irony of fate the most imperious and despotic spirit of his day laboured to enthrone a power which, had he himself been in authority, he would have utterly detested and despised. For a brief time he seemed to resume the whole power of the English press in his own pen and to guide public opinion as he would. His services to his party as writer of the *Examiner,* which he quitted in July 1711, were even surpassed by those which he rendered as the author of telling pamphlets, among which *The Conduct of the Allies* and *Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (November and December 1711) hold the first rank. In truth, how­ever, he was lifted by the wave he seemed to command. Surfeited with glory, the nation wanted a convenient ex­cuse for relinquishing a burdensome war, which the great military genius of the age was suspected of prolonging to fill his pockets. The Whigs had been long in office. The High Church party had derived great strength from the Sacheverell trial. Swift did not bring about the revolution with which, notwithstanding, he associated his name. There seems no reason to suppose that he was consulted respecting the great Tory strokes of the crea­tion of the twelve new peers and the dismissal of Marl­borough (December 1711), but they would hardly have been ventured upon if *The Conduct of the Allies* and the *Examiners* had not prepared the way. A scarcely less important service was rendered to the ministry by his *Letter to the October Club,* artfully composed to soothe the impatience of Harley’s extreme followers. He had every claim to the highest preferment that ministers could give him, but his own pride and prejudice in high places stood in his way.

Generous men like Oxford and Bolingbroke cannot have been unwilling to reward so serviceable a friend, especially when their own interest lay in keeping him in England. Notwithstanding, therefore, some dubious expressions in Swift’s letters, natural to the deferred hope, we need not doubt their having actually used their best efforts to obtain for him the vacant see of Hereford. Swift, however, had formidable antagonists in the archbishop of York, whom he had scandalized, and the duchess of Somerset, whom he had satirized. Anne was particularly amenable to the influence of priestly and female favourites, and it must be considered a proof of the strong interest made for Swift that she was eventually persuaded to appoint him to the deanery of St Patrick’s, Dublin, vacant by the removal of Bishop Sterne to Dromore. It is to his honour that he never speaks of the queen with resentment or bitterness. In June 1713 he set out to take possession of his dignity, and en­countered a very cold reception from the Dublin public. The dissensions between the chiefs of his party speedily recalled him to England. He found affairs in a desperate condition. The queen’s demise was evidently at hand, and the same instinctive good sense which had ranged the nation on the side of the Tories, when Tories alone could terminate a fatiguing war, rendered it Whig when Tories manifestly could not be trusted to maintain the Protestant succession. In any event the occupants of office could merely have had the choice of risking their heads in an attempt to exclude the elector of Hanover, or of waiting patiently till he should come and eject them from their posts; yet they might have remained formidable could they have remained united. To the indignation with which he regarded Oxford’s refusal to advance him in the peerage the active St John added an old disgust at the treasurer’s pedantic and dilatory formalism, as well as his evident propensity, while leaving his colleague the fatigues, to engross for himself the chief credit of the administra­tion. Their schemes of policy diverged as widely as their characters : Bolingbroke’s brain teemed with the wildest plans, which Oxford might have more effectually dis­

countenanced had he been prepared with anything in their place. Swift’s endeavours after an accommodation were as fruitless as unremitting. His mortification was little likely to temper the habitual virulence of his pen, which rarely produced anything more acrimonious than the attacks he at this period directed against Burnet and his former friend Steele. One of his pamphlets against the latter (7‰ *Public Spirit of the Whigs)* was near involving him in a prosecution, some invectives against the Scots having proved so exasperating to the peers of that nation that they repaired in a body to the queen to demand the punishment of the author, of whose identity there could be no doubt, although, like all Swift’s writings, except the *Proposal for the Extension of Religion,* the pamphlet had been published anonymously. The immediate withdrawal of the offensive passage, and a sham prosecution instituted against the printer, extricated Swift from his danger.

Meanwhile the crisis had arrived, and the discord of Oxford and Bolingbroke had become patent to all the nation. Foreseeing, as is probable, the impending fall of the former, Swift retired to Upper Letcombe, in Berkshire, and there spent some weeks in the strictest seclusion. This leisure was occupied in the composition of his remark­able pamphlet, *Free Thoughts an the State of Public Affairs,* which indicates his complete conversion to the bold policy of Bolingbroke. The utter exclusion of Whigs as well as Dissenters from office, the remodelling of the army, the imposition of the most rigid restraints on the heir to the throne,—such were the measures which, by recommending, Swift tacitly admitted to be necessary to the triumph of his party. If he were serious, it can only be said that the desperation of his circumstances had momentarily troubled the lucidity of his understanding ; if the pamphlet were merely intended as a feeler after public opinion, it is surprising that he did not perceive how irretrievably he was ruining his friends in the eyes of all moderate men. Bolingbroke’s daring spirit, however, recoiled from no extreme, and, fortunately for Swift, he added so much of his own to the latter’s MS. that the author was obliged to recall a production which might not improbably have cost him his liberty and his deanery. This incident but just anticipated the revolution which, after Bolingbroke had enjoyed a three days’ triumph over Oxford, drove him into exile and prostrated his party, but enabled Swift to perform the noblest action of his life. Almost the first acts of Bolingbroke’s ephemeral premiership were to order him a thousand pounds from the exchequer and despatch him the most flattering invitations. The same post brought a letter from Oxford, soliciting Swift’s company in his retirement ; and, to the latter’s immortal honour, he hesitated not an instant in preferring the solace of his friend to the offers of St John. When, a few days after­wards, Oxford was in prison and in danger of his life, Swift begged to share his captivity ; and it was only on the offer being declined that he finally directed his steps towards Ireland, where he was very ill received. The draft on the exchequer was intercepted by the queen’s death.

These four busy years of Swift’s London life had not been entirely engrossed by politics. First as the associate of Steele, with whom he quarrelled, and of Addison, whose esteem for him survived all differences, afterwards as the intimate comrade of Pope and Arbuthnot, the friend of Congreve and Atterbury, Parnell and Gay, he entered deeply into the literary life of the period. He was trea­surer and a leading member of the Brothers, a society of wits and statesmen which recalls the days of Horace and Mæcenas. He promoted the subscription for Pope’s *Homer,* contributed some numbers to the *Tatler, Spectator,* and *Intelligencer,* and joined with Pope and Arbuthnot in