil Design of all Innovators in the Empire of Reason. (Prose Works 1. 105)

The madness that grips all projectors, Swift argues, destroys the perspective of what can and should be attempted. The result of such misplaced faith is years of wasted effort ultimately leading to destruction and sterility.

The "New Academy of Bedlam" is the appropriate venue of wild projecting in The Tale of a Tub, while Lagado serves the same purpose in Gulliver's Travels. There the projectors devise such crazed schemes as extracting sunbeams from cucumbers and food from excrement, turning ice into gunpowder, constructing buildings from the roof down,

fashioning colored silk from spider webs, and petrifying the hoof of a living horse. They seem oblivious to the utter uselessness of other projects such as softening marble and raising naked sheep. Other experiments succeed only to result in the negative of utility. Their mechanical experiments with language produces the exact opposite of intelligible communication, and their political projects, instead of producing systems of harmonious rule, breed suspicion and chaos.[43]

But what most symbolizes the nature of the dystopia is the projectors' failure to achieve their utopian dreams with their agriculture experiments. Instead of increasing production a hundredfold, their plans to use hogs to plow their fields and sow the chaff in place of the grain produces no crop at all. The dream of fruitfulness brings about only sterility. Their experiments are not merely failures which detract from the productive use of time and resources, but they pose the very real danger of famine to Balnibarbi, especially if Lord Munodi and those of his persuasion are coerced into plowing under their own productive fields and adopting the modern methods of agriculture.

While the Academy of Lagado directly evokes images of Salomon's House in Bacon's New Atlantis, it is also Swift's very thinly disguised attack on the experimentation of England's Royal Society, a point that has been well

established in Swift criticism since Marjorie Nicolson and Nora M. Mohler's "The Scientific Background of Swift's 'Voyage to Laputa'" (1937). The Academy also satirizes England's projection mania, which in part was fostered by the popularized accounts of the Royal Society's work. However, Swift's Academy at the same time is working with in a long established utopian convention. Several utopian treatments of an academy or a pantheon dedicated to new discoveries and the sciences pre-date Gulliver's Travels, including Swift's own Academy of Modern Bedlam in Section IX of The Tale of a Tub.

Starting with More's Utopia, scientific investigation has been an important utopian activity, and for the later utopian writers all of human society is one vast laboratory. Typically during the course of a narration, we learn of how an enlightened founder of the utopia established the foundation for the society through the rule of law. Once the time in which the setting of the narration is reached, the now perfected society represents the finished experiment in the political and social sciences. In the utopia advances in man's knowledge of the natural world have helped to facilitate the perfection in the social arena by easing sources of conflict. Hunger and poverty are eliminated by a superior technology. With these go the evils of avarice and crime. Also technology has freed man from mind-numbing drudgery, allowing him to further turn his attention to the

universe around him.

More's book expresses an inextricable mixture of Christian and scientific humanism which established a paradigm for the utopia up to Swift's day. To the Utopians of More's book "the scientific investigation of nature is not only a most enjoyable process, but also the best possible method of pleasing the Creator" (100). The Utopian successes in applying their scientific knowledge would be the envy of the Projectors of Lagado. Through "scientific methods" they have transformed the barren soil of their island into the most fertile farmland in the world and they have transplanted entire forests to better facilitate the transportation of timber (99). Like the Laputians, the utopians are learned astronomers who "have invented several ingenious instruments for determining the precise positions and movements of the sun and moon, and of all other heavenly bodies visible in their hemisphere" (90). The Utopians, however, do not succumb to the Laputian folly of astrology.[44]

While the Utopians as a society are scientific-minded, engaging in several experiments, making many discoveries in natural philosophy, and proving themselves to be great innovators, the institutionalization of scientific inquiry and experimentation into the academy first appears in later Renaissance utopias which More's work inspired. A utopian academy figures prominently in both Campanella's The City of the Sun and Bacon's New Atlantis, and in a pre-figuring of

Swift's Lagado, Bishop Hall's Mundus Alter Idem contains an inverted academy designed to satirize skeptical philosophy and alchemy.[45]

In the utopias of Campanella and Bacon the academy exists to promote experimentation and to honor the great discoverers of history.[46] The Minister of Wisdom holds one of the three highest positions below the Prince of the City of the Sun. Pictured on the inner and outer the walls of his temple are representations of all the sciences with their principal materials and instruments, important scientific discoveries, and the great inventors (33-37). In a similar manner Salomon's House contains "two very long and fair galleries: in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions: in the other we place the satua's of all principal inventors" (246). Each of these academies transcends mere scientific inquiry. Their experiments assume a religious significance, following the Utopian's Christian-scientific-humanistic philosophy the buildings which house them are literally shrines to science, while the portraits of past innovators adorn the walls like icons.

Half a century after Bacon's death, the Royal Society attempted to actualize the Baconian vision. In the History of the Royal Society (1667) Thomas Sprat touted Bacon's invaluable contributions to the spirit of experimentation on which Society was founded. Sprat described certain of

Bacon's works as the Society's sole "Preface" (35) and Bacon's portrait appears on the frontispiece of the History. When the Royal Society was established in 1660, Bacon's utopia not only figured prominently in its philosophical foundations, but the example of Salomon's House was seriously proposed as a model for a planned college for experimenters (Marie Hall 13, Hunter 156).

Though this college was never built in Swift's lifetime, the Society's headquarters in London's Gresham College was an early target for Swift's satires on misdirected and pretentious learning. Swift, in The Tub of a Tub, links the experimenters of Gresham College to the coffee-house wits and Grub-street writers in a troika of intellectual pretenders (Prose Works 1. 38-39). Gresham College appears in "The Battle of the Books" as a favorite of Momus, god of negative criticism and father and patron of the moderns (Prose Works 1. 153-55).

Swift reserves his most violent attack on the Royal Society for Gulliver's Travels in the form of the dystopic academy in Lagado. Like Hall before him, Swift inverts the utopian college of learning and discovery, and turns it into a site of perverted intellect and wasted effort. The fact that the projectors of Lagado are insanely deluded about the significance of their experiments ties them to Swift's earlier dystopic academy, the Academy of Modern Bedlam in The Tale of a Tub. The Bedlam academy is designed in part

to satirize the effect of enthusiasm on the intellect. The author of The Tale has devised a scheme to utilize the latent talents of Bedlam's "professors" to benefit government, commerce, and religion. This Academy of Bedlam is Swift's dark comment on what he sees is a growing irrationality in these fundamental aspects of English society.

The inmates of the Academy at Lagado are also clearly insane, and they too reside in a Bedlam of sorts. They pass their hours in vain experiments, ceasing only long enough to beg for money from visitors, just like their Bedlam brethren in The Tale of a Tub. The first two that Gulliver encounters even resemble miserable inhabitants of Bedlam: "The first Man I saw was of a meager Aspect, with sooty Hands and Face, his Hair and Beard long, ragged and singed in several Places. His Clothes, Shirt, and Skin were all the same Colour" (152). The second, a projector whose "Face and Beard were a pale Yellow; his Hands and Clothes dawbed over with Filth" (153) from his attempts to reclaim food from excrement, is especially reminiscent of the Bedlamite who sits in his cell "raking in his own Dung, and dabling in his Urine. The best Part of his Diet, is the Reversion of his own Ordure" (Prose Works 1. 112-13).

Gulliver's narration of his tour of Lagado is also much like that of an eighteenth-century diversion seeker who visits the asylum to satisfy a morbid curiosity. Gulliver's

account of Lagado is filled with a mixture of fascination and horror over what takes places within the Academy's walls. He is introduced to the Warden (a title suggestive of the true nature of Lagado) as "a Person of much Curiosity and easy Belief" (152), a description he does not deny. In truth, he comes to Lagado as an interested amateur, professing more than a passing interest in projections, "I had my self been a Sort of Projector in my younger Days" (152). Like the visitor to Bedlam, he engages in conversations with the inmates, and while he can see the folly, or even danger, of some of the experiments, his credulity blinds him to the totality of the insanity around him. Gulliver even gives encouragement to the inventor of the book-writing machine by assuring him of his patent rights once Gulliver returns to England, and he suggests an improvement to the project designed to discover sedition by examining the excrement of politicians.

The asylum of projectors in the end proves only to be another raree-show. Like the carnival of preferments in Lilliput, the activity of Lagado is spectacle without any true substance, even, it seems, to Gulliver. Once his curiosity is sated, he abruptly loses interest in the projectors. In several other places in Gulliver's Travels Gulliver suggests that he could find contentment by residing permanently in the countries he discovers. But Gulliver cannot be convinced to remain in this temple of modern

thinking: "I saw nothing in this Country that could invite me to a longer Continuance; and began to think of returning home to England" (164).

In creating the Academy of Lagado, Swift not only inverted the utopian academy convention, but he moved Salomon's House and Gresham College up to the gates of Bedlam, which are flung wide to accept any visionary, speculator, or projector that may seek refuge. Through the explosion of the utopian delusions of the Academy of Lagado Swift's satire again has several dimensions. Lagado is at once a satire on enthusiastic experimentation and projections, a parody of scientific utopianism both fictionalized and in practice, and an invective on a society willing to embrace the wild promises of visionaries over the proven benefits of tradition. The technology that transforms Lagado and its elder sister Laputa into dystopian communities represent Swift's definitive statement that the worship of science will not put man on the road to utopia.

Balnibarbi, Glubbdubdrib, Luggnagg

For the student of literary utopias, as well as science fiction, the chapters comprising Laputa and Lagado are fascinating early examples of technological dystopias. Indeed, Swift's satire on modern science remains an important influence on the themes of both utopian and science fiction literature. A. L. Morton's summation of the

third voyage accurately captures the dominant impression we take with us from our reading of Part III, "Essentially, Book III is a negative utopia aimed at the system of colonial exploitation operating from behind a mask of false reason, false science and false enlightenment" (139). We should, however, resist the temptation, as Morton and several other utopian critics fail to do, to neglect the remaining sections of Part III due to the wealth of utopian material contained in Laputa and Lagado. Part III is more than the flying island and the academy of projectors; and Swift's exploration of utopianism does not end at Lagado's border. While Gulliver's side trips to Glubbdubdrib and Luggnagg lack the cohesion and development of the first six chapters, which form a compelling unit exploring similar utopian themes, each contains a brief utopian element that adds to our comprehension of Swift's utopianism.

The nostalgic utopianism found in Lilliput and Brobdingnag, and later to be developed in Houyhnhnmland, is revisited in Glubbdubdrib through Gulliver's conversations with the ghosts of historical figures. Glubbdubdrib is essentially a continuation of the ancient/modern debate as well as a satire on popular historiographic errors. Swift's utopian conception of history is played out in the pageant that appears at Gulliver's demand. Gulliver's obvious preference for ancient history reveals that he has abandoned the Moderns' camp and has taken up Swift's defense of the

Ancients.

Nowhere else in Gulliver's Travel does Gulliver speak so much with Swift's voice as in Glubbdubdrib. Gulliver may wish to be an objective observer as he calls forth the spirits of the ancients and moderns, though he clearly shares Swift's historical sensibilities, if only for this moment. Gulliver appears as a knowledgeable, though somewhat naive, student of history who has been granted what is likely one of his creator's wildest dreams: the ability to converse in person with the most famous characters in history. Gulliver's delight in the "Scenes of Pomp and Magnificence" (167) which accompany his first choices, the armies of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Caesar and Pompey, are that of one in love with drama of classical history, and if Swift may have shown less enthusiasm for history's greatest conquerors, Gulliver's veneration of the noble Brutus who ended Caesar's tyranny is assuredly Swift's own.

Glubbdubdrib is a fantastic counterpart to Swift's "Of Mean and Great Figures Made by Several Persons," a fragmentary hodgepodge of great and contemptible moments from history. Herbert Davis describes the tone of Swift's catalog as "an almost romantic fascination for the dramatic moment in the lives of the heroes and the villains whose memories have survived" (Prose Works 5. xi). Gulliver reveals this same romantic fascination for great heroes and

villains as he discusses European history with many of the notables which appear in "Of Mean and Great Figures." He explains that "I chiefly fed my Eyes with beholding the Destroyers of Tyrants and Usurpers, and the Restorers of Liberty to oppressed and injured Nations" (168). The ghosts which appear in Glubbdubdrib allow Swift to present a concise summation of what he sees as the most important historical themes: the struggles between tyranny and liberty, corruption and virtue.

The history that is revealed to Gulliver first hand from ghosts who have "no Use" for lying (167) clearly contained political significance to Swift's Europe. However, Swift's use of spirits to demonstrate history's lessons has often led critics to downplay such implications. In her influential comments on Part III Kathleen Williams, for one, misinterprets Glubbdubdrib as "a world of no-meaning, of delusion and death, darker and more shadowy than Laputa" (173). Williams sees Glubbdubdrib as an extension of the meaninglessness and absurdity of the previous sections. The ghosts create an almost horrific sense of the unreal, and their lack of true substance is reflected in their comments to Gulliver. She argues that conquerors such as Alexander and Hannibal "had little to recommend them to Swift" (173), and that the interviews with the ghosts in general are both "uninformative" and "trivial" (173). She concludes that in Glubbdubdrib, "We are given a gloomy

enough picture of both the ancient and modern world" (173-4). Williams clearly ignores Swift's purpose to satirize historical misconceptions through the mundane comments of Alexander and Hannibal. She also misses the important contrasts Swift establishes between the ancient conquerors and the freedom-loving virtue of Brutus and the Roman Senate. The superiority of the Ancients to the Moderns is also clearly demonstrated by Gulliver's contrast of the Roman Senate to a modern Parliament: "The first seemed to be an Assembly of Heroes and Demy-Gods; the other a Knot of Peddlers, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen and Bullies" (167).

What we must understand is that while the ghosts are fantastical agents which depart from the illusion of verisimilitude contained in Parts I and II, they are Swift's means to correct what he views as errors in history. Since the shades actually lived the history that Gulliver wishes to view, and because they do not lie, they represent unimpeachable authority. The commentators on the works of Homer and Aristotle who cannot even recognize their authors demonstrate that modern historians and critics cannot be trusted to reveal the truth. Gulliver also comments how recent history has been misrepresented "by prostitute Writers," who "ascribe the greatest Exploits in War to Cowards, the wisest Counsel to Fools, Sincerity to Flatters, Roman Virtue to Betrayers of their Country, Piety to Atheists, Chastity to Sodomites, Truth to Informers" (170).

The ghosts then allow Swift both another opportunity to champion the Ancients and condemn the Moderns, and a means to criticize modern historians, with more than a subtle implication to Whig apologists. While Williams is correct in that the presence of the spirits lend Glubbdubdrib a shadowy, underworld atmosphere, Gulliver delights in his epic experience. Aptly, Gulliver's conversation with the ghosts of Glubbdubdrib is reminiscent of the epic hero's visit to the shades. We feel gloom only in Gulliver's realization that modern Europe has degenerated so much from the ancient virtues in only one hundred years. Overall the tone of Glubbdubdrib is not as dark and gloomy as it is nostalgic and romantic.

That Swift viewed history in romantic extremes is clearly demonstrated by the nostalgic utopianism towards classical Greece and Rome and gothic England which runs through Glubbdubdrib. The ancient world is represented as one of "Heroes and Demy-Gods," of Roman virtue and the struggle for liberty, of tremendous intellectual and literary achievements. Gothic England has as its heroes Sir Thomas More, whom Swift greatly admired as a champion of liberty against the tyranny of Henry VIII (Traugott 534-35), and the idealized figure of the Yeoman of a hundred years ago, Swift's symbol of England's past virtue. The modern world is the other extreme. With its greed, corruption, and folly, there are few heroes for Gulliver to

find. Where Swift romanticizes the ancient world into a utopia, he portrays the modern world as a dystopia. Swift had already established this dichotomy in the first two voyages, but with European history as the sole topic of Glubbdubdrib, his message has no need for allegory.

A final utopian theme is explored in Gulliver's visit to the island of Luggnagg. With the episode of the Struldbruggs, Swift graphically demonstrates the absurdity of "the universal Desire and Wish of Mankind" (181) for extended life, much as Samuel Johnson does later in "The Vanity of Human Wishes." However, this episode is designed to demonstrate more than the folly of vain wishes. Gulliver's reaction to the immortal Struldbruggs takes on utopian dimensions as he envisions a better world for himself and England if he had the knowledge and experiences of these beings. Swift uses Gulliver's naive dreams to attack again a utopian mentality which engages in wild speculations and expends its energies on unobtainable goals. The reality of the Struldbruggs' miserable existence gives this episode a strong anti-utopian tone as Gulliver's rapt visions are exploded.

Though the ghastly Struldbruggs are themselves ghostlike creatures, Luggnagg is more consistent with the anti-utopian themes of the earlier sections of Part III than it is with Glubbdubdrib. Glubbdubdrib is essentially a utopian glance at a better time, while Luggnagg, as Kathleen

Williams correctly asserts, re-emphasizes "the lessons of Laputa with its naive hopes, its misplaced ambitions, and its eventual sterility" (174). When Gulliver leaves Glubbdubdrib and travels to Luggnagg, he abandons Swift's voice and reverts to the Gulliver of Laputa and Lagado. He again adopts the demeanor of the enthusiastic modern who in Lagado confessed an affinity for projection:

> it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a Subject, especially to me who have been often apt to amuse myself with Visions of what I should do if I were a King, a General, or a great Lord: And upon this very Case I had frequently run over the whole System how I should employ myself, and pass the Time if I were sure to live forever. (179)

In Gulliver's hands, immortality becomes another visionary project in which he would become "a living Treasury of Knowledge and Wisdom, and certainly become the Oracle of the Nation" (179). Gulliver expects that he would witness nothing less than utopia come to pass with the immortals hastening its realization. First, mankind's inevitable corruption would be halted by Gulliver and his fellow Struldbruggs who would serve as exemplary teachers of the history they themselves have observed. Second, Gulliver would live to see many long sought for advances in the sciences. Those which he names, however, betray the fantastical nature of Gulliver's utopian dream. Like the Laputians and Projectors of Lagado, Gulliver dreams about the fruition of great esoteric projects, "I should then see

the Discovery of the Longitude, the perpetual Motion, the universal Medicine, and many other great Inventions brought to the utmost Perfection" (180). Swift had earlier linked such speculative projects as these to the concept of utopia in "Mechanical Operation of the Spirit." Because they are fueled by enthusiasm, Swift characterizes them as belonging to "some Fanatick Branch" of science. Visions of establishing "Utopian Commonwealths," are the product of the same enthusiastic mental conditions (Prose Works 1. 174).

By succumbing to the seduction of immortality, Gulliver engages in the type of utopian speculation which Swift characterizes as indicative of the modern fad of projecting. However, the Struldbruggs may also be Swift's answer to a popular utopian dream. The promise of a greatly extended life has consistently been an important element in utopian fiction. Because of a superior culture, which may, or may not, include great medical advances, utopian races tend to live longer and freer of diseases than the rest of civilization. More's Utopians, the citizens of Tyssot's ideal commonwealth, and Swift's Houyhnhnms all have little need for doctors. The Brothers of Salomon's House have discovered methods of greatly extending life and have developed medicines to treat all nature of diseases. Bacon is especially interested in the development of life-extending technology. The first four items of Bacon's "Magnalia Naturae," a list attached to the end of the New

Atlantis containing future scientific breakthroughs which Bacon believes would be for the greatest benefit of mankind, directly relate to this technology. Bacon desires that science find the means to bring about

> The prolongation of Life.
> The restitution of youth in some degree.
> The retardation of age.
> The curing of diseases counted incurable. (249)

Gulliver's conception of the Struldbruggs' immortality mirrors Bacon's vision. Before he discovers the truth about the Struldbruggs, Gulliver takes for granted that their existence is untouched by the infirmities of age and disease. When he does learn that the Struldbruggs do grow old and enfeebled, and that their lives are little more than painful living deaths, he realizes the absurdities of wishing for an unnaturally long life.

Gulliver's realization becomes a direct repudiation of Bacon's utopian dream, "The system of Living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust, because it supposed a Perpetuity of Youth, Health, and Vigor, which no Man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he might be in his wishes" (182). It is tempting to believe that with the Struldbruggs Swift was once more aiming his satire particularly at Bacon. But whether or not Swift targets Bacon in this episode, it is clear that Swift dismisses as

wildly unreasonable the utopian desires contained in "Magnalia Naturae."

The strong anti-utopian elements in Part III could confirm Swift's reputation as an anti-utopian himself. However, we must remember that he is satirizing a quality that he perceives existing in the science-worship of his day. He is outwardly objecting to one brand of utopianism, that which falls within the meaning contained in the negative connotation the term held in the consciousness of the eighteenth century. Swift equally admires the creator of the term, who appears in Glubbdubdrib with such ancients as Brutus, Cato, and Socrates as the only modern in "A Sextumvirate to which all the Ages of the World cannot add a Seventh" (167). His admiration of the ancient world easily qualifies as utopian both in his contention that it was a better time for political man and his belief that bringing back its sense of virtue is his world's only hope. Part III then represents a rejection of one type of utopianism and a further endorsement of another.

VI

HOUYHNHNMLAND: A MISANTHROPE IN UTOPIA

"there were few greater Lovers of Mankind, at that Time, then myself."

"I entered on a firm Resolution never to return to human Kind...." --"Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms"

"I hate and detest that animal called man...." --Swift to Pope

An Ambiguous and Inverted Utopia

Houyhnhnmland is Swift's most recognizable, as well as most controversial, utopia, and for more than four decades it has dominated discussions of Swift as a utopian writer because of its ambiguous position on the concept of utopianism. While Houyhnhnmland easily satisfies the requirements of a classical utopian society as a well-

ordered and prosperous community free from conflict, poverty, and disease, Swift's dark satire aimed at humanity's pride, and his complex irony, in which he may have intentionally created a utopia too perfect to include fallen mankind has, generated endless debate about how we are to perceive it as an ideal society.

Those familiar with the history of Swift scholarship in the twentieth century understand only too well that the contemporary critic who attempts to draw any conclusions about the Houyhnhnm utopia must enter into an already over-crowded debate. The now infamous controversy about how to interpret Part IV, with the status of the Houyhnhnm utopia at its very heart, has preoccupied discussion of Gulliver's Travels since the late 1940s. Richard Rodino explains that James L. Clifford's renowned assessment of this debate is the "chief development" in criticism of the book from 1965 to 1980 (xxx). However, stirring up perennial arguments over the interpretation of Part IV is not necessarily something to be avoided. Asking many of the same questions from a perspective which focuses on Swift's deliberate manipulation of utopian themes can be useful to understanding this most perplexing section of the book. Such an approach will show that Swift manipulates the Houyhnhnm utopia in a manner similar to what he does in Lilliput. Swift again alters the status of his utopia as the objects of his satire change. When European corruptions

or human pride are the general objects of satire, Houyhnhnmland can be admired without reserve. When Swift satirizes Gulliver's surrender to misanthropy or his naive attachment to impossible ideals, the utopia becomes a focus of irony.

Attention to Swift's conspicuous inversions of utopian conventions will also allow for a re-evaluation of the misanthropy that controls the tone of Part VI. While the classic utopia is a humanistic projection of the means to achieve happiness for mankind, Swift leaves us with the apparently curious figure of a misanthrope idolizing a utopia of horses, who so eschew humanity that Gulliver himself is expelled. However, we will see that Gulliver's misanthropy is actually prefigured by Raphael Hythloday, the traveller to the original Utopia, and that both More and Swift reject aspects of the misanthropy their characters espouse.

Hard and Soft Answers

James L. Clifford's "Gulliver's Fourth Voyage: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Schools of Interpretation" (1974) is a logical starting point for a discussion of the status of the Houyhnhnm utopia because his essay contains a very useful examination of several of the standard arguments pertaining to Part IV. Cifford summarizes the important conclusions critic have made about the Yahoos, the Houyhnhnms, the

Portuguese Captain Pedro de Mendez, and the conclusion (41). From the widely varying critical analysis of each of these aspects of Part IV, he distinguishes his two schools. The "hard school" critics insist that Part IV is designed to shock its readers into a realization of mankind's depravity. Gulliver's interpretation that all humans are Yahoos, they argue, is only a slight exaggeration of Swift's own view. In regard to the Houyhnhnm utopia, they argue that Houyhnhnmland represents Swift's ideal alternative to English society. At the extreme of the hard school Houyhnhnmland may be interpreted, as George Orwell does, as an unpleasant, though nevertheless, intentionally utopian model for England which is the product of Swift's deep misanthropy (71-72). The coldly rational Houyhnhnms stand for what humans ought to be while the bestial Yahoos stand for what they are. Those critics who view Gulliver's Travels as an insight into the author's growing madness associate Gulliver's ravings at humanity with Swift's own.[47] While hard school critics may disagree about the Houyhnhnms' appeal as characters, they agree that Swift intended them to be read as positive figures designed to shame Europe.

The "soft school" critics emphasize the comedic and ironic nature of Part IV.[48] They are more willing to read Gulliver's growing hatred of mankind as Swift's satiric response to a complete and untenable form of misanthropy. They turn to Captain de Mendez, who treats Gulliver kindly

after his expulsion from the Houyhnhnms, as the positive model in the final voyage. For them, Houyhnhnmland is Swift's ironic commentary on utopian themes. They are also more likely to interpret the Houyhnhnms as cold and thoroughly unlikable characters.

Clifford determines that there are varying degrees of hard and soft opinions. An approach which can incorporate elements from both schools may come closest to a satisfactory depiction of Swift's utopianism. Clifford views John Traugott as one critic who, by arguing that Swift was "committed to an impossible ideal" while "accepting ... an attainable human norm", proves "that it is possible to be 'hard' and 'soft' at the same time" (39). A more recent study contains a similar assessment of Swift's complicated utopianism. In Swift's Politics (1994) Ian Higgins reconciles Swift's penchant for nostalgic utopianism with a political realism that recognizes that the corruption of contemporary humanity renders the reclamation of past ideals ever more remote:

> Houyhnhnmland is a mythic 'well-instituted commonwealth' and is offered in the satire as the positive rational and virtuous social order and standard reproach to a corrupt modern civilization. But the virtuous republic of Gulliver's Travels is non-human and thus unattainable for the vicious human species. Of the 'remote nations where Yahoos preside', it is the balanced, mixed polity of Brobdingnag ruled by an hereditary king which the text approves. For Swift in the fable of Part IV ... the order of ancient Sparta afforded a nostalgic model of civic virtue for a time of corruption. (Swift's Politics 193-94)

Higgins takes a hard stance on Houyhnhnmland as Swift's ideal society, while his interpretation of Houyhnhnmland as unobtainable is softer. Also soft is the recognition that Brobdingnag serves as the one realistic model for England. Such an argument is appealing because it takes into account Swift's nostalgic utopianism as one means of criticism of his society. As Higgins asserts, the ideals exist for Swift in ancient Sparta and in Houyhnhnmland, but they are unobtainable for Gulliver's society. "Gulliver lives in a world of political opinions and choices, in a history of 'Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments'" (196). Houyhnhnmland then is Swift's "reproach" to a corrupt society. He does not realistically expect England to become like the idealized Houyhnhnms.

Higgins's argument comes down more on the hard side, especially when his assessment of Swift's attitude towards "the vicious human species" is considered. However, it does provide an important foundation for an assessment of Swift's utopianism that can be built upon by some soft-school arguments. Houyhnhnmland can be Swift's ideal state, his reproach to England, and his satire on naive adherence to untenable doctrines all at the same time. In Parts II and III Gulliver himself is an object of satire because he foolishly espouses types of utopianism that Swift rejects, though, as I have argued, Swift himself advanced other utopian ideals in these sections. In Part IV Gulliver again

appears ridiculous as he tries to imitate the Houyhnhnms. We also can only laugh at him, when in his letter to his Cousin Sympson, he expresses his disgust at England's failure to be reformed by the example of the Houyhnhnms during the six months since his Travels have been published:

> Pray bring to your Mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the Motive of publick good; that the Yahoos were a species of Animals utterly incapable of Amendment by Precepts or Examples: And so it proved; for instead of seeing a full Stop put to all Abuses and Corruptions, at least in this little Island, as I had reason to expect: Behold, after six Months Warning, I cannot learn that my Book hath produced one single Effect according to mine Intentions.... (V)

Gulliver's disgust that factionalism and corruption still plague England half a year after he introduces the teachings of the Houyhnhnms show him to be as deluded as the great political and religious innovators Swift satirizes in The Tale of a Tub. This letter, written by Swift several years after the original publication of Gulliver's Travels, further emphasizes Swift's concern over the continued political and moral decline of England. However, Gulliver's authority as a commentator on humanity is reduced by his violent disappointment resulting from his naive expectations that any precepts, no matter how universally beneficial, could transform his nation is so brief a time.

With this approach we can also see that Gulliver's misanthropy is another example of an untenable doctrine which Swift satirizes. We may share Gulliver's horror at

his discovery of Yahoo-like qualities in humanity, but we should also see that the association which compels Gulliver to interpret all of mankind as Yahoos is faulty. Furthermore, Gulliver's desire never to return "to live in the Society and under the Government of Yahoos" (248) when he leaves Houyhnhnmland, and his preference of his horses and his stable hand over his family when he returns to Redriff is Swift's final ridicule of Gulliver's complete misanthropy which prevents him from functioning in society.[49] Clearly such misanthropy would repudiate Swift's own career as a moralist and opposition critic.

The benefit of reconciling these key hard and soft arguments is the ability to develop a consistent interpretation of Swift's utopianism by explaining away apparent contradictions. Like Gulliver, Swift is himself a utopianist and a self-professed misanthropist at the same time; however, Swift is able to meld these two aspects of his character in a way that Gulliver can not. Gulliver ends up raving at mankind because it cannot live up to an impossible dream. Swift, while sharing aspects of this dream, has no delusions of mankind's perfectibility. The utopia of Part IV offers direction in certain areas to Swift's readers. They are not, however, to make Gulliver's mistake of surrendering totally to utopian doctrines.

The Perfection of Nature

The greatest comedy of Part IV is Gulliver's misguided desire to become a Houyhnhnm:

> By conversing with the Houyhnhnms, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their Gate and Gesture, which is now grown into a Habit; and my Friends often tell me in a blunt Way, that I trot like a Horse; which, however, I take for a great Compliment; Neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the Voice and manner of the Houyhnhnms, and hear myself ridiculed on that Account without the least Mortification. (243-4)

Gulliver is not just satisfied following the Houyhnhnm's moral example, he imitates them to the point where he begins talking and walking like a horse. Michael Seidel holds that "Gulliver knows little restraint in pursuing the wrong course" and in Houyhnhnmland his mistake is his wish to be "a more perfectible being than his body allows" (75). The Houyhnhnms are utopian beings in body and intellect, and thus beyond Gulliver's reach. This fact is central to a theme which unites Part IV to Parts I and II: mankind's middle position in creation.

The Houyhnhnm utopia provides a thematic closure to the cosmology established in the first two voyages. Swift's well-known letter of January 19, 1723-24 to Charles Ford reveals that "A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms" was the third section of Gulliver's Travels to be completed: "I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island ..." (Correspondence 3. 5). In Lilliput and Brobdingnag

Swift turns to the magnifying glass as a metaphor of mankind's middle place in existence. Gulliver's Europe exists somewhere between the miniature Lilliputians and the giant Brobdingnagians. The contrasting stature of the Lilliputians and Brobdingnagians is emblematic of the chain of being, and functions both to emphasize humanity's middle state and to humble mankind's pride. However, these two peoples are essentially human. The effectiveness of Parts I and II depends on our recognition of this fact.

Swift returns to the topic of man's place in the universe in Part IV, but this time the races Gulliver encounters are not human. The Yahoos are clearly sub-human. They are either the ancestors of humanity, who have yet to develop the capacity for civilization, or are degenerated humans who have lost their humanity. The latter is closer to the Houyhnhnm's theory of the origin of the Yahoos revealed in Chapter IX. In either case, the Yahoos are not humans, nor are humans Yahoos, as Gulliver mistakenly concludes.

The Houyhnhnms exist on a different and much higher plain than humanity. They see themselves as far superior to humanity (and Gulliver comes to share this view) as Gulliver is to the brutish Yahoos. Following the dictates of reason and the laws of nature (which they see as completely intertwined), and with an absence of the human proclivity to vice, the Houyhnhnms place themselves at the top of the

earthbound chain of being. This fact is revealed in their language in which the name "Houyhnhnm" signifies "The Perfection of Nature" (203).

The perfection of the Houyhnhnm utopia and the bestiality of the Yahoo existence leaves Gulliver, as well as mankind, in the middle ground. Gulliver desires the perfection of the Houyhnhnms while reviling the Yahoo traits which he closely associates with his humanity. By failing to understand that mankind is neither Houyhnhnm nor Yahoo, but a being that shares traits with both, Gulliver lapses into delusion and misanthropy.

What we are left with in Part IV then is a tension pulling humanity in two directions. While humans may aspire to achieve perfection, and possibly even conceive what perfection may be like, their bestial side prevents them from reaching it. Gulliver sees perfection in the Houyhnhnms and attempts to emulate it. However, he views himself and the rest of humanity as Yahoos, "the most unteachable of all Brutes" (203). Gulliver is incapable of enjoying the utopia he has discovered, but he does not blame the Houyhnhnms for expelling him. He faults his own human nature for making him unworthy of the utopia. Gulliver's only recourse is to surrender his humanity, and in doing so he appears insane when he returns to the society of other humans.

With Gulliver's madness Swift draws an illustration of Pascal's earlier humanistic observation about the importance of mankind coming to grips with its middle station in creation:

> It is dangerous to make man see too clearly his equality with the brutes without showing him his greatness. It is also dangerous to make him see his greatness too clearly, apart from his vileness. It is still more dangerous to leave him in ignorance of both. But it is very advantageous to show him both. Man must not think that he is on a level either with the brutes or with the angels, nor must he be ignorant of both sides of his nature; but he must know both. (111)

Gulliver is a prime example of the dangers Pascal describes. By choosing to emulate the unfallen Houyhnhnms, Gulliver tries to place himself with beings which are closer to the angels than to humans. By accepting the Houyhnhnm assessment of humans, he places his own species with the brutes. Gulliver is unable to understand or reconcile his middle position, and his confusion is compounded by the fact that the "perfect" Houyhnhnms also fail to recognize Gulliver as anything more than a Yahoo prodigy. Unrealistic expectations of perfectibility cloud Gulliver's mind and leave the Houyhnhnms, who know nothing less than perfection in themselves, without a clear option of what to do with Gulliver other than exile him.

By expelling Gulliver and planning to eradicate the Yahoos, the Houyhnhnms demonstrate that they are unwilling to accept imperfection in their utopia. We can interpret

this demand for perfection in several ways. Swift could be just as unreasonable in his expectations of utopia. He sees how mankind could be perfected and lashes out at his species for its inability to live up to his ideals of it, giving credence with those who associate Gulliver's misanthropy with Swift's own. But this seems unlikely. Swift's own view of the flawed nature of mankind is inconsistent with any notion of man's perfectibility. Answering the concerns of Pope and Bolingbroke about his apparent misanthropy, Swift replies "I tell you after all that I do not hate mankind, it is vous autres who hate them because you would have them reasonable animals, and are angry for being disappointed" (Correspondence 3. 118). Swift understands only too well that man is a flawed creature. Swift does not excuse mankind's behavior because of these flaws; he merely refuses to expect too much.

If this is the case, Swift could be using the intolerance of the Houyhnhnm perfection to satirize utopian literature, possibly the category of the "Perfect Moral Commonwealth" which was popular with Puritan utopian writers. Swift considered the rhetoric of "God's Kingdom on Earth" as pious cant espoused by defenders of the Puritan Revolution.[50] The citizens of the Perfect Moral Commonwealth achieve perfection in their society because they, like the Houyhnhnms, in their moral superiority lack propensity towards vice. Perfection is achieved because the people are

themselves perfect (whether inherently or because of a supernatural force that brings about a transformation) and cannot conceive of behaving in an imperfect manner. For this reason utopian critic J.C. Davis places the Perfect Moral Commonwealth in the larger genre of "Ideal Societies" but does not include it with "Utopias" which attempt to provide more realistic answers to real problem (36-7).

Houyhnhnmland fails Davis's test for a utopia because of the very fact that its citizens are perfections of nature. This test may be a useful way to look at Houyhnhnmland, especially in respect to its rival as the intended model in Gulliver's Travels, the much more human Brobdingnag. Its inhabitants disqualify Houyhnhnmland as Swift's ideal if we accept the contention that Swift intended to continue his attack on unrealistic utopianism in Part IV. We would have to interpret the Houyhnhnms' claim to be the perfection of nature ironically. But not because they lack perfection. Gulliver observes that "these noble Houyhnhnms are endowed by Nature with a general Disposition to all Virtues, and have no Conception or Ideas of what is evil in a rational Creature" (233). The only experience the Houyhnhnms have with vice is what they observe in the Yahoos and learn about humans from Gulliver. But being perfect, they have difficulty understanding how rational creatures could act in any way other than virtuous. It is just because they are perfect that the Houyhnhnms cannot be a

realistic model to mankind. The Houyhnhnms are un-fallen creatures and are not susceptible to the temptations which Gulliver must endure each moment of life. Without ever feeling temptation themselves, how can the Houyhnhnms offer mankind any program to reform? While virtue is natural to the Houyhnhnms, man must work at it. That is why Gulliver, who has seen perfection, dreads returning to England after his stay in Houyhnhnmland. He realizes the probability of his lapsing back into the natural corruptions of his species without the example of the Houyhnhnms to keep him from straying.

Perfect or Ideal?

If the perfection of Houyhnhnmland is not intended for Gulliver's England, we can laugh at Gulliver for taking the wrong course. But is Gulliver totally wrong for admiring the Houyhnhnms and desiring to be more like them? Again, probably not. Gulliver may take the wrong course only because he goes too far down it. His enthusiasm carries him away to ludicrous lengths in Houyhnhnmland, but he is aimed in the right direction.

Here we need to make a crucial distinction between the Houyhnhnm utopia as perfect and the Houyhnhnm utopia as ideal. Perfection, as it applies to the Houyhnhnms, carries with it connotations of unrealistic expectations and arrogance, no matter what the Houyhnhnms claim about being

immune to such a vice. The Houyhnhnms are perfect. They demonstrate Swift's conception of what perfectly rational beings would be like. But in order to show how unlike humans these creatures would be, he transforms them into another species. In doing so Swift is able to satirize those who arrogantly boast of human reason and demonstrate human failings at the same time. He is also able to satirize the enthusiastic quality of utopianism.

However, it would be a mistake not to recognize those sections of Part IV that truly represent Swift's ideal for humanity, especially Chapters VIII and IX, where several essential aspects of the Houyhnhnm utopia are detailed. Unlike a vision of "perfection," "ideals" for Swift did not need to be invented from thin air. They existed in the examples of classic Greece and Rome and gothic England. While Swift may have despaired that his contemporary society had degenerated to the point where the recovery of past virtues was becoming more of a remote possibility, he did believe in a better time in history when these virtues were practiced more fully by mankind. At times the Houyhnhnms clearly represent Swift's nostalgic utopianism. It is at these points when the Houyhnhnms are representing specific virtues Swift praises in the civilizations of antiquity we can say that Houyhnhnms are ideal. Such is the case when Gulliver explains that "Friendship and Benevolence are the two principle Virtues among the Houyhnhnms" (234). In

sermons such as "On Brotherly Love" and "On Doing Good" Swift complained that these ancient virtues were almost lost in his England and he prayed for their return.

Swift's ideals are most strongly expressed in the specific utopian portrait Gulliver gives us of the Houyhnhnms in Chapters VIII and IX (to a lesser extent they are found in other places in Part IV). Significantly, these chapters are reminiscent of the utopian histories of Lycurgian Sparta and More's Utopia. While the description of the Houyhnhnms in Chapter VIII begins with Gulliver explaining their natural perfections, as the chapter progresses, we can see utopian themes which can be traced to Utopia and Sparta.

The Houyhnhnms' rational attitudes towards marriage, child rearing, and education all have their parallels in Utopia and "The Life of Lycurgus" (and, as we have already seen, in Lilliput.) In these matters, Swift shares a tradition directed away from the fondness fostered by the nuclear family, perhaps in part owing to the lack of a traditional family during his own childhood. As in Sparta and Utopia, reason dictates the choice of mates in Houyhnhnmland. In fact, eugenic concerns are the major factor in this decision in both Sparta and Houyhnhnmland. Lycurgus encouraged only the strong and healthy to marry in order to ensure the continued strength of the community. The Houyhnhnms adopt a similar philosophy:

> In their Marriages they are exactly careful to chuse such Colours as will not make any disagreeable Mixture in the Breed. Strength is chiefly valued in the Male, and Comeliness in the Female; not upon the Account of Love, but to preserve the Race from degenerating: For where a Female happens to excel in Strength, a Consort is chosen with regard to Comeliness. (234)

The Houyhnhnms represent a reasoned and thoroughly unromantic approach to the propagation of the species. Their customs are an antithesis to England's marriage customs, and they contain Swift's critique of what he saw as the irrational and corrupt elements of the institution as it was contemporarily practiced. The Houyhnhnms neither enter a marriage out of extreme emotional attachment nor for monetary gain, "Courtship, Love, Presents, Joyntures, Settlements, have no Place in their Thoughts; or Terms whereby to express them in their Language" (234). Instead their mates are chosen for them by family and friends. After marriage, they live together in friendship and benevolence, without jealousy and squabbling, and only mate to produce offspring.

This attitude towards marriage must have seemed ideal to Swift, who conducted his most intense relationships with women largely at a distance through letters. Swift accepts that the motivations behind most marriages, romantic love and the desire for sex, represent the triumph of the irrational:

> Although reason were intended by providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that, in two points of the

> greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species, since no wise man ever married from the dictates of reason. ("Thoughts on Religion" Prose Works 9. 263)

A Houyhnhnm marriage, by contrast, is one that Swift's wise man would enter. Passion is governed by reason; romantic love is replaced by friendship. Even the sexual drive is controlled so that it provides for the needed propagation of the species without leading to an irrational preoccupation. While the passionless relationship of a Houyhnhnm marriage may seem very unappealing, it is important to remember that Swift was extremely suspicious of unrestrained emotion. At best to him romantic love was maudlin; at worst, it was a dangerous madness. It should then come as no surprise that Swift's own singular relationships with women and his aversion to sex appear somewhat Houyhnhnmlike.[51]

Also ideal to Swift is the Houyhnhnm attitude towards their offspring. Again as in Sparta and Utopia, the Houyhnhnms see children as the product of a rational necessity to keep the species strong. In all three societies the children form as strong, if not a stronger, bond with the community as they do with parents. Excessive displays of parental affection (which Swift himself disapproved) are also discouraged. Swift presented a similarly rational attitude towards children in Lilliput. Once the children are taken out of the Home for education,

they are protected by their professors from any demonstrations of over-fondness on the part of their parents. As Gulliver explains, doting parents are unknown in Houyhnhnmland:

> The have no Fondness for their Colts or Foles; but the Care they take in educating them proceedeth entirely from the Dictates of Reason. And, I observed my Master to shew the same Affection to his Neighbour's issue that he had for his own. They will have it that Nature teaches them to love the whole Species, and it is Reason only that maketh a Distinction of Persons, where there is a superior Degree of Virtue. (234)

The Houyhnhnms place more importance on community membership than on biological ties. This value is an important utopian characteristic. The boundaries of the individual family unit become blurred in the classic utopia. Children, as they are in Houyhnhnmland, are routinely raised by individuals other than their parents when reason demands. For the Houyhnhnms this would be so that each household has the responsibility of raising one of each sex.

The Houyhnhnms demonstrate classic utopian attitudes towards educating their offspring as well. In Gulliver's description of the physical training regimen that Houyhnhnm youth undergo we especially see a tribute to Lycurgian Sparta. Like Spartan children who are made to undergo physical hardships to toughen them, even to the point of being deprived of shoes ("Lycurgus" 60), young Houyhnhnms are

> trained up ... to Strength, Speed, and Hardiness, by exercising them in running Races up and down steep Hills, or over hard stony Grounds; and when they are all in a Sweat, they are ordered to leap over Head and Ears into a Pond or a River. (235)

Particularly Spartan is the fact that both sexes are trained in this manner.

In Lilliput we saw how Swift uses utopian themes to present his own ideas for educating children. In Houyhnhnmland he revisits much of the same framework in which such virtues as "Temperance, Industry, Exercise and Cleanliness, are the Lessons equally enjoyned to the young ones of both Sexes" (235). Like the Spartans, the Utopians, and the Lilliputians, the Houyhnhnms believe in equal education for girls. Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master speaks for Swift in his critique of the disparity of English education:

> ... my Master thought it monstrous in us to give Females a different Education from the Males, except in some Articles of Domestick Management; whereby, as he truly observed, one Half of our Nation were good for nothing but bringing Children into the World: And to trust the Care of their Children to such useless Animals, he said was yet a greater Instance of Brutality. (235)[52]

There are several other examples in which the Houyhnhnms clearly express Swift's utopian sensibilities. The Houyhnhnm style of conversation for one is a Swiftian ideal already mentioned. Their class structure, in which each level contentedly accepts its place in society, is an especially important ideal for Swift because it represents a

solution to a major problem in society. An ardent classicist, Swift preached in "On Mutual Subjection" about the naturalness of the hierarchy that exists in society and about man's duty to accept his assigned station in life, "... among Mankind, our particular Stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our Power reacheth, towards the Good of the whole Community" (Prose Works 9. 142). For Swift the dissatisfaction between the classes was one of the many sources of conflict that was tearing apart the fabric of his society.

In Houyhnhnmland there is also a notable absence of any of such factionalism. As Gulliver explains, even the concept of faction is foreign to the Houyhnhnms:

> I remember it was with extreme Difficulty that I could bring my Master to understand the Meaning of the Word Opinion, or how a Point could be disputable; because Reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our Knowledge we cannot do either. So that Controversies, Wrangling, Disputes, and Positiveness in false or dubious Propositions, are Evils unknown among the Houyhnhnms. (233)

The Houyhnhnms have no political parties or religious factions. Indeed this aspect of Houyhnhnm society is for Swift an ideal alternative to the faction-ridden England. Throughout Gulliver's Travels and in many of his essays, sermons, and pamphlets Swift blames party and religious rivalries for England's troubles.[53]

The Houyhnhnm system represents Swift's conception of an ideal primitivism, much like classic Greek or Roman legislatures in which public good was the force behind political decisions. Without the corrupting influence of party interest, Houyhnhnmland's government, a representative council which meets every four years, is able to reach unanimous agreement on all important matters concerning the community by means of reasoned discussion.

The primitivism that Swift portrays in each of his utopian societies, including Houyhnhnmland, is marked by three complementary qualities: reason (often portrayed as common sense), simplicity, and conformity. Swift continuously argued that their opposites--enthusiasm, needless complexity, and public non-conformity--were the roots of much of the conflict that existed in England. His utopias suggest that if reason, simplicity, and conformity could ever be found together major conflict would cease.

The proponents of these qualities in Gulliver's Travels are those who represent Swift's ideals. In "Thoughts on Religion" Swift aphoristically expresses sentiments about reason, simplicity, and conformity that could have come from the mouth of the Gulliver's Houyhnhnm Master or the King of Brobdingnag. Like the Houyhnhnms, Swift holds that reason is the foundation of his system of belief and is the key to consensus:

> I am in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunity will permit.
>
> It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other men's reason, but I can think only by my own.
>
> If another man's reason fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reason. (Prose Works 9. 261)

Complementing reason is simplicity. The abstract thinking Swift satirized in "The Voyage to Laputa" demonstrated Swift's belief that such complexity was not only useless, but actively works against reason. In each of his utopias practical knowledge is championed while, abstract thought or knowledge of questionable use is ridiculed. This is evident in the comparative technological simplicity of Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and Houyhnhnmland. Each thrives at technological levels lower than Gulliver's Europe. Houyhnhnmland is the most technologically primitive of the utopias (they have no knowledge of iron, for example); however, Gulliver's stay with them is marked by health and happiness. Like Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver is able to adapt his environment to very livable conditions by the practical utilization of technology. Gulliver also credits the simplicity of the lifestyle and diet for the health that he enjoys while in Houyhnhnmland.

The simplicity of the Houyhnhnm utopia also stands in contrast to what Swift sees as another source of societal conflict, religious rivalries initiated by needless disputes

over ultimately insignificant differences in interpretation. Swift argues in "Thoughts on Religion" that Christianity is harmed by wrangling over complexities:

> I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or good policy. (262)

As an Anglican cleric who supported the Church position of a middle way and conformity, Swift opposed subtleties in doctrine that would interfere with the simple belief of his congregation and cause needless conflict. The Tale of a Tub satirizes more extensively the results of warrantless tampering with the Scripture. In Gulliver's Travels Swift reduces major religious debates to the absurdities of the Big-Endians and Little-Endians which prompted the war between Lilliput and Blefuscu. In Part IV Gulliver presents a ridiculous explanation of doctrinal disputes to his Houyhnhnm Master:

> Difference in Opinion hath cost many Millions of Lives: For Instance, whether Flesh be Bread, or Bread be Flesh; Whether the Juice of a certain Berry be Blood or Wine; Whether Whistling be a Vice or a Virtue; Whether it is better to kiss a Post, or throw it into the Fire; What is the best Colour for a Coat, whether Black, White, Red or Grey; and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean; with many more. Neither are any Wars so furious and bloody, or of so long Continuance, as those occasioned by Difference in Opinion, especially if it be in thing indifferent. (213)

Swift's answer to these disputes rests in the doctrine of conformity. Swift held that conformity to the official church was essential to the peace of England. In "Thoughts on Religion" he argues a point that is echoed by the King of Brobdingnag, "Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbor or disturbing the public" (261). As Herbert Davis points out, "The disruption of national life by faction" is the theme of several of Swift's sermons (Prose Works 9. 119). Davis points to one particular sermon, "On Brotherly Love," as an example of how Swift held Non-conformists responsible for much of this disruption:

> he charges the dissenters with being the 'principal cause of all that Hatred and Animosity now reigning among us.' They were responsible, he declares, for the cleavage in the Church of England between High and Low Church; and he thinks the Low Churchmen peculiarly susceptible to the subtle endeavors of dissenters striving to improve their position. (118)

Conformity is a virtue to Swift in large part because it benefits the nation by reducing conflict. Conformity is also an important utopian concept. Individualism is downplayed in several ways and in its place is a strong emphasis on the community. In a utopia, conformity keeps the society running efficiently and without needless conflict. Swift believes in an individual's freedom of belief, even if it goes against the established religion;

however, for the sake of the community, the individual should keep these beliefs quiet and publicly conform. Irvin Ehrenpreis explains that Swift's strong defence of the Test Act was based on his assertion that it united the nation, kept order in the government, and reduced conflict arising from religious posturing (3. 724-25).

The Houyhnhnms are strangers to this conflict because they naturally conform to the laws of reason. No Houyhnhnm would be so unreasonable to debate a point once its logic is made clear. Their dedication to reason makes government possible without political parties to drive a wedge between them. Decisions are made by consensus because they are the most logical ones. There is no party pressures to ignore reason, nor is there enthusiasm to cloud reason. Conformity is as natural to the Houyhnhnms as their propensity for reason, and the result is the utopian primitivism which makes for its ideally faction-free society.

A Misanthrope in Utopia

As I have argued earlier, all utopias, but especially those indebted to More, are in a sense satiric because the ideals they represent offer a criticism of and a challenge to the author's own society. Some utopias are more overtly satiric than others, but satire is implicit in the genre. A narrator such as More's Raphael Hythloday comes to recognize

many of the faults of his society as he is drawn further into the utopia. Like Hythloday, the utopian narrator commonly becomes so infatuated with the utopia that he only leaves it out of a desire to become an ambassador for the ideals he has encountered. Hythloday, notwithstanding the friendship he strikes up with Peter Gilles and More, is clearly uncomfortable with European society upon his return. He criticizes several of its faults and repeatedly rejects suggestions that he utilize his knowledge and experience as an advisor to the court because his words would fall on ears made deaf by self-interest and corruption. Peter Gilles explains in his prefatory letter that he heard rumors that Hythloday "returned to Utopia, partly because he felt nostalgic about it, and partly because he couldn't stand the way Europeans behaved" (34). If it were not for his admiration of the Utopians, he would be a misanthrope.

In Houyhnhnmland Swift builds on the type of disaffection that Hythloday experiences by adding masterful strokes of irony which bring misanthropy to an entirely new satiric dimension in respect to utopias. Gulliver's misanthropy actually helps to define the Houyhnhnm utopia, while at the same time it turns back on itself and becomes a target of satire.

At the beginning of Part IV Gulliver is little different from the chauvinistic narrator of Part II, who attempts to describe European civilization in the best

possible light, though this time, it is not only his nation which he must defend to the utopian inquisitor, but his entire species as well. Gulliver easily falls back into his habit of dressing up the truth so as not to seem a traitor to his kind. Gulliver even proclaims in his defense that "there were few greater Lovers of Mankind, at that time, than myself" (199).

However, misanthropy quickly takes hold, and it is not long before Gulliver decides never to return to humankind:

> I had not been a Year in this Country, before I contracted such a Love and Veneration for the Inhabitants, that I entered on a firm Resolution never to return to human Kind, but to pass the rest of my Life among these admirable Houyhnhnms in the Contemplation and Practice of every Virtue; where I could have no Example or Incitement to Vice. (224-25)

Gulliver has been easily seduced by the perfection of the Houyhnhnms. But it is not only their perfection which encourages Gulliver's decision to renounce humanity. He has also received a devastating psychological shock. In Chapter II, he reacts in horror when he discovers that the Yahoos, the despicable creatures which bear the same name the Houyhnhnms have been calling him since his discovery on their island, possess "a perfect human Figure" (199). If his physical resemblance to the Yahoos was not bad enough, in Chapter VII his Houyhnhnm master also makes disturbing parallels between human nature and Yahoo behavior, all of which leads Gulliver to conclude in Chapter X that Europeans

are actually worse than the native Yahoos because they possess all of their vices and enough rudimentary reason to make them exceedingly dangerous. But what finally convinces Gulliver to accept that he is a Yahoo occurs in Chapter VIII when a young female Yahoo attempts to mate with him while he is bathing. He is thoroughly shaken by this incident, "For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real Yahoo, in every Limb and Feature, since the Females had a natural Propensity to me as one of their own Species" (233).

At the end of his third year among the Houyhnhnms Gulliver has taken to the Houyhnhnm habit of referring to all humans as Yahoos:

> When I thought of my Family, my Friends, my Countrymen, or human Race in general, I considered them as they really were, Yahoos in Shape and Disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the Gift of Speech; but making no other Use of Reason, than to improve and multiply those Vices, whereof their Brethren in this Country had only the shape allotted them. (243)

Because he believes that he too is a Yahoo, Gulliver's misanthropy is also directed towards himself:

> When I happen to behold the Reflection of my own Form in a Lake or Fountain, I turned away my Face in Horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the Sight of a common Yahoo, than of my own Person. (243)

At this point Gulliver's misanthropy is complete. His psyche can no longer stand the thought of his own humanity, so he tries to become a Houyhnhnm:

> By conversing with the Houyhnhnms, and looking upon them with Delight, I fell to imitate their Gate and Gesture, which is now grown into a Habit; and my Friends often tell me in a blunt Way, that I trot like a Horse ... Neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the Voice and manner of the Houyhnhnms, and hear myself ridiculed on that Account without the least Mortification. (243-44)

This transformation is a perfect accompaniment to his misanthropy because it allows him to share in the smug disdain the Houyhnhnms exhibit towards Gulliver's description of humans.

While in Houyhnhnmland Gulliver does not learn merely to prefer the native system over that of his home. He does not come only to revile his native land because he has seen by comparison its numerous faults. Gulliver learns to hate humanity for its cruelty, avarice, stupidity, and an endless list of other imperfections. He learns to hate especially humanity's pride in itself as rational creatures:

> when I behold a Lump of Deformity, and Diseases both in Body and Mind, smitten with Pride, it immediately breaks all Measures of my Patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an Animal and such a Vice could tally together. (260)

Gulliver is able to give himself fully to misanthropy because the utopians he admires are not human and he believes the brutes he detests are. Once he accepts the startling reality that he himself is "a perfect Yahoo," Gulliver creatively discovers a way to abandon his own humanity by adopting the mannerisms of the Houyhnhnms. By

attempting to become a Houyhnhnm, Gulliver takes on the formidable task of evolving into a higher species, even if that species resembles horses and even though he will not be able to participate in its propagation.

Gulliver's misanthropy is a deviation from the more traditional optimistic humanism of the utopia, but it is not unique in utopian literature. A century and a half later Jules Verne's Captain Nemo in 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea reaches a similar conclusion to the problem of reconciling misanthropy with utopianism. Nemo's own creative solution may help us to better understand his spiritual predecessor. Driven to the sea by human cruelty, Nemo creates a small utopia aboard the Nautilus.[54] His deep misanthropy causes him to adopt the name "Nemo," which means "no man." He and his crew ("Nemen?") have severed all ties with humanity. Like the technology of the Nautilus, which represents a tremendous leap forward, its crew is made up of physically and mentally superior men. They too have attempted to accelerate the evolution of the species, but like Gulliver this effort leads to a sterile species. There are no women on the Nautilus and each member of the crew has vowed never to return to human society.

Nemo's wish, like Gulliver's, is that mankind will stop its terrible behavior towards itself. He ostensibly uses the power of the Nautilus to help bring this about by attacking warships, but vengeance is an equally likely

motivation. Also like Gulliver, Nemo would like to share the knowledge of the utopia with mankind, though only he will decide when it is worthy.

Nemo's misanthropy is as mad as Gulliver's. He is driven to commit violence to warships, the very instruments of the cruelty he abhors, but since many innocent lives are also endangered, he engages in cruelty himself. Since misanthropy controls him, and he controls the Nautilus, his utopia turns out to be a dystopia of madness directed towards the rest of the world. Gulliver's Houyhnhnmland, on the other hand, remains a utopia because he does not control it. However, his misguided attempt to export the utopia back to England results in his turning his home in Redriff, if not into an actual dystopia, then into a very unhappy place for his family and himself.

We can see that Gulliver's solution to the dilemma of his misanthropy is delusion; he wishes to rescind his humanity because humanity is flawed, but as a human, he too is flawed; therefore, he cannot achieve his goal of perfection. Still Gulliver offers a fascinating response to the utopian dream of mankind's advancement towards perfection. As a person who possesses utopian sensibilities through out his travels, Gulliver naturally subscribes to this dream. What else is his speculation on the prospects of immortality in Luggnagg but a vision for his own perfection? It is also natural, when he actually encounters

perfection in Houyhnhnmland, for him to wish it for humanity. When faced with the terrible reality that humans are nothing more than Yahoos with "some tincture of reason," he still does not abandon the dream, only that which would hold him back from reaching it. This of course is his humanity. Gulliver's misanthropy does nothing to shake his predisposition towards utopianism; if anything, it strengthens it.

What Part IV, in essence, shows us is that both a utopian and a misanthrope can be guilty of the twin crimes of naivety and excess when the subscriber, like Gulliver, lacks the discrimination to prevent this from occurring. Gulliver is right to admire the Houyhnhnms, but only to a point; after that he becomes absurd. His all-or-nothing personality leads him to attempt to imitate Houyhnhnm virtues in order to overcome human corruptions in himself, but it also has him acting like a horse!

Gulliver's misanthropy is also justified, but again only to a point. He has a right to be disgusted with the corruptions humans are prone to after they have been so thoroughly pointed out. But Gulliver carries his misanthropy much too far, and he needlessly arrives at some very unhealthy conclusions. In his anger at the failings of human nature, Gulliver loses sight of the good in the individual human. He cannot see the kind Captain Pedro de Mendez, who helps him back into human society, as anything

but a Yahoo, howbeit one who possesses a "very good 'human' Understanding" (253). He can barely stand the company of his wife and children when he arrives homes, and by the time of his letter to his cousin Sympson, Gulliver is a wild railer at humanity who can no longer fit into human society.

Swift's own self-professed misanthropy, expressed in a famous letter to Pope, reveals an important difference between the author and his fictional character:

> I have ever hated all Nation professions and Communityes and all my love is towards individualls for instance I hate the tribe of Lawyers, but I love Councellor such a one, Judge such a one for so with Physicians (I will not Speake of my own Trade) Soldiers, English, Scotch, French; and the rest but principally I hate and detest that animal called man, although I hartily Love John, Peter, Thomas and so forth.... (Correspondence 3. 103)

Swift echoes Gulliver's sentiments with the words "I hate and detest that animal called man." However, he can distinguish between the general faults of human nature and the goodness of certain individuals. Swift may vent his anger at the corrupt state of humanity, or even lapse into fits of despair, but is able to cherish friendship with humans and hold on to his sense of humor. Gulliver's perfect misanthropy has robbed him of what discriminating powers he may have had concerning humanity. He wants no other friends than the Houyhnhnms, who have rejected him. His next recourse is to live as a hermit, but he is forced back into human society. At home in England he all but

rejects the company of his family and friends, and spends much of his time in his stables with horses which he treats as if they are Houyhnhnms.

Gulliver's extreme misanthropy is clearly a manifestation of his insanity, and if it were not so amusing, he would appear tragic. Part IV does end with some hope for his recovery from the deepest part of his misanthropy:

> I began last Week to permit my Wife to sit at Dinner with me, at the farthest End of long Table.... And although it be hard for a Man late in Life to remove old Habits; I am not altogether out of Hopes in some Time to suffer a Neighbor Yahoo in my Company, without Apprehensions I am yet under of his Teeth or his Claws. (259-60)

Yet, from the tone of his later letter to Sympson, his delusions remain as strong as ever.

Gulliver's misanthropy presents a challenge for the standard humanistic themes of the utopian genre. If we too closely identify with Gulliver's view of mankind, the utopia, which is designed to up lift humanity by presenting an imaginative glimpse of its potential, has paradoxically succeeded in making a profoundly anti-humanistic statement. If we interpret Gulliver's misanthropy as total madness, thus unjustified, then Houyhnhnmland approaches an anti-utopian statement: it is madness to look into perfection. However, Swift neither totally accepts nor rejects Gulliver's misanthropy. He reveals the dangers of the

irrational degree with which Gulliver embraces it. Gulliver's vision of the utopia itself has been tarnished by the misanthropy, but when its purpose is to project Swift's ideal of virtue, Houyhnhnmland still portrays the utopian wish for humanity. What is most evident is that Gulliver's misanthropy has added an ironic complexity to the genre.

VII

CONCLUSION

"a mere Fiction out of my own Brain." --Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson

Utopos Strikes Out

While Swift is suspicious of the emotional exuberance that a naive utopianism can possess, the structure and satiric potential of the utopian genre work well for his general satire on human beings and human on society. Throughout Gulliver's Travels Swift uses utopian elements primarily for three satirical purposes. The first of these centers around the primitive utopias which we are meant to admire, Lilliput under its original constitution, the Patriot kingdom of Brobdingnag, Lord Munodi's estate, and Houyhnhnmland. Here Swift draws from classic and gothic history to present societies that are closer to ideals of virtue that England has left behind. These utopias are

designed to remind England how far it has degenerated in the hopes it can arrest any further slide from the past ideals.

Swift's second purpose is to satirize wildly unrealistic and impractical schemes. Here the concept of utopia takes on the negative connotations Swift assigned to it and other equally impractical "Schemes of Philosophy" in "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit." Laputa and the Academy of Lagado are clear examples of this use of utopianism. But so is Gulliver's attempt to export Houyhnhnmland to England. During a final fit of misanthropy expressed in the prefatory letter, Gulliver ironically concedes "I should never have attempted so absurd a Project as that of reforming the Yahoo Race in this Kingdom; but, I have now done with all such visionary Schemes for ever" (VII). Gulliver reaches this conclusion because he has been unable to transform humanity in six months. The absurdity, of course, is not that humans can never be reformed as Gulliver concludes, but that his expectations were too great.

Swift's third purpose is related to the second, to satirize an indiscriminate or irrational adherence to a belief or system of behavior. Gulliver's utopian description of England in Part II is an example of his uncritical acceptance of nationalism. His conjecture on immortality in Part III reveals Gulliver's enthusiasm for utopian conjecture. His imitation of the Houyhnhnms in Part

IV demonstrates how easily he is deluded by the idea of a utopia.

We have seen that Swift neither totally accepts nor rejects utopianism. However, in Swift's hands the utopia becomes overtly self-critical as he questions the utopian impulse itself. Swift is given to his own nostalgic form of utopianism. His eutopias owe much to both the utopian accounts of Sparta and Rome, and to the nostalgic utopianism which the Bolingbroke circle used to describe Elizabethan England. Swift, however attacks the Baconian utopian for it's irrational expectations. Gulliver's enthusiasm for utopias is revealed as naive and deluding.

Thomas More showed Swift the way by infusing his Utopia with a sense of play, which must have delighted the word lover in Swift. More also addressed several of the most serious problems his society faced, but all the while refusing to take himself too seriously. His satire attacked greed, cruelty, and other vices, but it especially deflated the self-important. But what may be of most significance for Swift's satiric use of utopia is that More allowed his characters to question the utopian solutions themselves. We need to remember that More, the narrator cannot bring himself to agree with all of Hythloday's conclusions about the ideal society he discovered, "While Raphael was telling us all this, I kept thinking of various objections. The laws and customs of that country seemed to me in many cases

perfectly ridiculous" (132). Like so much in Utopia including Hythloday's name, we are to look at More's objections with irony. He may actually agree with Hythloday at one point, disagree with him at another, or use his disagreement with the utopian ideals Hythloday praises as a means to satirize an aspect of his own country. Two centuries later when Swift brings utopianism into question, he is following in the utopian tradition of More.

Beyond Redriff

The student who is interested in Swift's utopianism may wish to pursue further study of Gulliver's Travels as a component of a utopian political attitude expressed by a circle of opposition thinkers and writers. Nostalgic utopianism is an important element of the political philosophy of the Swift-Bolingbroke circle. While this nostalgic type of utopianism is most forcefully expressed in Swift's Gulliver's Travels and Bolingbroke's The Ideal of the Patriot King, similar themes of England's fall into intellectual and political corruption are the subjects of the respective dystopias found in Alexander Pope's The Dunciad and John Gay's The Beggar's Opera.

This is the utopianism of the political opposition to the Whig government of Robert Walpole. With the death of Queen Anne, Swift and his allies were dispossessed from power, and thus unable to stop the forces of modernity that

the Whigs championed. Their utopianism was a manifestation of powerlessness and growing fatalism over the corruptions that they saw permanently transforming the England they knew. Bolingbroke expressed this sentiment to Swift in a letter written a year before the publication of Gulliver's Travels:

> my Spleen against Europe has more than once made me think of buying the Dominion of Bermuda, and spending the remainder of my days as far as possible from those people [with] whom I have past the first & greater part of my Life. health and every other natural comfort of life is to be had there better than here.... what say you? will you leave [your] Hibernian flock to some other shepherd, and transplant [yourself] [with] me into the middle of the Atlantick ocean? we will form a society, more reasonable, & more useful....
> (Correspondence 3. 82)

Bolingbroke joked about founding a utopia community in Bermuda; however, for him and Swift and other members of their circle, the utopian answer to England's problems did not rest in creating a new society. It lay in the ancient virtues of classical Greece and Rome, and England's own gothic history. Their utopian impulse was not to look forward to a perfect society of the future, but to glance backwards to attempt to recapture the virtues of a "Golden Age" of history.

Judith Shiklar makes an important observation about the impulse of this utopian backward glance:

> If history can be said to play any part at all in the classical utopia, it does so only in the form of an anguished recollection of antiquity, of the polis and

> of the Roman Republic of virtuous memory.... the institutional arrangements of Plato's Laws, Plutarch's "Lycurgus," and Roman history also served as powerful inspiration to the utopian imagination. (105)

For Bolingbroke, this nostalgic utopianism takes the form of the Patriot Movement which hoped to bring about the "return to the glorious era of Elizabeth" (Kramnick 31). For Swift it shapes the tone of each of the eutopias in Gulliver's Travels. The utopianism expressed in Lilliput under its original constitution, Brobdingnag under its patriot king, Lord Munodi's estate on Balnibarbi, the historical pageant of Glubbdubdrib, and Houyhnhnmland is marked by "an anguished recollection of antiquity."

Such a study would reveal that utopianism contributes greatly to the philosophical and satirical campaign against the Walpole government. It would also show that a competing brand of utopianism which expresses an optimism towards the new commercial age is given voice by Daniel Defoe, a literary spokesman for the Whigs. One type of utopianism looks back towards an golden age; the other looks forward to a golden future.

Both give proof that the utopia was a vibrant component of eighteenth-century thought, even if the term itself was still used disparagingly. For Gulliver, utopia truly may have been "a meer Fiction out of mine own Brain" (VI); however, the need for utopia is the human need to dream.

NOTES

1. See Ruth Levitas's The Concept of Utopia for a detailed discussion of the history of Utopian Studies as an organized academic field.

2. Traugott's "A Voyage to Nowhere with Thomas More and Jonathan Swift: Utopia and 'The Voyage to the Houyhnhnms'" appeared in the Sewanee Review. Despite Brian Vicker's claim that Traugott's article "misinterprets Utopia even more fundamentally than it does Gulliver" (233), it contains much of value for the student of utopia. Traugott's work should not be so abruptly dismissed by those seeking connections between Swift and More.

3. See Rielly for a brief list of examples (75).

4. These etymologies are taken from the glossary of the Penguin Classics edition of Utopia, translated by Paul Turner.

5. Citations from Gulliver's Travels are taken from The Writings of Jonathan Swift edited by Robert A. Greenberg and William B. Piper. All citations from Swift's other prose are taken from The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, 16 vols., edited by Herbert Davis and others.

6. Northrop Frye makes some of the same distinctions in his essay "Varieties of Literary Utopias." He also includes a look at the pastoral as a convention that shares

characteristics with the utopia, though not utopian itself (40-44).

7. Levitas takes Davis to task for his "arbitrary and ill-founded" exclusion of Arcadia and Cockaygne from his conception of utopia. Though she praises his focus on the important issue of the "scarcity gap" she feels his definition is "both overly restrictive and profoundly anti-utopian" (164).

8. Samuel Holt Monk explains that Gulliver's Travels "is at once science fiction and a witty parody of science fiction" (48).

9. Robinson Crusoe has often been viewed as a utopian work. The hero, though alone, is able to create for himself an ideal of self-sufficiency. Work, as we will see, is also a major component of utopia. Crusoe's work transforms his island into a hospitable, and once it becomes populated, a profitable, place.

10. This incident is often cited as an allegory of the 1715 Whig investigation of the Tory Leaders Robert Harley and Henry St. John. See the often cited essay by Arthur E. Case, "Personal nd Political Satire in Gulliver's Travels" (71). The emperor's request to search Gulliver in the chance that he carried "Weapons, which must needs be dangerous Things, if they answered the Bulk of so prodigious a Person" (16) seems, nevertheless, reasonable.

11. Nearly twenty years before the publications of The City of the Sun and The New Atlantis, a satire of the type of "college of innovators" which is so important to the utopias of Campanella and Bacon can be found in Book III of Bishop Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem. An important prefiguring of Swift's Academy of Lagado, The Academy of Variana, located in the Moronia, contains two colleges, one of "skeptics" who deny the evidence of their senses, and a second devoted to the discovery of innovations. So lacking in discrimination is Moronia that, "He who first blew bubbles composed of soap and spit from a walnut shell and a hollow read is no less celebrated here than either the inventor of gunpowder or the founder of printing" (77). Gunpowder, as we will shortly see, is an especially symbolic innovation to the utopias under consideration.

12. The King of Austral also plays the same rhetorical role as the leading figures of the eutopias Gulliver visits. He functions as an outsider making judgments on Europe. In an exchange that is in much the same way played out in Swift's Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland, the king makes a scathing invective against European beliefs and customs as they are explained to him by Massey. He finds European technology nearly the only worthwhile thing Massey and Le Foret have to offer, "I am really charm'd with your Sciences, but your Religion and your Politics don't please me at all" (140).

13. Clearly Swift intended his readers to connect the emperor with George. After the publication of Gulliver's Travels Swift wrote a letter to Esther Johnson in which he assumed the persona of the Lilliputian monarch. In this letter he referred to himself as "The high and mighty prince EGROEGO" (Correspondence 3. 205).

14. Swift was a great opponent to a professional standing army in Peace time. He explained in a letter to Pope:

> I always took Standing Armies to be only servants hired by the master of the family, for keeping his own children in slavery ... I conceived that a Prince who could not think himself secure without Mercenary Troops, must needs have a separate interest from that of his subjects. (Correspondence 2. 372)

15. See Book Two of Utopia, where the readers are assured that European kings would never dream of breaking treaties, "partly because our kings are so good and just themselves, and partly because they're so much in awe of the Popes" (109), as well as More's ironic criticism of the Utopian laws and customs and his doubt that the English would ever adopt any feature of the Utopian system (131-32).

16. Leon Guilhament suggests that Swift also relied on Xenophon's Oeconomicus "as a source or inspiration" for this passage (52).

17. In a recent article which argues that chapter VI is actually dystopian, Dirk F. Passmann makes an interesting, though unconvincing case that despite the positive virtues

expressed in the original constitution, such practices as rewarding virtue reflect the "modern" values of such philosophers as Hobbes and Locke. Passmann insists that Swift would view this as a selfish and utilitarian contrast to the ancient notion of virtue as its own reward, thus invalidating the reputation of the entire code of laws. Notably Passmann ignores the lessons of Chapter III where political appointees gain their positions based on high-wire agility.

18. In More's Utopia atheists not only cannot hold public office, but they are also stripped of citizenship (2. 120).

19. Ian Higgins makes a valuable observation about the complex pedigree of Swift's debt to ideals of ancient Sparta. The Lilliputian educational system is an especially relevant example:

> Spartan social structure, social policy, ideology, social relations and customs, educational system, political institutions, economy, and domestic organization, mediated to Swift through the work of Plato, Xenophon, Polybius, Plutarch, and More are present in the ideal societies of the Travels. ("Swift and Sparta" 515)

20. Ehrenpreis explains that there is reason to doubt this story, especially, since Swift included it in the fragment of an autobiography that was written when his mental faculties had already begun to decline. Ehrenpreis warns that its "details must be handled with caution" because the "autobiography has as many errors as facts" (1. 30).

21. Ehrenpreis explains that despite the apparent "Swiftian prejudice against the family as an institution," which is suggested in Gulliver's Travels and other satires, Swift often expressed positive views of the family life of certain friends and maintained lifelong contact with his own extended family (3. 429, 598-99).

22. Of course, this is very close to the position taken by some members of the "hard school" of interpreting Gulliver's Travels. For example, George Orwell charges that Swift had a diseased mind, which caused him to he share Gulliver's misanthropy and present Houyhnhnmland as his true ideal (72-74). Shklar argues that Swift held the Brobdingnagian king's contention that man is little but a "human louse" (106), a position, which if it were accurate, would seem to make humanity incapable of improving at all. This makes the book little more than a railing against humanity and undermines any of the positive models Swift creates.

23. See Ellen Pollak's "Swift Among the Feminists" for a brief and useful history of this topic.

24. In "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture" Swift explains that the English viewed Ireland as little more than a colony, "some Ministers ... were apt, from their high Elevations, to look down upon this Kingdom, as if it had been one of their Colonies of Out-casts in America" (Prose Works 9. 21).

25. Gulliver also gives voice to this complaint. In Part IV he explains to his master Houyhnhnm the addiction to luxury of many of his countrywomen, "this whole Globe of Earth must be at least three Times gone around, before one of our better Female Yahoos could get her Breakfast, or a Cup to put it in" (219).

26. The Lilliputians have a similar system in place, "the Old and Diseased among them are supported by Hospitals: For begging is a Trade unknown in this Empire" (1.6. 44).

27. We should remember that Bolingbroke's England under the Patriot King is also styled in a utopian rapture:

> In his place, concord will appears, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land; joy fitting in every face, content in every heart; a people unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed; busy to improve their private property and the public stock; fleets covering the ocean, bringing home wealth by the returns of industry, carrying assistance or terror abroad by the direction of wisdom, and asserting triumphantly the right and the honor of Great Britain; as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them. (124)

The main difference, of course, between Gulliver's England and Bolingbroke's is that the former is actually a description of a lost ideal while the latter is a projection, building on a nostalgic interpretation of history, of a future one.

28. The Brobdingnagian monarch is unlike his counterparts in Lilliput and Laputa who crave absolute power. Gulliver himself is here seduced by the power gunpowder would give the king. In this passage Swift may also be satirizing the author

of The New Atlantis. The brothers of Saloman's house pay homage to the inventor of gunpowder, who, according to myth was one Friar Bacon, a supposed ancestor of Francis Bacon.

29. Among the members of Bolingbroke's group was Frederick, the Prince of Wales, to whom Bolingbroke looked as the future Patriot King. See Kramnick 30-38 for a discussion of this movement and it moral and political philosophy.

30. Bolingbroke wrote in The Idea of a Patriot King:

> Machiavel is an author who should have great authority with the persons likely to oppose me. He proposes to princes the amplification of their power, the extent of their dominions, and the subjection of their people, as the sole objects of their policy. He devises and recommends all means that tend to these purposes, without the consideration of any duty owing to God or man, or any regard to the morality or immorality of action. Yet even he declares the affectation of virtue to be useful to princes: he is so far on my side in the present question. The only difference between us is, I would have the virtue real: he requires no more than the appearance of it. (Works 3. 63)

31. Machiavelli and Swift also shared other important characteristics which influenced their political outlooks. Their political ambitions frustrated, they wrote their greatest works from the perspective of political outsiders. However, in their bitterness and cynicism they never lost their ideals of civic responsibilities. They were dedicated to practical solutions to the problems their societies faced. And Machiavelli, like Swift, outwardly expressed a contempt for utopian idealism. While Machiavelli's methods may differ from Swift's, his desire to see the glories of Florence reborn

through the efforts of a patriotic prince is decidedly as utopian Swift's wish for England.

32. See "Number 16", "Number 20", "Number 24", and "Number 39".

33. More also took on the question of mercenaries in Utopia. While the Utopians showed great civic virtue by following their leaders into wars, they also hire away mercenaries who were fighting for their enemies. More showed the great unreliability of mercenaries, and, in an allusion to the Swiss who comprised the bulk of Europe's soldiers for hire, expressed a wish that "if only they could wipe the filthy scum off the face of the earth completely, they'd be doing the human race a very good turn" (113).

34. This approach can be useful as a metaphor to describe the relationship between author and character. Gulliver's naive utopianism is answered by the reality that Swift creates. A similar relationship can be seen in Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland where Swift's voice is heard in the words of the king and the master Houyhnhnm. James A. W. Rembert's Swift and the Dialectical Tradition places a great deal of value on the dialectic in Swift's satire.

35. Several scholars have accepted this for the true meaning of Laputa. However, one critic in a recent study takes one of Gulliver's suggested etymologies, "Lap in the old obsolete Language signifieth 'High', and 'Untuh'a Governor; from which

they say by Corruption was derived Laputa from Lapuntuh" (135) as a hint that the island's name is an attack on the concept of absolutism in government. Robert P. Fitzgerald argues that this etymology is a play on the word " 'sovereignty,' which derives from 'super', 'over, above' (222).

36. Marjorie Nicolson and Nora M. Mohler's "The Scientific Background of Swift's 'Voyage to Laputa'" (1937) is generally cited as the first study to firmly establish the satiric connection between Swift and the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Recently Frederick N. Smith argued that through out Gulliver's Travels Swift satires the style of scientific discourse adopted by the Royal Society (139-162). The scientific spirit of Bacon and the sketch of Salomon's House in the New Atlantis are important inspirations to the founding of the Royal Society. See Vickers's "Swift and the Baconian Idol" (1968) for a useful starting point on the topic of Swift's extensive satire of Bacon in The Tale of a Tub. To a lesser extent Vickers touches on Gulliver's Travels.

37. The Houyhnhnms on the other hand are very accomplished conversationalists. Like good literature, good conversation, it would seem, is a vital aspect of Swift vision of utopia. In "An Essay on Conversation" Swift suggests good conversation, which can be obtained by everyone through the avoidance of key errors, is becoming only a utopian dream in England:

> Most Things, pursued by Men for the Happiness of publick or private Life, our Wit or Folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in Idea; a true Friend, a good Marriage, a perfect Form of Government, with some others, require so many ingredients, so good in their several Kinds, and so much Niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of Years Men have despaired of reducing their Schemes to Perfection: But in Conversation, it is, or might be otherwise; for here we are only to avoid a Multitude of Errors, which although a Matter of some Difficulty, may be in every Man's power, for Want of which it remaineth as meer an Idea as the other.
> (Prose Works 4. 87)

The Laputians are especially guilty of two of the errors which Swift lists in his essay, "the Itch of Dispute and Contradiction" and "the Disease called the Wandering of the thoughts, that they are never present in Mind at what passeth in Discourse" (94).

38. Ehrenpreis suggests that Swift may have developed the idea of the Aeolists in part from a discourse on air delivered by Ashe (52). Vickers argues that Bacon's History of the Winds "provides suggestive ideas for the Aeolists section" (99-100).

39. The narrator explains that this air also comes from bellows inserted into the "Breech" of their priests to inflate them "to the Size and Shape of a Tun" (Tale 96). Significantly bellows appear twice in Part III of Gulliver's Travels. They are the instrument the Flappers use to arouse their masters from distraction, and they are used in a experimental cure for colic in Lagado.

40. Arthur E. Case argues that Lord Munodi represents the Earl

of Oxford, the Tory leader who underwent trial for treason between 1715 and 1717 (87). If this interpretation is accurate, than Munodi is certainly politically subversive.

41. Robert P. Fitzgerald argues that the content of Laputa was influenced by Swift's rereadings of such "theorists of absolutism" as Jean Bodin, Robert Filmer, and Thomas Hobbes while he was writing the "Drapier's Letters" (228). Fitzgerald explains that the "imagery of science" that dominates the first six chapters is in part a satiric comment on the neo-Platonism of Bodin and Hobbes's interest in mathematics and optics (218-19).

42. This is Holstun's term. See pages 51-55.

43. One political project is a clear exception. In an example of lucidity found nowhere else in the Academy, certain projectors have developed

> Schemes for persuading Monarch to chuse Favorites upon the Score of their Wisdom, Capacity and Virtue; of teaching Ministers to consult the publick Good; of rewarding Merit, great Abilities, and eminent Services; of instructing Princes to know their true Interest, by placing it on the same Foundation with that of the People: Of chusing for Employments Persons qualified to exercise them.... (159-60)

Like the author of "A Modest Proposal" Gulliver dismisses these necessities as "wild impossible Chimaeras" which would never be implemented (160).

44. The Utopians' ignorance of principles of modern logic (90) is another important contrast between them and the Laputians.

Like Swift, More satirizes a branch of modern learning which he feels is deeply flawed, thus providing little practical worth.

45. A more obscure utopia of the same era, Johann Valentin Andreae's 1619 Christianopolis, also includes an institution devoted to the study of natural philosophy and alchemy.

46. Hall's Academy of Variana in the land of Moronia is in part designed to satirize the indiscriminate veneration of all scientific discoveries. The collage of innovators promiscuously honors the inventors of soap bubbles and "some unheard-of-type of clothing" on a par with the inventors of printing and gunpowder (77).

47. Through the course of the debate, such an extreme interpretation has been all but abandoned by the hard school. Critics are unwilling to associate Gulliver's madness too closely with Swift's. As Clifford points out "No one today accepts the older identification of the Yahoos with mankind, or assumes that they represent a crazy slander on human beings" (41-42).

48. For an insightful early example of the soft-school emphasis on comedy, see Edward Stone's "Swift and the Horses: Misanthropy or Comedy" (1949). For a current Utopian Studies emphasis on the legacy of irony Swift inherited from More, see Edward J. Rielly's "Irony in Gulliver's Travels and Utopia" (1992).

49. In his poem "Mary Gulliver to Captain Lemuel Gulliver" Pope recognized the absurd implications of Gulliver's misanthropy, which leads him to reject his wife and children:

> My Bed, (the Scene of all our former Joys,
> Witness two lovely Girls, two lovely Boys)
> Alone I press; in Dreams I call my Dear,
> I stretch my Hand, no Gulliver is there!
> I wake, I rise, and shiv'ring with the Frost,
> Search all the House; my Gulliver is lost!
> Forth in the Street I rush with frantick Cries:
> The Windows open; all the Neighbours rise:
> Where sleeps my Gulliver? O tell me where?
> The Neighbours answer, With the Sorrel Mare.
> (Greenberg and Piper 604, ll 39-48)

50. See "A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I."

51. See Ehrenpreis's chapter twenty, "Stella," in volume three of his biography of Swift for a psychological description of Swift's relationships with Ester Johnson ("Stella") and Ester Vanhomrigh ("Vanessa"). Ehrenpreis argues that Swift's way of showing love to "any young lady who attracted him.... was to offer the most valuable gift he knew, the role of the father he never possessed" (405).

52. See "A Letter to a Very Young Lady on Her Marriage" for a clear example of Swift's view on the education of women.

53. The animosity caused by political parties is popular subject in Swift's essays in The Examiner. See, for example, " No. 15" and "No. 19." Swift's sermon "Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles I" is among his strongest arguments against religious factionalism.

54. The Nautilus is an example of both the technological and willed transformation types of utopia. Technology makes possible Nemo's escape into the timeless world of the sea away from man's barbarism (though it is also responsible for the terror that the Nautilus exacts on the world's warships.)

The willed transformation is evident in the Nautilus's principles of freedom and equality. It is composed of an international crew, many of whom experienced firsthand the cruelties of slavery. Life aboard the Nautilus is efficiently and humanely managed by the benevolent paternalism of Nemo. A utopian pantheon of sorts can even be found on the Nautilus.

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APPENDIX

Impractical Connotations

Jonathan Swift admired the creator of the term utopia. Swift considered Thomas More as an English hero, "a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced" (Prose Works 8. 123). More even makes a brief appearance in the third voyage of Gulliver's Travels. Swift himself is a utopianist following in More's tradition. However, he is a utopianist who dislikes the term utopia, or rather, dislikes the term in many of the connotations it gathered by the eighteenth century. He is also a utopianist who dislikes several utopias that to him give justification to these connotations.

Swift's dislike of the term is revealed in the negative way it appears in his poems and short satire. Its negative connotation also adds a satirical dimension to Gulliver's Travels, but this should not be misconstrued to mean Swift is a general anti-utopianist. Though he might reject the label of a utopianist, Swift's interest in conceiving a better society than his own makes him one nevertheless. We need to understand that it is the connotations that became associated with the word utopia and several works which came

to be called utopian that Swift satirizes, and not More's Utopia itself.

Part of Thomas More's intent in Utopia was more fully to develop Plato's outline for an ideal commonwealth. He gave a face to Plato's speculative republic, but it is the name "Utopia" that has inspired so much controversy through out the centuries. Even before he wrote Utopia, speculations on an ideal commonwealth drew the scorn of a political pragmatist such as More's contemporary Niccolo Machiavelli, who argued that they had very little use in real life. In The Prince he insisted that

> since my intention is to say something that will prove of practical use to the inquirer, I have thought it proper to represent things as they are in real truth, rather than as they are imagined. Many have dreamed up republics and principalities which have never in truth been known to exist (90-91).

But the impracticality of such works was not their only drawback, Machiavelli argued, "the gulf between how one should live and how one does live is so wide that a man who neglects what is actually done for what should be done learns the way to self-destruction rather than self-preservation" (91). These ideal visions can be dangerous because they shift the attention away from the problems a society must face every day.

Only two years after The Prince was written, the world gained a term to assign to these "dreamed up republics and

principalities," though it was not until a little over one hundred years after More's book that the word "utopia" came to mean not only More's imaginary society, but all speculations on, or attempts to found, the ideal state. More's irony and humor were designed to remind the reader not to take Utopia too seriously. However, later writers of speculative commonwealths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were more earnest in their visions of a better world. The religious and scientific tones of many of these utopias utilized very little irony, and unlike Utopia, they tended to be remarkably humorless books.

During this time the word utopia also began to take on the pejorative meanings of unrealistic, impractical, and even dangerous, speculation that Machiavelli gave to the yet unnamed genre. When Milton, in Areopagitica (1644) mentions the term utopia, it has already gained the negative connotation that it carries into modern usage:

> To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian politics, which can never be drawn to use, will not mend our condition; but to obtain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably" (732).

Utopias can offer little to the solutions of real life problems, Milton argues, because they present too good people in a too good world that exists outside of this one.

Swift's own writings show that by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries utopia was a term that either

was not taken seriously or was in serious disrepute. He used the term utopia or its synonyms "ideal" or "perfect" commonwealth or government on several occasions to suggest remoteness from everyday reality or impracticality, or even frivolousness. His first reference to the actual word utopia appeared in the "Ode to the Honourable Sir William Temple," written thirty years before the publication of Gulliver's Travels. In the opening stanza virtue has been shattered by Adam's fall and is scattered in fragments all over the world. Swift implores Temple, his mentor, patron, and friend, to assist the world to rediscover virtue:

> 'Tis you who must this land subdue,
> The mighty conquest's left for you,
> The conquest and discovery too:
> Search out this Utopian ground,
> Virtue's Terra incognita,
> Where none ever led the way,
> Nor ever since but in descriptions found,
> Like the philosopher's stone,
> With rules to search it, yet obtained by none.
> (Complete Poems ll 8-16)

Virtue has flown to utopia, or in other words, it has left the known world, and Swift has sent Temple on a seemingly impossible quest. In this stanza utopia is distant, isolated, undiscovered. Utopia is related both to "Terra incognita," the mythical land reported to be in the south seas, and the fantastic philosopher's stone. Utopia, then, is an emblem of non-existence in this early poem.

Swift continued to present this conception of utopia in many of his later satires. In "A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind" (1707), a parody of poor writing, utopia appears at the end of an un-nerving series of cliches and is linked to other non-existent or undiscovered places, "And if Truth be not fled with Astraea, she is certainly as hidden as the Source of the Nile, and can be only found in Utopia (Prose Works 1. 248). Truth, like Virtue in the Temple ode, has taken a hiatus in utopia. Utopia has become a cliche for the unknown.

Utopia is connected with the esoteric in "A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" (1710). In this satire on religious enthusiasm, utopia appears beside famous pseudo and speculative sciences which the author of the discourse claims also inspires enthusiasm:

> Such are the Philosopher's stone; The Grand Elixir; The Planetary Worlds; The Squaring of the Circle; The Summum bonum; Utopian Commonwealths; with some others of less or subordinate Note; which all serve nothing else, but to employ or amuse this Grain of Enthusiasm, dealt into every Composition. (Prose Works 1. 174)

Like alchemy, astrology, and theoretical mathematics, utopia is the pursuit of enthusiasts.

Utopia is also the topic of third-rate women writers in Swift's satirical poem "Corinna" (1712?). The fascination of the ideal commonwealth located somewhere in the far reaches of the earth apparently inspired lesser writers of

Swift's era. In "Corinna" Swift's subject is one of publisher Edmund Curll's authors, writers who includes elements of her sordid life in her fiction:

> At twelve, a poet, and coquette;
> Marries for love, half whore, half wife;
> Cuckolds, elopes, and runs in debt;
> Turns authoress, and is Curll's for life.
>
> Her commonplace book all gallant is,
> Of scandal now a cornucopia;
> She pours it out in an Atlantis,
> Or Memoirs of the New Utopia.
> (Complete Poems ll 25-32)

Corinna's "Atlantis" and "New Utopia" are titles suggestive of romances written by Curll's authors. In this satire, utopia is the fodder for frivolous writers.

One of the final times the word utopia appears in Swift's works is in Gulliver's Travels itself. In his letter to his cousin Sympson Gulliver feels compelled to comment on the doubts some readers have of the veracity of his narrative:

> If the Censure of Yahoos could any Way affect me, I should have great Reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a meer Fiction out of mine own Brain; and have gone so far as to drop Hints, that the Houyhnhnms and Yahoos have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of Utopia. (VI)

Swift allows us to laugh at Gulliver's pretence and insulted sensibilities. By evoking utopia, Gulliver has unintentionally stamped his "Book of Travels" as a work of

fantastical fiction. Gulliver is using the term, not so much as a reference to Thomas More's book, but to mean a place removed from reality. Utopia is a remote, fictitious place with no relevance to the rest of the world, while Houyhnhnmland, Gulliver argues, is real.

While Gulliver would deny the connection, Swift must have wanted his readers to think of More's Utopia as they traveled the globe with Gulliver. He must have wanted his readers to compare the Houyhnhnms to the Utopians, and had to make sure they did not miss the connection. As in Utopia, truth is revealed in the foolishness of Gulliver's Travels. The several connotations of the term utopia apply to Gulliver's response to the strange worlds he encounters and his defense of his own society. Gulliver is an enthusiastic utopianist of the type Swift satirized in "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit"; however, Swift is a satiric utopianist in the manner of More.