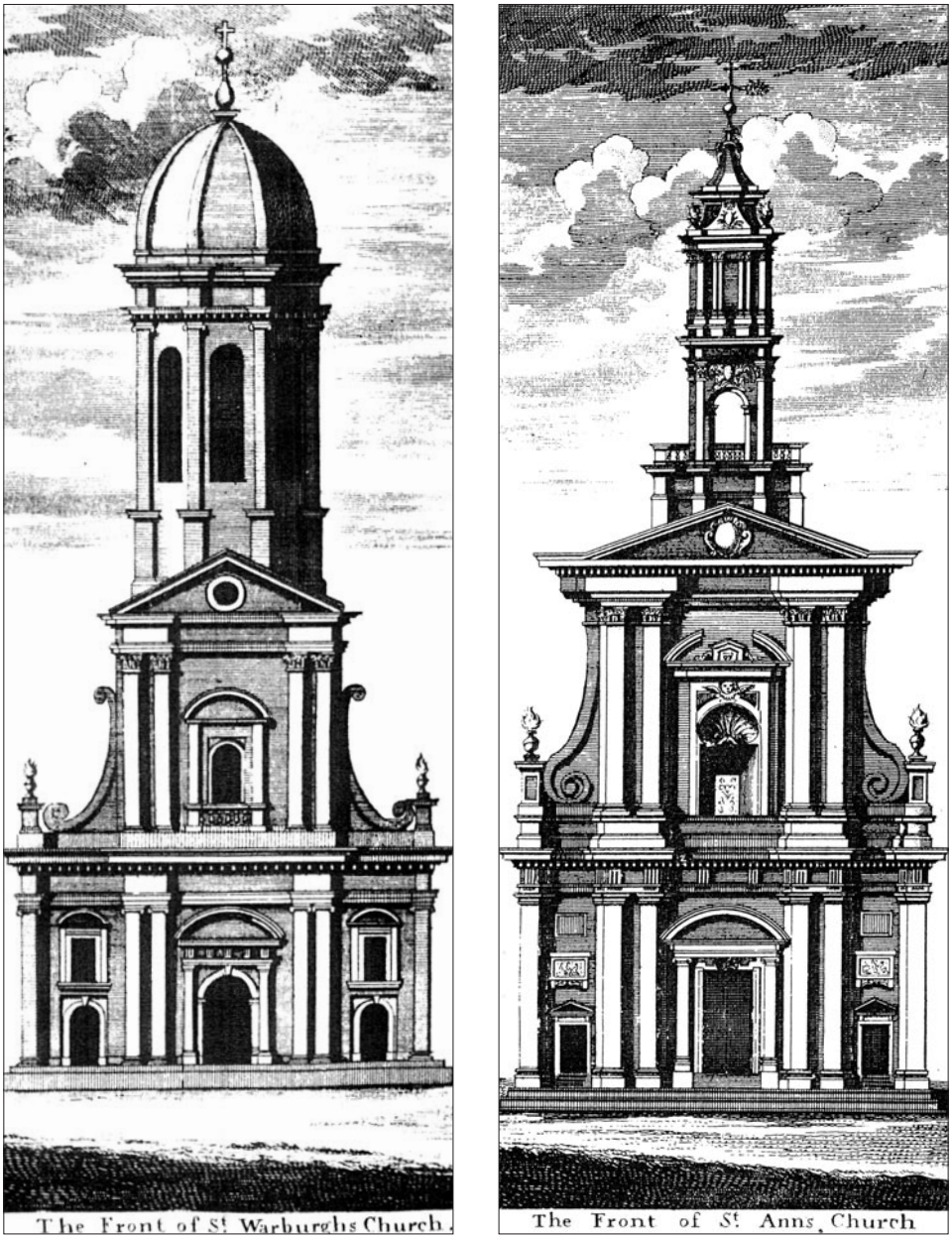


1 – The Front of St Warburghs Church
2 – The Front of St Anns Church
from Charles Brooking, Map of the City & Suburbs of Dublin (1728)
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

A reluctant observer: Swift and architecture

JOSEPH McMINN

Late seventeenth-century Dublin, compared to London, offered very little to distinguish it as a metropolis shaped and dramatised by architecture of a high imaginative order. To a great extent, this comparative poverty was the effect of a political and colonial settlement which put its resources and energies into defence rather than celebration, into building rather than architecture. As Edward McParland points out, the priority for seventeenth-century settlers in Ireland was to protect and consolidate their position in the country:

> It was not simply its defences that needed to be established on a new footing, but also its representative buildings (there was no great library building in Ireland in 1700, and no great royal palace or government building), and its infrastructure of communications, industry, education, philanthropy, and religion.[1]

In 1667, the year in which Swift was born, there was still only one bridge across the River Liffey. Ships had to dock beyond the city at Ringsend, from where their cargo had to be transferred up river, and the city walls continued to suggest a medieval centre rather than an expansive city. Maurice Craig characterises Swift's Dublin at this time as a place 'squalid and constricted'.[2] With a population of approximately 50,000, the city was concentrated on the south side of the river, its skyline dominated by two cathedrals – St Patrick's and Christchurch. Dublin Castle, the centre of the English administration in Ireland, and a vice-regal residence, was largely a dilapidated site. As a result of a series of fires in the late seventeenth century, the most destructive of which broke out in 1684, the Castle resembled a medieval ruin, and remained in that state for most of Swift's lifetime.[3] Bernard de Gomme's map of 1673, which was commissioned by the English government for military and strategic reasons, shows how the urban landscape is beginning to expand from its earlier

3 – Dublin by Henry Pratt, 1708, based on maps by Bernard de Gomme and Thomas Phillips, reproduced from Herman Moll, A NEW MAP OF IRELAND (London 1714)
(reproduced with permission of the Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland)

concentration in the south-west to areas closer to Trinity College, Chichester House and St Stephen's Green in the south-east (Plate 3).[4] In the same year in which de Gomme produced his map, the young Swift was sent from Dublin to Kilkenny School, returning ten years later to enter Trinity College. Nearly a hundred years old when Swift began his undergraduate studies, Trinity College still retained its largely Elizabethan design; the development and expansion of Ireland's only university began after Swift had graduated.[5]

During Swift's time as a student at Trinity College, James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormonde, consolidated plans for what was to become one of Dublin's greatest architectural achievements, the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, which Maurice Craig refers to as the 'earliest secular public building in the country'.[6] The architect was William Robinson, Surveyor General, who was responding to the government's concern over the large number of sick and invalided soldiers in the country who needed a settled and protected home. Based on Les Invalides in Paris (and later

copied at Chelsea Hospital in London), Kilmainham was, in McParland's words, 'the earliest large-scale exercise in architectural classicism in the country',[7] a monumental design which would eventually set the classical standard for Georgian Dublin. The Royal Hospital opened in 1687, shortly before the onset of yet another period of war in Ireland, a period in which there was no significant architectural activity.[8]

The political and military crisis of the final decade of the seventeenth century saw Swift leaving Dublin for the relative security of England, and for a career outside the provincialism of Ireland. Any attempt to understand Swift's views on, and responses to, architecture should work within the context of a culture shaped, and usually divided, by sectarian and political loyalties. As part of the Protestant settlement, Swift usually associated Ireland with barbarism, and looked to England for models of refinement and superior taste. After leaving Trinity in 1689, he spent most of the next decade in England, where he worked as secretary to Sir William Temple at Moor Park in Surrey. During these years he took his MA from Hart Hall in Oxford, and almost certainly made his first visits to London. His work for Temple was interrupted, briefly, by his decision to take Holy Orders, and to become a priest in the Church of Ireland. Swift's earliest experiences as a clergyman in Ireland were associated with ruin and decay, and there is no sense that anything in the Irish landscape, urban or rural, attracted his visual sense. His first living, the prebend of Kilroot, in county Antrim, just ten miles north of Belfast, had neither rectory nor glebe, not even a church.[9] In 1699 he was granted the vicarage of Laracor, in county Meath, about twenty miles north of Dublin, but once again in a parish without a rectory. Over the course of the next few years, while supervising the building of a small cottage for himself, complete with landscaped garden, he rented rooms in nearby Trim, a town dominated by the ruins of its Norman castle, having been besieged by Cromwellian forces in 1649. While the area was much more congenial to Swift than county Antrim had been, it was still, as Ehrenpreis suggests, a precarious living, with the town of Trim as 'the commercial centre of a busy and important Protestant island in a sea of Roman Catholicism'.[10] The eventual satisfaction which Swift enjoyed with his first real home at Laracor could not have contradicted his sense that he was serving an impoverished Church in an impoverished land. After the deprivation and provincialism of these years, Swift was more determined than ever to try his luck again in England. Within ten years he would be a resident of London, an intimate of ministers, and a regular visitor to the homes of the artistocracy and royalty.

Swift made several journeys to London in the first decade of the new century, initially as chaplain and secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, and later as negotiator for the remission of taxes upon the Church of Ireland. His literary career begins in these

same years, with the anonymous publication in London of *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), and various tracts and pamphlets on Church and State. His fifth visit of these years, in August 1710, resulted in a three-year stay, during which time he served as chief propagandist for the new Tory administration, notably as writer of the Tory *Examiner*, a paper in which he defended government policy and attacked the Whig opposition. These are some of the best documented years of Swift's life and literary activity. His regular correspondence with friends in England and Ireland, but especially his *Journal to Stella*, give us a detailed and dramatic account of Swift's new social life in London, the places he lived in and visited, how he travelled about the great city, and his impressions of the capital's great buildings. Only a decade beforehand, Swift was employing his own builders to construct a modest cabin for his vicarage at Laracor: now he was to become a regular visitor to Whitehall and Windsor.

London stood in monumental contrast to Dublin. Its population at the turn of the century was close to three-quarters of a million, more than ten times that of Swift's birthplace.[11] The shape and style of the city had been transformed by the twin catastrophes of the previous century, the plague of 1665, and the Great Fire of the following year.[12] Over 100,000 people died in the plague, while the Great Fire destroyed over 400 acres, levelling most of the city's public buildings. A single architect – Sir Christopher Wren – took over the job of rebuilding London's churches, nearly all of which had been reduced to ashes.[13] His major project was the redesign and reconstruction of St Paul's cathedral, the city's greatest achievement in Renaissance architecture, comparable at the time to the work of Bramante and Michelangelo in St Peter's in Rome.[14] Work on St Paul's began in 1675 and was completed in 1710, the year in which Swift returned to London. Only a month after his arrival he was taken by friends to see this architectural wonder, the pride of a rebuilt London: 'Today I was all about St Paul's, and up at the top like a fool, with Sir Andrew Fountain [sic] and two more; and spent seven shillings for my dinner like a puppy...' [15]

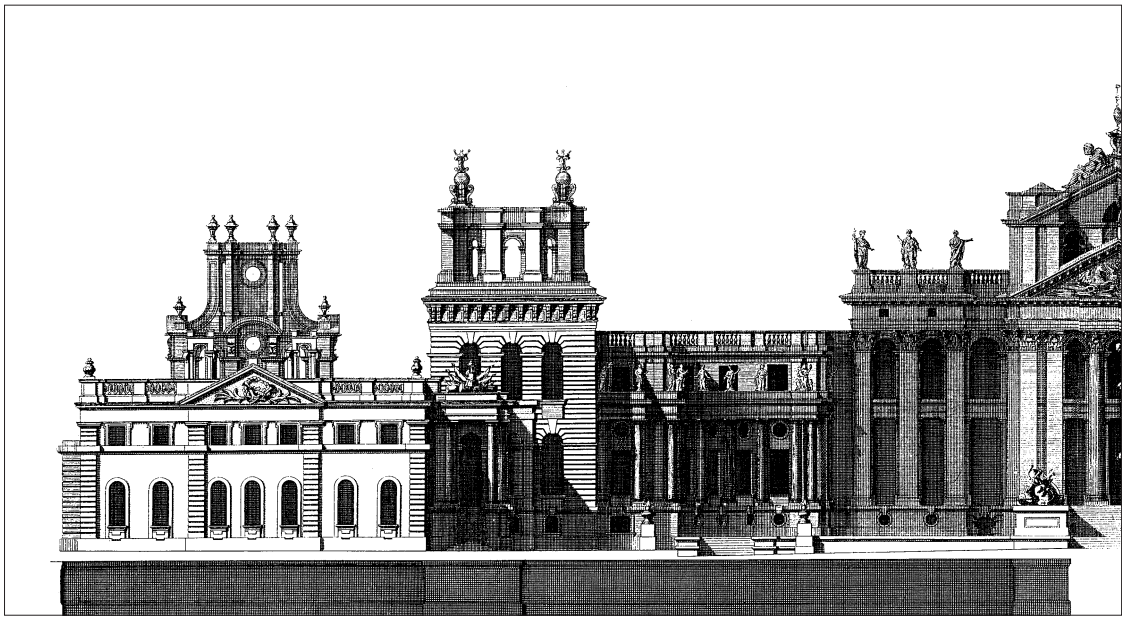
Standing on top of a cathedral (instead of praying inside one) struck Swift as absurd, and he registers no appreciation whatsoever of the aesthetic or religious character of the place. Sir Andrew Fountaine, on the other hand, was a leading connoisseur of the arts, described by Ehrenpreis as 'an exquisite virtuoso'.[16] Mention of his friend's name, and the cost of his dinner, seem typical of so many of his encounters with the landscape of London: he usually preferred people to places, and was obsessed with the cost of dining out. Public architecture, however, cannot be avoided, even though its charms may be dismissed, and this anticlimactic piece of sightseeing does not close the story of Swift's observations upon London.

Architecture interested Swift for its literary and satirical possibilities, and its value was nearly always assessed with reference to his moral and political princi-

ples. Whenever he engaged with some famous architect or building, he tended to consider its political symbolism above all else, showing little or no interest in merely formal or technical matters. During his several visits to London in the early years of the eighteenth century, his mind was focused on securing a deal for his church with the Whig administration, and he soon became resigned to long periods of attendance upon courtiers, ministers and potential allies. By the time he returned in the autumn of 1710, he had already become well known in political and literary circles, in London's coffee-houses, and was a regular (and grateful) guest at many dinner-tables of the city's upper classes. In November of that first year he wrote to Stella, telling her of an evening spent in company which included England's greatest living architect, John Vanbrugh, a man who was carrying on the Baroque achievements of his elderly contemporary, Wren:

> I dined today at sir Richard Temple's, with Congreve, Vanburg [sic], lieutenant-general Farrington, &c. Vanburg, I believe I told you, had a long quarrel with me about those Verses on his House; but we were very civil and cold. Lady Marlborough used to teaze him with them, which had made him angry, though he be a good natured fellow.[17]

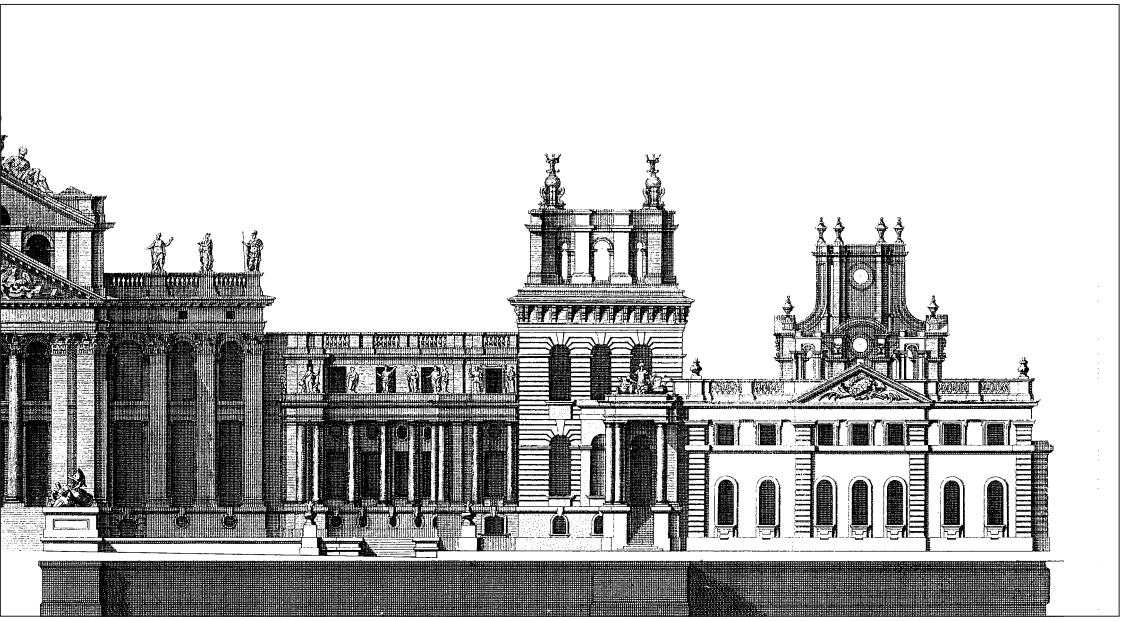
Swift had come face to face with the architect he had satirised in two poems, one of which, 'The History of Vanbrug's House', had been published in London only a few months before this social encounter.[18] Closely associated with the Whig interest, Vanbrugh had designed Castle Howard in Yorkshire in 1701, and had started work in 1705 on Blenheim Palace, outside Oxford, the future home of the Duke of Marlborough (Plate 4).[19] The satirical verses alluded to in his letter to Stella, however, referred to a very different project, one which had provoked Swift's outrage many years previously, giving us a decisive picture of his interpretation of grandiose architectural projects carried out by 'modern' virtuosi like Vanbrugh. 'The History of Vanbrug's House', written in 1706, refers to a house which the architect had built for himself on the site of Whitehall Palace, which had been destroyed by fire in January 1698. First Wren, then Vanbrugh, was commissioned to restore Whitehall. Vanbrugh's temporary residence on the building site, the so-called 'Goose-Pie House', was ridiculed by Swift as one whose design was plagiarised from games which children play, constructing 'houses' from cards and mud.[20] For Swift, knowing that Vanbrugh began life as a dramatist, the architectural project is a farce, its author a charlatan, someone without training, experience or education – 'Van's genius, without thought or lecture, / Is hugely turned to architecture'.[21] The poem also mocks those who would equate and confuse classical and contemporary architects, flattering themselves into the illusion that imitation of the ancient world somehow proves their good taste:



From such deep rudiments as these
Van is become by due degrees
For building famed, and justly reckoned
At court, Vitruvius the second.
No wonder, since wise authors show,
That best foundations must be low.
And now the Duke has wisely taken him
To be his architect at Blenheim.[22]

Trying, with little success, to make his own way at court, it must have been pretty galling for Swift to watch someone he considered an illusionist, quickly becoming an intimate of the Whig aristocracy. We have no evidence that Swift actually saw Vanbrugh's house, but he is more interested here in reputation than reality, in political advancement than artistic ability. Vanbrugh was what Swift hoped to become, a court favourite, something he was to achieve over the next couple of years.

Swift had first exercised his contempt for Vanbrugh in an earlier poem, 'Vanbrugh's House', in a draft version written in 1703 and in a revised, extended version written in 1708, which was eventually published in 1711 in *Miscellanies*.[23] This poem rehearses Swift's caricature of Vanbrugh as virtuoso, a man who could switch from writing plays to building palaces, as if it were merely a matter of inspi-



4 – Blenheim Castle, from Colen Campbell, VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS (London 1725)
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

ration, and not training.[24] Structured around his favourite conceit of a battle between Ancients and Moderns, between authentic classical achievement and superficial contemporary fashion, Swift damns Vanbrugh both as artist and architect, a modern who can only plunder the ruins of the past. To complete his satire on the ignorance of contemporary admiration for Vanbrugh, Swift allows an observer to sing ironic praises of the modern artist:

> So modern rhymes wisely blast
> The poetry of ages past,
> Which after they have overthrown,
> They from its ruins build their own.[25]

Dining together must have been rather uncomfortable, more for Vanbrugh than for Swift, who scarcely knew the man he had satirised so mercilessly.[26] The figure and the reputation of Vanbrugh interested and irritated Swift, who saw them in a political and cultural context of his own imaginative construction. For some, Vanbrugh's ability to move with ease between the sister-arts confirmed his versatility; for Swift, such an ability only confirmed the man's superficiality. Undoubtedly, the poems on Vanbrugh tell us more about Swift's cultural values and preferences, inflexible and conservative, than about the architect's rightful claim to fame.

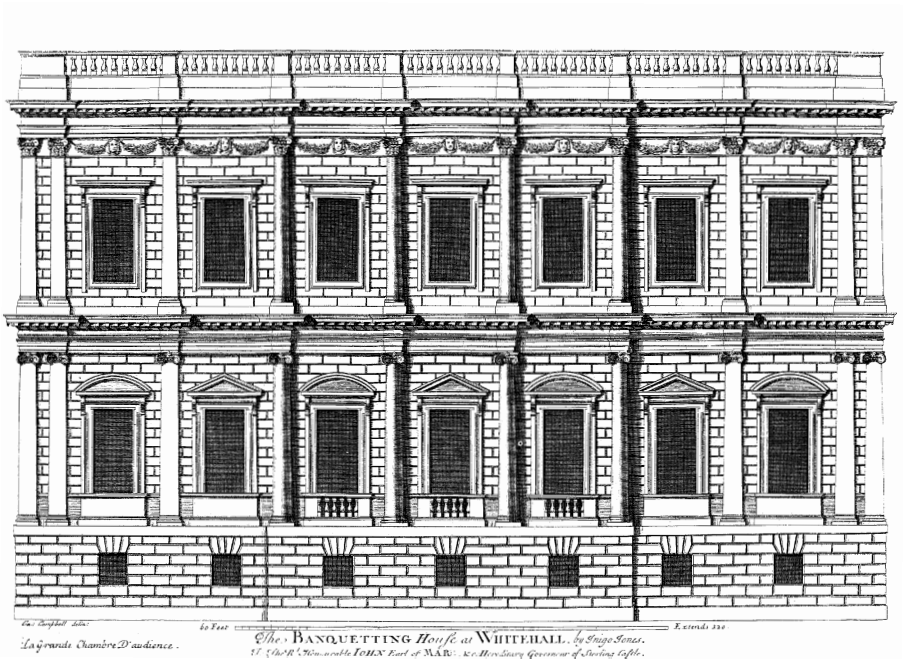
These two poems on Vanbrugh were originally prompted by, and amplified, a poem which Swift had written a few years earlier while working at Moor Park, 'On the Burning of Whitehall in 1698', the first poem he ever wrote on an architectural topic.[27] One of Swift's earliest poems, written when he was thirty, it shows a deeply political and religious reading of the disaster, seeing the conflagration as a form of divine retribution on a place whose past was corrupt and shameful. Reviewing the history of what he calls 'This pile', Swift lists all those monarchs, from Henry VIII to James II, who had lived there, and who had betrayed their God as well as their nation. The destruction of this den of iniquity is presented as an apocalyptic drama:

> Heaven takes the cure in hand, celestial ire
> Applies the oft-tried remedy of fire;
> The purging flames were better far employed,
> Than when old Sodom was, or Troynovant destroyed.
> The nest obscene of every pampered vice,
> Sinks down of this infernal paradise,
> Down come the lofty roofs, the cedar burns,
> The blended metal to a torrent turns.[28]

Biblical and historical analogies – with Sodom and its gross immorality, with 'Troynovant' and its allusion to ancient London founded by the survivors of Troy (but also to the Great Fire of 1666) – give the poem a severe, judgemental perspective without any sense of a noble building lost to the nation. And yet, in its final lines, Swift sees God's hand at work in the miraculous and symbolic survival of Inigo Jones' great Banqueting House:

> But mark how providence with watchful care,
> Did Inigo's famed building spare,
> That theatre produced an action truly great,
> On which eternal acclamations wait,
> Of kings deposed, most faithful annals tell,
> And slaughtered monarchs would a volume swell.
> Our happy chronicle can show alone
> On this day tyrants executed – one.[29]

The defiant allusion here is to King Charles I, who was executed outside the Banqueting House, a sacred site preserved by Divine justice, a memorial ground for those, like Swift, who championed his role as a virtuous monarch murdered by an uncouth horde of illiterate Dissenters, a martyr to a sacred institution (Plate 5).[30] This poem shows, amongst other things, how Swift cannot look at a building without looking at its owner, how he brings his political and religious principles to the



5 – THE BANQUETTING HOUSE AT WHITEHALL from VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

fore when assessing the value and integrity of a site such as Whitehall, a place which, in his view, deserved to burn. Some of these considerations may help explain Swift's rush to judge Vanbrugh, who would presume to restore a monument which embodied a history of shame.[31] More than twenty years after he had first attacked Vanbrugh, Swift seemed to repent of his personalised satire, and in the jointly signed introduction to *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1727), Pope and Swift named both Vanbrugh and Addison as two innocent victims of unfair poetic abuse. The apology (published a year after Vanbrugh's death), sounds like it came much more from Pope than from Swift.[32]

As a clergyman and willing servant of the Tory and High Church interest, one might expect that Swift would be interested in ecclesiastical, if not secular, architecture, in monuments to God and not those to passing political interests. Yet there seems to have been only one occasion on which Swift used his position as Tory propagandist to voice his opinions on the state of the city's churches, and that was in his capacity as the pseudonymous *Examiner*. In May 1711 he wrote a piece about a new government proposal to build fifty new churches in the capital, a project approved by Queen Anne, showing the government's determination to prove

itself as the traditional and continuing friend of the Established Church. After two decades of Whig power, it was now the turn of the Tories to celebrate their return, and to do so through a reaffirmation of High Church triumphalism.[33] In his piece for the *Examiner*, Swift applauds the proposal, and at first suggests that the proposal is a necessary and inevitable part of the changing demographic character of London since the Restoration:

> Since that Time, the Encrease of Trade, the Frequency of Parliaments, the Desire of living in the Metropolis, together with that Genius for Building, which began after the *Fire*, and hath ever since continued; have prodigiously enlarged this Town on all sides, where it was capable of Encrease.[34]

Yet it becomes immediately clear that Swift wants to use the proposal as a pretext for attacking the Whigs, and specifically their support of the Duke of Marlborough and the continuing war in Europe. A monstrous and offensive symbol of Whig godlessness and war-lust, he argues, is the home presently being built for the Duke, Blenheim Palace, an architectural extravaganza which the Duke does not deserve and which the nation cannot afford. Swift contrasts this disproportionate and excessive expenditure with the practice of the ancient Romans when paying just and reasonable tribute to their best generals:

> The *Romans*, upon a great Victory, or Escape from publick Danger, frequently built a Temple in Honour of some God, to whose peculiar Favour they imputed their Success or Delivery; And sometimes the *General* did the like, *at his own Expense*, to acquit himself of some pious Vow he had made. How little of any Thing resembling this hath been done by us after all our Victories![35]

The cost of this admirable and virtuous project for fifty new churches, it is calculated, would be well below what is being spent on the Duke of Marlborough's palatial home, a monument to Mammon and Vanity. Apart from a few token gestures towards the poor state of many churches in the city, 'those ancient *Gothick* structures',[36] Swift's polemic shows little or no interest in, or understanding of, ecclesiastical buildings in the city, and fails to even mention Wren's work over the previous decades. Blenheim, like Whitehall, was a symbol of modern decadence, and deserved no support from a God-fearing and virtuous people. Swift's friend, Alexander Pope, a leading virtuoso of the age, would later agree with this severe judgement of Blenheim and Marlborough, but in terms which included a clear and learned appreciation of architectural styles.[37] If Swift was ever to approve of a building or home, he would have to approve of the patriotism and virtue of its owner.

In all his years in and around London, Swift visited or was introduced to

many outstanding places and homes, including Hampton Court and Windsor. Only a few weeks after his arrival in London in September 1710, he tells Stella of his first visit to Hampton Court, noting the distinguished nature of his company:

> Lord Halifax was at Hampton-court at his lodgings, and I dined with him there with Methuen, and Delaval, and the late attorney-general. I went to the drawing room before dinner (for the queen was at Hampton-court) and expected to see *nobody*; but I met acquaintance enough. I walked in the gardens, saw the cartons of Raphael, and other things, and with great difficulty got from Lord Halifax, who would have kept me tomorrow to shew me his house and park, and improvements.[38]

Strolling around the rooms of this famous Tudor palace, extensively redesigned and rebuilt by Wren for William and Mary, Swift sounds like an intruder who finds little worthy of comment, even the drawings by Raphael, located in the King's Gallery.

Swift never records another visit to Hampton Court.[39] His favourite place during these years was Windsor Palace, where he was a regular and willing visitor, usually in the company of ministers. The setting, rather than the architecture, impressed and delighted him. He seems to have made his first visit there in July 1711, telling Stella, 'Windsor is a delicious place', but adding that he had passed through it, very briefly, seventeen years previously, when he would have been with Temple at Moor Park.[40] He soon began to see Windsor not so much as an architectural monument, but as a kind of health farm, where he could cure his aches and pains by walking regularly in the splendid grounds: 'I take all opportunities of walking; and we have a delicious park here just joining to the castle, and an avenue in the great park very wide and two miles long, set with a double row of elms on each side.'[41]

His lodgings at Windsor overlooked the Thames, and he regularly rode in company around the grounds, once going as far as Ascot to see the newly planned racecourse to be opened by Queen Anne.[42] Windsor becomes a kind of pastoral retreat from London, 'a most delightful Place', as he tells Stella, where he can enjoy the good life, and which, most importantly, 'abounds in Dinners'.[43]

In his correspondence, especially that with Stella, there is a clear sense of Swift cultivating the image of a man with important connections, and living in a metropolis rich with historical and cultural monuments, a world which those in Ireland can only imagine, and which is now his daily milieu. At the same time, he cannot help sounding like an outsider, a visiting tourist seeing great sights for the first time. On several occasions he undertakes sightseeing tours of the city, and records visits to Westminster Abbey (to see the tombs), the Tower of London, and the newly built Buckingham House (now Buckingham Palace).[44] He was regularly invited to some of the great houses outside the city, such as Wimbledon House, an

6 – Altar-table by Jacques Tarbary, from the chapel at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

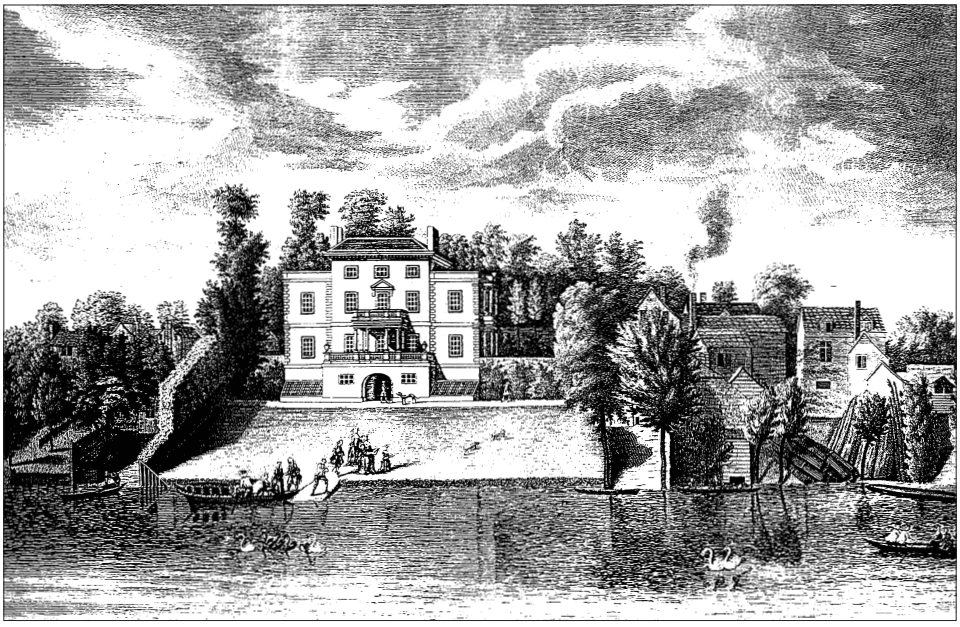
Elizabethan mansion which Swift tells Stella 'is much the finest place about this Town'.[45] Of the many districts in which he lodged in and around the capital, his favourite was Chelsea, where he lived for more than a year, and from where he enjoyed the walk, or the riverboat, into town to meet friends.[46] Dr John Arbuthnot, the Queen's physician, with whom Swift had made friends, also lived at Chelsea, where he worked at the Royal Hospital, yet another creation of Wren, completed in 1689. Writing to Stella, in a rare moment of comparative observation in matters of design, Swift notes a similarity between the Dublin and the London hospitals: 'I dined with Dr Arbuthnot (one of my Brothers) at his Lodgings in Chelsea, and was there at Chappel, and the Altar put me in mind of Tisdal's outlandish would at your Hospital for the Soldiers.' [47]

Despite the orthographical distraction of 'would' for 'wood', and the presence of a mysterious 'Tisdal', this is clearly an allusion to the elaborate woodcarving in the chapel at Kilmainham, carried out by Jacques Tarbary, a French Huguenot who had settled in Dublin (Plate 6).[48] Swift, then, must have visited Kilmainham, but we cannot date that visit with any certainty. Dating aside, Swift's remark about 'outlandish would' does not suggest an appreciative response.

Further down the Thames from Chelsea, at Twickenham, lived Alexander Pope, whose riverside house and gardens were one of the literary landmarks of Georgian London (Plate 7).[49] In March 1726, Swift returned to London with the manuscript of *Gulliver's Travels*, staying for several weeks at Twickenham, from where he undertook many visits and tours in the company of old friends, including Gay, Congreve and Arbuthnot.[50] These outings included visits to several great stately homes, including Lord Bolingbroke's estate at Dawley, near Uxbridge, and Lord Bathurst's residence at Richings Park, near Colnbrook.[51] Pope and Swift also visited the home of Lord Burlington, 4th Earl of Cork, the leading figure in English Palladianism, and a close friend of Pope. During this visit, Burlington presented the Dean with a copy of Fréart's *Parallèle de l'Architecture Antique et de la Moderne* (1702), with the following mock-honorary inscription: 'I give this Book to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin; in order to constitute him the Director of Architecture in Ireland, especially upon my own Estate in that Kingdom.' [52]

Swift was becoming one of the major social attractions of Pope's London circle, with many of the leading figures in politics and the arts keen to meet or resume friendship with the legendary dean. His many invitations included those from the Princess of Wales and Prime Minister Walpole. The one person he had hoped to see

7 – An Exact Draught and View of Mr Pope's House at Twickenham (1735), an engraving by Peter Rysbrack



again, the Earl of Oxford, was too busy to resume acquaintance, leaving Swift with the poor alternative of exchanging letters with him. Before Swift left to return home to Ireland, he asked the Earl to return a valuable book he had earlier lent him, Humphrey Prideaux's *Marmora Oxoniensia*, in a 1676 folio edition.[53] This was a rare volume on the antiquities of Oxford, one which the Earl borrowed on a later occasion and failed to return.[54] Swift's other great ministerial friend from these years, Viscount Bolingbroke, presented him with a 29-volume set of *Graevius and Gronovius*, an encyclopaedic account of ancient Greece and Rome, with particular volumes dedicated to the architecture of the classical world. This magnificent collection remained the pride and joy of Swift's personal library.[55] After five months at the heart of the social, political and cultural scene in London, Swift packed his belongings, and returned to the deanery in mid-August.

Once back home in Dublin, Swift could not resist depressing comparisons between the two countries, telling Pope, 'Going to England is a very good thing, if it were not attended with an ugly circumstance of returning to Ireland'.[56] He had written to Vanessa in the same morose vein over a decade earlier, recalling her visit to see him at Windsor. Having recently settled in Celbridge, county Kildare, she must be struck, Swift insists, by the depressing contrast:

> Does not Dublin look very dirty to You, and the Country very miserable. Is Kildrohod [Celbridge] as beautiful as Windsr [sic], and as agreeable to You as the Prebends Lodgings there; is there any walk about You as pleasant as the Avenue, and the Marlborough Lodge.[57]

Like Lemuel Gulliver, Swift discovers that travel and the discovery of new landscapes can become a deeply depressing as well as liberating experience, one by which 'home' is increasingly seen through the comparative imagery and memory of other, idealised places. Provincial Ireland is seen and judged through the images of royal England, and the cultivation of England is remembered alongside the wretchedness of the Irish landscape.

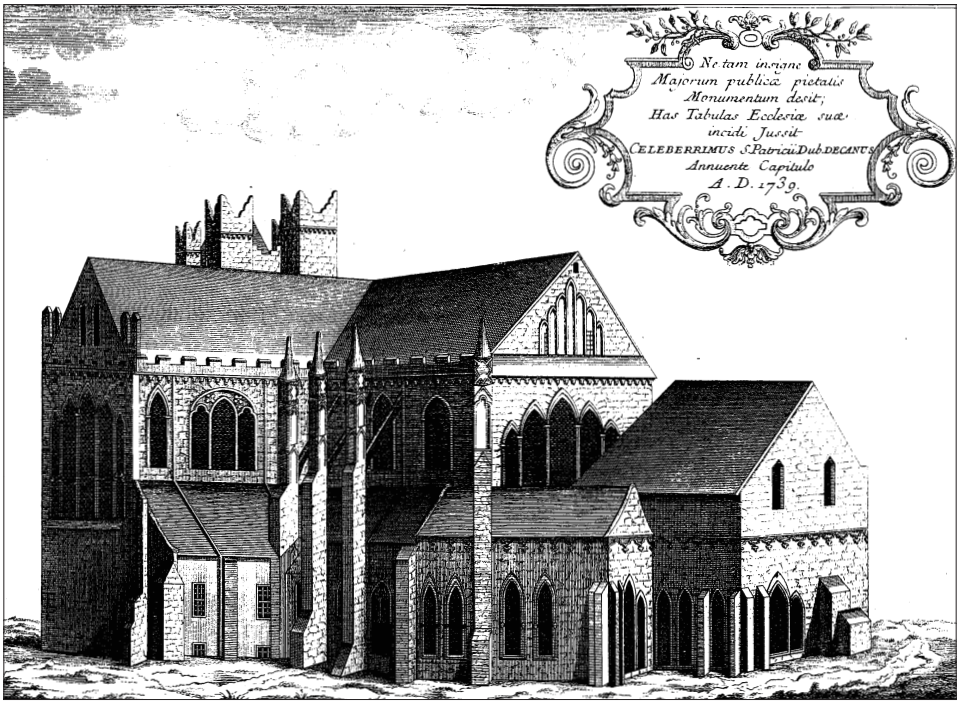
Apart from his short, savage poetic reflections upon a few landmarks in London, which were provoked by political rather than aesthetic impulses, Swift remained largely unresponsive to and underwhelmed by the architecture of the capital. In his study of Grub Street culture in London during the early eighteenth century, Pat Rogers may provide us with a reason for this seeming indifference. He agrees that Swift 'moved among great men', but argues that his real passion lay among 'the underlings of the world of letters', a world he had so richly satirised in *A Tale of a Tub*.[58] If Swift does not seem that interested in 'high' art, he was certainly fascinated, even obsessed, with low-life, with 'the life of the streets', a topic which Rogers believes was handled by Swift with 'vivid and graphic immediacy'.[59]

If architecture is a form which requires the spectator to gaze upwards often in wonder and curiosity, then we might say that Swift usually looked in the opposite direction, keeping his eyes more clearly focused on the gutters of London. His most vivid poems about London's landscape, 'Description of the Morning' and 'A City Shower', seem to confirm this reading of Swift's perverse perspective on the ugliness, and not the beauty of the city.[60]

Swift loved London, its majesty as well as its horrors, its wealth as well as its poverty, but above all for the fictional opportunities it helped him imagine. In the end, however, it seems that Wren's London, static and impersonal, was of less interest to him than the social world of high and low company, of dining rooms and taverns, promenades and visits. As Ian Campbell Ross has argued, Swift would always retain an Irish colonist's nostalgia for the 'home country', and for 'English metropolitian culture', those sources of an imagined and complex identity which became deeply involved in his role as 'Hibernian Patriot'.[61]

In May 1713, while preparing to make his way home to Ireland to take up his new position as Dean of St Patrick's (Plate 8), Swift had received a letter from the

8 – St Patrick's Cathedral
from Walter Harris, THE WORKS OF SIR JAMES WARE CONCERNING IRELAND (Dublin 1739)



Archbishop of Dublin, William King, extending a formal welcome to the parish. In this letter, King reminds Swift that building work on the cathedral, commenced by the outgoing dean, John Stearne, will be an ongoing responsibility, and gives him a detailed outline of the work to be done:

> Your Predecessor in St. Patrick's did a great deal to his church and house but there is still work for you, he designed a spire for the steeple, which kind of ornament is much wanting in Dublin, he has left your Oeconomy clear and 200ll in bank for this purpose. The Steeple is 120 feet high, 21 feet in the clear wide where the spire is to stand, the design was to build it of brick, 120 feet high, the scaffolding we reckoned to be the principall cost, which yet is pretty cheap in Dublin, the brick and Lime are good and cheap. But we have no workman that understands any thing of the matter. I believe you may be acquainted with several that are conversant with such kind of work, and if you would discourse some of them, and push on the work as soon as settled, it might be of use to you, and give the people there an advantageous notion of you...[62]

This lecture on building management and economy was scarcely the warm embrace Swift might have hoped for or imagined. In his reply of the following week, he tried to sound as courteous as possible, but respectfully queried his superior's judgement:

> As to the Spire to be erected on St. Patrick's Steeple, I am apt to think it will cost more than is imagined; and, I am confident, that no Bricks made in that Part of Ireland, will bear being exposed so much to the Air: However, I shall enquire among some Architects here.[63]

King replied immediately, and at the end of a brief letter about diocesan matters, he added a curt reminder of his original prescription, saying, 'Our Irish brick will do very well for the steeple, and five or six thousand will finish it'.[64] Nothing in these refrigerated exchanges touches upon matters of style or design. King's recommendations are utilitarian and financial, while Swift's anxieties are characteristically economic. Laying out this kind of money on an 'ornament' to his new cathedral was not Swift's priority, and the spire was not erected in his lifetime.[65] In fact, over the three decades in which he served as Dean, Swift preserved, but never improved the rather ruinous state of his cathedral.[66]

These exchanges are, however, best appreciated and understood in the wider context of King's work over many years to increase the number, if not the quality, of churches in Dublin, a project which was possibly inspired by the similar one in London only a few years previously. Edward McParland emphasises King's industry in church-building, while acknowledging his insensitivity to 'the symbolical

value of great architecture'.[67] The best example of King's limited influence in these matters concerned plans, drawn up by the commissioners in Dublin, for redesigning and rebuilding St Werburgh's church, just around the corner from St Patrick's cathedral (Plate 1). Viscount Robert Molesworth, the Irish Whig statesman, had offered to employ the services of the Italian architect Alessandro Galilei, but King seems to have persuaded the commissioners that Thomas Burgh, Robinson's successor as Surveyor-General, should be entrusted with the task, largely because King was averse to a Roman Catholic shaping the design of the church, preferring instead the solid if dull effort of a loyal soldier.[68] In letters to Molesworth, written in the summer of 1716, thanking him for his public-spirited gesture, King tries to reflect on the reasons for Ireland's architectural poverty:

> I believe we are as backward in Ireland as to Architecture and indeed as to all arts and Sciences as most Cuntries in Europe, nor is it any Wonder it Shou'd be So, considering we are a Depending Province and Depend on those (as it universally happens in such cases) who make it their business to hinder all improvements which in my opinion is a weak and foolish piece of Policie.[69]

Blaming England for Ireland being 'a Depending Province', thereby blocking all forms of progress, was an interpretation which would later unite King and Swift, one which the Dean would make central to the rhetoric of his *Drapier's Letters* ten years later:

> Whereas a *Depending Kingdom* is a *Modern Term of Art*, unknown, as I have heard, to all antient *Civilians*, and *Writers upon Government*; and *Ireland* is on the contrary called in some Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from God; which is as High a Style as any Kingdom is capable of receiving.[70]

King also shared his belief with Molesworth that the uncouth settlers of the Cromwellian age were largely responsible for the ruinous state of the country's buildings:

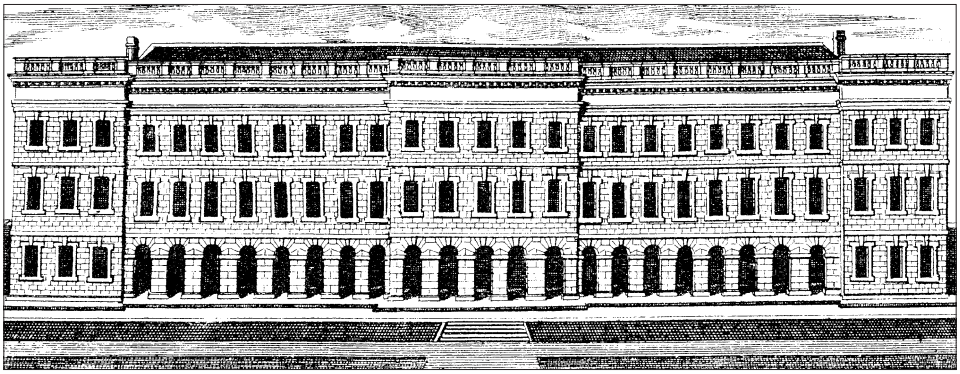
> 'Tis no wonder that we are backward in Architecture in Ireland, considering that it is not 600 years Since we had any building of Stone and lime in it, and ever Since we have bin in Continual warres the only [way] we cou'd have any prospect of improving in it, was on the Settlement after '41, and then the persons that had the Estates, were generally a parcel of ruff Soldiers, that had so little taste of fine Building, that it was their principle to pull Down the best they found Standing, and wanting everything, they were for taking up with anything, that wou'd cover them from the rain. Since that we have bin So unsettled that men have thought themselves Happy if they cou'd Secure the

> necessarys of living and have not bin much solicitous about the ornaments of it. At present the generalitie of men of fortunes and imployments living out of the kingdom, and the little relish and prospect any have of living at home are insuperable discouragements to expensive buildings. In So much that I see little hope of a valuable Architects either finding employment or Subsistence in Ireland and this is the reason I dare not venture to invite Senor Galile into Ireland least he shou'd Starve there.[71]

Much of this is a plausible historical explanation, yet some of it seems distinctly disingenuous. A country dominated by political and military insecurity will very probably favour the defensive and the utilitarian in matters of design, but King suggests that it was the lower-class Protestants of the seventeenth-century settlement whose influence proved stronger that that of King's own ruling class of the Church of Ireland establishment – that, in fact, the tastelessness of the former class blocked the imagination of the latter. (Swift shared many of these facile prejudices about the divisive and ruinous influence of Dissenters and nonconformists in Ireland, making them the scapegoat for many of the country's barbarous divisions, ignoring the fact, as did King, that he was very much part of the cultural 'establishment' of colonial Ireland).[72] The disagreements over St Werburgh's had an ironic conclusion, since, as McParland points out, Burgh's design was eventually as 'Roman' as Galilei's might have been, as was his other church, St Ann's in Dawson Street, both examples of what he calls 'canonical Italianate classicism' (Plate 2).[73]

Molesworth, usually assigned to the footnotes of Swift's career, stands out as one of the very few figures of this period who tried to advance Irish design and architecture through contacts with the continent. His patronage of Galilei resulted in the Italian's designs for Castletown House in Kildare, the most splendid classical country home of the century, built in the 1720s for Speaker Conolly.[74] But Molesworth was exceptional, not typical, and lamented the state of the arts in Ireland, writing to Galilei in 1719, 'We have no tast in this Country of what is excellent in any of ye Fine Arts. & I doubt shall not have for severall years to come.' [75] Swift was an admirer of Molesworth, and of his improvements at the family home at Breckdenstown, outside Swords, county Dublin,[76] addressing the fifth of his *Drapier's Letters* to the patriotic Viscount,[77] but that admiration did not extend to matters architectural, and most certainly did not endorse the supposed benefits of an Italian influence in art or religion.[78]

In the opening decades of the eighteenth century, and certainly by the time Swift had settled into the deanery of St Patrick's, the architectural landscape of Dublin had seen several major changes and additions which heralded the end of its medieval design and the emergence of a classical style in its metropolitan ambi-



9 – THE COLLEGE LIBRARY
from Charles Brooking, MAP OF THE CITY & SUBURBS OF DUBLIN (1728)
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

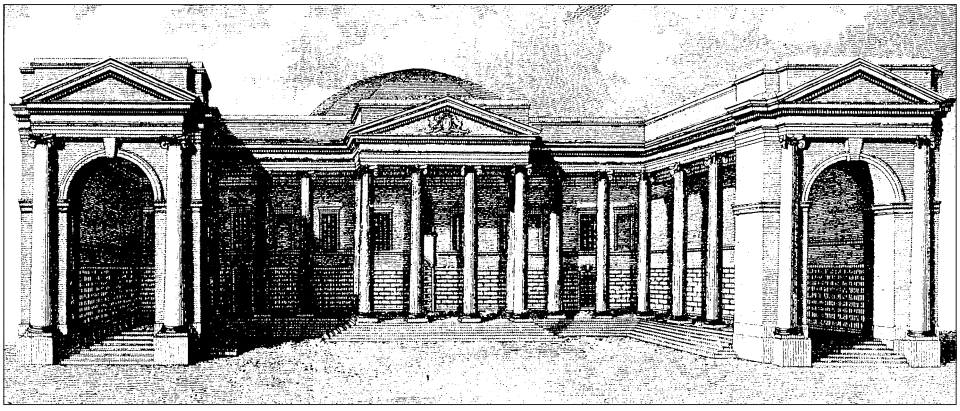
tions. As military engineer and later as Surveyor-General, Thomas Burgh was single-handedly responsible for most of these changes to the monumental elements in the city's changing character. He was responsible for the Royal (now Collins) Barracks opposite Kilmainham (1704), a new custom house on Essex Quay (1707), and, most dramatically, the new library for Trinity College (Plate 9). Narcissus Marsh, who had been provost of Trinity when Swift had been a student there, was one of several clergymen who tried to develop and improve the cultural and architectural character of Dublin.[79] In the opening years of the eighteenth century, he had employed William Robinson to design and build Marsh's library alongside St Patrick's cathedral. If Dublin was ever to present itself as a city of culture and learning, its only university demanded a library in keeping with such an aspiration. Burgh's work on the library began in 1712, while Swift was still in London, and was completed in 1732, resulting in one of the city's most impressive statements of classical order, one which Maurice Craig sees as marked by a 'puritanical severity characteristic of Irish architecture'.[80] We have no record of Swift's view of the great addition to his alma mater, but plans to construct a new parliament building directly opposite Trinity College on College Green resulted in one of his most notorious, occasional satires, giving us a rare and powerful sense of how he interpreted this addition to the architectural symbolism of Georgian Dublin.

New buildings in Dublin were an important part of Ireland's growing confidence and assertiveness in relation to political and cultural domination by London. If the expansion of Trinity College was a statement of educational determination, then the plans to replace the dilapidated parliamentary buildings on College Green with something majestic and elevated were part of a changed political landscape, one which Swift himself had helped to shape in the mid-1720s through his

Drapier's Letters, which had famously asserted Ireland's parliamentary sovereignty. While Thomas Burgh was expected to obtain the commission for the new building, it went instead to the young and ambitious Edward Lovett Pearce (a cousin of Vanbrugh),[81] who was well-versed in Italianate architecture, and who had visited John Molesworth in Turin and Alessandro Galilei in Florence.[82] Work began in 1729 (the year in which Swift published *A Modest Proposal*, a nightmarish vision of the Irish human economy), and the parliament, both Commons and Lords, was able to hold its first sitting in October 1731, while work continued until 1739, six years after Pearce's death. Most architectural historians of this period see Pearce's building as the greatest achievement in the rebirth of Dublin. McParland views it as 'a rare moment in Irish, indeed in European, architecture',[83] while Craig sees it 'as one of the chief glories of Dublin'.[84] Here, finally, was a symbol of pride in Irish politics, a monument of order and reason in keeping with the dignity and civility of its proprietors (Plate 10).

Swift viewed this addition to the city landscape rather differently. No lover of politicians of any kind, but especially not of the Irish landlord class he had savaged in *A Modest Proposal*, he was finally provoked into poetic and satirical action by the parliament's plans to reduce the Church of Ireland's income from tithes.[85] In the spring of 1736, 'A Character, Panegyric, and Description of the Legion Club' was published in a London miscellany, Swift having decided not to publish such an inflammatory and risky poem in Dublin.[86] For Swift, as the allusion behind the phrase 'Legion Club' suggests, the inmates of the new parliament house, in their scandalous attempt to deprive the Church Established by Law of its rightful dues,

10 – The Parliament House, from Robert Pool and John Cash, Views of the most Remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other Edifices in the City of Dublin (1780)
(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)



were comparable to a horde of unclean devils, whose house, a vast 'pile', suggested not a site of order, but a new Bedlam. In the opening lines of this ferocious satire, the speaker presents us with a sharp appreciation of an architectural irony unintended by the city planners:

> As I stroll the city, oft I
> Spy a building large and lofty,
> Not a bow-shot from the College,
> Half a globe from sense and knowledge.
> By the prudent architect
> Placed against the church direct;
> Making good my grandam's jest,
> *Near the church* – you know the rest.[87]

Swift refuses to look at Pearce's building either in isolation or in simply formal terms. Instead, he looks at it in relation to those buildings around it, and laughs bitterly at the incongruity of the neighbouring symbolism. The insistently ideological 'reading' of this architecture (as relentless as the rhyming couplets of the poem's 242 lines), sees something outrageous about a monument to political vanity being placed opposite and alongside a centre of learning and a house of prayer. Mindful of his own plans to leave money in his will for charitable purposes, such as a home for 'lunatics and fools', Swift pictures the new Houses of Parliament as an accidental Bedlam, where the undeserving mad are in charge of a nation's fortunes:

> Let them, when they once get in
> Sell the nation for a pin;
> While they sit a-picking straws
> Let them rave of making laws;
> While they never hold their Tongue,
> Let them dabble in their dung;
> Let them form a grand committee,
> How to plague and starve the city;
> Let them stare and storm and frown,
> When they see a clergy-gown.
> Let them, 'ere they crack a louse,
> Call for the orders of the House;
> Let them with their gosling quills,
> Scribble senseless heads of bills;
> We may, while they strain their throats,
> Wipe our arses with their votes.[88]

The poem identifies many of the MPs and Lords by name (including the family of the architect John Allen, who had worked on Howth Castle),[89] and creates a phantasmagoric landscape similar to that of Dante's *Inferno*, a hell almost beyond imagining, but one inhabited by earthly familiars. Only Hogarth, the poem concludes, could do justice to such an image.

The one figure who escapes from this sustained invective is, oddly, Pearce the architect, the man responsible for this monument to madness, and himself an Irish MP for Ratoath in county Meath. In the poems on Whitehall, as we have seen earlier, Swift's contempt is very much *ad hominem*, and the person of Vanbrugh is fundamental to the poem's design. Swift may have exempted Pearce from the collective charge of venality because the Dean and the architect seem to have enjoyed a certain kind of friendship. While working with Thomas Sheridan on the short-lived paper *The Intelligencer* at the very time when Pearce was beginning the construction of the Parliament House, Swift drew up a list of 'hints' for possible features and articles, including one which reads, 'Building, and praise of Pearce'.[90] In their analysis of the original manuscript of these notes by Swift, Ehrenpreis and Clifford record the fact that in 1730, not long after building work had begun on his project, Pearce actually presented the Dean with a copy of the collected anecdotes of Valerius Maximus from the first century AD, in a folio edition of 1505 printed in Venice.[91] As James Woolley points out, Pearce gave Swift three other gifts of works by classical authors, folio editions of Ovid, Cicero and Lactantius, each inscribed 'The gift of Edw. Pearce Esq. 1730'.[92] How Swift and Pearce came to know each other is not known, but it is not difficult to imagine that the two men, one entrusted with building a most important public monument in the city, the other the most famous clergyman in the city, might have met in the relatively small circle of Dublin society. Yet why would Pearce give the Dean not one, but four expensive gifts, perfectly suited to Swift's classical tastes? Would it have had something to do with his knowledge that Swift had satirised his cousin, Vanbrugh, all those years beforehand? Was Pearce trying to avoid a similar satirical fate by ingratiating himself with Dublin's most daring and subversive pen? It may simply have been the case that the two men shared a love of the classics. Edward McParland notes that Pearce had 'a bookish side', and that he was 'an uncommonly sensitive, learned and discriminating scholar', whose interest in Palladianism was as much academic and historical as it was practical and contemporary.[93] Whatever the answer, Pearce escaped Swift's wrath in a poem which systematically named many of the leading figures involved with the new Houses of Parliament. Reversing his earlier strategy with the poems on Vanbrugh, Swift ignored the builder, and focused exclusively on the owners.

The fact that nearly all of Swift's books relating to architecture were gifts rather than acquisitions confirms his rather passive relationship with that discipline

and art. Such a tentative conclusion, however, has the unintended manner of a judicial reprimand, suggesting that Swift should have had a more active interest in architecture, but that he somehow failed to exercise it. Nothing in Swift's education or his Irish cultural background disposed him towards architecture, and from what we know of the artistic scene in Ireland through the remarks of leading figures such as Robert Molesworth, such seeming indifference was common rather than exceptional, and had a great deal to do with the unsettled and undeveloped state of the country in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The contrast with Pope and England is perhaps one important way of appreciating Swift and Ireland in relation to the rise of the virtuoso and a culture which was beginning to embrace the Renaissance ideal of the unity of the arts. As Ian Campbell Ross argues, there was nothing in Swift's Dublin to compare with the literary and artistic circle within which Pope moved, a circle which included so many wealthy and powerful men of taste, who were actively and enthusiastically engaged in debate and practice about appropriate style and form in architecture.[94] On the individual level, Pope's interest in the subject was complex and refined; Swift, by contrast, would not have known his architrave from his arris, and would not have cared. Architectural theory and experimentation held only a passing satirical interest for him, as we see with his representation of Lord Munodi in Part III of *Gulliver's Travels*, a distinguished Lord who has been banished to his country estate for failing to adapt to the new learning and science. Munodi invites Gulliver to his home, a building now under threat from the architectural revolution underway in Balnibarbi: 'We came at length to the House, which was indeed a noble Structure, built according to the best Rules of ancient Architecture. The Fountains, Gardens, Walks, Avenues, and Groves were all disposed with exact Judgement and Taste.' [95] An innocent victim of architectural fashion and chaotic experimentation, Munodi's loyalty to tradition is part of Swift's favourite satirical design which sets the Ancients against the Moderns, a design which was also used to calumniate Vanbrugh.

Swift's 'reading' of architecture and architects searches for expressions and distortions of power, and it deconstructs designs in order to expose signs of tyranny and pride. It is, essentially, a moralistic and political way of viewing great buildings, a perspective not easily seduced by scale or beauty, by those outwards forms which try to conceal the political impulse which sponsors so much of public and private architecture. Above all, Swift dislikes monumental architecture, such as Marlborough's Blenheim, seeing it as a gross expression of the ego and pride of those who commission, as well as build, such extravagances. If we could attribute an architectural ideal to Swift, one which might come closest to his political and moral standards, then we might detect it in the opening lines of a poem which he wrote towards the end of his service to the Tories:

I often wished that I had clear
For life, six hundred pounds a year,
A handsome house to lodge a friend,
A river at my garden's end,
A terrace walk, and half a rood
Of land, set out to plant a wood.[96]

Declaring, or affecting, a complete weariness with the scale and intensity of political life at the English court, Swift proclaims his faith in pastoral retreat, the final refuge of an honest man in a corrupt world. The detail of these lines suggests a return to the modest and homely scale of his vicarage at Laracor, county Meath, a reversion to rural sociability and friendship.[97] Mark Blackwell has shown how deeply attracted Swift eventually became to 'country-house ideology' (going so far as to plan the building of a rural retreat in county Armagh, a project he soon abandoned), an ideology which represented a seeming stability and security which neither politics nor writing offered.[98] If we can trust the declared intent behind these versions of a pastoral utopia, then we might conclude that Swift's experience of architecture only served to reinforce his remote and distrustful relation with the Modern age. He remains, at heart, a primitivist whose imagination is both offended and overwhelmed by the pride and ambition of urban architecture.

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Several people have helped me in researching this article, on matters small and large, and I hope I have thanked them all at the appropriate points. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude and thanks to Edward McParland and Ian Campbell Ross, who kindly agreed to read early drafts of this work, and who gave me detailed and comprehensive advice on many matters relating to Swift and eighteenth-century architecture. Anyone venturing into this kind of interdisciplinary field feels all the more secure when assisted by such supportive and generous virtuosi. Finally, I would like to thank David Griffin and his staff at the Irish Architectural Archive, Jane Devine-Mejia of the University of Notre Dame, as well as Gerard Lyne, Joanna Finegan and Elizabeth Kirwan at the National Library of Ireland for their advice and assistance.

ENDNOTES

[1] Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (New Haven and London 2001) 14.

[2] Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin 1980) 6. Much of the information following is taken from Craig.

[3] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 91-121.

[4] See Noel Kissane, *Historic Dublin Map*s (Dublin 1988). Bernard de Gomme was Engineer in Chief. His map was commissioned for official purposes, and was not published at the time. In 1685 it was used and developed by another engineer, Thomas Phillips, who produced a new map of Dublin for James II, likewise unpublished. Their joint efforts became the basis for a commercial map of Dublin by Henry Pratt, published in 1708 in London. On early eighteenth-century maps of Dublin and Ireland, see J.H. Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland: Maps and their makers* (Dublin 1997) 153-84.

[5] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 143-4.

[6] Craig, *Dublin*, 59.

[7] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 1.

[8] Craig, *Dublin*, 71.

[9] See his letter of January 1699 to his successor at Kilroot, the Rev John Winder, in which he describes his sermons written there as 'calculated for a Church without Company or a roof, like our [...] at Oxford'. David Woolley (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 4 vols, 2 vols published to date (Frankfurt am Main 1999) i, 138.

[10] Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: the Man, his Works and the Age*, 3 vols (London and Cambridge, Mass, 1962-83) ii, 95.

[11] See John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London 1970) 24.

[12] The following details are from Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Cities of London and Westminster*, 2 vols (Harmondsworth 1973), i, 62-8.

[13] On Wren's role in redesigning and rebuilding London, see Lisa Jardine, *On a Grander Scale: the outstanding career of Sir Christopher Wren* (London 2002) 247-59.

[14] Pevsner, *London*, 74-5.

[15] Harold Williams (ed.), *Journal to Stella*, 2 vols (Oxford 1948) i, 53.

[16] Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 179. For a short account of Fountaine's interest in the arts, including his visits to Italy, see Brinsley Ford, 'Sir Andrew Fountaine, one of the keenest virtuosi of his age', *Apollo*, November 1985, 352-8.

[17] Williams, *Journal*, i, 83-4. The following day, Swift found himself in Vanbrugh's company once more, while dining at the home of the Portuguese envoy.

[18] See Williams, *Journal*, i, 83-4, n.22. The poem had appeared in Curll's unauthorised miscellany, *A Meditation upon a Broomstick, and somewhat beside* (London 1710).

[19] For an account of Vanbrugh's achievements in the design of country houses such as Castle Howard and Blenheim, see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth 1977), 278-87.

[20] For plans and illustrations of 'Goose-Pie House', see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 275-7.

[21] Pat Rogers (ed.), *Jonathan Swift: The Complete Poems* (Harmondsworth 1983), 91.

[22] *ibid.*, 92.

[23] For the textual history of the poem, see Rogers, *Poems*, 629.

[24] Vanbrugh combined both talents when, in 1705, he designed the Queen's Theatre at Haymarket in London. See Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 271.

[25] Rogers, *Poems*, 99.

[26] Shortly after this encounter with Vanbrugh, Swift tells Stella that on his first meeting with Henry St John, the Secretary of State told him that 'The History of Vanbrug's House' was 'the best thing he ever read'. Swift did not think so. See Williams, *Journal*, i, 92.

[27] For the text, see Rogers, *Poems*, 80-1. The poem remained unpublished during Swift's lifetime, and was first published in Scott's 1814 edition. On the history of the poem's place in the canon, see Rogers, 618.

[28] Rogers, *Poems*, 80-1.

[29] *ibid*., 81.

[30] King Charles I was one of Swift's 'Great Figures' of history, both ancient and modern. See, for example, Herbert Davis et al (eds), *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, 16 vols (Oxford 1939-68) v, 84. With uncompromising regularity, Swift maintained that the Dissenters were more wicked, if such were possible, than Roman Catholics, and that they were responsible for 'the Murder of a most pious King'. See also his sermon, *Upon the Martyrdom of King Charles* (1726), in Davis, *Prose Works*, ix, 219-31, and his pamphlet, *Queries relating to the Sacramental Test* (1733), in Davis, *Prose Works*, xii, 253-60. A portrait of King Charles I 'by Vandike' hung in Swift's deanery, a present from Rev James Stopford in 1726, which Swift bequeathed to Stopford in his will. See Woolley, *Correspondence*, ii, 621.

[31] Many years later, and probably at the suggestion of Alexander Pope, Swift softened his view of Vanbrugh, and actually complimented the architect's achievements. See 'Preface' to Swift's and Pope's *Miscellanies* (1727). For an account of this seeming conversion, see Morris Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford 1978) 312-15.

[32] The relevant lines read as follows: 'In regard to two Persons only, we wish our Raillery, though ever so tender, or Resentment, though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanbrugh, who was a man of wit, and of Honour; and of Mr. Addison, whose Name deserves all Respect from every Lover of Learning.' See *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 3 vols (1727) i, 9.

[33] In the end, only twelve of these planned churches were built. For a detailed account of the plan and its results, see Summerson, *Georgian London*, 84-97.

[34] Davis, *Prose Works*, iii, 159.

[35] *ibid*. Swift wrote several attacks in the *Examiner* on Marlborough and his alleged greed; see no. 16, 19-24, and most notoriously, no. 27, 80-5, where he nicknames him 'Marcus Crassus'.

[36] This is one of the rare instances of Swift's use of the term 'Gothic' in an architectural sense. He generally used this term in a political sense, to distinguish an Anglo-Saxon tradition of parliamentary liberty from 'foreign' models of political tyranny. See, for example, his use of this term in *The Drapier's Letters*, in *Prose Works*, x, 86-7, or in his 'A Letter to Mr Pope', in *Prose Works*, ix, 32.

[37] See Brownell, *Alexander Pope*, 309f., 316, which includes a detailed account of why Blenheim is most likely the target of Pope's satire in *An Epistle to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington* (1731).

[38] Williams, *Journal*, i, 37-8.

[39] In November of the following year, he tells Stella that he had chosen not to accompany the Chief Secretary to Hampton Court because he could not get free lodgings there, and because

'the town is small, chargeable and inconvenient'. See Williams, *Journal*, ii, 400.

[40] Williams, *Journal*, i, 319, n.2.

[41] *ibid*., 349-50.

[42] *ibid*., 329.

[43] Williams, *Journal*, ii, 553.

[44] See Williams, *Journal*, i, 104, 122-3, 263.

[45] Williams, *Journal*,ii, 594. For illustrations of this famous mansion, see Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 74-6.

[46] Swift changed his lodgings nine times in his three year stay, residing at Chelsea from April 1711 to July 1712. See Williams, *Journal*, i, 142, n.16 for full details of these changes.

[47] Williams, *Journal*, ii, 648.

[48] See McParland, *Public Architecture*, 66-8, for an account and illustration of Tarbary's work. I have tried, without success, to discover why Swift should associate the name 'Tisdal' with Tarbary's work and Kilmainham, thinking first that he had in mind William Tisdall (1699-1735), an Irish clergyman whom Swift had known well in the early years of the century. David Woolley suggested, shrewdly, that Tisdall may once have been a chaplain at Kilmainham, and hence the association in Swift's memory between the chapel and the chaplain. The original minutes of Kilmainham Hospital (preserved from its opening, and held in the National Archives, Bishop Street in Dublin) do not, unfortunately, mention Tisdall as chaplain. My thanks to Gregory O'Connor of the National Archives, to Raymond Refaussé of the Representative Church Body Library, and to David Woolley, who helped me in these searches.

[49] See Brownell, *Alexander Pope*, 71-145.

[50] See Harold Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, 5 vols (Oxford 1963-72), iii, 127, n.2. For additional and revised information, see Woolley, *Correspondence*, ii, 636.

[51] See Woolley, *Correspondence*, ii, 648, n.2. For Pope's accounts of these visits, see George Sherburn (ed.), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, 5 vols (Oxford 1956) ii, 371-3, 387-8.

[52] For an account of this visit and gift, see Hermann Real and Heinz Vienken, 'A New Book from Swift's Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University*, 62, 2 (1980), 262-4. According to the authors, this copy of Fréart never appeared in any listing, or the sale catalogue, of Swift's personal library, and was eventually stolen from him. They also confirm that Swift, in turn, presented the book as a gift to the Irish portrait painter Francis Bindon, with a suitable adaptation of Burlington's original inscription. The present location of the book is not known. Fréart's *Parallèle* was a highly specialised volume on those authors, such as Palladio, who had retrieved and perfected the five Orders of ancient design – Doric, Ionian, Corinthian, Tuscan and Composite – rich with detailed and precise engravings. My thanks to Hermann Real of the Ehrenpreis Center for Swift Studies, Münster, Germany, for advice and information on several matters relating to Swift's library and architecture.

[53] See Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 155, 244, 247.

[54] For a full account of this exchange, and the importance of this book to eighteenth-century scholarship, see Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library* (Cambridge 1932) 47-8.

[55] For bibliographical details, see Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, sale catalogue, nos 556, 567, 579. See also Williams' commentary on these volumes, 46-7. Writing to Bolingbroke and Pope in April 1729, Swift remarked, 'I value the compilements of Graevius and Gronovius ... more than all my books besides.' Volume xii of the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum* is dedicated to architecture, as is volume iii of the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum*. Pope took an

active scholarly interest in the work of Graevius on Roman antiquities, and wrote a Latin treatise on the subject. See Brownell, *Alexander Pope*, 284-5.

[56] See Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 189.

[57] See Woolley, *Correspondence*, ii, 93, n.4.

[58] Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (London 1972) 237.

[59] *ibid*., 6.

[60] See Rogers' detailed and persuasive reading of these poems, *ibid*., 248-53.

[61] Ian Campbell Ross, 'The Scriblerians and Swift in Ireland' in Richard R. Rodino and Hermann J. Real (eds), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (Munich 1993) 81-9.

[62] Woolley, *Correspondence*, i, 485.

[63] *ibid*., 490.

[64] *ibid*., 494.

[65] The granite spire was finally erected in 1749 by Dean Corbett after a design by George Semple. See J.H. Bernard and J.E.L. Oulton, *The Cathedral Church of St Patrick* (Dublin and Cork 1940), 27. This little classic, documenting the history of St Patrick's, includes many interesting and valuable illustrations of the cathedral down through the ages.

[66] *ibid*., 13. Peter Galloway points out that St Patrick's was in 'a semi-ruinous condition from the 17th to the 19th centuries'. See his study, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (Belfast 1992), 87.

[67] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 43-9.

[68] *ibid*., 45-6.

[69] Patric Judge, 'State of Architecture in Ireland, in 1716', *Irish Arts Review*, iii, 4 (Dublin 1986) 62-3.

[70] Davis, *Prose Works*, x, 62. On King's views on *The Drapier's Letters*, see Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 264-7.

[71] Judge, 'State of Architecture', 63.

[72] On these divisions, see Oliver W. Ferguson, *Jonathan Swift and Ireland* (Urbana 1962) 17-19. Swift was a life-long opponent of toleration for Dissenters, especially in the pamphlets of his later years. See *ibid*., 182-3.

[73] See McParland, *Public Architecture*, 45, and Rolf Loeber, 'Early Classicism in Ireland: Architecture before the Georgian Era', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979), 49-63, 59-60.

[74] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 9.

[75] *ibid*.

[76] See Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 287-8.

[77] See Davis, *Prose Works*, x, 77-94.

[78] On Swift's cultural xenophobia, especially with regard to Italian cultural influence, see Joseph McMinn, 'Was Swift a Philistine? The Evidence of Music', *Swift Studies*, 17 (2002) 59-74.

[79] See Toby Barnard, 'Improving clergymen, 1660-1760', in Alan Ford, James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin 1995), 146.

[80] Craig, *Dublin*, 95.

[81] For a biographical sketch of Pearce, and a listing of his works, see Maurice Craig, 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xvii, no. 1 (1974), 10-14.

[82] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 180-4.

[83] *ibid*., 195.

[84] Craig, *Dublin*, 99.

[85] See Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 827-31.

[86] For the complete text, and history of the poem's publication, see Rogers, *Poems*, 550-6, 891-2.

[87] *ibid*., 550.

[88] *ibid*., 551-2.

[89] *ibid*., 555: lines 173-80 and 894.

[90] See James Woolley (ed.), *The Intelligencer* (Oxford 1992) 275. Woolley points out that Sheridan's occasional remarks about architecture are informed by anti-Italian prejudice rather than specialised knowledge. See *ibid*., 191.

[91] Irvin Ehrenpreis and James L. Clifford, 'Swiftiana in Rylands English MS 659 and related documents', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 37, 1955, 375-8. This copy of *Valerius Maximus* was in Swift's library at the time of his death. See Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, sale catalogue, no. 624. At the time of writing this article, Ehrenpreis pointed out that Swift's copy was in the National Library of Ireland. At some point after that, however, it disappeared and has never been traced. My thanks to Andrew Carpenter, once again, for his knowledgeable advice on this matter.

[92] See Woolley, *Intelligencer*, 275. For full bibliographical details of the Ovid and Cicero editions, see *The Rothschild Library,* nos 2,308 and 2,315 (Cambridge 1954). For details of the Lactantius edition, see Sotheby's book sale catalogue, 23 June, lot 101. My thanks to Gail Ford of Sotheby's for supplying me with a copy of the details of this sale. These four gifts from Pearce are listed in Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, sale catalogue, nos 620, 623, 624, 625.

[93] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 180-1.

[94] Campbell Ross, 'The Scriblerians', 88-9.

[95] Davis, *Prose Works*, xi, 176. While Swift held mixed and critical views about architecture, he was a resolute and enthusiastic gardener, very often showing greater interest in landscape than buildings. See Carole Fabricant, *Swift's landscape* (London 1982), and my 'Pastoral properties: Swift and gardens', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22, 1, 1999, 15-34.

[96] 'Horace, Lib.2, Sat.6', in Rogers, *Poems*, 167.

[97] This kind of moral and domestic fundamentalism, an extreme version of the classical code, was coincidentally the basis of one of the most important texts of neo-classical architectural theory in the eighteenth century, Laugier's *Essai sur L'Architecture* (1755), which proposed the 'cabane rustique' as the moral source of all architecture and the proper measure of contemporary architectural decadence.

[98] Mark R. Blackwell, 'The two Jonathans: Swift, Smedley and the Outhouse Ethic', in Aileen Douglas, Patrick Kelly and Ian Campbell Ross (eds), *Locating Swift* (Dublin 1998) 129-49.

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