

# **I am no inconsiderable Shop-Keeper in this Town**

**Swift and his Dublin Printers of the 1720's:**

**Edward Waters, John Harding and Sarah Harding**

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University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, February 2015

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“But supposing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that Five and Twenty Thousand Pounds would be a Sum fully sufficient to answer all our Occasions. I am no inconsiderable Shop-Keeper in this Town, I have discoursed with several of my own, and other Trades, with many Gentlemen both of City and Country, and also with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, who all agree that two Shillings in Change for Every Family, wou’d be more than necessary in all Dealings.”

An extract from:

*A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-Paper of Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>. Relating to Mr. Woods’s Half-Pence. By M.B. Drapier. Author of the Letter to the Shop-keepers, &c.*

DUBLIN: printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth’s-Court* in *Fishamble-Street*.

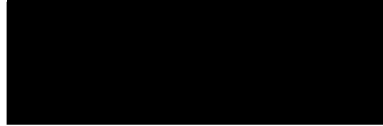
Published on 6 August 1724.





## **Declaration**

I, Craig Francis Pett, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma in any university or institute of tertiary education. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given in the bibliography.



12-2-2015



## Abstract

Swift's political writing was at its most subversive and presented the greatest risk to his printers when as Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin in the 1720's he embarked upon a campaign of defending Irish liberties. His pamphlets during this period were intended to rally the people of Ireland against English oppressions. In writing them Swift also sought to reassert himself over his Whig enemies who were then in government in Westminster. It was a period of violent prosecutions, imprisonments and courtroom warring between judges and juries, and it was a period that exacted a human cost.

This thesis is a study of Swift's working relationships with the Dublin printing industry during this time. Always writing either anonymously or under a pseudonym, Swift worked with printers who were from the lowest ranks of the industry. These were printers who were more prepared to run the risk of publication and bear the brunt of any prosecution. The first of these printers was Edward Waters. In May 1720, Waters printed Swift's *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* and was subsequently prosecuted in a case that was protracted over fifteen months. The second was John Harding, who printed the five pamphlets Swift wrote in 1724 under the pseudonym M. B. Drapier. Harding was prosecuted for the fourth of those pamphlets and died a few months afterwards from the effects of his imprisonment. The third was Harding's widow, Sarah Harding, who as a mother of two continued to print occasionally for Swift without ever receiving the support from him that can be said to have been owing to her. This thesis is written from the perspective of the printers. It offers new evidence with regard to the lives and careers of the printers and Swift's conduct in relation to them.



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2. Page 3 of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience, Strain to Britannia*. Printed by Edward Waters. 1720. (A1, 155).
3. Page ten of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. Printed by Edward Waters. 1720. (A1, 156).
4. Title page of *Letters Written by Sr. William Temple... Published by Jonathan Swift ... In Two Volumes*, 1700. (A4, 8).
5. Final page of *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, 1712. (A4, 37).
6. The Presentments of Swift's *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (A1, 156) in the *Dublin Courant* for 4 June 1720.
7. Title page of *The Bubble: A Poem*. Printed by Edward Waters. (A1, 169).
8. Recto of *The Bubble: A Poem*. Printed by Edward Waters. (A1, 169).
9. *Harding's Resurrection. From Hell Upon Earth*, in the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter* for 18 February 1724.
10. The ornamental border in the *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* for 7 July 1724.
11. Title page of the second edition of *Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, Relating to Woods's Half-pence*. By M.B. Drapier. Printed by John Harding. (A2, 50).
12. *Elegy on The Much-Lamented Death of John Harding Printer, who departed this Transitory Life, this present Monday being the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Instant April 1725*. (A4, 139).
13. *A Funeral Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of Robert Lord Viscount Molesworth. Who departed This Life, on Sunday the 23d of May, 1725*. Dublin, printed by the Widow Harding, 1725. (A3, 5).
14. *A POEM to the Whole People of IRELAND, Relating to M. B. DRAPIER*. Printed on the Blind-Key, by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1726. (A4, 158).
15. Page eleven of *The Intelligencer* Numb. XIV (A3, 45) – 'THE TALE. OF THE T—D.'

16. Title page of *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of poor people in Ireland, from being a Burthen to their parents or country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick*. Printed by Sarah Harding. (A3, 65).
17. First page of the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter* for 18 February 1724 – with “Medio Tutissimus Ibis”.



## Notes on Referencing and Citations

All contemporary publications cited in this thesis are listed in the appendices. There are four appendices: 'Appendix 1: Publications – Edward Waters'; 'Appendix 2: Publications – John Harding'; 'Appendix 3: Publications – Sarah Harding' and 'Appendix 4: Other Publications'. Throughout the thesis, publications are cited in footnotes as, for example, A2, 17 [Appendix 2, Number 17] or A4, 6 [Appendix 4, Number 6], and so on. The contemporary publications listed in 'Short Titles and Abbreviations' are also referenced in this way. With many of the contemporary publications there are several surviving impressions or editions and where this is the case it has been necessary to choose one copy text. The identities of my copy texts are given in the appendices as well as being referenced in 'Short Titles and Abbreviations'.

When a quote or extract is reproduced from a contemporary publication, the reproduction is, as far as possible, faithful to the original publication. For example, extracts from Swift's pamphlets are faithful to the original edition produced by, say, John Harding, rather than being a reproduction of the text as edited in later years by Faulkner or Swift, or in subsequent centuries by publishers or editors. Any grammatical or printing errors made in the original publications are, in this way, reproduced in this thesis, and a footnote to the extract will confirm that these are in fact original errors (some words in the original publications might appear to be incorrectly spelled when in fact they are contemporary spellings). Other idiosyncrasies from the original publications, such as insufficient space between words, or changes of font to make the type fit a page, are not reproduced in the extracts. The only way to appreciate these idiosyncrasies is to sight them in the originals, and this is something that in the case of most contemporary publications can be done online. Many of the publications are on the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO) database, and when they are, the ECCO document number is given as the copy text description. However, even though quotes and extracts are from the contemporary originals, for the works of Swift a footnote will also cite a standard scholarly edition where the relevant quote or extract can be found in edited form.



## Short Titles and Abbreviations

### Individual Works of Swift

#### *A Short View*

*A Short View of the State of Ireland.*

Copy text: A3, 26.

#### *Autofrag*

Swift, "Family of Swift"

Copy text: PW, v, 187–195.

#### *Extract of a Book*

*An Extract out of a book, entituled, an exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21. 1680. Pag.150.*

Copy text: A4, 112.

#### *Humble Address*

*An Humble Address to Both Houses of Parliament. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: Faulkner 1735, iv, 210–242.

#### *Letter to Harding*

*A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-Paper of Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>. Relating to Mr. Woods's Half-Pence. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: A2, 43.

#### *Letter to Midleton*

*A Letter to the Lord Chancellor Midleton.*

Copy text: Faulkner 1735, iv, 186–209.

#### *Letter to Molesworth*

*A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: A2, 65.

#### *Letter to the Shop-Keepers*

*A Letter to the Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common-People of Ireland, Concerning the Brass Half-pence Coined by Mr. Woods. With a Design to have them Pass in this Kingdom. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: A2, 41.

#### *Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*

*A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: A2, 57.

#### *Ode to the King*

*Ode. To the King. On His Irish Expedition, And the Success of his Arms in general.*

Copy text: A4, 2.

*Presentment of the Grand-Jury**The Presentment of the Grand-Jury of the County of the City of Dublin.*

Copy text: A4, 119.

*Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury**Seasonable Advice. Since a Bill is preparing for the Grand-Jury, to find against the Printer of the Drapier's last Letter, there are several things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before whom this Bill is to come, before they determine upon it.*

Copy text: A4, 115.

*Some Observations upon a Paper**Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable Privy-Council in England, Relating to Wood Half-pence. By M.B. Drapier.*

Copy text: A2, 50.

*Universal Use**A Proposal For the Universal Use Of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. Utterly Rejecting and Renouncing Every Thing wearable that comes from England.*

Copy text: A1, 156.

Collected Editions of Swift's Works*Cambridge Swift**Vol. 1**The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Volume 1: A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, Marcus Walsh, ed., Cambridge, 2010.*Vol. 2**The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Volume 2: Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises: polite Conversation, Directions to Servants and Other Works*, Valerie Rumbold, ed., Cambridge, 2013.*Vol. 8**The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Volume 8: English Political Writings 1711 – 1714*, Bertrand A. Goldgar and Ian Gadd, eds., Cambridge, 2008.*Vol. 16**The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Volume 16: Gulliver's Travels*, David Womersley, ed., Cambridge, 2012.

## DL

Herbert Davis, ed., *The Drapier's Letters to the people of Ireland against receiving Wood's halfpence*, by Jonathan Swift, Oxford, 1935.*Faulkner 1735*

The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D. In Four Volumes... Dublin: Printed by and for George Faulkner, Printer and Bookseller, in Essex Street, opposite to the Bridge. MDCCXXXV.

Octavo. ESTC: T52771. T-S 26 (item 41).

Copy text: Vol. 1: ECCO: CW113216718; Vol. 2: ECCO: CW113217074; Vol. 3: ECCO: CW113217564; Vol. 4: CW113217997.

*Faulkner 1738*

The Works of J.S, D.D, D.S.P.D. In Six Volumes... *Dublin*: Printed by and for George Faulkner, in *Essex Street*, opposite to the Bridge. M,DCC,XXXVIII.  
Octavo. ESTC: N31091. T-S 28 (item 42).

*Faulkner 1746*

The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D, D.S.P.D. In Eight Volumes... *Dublin*: Printed by and for George Faulkner, in *Essex Street*, opposite to the Bridge. M,D,CC,XLVI.  
Octavo. ESTC: T52746. T-S 31 (item 44).  
Copy text for Vol. 1: ECCO: CW124694478.

*Faulkner 1763*

The Works of Dr. J. Swift, D.S.P.D. In Eleven Volumes... *Dublin*: Printed by George Faulkner. — M,DCC,LXIII.  
Octavo. T-S 38 (item 46). Not on ESTC.  
Copy text: 12mo. ESTC: T228856. T-S: 55 (item 52). Vol. 1: ECCO: CB131226556.  
Vol. 4: ECCO: CB131227200. Vol. 11: ECCO: CB431229086.

*Fraud Detected*

Fraud Detected: Or, The *Hibernian Patriot*. Containing all the *Drapier's* Letters to the People of *Ireland*, on *Wood's* Coinage, &c. Interspers'd with the following Particulars...  
*Dublin*: Re-printed and Sold by George Faulkner in Pembroke-Court, Castle-street, 1725.  
Copy text: A4, 142.

## PW

*The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, Herbert Davis, ed., Oxford, 1959, 14 vols..

## Rogers

Pat Rogers, ed., *Jonathan Swift: The Complete Poems*, London, 1983.

Williams, *Poems*

Harold Williams, ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, Second Edition, 1958, 1966, 3 vols..

Bibliographies of Swift's Works

## Teerink 1937

Teerink, H., *A bibliography of the writings of Jonathan Swift*, The Hague, 1937.

## T-S

Teerink, H., *A bibliography of the writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed., by Arthur H. Scouten, Philadelphia, 1963.

Correspondence of SwiftBall, *Correspondence*

F. E. Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D. D.*, London, 6 vols., 1910 – 1914.

## DW

*The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, David Woolley, ed., 5 vols., Frankfurt, 2001 – 2014.

*Journal to Stella*

Harold Williams, ed., *Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella*, Oxford, 1948, 2 vols..

Williams, *Correspondence*

Harold Williams, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, Oxford, 1963 – 1965, 5 vols..

Biographers of SwiftBall, *Swift's Verse*

F. E. Ball, *Swift's Verse: an essay*, London, 1929.

## Craik

Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 1894.

Deane Swift, *Essay*

Deane Swift, *An Essay Upon the Life, Writings and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 1755.  
ESTC: T148532. Copy text: ECCO: CB130702738.

## Degategno and Stubblefield

[*Critical Companion to*] *Jonathan Swift: A Literary Reference to His Life and Works*, Paul J. Degategno and R. Stubblefield, eds., New York, 2006.

Delany, *Observations*

Patrick Delany, *Observations Upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1754.  
ESTC: N010808. Copy text: ECCO: CW101512964.

Ehrenpreis, *Swift*

Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works and the Age*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983, 3 vols..

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Oliver Ferguson, *Swift & Ireland*, Urbana, 1962.

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A Supplement To Dr. *Swift's* Works: Being A Collection Of Miscellanies In Prose and Verse, By the Dean; Dr. Delany, Dr. Sheridan, Mrs. Johnson, And Others, his Intimate Friends. — Volume The Second. With Notes, And An Index, By The Editor... London, Printed for J. Nichols: Sold by H. Payne, Pall Mall; And N. Conant, Fleet Street. — MDCCLXXVI.

ESTC: T195297. Copy text: ECCO: CW115981884.

## Oakleaf

David Oakleaf, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift*, London, 2008.

Orrery, *Remarks*

John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*. DUBLIN: Printed by George Faulkner, in *Essex-Street*. MDCCLII.

ESTC: T059870. Copy text: ECCO: CW116118097.

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Maurice M. Rossi and Joseph M. Hone, *Swift; or, The Egotist*, London, 1934.

Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*

Thomas Sheridan, *The Life of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1784.

ESTC: T040973. Copy text: ECCO: CW103685398.

## Temple Scott

Temple Scott, ed., *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, with a biographical introduction by W.E.H Lecky*, London, 1898-1908, 12 vols..

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The Works Of Jonathan Swift, D.D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; Containing Additional Letters, Tracts, And Poems, Not Hitherto Published; with Notes, And A Life Of The Author, By Walter Scott, Esq. = Volume I. = Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable And Co. Edinburgh; White, Cochrane, And Co. And Gale, Curtis, And Fenner, London: And John Cumming, Dublin. — 1814. 19 volumes.

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Carole Fabricant, *Swift's Landscape*, Baltimore & London, 1982.

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David F. Foxon, *English Verse 1701 – 1750*, 2 volumes, London, 1975.

## Garnham

Neal Garnham, *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal Law in Ireland, 1692 – 1760*, Dublin, 1996.

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Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield, eds., *The Oxford History of the Irish Book: Volume III: The Irish Book in English 1550 – 1800*, Oxford, 2006.

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## JW

Friends and Enemies in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*

James Woolley, 'Friends and Enemies in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 8 (1979), 205-32.

*Intelligencer*

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James Woolley, 'Swift's "Skinnibonia": A New Poem from Lady Acheson's Manuscript', in *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Paderborn, 2008, 309-342.



Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*

James Woolley, 'Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*', in Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stover-Leidig eds., *Reading Swift: Papers from The Fourth Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munchen, 2003.

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## Pollard

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## Ryder

Michael Ryder, 'The Bank of Ireland, 1721: land, credit, and dependency', *Historical Journal*, xxv, 3 (1982), 557 – 582.

## Treadwell

Michael Treadwell, 'Swift's Relations with the London Book Trade to 1714', in *Author/Publisher Relations During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., Oxford, 1983.

## Wagner

Henry R. Wagner, *Irish Economics, 1700-1783: A Bibliography with Notes*, New York, 1969 [1907].

## Ward

Robert E. Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, Kentucky, 1972.

Primary Sources

## DINL

John Harding's *Dublin Impartial News-Letter*

Copy text: *Irish Newspapers on Microfiche* and Gilbert.

*Dublin Scuffle*

Andrew Carpenter, ed., John Dunton, *The Dublin Scuffle* [1699], Dublin, 2000.

*Elegy on Harding*

*Elegy on The Much-Lamented Death of John Harding Printer, who departed this Transitory Life, this present Monday being the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Instant April 1725*: A4, 139.

## INL

John Harding's *Impartial News-Letter*

Copy text: *Irish Newspapers on Microfiche* and Gilbert.

*Intelligencer*

*The Intelligencer*, Numbers 1 to 20 inclusive, published by Sarah Harding between May 1728 and May 1729. University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106. Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

*Irish Newspapers on Microfiche*

IRISH NEWSPAPERS in Dublin Libraries: 1685 – 1754, University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, 1972, 23 Reels.

## JHCI vol. II

Ireland. Parliament. House of Commons. *The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Fifth Day of October, 1692, Inclusive, In the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, to the Twenty-Fourth Day of December, 1713, Being the End of Queen Anne's Parliament*. Vol. II., Dublin 1796.

Copy text is incorporated within:

*The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Eighteenth Day of May, 1613, Inclusive, In the eleventh year of King James the First, to the Seventh Day of August, 1666, Inclusive, being the end of King Charles the Second's Parliament*. Volume 2. Dublin 1796. ECCO: CB3330377913.

## JHCI vol. III

Ireland. Parliament. House of Commons. *The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Twelfth Day of November, 1715, Inclusive, in the Reign of King George the First, to the Fifteenth Day of April, 1730, Inclusive, in the Reign of His Majesty King George the Second*. Vol. III., Dublin 1796.

Copy text: ECCO: CB3332174157.

## JHCI vol. IV

Ireland. Parliament. House of Commons. *The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, From the Fifth Day of October, 1731, Inclusive, to the Ninth Day of April, 1748, Inclusive, in the Reign of his Majesty King George the Second*. Vol. IV., Dublin 1796.

Copy text: ECCO: CB3331735030.

*JHLI vol. II*

Ireland. Parliament. House of Lords. *Journals of the House of Lords. Vol. II. From 2 Anne 1703, to 12 Geo 1725*, Dublin, 1779-1800.

Copy text: ECCO: CW105091351.

*Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*

*A POEM to the Whole People of IRELAND, Relating to M. B. DRAPIER*. Printed on the Blind-Key, by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1726. A4, 158.

SP

Public Record Office, Irish State Papers, No. 63, vols. 380–385: copies on microfilm PRONI: T580/1/200-246.

WINL

John Harding's *Weekly Impartial News-Letter*

Copy text: *Irish Newspapers on Microfiche* and Gilbert.

Libraries and Collections

ECCO

Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 2008, Gale, Cengage Learning.

ESTC

English Short Title Catalogue, 1473–1800, London, British Library Board, 1998.

Gilbert

The Gilbert Collection, Dublin City Public Libraries, Pearse Street, Dublin 2.

NLI

National Library of Ireland.

ODNB

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 – 2014.

OED

*The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

PRONI

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 2 Titanic Boulevard, Titanic Quarter, Belfast, BT3 9HQ.

RCBL

Representative Church Body Library, Braemar Park, Dublin.

RIA

Royal Irish Academy.

TCD

Trinity College, Dublin.



## **Preface to this Revised Version**

This is a revised version of a thesis that was submitted on 21 January 2013 and assessed by two examiners. Following receipt of the reports of the two examiners, a panel convened by the Monash Research Graduate School determined that the examiners' reports be referred to an adjudicator. Accordingly, the thesis, the two examiners' reports and a defence of the thesis that I was directed to write, were sent to an adjudicator for assessment. The adjudicator delivered a report to the Monash Research Graduate School dated 19 November 2013. I here declare that this revised version of the thesis incorporates the changes that were deemed necessary at the end of the adjudication process.



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To my mother and the memory of my father,  
as well as to Irene, Vincent and Jeremy.

## Introduction

This thesis is a study of the working relationships and dealings between Swift and his three Dublin printers of the 1720's. It is an historical thesis that progresses chronologically through this decade. With his London career behind him and having lived permanently in Dublin since 1714 as Dean of St. Patrick's, this was the decade during which Swift purposefully engaged the Dublin printing industry to publish a series of pamphlets rallying the people of Ireland to resist English economic and legislative oppressions. The principal pamphlets concerned were his *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* in 1720 and the five written under the pseudonym M.B. Drapier in 1724. In the production of these pamphlets Swift worked with two printers one after the other – Edward Waters and John Harding. These men were printers of low standing in the industry and the kind that, until this time, no one imagined Swift would ever work with. They were, however, more prepared to run the risk of printing seditious tracts. Then, in the last years of the decade, Swift sent occasional work to Harding's widow, Sarah Harding. She was a woman who had printing abilities of her own and who, as a mother of two infants, was in need of support. This thesis is concerned with Swift's working relationships with these three – Edward Waters, John Harding and Sarah Harding. The thesis leaves off at the point when Sarah Harding's association with Swift came to an end in early 1730. From this time Swift began working with another Dublin printer, George Faulkner, but Faulkner was a stationer of a different ilk and the story of his working relationship with the author belongs to a separate study.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis is concerned with the human aspects of being Swift's Dublin printer in the 1720's. With Waters and Harding, in particular, it explores the scale of their risk-taking in agreeing to publish Swift's works. On the one hand the publications sold well for them and all of the profits were theirs. They also attained a degree of celebrity and their businesses benefitted incidentally from their being known to be Swift's printer. On the other hand, in publishing Swift's works, they knowingly put themselves in the front line in the event of a prosecution. This was a consequence of certain matters over which they had little control.

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<sup>1</sup> To an extent it has also been discussed elsewhere: "Authentic Memoirs of the Late George Faulkner, Esq.", *Hibernian Magazine*, September 1775, 503 – 505, and October 1775, 576 – 571; Madden, ii, 1 – 46; Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962; Slepian, "When Swift First Employed George Faulkner", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 56 (1962): 354 – 356; Slepian, "George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* and Jonathan Swift", *Library Chronicle of the friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library*, 31, 1965, 97 – 116; and Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, Kentucky 1972.

The general policy of British governments of the time was to concentrate on the tradespeople involved when prosecuting a publication and to not follow through on any threatened or foreshadowed action against the authors. (This was certainly the case during Walpole's long prime ministership).<sup>2</sup> Further, authors, and in particular Swift, adopted measures to ensure that they remained out of reach of the law. In Swift's case this was principally done by writing either anonymously or under a pseudonym at all times. This anonymity and pseudonymity did not mean that the people were unaware that the pamphlets were his. On the contrary, his style was unmistakable, and from the moment any of his pamphlets appeared no one in Ireland or England was under any misapprehension as to who the author was (which is how Swift wanted it). But because the name "Jonathan Swift" did not appear anywhere, he remained technically anonymous and could only be brought to account if someone came forward with evidence of his authorship, which needed to be sworn first-hand evidence of having witnessed or having in some manner been privy to his writing them. At all times Swift was in a relatively secure position and he was afforded further security by the political difficulty for the government in bringing action against someone who was so prominent and who had such influence on the Tory side of British politics. Accordingly, any prosecution of his works would be brought only against the printers, and whether through the influence of Swift or not, the printers put their names and places of business on their imprints, giving the government no trouble identifying them.

This thesis is a study of these aspects of working with Swift in Dublin in the 1720's – the risks, the pressures, the rewards, the consequences and the ramifications. The thesis moves chronologically through the histories of each of the three printers. For both Waters and Harding the thesis looks at: the printer's life and career prior to becoming involved with Swift; how that involvement might have begun; the nature of the association between Swift and the printer; the works the printer produced for Swift; the manner in which they were produced; the risk the printer took with each; the consequences suffered in terms of fines, punishments and imprisonments; and the degree to which Swift supported the printer during and after the prosecution. For Sarah Harding the thesis examines issues of a different kind. This is because by the time Swift's association with John Harding came to an end, his requirements of the Dublin printing industry had changed. The success of the campaign of the Drapier meant that his Irish work was to a significant extent accomplished and he no longer needed a regular Dublin printer. As such, for Sarah Harding the thesis looks at: her expectations of receiving

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<sup>2</sup> Donald Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', *The Library*, 5th ser., 32 (1977), 315–332, at 318.

support from Swift given the circumstances of her husband's death; Swift's conduct in that regard; her suffering during that period; and the efforts of Thomas Sheridan to bring Swift to send her work. In discussing these matters this thesis is not a study that concentrates in detail on the printers' capital and infrastructure or the technical side of their printing houses. The thesis does consider matters such as the textual variations between editions and impressions, the printers' competitors in trade, their efforts to capture new markets and their financial fluctuations, but it does so only to inform relevant aspects of the working relationships between the printers and Swift – the risks the printers took, the suffering they underwent, and Swift's responses. These are matters that have not been examined before and in the course of enquiring into them I disclose a significant amount of new evidence, none of which would have been seen if I had restricted myself to the printers' technical operations. It is a thesis that can be looked upon as one that is less concerned with the *science* than with the *people* of the Dublin printing industry. My research has not called upon software or technologies in an effort to discern new matters pertaining to the printers' procedures. It does take full advantage of digital archives such as *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), but it is not a thesis that belongs to the Digital Humanities. It is a thesis that has been researched and written wholly within the field of the Humanities – in the traditional sense.

The subject of this thesis is one that has never been examined before in any detail. The corresponding matters for the London portion of Swift's career, by contrast, have been examined. Swift's working relationships with his London printers up to 1714, in particular Benjamin Tooke and John Barber, have been the subject of specific studies<sup>3</sup> and these printers have also been discussed at length in biographical works on Swift. But with the exception of James Woolley, who has given a degree of attention to each of John and Sarah Harding, the place the Dublin printers have held in studies of Swift and the history of the period has from the beginning been fragmentary. It is an omission that represents a fissure in the scholarly record. Despite these printers' experiences holding in my view much more human interest than those of their London counterparts, commentators through the centuries have hardly seen these people.

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<sup>3</sup> In particular: Treadwell, 'Swift's Relations with the London Book Trade to 1714', in *Author/Publisher Relations During the eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., Oxford, 1983; Treadwell, *London Trade Publishers 1675 – 1750, The Library*, 6th series, 4 (1982), 99 – 13; Charles Rivington, 'Tyrant': *The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989; Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 17, 18.

The prosecution of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, for instance, was reported in a few words by Orrery in 1752,<sup>4</sup> and Waters was mentioned by name for the first time by Deane Swift in 1755.<sup>5</sup> Since then research into Waters and his relationship with Swift can barely be said to have progressed. It has been known that Waters underwent a prosecution of fifteen months' duration. This prosecution was described by Swift as one of "utmost Violence",<sup>6</sup> and I will present evidence to suggest that this violence consisted of Waters being pilloried with his ears nailed to the posts on four separate occasions as each Law Term passed during that fifteen months. But amongst commentators, if Waters is mentioned at all, it is in passing (whilst the fact that John Barber and John Morphew were held in custody for four days for printing Swift's *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* in London in 1714 has been the subject of lengthy scholarly discussions and two concentrated studies).<sup>7</sup>

Harding was first referred to by name by Deane Swift in 1755.<sup>8</sup> The first printed reference to his death did not come until nearly forty years after the event, when George Faulkner explained in 1763 that he had in 1725 taken it upon himself to produce a collected edition of the *Letters* of the Drapier, "Mr. John Harding, the first printer being dead".<sup>9</sup> Not until 1852 was there a comment indicating that that death had been associated in some way with having worked for Swift, which was when Richard Starratt reported that "John Harding, the humble instrument of the saviour of his country, died from the effects of the treatment inflicted on him by the government officials."<sup>10</sup> In the period now approaching three hundred

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<sup>4</sup> Orrery, *Remarks*, 196.

<sup>5</sup> Deane Swift, *Essay*, 184.

<sup>6</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 14). In *Faulkner 1735*, the word "violence" was changed to "virulence": *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 175; *PW*, x, 89.

<sup>7</sup> Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain*, London, 1714, vol. vii, 220; John Oldmixon, *History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I*, London, 1735, 541; Several Hands, *An Impartial History of the Life, Character, Amours, Travels, and Transactions of Mr. John Barber, City-Printer, Common-Councilman, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London*, Covent Garden, 1741, Part 1, 5 – 7; Maurice J. Quinlan, 'The Prosecution of Swift's *Public Spirit of the Whigs*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 9, 1967, 167 – 184; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 708-13; Charles A. Rivington, 'Tyrant: The Story of John Barber', York, 1989, 42 – 49; John Irwin Fischer, 'The Legal Response to Swift's *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*', in John Irwin Fischer, Hermann J. Real and James Woolley, eds., *Swift and his Contexts*, New York, 1989, 21 – 38; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 446 – 454.

<sup>8</sup> Deane Swift, *Essay*, 188.

<sup>9</sup> *Faulkner 1763*, i, page ii (also quoted in *PW*, vol. xiii, 201; and Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 14 – 15.

<sup>10</sup> 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, v (1852), 1 – 40, at 23. It is uncertain whether Richard Starratt or John Gilbert was the author of this article. It was one of a series of articles published in the *Irish Quarterly Review* in the early 1850's all entitled 'The Streets of Dublin' and these articles were the forerunner of Gilbert's three volume *History of the City of Dublin* of 1854 – 1859, but in the original serialised version there is no mention of the

years, the question of whether or to what extent Swift could be considered culpable for Harding's death has, other than a few oblique remarks, been addressed by only one commentator. This was Richard Robert Madden, who wrote in 1867: "Perhaps if all the circumstances of that case were known, a serious imputation of neglect, and something worse, on the justice and generosity of Dean Swift might not unjustly lie." It is a comment that appears to imply that Swift may have been complicit in some manner in Harding's death. Madden does not explore the matter and indeed he follows this comment by saying that all of the facts cannot be known and that with "a man of Swift's genius and character" the presumption should be against any adverse finding.<sup>11</sup> But since then no one has revisited the issue. The most authoritative edition of the *Drapier's Letters* – that of Herbert Davis published in 1935 – gives almost no attention to the printer who lost his life for having published them. The controversy of Wood's halfpence represents a brief but highly significant episode in the histories of Irish printing and Irish colonial nationalism, yet *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume III: The Irish Book in English 150 – 1800*, published in 2006, makes no reference to the prosecution of the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier or to the consequent death of its publisher. Only one scholar can be considered to have given any concentrated attention to Harding. This is James Woolley, who discusses him briefly in the course of his 1992 edition of *The Intelligencer* and again in his 2005 article, 'Poor John Harding and Mad Tom: Harding's Resurrection', yet even these discussions refer only to particular aspects of Harding's life and business.

There are entries for Sarah Harding in the *Dictionaries* of Irish printers compiled by Munter and Pollard in 1988 and 2000 respectively<sup>12</sup> (though Plomer omits her from his 1932 compilation).<sup>13</sup> In biographical works on Swift, Sarah Harding is referred to on occasion as the poor widow. Only in more recent years has one scholar given her some attention. Again, that is James Woolley, who discusses aspects of her life and her printing in various places throughout his edition of *The Intelligencer*, and who revised parts of that discussion for his short article of 1992, 'Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer'. However, no one, not even James Woolley, has seen the extent of the hardship undergone by Sarah Harding in the years following her

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name Gilbert. Instead the articles are presented as an abridgement of a work written by Starratt. I have not been able to resolve this issue of how the articles written by Starratt metamorphosed into the work by Gilbert, who was one of the founders of the *Irish Quarterly Review* at this time: see *Sir John T. Gilbert: 1829 – 1898: Historian, Archivist and Librarian*, Dublin, 1999). Throughout the thesis I cite the articles as having been written by Starratt.

<sup>11</sup> Madden, i, 301.

<sup>12</sup> Munter, *Dictionary*, 127 – 128; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 275 – 276.

<sup>13</sup> Plomer, H.R., Bushnell, G.H., & McClintock Dix, E.R., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1726 to 1775*, Oxford, 1932.

husband's death in April 1725. There has been a presumption that because she printed some works for Swift in 1728 and 1729 – including *A Short View of the State of Ireland*; the periodical *The Intelligencer* (for both Swift and Sheridan); and *A Modest Proposal* – the onus on Swift to support her was honourably discharged. That presumption is seen in comments such as that of Barry Slepian in 1962, who procures an interpretation of a momentary sentiment of sympathy for Sarah Harding from Swift's acquaintance, William Flower, as expressed in a letter to Swift dated 18 March 1729, for an assertion that "Swift's sympathy for Mrs. Harding was well known".<sup>14</sup> It is also seen in the comment of Marcus Walsh in 2009 concerning Sarah Harding's *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, which was published by her mother in 1726. This poem was a desperate call for help and carried an inevitable inference that she had been receiving none from Swift, yet Marcus Walsh considered it "perhaps unfair".<sup>15</sup> However, seemingly because of the trenchant nature of presumptions in Swift's favour, through the centuries no one has given a moment's thought to the events of 1725, 1726 and 1727 from Sarah Harding's perspective, despite unmistakeable evidence being before everyone all along. Further, no one has examined the manner by which Swift's works of 1728 and 1729 made their way to her.

The historical oversight with respect to these printers could be attributed to one or more of a few reasons. What appears to have contributed to it most is that these were stationers from the least dignified ranks of the industry: printers who consistently flouted the authorities, who made themselves available for bootlegging and other illegal printing services, and who were frequently in and out of prison. Disreputable and viewed with disdain, these printers were not the class of person to earn a place in the historical record – at least not beyond a passing reference, especially in a record alongside the name Jonathan Swift – and they slipped from view from the moment their respective associations with Swift came to an end.

Another issue is that the documented record of the printers' experiences is scant. Although the Dublin newspaper industry was beginning to flourish at the time, not a word appeared in any newspaper concerning the prosecutions of either Waters or Harding. This is because the time had not yet arrived when Irish stationers looked upon events in their own

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<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner, Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962, 17, note 1. The passage of Flower's letter that Slepian refers to is: DW Letter 834, vol. iii, 218. It is discussed in the course of Chapter Nine.

<sup>15</sup> 'Harding, John', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography, under the Auspices of the Royal Irish Academy*, Clark, Fanning, Happon, Johnson-Liik, McGuire, Murphy, Quin, eds., London, 2009, vol. iv, 453 – 454.



locale as news to be set to type in this medium (it was not until the 1750's that journalistic reporting on domestic affairs began to develop).<sup>16</sup> The only printed news was foreign news received from the packet-boats. And stationers would have been reluctant to print anything directly concerned with these controversial prosecutions anyway.

Also contributing to the sparseness of the documentary record is the fact that both of the prosecutions were issued out of the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. If they had been actions emanating from the Irish House of Commons or House of Lords, some details would have been recorded in the *Journals* of the relevant House. But all surviving records of the King's Bench were destroyed in the Public Records Office fire of 1922. As such, the documentary record of the experiences of the printers consists nearly exclusively of scattered references in Swift's works and correspondence, which are references that disclose some important facts without ever descending into any detail. Many of the most interesting matters with respect to these prosecutions were passed along in oral form only. In 1725, for instance, four years after the prosecution of Waters finally came to an end, Swift wrote in the course of a pamphlet intended for the people of Ireland: "The *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and, I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*)."<sup>17</sup> But the oral transmission of the stories of the printers appears to have dissipated through the generations, with no one setting them down for posterity (at least nothing has survived).

The question remains, though, as to why no researcher has yet enquired into these matters. After all, the references in Swift's works and correspondence are more than enough to inform us that the events involving these printers were extraordinary. For that omission, I would like to venture two reasons. The first is that commentators have almost invariably written from Swift's perspective. This is the perspective of the literary, political and social elite – a perspective from which these printers make very small figures in the distance. The second reason in my view is that commentators have been averse to exploring matters that have the potential to reflect negatively on Swift.<sup>18</sup> Consistently through the years, commentators have

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<sup>16</sup> Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 38-9; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 225. One possible exception to this occurred during the controversy of Wood's Halfpence when partisan notices were printed in Dublin newspapers between August and October 1724, but these were petitions listing names of people opposed to the half-pence and did not constitute the reporting of news as such.

<sup>17</sup> *Humble Address*, in *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 236-7; *PW*, x, 137.

<sup>18</sup> Obvious exceptions are: Orrery, *Remarks*, 1752; Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 'Sir William Temple', *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1838; Thackeray, W.M., 'Swift', *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century: A Series of Lectures, Delivered in England, Scotland, and the United States of America*, C.B. Wheeler, ed., London, 1853; Stanhope, Philip Henry, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713 – 1783. In Seven Volumes. Vol. I: 1713 – 1720*, London, 1858, 48 – 49; Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 1959.

found ways to exculpate Swift for conduct that, had it been anyone else, would have incurred immediate and irreparable damage to that person's reputation. Difficult issues concerning Swift have too often been side-stepped, and unfavourable evidence has been overlooked, ignored or construed against its natural appearance. Swift the literary genius, however, needs to be distinguished from Swift the man. Indeed, my own research has indicated that if there has been one shortcoming in the history of biographical and other works relating to Swift, it has been a failure to sufficiently delineate that issue.<sup>19</sup>

The thesis is original in that it is as far as possible written from the perspectives of the printers. Instead of writing from Swift's perspective, I have immersed myself in the lives and careers of the printers and have written of the events of the 1720's from their vantage point. In this way, the lens of idolatry through which most Swift biography and commentary has been written is necessarily adjusted. The thesis is written from the perspective of the trading classes. These printers were people who were fully cognisant of their role as agents of change in the real politics of the day. They were also aware of the varying qualities of the different writers in Dublin and were under no illusion with respect to the value to them of being able to produce the works of Swift. But their perspective was that of the shop keeper – maintaining day-to-day operations, procuring copy, producing print and selling it at a gain. It is a perspective from which the mist of reverence for Swift is cleared and, as such, it opens a whole new view of events. From beginning to end this thesis offers evidence that has not been seen before. Some of this evidence speaks for itself. Some is circumstantial but accumulates force from other new circumstances offered elsewhere throughout the history. Other circumstantial evidence is coupled with a degree of speculation on my part, but this is speculation that is rarely wholly disassociated from the evidence, and where it is, it is identified as such. It is submitted that all of the new material presented in this thesis – from the evidence that speaks for itself through to the matters for speculation – is worthy of consideration by scholars in the field.

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One is a prelude to the 1720's. It discusses all of the printers and booksellers in Dublin between 1691 and 1719 who, with or without Swift's knowledge or consent, are known to have published a work of his, either as an original publication or as a reprint of a work that had been previously published in London. Chapter One serves to introduce several stationers who shaped the careers of Waters and

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<sup>19</sup> One critic who makes the distinction cleanly and succinctly is: Lord Stanhope, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713 – 1783*, op. cit., 48 – 49.

Harding. It also provides some context to operational aspects of the Dublin industry that are relevant to the events of the 1720's.

Chapters Two and Three discuss Edward Waters. In 1720, Swift, still bitter at the treatment of his friends and himself by the Whigs of Westminster, engaged Waters to print his *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. The premise of the pamphlet was in itself an affront to England, but with Swift again assuming to himself the style of power and influence he had had in London as propagandist for the Oxford ministry, he was perceived to deal flippantly with matters of constitution and monarchy. These chapters offer new evidence with regard to the prosecution, Waters' bail, the penalties meted out to Waters and the support he received from Swift as the case was deferred from one Law Term to the next.

Chapters Four, Five and Six are concerned with Waters' successor as Swift's printer, John Harding. An audacious young Tory, Harding began as Swift's printer in April 1721 and in 1724 came to know fame as the printer of the five pamphlets written to inspire a national boycott of the coin being produced for Ireland by the Englishman William Wood. Writing under the pseudonym M.B. Drapier – and on this occasion in a tone better suited to the common people – Swift brought the people to a united resolve the like of which the country had not before known. In the fourth of these *Letters*, Swift argued more explicitly with regard to the constitutional rights of Ireland and Harding died five months later from the effects of his three-week imprisonment. A close examination of this period tends not to support the presumption that Swift did all he could for his printer during this time. These chapters also disclose previously unseen circumstances associated with the question of Harding's cause of death.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine discuss Harding's widow, Sarah, who gave birth to their second child six weeks after Harding's death. She was an occasional printer, and new evidence illustrates that she considered it certain, given that her husband's death was akin to that of a martyr for the Drapier's cause, that Swift would support her by sending her tracts to publish and that the people of Dublin might also offer her some charitable support. But Swift was preoccupied with plans for the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* in London and thereafter with obtaining a preferment in that city. With these matters, along with Swift's soaring narcissism following the triumph of the Drapier, Sarah Harding found herself forgotten by one and all and barely able to keep her two children alive. Her difficulties were compounded in 1726 by the Irish House of Lords. Irritated by the manner in which Swift had written as the Drapier and increasingly frustrated with his ongoing charade of pseudonymity, the Lords

arrested and imprisoned Sarah Harding for publishing a poem they believed to have been Swift's. Then, in Chapter Eight, new evidence is offered concerning the periodical, *The Intelligencer*, which was instigated by Sheridan specifically to support Sarah Harding. Further new evidence illustrates distinctly negative sentiments from Sheridan towards Swift for his failure to keep up his commitment to that periodical and for his selfishness generally during this period. This new evidence speaks for itself but no biographer has seen it and until now it may have been known to no one outside Sheridan and Swift themselves (even Sheridan's son shows himself unaware of it in his 1784 *Life of Swift*).<sup>20</sup> In late 1729, Swift gave Sarah Harding the manuscript of *A Modest Proposal*, and soon after publishing this she disappeared from the Dublin printing scene. There has been a presumption that she died but there are other possibilities as to what might have become of her.

The research I have undertaken draws on a variety of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include the contemporary publications of all stationers in the Dublin industry; John Dunton's *The Dublin Scuffle*, published in 1699; the correspondence of Swift and others; the parish records and the *Journals* of the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland. The most valuable primary sources, however, have been the newspapers of the printers who worked for Swift as well as those of their rivals in trade. Munter commented in the Preface to his *The History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685 — 1760*, published in 1967, that the newspapers of the day have been underutilised by historians and potentially have much to offer to the study of middle-class Dublin life.<sup>21</sup> I have certainly found that to be the case. With regard to secondary sources, these too have contributed to the discovery of some new matters. This has been possible by taking the secondary sources that belong to one of two fields — the study of the life and career of Swift, and the study of the history of the Dublin printing industry — and exploring the line of intersection between them. By taking the existing knowledge of Swift's life and career and overlaying the existing knowledge of the Dublin stationery industry, which is something that to a large extent has not been done before, new facts and issues come to light. But other than generating new possibilities in this way, secondary sources are called upon as authority for facts that have been established by a particular scholar, as authority to support my arguments for matters that are not yet accepted as fact, or as authority with respect to issues related to the canon.

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<sup>20</sup> Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*.

<sup>21</sup> This observation by Munter is also commented upon by one of the reviewers of his book. See G.A. Cranfield, 'Robert Munter, *The History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685 — 1760*', *Economic History Review*, 20(2), August 1967, 398 — 399. Refer also another reviewer, H.P. Kearney, 'Robert Munter, *The History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685 — 1760*', *English Historical Review*, 83 (329), 1968, 842.

There are three scholars in particular who I have cited more often than others. These are Robert Munter, Mary Pollard and James Woolley. Only a small minority of citations to the work of these scholars is for primary source research that I did not also undertake myself. For each of the following primary sources: the Records of the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist; a small number of the facts taken from certain newspapers; some of the printers' movements from one premises to another; and occasional facts concerning printers' ornaments and stock, the citation is one of indebtedness to Robert Munter, Mary Pollard or James Woolley, because I did not have an opportunity to inspect those particular primary sources myself. For the majority of my citations to the work of these three scholars, though, the relevant primary source is one that I studied myself and the purpose of the citation is simply to refer to an associated observation or statistic offered by that scholar.

The principal secondary sources I have called on for the thesis are as follows. For the history of Irish printing, I have referred mostly to *The Oxford History of the Irish Book Volume III: The Irish Book in English 1550 – 1800*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield and published in 2006; the work of Robert Munter and Mary Pollard, both of the twentieth century; and the research of their nineteenth century predecessor, Richard Robert Madden.<sup>22</sup> For the study of Swift, there are a few categories of secondary sources. For general Swift biography, I have reviewed as much as possible of the vast amount of published material, even from before the time of his death. Much of this is relevant for its negative evidence – what it does *not* say about the printers. Biographers referred to frequently for their positive evidence include Sir Walter Scott of the nineteenth century, and Herbert Davis, Irvin Ehrenpreis and Joseph McMinn, all of the twentieth century. For Swift's Irish career specifically, Oliver Ferguson's *Swift & Ireland* of 1962 is cited, along with, to a lesser extent, Richard Ashe King's *Swift in Ireland* of 1895. On the controversy over the proposed national bank for Ireland in 1721, the unpublished thesis of Sondra Schecter Armer written in 1971 is referred to often. For Swift's correspondence, I have used the most recent edition, which was edited by David Woolley and published in four volumes between 1999 and 2007, with the Index compiled after David Woolley's death by Hermann J. Real and Dr. Dirk Passman and published as Volume Five in 2014. For bibliographical matters regarding which works were published and reprinted when, where and by whom, I have cited the second edition of Teerink and Scouten's *Bibliography*, published in 1963, and the second edition of Harold Williams' three volume

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<sup>22</sup> The publication details of the works of all of the scholars referred to in this paragraph are in 'Short Titles and Abbreviations'.

edition of Swift's poems, published in 1958. For this thesis' own topic, Swift's Dublin printers, the principal secondary sources have been the articles written by James Woolley and his 1992 edition of *The Intelligencer*.<sup>23</sup>

This thesis has also been reliant on research into the law and legal procedure in early eighteenth-century Ireland. On the criminal law generally, I have studied the texts of Nial Osborough and Dr. Neal Garnham's *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal Law in Ireland, 1692 – 1760*, published in 1996. However, on the specific subject of sedition in eighteenth-century Ireland, commentary is scarce, and my study in this particular field has been supplemented by corresponding commentary on English law and procedure. Another area of research has been the topography and streetscape of Dublin in the early eighteenth century. For this I have drawn upon the Royal Irish Academy's *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 19: Dublin, 1610 – 1756*, edited by Colm Lennon; Mary Pollard's *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade: 1550 – 1800*; and J.T. Gilbert's three volume *A History of the City of Dublin, 1854 – 1859*. The best extant map of Dublin from the 1720's is that of Charles Brooking of 1728. A large facsimile reproduction is to be found in *IHTA*.<sup>24</sup> Pollard's *Dictionary* also includes a reproduction of this map and this can be accessed and enlarged online at Google Books.<sup>25</sup> With regard to the social history of the period, for the nobility and gentry I have relied on Robert E. Burns' *Irish Parliamentary Politics in the Eighteenth Century: Volume I, 1714 – 1730*, published in 1989, and F.E. Ball's *The Judges in Ireland: 1221 - 1921*, published in 1926. For broader social developments I have studied works such as the essays of Maureen Wall that were published posthumously in 1989. David Woolley's annotated notes to his edition of the *Correspondence* have also been a valuable source of information on the people and the social milieu of the period.

The Swift of the 1720's has been looked upon as a writer who saved his country from ruin, who stood fearless when his own liberty and life were threatened, and whose generosity in helping those around him who suffered knew no bounds. It is a fable – one that was constructed during the time of the events themselves and that has been generally preserved ever since. Written from the printers' perspectives, the aim of this thesis is to present the events of the period in their real light.

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<sup>23</sup> The thesis also calls on other articles written by James Woolley which are not directly concerned with the printers. All are listed either in 'Short Titles and Abbreviations' or in the 'Select Bibliography'.

<sup>24</sup> *IHTA*, Map 12.

<sup>25</sup> <http://books.google.com.au> [HTxcNF500i8C]. The map is on page xxxvi of the *Dictionary*.

## Chapter 1: The Dublin Print Trade and Swift up to 1720

It was not until Swift was fifty-two that his purposeful engagement of the Dublin stationery industry began. That was when he started working with Edward Waters from early 1720. Swift's relations with Dublin stationers, however, can be dated back to the 1680's. As an arts student at Trinity College, it can be fairly conjectured that he frequented most or all of the thirteen bookshops then in business in Dublin<sup>1</sup> and formed acquaintances with some of the proprietors. In 1691, his *Ode. To the King. On His Irish Expedition, And the Success of his Arms in general* was produced by the bookseller, John Brent. Then throughout the first two decades of the eighteenth century Swift's dealings with the Dublin industry were of a less direct kind. As he travelled back and forth between England and Ireland spending lengthy periods in each kingdom, several of his works that were originally published in London were reprinted in Dublin, and due to English copyright laws not extending to Ireland, these reprints could be produced without any obligations to the London publisher or the author. This chapter discusses the nine Dublin stationers who are known to have produced a work of Swift's prior to 1720. Most of these stationers were Tories, Jacobites or non-jurors, and some of them had an influence on those who later worked directly with Swift in the 1720's. This chapter offers some new evidence concerning the careers of these nine stationers and the extent to which Swift may have been involved with, or had knowledge of, the works of his that they produced.

### John Brent

Of all of the Dublin stationers who were associated with Swift or his works prior to 1720, the one who formed a friendship with Swift was John Brent. It was a life-long association, with Brent's wife becoming Swift's permanent housekeeper through to her death, and with Swift remembering the Brents' daughter in his will.

Brent was like Swift insofar as he spent half of his life in England and half in Ireland. Whereas Swift travelled back and forth between the two, however, Brent's time was evenly divided, with the first half of his life in England and the second half in Ireland. Brent was born in Halford, Warwickshire in 1639, and his printing career began when he was apprenticed to the London stationer, Thomas Warren, in 1655. After his seven years of

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<sup>1</sup> On the number of bookshops in Dublin at this time: Munter, *HINP*, 18; Phillips, 38; Michael Brown, 'The location of learning in mid-eighteenth century Ireland', in *Marsh's Library: a mirror on the world: Law, Learning and Libraries: 1650 – 1750*, Dublin, 2009, 104-26, at 116, 117. On the growth of the stationery industry generally in this period: Gillespie, 'Print Culture, 1550-1700', in *HOIB*, 23; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700-1800', in *HOIB*, 76, 78.

indentures he is known to have worked as a compositor for the printer and bookseller, John Streater, during the 1660's and possibly part of the 1670's, and he was freed of the Stationers' Company of London in 1677. His father had at one point been suspected of being "possibly a papist",<sup>2</sup> but having been freed of the Stationers' Company, Brent himself was a Protestant.

The earliest record of Brent being in business in Dublin is a note dated 3 April 1685 that records that moneys paid to a Will Murray on behalf of the King's Printer in Ireland, Andrew Crooke, were in fact due to Brent.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that it might have been in 1683 or 1684, when Brent was in his mid-forties, that he crossed the channel. Such a move was one that few English stationers before him had made. Two that are known to have preceded him were Joseph Ray and John Whalley but it seems unlikely that there were many others, if any at all. As Munter notes, but for an occasional itinerant worker, apprentices, journeymen and masters "more often than not were Dublin born and trained".<sup>4</sup> Why Brent made this move is uncertain. It is tempting to suggest that it was to marry Jane, the Presbyterian woman who became his wife, but the fact that the couple's children were not born until the mid-1690's suggests that they only met after Brent's move. Another possibility is associated with the fact that during his London career Brent appears to have formed associations with stationers connected with some of the principal people agitating for the removal of James II and the installation of Prince William. The evidence of Brent having a connection with these stationers comes from 1690 when King William, in the course of preparing for his Irish expedition that summer, appointed the London printing company of Edward Jones to undertake his printing work in Ireland. This London company travelled to Dublin to perform this work, then later in the year when the expedition was complete and Jones' company was preparing to return to London, it left much of its stock and printing ornaments to Brent.<sup>5</sup> Given that this is an indication that Brent might have had a pre-existing association with Jones' company,<sup>6</sup> it could

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<sup>2</sup> P. Morgan, *Warwickshire apprentices in the Stationers' Co, 1563 – 1700*, Dugdale Soc. Occasional Papers, 25 (Leeds, 1978), appendix 3, no. 30, p. 22; quoted in Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 233.

<sup>4</sup> *HINP*, 18. At least three stationers who moved from London to Dublin *subsequent* to Brent were Ralph Sadlier, Edward Lloyd and Daniel Tompson. These stationers will be discussed.

<sup>5</sup> Left for Brent were two factotums, the royal arms, and display type: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 321. Also on Jones' company: Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 210 and note 74.

<sup>6</sup> Also, in 1696 a publication produced by Jones in London would be reprinted in Dublin. The imprint of the reprint does not name the Dublin printer but it has Brent's ornaments. For the evidence concerning the ornaments: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51.



be speculated that he moved to Dublin in the early-to-mid 1680's in the hope of becoming the King's Printer in Ireland once James was removed and William installed.

The early 1680's was not the worst time for a stationer to move to Ireland. The decades between 1690 and 1720 were those in which Irish printing and bookselling became an open and competitive industry. Printing had been in existence in Ireland for well over a century by this time – with the first book known to have been published in the kingdom appearing in 1551<sup>7</sup> – but in the intervening century-and-a-half the limited amount of printing that was performed was government-sanctioned work that was mostly restricted to Printers for the Crown, or Printers for the City, or others with like preferments. Presses that appeared in Waterford and Cork in 1643 and in Kilkenny in 1647 were for similar restricted usage.<sup>8</sup> In the late seventeenth century the population of Dublin began to grow<sup>9</sup> and with it the printing industry came to be increasingly deregulated.<sup>10</sup> The number of printers and booksellers operating in the town went from sixteen in 1690 to approximately thirty-three in 1719<sup>11</sup> and the industry became more self-sufficient. Whereas type, paper and presses previously had to be imported, paper production in Ireland is thought to have begun in the late 1690's;<sup>12</sup> the first type-founder in Dublin, Ralph Sadlier, seems to have started in business in the 1690's;<sup>13</sup> and the production of presses may have commenced in the 1720's (it is not known for certain to

<sup>7</sup> This was the *Boke of the common praier*, printed by Humphrey Powell in Dublin: see Madden, i, 5, 89, 100; Munter, *HINP*, 13; and Pollard, *Dictionary*, 466; Gillespie, 'Print Culture, 1550-1700', in *HOIB*, 18; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1550 – 1770', in *HOIB*, 63. This was 107 years after the first book was produced with a mechanical press by Gutenberg in Germany in 1444, and 76 years after the first book was produced in England, by Caxton in 1474: Madden, i, 1 – 17; Gillespie and Hadfield, 'Introduction', in *HOIB*, 6 – 7.

<sup>8</sup> For Waterford, see E.R. McClintock Dix, *Some Rare Acquisitions to the National Library of Irish Printing* [no date], E.R. McClintock Dix, 'Printing in Waterford in the Seventeenth Century', *Proc. RLA*, section C, xxxii, no. 7 (January 1914). For Cork, see E. R. McClintock Dix, 'Pamphlets, Books, Etc., printed in Cork in the seventeenth Century', *Proc. RLA*, section c, xxx, no. 3, 1912. For Kilkenny, see E.R. McClintock Dix, 'Printing in the City of Kilkenny in the Seventeenth Century', *Proc. RLA*, sect. c, xxxii, no. 7 (Jan. 1914). For all of Waterford, Cork and Kilkenny, see: O'Connor, 'Religious Change, 1550 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 181 – 182. By 1700, presses were also in Belfast and Limerick. See also Munter, *HINP*, 5, 15, 15, note 2. On the spread of printing to the provincial towns generally: Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 35 and note 1.

<sup>9</sup> It doubled between 1700 and 1750: Munter, *HINP*, 16. On the proportion of Protestants and Catholics in Dublin as it grew: Alan Harrison, *The Dean's Friend: Anthony Raymond 1675 – 1726, Jonathan Swift and the Irish language*, Dublin, 1999, 23; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Refer Munter, *HINP*, 18.

<sup>11</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 18; Phillips, 39.

<sup>12</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 43 – 44. Also on paper availability and production in Ireland: Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 65, 73, 83 – 84.

<sup>13</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 43 – 44; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 506; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 73.

have begun until 1730).<sup>14</sup> This was a period in which the power of the printed word first took hold in Ireland. With literacy levels still low, the “arts and misteries” of printing<sup>15</sup> continued to inspire an awe amongst the people and the fact that black markings on a sheet could produce spoken oratory for many people still had a magical quality.<sup>16</sup> These were matters that contributed to the stationers’ perception of themselves as the elite of the trading classes.<sup>17</sup> A move from London to Dublin in the 1680’s, then, was a timely one for a stationer.

Brent established himself in Dublin as a printer and bookseller. It is known that by 1691 he had a shop on Capel Street near Essex-Bridge<sup>18</sup> and it may have been here that he first set up. He probably brought his starting capital of a press, type and paper with him from London to avoid the costs of importing new infrastructure, and to begin with, at least, he would have been like most tradesmen at the time and had his living quarters above his shop. Being an Englishman making the atypical move to Dublin, Brent’s initial reception from the local industry might have been cool, but he appears not to have positioned himself as a stationer in the English interest and there is nothing to suggest that he did not assimilate well. The only controversy he is known to possibly have been involved in was one with other Irish stationers that occurred in the course of ordinary business. This was in 1691 when Brent might have been involved in a dispute with the King’s Printer, Andrew Crooke, and Joseph Ray, over the reprinting rights of a particular English publication.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that throughout Brent’s first eight years in Dublin, he seems not to have joined or paid any fees to the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist, of Cutlers, Painter-stainers and Stationers.<sup>20</sup> The Guild was haphazard in the enforcement of its jurisdiction to extract fees from everyone in its industries and it sometimes allowed non-payers – intruders – to trade for years or possibly an

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<sup>14</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 41 – 42; Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1974, 130; Lennon, ‘The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 83.

<sup>15</sup> This common expression of the time is to be found, for example, in the Charter of the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist: see Munter, *HINP*, 22. Refer also Pollard, *Dictionary*, xv and note 16; and for another instance: *Dublin Scuffle*, 139.

<sup>16</sup> Refer also Gillespie, ‘Print Culture, 1550 – 1700’, in *HOIB*, 23.

<sup>17</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 108.

<sup>18</sup> This is from the imprint on *Ode. To the King. On His Irish Expedition, And the Success of his Arms in general* (A4, 2). On Capel Street: *IHTA*, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51.

<sup>20</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51.

entire career.<sup>21</sup> The fact that the Guild allowed an Englishman to do so during his first eight years in the town suggests that Brent was a stationer who did not draw undue attention upon himself.

It was sometime in 1691 that Brent published Swift's *Ode. To the King. On His Irish Expedition, And the Success of his Arms in general*.<sup>22</sup> This ode was written in honour of King William and it commemorated the monarch's recent victory over the forces of James II at the Battle of the Boyne. It is now recognised as the first work of Swift's known to have been published, whether in Dublin or anywhere.<sup>23</sup> An element of intrigue, however, surrounds the circumstances of the publication of *Ode to the King* by Brent. This is due to the sub-title Brent included, which states: "*Presented to His Majesty upon His departure from Ireland*".<sup>24</sup> From this it can be clearly inferred that the person who took the manuscript to Brent had instructed the printer that the ode had been presented to the monarch. That is, by the time the manuscript had been delivered to Brent, King William had fought a successful campaign against the forces of James II, consisting of the Battle of the Boyne on 1 June 1690 and the Siege of Limerick in August 1690, and the King and his Company had departed Ireland from Waterford on 5 September 1690. What this sub-title discloses is that Swift, or whoever it was who took the manuscript to Brent, must have instructed the printer that a separate copy of the manuscript had been presented to the King on or shortly prior to 5 September 1690. The issue is that it can be considered reasonably certain that no such presentation in fact took place. There is a considerable amount of negative evidence to illustrate this. Brent's published edition does not include an Epistle Dedicatory, which ordinarily should have accompanied a presentation to the King.<sup>25</sup> Swift left no record of the occasion, which is unusual given that it became his habit to leave a written record of all of his encounters with royalty (including those of far less moment than this would have been).<sup>26</sup> When Swift sent his *Ode to the Athenian Society* to the London

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<sup>21</sup> On the Guild generally: Pollard, *Dictionary*, ix-xxxiv; Munter, *HINP*, 22.

<sup>22</sup> A4, 2. Hereafter referred to as *Ode to the King*.

<sup>23</sup> Swift's first published work had previously been thought to be his *Ode to the Athenian Society*, published by John Dunton in London in 1692, but in 1994 James Woolley found a copy of Brent's 1691 publication of *Ode to the King* in the Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library at the University of Ulster. Refer: JW, Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*. This article includes a full facsimile reproduction of the copy of the ode in the Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library.

<sup>24</sup> The only other discussion of this subtitle is James Woolley's: JW, Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*, 276 – 277.

<sup>25</sup> JW, Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*, 277.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*.

publisher John Dunton in 1692, he identified *Ode to the King* in a footnote as “*The Ode I writ to the King in Ireland*”. If that Ode had been presented to William, Swift is likely to have mentioned that fact in this footnote. There is no known first-hand record of the presentation such as a diary entry or note made by a witness. Finally, years later when the Dublin stationer, Samuel Fairbrother, reprinted the ode in *Vol. IV* of his *Miscellanies of Swift and Pope*, published on 26 April 1735, the sub-title was removed, and this removal was probably at Swift’s direction.<sup>27</sup>

It is reasonably clear that the presentation of a copy of the ode to King William, as claimed in the sub-title of the published poem, did not happen. This raises a few questions relating to the instructions given to Brent. One concerns the identity of the person who gave the instructions. A presumption naturally arises that it was Swift but there is nothing to confirm that. It could have been someone else. Whoever it was, another question is whether that instruction represented an honest mistake or a deliberate lie? And a further question concerns why the ode was not published until 1691, which was at least four months after it had been written (according to the sub-title the composition of the ode had to have been completed by 5 September 1690, when the King departed)?<sup>28</sup> On the evidence available these questions are difficult to answer. One scenario that could be entertained relates to the fact that the twenty-two-year-old Swift had just returned to Ireland after what would subsequently become known as his first Term in the household of Sir William Temple at Moor Park in Farnham, Surrey. Temple was then a sixty-two-year-old retired diplomat but he remained one of King William’s friends and closest confidantes.<sup>29</sup> Also, one of Temple’s intimate friends at the time was Sir Henry Sidney, who was then forty-nine years old and had just been appointed

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<sup>27</sup> There are other possible explanations for the removal of the sub-title in Fairbrother’s 1735 reprint. One is that Fairbrother set his type from the original manuscript, which would of course not have included it (indeed Fairbrother boasts in his Preface to this *Vol. IV* that some of the works he is reprinting are from original manuscripts). James Woolley offers two other possible explanations (op. cit., 279, 282). But as James Woolley inferentially acknowledges, it is also possible that the sub-title was removed as a consequence of Swift’s own editing (op. cit., 282).

<sup>28</sup> James Woolley entertains the possibility of it having been published by Brent in late 1690 and post-dated: op. cit., 275, 277. This possibility is supported by the fact that when Sir Walter Harris referred to the ode in 1746, he said it “was printed in Ireland in 1690”: Harris, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland*, Dublin: Reilly, 2 vols., 1746, ii, part 2, 301. But this observation of Harris is made nearly fifty-five years later, and there appears to be no convincing reason to question Brent’s own dating of “1691”.

<sup>29</sup> Whilst an ambassador to the Netherlands in the 1670’s, Temple had won the then Prince’s confidence to such an extent that before proposing marriage to his subsequent wife and Queen of England, Mary, in April 1676, William sought Temple’s views in a private interview: see Woodbridge, H. E.: *Sir William Temple*, New York, 1940 (Temple “never received a finer compliment” from William: 167); refer also: Rossi and Hone, 64. Temple remained on close terms with William throughout his retirement at Moor Park and Swift says that from about 1692 the monarch occasionally visited Moor Park: *Autofrag*, 193.

by William to be his Commander-in-General for the upcoming Irish expedition with respect to the forces of James II.<sup>30</sup> After the campaign was over, instead of returning to England with the King's Company, Sidney stayed on in Dublin as a Lord Justice. It could be speculated, therefore, that some kind of plan was made at Moor Park between Swift and either or both of Temple and Sidney with regard to a proposed ode in honour of the King to be written by the young poet – a plan that incorporated a presentation to the monarch himself but which went awry in some way in the execution. This is, however, conjecture, and there is currently insufficient evidence to support it. For the time being, the question of how Swift's published career began with a misleading statement in the sub-title remains unresolved.

Brent produced the ode in full-sheet quarto. The press work is clean, the type is set well in from the margins and the title is elegantly set in a large bold font that gives the publication a degree of eminence. There is one typographical error, where line 7 of Stanza IV has an opening parenthesis that has no closing counterpart,<sup>31</sup> but Swift must have been pleased with the publication when he saw it. Brent placed his imprint at the end on the foot of page seven: "*Dublin*, Printed by Jo. Brent; and are to be Sold at the Printing-house over against the Sign of the *Cock* in Capel-street, near *Essex-Bridge*. 1691".

Swift and Brent were never again associated as author and printer. *Ode to the King* represented a once-off occasion in that regard. But throughout the 1690's the personal trust between them grew and the friendship came to be extended to their families. It appears to have been in the early part of this decade that Brent married an Irish woman with the Christian name Jane and made a home with her on St George's Lane.<sup>32</sup> Jane Brent was a Presbyterian and it has been speculated that she might therefore have originally have come

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<sup>30</sup> Sidney (later Earl of Romney) had first befriended William during military postings in the Netherlands throughout the 1670's and 1680's. During the 1680's he had been William's most trusted confidante in the planning of the Revolution: Bishop Burnet's *History of his own time: with the suppressed passages of the first volume*, ed., M. J. Routh, 6 vols. (1823), 3.264. For illustrations of the tripartite friendship of the three – Temple, Sidney and William – see Blencowe, ed., *Diary of the times of Charles the Second by the Honourable Henry Sidney (afterwards earl of Romney)*, 2 vols., 1843, and with respect to plans for the Revolution in particular: Sidney to the Prince, 28 June 1681; the Prince to James II, 25 June 1685; and Sidney to the Prince, 30 June 1688.

<sup>31</sup> A possible second error, noticed by James Woolley, is in the ode's final two lines. Referring to the King of France these lines read: "*And as a Moral to his Vile Disease,/ Falls sick in the Posteriors of the World*". But when the ode was reprinted years later by Samuel Fairbrother – possibly with Swift's authority – the first of these lines read: "*And as a Mortal to his Vile Disease*": see: JW, Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*, 281. Note also that in line 8 of stanza I the "n" is missing from "Cotemporary", but this was indeed a contemporary spelling of that word: OED.

<sup>32</sup> Now South Great George's Street.

from the Scottish settlements in Ulster.<sup>33</sup> There is no known Parish record of their marriage, which is almost certainly due to the fact that the only Parish Records that survive from this time are those of the Church of Ireland, which only recognised Protestant-Protestant marriages.<sup>34</sup> It seems that Jane Brent was possibly as much as thirty years younger than Brent, for in the mid 1690's Brent was well into his mid-fifties whilst she was giving birth to their children and probably therefore in her twenties. The Brents are known to have had two children and, possibly for the same reason as was just mentioned concerning the marriage, there is no known baptismal record for either child. The first child, a daughter named Hannah, died in infancy and was buried in the parish of St. Michan on 22 January 1695.<sup>35</sup> The second child, another daughter, Anne, survived.<sup>36</sup> This was how Brent's family life progressed throughout the 1690's.

Swift only spent a small portion of his time in Dublin during the 1690's. After returning to Ireland in August 1690, he left again in August 1691<sup>37</sup> for his second term at Moor Park. Swift was back in Ireland from May 1694 to May 1696, although most of this two-year period was spent not in Dublin but in Kilroot, near Belfast, pursuant to a Church position he obtained there. Swift was then at Moor Park for his third and final term from May 1696 until Temple's death in January 1699, before returning to Dublin later that year as the chaplain and private secretary to the newly appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, the Earl of Berkeley. Throughout the 1690's, then, Swift spent only about two years in total in Dublin. It must have been during the course of that time, though, that his friendship with Brent developed. This is known because it was during the 1690's or soon afterwards that Swift's mother, Abigail Erick, stayed at the Brents' house when she came from Leicester to visit her son in Dublin. It was also sometime during the 1690's or immediately afterwards that Mrs. Brent commenced as Swift's housekeeper.

An interesting story told by one of Swift's earliest biographers bears on the questions of precisely when Abigail Erick began staying at the Brents' and when Mrs. Brent began as

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<sup>33</sup> David Woolley: DW Letter 278, note 7, vol. i, 613.

<sup>34</sup> Grenham, *Tracing Your Irish Ancestors: The Complete Guide*, 3rd edition, Dublin, 2006, 32 - 3; Noel Reid, ed., *A Table of Church of Ireland Parochial Records and Copies*, Kildare, 1994.

<sup>35</sup> St. Michan Parish Records, VII, 416; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51.

<sup>36</sup> That the daughter Anne was born second is an assumption on my part. It is predicated on the length of her life. She died in October 1774.

<sup>37</sup> In a letter dated 14 February 1692, written from Moor Park, Swift says he returned from Ireland "about half a year ago": Swift to the Athenian Society: DW Letter 03, vol. i, 107.

Swift's housekeeper. The biographer was John Lyon, a canon of St. Patrick's who worked closely with Swift during the last two decades of Swift's life, and the story is one that was no doubt obtained from Swift directly. It concerns a little prank that Abigail Erick played on Mrs. Brent when she was a guest of the Brents' house:

He always treated his mother, during her life, with the utmost duty and affection; and she sometimes came to *Ireland*, to visit him after his settlement at *Laracor*. She lodged at Mr. *Brent's* the Printer, in George's Lane, Dublin. She asked Mrs. *Brent*, her landlady, "Whether she could keep a secret?" who replied "She could very well." Upon which, she enjoined her not to make the matter public, which she was now going to communicate with her. "I have a spark in this town, that I carried on a correspondence with whilst I was in *England*. He will be here presently to pay his addresses, for he has heard by this time of my arrival. But I would not have the matter known." Soon after this, a rap was heard at the door; and Dr. *Swift* walked up stairs. Mrs. *Brent* retired; but, after a little time, she was called; and then Mrs. *Swift* introduced her to her son, and said, "This is my spark I was telling you of: this is my lover; and indeed the only one I shall ever admit to pay their addresses to me." The Doctor smiled at his mother's humour, and afterwards paid his duty to her every day unsuspected by Mrs. *Brent*, whom he invited some years afterwards to take care of his family affairs, when he became Dean of St. Patrick's. And when she died, he continued her daughter (Mrs. *Ridgeway*, then a poor widow), in the same office.<sup>38</sup>

To begin with, when Lyon says that Mrs. Brent was "invited some years afterwards to take care of his family affairs, when he became Dean of St. Patrick's", this refers only to when she became his *full-time* housekeeper in the deanery. Prior to this she had been his part-time housekeeper at Laracor. The question for present purposes is when this part-time association began. What is seen from Lyon's story is that Mrs. Brent did not recognise Swift when he came in as Abigail's "spark". It follows that this is the occasion in which Swift and Mrs. Brent first met. (Throughout the friendship of Swift and Brent up to this time, which included the making of arrangements for Abigail Erick to stay at Brent's house, clearly Swift had not been introduced to Brent's wife.) As such, Mrs. Brent cannot have commenced as his housekeeper until after the time of this story, which Lyon dates "as after his settlement at *Laracor*", being 1700.<sup>39</sup> Swift contradicted this a few decades later with a comment to the effect that she had been his housekeeper from an earlier time. This was in a letter to Pope dated 10 May 1728 when he said that she had been his housekeeper "above thirty years, whenever I liv'd in this

<sup>38</sup> John Lyon's *Materials for a Life of Dr. Swift*, 1765, consists of his annotated copy of Hawkesworth's *The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, of 1754-5. Lyon's work is first known to have been printed by John Nichols in Nichols' 1776 *Supplement* Volume Two, 370 – 405. The story concerning Mrs. Brent appears at pages xxv-xxvi of that volume two. The story implies that Abigail Erick stayed with the Brents more than once, although Forster may be right in saying that this was the only occasion: *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1875, 53n. For comment on this story, see also: Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 46; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, i, 29.

<sup>39</sup> DW Letter 278, note 7, vol. i, 613.

kingdom”.<sup>40</sup> This dates the commencement of the association in the mid-1690’s, when Swift was the prebendary of Kilroot, and it may have been from this time that Swift’s mother began staying at the Brents’ on visits to meet her son in Dublin and that Mrs. Brent began as his part-time housekeeper.<sup>41</sup> One circumstance potentially supporting this earlier date is that Mrs. Brent’s daughter, Hannah, died in infancy on 22 January 1695. Mrs. Brent might therefore have taken the opportunity to travel to the north to work for Swift and at the same time be with her Ulster family during her grieving. However, because Swift was rarely accurate when recollecting dates and periods, the presumption should in my view lie with Lyon and his comment that the association began after Swift settled at Laracor. Maybe this is what Swift meant, after all, by “whenever I liv’d in this kingdom”. This might have been referring to his more permanent residence in Ireland following the completion of his Moor Park years.

During the 1690’s, Brent began working in collaboration with other stationers. In 1696 he moved from his Capel Street shop<sup>42</sup> to join Cornelius Carter in a shop in the Post Office Coffee House on Fishamble Street. He and Carter produced two newspapers there.<sup>43</sup> Then whilst maintaining some ties with Carter, from 1697 he worked in partnership with John Brocas and Stephen Powell in the printing house at the back of Dick’s Coffee House, Dublin’s Tory clubhouse of the time.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that in these latter years of his career, Brent chose to work with Tory printers who had a closer affinity with the exiled Stuarts and who had more of a readiness to publish material that was antagonistic to the new monarchy and its government. Brent is not known to have printed any subversive material himself, or much less to have been prosecuted or imprisoned, but by signalling himself to be a Tory he can be looked upon as the first of what became many Dublin stationers on that side of the political divide to work with Swift.

The only known first-hand personal account of Brent also comes from the 1690’s. In 1698, the English journalist and bookseller John Dunton toured Ireland and conducted book auctions at Dick’s Coffee House. He kept a journal of his experiences and a year later

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<sup>40</sup> DW Letter 811, vol. iii, 180 – 181.

<sup>41</sup> On the basis of Swift’s 1728 comment to Pope, the commentators Ball, Williams and David Woolley all think that the domestic relationship began at Kilroot: Ball, *Correspondence*, iv, 30 note 1; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 286, n.1; *Journal to Stella*, 4, note 18; David Woolley: DW Letter 278 note 7, vol. i, 613.

<sup>42</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 52.

<sup>43</sup> A *Flying Post* and a *Dublin Intelligence*. Pollard, *Dictionary*, 52; Munter, *Hand-List*, items 5 and 11.

<sup>44</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, xv; Munter, *HINP*, 50.



published it under the title *The Dublin Scuffle*. Whilst most of Dunton's narrative is concerned with his dispute with the Dublin bookseller, Patrick Campbell, over a double-booking of Dick's Coffee House for their respective book auctions, Dunton also offers first-hand encounters with several Dublin printers. His description of Brent, Brocas and Powell, who were then in partnership at Dick's Coffee House, begins with this:

And I shall first begin with Mr *Brent*, who, I think, is the Oldest Partner, he's a *Scrupulous Honest, Conscientious Man*, and I do think, a *True Nathaniel*, he's perfect Innocence, yet a man of *Letters*; he knows no harm, and therefore contrives none: And by his frequent attempts to make *Campbel* and I friends, 'tis clear, he never promoted the *Dublin-Scuffle*, tho the Printing of it would have furnish'd him with *daily work*; so that he's what we may truly call a *Religious Printer*, (and I was going to say) he hates Vice, almost as much by *Nature as Grace*; and this I think is his True Character.<sup>45</sup>

Dunton, it is true, said nice things about everyone he met in Ireland (other than Patrick Campbell),<sup>46</sup> and further allowance might have to be made for the possibility of Dunton having received a gift from Brent. As Mackie Langham Jarrell demonstrates, Brent might have gifted Dunton a copy of *Ode to the King*, for in his *Dublin Scuffle* as well as on three subsequent occasions, Dunton reproduced portions of the ode and presented it as his own work.<sup>47</sup> If Brent did indeed make such a gift to Dunton, this could account for Dunton's descriptions of Brent as "a man of letters" and one of "perfect innocence".<sup>48</sup> But these matters aside, the picture Dunton offers of Brent is consistent with that of the generally congenial character already seen.

Brent appears to have been a man of a philosophically liberal bent. He had no difficulty transferring himself from England to Ireland and, with respect to religion, he had a father who was possibly Catholic whilst he was a Protestant who married a Presbyterian. Brent was also successful in business. This is seen in the fact that he was able to live on St George's Lane, separately from his shop, in a house with room for a guest. In 1697, too, he was given full membership of the Guild. As a non-native of Ireland, he could only attain his Freedom of the City – a prerequisite to full membership of Guild – by "Act of Parliament as a Protestant

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<sup>45</sup>*Dublin Scuffle*, 101 – 102.

<sup>46</sup> For another instance of Dunton saying complimentary things about people, this time John Barber: Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London*, London, 1818, 249, 50. This is discussed by Rivington: 'Tyrant': *The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989, 8 and note 2.

<sup>47</sup> Mackie Langham Jarrell, "Ode to the King": Some Contests, Dissensions, and Exchanges among Jonathan Swift, John Dunton and Henry Jones', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 7 (1965), 145 – 159.

<sup>48</sup> For discussion of these plagiarisms by Dunton: Jarrell, op. cit., Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, i, 112; and JW, Swift's First Published Poem: *Ode. To the King*, 266 note 5.

stranger”,<sup>49</sup> and the fact that he was granted this parliamentary sanction suggests that he was a stationer of standing in the town. He retired in 1704 at age sixty-five.<sup>50</sup>

There are indications that during Brent’s declining years his wife began to assume the ascendancy in their relationship with Swift. An instance of her managing a matter that would ordinarily have belonged to her husband’s domain is seen in the course of a letter Swift wrote from London to Stella on 15 September 1712:

Mrs Brent sent me a Letter by a young Fellow a Printer, desiring I would recommend him here, which you may tell her, I have done; but I cannot promise what will come of it, for it is necessary they should be made free here before they can be employd; I remembr I putt the Boy prentice to Brent.<sup>51</sup>

Other references to Mrs. Brent in Swift’s letters to Stella during these years also illustrate the development of her association with Swift. Referring to her always as “Mrs. Brent”, Swift’s references show her managing money and other domestic matters for him. And messages for Mrs. Brent in Swift’s letters were all of course written to Stella, for Stella to pass on to Mrs. Brent, which in itself demonstrates how Mrs. Brent had by this time become a part of his Dublin ‘family’. John Brent died in 1714, and with this coinciding with the commencement of Swift’s permanent residence in the deanery, Mrs. Brent – probably in her mid-forties at the time – became his permanent housekeeper. It has been thought that she resided within the deanery itself from this time, but Ball has questioned this with his observation that her will mentions “furniture, plate and household goods [which] tends to show that she had a house of her own”.<sup>52</sup> But whether she had a room within the deanery, or spent the nights in a home of her own, in the years and decades ahead she governed domestic affairs in the deanery with an iron rule. A printer’s widow managing the deanery during the same years that Swift wrought havoc with the lives of a few of the stationers in her late husband’s industry, she became known around the neighbourhood by the nickname Swift gave her, his “Walpole”.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51 [citing .NLI, MS 76].

<sup>50</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 52.

<sup>51</sup> *Journal to Stella*, ii, 559.

<sup>52</sup> Ball, *Correspondence*, vol. iv, 30, note 1. In this same note Ball also says that, prior to 1714, “at no time does Mrs. Brent seem to have acted as his landlady”. It is unclear what Ball intends by the term “landlady” here but, regardless, there is a significant amount of evidence in the *Journal to Stella* to show that Mrs. Brent was assisting in the management of Swift’s Dublin affairs prior to 1714.

<sup>53</sup> 10 May 1728, Swift to Alexander Pope: DW Letter 811, vol. iii, 180; 15 January 1731, Swift to Alexander Pope: DW Letter 903, vol. iii, 355; 17 July 1731, Swift to Lord Bathurst: DW Letter 924, vol. iii, 405; 24 December 1736, Swift to Lord Castle-Durrow: DW Letter 1308, vol. iv, 374-5. Mrs. Brent is also mentioned several times in the *Journal to Stella*. And for mentions of her in Swift’s poetry: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 742, 755-6; iii, 966.

Mrs. Brent died in 1735 and was succeeded as Swift's housekeeper by her daughter, Anne, who had endured a difficult marriage with a cabinet-maker named Ridgeway. Swift left a bequest for Anne Ridgeway in his will.<sup>54</sup>

### Richard Pue

It says much of the real politics of Dublin at this time that in the heart of the town, which was the Protestant stronghold of the kingdom, one of the best known and most popular businessmen was a Jacobite. This was Richard Pue. The business district of Dublin was then situated on Skinner Row.<sup>55</sup> It was where the Tholsel (the municipal centre of Dublin), the Guild Hall, the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the Exchange were all situated. Also on this thoroughfare was a meandering three-storey timber building thought to have been built in the fifteenth century. Known formally as Carbrie House<sup>56</sup> and informally as "the great house" on Skinner Row, Pue acquired an interest in it in the early 1680's.<sup>57</sup> He converted the drawing room level into what became known as Dick's Coffee House, named after himself and known colloquially as "Dick's". This became a Tory clubhouse and the most famous Dublin coffee house of the period.<sup>58</sup> Pue also converted another area of Carbrie House into an auction room, which thereafter became the most sought-after venue for conducting book auctions in Dublin, and he adapted another portion to accommodate a printing press. As has been noted already, the English journalist and self-publisher, John Dunton, had first-hand experience with Pue and Carbrie House. When he toured Ireland in 1698, Dunton held two of his book auctions there and also became acquainted with the printing area whilst working with John Brent in preparing his auction catalogues. He afterwards described this area in exuberant terms: "*meer Paradise: Oh Spacious Dwelling!... Airy, Great and Noble (and the Top Printing-House in all Dublin)*".<sup>59</sup> And here is Dunton's portrayal of the proprietor, Pue:

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<sup>54</sup> See Lyon, *Materials for a Life of Dr. Swift*, 1765 [in Nichols' 1776 *Supplement* Volume Two, 392].

<sup>55</sup> Now Christchurch Place.

<sup>56</sup> Gilbert, i, 171 – 175.

<sup>57</sup> Gilbert says he bought it during the last years of Charles II: i, 172.

<sup>58</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, xv; Madden, i, 226; Munter, *HINP*, 50, 111; *IHTA*, 35 (*IHTA* says of Dick's Coffee House: "site unknown", but rich details of its position in Carbrie House are to be found in Gilbert, i, 171 – 175).

<sup>59</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, 102. Although Dunton does not state expressly that he is speaking of the printing press at Dick's Coffee House here, there can be little doubt that he is addressing the printers then in occupation (for the addresses of the respective printers, see Pollard, *Dictionary*, 51 – 52, 54 – 55, 469 – 470). One curious thing regarding the printing house at Dick's is that the printers who leased it (Brocas, Powell and Brent around the turn of the century; Carter between 1699 and 1718; and Aaron Rhames in 1709 and 1716: see Munter, *HINP*, 50, note 2) stated in their imprints that they were situated "*at the back of Dick's Coffee House*". The only room known to have

And I must say this of *Dick* (notwithstanding our after quarrel), "That he is a Witty and Ingenious Man, *makes the best coffee in Dublin*; and is very Civil and Obliging to all his Customers; of an open and generous Nature; has a peculiar Knack at Bantering, and will *make rhymes to any thing*; He's of a chearful facetious Temper, and generally speaking fair in his Dealing: And had not *Patrick* assaulted him with the Temptation of a *double Price*, he and I shou'd never have quarrel'd; and yet for all that, I must do him the Justice to say, he carry'd it civilly to me to the very last; and was so kind as to come... to give me a *Farewell* when I left *Ireland*; thus much for *Dick*."<sup>60</sup>

Pue appears to have been of a character well-suited to hospitality.

In addition to these interests in Carbrie House, Pue was also a publisher, and from 1703 he formed a publishing partnership with Edward Lloyd, another Jacobite who was also a coffee-shop proprietor. As coffee shops went hand-in-hand with newspapers at this time, in 1703 the two of them commenced a newspaper. It was a weekly production for which they were the writers and publishers only, with the printing done for them by their Tory colleague, Cornelius Carter, and although thoroughly Jacobite in its leanings, they gave it the title *Impartial Occurrences*. Not long after beginning in partnership, Pue and Lloyd also enlisted Carter's help on a more substantial publishing venture. This was a local reprint of a book-length work of Swift.

This book-length publication represents the first work of Swift known to have been produced in Ireland since Brent published *Ode to the King* in 1691. Since that time a handful of works that Swift had either written or edited had been published in London. His *Ode to the Athenian Society* had been published in London by Dunton in 1692.<sup>61</sup> The first two volumes of Temple's correspondence from the former statesman's ambassadorial career had been published in 1699 under Swift's name as editor.<sup>62</sup> Swift's *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome*, which allegorically defended the Whig, John, Lord Somers, and lampooned the "Old Whig" Robert Harley, had been published in London in 1701 by the trade publisher John Nutt on behalf of Benjamin Tooke

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been at the back of Carbrie House, however, was one described as a "moiety of a small timber house in the backside" (Gilbert, i, 174), which does not correspond with Dunton's description of a "spacious... airy, great and noble" room. Maybe the house at the back was an office or reception with the printing house itself located within the main Carbrie House.

<sup>60</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, 172 – 173.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, *Poems*, i, 13 – 25.

<sup>62</sup> A4, 8. Refer Image 4.

Jnr.<sup>63</sup> And a third volume of Temple's correspondence and miscellanea had been published in 1702. But none of these is known to have been reprinted in Ireland. The first ever reprint of a work of Swift in Ireland, then, was this of Pue and Lloyd – a reprint of *A Tale of A Tub*, which had been published in London on 10 May 1704,<sup>64</sup> again by the trade publisher Nutt<sup>65</sup> for Benjamin Tooke Jnr..

With this proposed publishing venture of an Irish edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, there were no obligations owing from Pue or Lloyd to Swift or Benjamin Tooke Jnr.. The English Licensing Act, which would have required Pue and Lloyd to register the work in London and to negotiate the rights with Tooke, had expired in 1695. Neither were there any applicable English copyright provisions. At this particular time there was no copyright legislation in force in England and even when the new Copyright Act was implemented at Westminster in 1709, it was – seemingly by oversight – not extended in its operation to Ireland.<sup>66</sup> Throughout these early decades of the eighteenth century, then, Irish stationers could reprint English works freely and could even send their reprints back into London to undercut the English market.<sup>67</sup>

Nor were there any formal laws related to copyright in force within Ireland itself. The Irish Parliament had not legislated in this area and there was no Dublin equivalent of the London Stationers' Company, where publications were to be registered to a certain publisher, thereby giving that publisher formal rights. The only rule with regard to copyright in Dublin was an industry understanding to the effect that the first to publish a work or post a title page of an intended publication at the Guild Hall, held the rights to it for as long as the work remained in print. It was a rule that never appears to have been administered by the Guild of

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<sup>63</sup> T-S 255 (item 478).

<sup>64</sup> See *The Daily Courant* of London for that date.

<sup>65</sup> A trade publisher was paid a fee to have his name appear on the title page as the "publisher". The trade publisher also then bore the risk of prosecution, although no prosecution eventuated for either *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions* or *A Tale of A Tub*. On Tooke's employment of John Nutt as a trade publisher: Treadwell, 14 – 15; Máire Kennedy, 'Reading Print, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 151; and Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 17, 18. For commentary specifically on John Nutt: Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, London, 1936, 43 – 44. On trade publishers generally refer, in addition the sources just mentioned: Rivington, Charles A, *'Tyrant': The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989, 232 – 233.

<sup>66</sup> For discussion: Munter, *HINP*, 8, 15; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 77.

<sup>67</sup> See Phillips, 107 – 108; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 84; Kennedy, 'Reading Print, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 151 – 152; Rankin, 'Historical Writing, 1750 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 285 – 286; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 26 – 27. In years to come Swift would defend the practice of sending Irish reprints back into London as conduct that was justified by the other economic oppressions imposed by England: 25 May 1736, Swift to Benjamin Motte: DW Letter 1267, vol. iv, 304 – 305.

St. Luke the Evangelist, which was a governing body of the industry only notionally. Instead, the rule was enforced in the observance within the industry itself, where retribution for a breach occasionally took the form of threatened or actual violence. There has been some discussion on when this rule came in to effect. Phillips says it was introduced as late as 1734,<sup>68</sup> whilst Munter implies that it was in place from soon after the commencement of the periodical press in Ireland, which he dates at 1685.<sup>69</sup> Munter must be right, for not only is there ample evidence that it was in place in the 1710's and 1720's, such a competitive industry could hardly have operated without it. Pollard agrees that it was in place earlier than 1734, saying that "in some form it was almost certainly in operation earlier".<sup>70</sup>

With *A Tale of a Tub*, then, Pue and Lloyd were at liberty to produce a local edition without the consent or knowledge of the author and the original publisher in England, and by including their names on the imprint they could lay claim to this Dublin copyright, which if nothing else was a deterrent to other Dublin stationers producing an edition themselves. This venture represented a commercial risk to Pue and Lloyd. As a book of 191 pages, it required a substantial investment in time and resources. Also, three editions had already appeared in London,<sup>71</sup> and copies of all of these are likely to have been sent into the Dublin market. But clearly Pue and Lloyd calculated that a local edition was justified. There are a few matters that could have influenced them. Firstly, given that in its initial reception the book was considered profane and irreligious,<sup>72</sup> they might have looked upon it as belonging to their Jacobite domain. Secondly, regardless of its perceived politics, they would also have taken pleasure in putting their names to such a provocative new literary work. Thirdly, Andrew Carpenter has argued that the comically disjointed structure of *A Tale of a Tub* resembled the pastiche texts produced by students at Trinity during the 1680's, which were texts that had acquired some notoriety in College and wider circles.<sup>73</sup> If Pue and Lloyd were appreciative of this resemblance, maybe this, too, bore upon their decision. Further matters that they might have

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<sup>68</sup> Phillips, 128.

<sup>69</sup> HINP, 96.

<sup>70</sup> *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 169 – 170. On this rule refer also: Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 77, 85; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 27.

<sup>71</sup> David Woolley, 'The Textual History of *A Tale of a Tub*', *Swift Studies*, 21, (2006), 7, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Swift of course intended *A Tale of a Tub* to be a defence of the established Church but this was not clarified until the addition of the 'Apology' in the 1710 edition. On Swift's politics and the political interpretations of *A Tale of a Tub*: Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection*, Cambridge, 1994.

<sup>73</sup> Carpenter, '*A Tale of a Tub* as an Irish Text', *Swift Studies*, 20, (2005), 30 – 40.

considered were that the author was of Irish origins and either or both of Pue and Lloyd might have been acquainted with him.

With Dick's being the best-known coffee house in the town, it is hard to imagine that throughout the 1690's and early 1700's Swift did not call in at least on one or two occasions, and if he did, he would almost certainly have met Pue, and might also have been introduced to Lloyd.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, whether they were acquainted with Swift or not, it is possible that Pue and Lloyd contrived to make capital from the *perception* of their being known to him, for although their Dublin edition of the book is a straight reprint of Tooke's third edition,<sup>75</sup> they passed it off as a new "Fourth Edition Corrected" – in this way creating an impression that Swift had collaborated with them. The book was published in time for Christmas 1704. Like the earlier English editions, it was printed in octavo but on a smaller paper,<sup>76</sup> and it was advertised in the *Impartial Occurrences* Numbers for 26 December 1704 and 6 January 1705 as: "Reprinted: and are to be Sold only at Dick's and Lloyd's Coffee-Houses, and at the Printing-Press in Fishamble-street".<sup>77</sup> This reference to the printing press on Fishamble Street is the indication that Carter was involved as a printer because Carter was working from the Post Office Coffee House on that street at this time.<sup>78</sup>

Pue was the most successful Jacobite businessman in Ireland and he would continue to be so for a further seventeen years. His association with Lloyd – described by Munter as a "violent Jacobite partnership"<sup>79</sup> – would last only until 1706 and sometime after their split the *Impartial Occurrences* was renamed *Pue's Occurrences*.<sup>80</sup> There might have been a gap of a few years

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<sup>74</sup> According to Laetitia Pilkington, Swift was familiar – at the very least – with the notion of a coffee shop in Dublin that was a Jacobite haunt. In her *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington* published in 1748, she relates this incident of Swift having a joke with her. "The Dean then asked me, 'If I was a Queen, what I should chuse to have after Dinner?' I answered, 'His Conversation'; 'Phooh!' says he, 'I mean what Regale?' 'A Dish of Coffee, Sir'; 'Why then I will so far make you as happy as a Queen, you shall have some in Perfection; for when I was Chaplain to the Earl of Berkeley, who was in the Government here, I was so poor, I was obliged to keep a Coffee-house, and all the Nobility resorted to it to talk Treason': *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*..., Dublin, 1748, vol. i, 47; Elias, Jr., A.C., ed., *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, 2 vols., Athens and London, 1997, vol. i, 28.

<sup>75</sup> See David Woolley, 'The Textual History of *A Tale of A Tub*', op. cit., 18.

<sup>76</sup> See T-S, 166 (item 221).

<sup>77</sup> A4, 9. There is no mention of this Dublin edition of *A Tale of A Tub* in *Cambridge Swift Vol. 1*. The reason for this omission is unclear.

<sup>78</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92.

<sup>79</sup> *HINP*, 50.

<sup>80</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 3 (item 15).

between the end of *Impartial Occurrences* and the commencement of *Pue's Occurrences*, for the first-known surviving copy of *Pue's Occurrences* is a Number from 1712, and if there was such a gap, the new newspaper was less a continuation of the former than a new periodical altogether. Either way, *Pue's Occurrences*, printed for Pue by Carter and published twice a week,<sup>81</sup> added to the fame of Dick's as it established itself as one of the most important coffee houses in Ireland. The traffic through the doors of Carbrie House would never have been greater than between 1710 and 1713, when the kingdom was under the administration of Lord Lieutenant James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, and Lord Chancellor Constantine Phipps, both of whom were Jacobites. When those years were over and the Whig resurgence in London was paralleled in Dublin with a witch-hunt of Jacobites, Pue was forced to flee the country. He stayed away for a year or more and upon his return in 1717 seems to have been imprisoned for a time.<sup>82</sup> But this appears to have been the only setback in what was otherwise a fortunate career. Pue's profile within Ireland was reflected in a poem written by Swift in 1721, entitled *The Journal*, where he describes his friend Lord Chief Baron Robert Rochford in these terms:

But now, since I have gone so far on,  
A word or two on Lord Chief Baron;  
And tell how little weight he sets  
On all Whig papers and gazettes;  
But for the politics of Pue,  
Thinks every syllable is true.<sup>83</sup>

This poem was written when Pue's days were coming to an end. He died in 1722 and left the Coffee House, the auction venue and *Pue's Occurrences* to his wife and his son, who was also named Richard. He would have turned in his grave only a few years later when his son

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<sup>81</sup> Carter undertook a lot of printing work for Pue over several years: Munter, *Dictionary*, 51; Munter, *HINP*, 129. Also, in a deposition made on 26 February 1712 Pue referred to Carter as "his servant": E.R. McClintock Dix, 'Three depositions by Dublin Printers', *Irish Book Lover*, 17, (1929) 33 – 35.

<sup>82</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 128 – 129, and 129 note 4.

<sup>83</sup> Williams, *Poems*, i, 282. These lines also suggest that Swift was familiar with *Pue's Occurrences*. He often protested that he did not read newspapers (see for example: 12 June 1714, John Arbuthnot to Swift: DW Letter 281, vol. i, 616; 1 March 1715, Swift to Matthew Prior: DW Letter 377, vol. ii, 111; 14 February 1727, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 742, vol. iii, 73; 13 June 1733, Swift to John Barber: DW Letter 1047, vol. iii, 657; 17 November 1733, John Barber to Swift: DW Letter 1071, vol. iii, 706; 2 March 1735, Swift to John Barber: DW Letter 1133, vol. iv, 62; 25 September 1735, Swift to Lord Orrery: DW Letter 1196, vol. iv, 189) but circumstances presented throughout this thesis suggest otherwise. On newspapers and pamphlets being low reading, see also the comment of Sheridan in *The Intelligencer*, Numb. XVI: A3, 47, page 3; JW, *Intelligencer*, 188.



converted the newspaper to Whiggery,<sup>84</sup> but the newspaper nonetheless continued to be prominent in Dublin for most of the remainder of the eighteenth century.

### Edward Lloyd

Edward Lloyd was an English stationer who worked in Ireland for approximately two decades. There has been a degree of conjecture on the question of when he first came to Ireland. In 1732, by which time Lloyd was back in London, he would say that he “liv’d near 20 Years in Ireland”,<sup>85</sup> but it is uncertain when that twenty-year period began. It is known that he was in Dublin between 1703, when he began in partnership with Pue, through to 1714, when he fled the country. This accounts for eleven of the twenty years. The question is whether the other nine came before or after this period of 1703 to 1714. The author of the short ODNB entry for Lloyd, David Benjamin Rees, speculates that he returned to Ireland sometime after 1714.<sup>86</sup> However, as there is no evidence of him publishing in Ireland from this time, it seems more likely that he first came to Ireland before 1703, and Munter’s comment that Lloyd “left Ireland for good” in 1714 supports this.<sup>87</sup> This dates his arrival at around 1695. As for the reason for his move, the Whig John Whalley reported in his *News-Letter* in July 1714: “I well remember when Lloyd came first to Dublin, he pretended it was to discover Coyners, who he said to shun Justice, had fled from England.”<sup>88</sup> This hints at what Lloyd’s subsequent career in Dublin would bear out: namely, that he moved to Ireland to make himself of most utility in the service of James II. Indeed, for the period up to 1714 when he was forced out of the country, there would, from a Whig point of view, be no greater outlaw in the publishing industry.

Lloyd’s career as a publisher in Dublin is not known to have begun until he partnered with Pue in 1703 to start their *Impartial Occurrences*. Like Pue, he never appears to have done any printing work himself; he was a publisher only.<sup>89</sup> Also like Pue, he was a coffee house owner. From 1704 he had the Oxman-Town Coffee House on Church Street.<sup>90</sup> From May

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<sup>84</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 159.

<sup>85</sup> Edward Lloyd, *A Description of the City of Dublin*, 1732 (A4, 205, title page).

<sup>86</sup> Lloyd, Edward (*fl.* 1703-1736), ODNB, page 2.

<sup>87</sup> *HINP*, 128.

<sup>88</sup> *Whalley’s News-Letter* for 12 July 1714.

<sup>89</sup> Munter, *Dictionary*, 168.

<sup>90</sup> *IHTA*, 35.

1705, seemingly whilst he still had the Oxman-Town, Lloyd acquired an interest in the Golden Ball Coffee House. Then later in the decade, he moved on from both of those establishments and in 1709 leased the Union Coffee House on Cork Hill, which became known as “Lloyd’s”.<sup>91</sup> By having interests in these different coffee houses at different times, he differed from Pue, whose only establishment was Dick’s. Lloyd also differed from Pue in that he enjoyed no share of legitimacy in this Protestant town. Whether by design or not, Pue had acquired a degree of legitimacy by being the owner of Dick’s with its accompanying auction room in the centre of the business district. Lloyd, on the other hand, was the antithesis of the Whig establishment.

It was from the Oxman-Town that Lloyd sold copies of the “Fourth Edition Corrected” of *A Tale of A Tub* (“to be Sold only at Dick’s and Lloyd’s Coffee-Houses, and at the Printing-Press in Fishamble-street”). As the Oxman-Town was north of the Liffey, it follows that Pue and Lloyd had a point of sale on either side of the river. Rees says that Lloyd sold the book from “both” of his coffee houses.<sup>92</sup> However, the book went on sale in December 1704 and it was not until May 1705 that Lloyd acquired an interest in the Golden Ball simultaneously with the Oxman-Town. Accordingly, Rees is either referring to sales from May 1705 onwards, or he is mistakenly assuming that Lloyd was a joint owner of Dick’s with Pue. Rees also comments that it was through Lloyd’s “friendship with Jonathan Swift [that] he was able to sell” *A Tale of a Tub*.<sup>93</sup> However, insofar as this suggests that Lloyd needed Swift’s consent to proceed with a local edition of the book, for reasons just discussed, this was not the case. Regardless, I have found no evidence of a friendship between Lloyd and Swift. As noted already, Swift might have been acquainted with Lloyd to some extent from having met him either at Dick’s or one of Lloyd’s own coffee houses. Over the course of the subsequent decade, too, Swift would come to know Sir Constantine Phipps, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1710 to 1713 who worked closely with Lloyd, and as such Swift could conceivably have come to know Lloyd better through that later period. But what evidence there is of a friendship between Lloyd and Swift in 1704 is unknown.

Lloyd can be considered the first of the committed Tory and Jacobite activists in the Irish stationery industry. This is apparent from the time of *Impartial Occurrences*, where the

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<sup>91</sup> On the different coffee houses Lloyd had at different times: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 152, 367; Munter, *HINP*, 50 and note 3.

<sup>92</sup> Op. cit., 1.

<sup>93</sup> Op. Cit., 1.

Number for 6 January 1705 refers to him as the “author”, indicating that it was he, not Pue, who wrote the copy. Not long after parting from Pue, Lloyd instigated his own Jacobite publishing career that was punctuated with controversy throughout. In July 1707, he reprinted an English pamphlet entitled “A post-script to *Mr. Higgins’s*”, which defended an anti-Whig sermon delivered by Francis Higgins at Whitehall in London.<sup>94</sup> The Irish Parliament ordered that copies be burned by the Hangman at the Tholsel and again at the doors of Parliament for being a publication “tending to the Disturbance of the publick Peace, in both Kingdoms”. The Parliament also ordered the arrest of Lloyd himself but, this being a time when Whig prosecutions were not known to extend to the taking of wives into custody as proxies, when the messengers came for him they found that he had fled, leaving his wife to answer the summons.<sup>95</sup> Whether Lloyd himself was subsequently imprisoned on this occasion is unknown.

A few years later, in 1710, Ireland came under the governance of the Jacobites Lord Lieutenant Ormonde and Lord Chancellor Phipps, and Lloyd became in effect the publishing arm of that administration. This was a period in which the Whig majority in the Irish House of Commons could only look on as the most audacious Tory publishing programme Ireland had ever seen came under the protection of Phipps. Lloyd published his twice-weekly *Lloyd’s News-Letter*, described by the Whigs as “A News Paper... wherein were daily Abuses and Slanders upon all persons in whatever Station or Business, who were unacceptable to... Doctor Phipps”,<sup>96</sup> and independently of this *News-Letter*, Lloyd offered undisguised support to the cause of the Pretender. In 1711, he reprinted the tract written by James Drake, *The Memorial of the Church of England*, which had been published in London and prosecuted in that city.<sup>97</sup> As part of the same publication, Lloyd added two other pieces: firstly, an account of the trial of Sacheverell, and secondly, *The Defence of the Church & Doctor, Made by his Excellency Sir Constantine*

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<sup>94</sup> A4, 10.

<sup>95</sup> See the *Dublin Intelligence* for 2 August 1707; *JHCI vol. II*, 513, *JHLI vol. II*, 172, 173; Munter, *HINP*, 126; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 368. In relation to this pamphlet, Munter also cites: *JHLI vol. II*, 175 - 176, 178-179, 181, but these Journal pages refer to a different publication, “The Case of *Francis Bermingham, Esq.*”, with which Lloyd had no involvement. Pollard is also inaccurate in citing “*JHCI vol II*, 513-20”. The only references to this matter in the Journals of the House of Commons are at: *JHCI vol. II*, 513 and 517.

<sup>96</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 126 - 127 (citing *The Conduct of the Purse of Ireland: In a letter to a Member of the Late Oxford Convocation, Occasioned by their... Degree of Doctor upon Sir C----- P-----*, Dublin, 1714, page 20).

<sup>97</sup> Thomas, ‘Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King’s Bench Indictments’, *The Library*, 5th ser., 32 (1977), 315 - 332, at 316.

Phipps.<sup>98</sup> This three-part publication became the subject of a prosecution in Cork – where it must have been sold, with the Grand Jury of that town describing it as designed “to make the way easier for a popish pretender to possess the throne”. The Grand Jury also made a presentment not only of this particular publication but also of “several libels” published by Lloyd,<sup>99</sup> although what those other libels were is unknown.

In 1712, Lloyd published a reprint of a work first published in London in 1704, *An Abridgement of the Life of James II*,<sup>100</sup> and later that year became the subject of the most heated controversy of the period. He issued a proposal for a Dublin reprint of *Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George* (Memoirs of the Old Pretender, James III), which had been published anonymously in London. With their majority in the House of Commons, the Whigs instigated a prosecution out of the Queen’s Bench on a charge of plotting to bring in the Pretender, and after a Grand Jury found the bill, Lloyd was ordered to stand trial. In the meantime, Lloyd’s Tory colleagues, Cornelius Carter and Edward Waters, posted a bond of £100 to secure his release from prison, only for Lloyd to flee again, presumably costing his colleagues that bond. Whilst Lloyd was at large, however, Phipps persuaded Ormonde to hold the proceedings, which allowed Phipps to formally terminate them by entering a *noli prosequi* in June 1713. Infuriated by this protection of Lloyd, the Whigs in the House of Commons, after Ormonde was replaced as Lord Lieutenant by the Whig Lord Shrewsbury in September 1713, pressured Queen Anne into authorising an enquiry into Phipps’ conduct, and with this the Tory publishing campaign of the previous few years came to an end. Lloyd had returned to Ireland but, fearing the consequences of this enquiry and with his coffee house becoming the target of rioting, he left Ireland once and for all in May 1714, taking his wife and family with him.<sup>101</sup> Phipps survived the enquiry but was removed from office not long after the Queen’s death on 1 August 1714.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> A4, 23.

<sup>99</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 368; Rees, ‘Lloyd, Edward (fl. 1703-1736)’, ODNB, 1.

<sup>100</sup> A4, 33. Rees (‘Lloyd, Edward (fl. 1703-1736)’, ODNB, 1) says Lloyd was prosecuted for this, but he appears to be mistaking this publication for Lloyd’s proposal to publish *Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George*. See: JHLI vol. II, 448.

<sup>101</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 126; Scaramuccio, [W.J. Lawrence], ‘Dublin Two Hundred Years Ago, The Story of a Forgotten Newspaper’, *Irish Life*, 12 and 19 December, 1913, 469 – 470.

<sup>102</sup> For the prosecution of this proposal by Lloyd and all events that followed: *Dublin Intelligence* for 23 September 1712; *Dublin Gazette* for 20 – 23 September 1712; Anon, *A Long history of a Certain Session of a Certain Parliament in a Certain Kingdom*, Dublin, 1714, 44 – 75; JHLI vol. II, 448; Hayton, ‘An Irish parliamentary diary from the reign of

At one point during these years Lloyd published a work that Walter Scott considered to be Swift's.<sup>103</sup> *The r-----r's s----ch explain'd* was published in 1711 with the imprint: "Dublin: printed by Edward Waters; and publish'd by Edward Lloyd".<sup>104</sup> It was a parody of the speech of the Recorder of Dublin, John Forster, given upon the arrival of Lord Lieutenant Ormonde on 4 July 1711. Swift was in London at this time and it is on account of this absence from Dublin that Harold Williams thought his authorship unlikely.<sup>105</sup> However, Swift not being in Ireland should not entirely preclude the possibility that this work was his. As the writer for the Oxford Tory ministry at the time, Swift is likely to have been sent copies of all significant publications out of Ireland, and after writing a parody of the Recorder's Speech he could conceivably have sent it to Ormonde or Phipps – both of whom he knew – who could then have passed it on to their publisher Lloyd. This, however, is speculative.

Lloyd's Dublin career ended in 1714. He had left for London in May and when Phipps also returned to London later in the year it was reported in the *Dublin Intelligence* that, when Phipps arrived in the city, he was attended by a train of thirty horses with his former "Coffee-Man and News-monger at the Head of the Convoy".<sup>106</sup> This was a fitting scene to draw the curtain on four years of audacious Jacobite publishing. Lloyd was the pioneer of provocative Tory publishing in Ireland. The extreme risk-taking and the culture of bravado amongst the Tory stationers of subsequent years was in large part attributable to him. He became the first 'marked man' from a Whig government point of view, setting the bar that Tories after him tried to raise. Of interest, too, is that between 1711 and 1714, Lloyd's printer and business partner was Edward Waters, and Waters' apprentice at that time was John Harding, then a young teenager. During these Tory years, then, Lloyd, Waters and Harding were all working together in the New Post-Office Printing House in Essex Street on the corner of Sycamore Alley.<sup>107</sup>

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Queen Anne', *Anal Hib.*, xxx, (1982), 99 – 149, in particular 121 – 122; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 368; Munter, *HINP*, 129; and Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685 – 1766: a fatal attraction*, Dublin, 2002, 165.

<sup>103</sup> Walter Scott, x, 438.

<sup>104</sup> A1, 24.

<sup>105</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1089 – 1090.

<sup>106</sup> *Dublin Intelligence* for 2 November 1714.

<sup>107</sup> In addition to working there, Waters would also have been living there and Harding might have been boarding there Monday through Saturday. Lloyd during these years was the occupant of the Union Coffee House and was probably living there rather than the printing house.

### Ann Sandys

Ann Sandys, the widow of Edwin Sandys, carried on the business after her husband's death. Edwin Sandys had been an engraver and printer who had benefited from his associations with the establishment. He was for a time a Secretary to the Lords Justices, and it appears to have been by virtue of this office that in 1705 he was appointed by Proclamation to print *The Dublin Gazette*.<sup>108</sup> At that time, this newspaper was only *unofficially* recognised as the Dublin newspaper authorised by the government, but after Lloyd ridiculed Sandys in the *Impartial Occurrences* for 9 October 1705 as the "Dublin Gazateer",<sup>109</sup> Dublin Castle showed its support for Sandys by formally confirming the *Dublin Gazette* as the only newspaper "published by Authority". Within two years of this announcement, Edwin Sandys had also become the printer to the Dublin Philosophical Society.<sup>110</sup> He died on 31 May 1708, after which Ann Sandys continued to publish *The Dublin Gazette* twice a week. With the newspaper and all other publications, she continued to use her husband's name in her imprint rather than her own.

In 1710, Ann Sandys came to reprint at least two short works of Swift and in doing so became the first Whig in Ireland, and the first woman anywhere, to produce a work of Swift. It happened inadvertently. From April 1709, Swift had been working in London with Steele on the latter's periodical, *The Tatler*, and throughout the first year of its publication it had appeared in London without being reprinted in Dublin. In the *Dublin Gazette* for 6 May 1710, however, Ann Sandys announced that she "hath undertaken to Reprint and Publish the *English Tatler*, Three times a Week, (if Packets come in) and will print them in a fair Character and on good Paper, in *Quarto*, for the conveniency of Binding them in Volumns [sic]... This Evening N<sup>o</sup>. I. will be published". Her "N<sup>o</sup>. I" was not the original Number One published in London in April 1709. She did not reprint the series from the beginning. Instead, her Number One was the most recent *Tatler* that had at that time been sent to Ireland, which was the London Number 164. This is known because, although there is only one surviving copy of the Sandys *Tatler*, that surviving copy is her Number 10, dated 24 May 1710, which is a reprint of the

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<sup>108</sup> Madden, i, 234.

<sup>109</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 508.

<sup>110</sup> On the Dublin Philosophical Society: Siobhán Fitzpatrick, 'Science, 1550 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 336, 340 and note 26. The founder of the Society was William Molyneux (later the author of *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, 1698 (A4, 5); Mary Ann Lyons, 'Foreign Language Books, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 366.

London Number 173 dated 18 May.<sup>111</sup> Sandys presumably published her Number One as advertised on 6 May 1710 and although there are no surviving copies of any later Number other than her Number Ten, the fact that she continued to advertise her *Tatler* in the *Dublin Gazette* until 3 February 1711 indicates that she reprinted all of the remaining Numbers whilst the periodical continued under the stewardship of Steele. These Numbers included a piece by Swift on abuses in the language (London No. 230, 28 September 1710), and his poem “A Description of a City Shower” (London No. 238, 14 – 17 October 1710).<sup>112</sup>

After Steele discontinued *The Tatler*, it was soon revived with Swift’s encouragement by William Harrison, and this new series included Swift’s fable on the parish lions and the virgins (Harrison No. 5, 23 – 27 January 1711) as well as his essay on the perils of excess in domestic hospitality (Harrison No. 20, 3 – 6 March 1711). Whether Ann Sandys reprinted these *Tatlers* is not known, although one circumstance indicating that she might have is that there are a few surviving copies of a newspaper that was published for a number of years up until June 1720, called the *Irish News-Tatler*. There is no imprint on this newspaper and as such no printer is disclosed, but Munter has concluded from the appearance of the head blocks that it comes from the Sandys’ press.<sup>113</sup> If this is right, the use of this title suggests that Ann Sandys did well from the *Tatlers* and might have reprinted all of them.

Ann and Edwin Sandys had had a son, also Edwin. This son was only four at the time of his father’s death and he went into the law rather than following his father into the stationery industry. As a consequence, Ann Sandys was left to continue the printing business herself. This she did until 1724, printing the *Dublin Gazette* twice a week until that time, when seemingly she retired. She died twenty-five years later, with her death recorded in the *Dublin Weekly Journal* of 28 January 1749. Her son died young and his death was reported in the *Dublin Journal* for 15 January 1734.

### Cornelius Carter

Cornelius Carter was a fearless innovator who was vital to the development of Irish printing. His career spanned more than three decades and through it all – from 1696 to 1727

<sup>111</sup> A4, 14. Refer also T-S 268 (item 515); and Phillips, 263.

<sup>112</sup> For discussions of the *Tatler* and the varying opinions on which contributions are Swift’s: John Nichols, ed., *Tatler*, London, 1786, ii, 447; Temple Scott, ix, xv, 3 – 66; Williams, *Poems*, lii, 123, 136, 1087; Davis: *PW*, ii, v-vi, xxv – xxxv; T-S, 267 (item 513).

<sup>113</sup> *Hand-List*, 14 (item 75).

– he operated from premises within the Post Office Coffee House on Fishamble Street, just south of the river.<sup>114</sup> He was often employed by publishers such as Pue and Lloyd to undertake their printing work, but in his own right there was no other stationer throughout these decades who did more to advance printing and the profession of journalism in Ireland.

First and foremost, Carter was a Tory. During the opening decades of the century there was a band of four Tory stationers who came and went at different times depending on the circumstances of their careers. These were Pue, Lloyd, Waters and Carter. Carter was the mainstay through it all and by the 1720's, when the only other of the four still printing was Waters, he was a revered figure amongst Tory stationers. Carter differed from Pue and Lloyd, and if not Waters, in one respect: he obtained a qualified form of membership of the trade Guild. Full membership of the Guild first required obtaining the Freedom of the City, and as this in turn required taking the Oath of Allegiance to William and the Oath of Abjuration of the claim of the Pretender, no Catholic, non-juror or Jacobite ever became a full member. But to extract fees from these other stationers, the Guild created a category of membership known as Quarter Brother membership, which was a qualified membership that did not require the taking of those Oaths and where fees were payable quarterly. Carter was a Quarter Brother of the Guild, something that is likely to have been forced upon him by his prominent profile. With a rate of production of printed works higher than any other stationer in Dublin, Carter drew attention upon himself with his unrelenting defiance of the establishment. On at least eight occasions he was arrested and on at least four of those he was imprisoned, for offences such as publishing a Catholic prayer book, printing false news, printing speeches from the Lord Lieutenant or the House of Lords without authority, and forging the imprints of other printers. On one occasion in 1709, he was forced in open court to take the Oath of Abjuration to secure his release from a prosecution and its fines. On at least two separate occasions the Guild prosecuted him to proceed to take the Oath of Allegiance and obtain his Freedom of the City, but he never did so.<sup>115</sup> In 1715, then, when the Whig, John Whalley, labelled Carter a Jacobite,<sup>116</sup> Whalley was undoubtedly correct.

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<sup>114</sup> Although he remained at the one shop throughout his career, his imprint varied between "Post Office Coffee House", and "Sign of the Post Office Printing House", and, after the Post Office relocated to Essex Street, the "Old Post Office, lower end of Fishamble Street": see Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92.

<sup>115</sup> See Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 32, Gilbert, i, 179 – 180; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92.

<sup>116</sup> *Whalley's News-Letter* for 5 March 1715.



Carter differentiated himself from the other Tories and Jacobites with the range of material he published. He would publish anything that came his way, even Whig material, provided he saw a return in it. He also distinguished himself with his approach to business insofar as he was the first to think creatively in an attempt to open up new markets. He would see opportunities where others saw none; in 1714, after Lloyd fled the country, Carter produced *Lloyd's Successor's News-Letter* for close to a year.<sup>117</sup> Carter was also an innovator with newspapers.

The rise of the Irish newspaper was a significant development in the Dublin stationery industry in the 1690's and early eighteenth century.<sup>118</sup> The first regular Dublin newspaper had appeared in 1685. Entitled the *News-Letter*, this had been printed by Joseph Ray for Robert Thornton.<sup>119</sup> But at any time during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, there were at least a dozen newspapers on offer in Dublin.<sup>120</sup> They were not referred to as 'newspapers' at this time; that word did not come into use until the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Instead, each was known only by its title, and as there was no property in those titles, there were competing *Dublin Mercury's*, *Dublin Journal's* or *Dublin Intelligence's* in the market at various times. These competing titles were distinguishable, sometimes by the printer including his name in the title such as "Edward Waters' *Dublin Journal*", and the printers would always place their colophon at the foot of the last page. Editions were most often numbered, and they are referred to as 'Numbers' even though the printers on occasion showed themselves to be partly innumerate with numbering that went backwards or progressed, for example, from 1009 to 10010.<sup>122</sup> These Numbers were published either weekly or twice-weekly, and in size and appearance they resembled more what would now be known as a News Letter (indeed the

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<sup>117</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 10 (item 56); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 93.

<sup>118</sup> See Munter, *HINP*; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 218; Michael Brown, 'The location of learning in mid-eighteenth century Ireland', op. cit, at 112.

<sup>119</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 1 (item 1); Munter, *HINP*, 12. It has been claimed that an earlier newspaper may have been produced in Ireland on a regular basis – the *Irish Monthly Mercury of Cork* in 1649: Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 204 and note 46.

<sup>120</sup> On increasing levels of literacy in Ireland in the early eighteenth century: Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 43; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 219.

<sup>121</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, viii.

<sup>122</sup> For examples of numbering going backwards: the *Dublin Intelligence* of 15 March 1715 sequenced by the Number for 26 March 1715, or the *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* of 15 August 1719 sequenced by the Number for 5 September 1719. For examples of innumeration: the *Dublin Gazette* of 12 – 15 June 1714 sequenced by the Number for 15 – 19 June 1714, or the *Dublin Intelligence* of 30 April 1726 sequenced by the Number for 7 May 1726.

word “News-Letter” formed part of the title of several of them). They consisted of between two and four folio pages and the content was predominately foreign. Occasionally a Proclamation from Dublin Castle might appear on the front page under the title banner, but most often the opening two-to-three pages were taken up with news that arrived into Dublin in packet boats three times a week.<sup>123</sup> As Madden said of Francis Dickson’s *Dublin Intelligence*, for instance, “two or three advertisements in each number, remind[ed] readers that they were in a country in which some trade was carried on by Irishmen”.<sup>124</sup> Local news and tid-bits were placed on the final page, although there was often nothing reported in this regard (“Dublin, Nothing is Material here”, John Whalley reported in his *News-Letter* of 22 – 25 August 1716). The foreign news was most often repeated verbatim, with all newspaper proprietors reproducing it exactly as it appeared in the packets. For the local news and occasional entertainment piece, the Dublin printers wrote their own copy.

Carter produced eleven newspapers in the course of his career (not including those he printed for others) and pioneered several developments. He was the first to solicit for advertisements, the first to experiment with Monday and Thursday editions (as opposed to the usual Tuesday and Saturday), the first to try an evening edition, the first to see the commercial possibilities of a Supplement published in the days between the twice-weekly Numbers, and the first to offer long-term subscription rates. From a journalistic point of view, Carter pioneered yellow (gossipy) journalism in Ireland, and at the same time was the first to commence the practice of acknowledging sources.<sup>125</sup> An intensely competitive stationer, he can be said to have introduced the notion that this new industry of printing could advance from a trade to a profession.

Dunton left a short account of Carter after meeting him briefly in 1698, which was early in Carter’s career:

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<sup>123</sup> At this time local news was *spoken* about in the coffee houses, taverns and on the streets, rather than reported: Kelly, ‘Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 218. And as mentioned earlier, it was not until the 1750’s that newspaper reporting on domestic matters began to develop: Barnard, ‘Print Culture, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 38 – 39; Kelly, ‘Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 225. On the cultures of Dublin coffee houses more generally through this period: Michael Brown, ‘The location of learning in mid-eighteenth century Ireland’, *op. cit.*, at 110, 113, 116 – 120.

<sup>124</sup> Madden, i, 225. Also on the advertisements in Dickson’s *Dublin Intelligence*: James Raven, ‘Serial Advertisement in Eighteenth Century Britain and Ireland’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620 – 1914*, New Castle, 1993, 103 – 122, at 109.

<sup>125</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 57, 70, 77, 78, 96; and Munter, *Dictionary*, 51.

I next rambled to Mr. Carter's in Fishamble-street, I had but time to bid Carter adieu, but will say at parting, 'He's a genteel honest Printer, is like to marry a Beauty, I heartily wish him Courage, for *faint Heart never won fair Lady*; and he can't but conquer, for he's a witty Man, and charms a thousand ways.<sup>126</sup>

Carter might have been piqued by this "*faint Heart never won fair Lady*", for soon after the publication of Dunton's book in 1699, he married and proceeded to produce nine children.<sup>127</sup> But Dunton's depiction of a "genteel" printer does not correspond with some of the evidence of Carter the businessman. Of interest in this regard are some exchanges in the course of the long-running feud Carter had with Whalley, the arch Whig. Whalley had been a cobbler in London before crossing the channel in the 1670's and setting himself up as a newspaper man and the writer and publisher of a yearly almanac with astrological predictions.<sup>128</sup> Establishment printers generally had little need to be politically outspoken, but Whalley made an exception of himself with his persistent anti-Catholic views. He advocated the penal laws whilst advancing fundamentalist proposals such as the public burning of all Catholic books, the expulsion from the country of all Popish printers and booksellers, and the castration of Popish priests.<sup>129</sup> Whalley was an easy target for Tory stationers, and Carter took up the challenge in 1713 and 1714 when he produced numerous parodies and forgeries of Whalley. Some of the exchanges were light-hearted, as in August 1714 when the Whigs wanted nothing more than the removal of Phipps as Lord Chancellor, only for Carter to produce a hoax edition of "Whalley's" *News-Letter* that included the report: "Tis confirmed that his Excellency Sr. Constantine Phipps, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is to Continue here for three years longer to the Mortification of all Whigs".<sup>130</sup> Elsewhere hostilities escalated, as in a retort by Whalley to one of Carter's parodies. Whalley's poetic retort, entitled "A Whip for the CARTER" and published in his *News-Letter* of 23 July 1714, includes:

Who was't his fellow Prentice kill'd?  
Who the Blood of News-Boy Spil'd?  
The first you stood, but for the last  
A Day of Tryal is not past.

<sup>126</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, 257.

<sup>127</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92.

<sup>128</sup> On the popularity of almanacs at this time: Gillespie, 'Print Culture, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 25 – 26, and note 49. Incidentally, *Whalley's Almanack* is the subject of the opening paragraph of a letter from Knightley Chetwode to Swift of 2 July 1715: DW Letter 392, vol. ii, 134.

<sup>129</sup> See Madden, i, 239 – 252. In 1719 the Irish Parliament in fact formulated a bill for the castration of Catholic priests but it never became law: Burns, i, 90 – 91.

<sup>130</sup> *Whally's* [sic] *News-Letter*, 31 August 1714. (A Carter parody of *Whalley's News-Letter*).

Whalley alleges here that Carter, whilst an apprentice, murdered his fellow apprentice, and the comment “The first you stood” suggests that Carter stood trial and was acquitted. Whalley also charges Carter with having spilt the blood of a newsboy. A publication of Carter from 1714 entitled *Advice from the stars. In a letter to the pretending doctor, Whaley*, appears to be a response. Whilst not specifically referring to these allegations by Whalley, it accuses him of “Imposing False Notorious Lyes,/ Upon the Town for Certainties”, and continues with veiled threats against Whalley himself:

Why then, (to deal Sincerely, *Jack*,  
Wise men you know may Council lack)  
In time I'd have you cease this Course,  
Afterclaps, you know are always worst;  
And put no more your Pen to Paper.  
To manifest your *Whiggish* vapour...  
You know how dangerous 'tis for Fools,  
To keep a Meddling with edg'd Tools.<sup>131</sup>

Carter was seemingly not as faint-hearted as Dunton's early impression might have us believe.

With regard to reprints of London-published works of Swift, no Dublin stationer was responsible for a higher number than Carter. The irony is that Carter is unlikely to have known, or had any care for, the identity of the author. He would have been concerned only with the new markets these works could open up for him. The first reprint was the Dublin edition of *A Tale of A Tub* of late 1704. For this he did at least a portion of the printing and, as the imprint discloses, his shop on Fishamble Street was a third point of sale along with the coffee houses of Pue and Lloyd. After this, in 1710 there is a possibility that he may have produced some of Swift's work in *The Tatler*. In May that year Ann Sandys commenced her reprint of *The Tatler*, but on 10 May, just four days after Sandy's first Number, Carter announced that he too would be reprinting it, stating “*There is 14 of 'em done*”.<sup>132</sup> No copies of any *Tatler* by Carter survive and it cannot be known how many, if any, he might have produced. Maybe Sandys prevented him from proceeding by asserting her copyright over him.

It was in the course of his involvement with the Tory journal, *The Examiner*, that much of Carter's reprinting of Swift was undertaken. Originally published by Morpheus as trade publisher on behalf of Barber in London, 270 Numbers of this periodical appeared between 1710 and 1714. The first was published on 3 August 1710 and it thereafter appeared weekly

<sup>131</sup> A4, 45. On Carter's rivalry with Whalley, see also: A4, 46; A4, 48.

<sup>132</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 8 (item 40).

through to July 1711. A second series, also a weekly, appeared between December 1711 and December 1712. From the third series, beginning in December 1712, it began to be published twice weekly, and the periodical was in the midst of its sixth series when its final Number appeared in July 1714, just prior to the death of Queen Anne. Swift's contributions were confined mostly to the first series, in which he wrote Numbers 14 through 45 as well as part of Number 46. At all times writing as "The Examiner" and denying all suggestions that he was the author, this work kept Swift occupied between November 1710 and July 1711. He then handed the regular work over to others but continued to contribute occasionally over the next few years.

The Dublin reprinting of *The Examiner* commenced soon after the instigation of the periodical in London. The London Numbers would have been accessible in Dublin to some degree, for at the very least the coffee shops were probably subscribers, but, illustrating the extent of the local demand, no less than three Dublin editions are known to have been produced. One carries the imprint: "Reprinted by C. Carter at the Old Post-Office in Fishamble street".<sup>133</sup> Another has imprints that vary in their details but on most occasions read: "Printed at the Old Post-Office in Fishamble Street",<sup>134</sup> which is an imprint that discloses that this edition was also Carter's – possibly one for his subscribers. For the third edition, again there is variation but most imprints read: "Re-printed in Channel-Row for D. Tompson".<sup>135</sup> Daniel Tompson was another Jacobite stationer and there has been speculation that Carter and Tompson might have collaborated on *The Examiner* at least for a portion of the time that it was reprinted in Dublin.<sup>136</sup> This speculation has arisen from the fact that the second edition of Carter and the third edition – that of Tompson – do not appear to be mutually exclusive. At least one surviving collection of the Carter edition includes some Numbers printed "for D. Tompson", whilst the Tompson edition includes two Numbers "printed by C. Carter for D. Tompson".<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> A4, 20.

<sup>134</sup> A4, 21.

<sup>135</sup> T-S 275 (item 526A); Ian Gadd, "At four shillings per year, paying one quarter in hand:" reprinting Swift's *Examiner* in Dublin 1710 – 11', in K. Juhas, H.J. Real, and S. Simon, eds., *Reading Swift: Sixth Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munich, 2013, 75 – 93, at 85 – 86.

<sup>136</sup> T-S 275 (item 526A); ESTC: P1384; Gadd, op. cit., 86.

<sup>137</sup> Gadd, op. cit., 86, 92.

There are further circumstances tending to support this possibility of Carter and Tompson having worked together, or suggesting that it might have been a joint venture between them from the beginning. The Carter and Tompson editions share a format that differs from the format of the London originals. Their editions were both produced on folded half-sheets, making four pages, with the text printed in one column down the page, whereas the London edition was printed on two sides of a half-sheet, making two pages, with the text in two columns. The Carter and Tompson editions, unlike the English, were both paginated sequentially. That is, the first page of Number Two was given the number following the last page of Number One, and so on, to facilitate the collection of sets.<sup>138</sup> These common features in the Carter and Tompson editions further support the contention that they were a printer and publisher co-operating in this undertaking. There is also the fact that Carter's shop on Fishamble Street was south of the river, whilst Tompson's was in Smithfield to the north of the river. Maybe they had an arrangement whereby Carter would perform the printing work for all editions and that they would divide the market between them geographically. The only matter that to some extent counters this joint venture possibility is that for some of his Numbers, Tompson needed to call on a printer other than Carter. This is seen, as Ian Gadd has noted, in the higher quality printing in some of Tompson's Numbers.<sup>139</sup> It is also seen in Tompson's employment of a printer with a shop "in Channel-Row", which was not Carter's address.<sup>140</sup>

Irrespective of any collaboration with Tompson, in producing local editions of *The Examiner*, Carter reprinted many Numbers written by Swift. His reprinting of the periodical began with the original London Number. This was in contrast to Ann Sandys' reprinting of *The Tatler* in 1710, where Sandys began with the London Number 164, which she repurposed as her Number 1. With *The Examiner*, Carter began reprinting as soon as the periodical first arrived in Dublin. The dates he put on his editions were his Dublin publication dates, but his numbering corresponded with the London numbering throughout. Carter's reprinting also involved the removal of London advertisements and the inclusion of occasional local notices. Between August 1710 and July 1711, Carter produced all fifty-two Numbers of the first series,

<sup>138</sup> T-S 274-5 (items 525, 526 and 526A); ESTC: P1384; Gadd, op. cit., 83.

<sup>139</sup> Gadd, op. cit., 86.

<sup>140</sup> Ian Gadd refers to this Channel Row address as being one of Tompson's addresses: op. cit., 85. However, the only address of Tompson that I have seen in imprints is that of "West Church Street, Smithfield". Nor does Pollard list Channel Row as one of Tompson's addresses: *Dictionary*, 570. It seems that the Channel Row address was one of another printer that Tompson employed on occasion. The wording of the imprint itself, moreover, seems to suggest this: "Printed in Channel Row for D. Tompson": T-S, 275 (item 526A).

which included thirty-two written entirely by Swift and one partly written by Swift. Ian Gadd recently collated the publication details of all of the known surviving copies from the Dublin reprints of this first series and cross-referenced them against their respective London originals.<sup>141</sup> From this collated data, a comparison of the respective dates of the Barber and Carter editions shows that the time between the London and Dublin editions was sometimes as short as six days and other times as much as twenty days, with the average being eight to nine days.<sup>142</sup> (The variation was due, of course, to weather conditions affecting the ability of packet boats to sail.) Ian Gadd has also shown that with some of the Numbers, Carter reprinted them to meet ongoing demand some weeks after their publication. This is seen in the fact that some of the surviving copies of Numbers 6, 26 and 27 have the type-setting error “EXAIMNER”. And in some of the surviving copies of Numbers 7, 12, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33, a type-setting error appears in Carter’s Christian name in the imprint, being the same error every time.<sup>143</sup> Ian Gadd says the most likely explanation for these matters is that they represent instances of Carter reprinting those particular Numbers at the same time. I would submit that this is the *only* explanation for these recurring mistakes. These Numbers would have been hastily reprinted by Carter to enable his customers to fill gaps in their sets, and Carter would not have noticed the type in the chases holding the title and the imprint respectively (or would not have bothered to correct it). This reprinting reflects the high local demand for the first series of *The Examiner* when most of the writing was done by Swift. Not even three Dublin editions and the availability of the London edition had been enough to satisfy it.

The periodical’s popularity during this time was despite the fact that the author was known only as “the Examiner”. Dublin readers did not know that the writer was Swift and, like their London counterparts, could only guess at the identity of the author. Swift, for his part, was aware that this guessing game had extended to Ireland. In his correspondence to Stella and Rebecca, he showed himself aware that *The Examiner* was available in Dublin, telling them to “[g]et the *Examiners*, and read them”,<sup>144</sup> with subsequent correspondence confirming that Stella and Rebecca did so.<sup>145</sup> (Incidentally, whilst it is not known whether the copies Stella and Rebecca obtained were the English or the Irish editions, given the preponderance of the

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<sup>141</sup> Gadd, op. cit.

<sup>142</sup> Gadd, op. cit., 86, 92 – 93.

<sup>143</sup> Gadd, op. cit., 87.

<sup>144</sup> *Journal to Stella*, i, 146.

<sup>145</sup> *Journal to Stella*, i, 185.

latter, it is likely that they were regularly visiting Carter's Fishamble Street shop and buying them over his counter.) Even when discussing *The Examiner* in his letters to Stella and Rebecca, though, Swift at no stage directly admitted that he was the writer. Instead, he played a game where he referred in the third person to "the author" and Stella and Rebecca reciprocated with compliments on the work of "The Examiner". No one in Ireland or England, not even those closest to Swift, was in receipt of an acknowledgement of his authorship.

When Swift stopped writing for *The Examiner* after Number 46, the evidence suggests that Dublin readers immediately discerned that the quality of the periodical was not the same. Carter produced editions of the remaining six Numbers of the first series. There was then a recess until the second series began in December 1711 and he began reprinting this as well. In the reprint of Number Four of that second series, Carter included this notice: "This Paper is to be continued Weekly (as 'tis in London) If it meets with Encouragement which is but very indifferent. Subscribers shall have 'em sent to their Houses or Lodgings for 12 pence per Quarter (paying one Quarter in Hand)".<sup>146</sup> Whether any new subscriptions materialised is unknown, but Carter continued to produce this second series, which included one Number by Swift – his essay "Remarks on Fleetwood's Preface" in Number 34 that was reprinted in August 1712. From December 1712, Carter began reprinting the third series. As part of this, he produced "Appendix to the Conduct of the Allies and Remarks on the Barrier Treaty", in Number 16 that was reprinted in January 1713. This is a piece that previous editors have considered to be Swift's, although the editors of *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8* have foreshadowed that the editors of the upcoming volume of *Cambridge Swift* concerned with *The Examiner* do not believe it to be his.<sup>147</sup> Swift's "A Compete Refutation of the Falshoods alleged against Erasmus Lewis, Esq.", appeared in Number 21 of the third series and was reprinted by Carter in February 1713. The final Number of *The Examiner* that Carter is known to have produced was Number 29 of the third series in April 1713.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Op. cit., 88. Ian Gadd, who also quotes this notice, introduces it as "perplexing" and "very peculiar" and after quoting it says: "The question is how to interpret this unless it means that Carter was indeed pitching his expectations as low as his usual standard of printing". However, unless I am misinterpreting Ian Gadd's comments in some way, I cannot see how this notice from Carter is unclear. He is saying that demand for the periodical has been indifferent and he needs further subscriptions.

<sup>147</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 335 – 336, 428.

<sup>148</sup> For other references and commentary on Carter's reprinting of *The Examiner*: Madden, i, 295-6; Munter, *Hand-List*, 9 (item 43); *PW*, iii, ix – xxxv; T-S, 273 – 275 (items 525, 526 and 526A).



Other than *A Tale of A Tub*, *The Tatler* and *The Examiner*, there are four further works reprinted by Carter that were either written by Swift or in which Swift was involved. All come from the years of Swift's writing for the Oxford ministry. Firstly, on 8 March 1711, the French spy the Marquis de Guiscard attempted to assassinate Harley. This prompted the pamphlet *A True Narrative Of what pass'd at the Examination Of the Marquis De Guiscard, At The Cock-Pit, The 8th of March, 1710/11, &c.*, which was written by Delariviere Manley, Swift's successor as the writer of *The Examiner*, with Swift's help. The pamphlet was published in London for Barber and reprinted in Dublin by Carter.<sup>149</sup> Secondly, in 1712, a short pamphlet concerning aspects of the conduct of Don Guzman in accepting fees to find places for people at court was published in London for Barber under the title, *The new way of selling places at Court. In a letter from a small courtier to a great stock-jobber*. This pamphlet has not been included in most previous collected editions of Swift's works, but John Nichols and David Woolley consider it to have been written by him,<sup>150</sup> and Bertrand A. Goldgar and Ian Gadd, agreeing with David Woolley, recently included it in *Cambridge Swift*.<sup>151</sup> This work was reprinted by Carter later in 1712.<sup>152</sup> Thirdly, in 1712, Swift prepared an argument that a Whig vote in favour of ending Britain's involvement in the war of the Spanish Succession was not necessarily a vote contrary to Whig principles. This was set forth in a pamphlet entitled *Some Reasons to Prove That No Person is obliged by his Principles as a Whig to Oppose Her Majesty or Her Present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig-Lord*, which was printed for Barber in London and reprinted by Carter.<sup>153</sup> And fourthly, in 1712, Swift wrote a tract in which he posed as a member of the October Club, a Tory Club that had been angling against Harley. In this guise, Swift argued that the Tories' present difficulties should not be laid at Harley's door but had instead been caused by the Duke and Duchess of Somerset persuading the Queen not to accept Harley's advice. This tract, *Some Advice Humbly Offered to the Members of the October Club, In A Letter From A Person of Honour*, was

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<sup>149</sup> A4, 18.

<sup>150</sup> Nichols continued the Hawkesworth editions of Swift's *Works* which began in 1755, and *The new way of selling places at Court* was included in Volume XVII published in London in 1775: see T-S 90 (item 88). For David Woolley's opinion: David Woolley, 'The Canon of Swift's Prose Pamphleteering, 1710 – 1714, and *The New Way of Selling Places at Court*', *Swift Studies*, 3, (1988), 96 – 117.

<sup>151</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 16, 155 – 62.

<sup>152</sup> A4, 35.

<sup>153</sup> A4, 32.

published in London by Barber in 1712 and reprinted in Dublin by Carter the following year.<sup>154</sup>

Carter maintained a pugilistic attitude to the end of his career. Even as late as 1726, he was imprisoned for having produced hoax versions of Thomas Walsh's Whig newspapers the *Castle Courant* and the *Dublin Mercury*, which he did sporadically for nearly a year.<sup>155</sup> He would have been the ideal stationer to print Swift's pamphlets of the 1720's, but he had the good fortune for that work to fall to others. He retired in 1727 and died in July 1734.

### Francis Dickson

Francis Dickson was a Whig printer and coffee shop proprietor. He is known to have been in the industry from 1702 to 1713, and the publication for which he was best known was his newspaper the *Dublin Intelligence*. This newspaper had been authorised by Dublin Castle before giving way in that regard to Sandys' *Dublin Gazette* from 1705. Along with that *Dublin Gazette* and the *Dublin Courant* printed by Thomas Hume, Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* continued as an integral part of the Dublin Whig press.

The work of Swift that Dickson is known to have reprinted is one he produced in 1708 whilst proprietor of the Union Coffee House on Cork Hill. In February that year, the persona of Isaac Bickerstaff had first appeared on the London scene when Swift had taken up a challenge to mock the outspoken almanac-maker, John Partridge. Given that Partridge had once crowed of having correctly prophesied a certain person's death, Swift parodied him by predicting that Partridge would "infallibly die on the 29th of March next", in a tract entitled *Predictions for the Year 1708. Giving an Account of all the Remarkable Events that shall happen in Europe this Year; as Battles, Sieges, &c. The Month, Day and Hour of the Death of John Partridge, astrologer... By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.* This was published in London and soon after reprinted in Dublin with the anonymous imprint: "London Printed: and Reprinted and Sold at the Union Coffee-House on Cork Hill".<sup>156</sup> As the only known occupant of the Union at the time, this was the work of Dickson. The reason for Dickson leaving his name off the imprint might have been related to the fact that he was an establishment printer who on this occasion was publishing a somewhat irreverent work.

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<sup>154</sup> A4, 40.

<sup>155</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 107.

<sup>156</sup> A4, 11.

Proving that politics was no bar to associations between stationers, over the course of his career Dickson had dealings with Edward Lloyd. Between 1702 and 1706, Dickson published his *Dublin Intelligence* from space in the Oxman-Town Coffee House. As this was Lloyd's Coffee House at the time, Dickson was leasing that space from the Jacobite proprietor. In 1707, Dickson moved to the Four Courts Coffee House on Winetavern Street and the following year he moved again to the Union Coffee House on Cork Hill. Then, in 1709, his landlord-tenant relationship with Lloyd resumed, although this time their roles were reversed. Having published and been prosecuted for "A post-script to *Mr. Higgins's Sermon*" in 1707, Lloyd appears to have come upon harder times, and in 1709 he took a lease from Dickson of the Union Coffee House, which became known as Lloyd's Coffee House. These tenancy associations between the Whig and the Jacobite stationer were business dealings only and there is nothing to suggest a friendship. This is seen also in the fact that, amidst the controversy of Phipps' *noli prosequi* in the Queen's Bench case against Lloyd, the House of Commons enquired in to the matter and produced a *Report in relation to Edward Lloyd*, which was printed for the House by Dickson. Nor would friendly relations have been fostered by the fact that Dickson's Union Coffee House, then tenanted by Lloyd, was at this time the scene of rioting by Protestants hostile to Lloyd.

Dickson died in December 1713. He was succeeded in the printing and coffee house businesses by his son, Richard, and his wife, Elizabeth, and only five months later, when Lloyd fled the country, Elizabeth Dickson retook possession of the Union Coffee House and renamed it Hanover<sup>157</sup> to rid it of its recently-acquired reputation.

### John Henly

Little is known of John Henly. He was born in 1683 or 1684 and was a bookseller only – not a printer – between 1709 and 1714. Henly operated from a shop at Black-a-moor's head on Castle Street. The fact that he obtained his freedom of the Guild in 1709 suggests that in religion he was a Protestant, whilst his publications indicate that in politics he was a Tory.

In his capacity as a publishing bookseller, Henly is known to have reproduced three of Swift's London-published political tracts between late 1713 and March 1714. The first was a reprint of *Part of the Seventh Epistle of the first Book of Horace Imitated. And Address'd to a Noble Lord*. This poem, written late in 1713, loosely relates the story of Swift's friendship with Harley, beginning with the circumstances in which they met, through to Harley's recent gift of

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<sup>157</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 50, note 2.

a deanery in Ireland. Written in imitation of Horace although referring to the persons involved by their true identities rather than by analogy, the poem was published in London for Barber in October 1713 and reprinted in Dublin in November or December. This reprint removed the words “*Part of*” from the title and appeared with the imprint: “Dublin: Reprinted for John Henly Bookseller in Castle-street [sic], 1713”.<sup>158</sup> The second work of Swift reprinted in Dublin with Henly’s involvement was *A Preface to the B——p of S——r——m’s Introduction*. During the summer and autumn of 1713, readers in London were awaiting the third and final volume of Bishop Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, and in mid-October, as a prelude to that work, Burnet’s *Introduction to the Third Volume of the History of the Reformation* was published. Swift was an opponent of the Whig, Burnet, on account of his diminution of the lower clergy and his sympathy for dissenters, and as such Swift responded to Burnet’s *Introduction* with the pamphlet, *A Preface to the B——p of S——r——m’s Introduction*, which was printed for Barber on 7 December 1713 and reprinted for Henly early in the new year.<sup>159</sup>

The third of Swift’s works to be produced by Henly was *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*, which had been published in London in February 1714. The tract bore the full title, *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author Of the Crisis: with Some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candor, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise*. It was a protracted and somewhat spiteful denigration of Richard Steele’s *The Crisis*, which had been published in mid-January 1714<sup>160</sup> (and which, in turn, had been a response to Swift’s *The Conduct of the Allies*). *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* became the subject of the most serious prosecution to be directed at a publication of Swift’s up until this time. The Scottish representatives in the House Lords took exception to Swift’s paragraphs concerning England’s Union with Scotland in 1707 in which Swift said that that Union only ever came in to existence because the Whig First Minister of the time, the Earl of Godolphin, had blundered in letting legislation through which permitted the Scots to carry arms, with this liberty given to the Scots thereby presenting a potential threat to England – a threat that then needed to be negated by the creation of the Union. The Scots also took exception to Swift’s comments to

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<sup>158</sup> A4, 39. Stephen Karian suggests that this Dublin edition might have been the original edition of this work, stating that Henly’s “edition may have been the first printing of this poem, which suggests Swift’s involvement”, and that “this subject demands further study”: *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 210. Karian, however, does not expand on this argument, and counting against the possibility of this edition being the original is that the imprint states “Reprinted.” Barber’s London edition, moreover, was registered with the Stationers’ Company in that city on 23 October 1713: T-S 297 (item 589); Foxon S891.

<sup>159</sup> A4, 42.

<sup>160</sup> A4, 43.

the effect that Scottish peers and nobles had been profiting out of the English Treasury since the Union.<sup>161</sup> John Erskine, Earl of Mar and Secretary of State for Scotland, issued proceedings in the Court of Queen's Bench, pursuant to which Barber was bound over to appear at the next Term. A day later, the House of Lords took action of its own, summoning both Barber and Morphew for examination. During the course of these investigations, Barber, Morphew and seven of their apprentices and journeymen were questioned on matters relating to the production of the pamphlet and the identity of the author, and with no material facts disclosed, Barber and Morphew were detained in the custody of the Black Rod on 5 March. They were released on 9 March after the House of Lords obtained the Queen's authorisation for the issuing of a Proclamation offering a reward of £300 for discovery of the author. This went unclaimed and the Queen's Bench proceedings were ultimately dropped.<sup>162</sup>

In London, two versions of *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* were produced. There was the original version that, of course, included the offending paragraphs, and immediately after legal action was instigated, Barber and Morphew produced a version that omitted those paragraphs. In Dublin, two reprints were published. One, "The Third Edition", carried the imprint: "Printed for J. Henly, Bookseller in Castle street",<sup>163</sup> and seemingly with no fear of a prosecution from any Scottish nobles in Ireland, it included the offending paragraphs. Another Dublin reprint presented itself as "The Fourth Edition" and it too contained the offending paragraphs. This reprint had an anonymous imprint, "Dublin: Printed in the Year 1714".<sup>164</sup> It cannot be associated with Henly, but due to several printing errors that are repeated in both Dublin editions, it is possible that it was produced by the same stationer who had performed the printing work for the Henly edition.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> A4, 49, pages 21 – 23; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 262 – 264.

<sup>162</sup> For detailed discussion of the legal proceedings against *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*: Maurice J. Quinlan, 'The Prosecution of Swift's *Public Spirit of the Whigs*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 9, (1967), 167 – 184; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 708 – 713; Charles A. Rivington, 'Tyrant: The Story of John Barber', York, 1989, 42 – 49; John Irwin Fischer, 'The Legal Response to Swift's *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*', in John Irwin Fischer, Hermann J. Real and James Woolley, eds., *Swift and his Contexts*, New York, 1989, 21 – 38; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 446 – 454.

<sup>163</sup> A4, 44.

<sup>164</sup> A4, 49.

<sup>165</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 458 – 459. The editors of *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8* suggest that these two Dublin editions could have both been set from a manuscript, which seems to infer that the manuscript could have been an original and that Henly or the other stationer had an association with Swift or Barber. However, if this is in fact the intended inference, there is no independent evidence to support this.

Another London-published work reprinted by Henly during this period is one that was possibly written by Swift. This was the poem *The First Ode of the second Book of Horace Paraphras'd*. Throughout the second half of 1713, London had been anticipating the publication of Steele's *The Crisis*, but with the work repeatedly delayed, a poem appeared ridiculing the height of expectation. Again in imitation of Horace, *The First Ode of the second Book of Horace Paraphras'd* was published for Barber on about 6 January 1714 and reprinted for Henly within a month or so.<sup>166</sup> The style of this poem resembles Swift's and it has historically been thought to belong to the canon. But David Woolley has illustrated that, when Morpew advertised a series of his publications in *The Examiner*, one section of the advertisement lists a set of works that are now all accepted to have been written by Swift, while another section lists a set of miscellaneous works by other authors, and *The First Ode of the second Book of Horace Paraphras'd* is in the latter list.<sup>167</sup> Further, James Woolley, who at the present time is preparing Swift's poems for *Cambridge Swift*, has foreshadowed to another scholar involved in *Cambridge Swift* that he will be presenting this poem as unlikely to have been written by Swift.<sup>168</sup>

In 1714, Henly became the subject of a separate prosecution himself. That year, a lengthy Tory treatise appeared attacking the Whigs in the Irish House of Commons for their conduct in the matter of Lloyd and the *noli prosequi* entered by Phipps. This treatise was entitled *A long history of a short session of a certain parliament* and it was printed and published anonymously. The Whigs in the Irish Commons investigated the matter and subsequently initiated a prosecution against the persons they believed to be the publication's author, publisher and printer, with Henly amongst this number. The prosecution was issued out of the King's Bench and the warrants for arrest were authorised by the Chief Justice of that Court, the newly appointed William Whitshed.<sup>169</sup> The case against Henly did not proceed because he died of a fever in June 1714, aged thirty-one.

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<sup>166</sup> A4, 47.

<sup>167</sup> David Woolley, 'The Canon of Swift's Prose Pamphleteering, 1710 – 1714, and *The New Way of Selling Places at Court*', *Swift Studies*, 3, (1988), 96 – 117, at 97 note 5, and his illustrations 3a and 3b.

<sup>168</sup> This view of James Woolley is reported by Bertrand A. Goldgar in the course of his Introduction to *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, which has already been published: *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 35, note 30.

<sup>169</sup> Whitshed's appointment as Chief Justice was reported in Ann Sandys' *Dublin Gazette* for 9-12 October 1714.

### Daniel Tompson

Daniel Tompson went by the alias “Dring”. There was a Daniel Dring who had been apprenticed to a Thomas Dring in London in 1687.<sup>170</sup> Accordingly, it has been speculated that this Daniel Dring was an English stationer who moved to Ireland and, for reasons unknown, thereafter called himself “Tompson”. In Dublin, Tompson was a printer, bookseller and copperplate printer between 1702 and 1715. His imprints occasionally advertised his “*Rowling Press, ready to print all sorts of Copper-Pleats, as Tobacco Bills, and This Indenture of different Sizes of Text-Hand, and Lottery Pictures, at reasonable Rates*”,<sup>171</sup> and he operated intermittently from shops on the north and south sides of the Liffey. A stationer who was only ever a Quarter Brother of the Guild, Tompson was at the very least a Tory, for in 1710 he advertised a new periodical to be entitled the *Loyal Mercury* which he said would disprove “the Factious and Schismatical Accounts... in the *Dublin Intelligence*”.<sup>172</sup> But from around 1710 he also had associations with Lloyd when he was in close proximity to that publisher and coffee house proprietor on Cork Hill, and within a few years he was expressly labelled a Jacobite by Whalley.

The few works of Swift that Tompson reprinted were all produced in collaboration with other stationers. One was his edition of *The Examiner* that ran between 1710 and 1713. This was the venture in which he appears to have collaborated with Carter, although, as mentioned previously, a portion of the printing work for Tompson appears to have been undertaken by a printer on Channel Row. He sold his edition of *The Examiner* from his shop on West Church Street in Smithfield north of the river. For another reprint of a work of Swift, he was the printer rather than the bookseller. This was the Dublin edition of *A Preface to the B——p of S——r——m’s Introduction*, which was printed by him for Henly.<sup>173</sup> Tompson might also have printed either or both Dublin editions of *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* for Henly.<sup>174</sup>

Tompson fled Ireland sometime in 1714 or 1715 on account of having printed the Henly-published *A long history of a short session of a certain parliament*. The King’s Bench warrants

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<sup>170</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 570.

<sup>171</sup> Quoted in each of: Gadd, ““At four shillings per year, paying one quarter in hand:” reprinting Swift’s *Examiner* in Dublin 1710 – 11”, op. cit., 85 – 86; and Pollard, *Dictionary*, 570.

<sup>172</sup> No copies of the *Loyal Mercury* survive. His announcement appeared as an advertisement in his reprint of *The Examiner*, being his No. 12 for 27 October, 1710; see Pollard, *Dictionary*, 570.

<sup>173</sup> A4, 42.

<sup>174</sup> A4, 44, and A4, 49.

against that publication were seemingly issued in early 1714, but the anonymity of the persons involved in it saw the Whig investigations stretch over nearly two years. Ultimately, the person who publicly divulged the identities of the printer and publisher was John Whalley in his *News-Letter* for 1 February 1716:

Saturday last there was Burn'd before the Tholsel and Parliament House by order of the House of Commons, by the Common hang-man, a Seditious Pamphlet, publish'd immediately after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, Intituled, A Long History of a Short Session of a certain Parliament in a certain Kingdom, Highly Reflecting on that venerable assembly; and a Committee is appointed to enquire who was the Author, Printer and Publisher of it. The Printer was one Dring, who call'd himself Thompson, a Jacobite, who long since hearing there was a Warrant against him for that Pamphlet fled for England; and one of the Publishers was one Henley a Bookseller in Castlestreet, since Dead.

Tompson had fled Ireland "long since" this date of 1 February 1716 and he is not known to have returned.

### John Hyde

Even from before his career began, John Hyde was well-connected. He served an apprenticeship as a binder under William Norman,<sup>175</sup> who had previously been a binder for James Butler, the first Duke of Ormonde and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for eighteen years over three separate terms between 1642 and 1685. Following his apprenticeship, Hyde set up shop on Dame Street in 1709, where he was a bookseller and binder. He remained in these Dame Street premises through to the end of his career in 1728. Hyde's standing in the industry was enhanced by his marriage to the daughter of Joseph Ray, who was one of the founding fathers of Irish printing. Joseph Ray was the Printer to the City and Deputy King's Stationer at various times and was involved in Dublin's first regular newspaper, *The News-Letter*, which he printed for Robert Thornton from 1685.<sup>176</sup> In 1698, Joseph Ray printed and published William Molyneux's *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* – a landmark politico-legal work for Ireland which Ray printed immaculately over 174 pages.<sup>177</sup> Hyde married Ray's daughter, Sarah, in 1714, and they are known to have had at least

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<sup>175</sup> In 1766, a claim would be made that Hyde had been one of several Dublin stationers not to have served any apprenticeship at all: "To the Public", cited in Phillips, 24. But Pollard verifies that he was indentured to Norman (*Dictionary*, 434). See also Munter, *Dictionary*, 142.

<sup>176</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 1 (item 1).

<sup>177</sup> A4, 5. There are only a handful of minor printing errors. On Ray's career: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 479-82; Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 69; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 207.



two children.<sup>178</sup> Throughout his career, Hyde was a loyal Protestant. The fact that he was freed of the City in 1707 tends to confirm this. But he was not an overtly political stationer. If he was a Tory, which his publishing of Swift might suggest, it was certainly not in any prominent way.

With regard to Swift, Hyde is one Dublin stationer from these first decades of the century for whom there is reasonably clear evidence suggesting, at least on one occasion, an interaction with Swift's London publishers. This is seen in circumstances from around the time of the London publication of *The Conduct of the Allies*. On 24 August 1711, Hyde obtained the leave of the Guild to go to London, and he presumably travelled there sometime soon afterwards.<sup>179</sup> Hyde was in London, therefore, when the original edition of *The Conduct of the Allies* was printed for Barber on 27 November, and he remained in London during the next two weeks when that publication went into three subsequent editions, each with new amendments from Swift. By mid-December Hyde had returned to Dublin, and by the eighteenth of that month he had published a Dublin reprint of the work.<sup>180</sup> Hyde's edition contained six textual changes that had not appeared in any of the four London-published editions that had appeared to that time.

In David Woolley's words, the changes in the Hyde edition represent "a stemma distinct from the series deriving from the successive London editions".<sup>181</sup> David Woolley is of the view that those changes are authorial, and this is an opinion that appears almost certain to be correct. The six changes are as follows. The first is in the sentence that in the London editions reads, "This kind of Treatment from our two Principal Allies, hath taught the same Dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty Prince, whom we half maintain by Subsidies and Pensions..." In the Hyde edition, the word "hardly" here is changed to "not".<sup>182</sup> The second is in the sentence that reads, "In the Offensive Alliance we took no care of having the Assistance of *Portugal*, whenever we should be invaded: But in this, it seems, we were

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<sup>178</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 306; also, the *Dublin Gazette* of 3 – 6 September 1737 reported the marriage of the "Daughter of the late Mr. John Hyde".

<sup>179</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 305.

<sup>180</sup> A1, 27. It is advertised in Sandys' *Dublin Gazette* for 18 December.

<sup>181</sup> David Woolley, "Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections", in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, Clive T. Probyn, ed., London, 1978, 142.

<sup>182</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 65, 373; A1, 27, page 26.

wisier;...” In the Hyde edition, the word “were” is changed to “are”.<sup>183</sup> The third is in the sentence, “And this must needs be a very prudent and safe Course for a Maritime Power to take upon a sudden Invasion; by which, instead of making use of our Fleets and Armies for our own Defence, we must send them abroad for the Defence of *Portugal*”. In the Hyde edition, “Armies” is changed to “Arms”.<sup>184</sup> The fourth is in the sentence, “As to the first of these, It is certainly for the Safety and Interest of the *States-General*, that the Protestant Succession should be preserved in England; because such a Popish Prince as we apprehend, would infallibly join with France in the Ruin of that Republick”. In the Hyde edition, “apprehend” is changed to “apprehended”.<sup>185</sup> The fifth is in the sentence, “... but the Ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the safety of their Country, than not ratify what one of their Favourites had transacted”. In the Hyde edition, “Favourites” is changed to “Favourers”.<sup>186</sup> The sixth is in the sentence, “This is a Demonstration, that if the War lasts another Campaign, it will be impossible to find Funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the Malt Tax, or by some other Method equally desperate”. In the Hyde edition, “lasts” is changed to “lasted”.<sup>187</sup> There can be little doubt in my view that David Woolley is right in saying that these are authorial rather than printer’s changes.

The question then turns to how Hyde obtained a copy of the work that had changes which the second, third and fourth London editions did not carry. The editors of *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8* offer two alternative explanations for this. One is that Hyde met with Barber in London in November and obtained a pre-publication copy in proof-sheet form (with these six changes subsequently being made on that proof-sheet by Swift in time for the original London publication). The second is that Hyde made the changes himself. As mentioned already, the former explanation is more plausible. Hyde was in London during the period preceding publication and, being a leading stationer in Dublin, is likely to have visited one of his counterparts in London. A separate question is whether Hyde had any dealings with Swift during this visit to London. There is no evidence that he did, and in 1719 when Swift came to work with Hyde in Dublin, and referred to him on a few occasions in his correspondence,

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<sup>183</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 67, 373; A1, 27, page 28.

<sup>184</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 67, 373; A1, 27, page 28.

<sup>185</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 68, 373; A1, 27, page 29.

<sup>186</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 71, 374; A1, 27, page 32.

<sup>187</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 96, 378; A1, 27, page 61.

there is nothing in Swift's comments to suggest that he had met Hyde in London.<sup>188</sup> There is a possibility that Swift obtained second-hand knowledge of Hyde's visit to Barber; in letters to Stella of 2 and 4 December, he shows that himself aware that the publication had been sent to Ireland for purposes that include, he supposes, being reprinted there.<sup>189</sup> But these comments could be referring to standard copies from the Morpew press being sent to Ireland, and not the advance copy seemingly obtained by Hyde, particularly given that a published Morpew edition was reprinted in Dublin by Edward Waters.<sup>190</sup>

Supposing that Hyde did meet with Barber in late 1711 and obtained a proof copy of *The Conduct of the Allies*, it is possible that he made an arrangement with Barber for other works of Swift to be sent directly to him in Dublin for reprinting. This is seen in the fact that the next two works of Swift to be reproduced in Dublin were published by Hyde. The first of these was Swift's pamphlet related to the affair of Gregg. In late 1707, a clerk in the office of Harley, Scottish born William Gregg, had entered into treasonous correspondence with the French Minister of War and had begun sending confidential papers to that Minister. Gregg was executed on 28 April 1708, and in two Numbers of *The Examiner*,<sup>191</sup> Swift accused the Whig Lords who interrogated Gregg of having offered a bribe whereby he would be spared execution if he would give evidence to implicate Harley in the correspondence with France. The Whigs replied to the *Examiners* with a tract entitled *A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, Appointed to Examine Gregg*, and Swift responded to this with *Some Remarks Upon a Pamphlet, Entitl'd, [A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, Appointed to Examine Gregg.] By the Author of the Examiner*. This pamphlet of Swift's was published for Barber in London on 18 August 1711 and reprinted for Hyde probably in December 1711 or January 1712.<sup>192</sup> The second of the two works was Swift's pamphlet on the Barrier Treaty. Late in 1709, the Whig ministry of Godolphin had signed a treaty with the Dutch whereby Britain would provide the Netherlands with security on the French side of its border in return for Holland guaranteeing the Hanoverian Succession. Three years later, with the Dutch agitating against the then Tory ministry's campaign to end the War of the Spanish Succession, an enquiry was launched into

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<sup>188</sup> Compare the comments of Stephen Karian, who is of the view that Hyde "probably" obtained a revised copy of the work "directly from Swift": *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 15 and note 7 (209 – 210).

<sup>189</sup> *Journal to Stella*, ii, 428, 430.

<sup>190</sup> This will be discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>191</sup> Numbers 33 and 34 of Volume 1.

<sup>192</sup> A1, 26.

the ministers who brokered the Barrier Treaty. This enquiry was the subject of Swift's pamphlet, *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, Between Her Majesty And the States-General. By the Author of The Conduct of the Allies*. The pamphlet was published in London for Barber on 22 February 1712 and reprinted for Hyde probably in March.<sup>193</sup> The fact that three successive works of Swift were published in London by Barber and reprinted in Dublin by Hyde raises the possibility of a cross-channel arrangement between the publishers for this period of four-to-five months.<sup>194</sup>

In 1719 in Dublin, Hyde and Swift formed an association. Swift's friend, Matthew Prior, asked Swift to manage subscriptions in Ireland for his collected poetical works, and for this Swift turned to Hyde for managerial and publishing assistance. Swift was impressed with the bookseller during this period and on more than one occasion expressed a good opinion of him in his correspondence.<sup>195</sup> In subsequent years, Swift sent the occasional work to Hyde for publication. These included *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* of late 1720 or early 1721 (if this is allowed to be Swift's)<sup>196</sup> and *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops, In letting of Leases. With Remarks on some Queries Lately published*, of October 1723.<sup>197</sup> Late in 1726, Swift gave Hyde the assignment of producing the first Irish edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, which included Swift's amendments from the original London edition published by Benjamin Motte a month earlier.<sup>198</sup> By this time, Hyde had also acquired the craft of printing and had become a master bookseller-binder-printer, and as such he undertook at least a portion of the printing of this work himself. Produced in duodecimo (as distinct from Motte's octavo), the imprint read: "Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Book-seller in Dames's Street, 1726".<sup>199</sup> An advertisement in Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* for 26 November indicates that he employed

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<sup>193</sup> A1, 43.

<sup>194</sup> On these cross-channel arrangements generally: Hadfield, 'Historical Writing, 1550 – 1660', in *HOIB*, 259 – 260; Cunningham, 'Historical Writing, 1600 – 1750', in *HOIB*, 264.

<sup>195</sup> 16 February 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 490, vol. ii, 292; 3 May 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 494, vol. ii, 301; 3 February 1722, Swift to Adrian Drift: DW Letter 558, vol. ii, 413.

<sup>196</sup> A1, 162. Davis leaves the question of the authorship of this work open: *PW*, ix, xxiv-xxvii; whilst others tend to think it is not his: Armer, 66; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 135 – 136.

<sup>197</sup> A1, 174.

<sup>198</sup> It is not settled beyond all doubt that the amendments in the Hyde edition are in fact authorial. The argument that they *are* authorial is made by David Woolley: "Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections", in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, Clive T. Probyn, ed., London, 1978, 131 – 178. But this argument has recently been examined by David Womersley: *Cambridge Swift Vol. 16*, 640 – 641, 727 – 729. Womersley raises some questions with respect to the argument, although without denying it.

<sup>199</sup> A4, 157.

his fellow Dublin stationers, George Risk, George Ewing and William Smith, to help him with this undertaking.<sup>200</sup> This employment of these other stationers by Hyde resembles the circumstances of the production of original London edition insofar as Motte, for that edition, had dispersed the printing work amongst various stationers as part of a strategy to defray the risk of prosecution. With several printers all producing a separate component of the text, that is, no single printer can have knowledge of the whole and, therefore, no single printer can be liable. It seems unlikely that Hyde's decision to distribute the printing amongst other stationers was for a similar purpose. Given that no prosecution had ensued in London, Hyde's decision to engage Risk, Ewing and Smith – all of whom worked in the one shop close to him on Dames Street – was probably simply to ease the workload and expedite the project. This Irish edition of *Gulliver's Travels* represented a crowning moment for a stationer who had been well-regarded throughout his career. Hyde died two years later and Richard Dickson printed an obituary in his *Dublin Intelligence* of 17 November 1728. Hyde was succeeded in business by his widow, Sarah.<sup>201</sup>

### A Possible System of Distribution

With the possible exception of Hyde for a period of four or five months, there is nothing to suggest that any Dublin stationer had an arrangement in place with Swift, Tooke or Barber, to ensure that they were the first to receive London publications. In the absence of such arrangements, it is not known what system, if any, might have been in place for the distribution of London publications once they arrived in Dublin on the packet boats. From all of the matters just discussed, however, one possible system could be speculated upon. It has been seen that three successive works of Swift were reprinted by Hyde between December 1711 and March 1712, which may or may not have been a consequence of an arrangement with Barber. After these three by Hyde, the next three were all printed by Carter, two in the summer of 1712 and one later that year. After this, the next three (or four if *The First Ode of the second Book of Horace Paraphras'd* was written by Swift) were all Henly's between late 1713 and around March 1714. This suggests that there might have been some kind of rotation system in place whereby each stationer was given a period of a few months in which they had first right

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<sup>200</sup> See also T-S 204-5 (item 297).

<sup>201</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 306 – 307; JW, *Skinnibonia*, 335 note 71. In 1731 Sarah Hyde might have printed a work that had been co-written by Swift (A4, 204) given that the ornaments on this work were previously associated with the Hyde business (refer: JW, *Skinnibonia*, 335 and note 71). Then, in 1733, Sarah Hyde along with another stationer's widow, Jane Dobson, printed and published a work that included an essay by Thomas Sheridan: A4, 206.

of refusal with respect to the publications that came over from London. However, given that some reprints may have been lost, this is conjectural. All that can be said with certainty is that most of the stationers who produced Swift's works in Ireland were Tories, non-jurors or Jacobites. Maybe the irreverence inherent in Swift's satirical style, and the spirit of opposition within it, resonated with them.

### Other Miscellaneous Publications

Other than those mentioned thus far, there are seven other works from this period up to 1719 that, firstly, in their authorship are one way or another associated with Swift, and secondly, could potentially have been produced in Ireland.<sup>202</sup> Some are original publications and others are reprints, although none can be attributed to any particular stationer. The seven, in chronological order, are as follows. Firstly, Swift is thought by some to have been the author of the tract, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland Upon the chusing a new Speaker there. Written in the Year 1708*.<sup>203</sup> No Irish-produced copy survives but the subject matter appears to make it inevitable that it was published either originally or as a reprint in Dublin. Secondly, in 1709, Swift wrote *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England concerning the Sacramental Test*, which accuses the English ministry of campaigning for the repeal of the Test Act in Ireland not for the benefit of Ireland but simply as a lever for its subsequent repeal in England. This was printed in Ireland with an anonymous imprint.<sup>204</sup> Thirdly, in 1710, Swift wrote a lampoon on the Earl of Godolphin, the Whig First Minister. In November 1707, the Archbishop of Dublin, William King, had commissioned Swift to travel to London to plead Ireland's case to the Whig government of Godolphin for the remission of moneys historically paid to the Crown out of the first year's ecclesiastical revenue of a new Church benefice – the "First Fruits". Godolphin had said he would only consider the remission of the First Fruits to Ireland if Swift for his part would lobby for the repeal of the Test Act in that kingdom. This was something that Swift refused to do and his lampoon on Godolphin, written in 1710, was associated with these events. Entitled *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod*, it was published anonymously in Dublin.<sup>205</sup> Fourthly, a poem to

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<sup>202</sup> The only others not discussed in this chapter are those in which Edward Waters was involved. These are discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>203</sup> *PW*, ii, 127 – 135.

<sup>204</sup> A4, 12.

<sup>205</sup> A4, 15.

which Swift contributed three stanzas was *A Fable of the Widow and her Cat*. A satire on the military general, the Duke of Marlborough, after that Duke had been stood down by the Queen following accusations of embezzlement, this was published in London and reprinted in Dublin with an anonymous imprint in 1711.<sup>206</sup> Fifthly, another poem of 1711, *The Whiggs Lamentation: A Soar of their own Scratching*, is considered by one commentator to have been written by Swift, and although it is not known to have been published anywhere, it may have appeared in Ireland given that it concerns Dublin people and events.<sup>207</sup> Sixthly, the poem *The Speech of the P——t of T——y C——ge to his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales*, a parody of the speech of the Provost of Trinity, Benjamin Pratt, given on 11 April 1716, was published with the imprint “Printed in the Year 1716”. This would certainly have been an Irish publication and some commentators consider it to have been written by Swift.<sup>208</sup> Finally, Vanessa at some stage wrote a poem to Swift entitled *A Rebus*, to which Swift replied with an *Answer*. The two were published together, no doubt at the behest of Vanessa, as *A Rebus Written by a Lady, On The Rev. D—n S—t. With His Answer*. The publication has no imprint but it is thought to have been published in Ireland sometime between 1714 and 1720.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> A4, 22.

<sup>207</sup> Ball considers it Swift’s and Williams does not rule out the possibility: A4, 19.

<sup>208</sup> A4, 54.

<sup>209</sup> A4, 52.





## Chapter 2: Edward Waters – His Life and Career up to 1720

From the beginning of his career, Edward Waters was a skilful printer and one whose rate of production of newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides and tracts was amongst the highest in Dublin. Waters was also a stationer who had controversy follow his every move. As an avowed Protestant who repeatedly printed subversive material, he drew frequent prosecutions from the government. He also made an oddity of himself in industry circles and went a considerable way towards ostracising himself from his Tory colleagues by, on two occasions, making deals with the prosecution to give evidence against them. This chapter discusses these aspects of Waters' career, none of which have been seen before. This chapter is also concerned with the formation of the Swift–Waters association. Having been installed as Dean of St Patrick's in 1713 and having been received coldly by the people upon beginning his permanent residence in Dublin from 1714, Swift had endured five years of despondency and low writerly energies. But late in the decade, as his popularity began to rise, Swift sensed an opportunity to defend Irish liberties and reassert himself on the international stage that he previously made his own. This chapter presents new evidence regarding how Swift came to decide upon Waters along with the timing and the nature of the association he formed with this printer.

### First Years as a Printer

There is no known baptismal record for Edward Waters. Given that only Protestant Parish records survive from this era, the absence of a surviving baptismal record can lead to a presumption of Catholic ancestry. This, however, was not the case with Waters. He was a Protestant, albeit an unusual one. He was born probably in the mid-to-late 1680's, and like most people living within the Pale, he appears to have had English ancestry. Whilst the name Waters was a synonym for traditional Irish names such as Hiskey, Whoriskey and Toorish, it was English by origin.<sup>1</sup> There was a George Waters printing in London in the early seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Whether this was an ancestor is unknown, but Edward Waters' family had certainly settled in Ireland by the time of his father's generation, because his father, John

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<sup>1</sup> On the synonymous significance of "Waters:" MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, Dublin, 1969, 215; De Breffny, *Irish Family Names, arms, origins and locations*, Middlesex, 1986, 184; Grehan, *The Dictionary of Irish Family Names*, Colorado, 1997, 237 – 238.

<sup>2</sup> ESTC lists several publications of a George Waters from the early seventeenth century. For example: S105764 and S103342.

Waters,<sup>3</sup> is known to have taken an active interest in his son's career whilst resident in either Dublin or nearby Milltown. Nothing is known of Waters' mother.

Waters began his apprenticeship in the late 1690's at age eleven or twelve. Apprentices could be either an Indoor Apprentice, who boarded with their master Monday through Saturday for maintenance fees paid to the master by their father, or an Outdoor Apprentice, who did not board with their Master.<sup>4</sup> Whether Waters was an Indoor or Outdoor Apprentice is not known. He was apprenticed to John Brocas<sup>5</sup> who, as has been mentioned, was in partnership with John Brent and Stephen Powell at Dick's for a few years. It is a coincidence that the only known surviving account of the experiences of a Dublin apprentice from this period is one that concerns this one-time partner of Brocas', Stephen Powell. This is a poetic account written in 1706 by an apprentice, Thomas Gent, who describes his master, Powell, as a drunk who was abusive and violent towards the boys in his care.<sup>6</sup> Given that Waters would have been working in the vicinity of Powell during the period that Brocas was in partnership with him, there is every chance that he was a witness to, if not a victim of, this conduct of Powell.<sup>7</sup> After Dunton met Brocas in 1698, Dunton wrote of him: "without offence to the *Printers of Dublin*, that no Man in the Universe, better understands the *Noble Art and Mystery* of Printing, than John Brocas in Skinner Row".<sup>8</sup> When Waters completed his indentures, he inherited a few of Brocas' newspaper titles as well as some printing ornaments.<sup>9</sup> He also inherited Brocas' capacity for quality press work. There were occasional publications from the Waters press that, for reasons such as shortage of type or font, or haste in production, were of a low standard of workmanship, but it is wrong to say or imply, as the editors of *Cambridge*

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<sup>3</sup> Pollard mistakenly says John Waters was born in the 1690's: *Dictionary*, 590. It must have been two or three decades earlier. Munter is also mistaken in referring to John Waters as the son of Edward, rather than the other way around: *Dictionary*, 283.

<sup>4</sup> Vincent Kinane, 'Printers' Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin', *The Linen Hall Review*, vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 11 – 12, 14, at 11.

<sup>5</sup> There is no surviving Guild record showing who his Master was, but evidence discussed in this paragraph illustrates with reasonable certainty that it was Brocas.

<sup>6</sup> Kinane, 'Printers' Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin', op. cit, 12.

<sup>7</sup> It could be speculated, too, that this behaviour in Powell contributed to the break-up of the partnership with Brocas and Brent. This is the partnership referred to by Dunton in his *Dublin Scuffle*, where Dunton is doing what he can to prevent the partnership from coming to an end: *Dublin Scuffle*, 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, 102.

<sup>9</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, items 3, 4, 7, 8; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 54.

*Swift Vol. 8* do,<sup>10</sup> that such publications were representative of Waters' work throughout his long career. Munter observes that Waters press work was generally "clean and precise",<sup>11</sup> and my own research indicates that this as a distinguishing feature of the publications that carry the Edward Waters imprint. Waters' skills in press work were acquired from Brocas and they held him in good stead for many years.

Soon after completing his apprenticeship, Waters entered into marriage. His wife, Sarah, was the daughter of Matthew Gunne (or Gun), a successful Protestant bookbinder and bookseller who in 1709 was sworn a Master of his trades.<sup>12</sup> Dunton described Matthew Gunne as "a firm adherer to the established Government" and "an enemy to *Popery and Slavery*". Gunne was also a liberal purchaser at Dunton's auctions, having bought the last remaining books at the third and final auction for "about *an Hundred Pounds*".<sup>13</sup> Waters is known to have had at least two children with Sarah Gunne. The first was a daughter, Anna Maria, who was baptised on 13 June 1709,<sup>14</sup> and the second was another daughter, Catherine, who was christened at Milltown on 12 June 1718.<sup>15</sup> Waters also appears to have maintained good relations with his father-in-law and wider family-by-marriage given that he collaborated for several years with Matthew Gunne, Richard Gunne and Thomas Gunne in the production of a popular almanac.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 334.

<sup>11</sup> *HINP*, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 263 – 264.

<sup>13</sup> *Dublin Scuffle*, 170, 55.

<sup>14</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589; Phillips, 156.

<sup>15</sup> Parish Records St. Peter & St. Kevin, 1669 – 1761, vol. 9, 406.

<sup>16</sup> Entitled *Vox Stellarum* and written by a John Coates. See: A1, 67; A1, 100; A1, 135; A1, 145; A1, 167; A1, 178; A1, 181. There is a point of confusion concerning the identities "Matthew Gunne" and "Nathaniel Gunne". Throughout his *Dublin Scuffle*, Dunton mentions the name Matthew Gunne only when he quotes a letter or attestation to which that Matthew Gunne is a signatory (42, 51), and nowhere in the course of his original narrative does he mention the name Matthew Gunne. When Dunton describes the person who is "a firm adherer to the established Government" and "an enemy to *Popery and Slavery*", for instance, the identity of this person is "Nat. Gun", (170), and when he refers to the person who bought his books for "about *an Hundred Pounds*", the identity of this person is "Honest Gun". (55) These matters raise the possibility of there having been another member of the Gunne family by the name of Nathaniel. In his annotated edition of the *Dublin Scuffle*, Andrew Carpenter infers that both such persons did in fact exist (55, 314, 339, 345). Other scholars, though, are not certain of this. Munter, in his *Dictionary*, includes entries for both Matthew Gunne and Nathaniel Gunne (121 – 122), but with the latter he acknowledges the possibility that there might not have been such a person and that Dunton's reference to "Nat. Gun" might have been a mistake for "Mat Gun". (121 – 122). And Mary Pollard, in her *Dictionary*, takes the view that there was no "Nat Gun". She includes an entry only for Matthew Gunne (263) and in the course of that entry cites the comments by Dunton about a stationer who is a firm adherer to the

The earliest known records of Waters in business on his own show him working from premises in School House Lane in 1707.<sup>17</sup> Brocas, after leaving the partnership with Brent and Powell at Dick's, had moved to a shop on School House Lane and Waters had gone with him as his apprentice. As such, it seems likely that upon completing his indentures, Waters sub-leased space from Brocas in that same shop. From there, he launched his career by printing broadsides, pamphlets and newspapers. Munter speculates that he might also have been a bootlegger.<sup>18</sup>

From early on, Waters found ways to alienate colleagues in the industry and managed to estrange both Whig and Tory stationers. For the Whigs, the problem was Waters' duplicity in his politics. Waters presented himself in his newspaper titles as a model Church of Ireland stationer and citizen whilst at the same time printing copy that tended to advance the opposite cause. Waters himself might have defended this practice as one that was consistent with the real politics of Dublin at the time, in the same way that the Tholsel and the Exchange in Skinner Row stood alongside the Jacobite establishment of Dick's. But for the Whigs, Waters was too hypocritical, and after he had been inserting snippets of Jacobite news in his newspaper *The Dublin Castle*<sup>19</sup> for about two years, Francis Dickson, in his *Dublin Intelligence* for 3 May 1707, dubbed him the "Protestant Printer to the late Pretender". This was a charge that Waters subsequently did little to disprove. His immediate response was to start up his own *Dublin Intelligence* in opposition to Dickson's. This was despite the fact that the title *Dublin Intelligence* was intricately associated with the Whigs and the establishment. Then, in the following year, Waters was part of a syndicate of seven stationers who produced a *Catholic Manual of Devout Prayers*. The syndicate included Carter; James Malone, a Catholic who had been appointed King's Printer by James II during that monarch's occupation of Dublin in 1689 – 90; Luke Dowling, a prominent Catholic bookseller who had previously been apprenticed to Malone; Peter Lawrence, a Protestant bookseller; Patrick Murtagh, a Catholic

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government and who bought books for a hundred pounds, in this way attributing them to Matthew Gunne. Whilst this matter cannot be definitively resolved, I follow this assumption made by Pollard.

<sup>17</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589.

<sup>18</sup> *HINP*, 54, note 2.

<sup>19</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, items 3, 7.

bookseller; and a merchant by the name of Berningham.<sup>20</sup> With Waters' involvement in this syndicate, Dickson's gibe was further vindicated.

Waters is sure to have turned some of the Tory stationers against him in the course of the prosecution instigated against this. This prosecution was issued out of the Queen's Bench, possibly even before the Prayer Book had been published, and Dickson took pleasure in publishing in his *Dublin Intelligence* for 19 November a report in which he put the names of Carter and Waters in bold and placed the adjective "Protestant" in parentheses as a way of questioning the legitimacy of that claim:

*Dublin, November 19.* On Friday, Saturday and Monday last, the following Persons were taken into the Custody of Her Majesty's Messengers, on suspicion of Printing and Vending *Popish Prayer=Books* contrary to law. viz. **Cornelius Carter** and **Edward Waters**, [Protestant] Printers, Mr. *Malone*, Mr. *Dowlin*, Mr. *Murtagh*, Mr. *Lawrence*, Booksellers, and Mr. *Berningham*, Merchant: All the said Preasons [sic] (except the 2 latter) remains still in Custody. Upon which Account upwards of 30 Persons gave in their Examinations, On Monday and Tuesday last, before one of Her Majesty's Judges of the *Queens=Bench*, being summoned thereunto.

A trial was scheduled in the Queen's Bench for Hilary term in February 1709. In advance of the trial, though, Waters reached an agreement with the government whereby he gave evidence against the others in exchange for immunity. Waters' evidence secured the convictions of Carter, Malone and Dowling, who on appeal had their fines reduced and were released subject to their taking the oath of Abjuration in open court.<sup>21</sup> It was an experience that these Tories were unlikely to soon forget.

But Waters' contradictory conduct continued. Soon after the prosecution for the *Catholic Manual of Devout Prayers*, he altered the title of his *Dublin Intelligence* newspaper to *Edward Waters's Protestant Dublin Intelligence*.<sup>22</sup> It was a renewed public avowal of Waters' Protestant loyalty, but only three months later he falsely reported that Wicklow had been burned by the French.<sup>23</sup> For this he was arrested and possibly imprisoned for a time. The

<sup>20</sup> Ó Ciardha mistakenly says that George Faulkner was also involved in this syndicate: *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685 – 1766: a fatal attraction*, Dublin, 2002; 165. Faulkner's career would not commence until 1723.

<sup>21</sup> For details and discussion of this prosecution: *The Supplement* [London newspaper], 11 – 14 February 1709; Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 32; Gilbert, i, 179 – 180; Madden, i, 188, 209; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92; O'Connor, 'Religious Change, 1550 - 1800', in *HOIB*, 187.

<sup>22</sup> Munter notes the date of the change of title (*Hand-List*, 6) but does not make any connection with the trial.

<sup>23</sup> Waters' *Dublin Intelligence* for 3 and 7 May 1709. See also Munter, *Dictionary*, 283; and Munter, *HINP*, 121. Again, Ó Ciardha incorrectly says that it was George Faulkner who committed this crime: *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685 – 1766: a fatal attraction*, op. cit., 165.

following year, he acquired his Freedom of the City and the Guild, thereby making an honest Protestant of himself once and for all, and for the time being this pattern of conduct would end. As if to confirm a destiny that trouble was to follow him everywhere, however, even this last move of attaining his Freedom did not go off without a hitch. When the Guild went to enter him on to the books, it discovered that he had been entered as Freed years earlier, whilst still an apprentice. As no one could obtain their Freedom of the City until they had completed their indentures and attained the age of twenty-one, the entering of Waters' name at that younger age had probably been a stunt undertaken with the help of well-placed Tories at Dick's, such as Pue or Lloyd. Waters was fined for it when it was discovered in 1710.<sup>24</sup>

### Working with Lloyd during the Tory Years

A printer who maintained a façade of Protestantism whilst producing subversive material was precisely the type of stationer required by the new Jacobite administration of Lord Lieutenant Ormonde and Lord Chancellor Phipps. Almost immediately after the administration came into power in Ireland later in 1710, Lloyd became the unofficial publisher for Phipps, and Waters became Lloyd's printer. The following few years were the most successful of Waters' career. For a few months in 1710, Waters' name appears on imprints of publications issued from Smock Alley,<sup>25</sup> suggesting that he moved from his shop on School House Lane and operated from premises on Smock Alley for a short time. In 1711, however, Waters moved into prominent new premises at the New Post-Office Printing House on Essex Street. Given that these new premises were the publishing headquarters of the administration, this was a move that might have had the assistance and approval of Dublin Castle. But whether it did or did not, it was from the New Post-Office Printing House that Lloyd and Waters held sway in the pamphleteering war between the Tories and Whigs over the next three years. Their influence over the town was comparable on a smaller scale to the success of the Tory publishing team of Swift, Barber and Morpew in London through the same period. Phipps gave directions, Lloyd wrote the copy, and Waters did the printing and publishing. The one difference between the Dublin and London scenes was that throughout the three years the Dublin Tories had to deal with a Whig majority in the House of Commons. This, however, only energised the Dublin Tories all the more. Their principal periodical, *Lloyd's News-Letter*, relentlessly vilified the Whigs whilst offering gestures of implicit support to the

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<sup>24</sup> For a record of the fine: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589.

<sup>25</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589.

Pretender, with the Whigs' hands all along tied under the authority of the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor. For one of Waters' publications, *The Queen's Peace; or A New War*, a short prose tract of 1712 which derided the Whig position of continuing the War concerning Spain,<sup>26</sup> the Whigs in the House of Commons did initiate a prosecution, but nothing is known of what came of it, which suggests that Phipps saw that it went nowhere.

Tory publishing was prolific during this time.<sup>27</sup> The political controversies that were most prominent included an elongated dispute between the Whig aldermen of Dublin Council and the Tory Privy Council over the rules for election of a Mayor; the status of dissenters and the Test Act; the perceived partiality of Phipps; and the Commons' favourable treatment of the leading Whig publisher, Francis Dickson.<sup>28</sup> With Waters' imprint appearing on publications concerned with all of these matters and more,<sup>29</sup> these would certainly have been his most profitable years. As seen earlier, in 1712 Waters and Carter were able to post a bond of £100 for Lloyd to appear at trial (a bond they seemingly lost). Also in 1712, Waters invested in a lease of a paper mill in Milltown outside of Dublin. He did this jointly with his father, John,<sup>30</sup> and it seems that John Waters was in charge of the paper mill whilst Edward Waters carried on the printing business in town.

One curious matter in relation to this paper mill concerns the watermark that John and Edward Waters placed on the paper they produced. Both Munter and Phillips say that there is no surviving paper with the watermark "EW", which they presume to be the watermark Waters would have used, and they infer from this that Waters never used his own paper. Munter and Phillips say that there was a watermark "TW" that *other* stationers used, but Waters is not known to have used this "TW"-marked paper.<sup>31</sup> Given that John and Edward Waters maintained their paper mill until 1723, there has to be some explanation for this. Maybe "TW" were the initials of another family member involved in the mill – Waters' mother

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<sup>26</sup> A1, 62.

<sup>27</sup> On the growth of publishing generally in Dublin during these years: Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 37 – 38; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 222.

<sup>28</sup> On this last issue, see Burns, i, 23.

<sup>29</sup> See the publications for 1710 through 1713 in Appendix 1.

<sup>30</sup> References to this mill can also be found in: Munter, *Dictionary*, 283; and Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590, 648 – 649.

<sup>31</sup> Munter *HINP*, 47; Phillips 156.

perhaps – and the business structures of John and Edward were such that their margins were better if they did not use the paper themselves but instead sold it.

### Dangerous Publishing up to 1720

The Tory reign came to an end in Dublin a little sooner than it did in London. In September 1713, the Whigs in England managed to have Ormonde replaced as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Charles Talbot, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and in 1714 Phipps was removed as Lord Chancellor and replaced by the long-standing leader of the Whigs in Ireland, Alan Brodrick, Lord Midleton.<sup>32</sup> Then upon the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714, the incoming Whig administration in London made four new appointments to the King's Bench in Ireland, all of whom were staunch Whigs. One of these was William Whitshed, the new Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Whitshed was only thirty-five at the time of his appointment – a promotion that was attributable to his social graft and tireless anti-Jacobitism.<sup>33</sup> By the end of 1714, then, the Whigs had control of Ireland's Parliament, executive and judiciary, and were intent on extinguishing every last flicker of support for the Pretender.

It might be thought that Waters would curb his subversive ways at this time, but throughout 1714 and part of 1715, one publication after another that came from his press was an open invitation to the Whig prosecutors. In June 1714, he published a ballad entitled *England's Eye*. This was a satire on the new Lord Lieutenant, Shrewsbury,<sup>34</sup> and after a prosecution was instigated, Waters fled. With this still being a time when printers' wives were not taken in their husband's stead, he left his wife to answer when the messengers came for him. The record states that Sarah Waters told them that "Waters was gone fishing"<sup>35</sup> – a direct quote from a printer's wife (a remarkable piece of evidence) offering an *in situ* illustration of the Tory stationers' defiance of authority. The messengers nonetheless proceeded to ransack the shop and confiscate Waters' papers, although seemingly without at any later time apprehending the printer himself. Soon after this episode, Waters printed another satire on

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<sup>32</sup> O'Flanagan, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland*, London, 1870, 2 vols., i, 12.

<sup>33</sup> Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 77 – 78, 81, 88.

<sup>34</sup> A1, 106. This publication is referred to by Pollard: *Dictionary*, 589-90, quoting from *Historical Manuscripts Commission, MSS of the Duke of Portland*, 5:460; however, the title, *England's Eye*, may not be correct. Rees and Ó Ciardha both say that the publication prosecuted on this occasion was entitled "'Tis time to come over &c.": Rees, 'Waters, Edward (d. 1751)', *ODNB*, page 1; Ó Ciardha, op. cit., 165 – 166. But I have located no publication of either title. Neither are they listed on the ESTC.

<sup>35</sup> Pollard: *Dictionary*, 589 – 590, citing *Historical Manuscripts Commission, MSS of the Duke of Portland*, 5:460.



Shrewsbury, entitled *Polyphemus's Farewel: or, A long adieu to Ireland's Eye. A Poem*,<sup>36</sup> which was published to coincide with Shrewsbury's departure from Ireland that month. This drew a prosecution from the King's Bench and the court's directions incorporated more far-reaching orders for the printer's arrest – although, again, Waters was not apprehended.

In January 1715, Waters printed a pamphlet that was a reprint of an English publication entitled *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England*. This was a tract that attempted to incite the people to demand the return of King George to Hanover and it is thought to have been written by Swift's friend, the Jacobite Francis Atterbury, with possible assistance from one or more of Arthur Charleton of Northumberland and two more of Swift's friends, Henry St John, Lord Bolingbroke, and James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde.<sup>37</sup> When the pamphlet had been published in London in late 1714, the publishers had been prosecuted and a Proclamation issued offering a large reward for the discovery of the author.<sup>38</sup> It was no doubt for this reason that Waters reprinted it with an anonymous imprint. However, if he thought that an anonymous imprint would render him safe from prosecution on this occasion, he was mistaken. Just as a Proclamation had been issued against the original publication in London, a corresponding Proclamation against his reprint was issued out of Dublin Castle.<sup>39</sup> Waters' young apprentices, John Harding and John Brooker, were subsequently examined before a Committee of the Privy Council,<sup>40</sup> and one way or another Waters came to be identified as the printer. Yet it was on this occasion that, for the second time in his career, Waters made a deal with the prosecution to give evidence against the other stationer involved in the publication. The other stationer on this occasion was the bookseller-publisher, John Hyde, and although the case against Hyde was postponed<sup>41</sup> and possibly dropped, in turning on him Waters again aligned himself with the establishment.

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<sup>36</sup> A1, 121.

<sup>37</sup> See Ó Ciardha, op. cit., 171 n. 253.

<sup>38</sup> For contemporary comment on the pamphlet itself, see Archbishop King to Bishop Nicholson, 13 May 1715: TCD Manuscripts, Letter 2536/276-7. For the Proclamation, see: Carteret to Newcastle, 28 October 1724: SP, 63, vol. 385 (PRONI: T580/1/221-4).

<sup>39</sup> See *Whalley's News-Letter* for 22 January 1715.

<sup>40</sup> See SP, 63, vol. 372, 5, 7, 19; and for further references: TCD MS 2536 fols. 187 – 189, 207 – 208; TCD Ms 1995 – 2008, fol. 1602. Ó Ciardha says Sarah Waters was also examined: op. cit., 171. What the evidence is for this is not clear.

<sup>41</sup> See *Whalley's News-Letter*, 13 July 1715.

Given that the Whigs were in power at this time, it is difficult to account for this pattern of publishing by Waters. Maybe he was seeking to avenge the treatment meted out to Lloyd, or he was ensuring that Lloyd's legacy would not be forgotten. Maybe at the same time he was trying to assume the Tory mantle to himself. Yet, even after this second instance of giving evidence against a colleague and aligning himself with the establishment, the pattern of conduct continued. In June 1715, Waters published another seditious tract. Details of this publication are not known but it is referred to by Whalley in the course of a report on Waters, which Whalley printed in his *News-Letter* for 22 June 1715. This report alludes to a few of Waters' misdemeanours from the previous year and it details an attempt by Waters to avoid the messengers who had come to seize him under a warrant issued by Chief Justice Whitshed:

*Dublin*, Yesterday *Edward Waters*, the Printer of the *Dublin News Letter*, was, by a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice, taken into Custody, for Printing a seditious Paper on Monday last: He was before indicted at the King's Bench for Printing a scandalous Libel, Intitled, *Poliphemus*, reflecting on his Grace the Duke Shrewsbury, the Day he left this Kingdom, and some others, and Capiases being issued out against him, he was on his Keeping, so that he could not be taken to be brought to Justice, till Yesterday, by Vertue of the Lord Chief Justice's Warrant, his Doors were forced open, which he perceiving, leapt out of a Window, as 'tis said, Two Story high, and hid himself in a Neighbouring Cellar, where he was taken by the Tip-Staff. He was some Time last Term taken up for printing that Treasonable Pamphlet, Intitled, ***Advice to Free-holders of England***, but upon informing the Council-Board, That he was employed therein by *Hide* the Bookseller in *Dames-Street*, *Dublin*, who stands indicted for the same; was only bound over to prosecute *Hide*. This is he who some Time since, in a News-Paper, stilled himself, The *Protestant Printer*, as if there had been none else in the Kingdom; and a rare one indeed he is.

Whalley here reflects the view of all Whigs, but the Tories are also unlikely to have been endeared to Waters, who craved the notoriety that came with publishing subversive tracts whilst betraying his colleagues and jumping from windows in his efforts to avoid prison.

In 1714, the London printer, Robert Clare, after giving evidence against a colleague, was ostracised by the industry to such an extent that he could obtain no work and was forced to apply to the London Treasury for charitable relief.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, in 1718 the London stationer John Reynolds was forced out of the industry altogether after giving evidence against his master, who had produced a libellous work.<sup>43</sup> The Dublin industry appears to have been more tolerant, particularly given that Waters was a two-time offender, for Waters worked again with

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<sup>42</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, London, 1936, 52.

<sup>43</sup> Hanson, *op. cit.*.

Carter, whom he gave evidence against on the first occasion in February 1709, and after this second occasion he continued to receive work from Hyde. Clearly his skills as a printer continued to be in demand and worked in his favour in this regard. But looking ahead to 1722, Waters stood for election to the Council of the Guild, and given that this occurred at a time *after* the fifteen-month ordeal he underwent for printing Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, he may have considered himself entitled to some sympathy on that score, but he would receive just one vote,<sup>44</sup> which was probably his own.

By 1716, the Whig administration of Dublin had gained the ascendancy over the Tory publishers. Each of Carter, Pue, and Lloyd had been forced to either flee the country or restrain their subversiveness.<sup>45</sup> Waters for his part started a newspaper for a more genteel readership entitled *The Flying Post: or, the Post-Master*.<sup>46</sup> He also produced two long publications in Latin (complete with Latin imprints).<sup>47</sup> The small numbers of surviving publications from 1716 to 1719 that bear his imprint, however, suggest that he scaled back his work. In 1717, Waters moved from the New Post Office Printing House to smaller premises at Copper Alley,<sup>48</sup> and it seems that in 1718 he lived for a time at Milltown with his paper mill. This move to the mill may have been due to the death of his father, although whilst there his wife Sarah gave birth to their second child.<sup>49</sup> Later in 1718, he moved back to Copper Alley and this remained his shop until early 1720.

### Swift's Changing Sentiments towards Ireland

Swift, meanwhile, had been living in Dublin permanently since 1714, and from around 1718 he experienced a shift in his attitude towards Ireland. Looking back over the preceding decades, it is clear that his affections for the country of his birth had for a long time been ambiguous. During the 1690's, he had travelled back and forth between the kingdoms as he oscillated between a Church vocation in Ireland and a career in literature in politics under the patronage of Temple. From the early 1700's, having obtained Church livings in Ireland at

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<sup>44</sup> The fact that he received just one vote is noted by Munter: *Dictionary*, 283.

<sup>45</sup> Refer also Munter, *HINP*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 132 – 133.

<sup>47</sup> A1, 139; A1, 146. Up to 1786, books printed in Latin in Ireland constituted approximately 1 per cent of total printing output: Kennedy, 'Foreign Language Books, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 378.

<sup>48</sup> On Copper Alley: *IHTA*, 13.

<sup>49</sup> Baptism Records of the Parish of St. Peter & St. Kevin, 1669 – 1761, vol. 9, 406.

Laracor and Dunlavin, he continued to cross the channel regularly, pursuing his ambitions in London whilst periodically attending to his obligations in Ireland. From 1709 to 1714, in particular, he was an Irish clergy absentee, writing for the Oxford Ministry and refusing any offer of payment whilst maintaining himself with an income derived from tithes paid by Irish parishioners.<sup>50</sup> Swift's loyalties to Ireland during these years were still apparent and are witnessed in his successful efforts to recover the First Fruits for the Irish clergy as well as in tracts he wrote, such as: *A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland Upon the chusing of a Speaker there. Written in the year 1708*, for which there is no evidence of a contemporary publication in Dublin;<sup>51</sup> *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England concerning the Sacramental Test*, published in London in March 1709 and reprinted in Dublin;<sup>52</sup> and *The Story of the Injured Lady*, which was written in 1707 although left unpublished.<sup>53</sup> But during this period, London was where his ambitions lay. In September 1711, he confessed to Ford his indifference to and contempt for Irish affairs,<sup>54</sup> and in October 1713, he warned Archbishop King that any actions taken by the Irish House of Commons that proved "disagreeable to us here" in London would be met by the Queen with "the worst Consequences imaginable to that Kingdom".<sup>55</sup> Upon his return to Dublin in his new capacity as Dean of St. Patrick's, then, the fact that he told Ford "I cannot think nor write in this Country",<sup>56</sup> is not to be wondered at. For the next few years, the only writing he did was some editing of retrospective works concerned with his days in London.<sup>57</sup> He vowed to live quietly for the rest of his days<sup>58</sup> and to keep to his resolution of "never meddling with Irish Politicks".<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Swift was also an absentee during most of the three years in which he had a living in Kilroot in the 1690's: Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 127. On Swift's absenteeism during the 1690's and up to 1714 being "not usual:" Rossi and Hone, 132.

<sup>51</sup> *PW*, ii, 127 – 135.

<sup>52</sup> A4, 12.

<sup>53</sup> On this tract, see: Godfrey Davies, 'Swift's *The Story of the Injured Lady*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Aug. 1943), vol vi, No. 4, 473 – 489; Harold Williams' Introduction to *PW*, ix; and T-S, 378 (item 1618)). It was eventually published in 1746 in London by M. Cooper (T-S, 150 (item 79), and later the same year in Dublin in *Faulkner 1746*.

<sup>54</sup> 8 September 1711, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 139, vol. i, 380.

<sup>55</sup> 20 October 1713, Swift to Archbishop King: DW Letter 239, vol. i, 541.

<sup>56</sup> 29 August 1714, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 354, vol. ii, 76.

<sup>57</sup> These were works that in time appeared under the titles: *Some Considerations upon the Consequences hoped and feared from the Death of the Queen* (*PW*, viii, 99 – 104); *Memoirs, Relating to That Change which happened in the QUEEN's MINISTRY in the Year 1710* (*PW*, viii, 105 – 128); *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*; and *The History of the Last Four Years of the Queen* (*PW*, vii, 1 – 167).

As the years passed, two matters, it seems, contributed to the gradual weakening of this resolve. The first was events in the world external to Swift. This was the crush of English political and economic oppression of Ireland. With a history dating several centuries, this had escalated during the 1660's and 1670's with legislation restricting Ireland's foreign trade and commerce.<sup>60</sup> Subsequent decades had witnessed increasing English control over appointments and promotions in both Church and state in Ireland, a heightened resistance on the part of English office holders to reside in Ireland, and an ongoing drain of Ireland's wealth with the remittance of taxes, pensions, salaries and rents to England. It was as though Ireland's *raison d'être* was to be put to work by Westminster, and this was confirmed with the events in the last years of the decade associated with Annesley-versus-Sherlock. This private law suit concerning lands in the town of Naas in County Kildare was decided in Sherlock's favour by the Irish House of Lords, which was considered the final appellate jurisdiction within Ireland. But after Annesley took the unusual step of appealing to the *English* House of Lords, that House, firstly, ruled that it had jurisdiction to hear the case, and secondly, reversed the decision of the Irish Lords. Then, amidst the controversy that followed, the English Parliament proposed legislation by which the Irish Lords' claim to be the final avenue of redress in Ireland was renounced and by which Ireland was formally declared to be a dependent kingdom. This was passed in the English Parliament on 22 March 1720 as the Declaratory Act.

With these events, publications began appearing in Dublin on matters of economics and national concerns, including the pending Declaratory Act.<sup>61</sup> Talk began of trying to spurn England economically. On 25 November 1719, Thomas Hume's Whig newspaper, the *Dublin Courant*, announced the publication of a work by a Mr. Parker that discouraged the importation of foreign goods.<sup>62</sup> And on 12 March 1720, the same Whig newspaper printed the advertisement of an Abraham Bryan asserting that his goods were better than anything out of England. Bishop Nicolson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that "A seditious Spirit is

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<sup>58</sup> 11 June 1714, Swift to Archdeacon Walls: DW Letter 278, vol. i, 611.

<sup>59</sup> 29 August 1714, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 354, vol. ii, 76; 12 June 1714, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 279, vol. i, 614.

<sup>60</sup> The Cattle Acts, the Navigation Acts and the Woollen Act: see Baltes, 19, 56.

<sup>61</sup> These included three printed by Waters concerned with debate on the pending Declaratory Act: A1, 147; A1, 153; A1, 154. Refer also: Ferguson, 53.

<sup>62</sup> If this work of Mr. Parker did in fact eventuate, no copy is known to have survived.

arisen (& grown rampant) amongst us”,<sup>63</sup> and this spirit was further encouraged by the reprinting in Dublin of William Molyneux’s *The Case of Ireland’s being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*.<sup>64</sup> Originally published by Joseph Ray in 1698, this 174-page treatise meticulously argues the case that Ireland was never in fact conquered by England and that England does not therefore have any right in law to legislate on Ireland’s behalf. It traces all relevant documents from the time of the Norman Conquest of England, along the way closing off every side issue and counter-argument, and, although for the most part written in a tone of submission, it refers to the condition of living in a land where laws are not consented to as “*Slavery*” and ends with gentle warnings of “*Discontent*” and “ill Consequences” should the situation continue without remedy much longer.<sup>65</sup> This book was the most potent expression of Irish colonial nationalism to have appeared to this time<sup>66</sup> and it was reprinted in Dublin in July 1719 and again in early 1720. It was said to be “in every bodie’s hand”<sup>67</sup> and is sure to have been read by Swift. (In later years he reportedly said of it that “it ought to have been written in letters of gold”).<sup>68</sup>

The other circumstance that appears to have influenced Swift’s attitude towards Ireland is one that came from within. In the latter years of the decade, there are indications of his developing an interest in Irish cultures, both high and low. George Faulkner and Thomas Sheridan (the younger) later reported that he liked occasionally to disguise himself as a gypsy or a beggar and immerse himself incognito amongst the people.<sup>69</sup> There is every possibility that it was during this period that this practice began. And it appears to have been in early 1720 that he had a role in translating the Gaelic poem, *Plearca na Ruarcach*. This popular poem had been set to music by the musician, O’Carolan, and Swift’s translation, entitled *The*

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<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Ferguson, 53.

<sup>64</sup> A4, 5.

<sup>65</sup> A4, 5, pages 169, 172 and 173 respectively.

<sup>66</sup> On the life of Molyneux and the legacy of his *The Case of Ireland’s being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*: J.G. Simms, *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux’s The Case of Ireland... Stated*, Cork, 1976.

<sup>67</sup> Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake, 11 July 1719: quoted in Ferguson, 53. On the reprinting of Molyneux’s work at this time and again in subsequent years: Kelly, ‘Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 212, 217, 222; Simms, J.G., *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux’s The Case of Ireland... Stated*, Cork, 1976, 49, 50, 51, 62, 65.

<sup>68</sup> This was reported in the preface to a 1749 edition of Molyneux’s book. See Simms, *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux’s The Case of Ireland... Stated*, op. cit., 51.

<sup>69</sup> See Faulkner’s letter to Lord Chesterfield of 1753 (which was published in Nichols’ 1776 *Supplement*, 11, 406–420, and Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 399.

*Description of an Irish-Feast*, preserved the original's native character.<sup>70</sup> By 1719, Swift had received the inspiration for *Gulliver's Travels* and his early work on this also no doubt contributed to the lifting of his spirits. As Orrery reported, his witticisms began to circulate around the town and he came into favour,<sup>71</sup> so much so that on 6 October 1719, Bishop Nicolson referred to him, albeit sardonically, as "the angel of St. Patrick's".<sup>72</sup> Swift began mentioning political matters in his sermons from the pulpit<sup>73</sup> and, having in August 1714 vowed to stay out of Irish politics, on 8 December 1719 he is seen writing to Ford: "as the World is now turned, no Cloyster is retired enough to keep Politicks out, and I will own they raise my Passions whenever they come in my way, perhaps more than yours who live amongst them, as a great Noise is likelier to disturb a Hermit than a Citizen".<sup>74</sup>

### The Nature of the Associations

It is necessary to broaden the discussion for a moment to consider certain aspects of Swift's associations with both Waters and Harding – in particular, why he chose to work with these printers and the nature of the working arrangements he had with them. As with almost everything pertaining to Swift's Dublin printers, these are matters that have received little scholarly attention. Take firstly the question of *why* Swift chose these printers. On this, scattered reasons have been offered over the years. In 1770, a long poem entitled *The Snake in a Bosom; A Fable from Phaedrus. Lib. IV. Fab. XVII*, was published in Dublin. This was a sustained attack on the then tycoon of the Dublin industry, George Faulkner, and in its second stanza it refers to how, before Swift started with Faulkner, he came to work with Waters and Harding:

This Dean, we know, his Favours granted  
There always, where they most were wanted.

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<sup>70</sup> For discussion of this translation and Swift's role in it: 'B', 'A Pilgrimage to Quilca', *Dublin University Magazine*, 1852, vol. 40, 509 – 526, 516; McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 71; Carpenter and Harrison, 'Swift's "O'Rourke's Feast" and Sheridan's "Letter": Early Transcripts by Anthony Raymond', *Proceedings of the first Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (eds. H. Real and H. Vinken, Munchen, 1985), 27 – 46; Fabricant, *Swift's Landscape*, Baltimore & London, 1982, 246 – 248; Fabricant, 'Swift the Irishman', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Christopher Fox, ed., Cambridge, 2003, 63; Harrison, *The Dean's Friend: Anthony Raymond 1675 – 1726, Jonathan Swift and the Irish language*, Dublin, 1999, 153 – 155; Williams, *Poems*, i, 243 – 247.

<sup>71</sup> Orrery, *Remarks*, 70. Also on this point: McMinn, *Jonathan Swift: A Literary Life*, London, 1994, 162, note 37; Degategno and Stubblefield, 7.

<sup>72</sup> In a letter to Archbishop Wake: quoted in Burns, i, 108.

<sup>73</sup> Delany, *Observations*, 105.

<sup>74</sup> 8 December 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 500, vol. ii, 310.

So, to his Works, you see no Names  
 Of Pepyat, Dobson, Hyde or Rhames:  
 But faithful Poverty rewarding,  
 To Waters they were sent and Harding.<sup>75</sup>

This poet, depicting a contrast with the relative wealth of stationers such as Jeremy and Sylvanus Pepyat, John Hyde and Aaron Rhames,<sup>76</sup> suggests that Swift employed Waters and Harding to help them in their poverty. Another possible reason for Swift's decision to work with Waters and Harding was given in 1978. This was when David Woolley suggested that Swift might have worked with them because they served as "a convenient screen" in the event of a prosecution.<sup>77</sup> David Woolley suggests here that Waters and Harding would bear the brunt of any prosecution and in this way offer protection to Swift. Seventeen years later, in 1995, James Woolley advanced a few matters that, in his view, could all potentially have contributed to Swift's decision. One is that Waters was "a printer as well as a bookseller". James Woolley says that this allowed Swift to limit the number of stationers with knowledge of his authorship and that it was for this reason that Swift chose Waters ahead of Hyde, who was a stationer of higher standing in the industry but was then a bookseller only.<sup>78</sup> (As Harding was also a printer and bookseller in this sense, this argument could also be applied to that stationer.) James Woolley also says that Harding seemingly had no cross-channel associations with stationers in London. Harding would not, therefore, be sending his publications to that city for reprinting, which James Woolley implies was to Swift's liking.<sup>79</sup> Next, James Woolley says that because Harding produced only material of an ephemeral nature, such as pamphlets, newspapers and half-sheet elegies, his shop would not have been "a significant target of the cultural establishment's surveillance".<sup>80</sup> And finally, James Woolley cites the comment of David Woolley that Waters and Harding offered "a convenient

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<sup>75</sup> A4, 215, page 4.

<sup>76</sup> For Pollard's *Dictionary* entries on these stationers (other than Hyde who is discussed elsewhere in this thesis): Jeremy Pepyat, 454 – 456; Sylvanus Pepyat, 456 – 457; Aaron Rhames, 488 – 489.

<sup>77</sup> David Woolley, "Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections", op. cit., 143.

<sup>78</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 165. Stephen Karian also mentions that Waters was both a printer and a bookseller: *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 19, 20. One point that needs to be clarified with this, is that Waters was not in fact a bookseller in the sense that someone such as Hyde was – that is, a stationer who co-ordinated the production of books by employing printers to do the printing work and thereafter publishing them under his own name. However, insofar as Waters was able to produce pamphlets and sell them from his own shop, it is true that no other stationers were involved.

<sup>79</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 166.

<sup>80</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 166.



screen”.<sup>81</sup> One other reason that has been advanced for Swift’s choice of Waters and Harding has been mentioned by a few scholars. This is that Swift chose Waters and Harding on account of their preparedness to print dangerous material. Munter, for example, says this is why Swift “was forced to choose such disreputable printers”.<sup>82</sup> Davis and Ferguson both say that Swift needed them for their courage.<sup>83</sup> Stephen Karian refers to this<sup>84</sup> and James Woolley mentions it as one of his contributing factors.<sup>85</sup> However, apart from this last-mentioned reason being common to five scholars, it is seen that all manner of reasons have been advanced in what has been something of a guessing-game as commentators have struggled to understand why Swift chose to work with these printers.

For the question of *how* Swift worked with Waters and Harding, the presumption amongst scholars has for the most part been that Swift sent them dangerous tracts to publish on a jobbing basis from time to time. It was in this way, it has been presumed, that Waters came to print the *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* in 1720 and a few other tracts later that year and early the next. And it was in this way that Harding came to print works such as Swift’s *Epilogue* to a performance of *Hamlet* in April 1721, his tracts opposing the proposal for a national bank later that year, his hoax *Last Speech* of the criminal Ebenezer Elliston in April 1722, and the *Letters* of the Drapier in 1724. There have been a few comments that represent at least partial exceptions to this jobbing-printers presumption. Davis and Ferguson, for instance, both suggest that Harding was appointed by Swift in early 1724 to assume the role which became known as the “Drapier’s Printer”.<sup>86</sup> This implies that Harding can at least be considered to have been engaged as Swift’s permanent printer throughout the year of 1724. In another comment, though, Ferguson, when discussing circumstances surrounding Harding’s publication of Swift’s hoax *Last Speech* of Ebenezer Elliston in April 1722, says that Harding “had been Swift’s printer since the spring of the preceding year”.<sup>87</sup> This is only a passing remark by Ferguson and it is one that is seemingly

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<sup>81</sup> Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 166. Refer also Munter, *HINP*, 133 – 134. On Swift’s printers generally acting as a shield to him: Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 12, 16.

<sup>82</sup> *HINP*, 133.

<sup>83</sup> Davis, *DL*, 201; Ferguson, 125.

<sup>84</sup> *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 20.

<sup>85</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 166 – 167.

<sup>86</sup> Davis: *DL*, 201; Ferguson, 125.

<sup>87</sup> Ferguson, 76.

inconsistent with his opinion that in early 1724 Harding was appointed to be the Drapier's printer (for if Harding had been Swift's permanent printer all along, there would have been no need for any appointment at that later time). But Ferguson's comment nonetheless assumes that, in some kind of ongoing fashion, Harding had been Swift's permanent printer between April 1721, when he first printed for Swift, and April 1722. James Woolley also makes a comment on this issue of how Swift worked with Harding during these years. This was in 1992 when James Woolley acknowledged that Harding was Swift's permanent printer throughout the campaign of the Drapier, but was uncertain whether this association of 1724 constituted a "natural outgrowth of an already established relationship".<sup>88</sup>

I wish to submit evidence to establish a new understanding of why Swift chose Waters and Harding and how he worked with them. To introduce this new understanding, I would first like to present a hypothesis of the events of the 1720's which in my view the evidence supports. This broad hypothesis is intended to illustrate the framework of how the arrangements with the printers, being the arrangements that I am proposing, were consistent with Swift's publishing in Ireland throughout the course of the decade. It is as follows. In late 1719 or early 1720, Swift made the decision to embrace Ireland and to begin publishing in Dublin for an Irish audience. This was a decision that served more than one purpose for him. From the perspective of Anglo-Irish politics, it enabled him to defend Irish liberties while at the same time reclaim his position as a writer on international affairs and cause difficulties for the Whigs at Westminster who had persecuted him and his Tory friends. And from the perspective of domestic Irish affairs, it enabled him to say almost whatever he pleased. To facilitate this decision, he put in place an arrangement that would allow him to print subversive material as and when he required. This consisted of the engagement of Waters, which was an agreement between the deanery and the printing house whereby Waters was to be Swift's permanent stand-by printer for all of his printing requirements, and the agreement incorporated an ability on Swift's part to be able to insert copy and notices in his printer's newspaper at will, as he had been able to do in London with Abel Roper.<sup>89</sup> This arrangement with Waters was one that, to an extent, replicated the publishing environment he had had in London between 1711 and 1714. It gave him a parity of influence within Ireland and it comprised the same structural elements save for the fact that the stationers he engaged were of an inferior standing within the industry. This arrangement with Waters was one that Swift

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<sup>88</sup> JW, *Poor John Harding and Mad Tom*, 108.

<sup>89</sup> For comment on Swift's relationship with Roper in this regard: *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 20, 510.

intended to remain in place for the duration of what for present purposes can be termed his Irish programme. That programme began in late May 1720 when Waters published Swift's pamphlet, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, but the programme suffered an immediate setback in the form of the violent prosecution of Waters. Prolonged over a period of fifteen months, this prosecution put Swift's Irish publishing into abeyance. As Swift himself afterwards said of this time, when writing metaphorically as the Drapier, "I was so mortified, I resolved to sit quietly in my Shop, and deal in *common Goods*, like the rest of my Brethren".<sup>90</sup> But the arrangement of a stand-by printer to allow Swift to publish subversive material of different kinds as and when he wanted remained in place nonetheless. Throughout late 1720 and early 1721, the strain of the prosecution of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* took its toll on the association of Swift and Waters such that, one way or another, it came to an end in the spring of 1721. The role was then transferred to Harding, Waters' former apprentice, who from this time printed works for Swift including his tracts on the bank proposal in late 1721, his hoax *Last Speech* of Ebenezer Elliston in April 1722, and his *Letters* written as M.B. Drapier in 1724. Harding continued as Swift's stand-by printer until his death in April 1725. By that time Swift's requirements of the Dublin printing industry had changed. With the success of the campaign of the Drapier, his Irish programme was in large part accomplished and he no longer needed a permanent stand-by printer for the publication of subversive material. For that reason Sarah Harding, contrary to her expectations, found herself without any supply of work from Swift until the last two years of the decade.

All of the available evidence suggests that Swift had arrangements of this kind in place with Waters and Harding. The existence of these arrangements, moreover, brings all of that evidence into a coherent, real setting. Having worked only with the most elite stationers in London, these arrangements illustrate that Swift's decision to work with those at the other end of the spectrum in Dublin did not come about by chance. Through them, too, Swift's rationale for choosing Waters and Harding can be discerned. In London, Swift had been at the *top* of the world. In Dublin, not only did he see himself as at the bottom, but he was looking to turn that world on its head with material that would have a spirit of insurrectionism. But whether writing on national or domestic issues, Swift wanted to be able to publish material that pressed the boundaries of the law and which bore his characteristic shock quality. For this, the lowly-ranked Tories were the ideal stationers. This kind of publishing was their line of

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<sup>90</sup> A2, 65, page 3; *PW*, x, 82.

business. The fact that Swift was forsaking his social and literary appearances by choosing to work with them only shows the seriousness of his intent at this stage of his life.

An initial question to be asked of these proposed arrangements is whether they were exclusive. The evidence supports my contention that they were. Firstly, there is the period during which Waters was associated with Swift. According to the evidence, this period was from May 1720, if not a little earlier, through to March 1721. Throughout this period, six works of Swift are known to have been published in Dublin – six works, that is, that have been accepted by a consensus of scholars to have been written by Swift. Of these six works, two appeared under the name of Waters.<sup>91</sup> With the other four, the identity of the printer cannot be ascertained from the imprint, but with each of these there is evidence, which I will present, to sufficiently associate the publication with the press of Waters.<sup>92</sup> A further matter relevant to the proposed exclusivity of the Swift–Waters association is that during its course, no work of Swift published in Dublin carries the *name* of any stationer other than Waters. For Harding, the period of this printer's association with Swift was from April 1721 through to his death in April 1725. During that four-year period, nineteen works of Swift – works generally accepted to have been authored by him – were published in Dublin. Of those nineteen, fourteen had Harding's name in the imprint,<sup>93</sup> while for the other five, none in my view can be considered to constitute an exception to the exclusivity. One, *Prometheus, A Poem*, appeared under an anonymous imprint but with associated evidence, which will be presented, connecting it to the Harding shop.<sup>94</sup> Another was *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops*, published by John Hyde in October 1723.<sup>95</sup> This pamphlet was published in the midst of a period during which Harding was in prison and for that reason it cannot be considered an exception. Another was Swift's poem, *The Journal*, which was printed as a broadside with no imprint although it was seemingly published in Dublin sometime between the autumn of 1721 and the spring of 1723.<sup>96</sup> This could potentially have been printed by someone other than Harding, but because this poem gave offence to a few of Swift's friends, it is unlikely that

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<sup>91</sup> A1, 156, and A1, 158.

<sup>92</sup> A1, 160; A1, 161; A1, 169, and A1, 170.

<sup>93</sup> A2, 7; A2, 15; A2, 17; A2, 18; A2, 22; A2, 37; A2, 41; A2, 43; A2, 50; A2, 52; A2, 57; A2, 60; A2, 61 and A2, 65.

<sup>94</sup> A2, 64.

<sup>95</sup> A1, 174.

<sup>96</sup> A2, 16.

Swift arranged or authorised its publication, and in those circumstances it cannot be considered an exception. The two other works were *The First of April: A Poem. Inscib'd to Mrs. E.C.*, which is dated 1 April 1723 and was published with no imprint,<sup>97</sup> and the poem, *His Grace's Answer to Jonathan*, a retort from Swift to criticism from Jonathan Smedley. This last poem was published with the anonymous imprint, "Dublin: Printed in [sic] Year, 1724", and appears to have been published in the first half of that year.<sup>98</sup> These two works *could* have been produced by Harding. The error in the imprint of *His Grace's Answer to Jonathan*, after all, was typical of him. Another matter supporting the possibility of them having been Harding publications is the presumption that can be drawn from the fact all other works of Swift throughout this period came from Harding's press. But with both of these publications, there is not enough evidence currently available to verify them as Harding publications, and for that reason they must remain in a category of 'unknown.' However, even if subsequent research confirms that any one or more of *The Journal*, *The First of April: A Poem. Inscib'd to Mrs. E.C.*, or *His Grace's Answer to Jonathan*, were, with Swift's consent, published by a different Dublin stationer, there may have been a particular reason for that on any given occasion. My submission is that any such publication should not undermine the balance of other evidence that is indicative of a loyal publishing association between Swift and Harding. Finally, during the four years of the Swift–Harding association, no work of Swift published in Dublin carries the name of any stationer other than Harding – with the one exception of the pamphlet published by Hyde while Harding was in prison.

The agreements themselves could in one sense be referred to as retainers. That is, without affecting any other part of their business operations, Waters, and after him Harding, was *retained* by Swift to be his permanent stand-by printer. The term 'retainer', though, is too formal for these arrangements. It is fairer to describe them simply as understandings between the deanery and the printing house, being understandings where all communications were by messenger. They were not understandings that evolved over time with repeated jobs. The evidence suggests that they began with an offer and acceptance of the role, although the acceptance would in my view have been automatic. With Swift having been living in Dublin for several years, these stationers would have been fully aware of what was being offered to them, and no Tory stationer would have refused it. In this sense, these understandings can be said to have commenced with a notification, more so than an offer and acceptance. But, either

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<sup>97</sup> A2, 29.

<sup>98</sup> A2, 35.

way, they began with an initiating communication, and in my view it is only logical that they did. The alternative is to say that, on every occasion Swift needed a work printed, he was not sure which printer to go to and began the search anew. I think it is more plausible for him to have put an arrangement with a local printer in place.

As for what the initiating communication consisted of, the evidence suggests that it was minimalist and did not descend into any detail or consideration of the consequences in the event of a prosecution. It appears to have been a message along the lines of: ‘the author will use your printing house for his printing requirements as they arise, with all of the profits from the publications to be yours, provided you be prepared to publish material as and when directed’. Events between 1720 and 1725 indicate that the understandings between Swift and his printers were to this effect.

On the issue of profits, there can be no doubt that these were left entirely to the printers. Swift revealed this in the Drapier’s *Letter to Molesworth* of late 1724 when he said: “I give the whole Profit to the *Dyers and Pressers*” (the printers),<sup>99</sup> and in 1732 he alluded to it again in a letter to his London publisher Benjamin Motte when he remarked, “I have writ some things that would make people angry[.]... the Printer... ran the whole risk, and well deserved the property”.<sup>100</sup> Swift might also have paid them occasionally for private printing work they undertook for him. The only circumstance indicating this is from August 1725, when Sarah Harding prepared Swift’s *Humble Address* for the press, and after Swift decided at the last minute to withhold it from publication, he instructed his friend, the Reverend John Worrall, to “let her be satisfied”.<sup>101</sup> This was payment simply for preparing a work for the press and it potentially indicates a preparedness on Swift’s part to pay for private jobs. As for the printers being required to publish whatever was sent to them and at specified times, there is no express evidence to confirm this, but the content and timing of a few publications from Waters and Harding tend to bear it out, and it is contended that this aspect of their association, more than anything else, would have accounted for the mutual loyalty in their publishing associations.

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<sup>99</sup> A2, 65, page. 4; *PW*, x, 83.

<sup>100</sup> 4 November 1732, Swift to Benjamin Motte: DW Letter 994, vol. iii, 556. Further, in 1735, Swift wrote to William Pulteney: “I never got a farthing by anything I writ, except one about eight years ago, and that was by Mr. Pope’s prudent management for me”: 12 May 1735, Swift to William Pulteney: DW Letter 1156, vol. iv, 107 – 108. The exception referred to here is the joint Swift-Pope *Miscellanies* published in three volumes in 1727. In this comment, too, Swift overlooks the fact that around the same time, he was paid £200 for *Gulliver’s Travels* by Benjamin Motte. Refer David Woolley: DW Letter 1156 notes 7 and 8, vol. iv, 108; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 29.

<sup>101</sup> 31 August 1725, Swift to the Rev. John Worrall: DW Letter 667, vol. ii, 593.

From an operational point of view, these arrangements preserved the utmost distance between author and printer. There was no direct communication between them. As mentioned, all communications were by messenger. Between 1720 and 1725 there is likely to have been a hundred or more errands run between the deanery and the printer's shop, consisting of manuscripts, errata lists, and other instructions sent from the deanery, together with proof editions, newspapers and sundry publications sent the other way. From the deanery end, the messenger would have been Swift's footman, Alexander Magee (known as Saunders) until his early death in 1721, and thereafter probably Swift's valet, Robert Blakely. From the printing house, it would have been either the printer himself, his wife, or, if Waters or Harding had one during their respective periods, an apprentice.

Remarkably, given what each of Waters and Harding went through, there is no evidence to confirm that Swift ever met with either of them. These were working relationships of the most impersonal kind. In small part this was due to Swift taking what could be considered legal precautions. He appears to have been careful to ensure that the printers were not in possession of any certain knowledge of his identity. For instance, the name "Jonathan Swift" and the title "Dean of St. Patrick's" would in my view from the beginning never have been mentioned. When Harding printed the *Letters* of the Drapier during 1724, Swift took even further precautions in an effort to ensure that Harding did not have first-hand admissible knowledge of his authorship. These precautions included having his manuscripts transcribed by an amanuensis and then delivered to Harding's shop by a blackguard boy,<sup>102</sup> who handed them in unseen through a window.<sup>103</sup> But the distance in their working relationships was principally due to what Michael Treadwell diplomatically termed "Swift's complex pride".<sup>104</sup> When working with John Barber in London, Swift on several occasions dined with him (or in company that included him),<sup>105</sup> but as Treadwell observes, he maintained a distance even from

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<sup>102</sup> Pronounced "*blaggard*". "Black-guard" is defined in the *OED* as "of or pertaining to the shoe-black or street Arab class;" or the "vagabond, loafing, or criminal class of a community". David Woolley describes a blackguard boy as one who "clean[s]... mury shoes for a penny": DW Letter 955, note 3, vol. iii, 470. Sheridan (the younger) makes a reference to the conduct of "blackguards" in Dublin: *Life of Swift*, 441. And Starratt says it is "A name generally applied at this period to shoe-blacks and messengers who plied for hire. A contemporary Dublin song mentions 'The little black guard who gets very hard/ His halfpence for cleaning your shoes': 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 1 – 40, at 22, note.

<sup>103</sup> For the evidence of these precautions with Harding: "Directions to the Printer", prefaced to the *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, pages iii – vii; *PW*, x, 79 – 80); *Faulkner 1735*, iv, "Advertisement" (p. iv); *PW*, xii, 112.

<sup>104</sup> Treadwell, 2, 13.

<sup>105</sup> Rivington, '*Tyrant*': *The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, op. cit., 31.

this highly-ranked stationer and sometimes made him wait on him. With the disreputable Tories in Dublin, then, there would never be anything resembling a dinner. Swift was at pains to avoid all personal contact with them<sup>106</sup> and to be seen to be doing so. Despite all of these measures by Swift, however, there can be no question that from the very beginning the printer knew who he was dealing with.

As with everything related to Swift's authorial anonymity throughout his career, this 'not knowing' the identity of the author was a charade. This was the case for his general readership, let alone the people who received the manuscripts and set them to type. As such, any notion that Waters and Harding did not know whose works they were producing is in my view unrealistic. In fact, Swift made two comments each of which is a clear admission that Waters had knowledge of his authorship. One is a line in his song concerning Waters, *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet. To the Tune of Packington's Pound*: "If the Printer will peach him, he'll scarce come off clean".<sup>107</sup> The other is a comment in the fifth *Letter* of the *Drapier* where Swift reflects on the events related to the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*: "the Printer, who had the Author in his Power".<sup>108</sup> No equivalent slips were made with respect to Harding, but it could never be seriously suggested in my view that when a package containing a manuscript was surreptitiously delivered through a window, Harding did not know where it had come from, or that when he read the manuscript he did not know who the "M.B. Drapier" on the title page was.<sup>109</sup> These were working relationships in which both principals at all times fully understood their roles with respect to each other. It does not matter that in the case of Harding there are a few lengthy periods – including one of seventeen months – in which there is no surviving evidence of him having undertaken any work for

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<sup>106</sup> Commentators have indicated that they expected nothing different from Swift in this regard. Davis, for example, says: "It is true, of course, that Swift himself had no direct dealings with the printer." *DL*, lxix.

<sup>107</sup> Williams, *Poems*, i, 238.

<sup>108</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 14). Swift deleted this comment from the version of this *Letter* published by Faulkner in 1735 (refer: *PW*, x, 89, 213). This retrospective act on his part is a significant matter in relation to Swift's anxiety to protect his reputation in the years following the prosecutions of Waters and Harding. It will be discussed in a later chapter.

There can be little doubt in my view that the deletion of this comment was authorial rather than an alteration made by Faulkner.).

<sup>109</sup> When in London, Swift occasionally took precautions to ensure that Barber did not have knowledge of his authorship of certain works, but for similar comments concerning Barber's supposed ignorance of Swift's authorship of these works: Rivington, *'Tyrant': The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, op. cit., 67 – 68. Samuel Johnson's comment that "Swift concealed himself from his printers" also needs to be qualified in this respect: *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; with Critical Observations on their Works*, [1781], Lonsdale, Roger, ed., 4 volumes, Oxford, 2006, Vol. 3., 202.



Swift (which is not conclusive evidence that he did not do so). What matters is that Harding knew that, if and when the time came for some printing to be undertaken for Swift, he would be the recipient of the work. Indeed, such was the complexity of Swift's pride, that whilst on the one hand he would have nothing to do with these printers, on the other there is clear evidence of him having a sense of rapport and camaraderie with them. This is seen in the evidence of Swift possibly having visited the Harding shop at least once,<sup>110</sup> as well as in two poems from Swift. One is *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet. To the Tune of Packington's Pound*, which was written in 1720 for the purpose of being sung in taverns and ale-houses and depicts Swift and Waters as partners-in-crime in the campaign for the use of Irish manufactures. The other is *Harding's Resurrection. From Hell upon Earth*, written in February 1724, which celebrates Harding's release from prison at that time whilst also showing knowledge of aspects of Harding's shop and personal character.

This is the new understanding of Swift's working relationships with each of Waters and Harding that I wish to propose and for which further evidence will be offered throughout the thesis. Most of the observations of previous commentators are relevant only in degrees, and two of those observations, in my submission, are not relevant at all. One of these is the contention that Swift might have been drawn to Harding on account of his not having any known associations with London stationers. I do not think that that would have concerned Swift either way. The other is the suggestion of Swift having been drawn to Harding by the printer not being a target of government surveillance. In my view this is mistaken for, as has been seen, the Tory printers of ephemeral material such as Pue, Carter, Waters and Harding, were the *only* stationers the Whig government from 1714 was watching and prosecuting. Instead of these other matters, then, Swift's choice of these printers was in my view guided only by their willingness to publish dangerous material.

As for *how* Swift worked with these printers, the comments of previous scholars all hint at what I believe was the reality of the situation. Harding's work with Swift in 1724, for instance, was not an outgrowth but a straightforward continuation of his role as Swift's permanent stand-by printer. As such, Swift's arrangements with these printers were in my view pre-meditated and purposeful. They were arrangements that explain why Swift was able to insert copy into Harding's newspapers at will, as he is known to have done on a few occasions during 1724 and, as I will argue, on at least one earlier occasion. The arrangements explain why at one point during 1724, Harding felt himself on sufficient terms with Swift to

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<sup>110</sup> This is discussed in Chapter Four.

be able to send him a gift of a pair of scissors,<sup>111</sup> which was clearly a hint to the Drapier to undertake some trimming of his materials. The arrangements also explain why Swift sent Harding a message of encouragement in November 1724 whilst the printer was in Newgate hoping in vain that someone would bail him. And the arrangements help explain why after Harding's death, Sarah Harding had an expectation that Swift would support her. To a significant extent, it is only necessary to consider the sequence of printers Swift worked with in Dublin in the 1720's: Edward Waters, then Waters' former apprentice, then that former apprentice's widow. To suggest that Swift's arrangements with his Dublin printers were not of the more meaningful variety that I contend is to suggest that this sequence was largely a coincidence.

### The Beginning of the Swift–Waters Association

Although the matter has never been discussed in any detail, the presumption amongst commentators appears to have been that Swift chose Waters to print his *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* as a once-off publishing transaction and that he made that choice of printer at the last minute (after the work had been written). There are, however, several pieces of circumstantial evidence that indicate that Swift engaged Waters at least a few months ahead of that time and for the purpose of being his ongoing printer in Dublin.

As for how Swift came to decide upon Waters in the first place, there are two possible explanations. One is that Waters' record as a risk-taking publisher recommended itself to him without more. Swift would have had knowledge of Waters' involvement with the publishing arrangements of Lloyd and Phipps between 1710 and 1713, and he would have been aware of the prosecutions Waters had faced in 1714 and 1715. Swift would also have seen the material Waters was publishing in 1719 and early 1720, which included at least three tracts that took the Irish side in the judicature controversy. These were an original publication (not a reprint of a London publication), *The Duke of Leed's* [sic] *reasons for protesting against a vote made in the House of Lords in England, which declared a certain trial before the House of Lords in Ireland to be coram non judice*,<sup>112</sup> a reprint of the London publication *A letter from a Member of the House of Commons of Ireland to a gentleman of the Long Robe in Great-Britain: containing an answer to some objections made against the judicatory power of the Parliament of Ireland*,<sup>113</sup> and another reprint, *A Second letter to a*

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<sup>111</sup> Swift reveals the fact of this gift: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 207; *PW*, x, 113.

<sup>112</sup> A1, 147.

<sup>113</sup> A1, 153.

*gentleman of the long robe in Great-Britain: wherein some of the late illegal proceedings of the barons of the Exchequer, in the Kingdom of Ireland, are plainly and impartially set forth.*<sup>114</sup> Waters was one of two senior Tory stationers in Dublin with an impressive record in the publication of subversive material. The other was Carter. But Waters had the advantage of better craftsmanship in his press work. Swift's decision to work with Waters might therefore have been founded simply on his reputation for risk-taking accompanied by the good quality of his press work.

The other possibility is that Waters came to Swift through the agency of John Hyde. This is alluded to as a possibility by Stephen Karian<sup>115</sup> and in my view it presents a more likely scenario. By the end of 1719, Hyde was well acquainted with both Swift and Waters. In the spring of 1719, Swift had called on Hyde to help with the Irish subscriptions for Matthew Prior's *Works* and the two had worked quite closely on this project during the course of the year. This work included at least one meeting at the deanery<sup>116</sup> and Swift had made it clear to others that he thought well of Hyde as a bookseller and a publishing manager.<sup>117</sup> Hyde and Waters had been colleagues off-and-on for the previous eight years. For instance, the Dublin edition of Swift's *Some Remarks Upon a Pamphlet, Entitl'd, [A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, Appointed to Examine Gregg]*, was "reprinted by E. Waters, in Essex Street, for J. Hyde", in 1711.<sup>118</sup> And another publication they appear to have worked together on is Hyde's edition of Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies* in December 1711.<sup>119</sup> Although Waters' name does not appear on the imprint, the quality of the press work suggests that he printed it. Further, Waters subsequently produced two independent editions of *The Conduct of the Allies*.<sup>120</sup> These Waters editions were reprints of different London editions than had been reprinted for Hyde,<sup>121</sup> which suggests that Waters was acting independently of Hyde with this publication,

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<sup>114</sup> A1, 154.

<sup>115</sup> *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 20.

<sup>116</sup> See: 16 February 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 490, vol. ii, 292. Also: 3 May 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 494, vol. ii, 301; 3 February 1722, Swift to Adrian Drift: DW Letter 558, vol. ii, 413. Also on Swift's support for Prior on this occasion: Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 490.

<sup>117</sup> See Swift to Adrian Drift: DW Letter 558, vol. ii, 413; also, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 490, vol. ii, 292.

<sup>118</sup> A1, 26.

<sup>119</sup> A1, 27.

<sup>120</sup> A1, 38; A1, 39. Incidentally, after three Dublin editions of *The Conduct of the Allies* had been produced, Stella wrote to Swift of this fact, to which Swift replied: "why really three editions of the Conduct, &c. is very much for Ireland; it is a sign you have some honest among you:" *Journal to Stella*, ii, 483.

<sup>121</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 349.

but the fact that Hyde did not assert his copyright over Waters with respect to these editions is suggestive of co-operation between the two.<sup>122</sup> Other than *Some Remarks Upon a Pamphlet and The Conduct of the Allies*, a further work that Hyde and Waters appear to have worked on together is Hyde's edition of *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* in March 1712.<sup>123</sup> Waters' name is not on the imprint but this is another work for which Waters produced a separate edition of his own.<sup>124</sup> The association of Hyde and Waters, then, appears to have been mutually successful and it was certainly strong enough to withstand the incident in early 1715 when Waters gave evidence against Hyde after their reprint of *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England* became the subject of a royal Proclamation, for they are known to have worked together again in 1716 and 1717.<sup>125</sup> Accordingly, when Swift was looking for a printer, it is conceivable that he spoke to Hyde, who referred him to Waters. If this was in fact the manner by which Swift came to work with Waters, it shows that his choice of printer was purposeful. It was not a carefree decision taken after the pamphlet had been written and for which he suddenly needed a printer. It was a decision that incorporated consultation of a Dublin stationer he respected.

With regard to the timing of the approach to Waters and the nature of it, a piece of evidence which in my view is significant, is an eight-page tract entitled *Hibernia's Passive Obedience, Stain to Britannia*,<sup>126</sup> which was published by Waters in 1720. The tract consists of a short collection of extracts from three of Swift's earlier works together with one extract from another author, the Whig, Thomas Burnet. The extracts of Swift are from: *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions Between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome*, published in London in 1701; *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, written in 1708 and published in London in 1711 in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*; and *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England concerning the Sacramental Test*, also written in 1708 and published in 1711 in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*. The other extract is

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<sup>122</sup> Rees, in the course of his ODNB entry for Waters, says: "Waters was the first Dublin printer to publish Jonathan Swift's works, printing in 1711 *The Conduct of the Allies*". But this overlooks all of the works of Swift reprinted by other Dublin stationers from 1704. It also overlooks the fact that the edition of *The Conduct of the Allies* which Waters printed for Hyde came before those which Waters printed for himself. The Hyde edition was advertised in the *Dublin Gazette* of 18 – 22 December 1711 whilst the two Waters edition are "1712". 'Waters, Edward', ODNB, page 2.

<sup>123</sup> A1, 43.

<sup>124</sup> A1, 45.

<sup>125</sup> For 1716: A1, 136; for 1717: A1, 142. They also published a work together in 1721: A1, 173.

<sup>126</sup> A1, 155.

from Burnet's *Essays Divine, Moral and Political* from 1714. Each of the four extracts is concerned either with a matter of the English constitution or an issue specific to Ireland, and their combined effect is to pose the question: 'Why do we continue to submit as we do?' However, in content and format the tract is effectively an open advertisement for Swift's nationalistic writing. Two of his most colourful and inflammatory comments are placed in large type on the title page and page three,<sup>127</sup> and Waters inserted an editorial comment in which he refers the reader looking for more to Swift's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, published in London 1711. This and other internal evidence from the publication suggests that this tract was produced with Swift's consent and sent out by Waters as a stalking-horse publication to test whether such material would draw a response from the government.

One matter concerning *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* is the question of when it appeared. It is dated "1720", but my argument that it was a stalking-horse is contingent upon it having been published in advance of the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, which appeared in late May of 1720. The evidence clearly supports the suggestion that it was published sometime prior to late May 1720. This is seen in the fact that immediately after the publication of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, Waters was prosecuted. He was released on bail, but if he had published a tract such as *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* whilst under those bail conditions, the publication would certainly have had consequences for him. It can be accepted, therefore, that this tract was published in advance of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. Ferguson is also of this view.<sup>128</sup>

Another matter is the question of whether *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* appeared before or after Swift engaged Waters. My argument that it was a stalking-horse is of course contingent upon it having been published after the commencement of the Waters-Swift association. Ferguson is of the view that it was published *before* Swift engaged Waters. He says that Waters came to Swift's attention *because* of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience*.<sup>129</sup> Ferguson's theory, accordingly, is that *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* was published in early 1720 and that Swift was drawn to Waters by virtue of it. But this in my view is implausible. It suggests that Swift's decision with regard to Waters was reactionary and lacking in strategy. Also, if Swift was

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<sup>127</sup> See Images 1 and 2. The quotation on the title page is a love verse from Cowley which, in *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland... Concerning the Sacramental Test*, Swift takes and applies to Ireland (whilst acknowledging the source). The quotation on page three is a Swift original which appears in the same paragraph in the *Letter... Concerning the Sacramental Test*.

<sup>128</sup> Ferguson, 54.

<sup>129</sup> Ferguson, 53 – 54.

drawn to Waters by the printer having promoted himself to him this way, it could be wondered why no other printer also promoted himself as competition for Swift's attention. One commentator who disagrees with Ferguson on this point is Sondra Schecter Armer, who is of the view that Swift was in association with Waters *before* the appearance of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience*. The reason she offers to support this, admittedly, is mistaken. She says that Waters is known to have printed for Swift before *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* and that their association had begun before that time, because Swift's *A Letter From A Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders*, published by Waters, is dated "9<sup>th</sup> January 1719-20".<sup>130</sup> But this January date appears at the end of that publication, whilst at the beginning of it is the date "July 9<sup>th</sup> 1719-20". The actual publication date, as David Woolley has shown, must have been the latter.<sup>131</sup> However, even though her reason is incorrect, it is submitted that Armer is nonetheless right in suggesting that Swift and Waters were in association in advance of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience*.

The irreverent humour highlighted in *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* is precisely the vein of humour that afterwards characterised the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. A peculiar feature of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience*, too, is that each extract runs into the next without any breaks or subheadings or other indications of where one ends and the next begins. Having an extract from Burnet interwoven in this fashion may have been intended to blur the picture from an authorial point of view if a prosecution of that tract did in fact eventuate. Alternatively, or in addition, the extract from Burnet might have been intended to illustrate that these nationalistic sentiments transcended party politics (after all, when the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* was prosecuted, one of the first things Swift said in its defence was that it had nothing in it "either of Whig or Tory").<sup>132</sup> These matters are in my view all indicative of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* having been a stalking-horse publication. Further, it is difficult to conceive that Waters would have published this material in this flamboyant manner without Swift's approval. In previous years, Waters had produced straight reprints of a few of Swift's works, but this collection of short extracts was given a provocative title and presented in a format and style that can leave little doubt that it was a promotional piece for Swift's nationalistic writing. It is too much of a coincidence in my view for such a

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<sup>130</sup> Armer, 38, note 31; A1, 158.

<sup>131</sup> DW Letter 526, note 4, vol. ii, 354.

<sup>132</sup> 1 October 1720, Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer: DW Letter 520, vol. ii, 345. For a similar comment: 10 January 1721, Swift to Alexander Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

tract to have been produced by Waters within weeks of the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*. Orrery afterwards reported of this time that Swift's "sayings of wit and humour... had the effect of an artful preface" to the publication that would soon follow.<sup>133</sup> As *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* is just such a preface in printed form,<sup>134</sup> at the very least in my view it is a tract that shows Waters already engaged by Swift and alerting the town that he was the printer to watch. More than that, however, I think the evidence is sufficient to indicate that it was contrived by Waters and Swift as a stalking-horse publication.

Further circumstantial evidence that Swift engaged Waters to be his permanent Dublin printer, and did so some months in advance of the publication of the *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, includes that fact that in early 1720, Waters moved from his shop in Copper Alley and returned to the New Post Office Printing House. This was the shop on the corner of Essex Street and Sycamore Alley that had been the scene of his successful years with Lloyd from 1710 to 1713. For the two years preceding Waters' return, the New Post Office Printing House had been occupied by Waters' former apprentice, Harding. This occupancy by Harding might have been as a sub-tenant of Waters, but, whatever the terms of Harding's occupation, around the very time that Waters returned, Harding moved to new premises on Dirty Lane.<sup>135</sup> These moves by Waters and Harding in early 1720 could have been for any number of reasons. One possibility, though, is that Waters saw himself as returning to important Tory publishing and wanted the New Post Office Printing House for himself.

*Hibernia's Passive Obedience* was published after Waters had returned to the New Post Office Printing House. It was published "in Sycamore-Alley". This is yet another in an accumulating set of circumstances tending to suggest that Swift's initial approach to the printer was made in the earliest months of 1720 or even in late 1719 – when Swift was embracing Irish culture and confiding to Ford that "as the World is now turned, no Cloyster is retired enough to keep Politicks out, and I will own they raise my Passions whenever they come in my way".<sup>136</sup> If this was the case, it shows that the author and printer had been making

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<sup>133</sup> Orrery, *Remarks*, 70.

<sup>134</sup> See also in this regard: Oakleaf, 159.

<sup>135</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274, 589.

<sup>136</sup> 8 December 1719, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 500, vol. ii, 310.

preparations for a revival of Tory publishing for some months.<sup>137</sup> Waters was in his mid-to-late thirties at this time and had been in business about fifteen years.

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<sup>137</sup> More evidence to support this proposition will be presented.



### Chapter 3: Edward Waters – The Prosecution of 1720 and 1721

Waters published Swift's anonymously written *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* in full-sheet octavo in late May 1720. The pamphlet was written principally to summon the people to buy only domestic manufactures and to avoid those from England, and because sentiments along these lines had been current in Dublin for several months, Swift did not anticipate any trouble with the publication. This chapter offers new evidence concerning the period of composition of the pamphlet and the collaboration between Waters and Swift whilst preparing it for the press. This chapter then discusses the prosecution that was issued out of the King's Bench. Taking exception to the strength of the pamphlet's anti-Englishness, its provocative metaphorical expression and its assumption of authority over the kingdom, the Lord Chancellor, Middleton, directed the Chief Justice, Whitshed, to prosecute, initiating a prosecution that would become a battle of political wills and which would come to be protracted over fifteen months. This chapter presents new evidence concerning Waters' bail and the punishments he endured whilst subject to bail conditions. It also offers new evidence relating to the works Swift sent to Waters during the period of the prosecution, and with respect to Swift's motives in doing all he could to have the case quashed.

#### The Composition of *Universal Use*

One matter concerning the composition of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*<sup>1</sup> that bears upon the nature of Swift's association with Waters is the perception that it was written hurriedly. A pamphlet concerned with much more than just the proposal that is the subject of its title, it has the air of an unstructured compilation of thoughts as it discusses several issues relevant to Irish affairs at the time. With Swift later describing it as a "weak, hasty scribble",<sup>2</sup> the balance of scholarly opinion has been that it was written quickly and casually by Swift, with little forethought. This is an opinion that implies that Swift's decision to write for the Irish cause was a relatively spontaneous one and, by extension, that his decision to send the pamphlet to Waters for printing was equally spontaneous. However, in addition to matters already discussed, there is internal evidence from *Universal Use* that is consistent with my proposition that Swift had engaged Waters months earlier and that this pamphlet was a work he had been thinking on for some time.

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter referred to as *Universal Use*.

<sup>2</sup> 1 October 1720, Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer: DW Letter 520, vol. ii, 345.

To begin with, the leading opinion on the period of composition of *Universal Use* is that of Oliver Ferguson. This opinion is to the effect that the pamphlet was written within the space of a day, or maybe two, immediately before its publication.<sup>3</sup> Ferguson's hypothesis is founded on what he considers to be the likely end-date and start-date of composition. For the end-date, Ferguson relies on the comment in the pamphlet referring to the "King's Birth-Day (now approaching)".<sup>4</sup> Given that King George's birthday was on 28 May, it might be thought, in light of this comment, that the pamphlet was published a week or maybe two weeks ahead of that date. But to make it fit with his start-date, Ferguson presumes that the pamphlet was published in the days immediately before that date, with the period of composition ending on 24 or 25 May. Then, for his start-date, Ferguson refers to the fact that the pamphlet mentions the *Ballad on Cotter*.<sup>5</sup> This was a ballad concerned with the prominent Catholic in Cork, Sir James Cotter, who had been convicted of rape and executed in Cork on 7 May – although in the view of many the conviction had been politically motivated. Ferguson says that the start-date was "probably" on or after 24 May because a copy of the ballad was sent from the Mayor of Cork to Dublin Castle on that day, and as authority for this, Ferguson cites a copy of the ballad with its accompanying letter from the Mayor of Cork, which is reproduced in the 1906 text of J.A. Froude.<sup>6</sup> According to Ferguson's hypothesis, then, the sequence of events was that, upon its receipt at Dublin Castle on 24 May, the ballad was given immediately to Swift, with Swift then writing *Universal Use* in its entirety on 24 or 25 May, and then sending the manuscript to Waters who printed and published it on 26 or 27 May.

One scholar who has difficulties with this proposed timeline is Armer. She says that there could have been any number of ballads written on Cotter and that Swift is referring to one that had reached Dublin earlier.<sup>7</sup> Her reasoning, firstly, appears to be incorrect, for Swift's comment referring to "The" ballad on Cotter implies that there was only one. However, Ferguson's hypothesis can be discounted on another ground. When citing Froude, Ferguson has his readers believe that the copy of the ballad with its accompanying letter from Cork reached Dublin on 24 May, for only then is there any chance at all of *Universal Use* having been

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<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, 54, note 82.

<sup>4</sup> A1, 156, p. 6; *PW*, ix, 16.

<sup>5</sup> A1, 156, page 10; *PW*, ix, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols., London, 1906, I, 479 – 481, note 2. (Cited by Ferguson at page 54, note 82).

<sup>7</sup> Armer, 27, note 2.

written and published within a time in which the King's birthday could still be considered to be "now approaching". But a check of Froude shows 24 May to be – in all probability – the date that the accompanying letter was *signed* by the Mayor of Cork, with that date, therefore, being the earliest possible day of departure from Cork. As such, Ferguson's hypothesis can be set aside. Clearly other copies of the ballad, which Swift says in *Universal Use* was being sung in the streets, had reached Dublin earlier in May.

It is my contention that the *Universal Use* was not the "weak, hasty scribble" Swift later said it was. Certainly it gives the appearance of having been written in that vein. Moving from one topic to the next in an informal, almost disjointed, style, it is like a rambling pastiche of ideas related to Ireland, and one that is interspersed with anecdotal observations that are part-political and part-comic in nature. But a few things need to be considered. One is that, insofar as *Universal Use* marked a bold new direction, it was one of the most important works in his career. After years of indifference and ambivalence towards Ireland, Swift was announcing his commitment to the cause and was doing so with an announcement which, even from the title, was audacious and unreserved. Such a work in my view would not have been written without considerable thought. It is apparent that several of the individual passages have been carefully honed, such as that concerned with the observation of the Archbishop of Tuam,<sup>8</sup> the "fable of Arachne and Pallas"<sup>9</sup> and the "oppression makes a wise man mad" passage.<sup>10</sup> I think there is every chance, therefore, that the air of haste was contrived. As Patrick Delany would later say, "The truth is he considered Ireland as a scene too little for his genius".<sup>11</sup> Swift's pride was such that *Universal Use* could not go out into the world bearing any sign that it was something he had laboured over. It needed to be a casual offering for what, in the minds of his London friends, was a casual subject. In my view, then, this pamphlet, contrary to appearances, is one that was written with considerable premeditation on Swift's part and was purposefully designed to appear as it does. Regardless, the "weak, hasty scribble" comment needs to be read in context given that it was made in the course of a letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer in London when Swift was calling on Hanmer's help to have the prosecution brought to an end and was trying to downplay the pamphlet's potency.

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<sup>8</sup> A1, 156, page 6; *PW*, ix, 17.

<sup>9</sup> A1, 156, pages 8-9; *PW*, ix, 18.

<sup>10</sup> A1, 156, page 9; *PW*, ix, 18.

<sup>11</sup> Delany, *Observations*, 218.

There are further indications that *Universal Use* is a work that took shape in Swift's mind over a period of time. One is related to his prose tract, *The Story of the Injured Lady*, which was left unpublished during his lifetime. Seemingly written around the time of England's union with Scotland in 1707, this tract depicts an allegorical love triangle between the two ladies, Ireland and Scotland, and their suitor, England, where Ireland is treated abominably in spite of being the more constant and loyal attendee. The scholar, Godfrey Davies, has illustrated with reasonable certainty that this was written in 1707 or soon after. Davies raises the possibility, however, that Swift added to it around 1719 or 1720. This is because the penultimate paragraph has a section which begins, "There is one Imposition of his, I had almost forgot, which I think unsufferable", and which in allegorical form appears to refer to England's legislative confirmation of Ireland's status as a dependent kingdom with its Declaratory Act of early 1720.<sup>12</sup> Davies goes so far as to assume that Swift added these comments with a view to possibly publishing *The Story of the Injured Lady*, rather than the work that became known as *Universal Use*, in 1720.<sup>13</sup> If this is correct, it illustrates the degree of thought Swift gave to his publishing plans around this time.

Another matter is associated with a type-setting issue within *Universal Use* itself. The sentence of type in question is, coincidentally, that which refers to the Ballad on Cotter. This sentence appears in the ironic "Poor England" paragraph and it reads: "Lastly, *The Ballad upon Cotter is vehemently expected to be Irish Manufacture; and yet it is allow'd to be Sung in our open Streets, under the very Nose of the Government*".<sup>14</sup> Evidence suggests quite clearly that this sentence was inserted after the type for the pamphlet had been set. That is, the pamphlet was ready for printing in early-to-mid May, but when the execution of Cotter became a political controversy throughout the country, with the ballad being sung in the streets of Dublin, Swift sent an instruction to Waters to add the sentence on this topical issue. The typographical evidence is as follows. Firstly, when *Universal Use* was reprinted in the 1735 edition of Swift's *Works*, this sentence appeared as the final sentence in the "Poor England" paragraph, which was clearly the intended positioning of the sentence all along, given that it begins "Lastly".<sup>15</sup> In Waters' original publication, however, the sentence is followed immediately by the next sentence (the

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<sup>12</sup> *PW*, ix, 8 – 9.

<sup>13</sup> Davies, 'Swift's *The Story of the Injured Lady*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, (Aug 1943), vol. vi, No. 4, 473 – 489, at 488. Also in relation to this argument: *PW*, ix, ix-xi.

<sup>14</sup> A1, 156, page 10; *PW*, ix, 19.

<sup>15</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 29; *PW*, ix, 19.

opening sentence of what in the 1735 edition is the next paragraph), which begins, “These are a *few* among the many Hardships...”. Further, the first word of the sentence – “Lastly” – is set as the final word on the line ninth from the bottom of page ten and then the next line begins with an open indent.<sup>16</sup> That open indent is, of course, a mistake. It is an indent that normally marks the commencement of a new paragraph, but here it is mid-sentence immediately after the start of the sentence concerning the *Ballad on Cotter*.

These matters suggest that Waters had originally set the type in such a way that the sentence beginning, “These are a *few* among the many Hardships”, marked the start of a new paragraph and that he then inserted the sentence concerning the *Ballad on Cotter* as an additional sentence for the “Poor England” paragraph. In doing so he made two mistakes. He left the open indent at the start of the ninth line from the bottom, which was the indent that had originally marked the new paragraph beginning “These are a *few* among the many Hardships”. And Waters let the inserted sentence run up against the next sentence without preserving the paragraph break.

The late insertion of this sentence<sup>17</sup> is another circumstance indicating that *Universal Use* was a calculated piece of writing by Swift. One scholar who leaves open the possibility that the composition of the pamphlet began two or more months before publication is Godfrey Davies.<sup>18</sup> He does not offer any reasons but in my view Davies is right. The insertion of this sentence also proves that Swift and Waters had a working association in place by this time, one that included the delivery of messages from the deanery at will. It is submitted that that working association began possibly as early as late 1719 and that it included co-operation in the stalking-horse publication, *Hibernia’s Passive Obedience*, in early 1720.

### The Issue of Anticipation of a Prosecution

To this point in Swift’s career, there had been three legal incidents involving his works. All were relatively short-lived and with none was Swift made to answer directly. The first concerned *The Conduct of the Allies* in December 1711, when Chief Justice Parker of the Queen’s Bench took exception to the sentence asserting that if, as envisaged under the Barrier

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<sup>16</sup> See Image 3.

<sup>17</sup> The creation of a new paragraph at the commencement of the sentence beginning, “These are a *few* among the many Hardships”, is a change from Waters’ 1720 publication to Faulkner’s 1735 edition which is not noted amongst Davis’ textual notes comparing the two editions (*PW*, ix, 369 – 370). In my view it is a change that is authorial and more likely to have been made by Swift than by Faulkner at that later time.

<sup>18</sup> Davies, ‘Swift’s *The Story of the Injured Lady*’, op. cit., 487.

Treaty, a foreign country was called upon to guarantee the succession of the Crown, “we put it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession” without the consent of that state.<sup>19</sup> Considering the assumption that the legislature had it within its power to alter the Succession to be potentially treasonable under the Act of Settlement, the Chief Justice summoned Morpew before him for questioning. Morpew did not disclose the identity of the author, but Swift was nonetheless alarmed, and from the fourth edition of *The Conduct of the Allies* forward, although without resiling from his position, he substituted the sentence with a more lengthy passage. His next pamphlet, *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty*, was to a significant extent devoted to defending himself on this point. The Chief Justice did not pursue the matter any further.

The second incident occurred contemporaneously with the first. This was associated with a poem concerning the Tory, the Earl of Nottingham, upon his defection to the Whigs to oppose the peace that had been advanced on behalf of the Tories with *The Conduct of the Allies*. This poem was entitled *An Excellent New Song, Being the Intended Speech of a famous Orator against Peace*,<sup>20</sup> and the House of Lords called for the printer and established a committee to find the author. That author was not brought forward, but a printer by the name of Andrew Hind, who had produced an edition of the poem (although it is unknown whether it was an authorised or pirated edition) was held in custody for four weeks before apologising on his knees before the House and paying a fine.<sup>21</sup> The third incident was the previously mentioned action taken against *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*. Offended by the comments reflecting upon the Scottish members of the House of Lords, two concurrent proceedings against this pamphlet saw Barber and Morpew as well as their apprentices and journeymen questioned, following which Barber and Morpew were detained for four days. A subsequent Proclamation offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author went unclaimed.

During the period preceding *Universal Use*, there are indications that Swift did not anticipate any serious problems with the authorities. Indeed he may have anticipated no problems at all. That is not to suggest that he looked upon the publication as wholly risk-free. The reason Swift had engaged Waters in the first place had been his readiness to print

<sup>19</sup> A1, 27, page 30; A1, 38, page 23 – 24. This line is not in the edition of *Conduct of the Allies* that is reproduced in *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, for the copy text there is the fourth London edition of the work, in which the line is removed. However, discussion of the action taken by Chief Justice Parker is in: *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 5 – 7.

<sup>20</sup> A4, 24.

<sup>21</sup> Rivington, Charles A, ‘*Tyrant: The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*’, op. cit., 34-5; T-S 289 (item 554); Williams, *Poems*, i, 142.

subversive material. Swift had also in my view shown wariness by sending out a stalking-horse publication to test whether this vein of humour would draw any government response. However, apart from the fact that *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* was published and sold without incident, other circumstances from the time are sure to have given him a sense of security. One is that a prosecution would have seemed a remote possibility given that anti-English sentiment was running higher than it had in decades and sedition was already thick in the air. On 10 May, which is likely to have been within a week of publication of *Universal Use*, Archbishop King observed the “universal disaffection of all people thro’ the whole Kingdom”.<sup>22</sup> And the notion of encouraging the people to buy only domestic manufactures was nothing new. Sir William Petty had argued for it in 1672.<sup>23</sup> The Irish House of Commons had passed resolutions in favour of it in each of 1703, 1705 and 1708.<sup>24</sup> And in more recent times, Hume’s *Dublin Courant* had published notices promoting it on 25 November 1719 and 12 March 1720. Next, Swift himself had relatively suddenly come into popularity amongst the people. His witticisms were being passed around and he had been sardonically labelled “the angel of St. Patrick’s”.<sup>25</sup> Further, there seems to have been an expectation amongst the people that Swift was soon to publish something for them. Orrery implies this with his comment that Swift’s observations and sayings acted as “an artful preface”.<sup>26</sup> And *Hibernia's Passive Obedience* was in itself an advertisement of things to come. It is conceivable, then, that as Swift prepared *Universal Use*, he looked upon it as a public celebration of his finally coming into favour. It did not matter that his name did not appear anywhere on the publication, for he refers to himself in the first person whilst relating incidents from his years in London. There was never any question as to who was writing. And although Swift gently rebukes the people for their attachments to English goods, the pamphlet has a veneer of warmth as he seeks to take them under his wing by presenting himself as one of them with “us”, “we” and “our”,<sup>27</sup> and admonishing the “high Style”<sup>28</sup> of certain ministers in England who from their “high Elevation... look down upon this Kingdom”.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> King to Molesworth, 10 May 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 53).

<sup>23</sup> Monck Mason, 323 note 1.

<sup>24</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 153.

<sup>25</sup> 6 October 1719, Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake: quoted in Burns, i, 108.

<sup>26</sup> Orrery, *Remarks*, 70.

<sup>27</sup> A1, 156, pp. 4, 7, 8; *PW*, ix, 15, 16, 17, 18.

<sup>28</sup> Page 12, *PW*, ix, 20.

This is how *Universal Use* was intended. Swift was offering himself as a dictator who was at once benevolent, irreverent and humourous. The pamphlet was one of sound economic advice from a man of experience in both kingdoms. His recommendations to the Irish Parliament that anyone who continues to buy English goods be declared “*an Enemy to the Nation*”,<sup>30</sup> and that “a firm Resolution be taken, by *Male and Female*, never to appear with one single *Shred* that comes from *England*; And let all the People say, AMEN”,<sup>31</sup> were said with a smile. His relation of the fable of the goddess, Pallas, who, envious of the talents in spinning and weaving of the young Arachne, turned Arachne into a spider to weave and spin only out of her own bowels, along with his comment that Ireland is in a worse position still with respect to England, “For the greatest Part of *our Bowels and Vitals* are extracted”,<sup>32</sup> was comedy that resonated with the people (as well as an immediate echo of the non-prosecuted *Hibernia’s Passive Obedience*). When Swift relayed an observation from an unknown person that Ireland would never be happy until there was a law allowing it to burn everything from England except its people and its coals, and “Nor am I *even yet* for lessening the Number of those Exceptions”,<sup>33</sup> he was not serious; he was not saying that he was considering killing England’s people. Such were Swift’s intentions with *Universal Use* and most people understood them. Even Bishop Nicolson, who was in the English interest, afterwards referring to its “choicest Beauty-spots”.<sup>34</sup> Swift, then, would not have anticipated a prosecution, or if he did, he would never have envisioned a prosecution with violent corporal punishments inflicted upon his printer, even though such punishments were still known to be ordered at this time. The worst Swift could realistically have foreseen would have been Waters being briefly imprisoned and released upon an apology and a fine – similar to the prosecutions he had been a witness to in London.

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<sup>29</sup> Page 13, *PW*, ix, 21.

<sup>30</sup> A1, 156, p. 5; *PW*, ix, 16.

<sup>31</sup> A1, 156, p. 6; *PW*, ix, 16.

<sup>32</sup> A1, 156, pp. 8 – 9; *PW*, ix, 18.

<sup>33</sup> A1, 156, p. 6, *PW*, ix, 17. At the editorial direction of either Swift or Faulkner, this line was removed from the version of *Universal Use* that appeared in *Faulkner 1735*: refer *PW*, ix, 17, 369. This 1735 version of *Universal Use* became the standard text after it was adopted by Herbert Davis in 1948 for his *PW*. For a recent discussion of the extent to which the editorial work for *Faulkner 1735* was undertaken by either Faulkner or Swift: Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., Chapter One.

<sup>34</sup> Nicolson to Wake, 9 June 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 54).



*Universal Use* was published in early-to-mid May 1720 with the imprint on the title page: “Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters, in Essex-street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1720”).<sup>35</sup> Waters’ initial printing included six minor grammatical errors.<sup>36</sup> He produced another impression seemingly in a hurry for it corrected only two of the mistakes,<sup>37</sup> and “Revenus” was ‘corrected’ to “Reveneus”.<sup>38</sup> Also, a new, more prominent, mistake appeared on the title page – ‘UTERLY.’ Waters would probably have prepared a second edition if subsequent events had not intervened.

### Roles and Responsibilities in the Event of a Prosecution

Before discussing the prosecution, there are further matters relevant to Swift’s working relationships with his Dublin printers that need to be considered. One is the fact that Swift always wrote either anonymously or pseudonymously. An issue over which the printers had no control, it was this that went a long way to ensuring that the author would have no part in any prosecution against the material he wrote. It was Swift’s practice throughout his entire career to publish this way. Only a few works with which he was involved as an editor or author ever carried the name “Jonathan Swift”. These were the three volumes of Temple’s *Correspondence* and *Miscellania* that were published in London between 1699 and 1701, for which he was the editor and compiler,<sup>39</sup> and his *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue; in a Letter to the Most Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain*.<sup>40</sup> All others works were published with authorial anonymity or under a pseudonym. In the case of Swift in particular, this was a point of contention, for although it was to an extent customary for authors to publish this way,<sup>41</sup> many influential writers of the day published under their own name, such as Molyneux, whose *The Case of Ireland... Stated of*

<sup>35</sup> Ehrenpreis refers to it as having been printed by John Harding (*Swift*, iii, 268) and repeats this error in his index (iii, 985), although elsewhere he says correctly that the printer was Waters (iii, 129 and 386).

<sup>36</sup> On page 5 there should be no “of” between “several” and “Countries”; on page 10 there is no full stop after “White-haven”; on page 10 there should be no paragraph indent before “*The Ballad upon Cotter*”; on page 12 “come” should be “came”; on page 14 “Revenus” should be “Revenues”; and on page 14 “Penny” should be “Penny”.

<sup>37</sup> A1, 157. The two errors properly corrected are: on page 5 the removal of “of”; and on page 10 the inclusion of a full stop after “White-haven”.

<sup>38</sup> A1, 157, page 14.

<sup>39</sup> A4, 8. See Image 4.

<sup>40</sup> A4, 37. See Image 5.

<sup>41</sup> Rossi and Hone, 118. In the second half of the eighteenth century, open avowal of authorship would become more widespread: Kelly, ‘Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 220 – 201.

1698 was “By William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq”;<sup>42</sup> Pope, who published occasional works, such as *The Rape of the Lock*,<sup>43</sup> under his own name; and Swift’s superior in the Church of Ireland, William King, who put his name to some of his polemical tracts.<sup>44</sup>

Given the politicised and individualistic nature of so much of his work, Swift was challenged from time to time as to why his name never appeared. Various reasons have been offered for Swift’s practice in this regard, with most having come from commentators rather than Swift himself. Scholars have observed that the absence of his name enhanced the literary austerity of his works insofar as they were in this way detached from any single human personality,<sup>45</sup> and that his satire in particular was more biting when anonymous.<sup>46</sup> It has also been noted that it would have been unbecoming of a clergyman to openly write satire, with such openness potentially harming the reputation of the Church.<sup>47</sup> This last matter is something that Swift himself is not known to have expressly mentioned,<sup>48</sup> but a story related by Thomas Sheridan (the younger) shows that he was at the very least aware of the perception of it amongst others. Sheridan relates an incident from January 1734 when Sir Richard Bettesworth, enraged by a slight given to him in a poem of Swift’s, confronted him in person. After Swift avoided his question concerning authorship, Bettesworth replied: “Well, since you will give me no satisfaction in this affair, let me tell you, your gown is your protection; under the sanction of which, like one of you own Yahoos who had climbed up to the top of a high<sup>49</sup> you sit secure, and squirt your filth on all mankind”.<sup>50</sup>

The only reason for his anonymity or pseudonymity that is known to have come from Swift himself is something different again. This is that he withheld his name out of modesty.

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<sup>42</sup> A4, 5.

<sup>43</sup> A4, 50.

<sup>44</sup> Such as: A4, 3, and A4, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Clive Probyn, for instance, mentioned this to me in a private communication.

<sup>46</sup> Rossi and Hone, 118.

<sup>47</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 330; Rossi and Hone, 111.

<sup>48</sup> He once said, “a genius in the reverend gown must ever keep its owner down” (quoted in Browning, ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, xxii), although the context of this comment is not clear.

<sup>49</sup> The word “tree” may have been accidentally omitted here by the compositors of Sheridan’s work.

<sup>50</sup> Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 440. For Swift’s own written – though less detailed – account of this encounter with Bettesworth: [6 -12] January 1734, Swift to the Duke of Dorset: DW Letter 1079, vol. iii, 719 – 720.

There are three known occasions in which Swift gave this reason in writing. The first is in the passage in *The History of the Last Four Years of the Queen* where he discusses a bill before the Parliament at Westminster intended for the better regulation of the printing industry, and gives his reasons for his opposition to a particular clause in that bill stipulating that the names of authors be included on all printed works. Here Swift says that the practice of publishing an author's name is crass and that such a clause would spell the end of valuable works of wit and learning, but also:

besides the Objection to this Clause from the Practice of pious Men, who, in publishing excellent Writings for the Service of Religion, have chosen out of an humble Christian Spirit to conceal their names; It is most certain, that all Persons of true Genius or Knowledge have an invincible Modesty and Suspiciousness of themselves upon their first sending their Thoughts into the World.<sup>51</sup>

Secondly, late in 1724 Swift commented in the third person on his reason for not having put his name to the *Letters* of M.B. Drapier: "But I suppose what he did at first out of *Modesty*, he now continues to do out of Prudence".<sup>52</sup> And thirdly, in the course of a tract written in 1729 entitled *Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons*, Swift says that authors write with no view to "Reputation, which... is not to be had but by subscribing our names".<sup>53</sup> It is apparent from his comments, however, that there was nothing *modest* about withholding his name at all. For one thing, this claim of modesty shows that in his own mind his writings were at all times too brilliant for him to be able to retain any humility if he was to affix his name. Moreover, just as the term "invincible modesty" is an oxymoron, the real issue is seen to be pride. My contention is that it was his sense of himself as a writer of genius that more than anything answered for his authorial detachment in this regard. For Swift, the realm of genius transcended human engagement. It was not one for which moneys were due or for which authors were to be personally accountable.<sup>54</sup> It was one in which authorial inspiration was channelled from a higher sphere, and it is submitted that Swift's perception of himself as a writer in receipt of such inspiration was a principal reason for his authorial aloofness.

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<sup>51</sup> *PW*, vii, 105-6.

<sup>52</sup> A4, 115; *PW*, x, 71.

<sup>53</sup> *PW*, xii, 75.

<sup>54</sup> Also on this point: McMinn, *Jonathan Swift; A literary life*, Basingstoke, 1991, 19; Rossi and Hone, 183 – 184.

Walter Scott is in my view mistaken in saying that Swift's anonymity made him "the most inattentive to literary reputation" of perhaps all authors.<sup>55</sup> It is more as Ehrenpreis says – he was driven by a "hunger for anonymous fame".<sup>56</sup> This was a more rarefied fame and one which was at all times to elude the commonness of human engagement. His hunger for anonymous fame is seen in his habit of absenting himself from the scene of publication of his controversial works. It is also seen in the story of him visiting St. James Coffee House, where others writers and political figures were, and walking up and down for half an hour while talking to no one, then leaving.<sup>57</sup> Far from modesty, withholding his name was a potent, and for some people pungent, manifestation of ego. One person aggravated by Swift's anonymity (and new evidence of others feeling the same way in the 1720's will be presented in later chapters) was Richard Steele between 1710 and 1714. The friend who became a bitter enemy, one matter that irritated Steele was Swift's charade of anonymity as *The Examiner* and in his associated pamphleteering. Steele insinuated that Swift was the writer of *The Examiner* during the period that Swift was indeed writing that periodical (to which Swift responded with anger),<sup>58</sup> and Steele persisted in his assertions that Swift was *The Examiner* even after Swift had handed it over to others (to which Swift responded with anger).<sup>59</sup> In 1713, by which time Swift had long since stopped writing *The Examiner*, Steele wrote *Two Letters Concerning the Author of The Examiner*. "It is to me the most unaccountable Piece of Impudence and Folly in the Fellow", Steele writes in the character of a Country Gentleman, "that he should pretend all along to write for the Ministry, and at the same time labour as much to lie concealed, as if he were set on to assassinate them". Steele suggests that Swift appears "at last, to be ashamed of his name... this modest Person, who labours so much to shun the Knowledge of Men, and is content to abide in Obscurity, both as to present, and as to future Ages".<sup>60</sup> And in early 1714, when Steele published his *The Crisis*, which was written in response to Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies*, he put his name to it.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Walter Scott, vol. i, page vi. A similar view is expressed by Rossi and Hone: 313.

<sup>56</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 316.

<sup>57</sup> Rossi and Hone, 134.

<sup>58</sup> Ian Gadd, "'At four shillings per year, paying one quarter in hand': reprinting Swift's *Examiner* in Dublin 1710 – 11", op. cit, 78 note 19; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 31 – 32.

<sup>59</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 34 – 35.

<sup>60</sup> A4, 41, pages 5, 15, 16.

<sup>61</sup> A4, 43.

Commentators have in my view misunderstood Steele's motive for this, with Ehrenpreis, for example, saying that Swift "never gave Steele the immense credit he deserved for daring to put his real name to his work".<sup>62</sup> It is contended that the reason Swift did not do so is that this was purposefully done by Steele to illustrate a point of difference in character between the two authors. That point of character was in my view associated with courage. This is the next issue relating to Swift's anonymity and pseudonymity – courage. It is a matter that commentators have broached with hesitation and never explored. No one has ever expressly said, for instance, that one of Swift's reasons for withholding his name was a lack of courage.<sup>63</sup> All that has been said is that one of his reasons might have included the protection from prosecution that came with it.<sup>64</sup> As seen in the challenge from Bettesworth, however, courage is the pertinent question that must be addressed in the present discussion. It is an issue that is open to debate. On the one hand Swift could be defended with the argument that everyone could easily discern his authorship anyway. Particularly from the time of his political writing in London, Swift was so well-known and his style so identifiable that the issue of anonymity or pseudonymity was moot. Add the fact that Swift continued to write material that angered his enemies while knowing that there was a chance of those enemies exacting a violent revenge,<sup>65</sup> and the argument in his favour builds.

The opposing argument could say that the fact that his style was so recognisable was all the more reason for him to be open. It was as Pope wrote to Swift in 1734: "your method of concealing your self puts me in mind of the bird I have read of in India, who hides his head in a hole, while all his feathers and tail stick out".<sup>66</sup> This opposing argument would point to the reasons Swift offered for his decision to hand *The Examiner* to others. As he explained to Stella: "the author, whoever he was, laid it down on purpose to confound guessers",<sup>67</sup> but in another account: "my stile being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of

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<sup>62</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 708.

<sup>63</sup> Rossi and Hone say "it was not perhaps a courageous attitude in a man" (118), before offering an elaborate and strained defence of him.

<sup>64</sup> For example, Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 330; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 16.

<sup>65</sup> In May 1727, for instance, Swift reported to Sheridan that he had been advised by friends in London not to proceed with his intended trip to France because his enemies could more easily act against him there: 13 May, 1727, Swift to Thomas Sheridan: DW Letter 750, vol. iii, 84.

<sup>66</sup> 6 January 1734, Pope to Swift: DW Letter 1078, vol. iii, 716 – 717.

<sup>67</sup> *Journal to Stella*, ii, 402.

enemies, I let it fall into other hands”.<sup>68</sup> This argument would also refer to the fact that there was an aspect of Swift’s character that drew accusations of cowardice. This is seen to an extent in his practice of publishing works to cause storms of controversy whilst ensuring that he himself was in another kingdom. Cowardice is also seen in his repeatedly fleeing from problems, many of which were either partly or wholly of his own making. A few examples of this are as follows. Amidst the party-political uncertainty in London in 1709, Swift went to Ireland for a year to avoid having to commit to either side.<sup>69</sup> When concerns began to rise in 1714 that the prominent Tories could be formally charged with activities connected with Jacobitism, Swift slipped quietly into the country (at which Bolingbroke laughed and ordered wine to be sent to him), then after the death of the Queen, Swift pressed on to Ireland despite friends pleading with him to return.<sup>70</sup> When Vanessa died on 2 June 1723, Swift immediately left Dublin for three months to avoid the scandal.<sup>71</sup> And there are additional instances of this pattern conduct that have not previously been commented on. Firstly, at the end of Harding’s three-week imprisonment for publishing the fourth *Letter* of the *Drapier*, Harding emerged from Newgate on 28 November 1724 bearing the illness or the injury that claimed his life five months later. On this day of his release from prison, Swift left Dublin for Belcamp. Secondly, upon Harding’s death on 19 April 1725, Swift chose to leave Dublin for Quilca that day. A further instance is seen when, on two separate occasions in the mid-1720s, Stella’s health declined and Swift absented himself to London for six months.<sup>72</sup>

This cowardice in Swift was something that Jonathan Smedley commented on in 1714 in his mock-Swift diary, *An Hue and Cry After Dr. S—T; Occasion’d by a True and Exact Copy of Part of his own Diary, found in his Pocket-Book*, where “Swift’s” diary notes include references to flight and fleeing and a resolution to write an historical account on the proverb, “Burn the

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<sup>68</sup> *PW*, viii, 124. On Swift reasons for handing *The Examiner* to others, J.A. Downie has an alternative hypothesis: *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*, Cambridge, 1979, 137.

<sup>69</sup> Rossi and Hone, 156 – 157, 220. And for another example, refer: Rossi and Hone, 397, note 113.

<sup>70</sup> Rossi and Hone, 17, 217 – 218 (refer also 397, note 113). For Bolingbroke’s reaction to his going to the country: 6 July 1714, John Barber to Swift: DW Letter 295, vol. i, 639; 11 July 1714, Pope to John Arbuthnot: DW Letter 300, vol. i, 646; 13 July 1714, Bolingbroke to Swift: DW Letter 302, ii, 1 – 2. For Bolingbroke pleading with Swift to stay: 3 August 1714: Bolingbroke to Swift: DW Letter 338, vol. ii, 47 – 48.

<sup>71</sup> Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 171, 174.

<sup>72</sup> As a general rule commentators have searched for other ways to explain issues such as these with respect to Swift, or have avoided them altogether. One who does not, however, is Denis Johnston. Throughout his book (*In Search of Swift*) Johnston cannot subdue his incredulity at the excuse-making for Swift through the centuries.

House and run away by the Light of it".<sup>73</sup> One of the people who knew Swift best, Sheridan, accused him of being a coward who retreated when a forceful argument was presented against him.<sup>74</sup> This was said by Sheridan in the course of one their "friendly" poetic exchanges, but Sheridan's communications with Swift were often laced with barbs, a quality that the lines in question are not wholly free of (and new evidence of Sheridan communicating with Swift with more overt irony in the late 1720's will be presented).

This argument against Swift with respect to the issue of courage would conclude that Swift had difficulty confronting issues in person. But the opposing viewpoints on the matter are difficult to reconcile. Swift was a man who showed courage and resilience throughout his life as he rebounded from one disappointment after another to again impose himself on the world, yet much of this rebounding was done either in masquerade or in absentia. Fearless and indomitable with his faceless pen, the paradox is neatly demonstrated in the name "M.B. Drapier", a pseudonym that was characteristic of Swift. He leaves his reader to guess at what the initials "M.B." signify, but if they allude to Marcus Brutus, as is generally believed,<sup>75</sup> he is seen to be drawing an analogy between himself and one of history's most courageous patriots, when in reality the name is serving him as a shield. The extent to which Swift's decision to withhold his name may have been attributable to wanting the protection it afforded cannot be known. Given the various matters that might have influenced him in this regard, however, in my view it seems reasonable to assume that protection from prosecution was a secondary benefit of a decision that was taken principally for other reasons. It was nonetheless a benefit that Swift was conscious of and which his printers had no choice but to abide by.

The roles and responsibilities of the author and printer in the event of a prosecution were to a large extent defined by Swift's anonymity. It was not a complex arrangement. The printer would answer the prosecution whilst the author would watch on for the unlikely event of the authorities taking a genuine step to pursue him. These roles were consistent with the government practice at the time with respect to prosecutions. Action against the printer was

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<sup>73</sup> A4, 51, pages 7, 8, 13.

<sup>74</sup> Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 65. Thackeray surmised the same quality in Swift: "if undeterred by his great reputation you met him like a man, he would have quailed before you, and not had the pluck to reply, and gone home, and years after written a foul epigram about you – watched for you in a sewer, and come out to assail you with a coward's blow and a dirty bludgeon": 'Lecture the First: Swift', in *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century: A Series of Lectures, Delivered in England, Scotland, and the United States of America*, London, 1853, 7 – 8.

<sup>75</sup> Jack Gilbert, 'The Drapier's Initials', *Notes and Queries*, 208, (1963), 217 – 218; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 207 – 208.

mandatory and action against the author was discretionary, with that discretion exercised less and less under the administration of Walpole.<sup>76</sup> Most often, the prosecution of the printer would be the first and only instance of a government response. Accordingly, with this much implicitly understood between Swift and Waters with respect to their roles, it seems unlikely that there was any additional communication between them concerning measures to be taken in the event of a prosecution. In 1732, Swift wrote to his London publisher, Motte, about the practice of Dublin stationers sending their books into the English market, saying in passing with respect to his past practices, that “the Printer... ran the whole risk, and well deserved the property”.<sup>77</sup> This comment from Swift potentially infers that there was a clear demarcation of roles and that Swift and his Dublin printers came to clear understandings with respect to them. But there is nothing to suggest that any such communication occurred, either with Waters in 1720 or in subsequent years with Harding. Events subsequent to the publication of the *Universal Use* suggest a thorough unpreparedness on the part of both author and printer for what befell them. There is an outside possibility that they reached a prior agreement that Swift would bail Waters in the event that he was imprisoned, for I will present evidence suggesting that Swift was Waters’ bailor, but it is more likely that Swift’s decision to bail Waters was spontaneous and made amidst the shock of the onset of the prosecution. Given Swift’s previous experience of prosecutions, he would not have anticipated the need for any such step.

An associated issue concerns the imprint on the title page and whether Swift insisted that the printers include their name and place of business. They were not compelled by law to do this. The absence of binding copyright structures in Dublin meant that there was no obligation on printers to lodge any kind of registration of their claims to a publication or to include their name and place of business on the imprint. They could, if they chose, publish under an anonymous imprint, or a fictitious one,<sup>78</sup> or they could eliminate the imprint altogether. Within the Dublin industry at the time, it was in fact generally considered to be prudent, rather than unprincipled, to omit the name from publications that were potentially seditious.<sup>79</sup> But although Waters and Harding did not do so with every publication they

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<sup>76</sup> Thomas, ‘Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King’s Bench Indictments’, *The Library*, 5th ser., 32, (1977), 315 – 332, at 318.

<sup>77</sup> 4 November 1732, Swift to Benjamin Motte: DW Letter 994, vol. iii, 556.

<sup>78</sup> On fictitious imprints: Phillips, 241 – 243; and Munter, *HINP*, 107.

<sup>79</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 107.



produced for Swift, for all of the particularly dangerous ones, being *Universal Use* in 1720 and the five *Letters* of the Drapier in 1724, they included their name and place of business.

The question, therefore, is whether Swift insisted that they include these details in the course of the instructions sent from the deanery with the manuscripts of these particular publications. If Swift did, it might be said that he was actively ensuring that they served as a screen. In searching for an answer to this, it is to be considered that there were benefits to both parties in this full disclosure in the imprint. The main advantage for the printers was that they acquired the Dublin copyright and thereby secured the local market for the publication for themselves. Other advantages were that, by giving their addresses, they let prospective customers know where a copy could be obtained,<sup>80</sup> their businesses were enhanced in reputation by openly publishing such important pamphlets, and there was the personal satisfaction of being true to the spirit of open-faced Tory bravado by declaring themselves the publishers of these works. For Swift, one benefit in addition to the screen was the fact that the copyright went some way to ensuring that no unauthorised editions appeared, in this way giving him more control over the appearance of his published works. Another benefit was that the open disclosure of the printer's name added to the stature of the publication and lent it further legitimacy.

The question, then, is how important were these benefits to Swift? Taking the benefits one at a time, that which was perhaps of least significance to him was the Dublin copyright, or more particularly, preventing the appearance of unauthorised editions. When he was in London, there is little to indicate that Swift was concerned about copyright. Several of his shorter political works were never registered with the Stationers' Company by his publishers,<sup>81</sup> which is something that Swift either did not care about or was oblivious to, and the annoyance with Curll in 1726 was more Pope's than Swift's.<sup>82</sup> Then, whilst Swift was in Dublin, there is nothing to indicate that he was concerned by the occasional unauthorised edition that did in fact appear. On the contrary, he seems to have turned a blind eye to, or possibly even facilitated, the surreptitious delivery of certain manuscripts to Samuel Fairbrother in the early

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<sup>80</sup> This point is made by Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 20.

<sup>81</sup> For example: A4, 25; A4, 26; A4, 27; A4, 28; A4, 29; A4, 30; and A4, 31. One that was entered in the Stationers' Register but not signed was: A4, 38.

<sup>82</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 520, 737.

1730's.<sup>83</sup> Whilst it is a matter that is difficult to measure, then, Swift's practices throughout the 1720's and 1730's suggest that he did not place a high value on the Dublin copyright.<sup>84</sup>

Similarly, with the benefit of the screen, it seems unlikely that Swift would have insisted on the printers including their names for this reason. To some extent the inclusion or non-inclusion of the printer's name was of no consequence in this regard anyway. Even without their names on the imprint, suspected stationers could be interrogated and prosecuted (as Waters and the then teenage Harding had themselves discovered with their involvement in the Hyde edition of *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England* in 1715).<sup>85</sup> Swift could nonetheless have wanted the security that derived from the government being able to *immediately* seize the printer, thereby potentially lessening the likelihood of a subsequent pursuit of the author. And one circumstance supporting this possibility is associated with the fact that with every prosecution of one of his works in London, Swift was highly protected. Every prosecution, including the two concurrent ones against *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* which culminated in a Proclamation offering a reward for discovery of the author, was carefully orchestrated to have the appearance of a rigorous attempt to bring *all* persons involved in the publication to account, when in fact they were, from their very beginnings, designed to ensure that Swift was left unaffected.<sup>86</sup> This is seen, for instance, in the fact that the reward of £300 which attended the Proclamation was thought to be too low to represent a genuine effort to

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<sup>83</sup> See Fischer, 'Swift's *Miscellanies*, in *Prose and Verse, Volume the Fifth: Some Facts and Puzzles*', *Swift Studies*, 2000, 76 – 87, at 82; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 106.

<sup>84</sup> As suggested, it seems possible that Swift was not at all times overly concerned even with the more formal *English* copyright (his publishers, that is, were more concerned about it than he was). And it follows that even though his stated practice throughout his career was to send his works – other than small ones or those written for Ireland – to London for original publication (25 May 1736, Swift to Benjamin Motte: DW Letter 1267, vol. iv, 305), this was done for reasons more associated with audience than copyright. Only in the 1730's did Swift show himself especially concerned with copyright matters, when he became outspoken about the differing rights vested in Irish and English stationers in that regard (4 November 1732, Swift to Motte: DW Letter 994, vol. iii, 556; 9 December 1732, Swift to Motte: DW Letter 999, vol. iii, 563 – 564; 1 May 1733, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 1036, vol. iii, 638; 9 October 1733, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 1065, vol. iii, 693; 16 February 1734, Swift to the Earl of Oxford: DW Letter 1080, vol. iii, 722; 25 May 1736, Swift to Benjamin Motte: DW Letter 1267, vol. iv, 305), but even this was in my view due only to the specific issue then at hand, which was Swift's support for Faulkner's plans to publish a collected edition of his *Works* in Ireland and sell copies of it in England. With respect to all of my comments in this footnote, compare Stephen Karian: *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 13, 18, 27 – 28.

<sup>85</sup> Discussed in Chapter Two. The powers of interrogation on that occasion had been pursuant to a royal Proclamation, but the Court of King's Bench, the Parliament and Dublin Castle, all had their own jurisdictions to summon and interrogate, as seen for instance in the prosecution of the printer Christopher Goulding in 1729. On this prosecution of Goulding: Needham and Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* for 31 December 1728 and again for 14 January 1729 (it will also be discussed in Chapter Nine).

<sup>86</sup> Rivington, 'Tyrant': *The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, op. cit., 35, 42, 47, 48 and note 24, 49; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 37 – 39, 330, 332, 453.

find the author.<sup>87</sup> It is also seen in the fact that there was a contingency plan in the event of accidental slippage of evidence of Swift's authorship. As the Parliamentarian Peter Wentworth reported on that occasion, "if the worst comes to the worst, I hear they have found out a man that will own, which will save the Doctor's Bacon".<sup>88</sup>

Swift was protected on all boundaries when in London, but in Dublin he did not have the people around him to provide the same security and it might be thought that he insisted on his printers including their names on the imprints to partly compensate for that shortcoming. However, this too is unlikely, because the printer's name on the imprint at the same time presented a danger to Swift insofar as in the event of a prosecution it brought the printer directly before the authorities for questioning with respect to the author. For this reason, it can be questioned whether the disclosure in the imprint served as a screen at all. If the printer *did* provide Swift with a screen, this was performed by the printer not so much at the point of placing his name on the imprint, but at the time of denying knowledge of the identity of the author when before the Parliamentary Committee or the Chief Justice. For these reasons, it is contended that Swift would not have insisted on the disclosure in the imprint for the purposes of this particular benefit.

With the third benefit, the situation may have been different. This was the added authority given to the publication by the printer's openness. It is a matter that could have been of some importance to Swift because apart from anything else it served as a forthright declaration on the part of the publisher of the legitimacy of the pamphlet (showing that he had nothing to fear with it). Indeed, given that *Universal Use* and all five *Letters* of the Drapier were given quite elaborate title pages, it is difficult to imagine Swift being content with them being published without the propriety of the imprint at the bottom of that page. All of Swift's significant London publications had carried the name of a publisher. It is true that in several cases that had been the trade publisher, Nutt, whom Barber had employed to protect himself, but this was a real stationer and a legitimate imprint nonetheless. In Dublin there is no evidence that any stationer performed the role of trade publisher in this same sense, but by working with the Tory risk-takers of the industry, Swift was in effect going *straight to* the trade publishers. An argument could be made, then, for Swift having insisted on full disclosure in the imprint for this last reason. Even with the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier, for instance,

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<sup>87</sup> Fischer, 'The Legal Response to Swift's *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*', in John Irwin Fischer, Hermann J. Real and James Woolley, eds., *Swift and his Contexts*, New York, 1989, 21 – 38, at 29; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 452.

<sup>88</sup> Cartwright, ed., *The Wentworth Papers 1705 -1739*, London, 1882, 359.

Harding included his name and place of business, which if it was a decision of his own volition, must surely earn a place amongst the most courageous (or foolish) decisions in the history of political publishing. But on this question of whether Swift insisted on the printers disclosing their name and place of business in the imprint, there is no substantive evidence and the matter cannot be known.

### The Prosecution of *Universal Use*

The problems with *Universal Use* began with the fact that it brought a more serious dimension to the notion of supporting Irish manufactures to the exclusion of the English. The full title read: *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. Utterly Rejecting and renouncing Every Thing wearable that comes from England*. And despite its humour, there could be little doubt that Swift was endeavouring to instil a universal solidarity and an aspect of rebelliousness on the issue. But more problematic still was the pamphlet's high-handedness. Whereas Molyneux had written with pin-point meticulousness and in a voice of submission, Swift wrote in crude broad-brush strokes and as though he was immune from the accepted forms and procedures. Swift refers to the "high Style" of certain English Ministers but does so whilst referring to these "Great Men, from whom I expected better".<sup>89</sup> He speaks of the King in familiar terms and presumes to know his mind when he assures the people that "nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear that his Loyal Subjects of both Sexes in this Kingdom celebrated his *Birth-Day* (now approaching) *universally* clad in their own Manufacture".<sup>90</sup> And Swift advises the Irish Parliament to pass resolutions on the matter.<sup>91</sup> It was this elevated vantage point that, more than any specific passage or observation, was controversial. From beginning to end, the pamphlet was written with an assumption of authority over the kingdom and as though the prospect of opposition to his ideas from any one person was not a realistic possibility.<sup>92</sup> It was these qualities that led to the catch-cry that with *Universal Use* Swift was "*flying in the King's face*"<sup>93</sup> – something he would be accused of also with the *Letters* of the Drapier.

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<sup>89</sup> A1, 156, p. 13; *PW*, ix, 21.

<sup>90</sup> A1, 156, p. 6; *PW*, ix, 16.

<sup>91</sup> A1, 156, p. 5, *PW*, ix, 16.

<sup>92</sup> On Swift's tendency not to be able to anticipate opposition to his own views: Rossi and Hone, 17, 125.

<sup>93</sup> Swift refers expressly to this complaint against him in 1725 in *Humble Address* (Faulkner 1735, iv, 237 – 238; *PW*, x, 137). For different commentaries on the sedition of *Universal Use*: Anon, *A Defence of English Commodities. Being an Answer to the Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, London, 1720 (A4, 59, pp. 15-16); Orrery,

But Waters and Swift were nonetheless unlucky with *Universal Use*. Insofar as it played into the professional rivalry between the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, William Whitshed, and the Lord Chancellor, Alan Brodrick, Lord Midleton, the timing of its publication could hardly have been worse. Midleton's hold on the Chancellorship was vulnerable at the time. Known for his belligerence and insensitivity as to what anyone thought of him, the sixty-five-year-old had come into disfavour by neglecting his duties as Chancellor by devoting too much of his time to his interests in England, and in 1720 there were moves to have him replaced.<sup>94</sup> Whitshed, meanwhile, had had his sights on the Chancellorship for some time. Intensely driven and considerably younger than Midleton, he had been manoeuvring to succeed him from as early as 1716, contrasting himself by always adhering to the Irish interest<sup>95</sup> and making trips to London to promote himself.<sup>96</sup> Such was the tense relationship between these two legal office holders in the summer of 1720 when *Universal Use* was published. The initial direction to prosecute was given by Midleton to Whitshed. To what extent that direction was influenced by the pamphlet itself, as distinct from matters personal to Midleton such as his political loyalties to England, his concern that a failure to act could amount to the final circumstance that would see him removed from Office, and a desire on his part to spite his rival with a difficult assignment, cannot be known (Swift was certainly of the view that it was the latter reasons).<sup>97</sup> Upon receipt of the direction, though, Whitshed took it as an opportunity.

It was a prosecution that on its face was one for sedition in a printed publication. In England, five statutes had been passed on matters relating to sedition, dating from the first of Edward I in 1275 through to that of Elizabeth I in 1559, but as none of these statutes are known to have been adopted by the Irish Parliament, the test for sedition in Ireland was that

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*Remarks*, 70 – 71, 196; Walter Scott, i, 278; Monck Mason, 322 note k; Mitchell, *The History of Ireland, From the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time: Being a Continuation of the History of the Abbe Macgeoghegan*, London, (1906), 53; Rowse, *Jonathan Swift*, New York, 1975, 129 – 130; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, London, 1893, 167 – 168; John Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, London, 1954, 319 – 322; Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers*, 105; Rossi & Hone, *Swift; or, The Egotist*, London, 1934, 260 – 265; Ferguson, 58; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 125 – 126; Downie, *Jonathan Swift: Political Writer*, London, 1984, 231 – 232; Oakleaf, 168.

<sup>94</sup> For interesting primary sources on Midleton, see his own correspondence, in particular his dealings with the English First Minister, Sunderland, in: Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, 12 June 1720, and 14 June 1720: Surrey History Centre: MS 1248, fol. 4/271-2, and MS 1248, fol. 4/273-4, respectively. For secondary sources: O'Flanagan, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland*, London, 1870, 2 vols., i, 1 – 37; Burns, i, 29 – 30, 69, 78, 107.

<sup>95</sup> He had been born and raised in Ireland, which was itself a rarity for a Chief Justice of an Irish Court. Ball says: "With exceptions that are no more than infinitesimal the judges in Ireland were English by birth or descent": *Judges in Ireland*, i, viii.

<sup>96</sup> See: Bishop Meath to Archbishop Wake, 19 June 1716: quoted in Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 96; and Burns, i, 66.

<sup>97</sup> 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 355 – 356.

at common law. And that common law was the *English* common law, which was adopted without any material alterations in Ireland.<sup>98</sup> The test for whether a publication constituted a seditious libel, then, was whether it was likely to excite disaffection towards the monarch, the monarch's magnates or heirs, or the institutions of government (including the individual members of those institutions), or whether it was intended to incite people to alter anything in church or state other than by lawful means.<sup>99</sup>

The one difference between the Irish and English legal systems was that judges in Ireland had no tenure.<sup>100</sup> They held office at the pleasure of the Crown, and in cases involving a point of political significance for Westminster it was in their career interests to ensure the delivery of an appropriate outcome. In 1720, then, amidst the Whig government's paranoia with respect to the possibility of an invasion by the Pretender, no judge in Ireland, let alone an ambitious one, would have wanted to preside over a case that saw the return of a verdict signifying support for a publication that incited divisions between the peoples of Ireland and England. For these reasons this prosecution of *Universal Use* was in reality one in which the law had little place. Despite judges in wigs and robes, barristers in jabbos and gowns who had been trained in Inns of Court in London, sanctified courtroom rituals and ceremonies, indictments prepared and read in Latin as well as English, and a slavish adherence to ancient procedural forms, it was a case governed less by law than politics – the politics of personal ambition and the politics of nations.

The following discussion of the events of the prosecution is founded on scattered pieces of evidence, each of which offers a glimpse or, at most, a few material matters. There are no surviving Law Reports or other official records of the case (with only two exceptions there are no surviving Irish law reports at all from this period).<sup>101</sup> Any official documents that may have existed would have been lost in the Public Records Office fire of 1922. Similarly, with respect to the trial, there are no known contemporaneously published transcripts or

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<sup>98</sup> See Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland Stated* (1698) (A4, 5, pages 57, 62 – 63, 71, 135); Osborough, *Studies in Irish Legal History*, Dublin, 1999, 195 – 196; and *Garnham*, 12 – 13, 143. The Irish Parliament would occasionally adopt English Parliamentary or common law on modified terms (see Molyneux, op. cit., (A4, 5, page 66); Madden, i, 56) but it is not known to have done so with respect to sedition.

<sup>99</sup> See: 'Of Ancient Statutes, with Respect to Libels', *The Craftsman*, Nos. 613 and 615, 8 & 22 April 1738: reproduced in Madden, i, 44 – 53; Stephen, op. cit., Munter, *HINP*, 190; Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476 – 1776*, Illinois, 1952, 381.

<sup>100</sup> See Burns, i, 10 – 11; Munter, *HINP*, 101.

<sup>101</sup> W.N. Osborough, 'Chapter 1, 'In Search of Irish Legal History: a Map for Explorers'', in *Studies in Irish Legal History*, Dublin, 1999.

reviews as there are for a few other cases of the time (including those involving Whitshed).<sup>102</sup> The evidence that has survived of the prosecution of Waters, then, consists principally of passages in Swift's correspondence and other scattered references in his prose and poetical works,<sup>103</sup> along with snippets from other people's correspondence, the Presentment of the pamphlet as it was printed in the Dublin Whig press, and one comment in a London newspaper. This discussion relies on all of this evidence together with substantive and inferential matters that can be drawn from the legal procedures of the time.<sup>104</sup>

Through it all, the matter that emerges with most prominence is the ostentatious conduct of the case by Whitshed. From the moment he received the originating order through to the entering of the *noli prosequi* fifteen months later, he managed the case in an extraordinary manner, one that seems to have been motivated by a desire to earn commendations from his employers at Westminster. For this and for his corresponding conduct of the case involving Harding in 1724, Whitshed was viciously criticised by Swift, and following Whitshed's unexpected death in 1727, commentators have ensured his place as one of the most maligned figures of this period of Irish history. My contention, however, is that this judgement of Whitshed is for the most part unfair. Certainly in both of the cases he made an open display of his determination to secure convictions, but he was a Chief Justice who had no judicial independence.

There was no Lord Lieutenant resident in Ireland at the time. As was customary for the viceregal office holder, the incumbent, Charles Poulet, second Duke of Bolton, remained in England and only came to Ireland for the biennial session of Parliament. Accordingly, he

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<sup>102</sup> For example: A4, 55, 57.

<sup>103</sup> For his correspondence: 1 October 1720, Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer: DW Letter 520, vol. ii, 345 – 347; 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 355 – 356; 12 February 1723, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 576, vol. ii, 448 – 449. For his works: *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet. To the Tune of Packington's Pound* (including its prose preface), in Faulkner 1735, ii, 358 – 360 (Williams, *Poems*, i, 236-8); *Letter to the Shop-Keepers* (A2, 41, pages 2, 3; PW, x, 3); *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, pp. 3, 14); *Letter to Molesworth* as reprinted with changes in Faulkner 1735, iv, 165 (PW, x, 82); *Humble Address*, 1725, in Faulkner 1735, iv, 236-7 (PW, x, 137); *A Proposal that all the Ladies of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*, 1729: PW, xii, 121; and *The Substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick's to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his Freedom in a Gold Box*: PW, xii, 147.

<sup>104</sup> Commentary on the law and procedure of sedition as it operated within Ireland itself is scarce. There are a few contemporary publications that have some tangential relevance: A4, 72; A4, 199; A4, 209; and A4, 213). On the law of sedition in Ireland in an earlier period, there is: Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: The Court of Castle Chamber, 1571 – 1641*, Dublin, 2005. And a secondary source on criminal law and procedure generally is the book of Neal Garnham published in 1996. But otherwise, there is no primary or secondary commentary specifically concerned with the law of sedition in Ireland. It follows that my research in this area has had to be supplemented by research into the corresponding English law. As mentioned, however, the common law of Ireland was in all respects modelled on that of England.

had returned to England at the end of the most recent Parliament in November 1719.<sup>105</sup> At the time of publication of *Universal Use*, moreover, Bolton's term was about to end, but the incoming Lord Lieutenant, Charles Fitzroy, the second Duke of Grafton, would not be formally appointed until 8 June<sup>106</sup> (two to three weeks after the publication of *Universal Use*) and was not scheduled to arrive in Dublin for his swearing in until shortly before the next Irish Parliament, which was scheduled for September 1721. Burns and David Woolley appear to be mistaken, therefore, in saying that the prosecution was instigated with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>107</sup> For this to have been the case, the publication must have been sent to Ireland for Bolton to consider and a reply sent. This was a process that would have taken two weeks or more and action against the pamphlet had begun in Dublin before that time. Accordingly, in the absence of the viceroy, the country was governed by the Lords Justice. Midleton, the Chancellor, who was also one of the Lords Justice,<sup>108</sup> issued the originating order.

It has been speculated that this original direction to Whitshed was to the effect that the publication be met with the full force of the law,<sup>109</sup> in this way carrying an aspect of personal challenge from the Chancellor to the Chief Justice. This is something that seems likely and which is borne out by Whitshed's subsequent conduct. Although there are no documentary records to prove it, Whitshed appears to have assumed the management of every aspect of the case – the administrative, the executive and the judicial – to himself, with every step in the proceeding carried out in an excessive or amplified manner that went above and beyond the original order. The first step was to issue a warrant and send messengers to arrest Waters, which are matters that appear to have been done expeditiously. Unlike the prosecution in June 1715, for which there is a report of Waters jumping from a window and hiding in a neighbour's cellar, there is no evidence of how Waters responded when the messengers arrived at his Essex Street shop on this occasion, but on 19 June, Bishop Evans wrote to Archbishop Wake, the "imprison'd printer has not discover'd him".<sup>110</sup> This is one of

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<sup>105</sup> Burns, 99.

<sup>106</sup> Burns, 112. On Grafton: Burns, i, 113; Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford*, London, 1798, 382; A. A. Hanham, 'Fitzroy, Charles, second duke of Grafton', ODNB.

<sup>107</sup> Burns, i, 110 – 111; DW Letter 610 note 2, vol. ii, 499.

<sup>108</sup> Burns, 72.

<sup>109</sup> See R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 104.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 128.



the few substantive pieces of evidence pertaining to these early stages of the prosecution and in my view a few circumstances can reasonably be inferred from it.

The initial interrogation of Waters, known at the time as the Preliminary Enquiry, would have taken place before Whitshed immediately after Waters' arrest. Here, Waters would have been examined on the issue of the identity of the author, and after denying all knowledge, would have had his bail set and been sent to prison to await trial. As for bail, Swift afterwards referred to it as "great bail".<sup>111</sup> What this meant in monetary terms is not known. A text written by a Dublin lawyer, Matthew Dutton, in 1721, *The Office and Authority of Sheriffs*, includes a pro forma, "The Form of a Bail Bond", which refers to a bond of £100,<sup>112</sup> but whilst this might be indicative of a general standard for a certain category of cases, it is not a meaningful guide in a case such as this involving Waters and Whitshed. More revealing, perhaps, is a known circumstance from the case in 1708 involving Waters and the other members of the syndicate who produced the *Catholic Manual of Devout Prayers*, when Waters gave evidence against his colleagues. It was reported that the bail set for Berningham, the Catholic merchant who was a party to the syndicate, was set at £4000, consisting of £1000 from each of three sureties and £1000 from Berningham himself.<sup>113</sup> Waters' bail may therefore have been around this mark of £1000. Certainly it would have been set by Whitshed at the uppermost limit, or even beyond, given that from start to finish Whitshed conducted the case as though not bound by any regulations. With regard to imprisonment, Waters would have been sent to Newgate, the prison then situated in the old Viking part of the town just south of the river (where it had stood since the thirteenth century)<sup>114</sup> where all King's Bench defendants and accused were detained.

The next step in the proceeding would have been the drafting of a bill of indictment. These bills were normally relatively short statements setting out the character of the publication. They were put before a Grand Jury for deliberation, and if the Grand Jury found the bill to be true, it became a Presentment of the case for trial. Bills of Indictment were in no sense impartial or concerned with offering alternative perspectives as to what the character of the offending publication might be. On the contrary, not only were they designed to reflect

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<sup>111</sup> 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

<sup>112</sup> A4, 72, page 48.

<sup>113</sup> See Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 132.

<sup>114</sup> Gilbert, i, 257 – 263.

the government's view, but, as the legal historian Stephen says, they were written in a style that "complemented an age when round, foul-mouthed abuse of people who gave offence to the government was considered natural and proper".<sup>115</sup> Accordingly, the Bill of Indictment against *Universal Use* was a statement of two paragraphs that depicted the publication in the blackest terms. The first paragraph included descriptions of it as:

an insolent, and seditious Pamphlet... wherein are contained, several false, groundless, and scandalous Paragraphs highly reflecting on His Majesty's Government, and the Wisdom of our Parliament, and tending to create Jealousies and Misunderstandings between His Majesty's Subjects of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

And the second paragraph described it as having been written "by Persons disaffected to His Majesty's Person and Government and Enemies to our present most happy Establishment". The pamphlet was said to have been written "with no other view, than by inflaming the Minds of the People, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom and foment Divisions among His Majesty's Subjects of these Nations", and the practice of writing and publishing such material was deemed to be "wicked and pernicious".<sup>116</sup>

With this Bill of Indictment settled, a sitting of a Grand Jury was scheduled for Tuesday 30 May.<sup>117</sup> A Grand Jury consisted of twenty-three members. Its decision on whether to find the Bill did not need to be unanimous, but a minimum majority consisted of twelve, which was the number that sat on a Petty Jury in a trial, the decisions of which *did* need to be unanimous. It was in this way that the number of twenty-three was originally arrived at – a majority of twelve or more was necessary for the finding of a *prima facie* case to be sent to trial.<sup>118</sup> Ordinarily, only one Grand Jury would have been required to deliberate on the Bill but Whitshed summoned two, the Grand Juries of each of the City and County of Dublin. This was not an unprecedented step. As recently as the rape case against William Cotter in Cork earlier the same year, the Bill of Indictment had been found by the Grand Juries of each of the County and City.<sup>119</sup> But it was irregular and an open display of a politicised prosecution. The

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<sup>115</sup> *History of the Criminal Law of England*, 3 vols., London, 1883, ii, 353 – 354. Also, Thomas: "Indictments are not intended to spare the court's blushes": 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', *The Library*, 5th ser., 32, (1977), 315 – 332, 331.

<sup>116</sup> The bill in its entirety can be seen, in the form of the Presentment that it became, in Image 6. Swift described it as having been written "with all aggravating Epithets": Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

<sup>117</sup> This is known because the Presentment carries this date.

<sup>118</sup> See Garnham, 119 – 120, 132; Madden, i, 73 – 75.

<sup>119</sup> See Middleton to Thomas Brodrick, 28 March 1720: Surrey History Centre: MS 1248, fol. 4/440 – 444.

strategy behind it, seemingly, was that if one Grand Jury did not find the Bill, the other one might, and if both found the Bill, the force of the prosecution was doubled in the public perception.

The hearing took place in Whitshed's Courtroom, presumably with one Grand Jury seated to either side of the bench. Ferguson says the hearing was jointly managed by Whitshed and Middleton,<sup>120</sup> but whilst there might have been one or more other judges on the bench with Whitshed, there is no evidence to confirm that the Lord Chancellor was present. A few years later, Swift mentioned that a Dr. Seal, the Register to Archbishop King, had been the Foreman of the Grand Jury for the County,<sup>121</sup> but otherwise nothing is known of the identities of the members of the two Grand Juries, other than the fact some of them were weavers (which Swift was later incredulous about because the pamphlet, he said, had been written mostly with their prosperity in mind).<sup>122</sup> Both Grand Juries found the Bill seemingly without offering any resistance, for which Whitshed, who immediately reported the fact, received a letter of commendation from England.<sup>123</sup> From the moment the Bill was found, it became a Presentment, and a copy was posted at the Tholsel. For the people themselves to see just how scandalous the pamphlet was, a copy of it was "hereunto annexed". On the following Saturday, 4 June, the Presentment was given saturation coverage in the Whig press. It was printed in Ann Sandys' *Dublin Gazette*, Richard Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence*,<sup>124</sup> and Thomas Hume's *Dublin Courant*, with Hume going one step further by reproducing the Presentments of each of the Grand Jury of the City and County one straight after the other, despite them being identical.<sup>125</sup> To this point, then, the case had proceeded precisely as Whitshed had wanted, and a date for trial before a Petty Jury had been set.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this prosecution concerns events that transpired outside the courtroom between the day of the hearing before the Grand Juries and the day of

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<sup>120</sup> Ferguson, 54.

<sup>121</sup> *PW*, xii, 121.

<sup>122</sup> *Letter to the Shop-Keepers* (A2, 41, page 3); *PW*, x, 3.

<sup>123</sup> Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356. For a discussion of the conduct of the Grand Juries from an Irish point of view, see: R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 103 – 107. For the English view of the same conduct: *A Defence of English Commodities. Being an Answer to the Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, London 1720 (A4, 59).

<sup>124</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 145, note 2.

<sup>125</sup> See Image 6.

the trial before the Petty Jury. This period, which depending on what the trial date actually was could have been as short as four days or as much as eleven, witnessed an extraordinary reversal in the people's attitude towards Swift's pamphlet. The two Grand Juries complied meekly with Whitshed, whilst the Petty Jury fought to defend the pamphlet as though the future of their country depended on it. Commentators have never enquired as to how or why this happened, yet in my view it is the most significant event in the course of the fifteen-month prosecution. It seems unlikely that the appearance of this new attitude was confined to the twelve members of the Petty Jury. Swift, after all, later reported that these twelve were carefully selected government men<sup>126</sup> (like the members of the two Grand Juries). Clearly, a powerful new sentiment with respect to *Universal Use* swept through the town in a short space of time. As for what contributed to this, there can be little doubt that, to a significant extent, it was a response to the general aggressiveness of the prosecution. It is likely, too, that Swift did what he could to disseminate a message (as he would do during the prosecution of Harding in 1724). In my view, however, one matter in particular that provided a spur, was one for which I will discuss the evidence in a moment – that during this period between the two hearings, Waters was pilloried and subjected to particularly violent treatment.

There is no record to confirm the day on which the trial proceeded. It could have been Saturday 4 June, four days after the hearing of the Grand Juries and the same day on which the Presentment appeared in the Whig newspapers, or it could have been the Saturday afterwards, 11 June. Whichever day it was, it is fair to assume that this trial had the attention of the entire town. It is known that that the prosecution captivated the town from the time of the trial onwards, which was on account of the controversy of Whitshed's conduct,<sup>127</sup> but it is sufficiently clear from the details up to this point that this was one of the most compelling courtroom events that the people of Dublin had known, at least since the time of the Phipps–Ormonde administration between 1710 and 1713. The trial took place in the Four Courts Building, which consisted of the Courts of Exchequer, Chancery, Common Pleas, and King's Bench. This "sumptuous"<sup>128</sup> building was situated in the precinct of Christ Church near Winetavern Street and, portentously for Waters, the doorway for defendants and accused was

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<sup>126</sup> Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

<sup>127</sup> Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356; also: Burns, 113.

<sup>128</sup> Gilbert, i, xv.

accessed through a laneway known as “Hell”.<sup>129</sup> On the bench with Whitshed was Justice Godfrey Boate, who was possibly the son of Gerard Boate, the Dutch-born physician and natural historian who authored *Ireland’s Natural History*, which was published posthumously in 1652.<sup>130</sup> Justice Boate was considerably older and more experienced than Whitshed – he would, in fact, not live to the eventual end of this prosecution in August 1721<sup>131</sup> – but he was puisne to the Chief Justice.<sup>132</sup> There are no known details of how he conducted himself on the bench with Whitshed on this particular day, but it was clearly sufficient to displease Swift who, after the judge’s death, wrote a disparaging elegy.<sup>133</sup> Other than Whitshed and Boate, there is no evidence of any further judges presiding, and it seems that two Justices constituted a full bench, or was at least a recognised standard for criminal cases (in a high profile case in Dublin in 1711, for instance, the only judges were a Justice McCartney and a Justice Upton).<sup>134</sup> As for counsel, the number in attendance was possibly high. In the trial of Dudley Moore in 1713, which was the most controversial case during the Ormonde-Phipps administration, there were reported to have been nine counsel for the Crown and seven for Moore.<sup>135</sup> It seems unlikely that the bar was quite so crowded for the trial of Waters, for whilst the team for the government might have been of a comparable size to that which had prosecuted Moore, it is difficult to imagine how a Tory stationer such as Waters could have found the money to pay the fees of multiple barristers. But Waters must have had at least one barrister representing him, because the particular defence that the Petty Jury adhered in its support of Waters could only have come to its attention through submissions made in court on Waters’ behalf. The twelve men on that Petty Jury were selected from a pool of potential jurors that were required

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<sup>129</sup> For descriptions of this Court building before its destruction and the relocation in 1796: Gilbert, i, 133 – 137; Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, i, xv; Kenny, ‘The Four Courts in Dublin before 1796’, *The Irish Jurist*, XXI, Part I, Summer 1986, 110 – 125; McParland, ‘The Old Four Courts at Christ Church’, in Costello, ed., *The Four Courts: 200 Years: Essays to commemorate the Bicentenary of the Four Courts*, Dublin, 1996, 23 – 33.

<sup>130</sup> The ODNB entry for Gerard Boate states: “Boate’s sons Gerard, Godefroy, and Gerson, became respectively a lawyer, a Treasury Secretary, and a preacher to the German congregation in Ireland”: Elizabeth Baigent, ‘Boate, Gerard, (1604 – 1650)’, ODNB. It is possible that the professions of the sons are in the wrong order here and that the lawyer was Godfrey. Also on Gerard Boate the physician and historian: Siobhán Fitzpatrick, ‘Science, 1550 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 337, 339.

<sup>131</sup> His death would be reported in Harding’s *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* for 18 July 1721.

<sup>132</sup> Monck Mason, 323 note n.

<sup>133</sup> *A quibbling Elegy on the Worshipful Judge BOAT*: Williams, *Poems*, i, 284 – 286.

<sup>134</sup> Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 33.

<sup>135</sup> Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, i, 45.

to be below the rank of baron whilst being freeholders of land and continual local residents.<sup>136</sup> Swift afterwards complained that these twelve were “culled with the utmost industry”<sup>137</sup> to ensure they were all government men, but this was one of the known hypocrisies of the Irish legal system in cases involving a Crown interest at the time. Although the institution of the Petty Jury was looked upon as “the chief Foundation of the People’s Privileges”,<sup>138</sup> the hand-picking of juries to deliver a pre-determined outcome was standard procedure, as seen in the period preceding the trial of Moore in 1713, when Lord Chancellor Phipps said openly to the Lords Justices and Privy Council: “we hope that in this case, and in all other cases, where her Majesty is concerned, the sheriffs will take care to return understanding juries that know their duty, and the obligations of an oath”.<sup>139</sup> In comparison with the men who comprised Grand Juries, those who sat on Petty Juries were, in the words of Swift’s friend, Lord Molesworth, the “meaner Ranks of Men”,<sup>140</sup> and maybe this closer affinity to Waters in terms of social standing had a part in their amenability to the changed thinking that came to bear with respect to Swift’s pamphlet following the hearing before the Grand Juries. The other body of persons that would have been in the courtroom that day was the public gallery. Swift was not amongst that number, but he had at least one person present who afterwards reported to him. This much is apparent from the details mentioned by Swift in his correspondence and works. But whilst not inside the court, for at least part of the day Swift was outside. In late 1724, Swift wrote of when he first noticed the motto on Whitshed’s coach: “For I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be *Libertas et Natale Solum*; at the very Point of Time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both”.<sup>141</sup> That occasion was, in all likelihood, the trial of Waters.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Garnham, 134.

<sup>137</sup> Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

<sup>138</sup> A4, 209, page 14.

<sup>139</sup> *JHLI* vol. II, 24 December 1713: quoted in Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 45.

<sup>140</sup> A4, 83, page 20.

<sup>141</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 189; *PW*, x, 100 – 101.

<sup>142</sup> This comment appeared in his *Letter to Middleton*, written in late 1724, and the question is whether it refers to the occasion of the hearing concerning Waters in June 1720, or that relating to Harding in November 1724. The fact that the comment is made in the course of a *Letter* that is dated 26/7 October 1724, which is prior to the proceedings involving Harding, suggests that the occasion was Waters’ trial. But then, this *Letter to Middleton* was added to by Swift after its 26/7 October date, which leaves open the possibility that the occasion was that of the Harding proceedings, and this indeed is the view of Davis (*PW*, x, xxii). But James Woolley considers the occasion to have been Waters’ trial (JW, *Intelligencer*, 183, note to pp. 168-9) and supporting this view further is the fact that, in his works after November 1724, whenever Swift refers to Whitshed’s judicial misconduct, he

Of the trial itself, only a handful of matters are known. The proceeding would have begun at eight in the morning<sup>143</sup> with ceremonial prayers, after which the case would have been called and the Presentment read twice by a member of tipstaff, firstly to the court in Latin and secondly directly to Waters in English. Stationed in the dock, Waters would then have been questioned again as to the identity of the author, for which he may have been placed under oath, or, if not sworn, Waters would have given his evidence, as Neal Garnham has said, “in the knowledge of inexorable divine retribution in the case of untruths”.<sup>144</sup> After his denials, counsel would have begun their opening addresses. Quite apart from the motivations of Whitshed, the scales were tipped against Waters. The Presentment was a document of record that prescribed the court,<sup>145</sup> and as such its characterisation of the pamphlet was not open for deliberation. At this point in the development of the law of sedition, moreover, the question of the character of a publication was not for the jury to decide anyway. Not until 1792 and Erskine’s case in London, followed by the Libel Act that same year, would the law change to give juries the question of the character of a publication.<sup>146</sup> In the meantime, the only question for the jury to decide was whether the pamphlet had been published, which in this instance was printed squarely on Exhibit A – “Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters, in Essex-street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1720”. It was also a matter that was admitted by Waters. As Bishop Evans reported to Archbishop Wake, the printer “owned the printing and publishing the vile pamphlet”.<sup>147</sup>

The only hope Waters had, lay with a residual common law verdict available to the jury. There were two such residual verdicts. One, a “special verdict”, was a verdict by which the matter in issue was returned to the judges for them to rule on.<sup>148</sup> The other was the “general verdict”, which in legal terms was said to be one given in answer to the *general issue*

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most often does so with reference to Waters’ trial: *Humble Address*, 1725: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 236 – 237; *PW*, x, 137; *A Proposal that all the Ladies of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*, 1729: *PW*, xii, 121; *The Substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick’s to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his Freedom in a Gold Box*: *PW*, xii, 147.

<sup>143</sup> In an assize, trials would begin between seven and eight a.m.: Garnham, 110.

<sup>144</sup> Garnham, 113.

<sup>145</sup> See J.F. Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, 3 vols., London, 1883, ii, 340.

<sup>146</sup> Stephen, op. cit., ii, 351; Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476 – 1776*, Illinois, 1952, 381, 390 – 392.

<sup>147</sup> Quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 129.

<sup>148</sup> Milsom, op. cit., 76.

before the court,<sup>149</sup> and in real terms was a moral verdict in favour of the accused. It was this general verdict which the barrister (or barristers) representing Waters urged the Petty Jury to return, and simply by identifying the availability of this defence, this barrister showed himself to be worth his fee. The nineteenth century legal historian, Stephen, considered a case from 1752 to be the “the first case... in which a jury in England exercised their undoubted power to return a general verdict of not guilty in a case of libel, when the court told them they had no moral right to do so”.<sup>150</sup> This Dublin barrister in Waters’ case was pursuing a general verdict thirty-two years ahead of that time – even if only for that verdict to ultimately not be accepted by the judges. In this way, then, this trial of Waters in the Court of King’s Bench of Ireland came to be reduced to a battle of wills between a Chief Justice seeking a special verdict and a Petty Jury holding out for a general verdict.

Although the law itself in Ireland was modelled on that of England, in terms of legal practice and trial procedures, the contrast this made with the caution of England could hardly have been greater. In the London trial of the stationer, John Tutchin, in 1704, for instance, it was argued on Tutchin’s behalf that the indictment should be struck out because it did not describe him as a “gentleman”, and the case was afterwards dismissed because of a mistake in the dating of a prosecution document.<sup>151</sup> In the prosecution of *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs* in London in 1714, one of the complainants, the Earl of Mar, was told by the Attorney General that the printing of the pamphlet could not have been proved against Barber, even if Barber admitted to producing a pamphlet with that title, because at the time of buying his copy, Mar had not made a contemporaneous note on that copy recording the date, time and circumstances of the purchase.<sup>152</sup> It would have been a brave barrister who advanced any such niceties on behalf of Waters in Whitshed’s Court. In his determination to hold *Universal Use* up as a Jacobite publication, this Chief Justice stopped at nothing. According to Swift his performance was suitably theatric. At one point, he held his hand over his heart and “protested solemnly” that the author’s design was to bring in the Pretender, and this was

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<sup>149</sup> Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary*, 1729 (A4, 199, under “Verdict” – pages in this Dictionary are not numbered).

<sup>150</sup> Stephen, op. cit., ii, 323. Stephen also refers to a possible instance of the return of a general verdict from a time earlier than 1752, in the “case of the seven bishops”, but he is not convinced that a general verdict was in fact in fact the issue in that case.

<sup>151</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, op. cit, 57. For another example of an English stationer seeking an acquittal on a technicality: Hanson, 51.

<sup>152</sup> Discussed in *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 452 – 453.



accompanied by “other singularities” of conduct throughout all of which he was “as venomous as a Serpent”.<sup>153</sup> The drama reached its heights with the jury’s attempts to deliver its finding to Whitshed. Upon his first sending the members of the jury back to reconsider their decision, Whitshed remained within the bounds of accepted judicial conduct. Sending the jury back had been a known practice in earlier times, and a legal text by Matthew Dutton published in Dublin 1721 (and probably written around the very time of Waters’ trial) stated that, although “by many... thought hard”, this was nonetheless legitimate and “seems not of late years to have been so frequently practised as formerly”.<sup>154</sup> But thereafter, all pretence to judicial propriety was cast aside. Commentators have generally stated the short fact that Whitshed sent the jurors back nine times over a period of eleven hours, but, amidst the escalating furies and humiliations on both sides, and sustained as it was over so many hours, what a contest this must have been. The jury members were taking a substantial risk. The days of Ireland’s Court of Castle Chamber, when non-compliant juries were subsequently persecuted by the government, were not many years distant. The jurisdiction of the Court of Castle Chamber had been transferred to the King’s Bench upon the Restoration,<sup>155</sup> and Whitshed on this day was reviving those earlier times. But it was a contest that Whitshed knew all along he would win, for juries were deprived of food, drink and candle light until they returned a unanimous verdict (as Orrery said in the course of a general discussion on Petty Juries, “*And wretches hang that jury men may dine*”).<sup>156</sup> Accordingly, late in the night, the jury yielded and consented to a special verdict. But Whitshed did not do as expected and enter a conviction. Whether as a consequence of consultation with Justice Boate, or having been spoken to by another senior government figure, or perhaps simply on account of the shock his conduct had occasioned in his court, discretion obtained the better of him and he abandoned the trial, seemingly acknowledging that it had been defective. He ordered a retrial for Michaelmas Term, beginning in October.

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<sup>153</sup> 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356; 12 February 1723, Swift to Knightley Cherwode: DW Letter 576, vol. ii, 448.

<sup>154</sup> Dutton, *The Office and Authority of Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Deputies, County-Clerks and Coroners in Ireland*, Dublin, 1721 (A4, 72, page 445).

<sup>155</sup> For discussion of The Court of Castle Chamber, the transfer of its jurisdiction to the Court of King’s Bench, and matters associated with the roles of juries in cases before these Courts: Stephen, op. cit.; Plucknett, *Concise History of the Common Law*, London, 1948, 467; Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: The Court of Castle Chamber, 1571 – 1641*, Dublin, 2005; Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2nd ed., London, 1981, 389; Madden, i, 45, 52; and Garnham, 144.

<sup>156</sup> *Remarks*, 245. Also on Petty Juries being deprived of food, drink and light: Giles Jacob, *The New Law Dictionary*, 1729 (A4, 199, under “Jury” – pages in this *Dictionary* are not numbered); Skelton, *A dissertation on the constitution and effects of a petty jury*, Dublin, 1737 (A4, 209, page 9); and Garnham, 137.

At this point in my discussion of the prosecution, it is necessary simply to observe that the retrial would be deferred several times. The manner in which this came to pass will be discussed shortly. For the moment, it is only necessary to know that at Michaelmas Term the parties would come before the court in readiness for the retrial, but it would be again deferred to Hilary Term in early 1721, then at Hilary Term it would come before the court but be adjourned to Easter Term, and again at Easter Term to Trinity Term, and again at Trinity Term to Michaelmas Term 1721, although a *noli prosequi* would be entered by the incoming Lord Lieutenant before the time of that last-mentioned Term.

Either shortly before or after the trial, Waters was released from Newgate on bail.<sup>157</sup> Swift gives us this fact with the comment in the course of his report to Pope that Waters was “forced to give great bail”,<sup>158</sup> and it is something that is apparent from the fact that during the course of the fifteen months, Waters continued to work from his shop and produce publications.<sup>159</sup> I wish to present evidence suggesting that the person who stood as surety and posted the bail bond,<sup>160</sup> either in whole or in part, was Swift. That is, Swift’s comment that Waters was “forced to give great bail”, was in my view made with direct knowledge and experience and with an aspect of personal grievance. There appear to have been restrictions placed on Swift’s travel during the fifteen months of the prosecution. In April 1721, Swift complained to Ford that he was prevented from going to England by “the Affair of the

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<sup>157</sup> A few commentators have overlooked the fact that Waters was bailed at all, and have assumed that he served fifteen months in prison: Rossi and Hone, 262 (Rossi and Hone overlook the fact that the *noli prosequi* was entered fifteen months after the trial); Armer, 36, 176; Fauske, *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland: 1710 – 1724*, Dublin, 2002, 101; McMinn, *Jonathan Swift; A literary life*, Basingstoke, 1991, 98. A different mistake is made by Walter Scott, who says that Waters was bailed, but that that bail was given at the time of arrest and that he did not therefore serve any time in prison: x, 279. (The comment of Bishop Evans to Archbishop Wake of 19 June 1720, that the “imprison’d printer has not discover’d him” – quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 128 – indicates that Waters did spend at least a portion of time in Newgate). Carole Fabricant is also mistaken in saying that Waters died in prison: Fabricant, 43.

<sup>158</sup> Swift to Pope, 10 January 1721: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 356.

<sup>159</sup> For example: A1, 158; A1, 161; A1, 167; A1, 168; and several other publication listed in Appendix 1 from the years 1720 and 1721. Certainly some of these 1720 and 1721 publications might have fallen outside of the period of the prosecution – that is, before late May 1720 and after late August 1721 – but probably only a minority did.

<sup>160</sup> This bail could have been pursuant to statute or common law. With regard to Statute, there was no Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland until 1781 but Waters could have been bailed under other Statutes, for the Statute of Westminster of 1275, as well as other subsidiary pieces of English legislation, appear to have had force in Ireland. See the Irish Act passed in the reign of Charles I: 10 C. 1. S.2. c. 18, which refers to the Statute of Westminster in a manner that suggests it is in force (*The Statutes at Large Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*), Dutton, *The Office and Authority of Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Deputies, County-Clerks and Coroners in Ireland*, Dublin, 1721, (A4, 72, page 50 – 51); Stephen, op. cit., i, 240, 258; Wall, [O’Brien, ed.], *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall*, Dublin, 1989, 23; Garnham, 48 – 49. As for the possibility of bail under common law, see Jacob, *The New Law Dictionary*, 1729 (A4, 199, under “Bail” – this *Dictionary* has no page numbers); Dutton, op. cit. (A4, 72, page 50).

Printer”,<sup>161</sup> and then in June, Swift said to Ford that he can travel only as far as Gaulstown, “not being able to stir further by reason of that Scoundrel Circumstance of the Printer”.<sup>162</sup> This infers reasonably clearly that Swift’s travel was limited to the Pale, which is something that would have been consistent with him having posted bail for Waters because under the law of bail at the time, the person who stood as surety undertook to meet the prosecution himself in the event that the accused fled. A travel restriction would, therefore, have been a natural consequence of having posted bail, and indeed it is difficult to conceive of any other reason for such a restriction. Further, in subsequent years, Swift complained of the financial cost this prosecution had caused him.<sup>163</sup> One possible reason for this is that, each time the case came back before the court, costs and other incidentals were drawn from the bail bond. It was known for court costs to be deducted from bail bonds in this way,<sup>164</sup> and taking into account the 1713 case of Moore, where it was reported that the deferral of the trial to a subsequent Term added to “the charge of some hundreds of pounds” already incurred on each side,<sup>165</sup> together with the fact that in the case of Waters there were four such deferrals, it is conceivable that Swift’s bond came to be lost in its entirety and that this was the cause of his complaint. There was nothing legally to prevent Swift from standing as surety for Waters. There appears to have been a rule at common law that someone in close proximity to the accused – whether by kinship, distance or otherwise – was precluded from standing as surety,<sup>166</sup> but this is one instance where Swift’s authorial anonymity worked against him, because as the undisclosed author, there could be no proximity to the printer. It is submitted, therefore, that the evidence indicating that Swift bailed Waters, doing so out of remorse for

<sup>161</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 371.

<sup>162</sup> 19 June 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 542, vol. ii, 384.

<sup>163</sup> *Letter to the Shop-Keepers*: A2, 41, page 3. The relevant comment in the *Letter to the Shop-Keepers* is: “This would be enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you Good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his Face for his Pains, and when he must expect only *Danger to himself* and *Loss of Money*, perhaps to his Ruin”. For the 1735 edition, the expression “Loss of Money” was replaced with “to be fined and imprisoned”: *Faulkner 1735*, vol. iv, 66; *PW*, x, 3. 208). For another instance of Swift complaining about the expense his printers had brought him: *The Substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick’s to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his Freedom in a Gold Box*: *PW*, xii, 147.

<sup>164</sup> See Jacob, *The New Law Dictionary*, 1729 (A4, 199, under “Bail”). Also, later Irish legislation providing minor modifications to the rule suggests that it was in force at common law: see for example: 43. G. 3. C. 46., s.2; 9. G. 4. C. 54. s. 4; 10. G. 4. C. 35 ss. 2, 4: *The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland: from the third year of Edward the Second, A. D. 1310 to the twenty sixth year of George the Third, A. D. 1786 inclusive* [TCD Early Printed Books Room].

<sup>165</sup> *The Flying Post*, July 28–30, 1724; quoted in Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 45.

<sup>166</sup> See Lord Hailsham of St. Marylebone, *Halsbury’s Laws of England*, London 1990, Fourth Edition, Volume 11(2), 888.

the predicament he had created for his printer, is not insignificant. It is a possibility that is further supported by the new evidence I will now present associated with Waters being subjected to the pillory in circumstances that were attended with physical violence. My contention is that Swift's bailing Waters was at least partly prompted by his shock in witnessing this violence.

Turning to this issue of violence, my proposition is that Whitshed ordered Waters to undergo physical punishments periodically throughout the fifteen months of the prosecution. That is, Whitshed ordered that Waters suffer this treatment at the time of the trial, and again on each occasion that the case returned before his court for mention. The punishments possibly varied from one occasion to the next, but consisted of the pillory,<sup>167</sup> having his ears fastened to the pillory posts, and floggings. It is contended that Whitshed did this as part of his ongoing determination to make an open display of his intolerance of publications such as *Universal Use*, and also as a means of asserting his authority after having, for one reason or another, ordered a retrial instead of convicting and sentencing Waters. These physical punishments are matters that have not been seen by commentators. Munter says Waters was "often fined, occasionally taken into custody, but never severely punished".<sup>168</sup> Degategno and Stubblefield say "Waters was finally released with no punishment".<sup>169</sup> And Pollard says "How EW [Edward Waters] fared during this prolonged affair is not known".<sup>170</sup> But in my view the circumstantial evidence is sufficient to establish that these kinds of punishments were inflicted.

Before discussing that evidence, the first relevant matter is Whitshed's character. A man who never married, his work ethic had always been characterised by its intensity, and it was this, balanced by a successful social manner and complemented by an ardent devotion to the House of Hanover, that had seen him appointed to the post of Chief Justice of the King's

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<sup>167</sup> The pillory in Dublin was at this time outside or adjacent to the Tholsel on Skinner Row. As for evidence of its existence, in his *WINL* for 15 June, Harding comments on two counterfeiters who were arrested and "both pinion'd" – that is, pinned by the arms, which refers to the pillory. A pamphlet published in the course of the Dublin Parliamentary election of 1727 entitled *An Appeal to the Citizens of Dublin in behalf of His Majesty*, attacks Swift with the comment that he deserves "to take his Station upon a certain Scaffold near the place of Polling, where the Electors may have the satisfaction of seeing him rewarded according to his deserts [sic]": (A4, 166; quoted in *DL*, 343). And there is a reference to being pilloried in Dublin in *Intelligencer Numb. XVIII* of late 1728, written by Thomas Sheridan: A3, 50, page 5. For evidence of the existence of a pillory in Dublin during the seventeenth century, in other locations in the town, refer: *IHTA*, 26.

<sup>168</sup> *Dictionary*, 284.

<sup>169</sup> Degategno and Stubblefield, 426.

<sup>170</sup> *Dictionary*, 590.

Bench in Ireland in 1714 at age thirty-five.<sup>171</sup> This degree of dedication was maintained in subsequent years as he sat on a higher than usual number of Parliamentary committees and shouldered the brunt of his court's workload,<sup>172</sup> all the while demonstrating exemplary standards to Westminster. But his efforts to continually distinguish himself in this regard acquired a fundamentalist aspect. An incident on 16 June 1721 – which was during the period of the prosecution of Waters – illustrated this vividly. During a sitting in a crowded court, smoke from an adjoining room began seeping through a crack in the wall near the ceiling. It was reported that in the panic that ensued one judge clambered out a window and people were crushed and killed in the stampede for the door, but when the smoke cleared, Whitshed was sitting on the bench, unmoved and ready for business.<sup>173</sup> This is suggestive of a manic quality and in my view is consistent with him having ordered extreme punishments for Waters. Such punishments were still being meted out by judges in Ireland and England at this time. Gone were the days of authors and printers having their hands cut off by order of the Court of Star Chamber in London or the Court of Castle Chamber in Ireland, but printers were still known to be whipped, flogged, or pilloried with floggings or stonings,<sup>174</sup> and still current was the punishment of being locked in the pillory with one's ears nailed to the side, sometimes with one or both cropped off and left on the posts.<sup>175</sup>

The fact that Whitshed ordered punishments of this kind can in my view be inferred from the cumulative effect of a series of surviving comments, most of which are from Swift, together with one brief remark in a newspaper. On 1 October, Swift wrote to Sir Thomas Hanmer in London in an effort to have Hanmer speak to his son-in-law, the new Lord Lieutenant, Grafton, to have that viceroy bring an immediate end to the prosecution. This was just three weeks before the start of Michaelmas Term on 23 October, and Swift says to

<sup>171</sup> On Whitshed's character and early career: Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 77 – 78, 81, 96, 104 – 105, 117; Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament, 1692-1800: commons, constituencies and statutes*, Belfast, 2002, 538 – 540.

<sup>172</sup> Refer King to E. Southwell, 29 August 1727: TCD MSS: 750/9/9-12; King to Carteret, 27 September 1727: TCD MSS: 750/9/70 – 74.

<sup>173</sup> See the London newspapers, *The Daily Post*, 26 June 1721, and *The Weekly Journal*, 1 July 1721; also Johnston-Liik, op. cit., vi, 539; and a letter of Archbishop King of 1 July 1721 (quoted in Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 97 – 98).

<sup>174</sup> In 1718, for instance, a printer by the name of Brian Swiney is reported to have been whipped from Newgate to Lazy Hill: Munter, *HINP*, 102. Another example is from 1728 in London, when the associates of Nathaniel Mist were pilloried: Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476 – 1776*, Illinois, 1952, 382. For an instance of stoning while in the pillory: Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, op. cit., 58.

<sup>175</sup> This practice was referred to in a play, *The Patron*, written by Samuel Foote in London in 1763. This play and the practice generally is discussed in Andrews, *Old-Time Punishments*, London, 1971 [1890], 67–103, in particular 93 – 94. Rossi and Hone, too, refer to “the ear-cutting which was the lot of immoral writers or of anti-Governmental pamphleteers.” 100.

Hanmer: “if the Chief Justice continues his Keeness, the Man may be severely punished”.<sup>176</sup> It is highly likely, I think, that the expression “severely punished” signifies the kind of punishment I have referred to, and if it does, this comment also suggests that Waters had by this time already undergone one bout of such punishment. Then, after Michaelmas Term was over, the news that something out of the ordinary was happening in this prosecution appears to have made its way to London, for on 13 December the London newspaper, *The News Letter*, reported: “Dean Swift is in tribulation for somewhat writ about last year’s proceedings... against the Irish Parliament”.<sup>177</sup> There can be little doubt that the publication alluded to here is *Universal Use* (there is no other publication of Swift’s from around this time that could have been the cause of tribulation for him). As such, it is to be wondered how the prosecution of a Dublin printer could reduce Swift to such a state if it were not for the reasons I have proposed.

Hilary Term began in January 1721 and this was when Swift began writing his letter to Pope that includes a paragraph that constitutes the most formal account of the events of the prosecution to this point that he left behind. In this account Swift does *not* in any way allude to any punishments,<sup>178</sup> but this can be explained by the fact that these details were a source of embarrassment and that this letter was written with a view to publication in London as an open letter.<sup>179</sup>

The next Term was Easter Term and a letter Swift wrote to Ford on 15 April shows him counting down the days: “the Term begins in ten days, and the Matter will be resumed afresh, to great Expencc and more Vexation neith<sup>r</sup> of which I am well capable of bearing eith<sup>r</sup> by my Health or Fortune”.<sup>180</sup> In my view, one possible explanation for this anxiety and vexation is Swift’s fear of further physical punishments for his printer. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that Swift’s feelings could have run quite so high in the event of the only other possible explanation for this anxiety and vexation – his anticipation that the retrial would proceed at the upcoming Term. This comment to Ford also constitutes clear evidence that

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<sup>176</sup> 1 October 1720, Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer: DW Letter 520, vol. ii, 345.

<sup>177</sup> *The News Letter*, 13 December 1720; H.M.C. *Portland MSS*, V. 609 (Historical Manuscripts Commission): *The MSS of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey*, 10 vols. H. M. S. O, 1891 – 1931. See also: DW Letter 520, note 1, vol. ii, 346; Ferguson, 55 and note 85.

<sup>178</sup> 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, vol. ii, 355–356.

<sup>179</sup> Refer David Woolley: DW Letter 527, note (a), vol. ii, 362.

<sup>180</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 371.

Swift was financially involved in the case in some manner. He might have been helping Waters with his lawyers' fees, or maybe his concern was associated with further deductions being made from the bond he had deposited with the court. In July 1721, soon after Trinity Term, Swift wrote a letter to Bolingbroke who was then in France. This letter is lost, but it is clear from Bolingbroke's reply that Swift had given some details of the prosecution and the punishments being administered to Waters. This reply from Bolingbroke, dated 28 July 1721, begins with this passage, which is intended as good-humoured advice to Swift to forget the notion of writing to help the people of Ireland:

I never was so angry in all my life as I was with you last week on the receipt of y<sup>r</sup> letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. The extream pleasure it gave me takes away all the excuses which I had invented for y<sup>r</sup> long neglect. I design to return my humble thanks to those men of eminent gratitude & integrity, the Weavers and the Judges, and earnestly to entreat them, instead of tossing you in the Person of y<sup>r</sup> Proxy, who had need have iron ribs to endure all the drubbings you will procure him, to toss you in y<sup>r</sup> proper person, the next time you offend by going about to talk sence or to do good to the Rabble.<sup>181</sup>

From this a few matters can in my opinion be inferred. One is that, when Bolingbroke refers to Swift "going about to talk sence or to do good to the Rabble", this refers to his effort with *Universal Use*, and by "yr Proxy", he intends "your printer".<sup>182</sup> This reading of this particular comment from Bolingbroke is in my view plain. It follows that the comment about this proxy needing "iron ribs to endure all the drubbings you procure him", is a reference to floggings or beatings or other treatment inflicted upon Waters that Swift had detailed in his letter. Next, the reference to "the Weavers and the Judges" suggests that, whilst the punishments had been ordered by the judges, the people that carried them into effect included weavers,<sup>183</sup> being the very people who stood to benefit most from *Universal Use*. And finally, the word "drubbings" – plural – clearly suggests that Swift had told Bolingbroke that these episodes had happened more than once. Indeed, given that Swift's letter to Bolingbroke was written during Trinity Term, there could by this time have been five such episodes – at the time of the trial, at Michaelmas Term 1720, at Hilary Term 1721, at Easter Term 1721, and at Trinity Term 1721.

This comment from Bolingbroke represents the last piece of evidence on this matter which is contemporaneous with the period of the prosecution itself, but Swift continued to reflect on it in subsequent years. In the first *Letter* of the Drapier, published in March 1724, where in his third paragraph Swift upbraids the people for not having adhered to his advice in

<sup>181</sup> 28 July 1721, Viscount Bolingbroke to Swift: DW Letter 544, vol. ii, 387.

<sup>182</sup> David Woolley identifies this "Proxy" as Waters: DW Letter 544, note 1, vol. ii, 391.

<sup>183</sup> On this point, refer also: Fabricant, 238.

*Universal Use*, he reminds them that “the POOR PRINTER was prosecuted two Years, with the utmost Violence”.<sup>184</sup> Again, the question is what could be meant by “Violence” here if it is not the kind of punishments being considered. Further, this comment again indicates that the punishments were ongoing throughout the course of the prosecution. In the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier, published on 31 December 1724, Swift again revives the memory of *Universal Use* with a passage that included a reference to the fact that “the Printer, who had the Author in his Power, was prosecuted with the utmost Zeal”.<sup>185</sup> (When this *Letter* was edited in 1735, the word “Zeal” was changed to “Virulence”).<sup>186</sup> A comment alluding specifically to the possibility of being nailed by the ears is seen in Swift’s letter to Pope of 29 September 1725. At that time finalising the manuscript of *Gulliver’s Travels*, Swift says that these *Travels* are “intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a Printer shall be found brave enough to venture his Eares”.<sup>187</sup> Commentators have never made any connection between this comment and the experiences of Waters,<sup>188</sup> but the possibility that this is a matter that has been overlooked finds support in a comment by Lord Bathurst in a letter to Swift in 1730. Swift’s original letter to Bathurst is lost, but in reply Bathurst says: “But I won’t forget y<sup>r</sup> Political tracts y<sup>u</sup> may say that y<sup>u</sup> have ventur’d y<sup>r</sup> Ears at one time & y<sup>r</sup> Neck at another for the Good of the Country”.<sup>189</sup> In my view this implies that in his letter to Bathurst, Swift had referred to having ventured, firstly his ears in relation to *Universal Use* in 1720, and secondly his neck in relation to the *Letters* he wrote in 1724 – on both occasions referring vicariously to the experiences of his printers. It is submitted, therefore, that all of this evidence amounts to a reasonable argument that Waters was violently punished by Whitshed at the time of the trial and at each intervening Law Term before the *noli prosequi* was entered. The scenario that presents itself is that, on every occasion the case came before the court for what would become a further adjournment, Waters was questioned as to the identity of the author and, upon denying all knowledge, was subjected to another round of punishments. This in my view is a realistic surmise with respect to the manner in which this case would have progressed through this period. There is also the line in Swift’s *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious*

<sup>184</sup> *Letter to the Shop-Keepers* (A2, 41, page 3); *PW*, x, 3.

<sup>185</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 14).

<sup>186</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 175; *PW*, x, 89.

<sup>187</sup> 29 September 1725, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 673, vol. ii, 606.

<sup>188</sup> For a recent example: Hermann J. Real, “A Printer Brave Enough to Venture his Eares”: Defoe, Swift and the Pillory, *Swift Studies*, 25, (2010), 165 – 166.

<sup>189</sup> 9 September 1730, Lord Bathurst to Swift: DW Letter 887, vol. iii, 323.



*Pamphlet. To the Tune of Packington's Pound*, the song that depicted Waters and himself as partners-in-crime: "If the Printer will peach him, he'll scarce come off clean". Given that this was written during the course of the prosecution, the word "will" suggests that Swift was aware that Waters had a future opportunity to inform on him. But Waters did not do so, and as Swift wrote to the people of Dublin in 1725: "The *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and, I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*)".<sup>190</sup>

Another matter that has not been studied in any detail is the pains Swift resorted to in his efforts to bring the prosecution to an end. His urgencies in this regard constitute further evidence pertaining to the issue of corporal punishments for Waters. They are also of interest in themselves. This was a period in which Swift was overcome, in David Woolley's words, by "a wave of self-pity".<sup>191</sup> It is known that this forlorn state was due to his hopes of returning to the Anglo-Irish stage having turned to instant disaster with this prosecution, with the added ignominy of this having occurred after having condescended to write for Ireland (and with the best of intentions). In my view, however, other matters contributing to Swift's forlorn state were those associated with the evidence I have presented, in particular: his horror in witnessing the punishments for Waters; his having to part with a substantial sum of money to bail Waters; and his having to take progressively humbling measures in his efforts to extricate Waters from the clutches of Whitshed. Swift began by calling a meeting with two friends who had influence in London. One was Lord Molesworth, who had Parliamentary interests in London but who was a long-serving member of the Irish House of Lords and an Irish nationalist.<sup>192</sup> Molesworth had seen an advance copy of *Universal Use*<sup>193</sup> and after its publication had taken steps to have it reprinted in London (although this did not eventuate).<sup>194</sup> The other friend was the Duke of Wharton, the son of the Duke of Wharton who had been the Whig Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1708 to 1710,<sup>195</sup> but who differed from his father in politics,

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<sup>190</sup> *Humble Address*, in *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 236 – 237; *PW*, x, 137.

<sup>191</sup> 10 January 1721, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 527, note (a), vol. ii, 362. For Rossi and Hone, Swift was "always given to self-pity": 283.

<sup>192</sup> See Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, New York, 1968, 99 – 133; Ferguson, 52 – 53; Simms, J.G., *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux's The Case of Ireland... Stated*, Cork, 1976, 49 – 50.

<sup>193</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 3); *PW*, x, 82. See also: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 287 – 288; Williams, *Correspondence*, ii, 365.

<sup>194</sup> See Molesworth to Toland, 25 June 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 58).

<sup>195</sup> See Burns, 23; O'Flanagan, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland*, London, 1870, 2 vols., i, 7.

in this way becoming a friend of Swift. This younger Wharton, who was only twenty-two at this time, also had Parliamentary interests in London. The three met on 18 July at Molesworth's estate at Brackenstown, County Swords, seven miles north of Dublin.<sup>196</sup> Even at a private meeting such as this, which was specifically concerned with a prosecution of a pamphlet written by Swift, and a meeting that Swift himself had arranged, Swift would not directly acknowledge his authorship. Molesworth later said that he “did *in a manner* [my emphasis] own it”.<sup>197</sup>

Nonetheless, there was no ambiguity about the purpose of the meeting. Swift had called on them, said Molesworth, “to get me to use my interest that no hardship be put upon the printer”.<sup>198</sup> With this in mind, the strategy the three decided upon was to make a written approach to Sir Thomas Hanmer, the former speaker of the English House of Commons and also the step-father to the new Lord Lieutenant, Grafton, with a view to prevailing on him to use his influence to have Grafton put an end to the proceeding. Swift was not prepared to solicit Hanmer himself. He asked Molesworth and Wharton to write. Not long after this meeting, Swift also asked Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, the second son of the Jacobite, the first Duke of Ormonde,<sup>199</sup> to press Hanmer on the matter as well. But as the weeks and months passed, seemingly none of these three received a reply from Hanmer and, with Michaelmas Term approaching, Swift then decided to write himself.

Swift's letter to Hanmer is dated 1 October, three weeks before the start of Michaelmas Term on 23 October. It is the letter in the course of which Swift tells Hanmer that “if the Chief Justice continues his Keeness, the Man may be severely punished”.<sup>200</sup> Hanmer's reply to Swift is dated 22 October, and would have been received by Swift in early November, after the start of Michaelmas Term. In it, Hanmer tells Swift that he had spoken to Grafton, who in turn had “promised” to write to Whitshed “by this post”.<sup>201</sup> This promised letter from Grafton to Whitshed has not survived, and there can be no definitive proof that it

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<sup>196</sup> 18 July 1720, The Duke of Wharton to Swift: DW Letter 513, with notes 1 and 2, vol. ii, 335 – 336; also: Henry Downes to William Nicolson, 5 July 1720, in J. Nichols, *Letters to & from William Nicolson*, 1809, ii, 528.

<sup>197</sup> Molesworth to Toland, 25 June 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 58).

<sup>198</sup> Molesworth to Toland, 25 June 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 58).

<sup>199</sup> On Arran: 14 September 1716, The Duchess of Ormonde to Swift: DW Letter 420, note 5, vol. ii, 181.

<sup>200</sup> 1 October 1720, Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer: DW Letter 520, vol. ii, 345.

<sup>201</sup> 22 October 1720, Sir Thomas Hanmer to Swift: DW Letter 522, vol. ii, 349. Hanmer had seemingly sent his letter to Swift in an unmarked envelope and by a private messenger: see David Woolley's note 2: vol. ii, 350.

was even sent. In all the circumstances, however, it seems reasonable to assume that Hanmer was not lying to Swift about Grafton's promise, that Grafton in turn did in fact keep that promise, and that the letter he sent to the Chief Justice had a bearing on the course of the prosecution from that point. After all, it can be presumed that if Whitshed had not received any orders from above, the retrial would have proceeded at Michaelmas Term in accordance with his stated intention at the end of the trial in Trinity Term 1720. At Michaelmas Term, though, the retrial was adjourned to Hilary Term 1721, which suggests in my view that Grafton's letter had reached Whitshed before the case came before the court during Michaelmas Term, and that that letter had contained directions to the effect that Whitshed was to defer the case until Grafton's arrival later in the year.<sup>202</sup> Allowing this to have been what occurred, it is apparent that neither Swift nor anyone outside of Whitshed became aware of Grafton's direction to Whitshed, for every time the case came back before the court, all parties were ready for the retrial (as seen in Swift's comment to Ford preceding Easter term that "the Matter will be resumed afresh").<sup>203</sup> The irony is that this direction arguably made the situation little better for Waters and Swift, because if the retrial had proceeded, the worst outcome would have seen Waters fined and sentenced to a lengthy imprisonment. Instead the continual deferral appears in my view to have seen him subjected to repeated violent punishments.

However it came to pass that the case was continually deferred, after Michaelmas Term Swift escalated his efforts to have it brought to an end. The newly appointed Attorney General in London, Robert Raymond, was a man he knew. Accordingly, Swift wrote to his friend Sir Constantine Phipps, the Jacobite barrister and controversial Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1710 to 1714 who was now in retirement in London,<sup>204</sup> asking Phipps to ask Raymond whether, in his office as Attorney General, he had power to quash the proceeding of his own accord. This letter of Swift's is lost, but in his reply dated 14 January 1721, Phipps said that he had spoken to Raymond as Swift had requested, but that Raymond's answer, as Swift must have suspected, was in the negative. Only the King or the King's representative

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<sup>202</sup> Munter says the verdict was delayed due to "public indignation" (*HINP*, 145). In my view, however, the public indignation was a consequence of what was *happening* at each deferral, rather than the cause of the deferrals themselves.

<sup>203</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 371.

<sup>204</sup> On the prior friendship of Swift and Phipps: 10 October 1713, Sir Constantine Phipps to Swift: DW Letter 235, notes, vol. i, 534.

had the authority to enter a *noli prosequi*.<sup>205</sup> After Hilary Term, Swift explored one more possibility. He wrote to Ford ten days prior to Easter Term, “I have been employing my Credit by L<sup>d</sup> Arran and oth<sup>r</sup> Means to get the D. of Gr— to order putting off the Affair of the Printer till He comes over”.<sup>206</sup> This suggests that he was seeking to simply have the case put off, without any further returns to court in the interim, until Grafton’s arrival. Again, as Swift told Ford, his efforts met with no success, and accordingly the case came back before the court at Easter Term and again at Trinity Term (which was the occasion of Bolingbroke writing to Swift about Waters needing iron ribs). Grafton arrived on 28 August, and with this the ordeal was finally over for Waters. The entering of the *noli prosequi* was one of the first matters that Grafton attended to after his swearing in at Dublin Castle. Despite numerous people having solicited for this on Swift’s behalf, however, this was not done by Grafton – as commentators have suggested<sup>207</sup> – to gratify Swift. As Burns points out, it was politically astute for an incoming Lord Lieutenant to bring an unpopular prosecution to an end.<sup>208</sup>

One further matter to be discussed with respect to the prosecution of *Universal Use* concerns the several works that Swift sent Waters to publish while he was under bail conditions. During the fifteen months, Waters was released on bail on conditions that allowed him to continue to work, and during this time Waters produced works that had been authored by Swift as well as some, in the usual course of his business, by other authors. With regard to works he produced by authors other than Swift, there are nine surviving publications (including a *New History of the World* of 495 pages written by Cornelius Nary),<sup>209</sup> that carry a date of “1720”, “1720-21”, or “1721”.<sup>210</sup> Given that the prosecution conditions were in place for fifteen months throughout this two year span – from late May 1720 through to late August 1721 – the one work that is dated “1720-21” certainly came within this period, and the probabilities are that most of the remaining eight fell within these months also. Waters,

<sup>205</sup> 14 January 1721, Sir Constantine Phipps to Swift: DW Letter 528, vol. ii, 364 – 365. See also Ferguson, 60; and Williams: *Correspondence*, ii, 375, note 3.

<sup>206</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 371.

<sup>207</sup> Davis: *PW*, xii, 122, 147; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 130; Fauske, *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland: 1710 – 1724*, Dublin, 2002, 102; and Oakleaf, 162.

<sup>208</sup> Burns, i, 113, 120. For further commentary on the political effects of the *noli prosequi*: R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 103 – 104; Bernard, ‘Dean Swift in Dublin’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 180 (Nov 1906), 678; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, London, 1893, 169; and Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, i, 196 – 197.

<sup>209</sup> A1, 165.

<sup>210</sup> A1, 163; A1, 164; A1, 165; A1, 166; A1, 167; A1, 168; A1, 171; A1, 172; A1, 173.

then, was in the face of adversity doing all he could to maintain revenues and meet some of his costs. But Swift, too, sent works to Waters during this period, and the circumstances of the creation and publication of these works by Swift have, for the most part, been misunderstood by commentators. With all except one, the fact that they were sent to Waters to help him raise money while under bail conditions has been overlooked. Some of these works presented Waters with further difficult decisions, because he had been released on bail subject to good behaviour.<sup>211</sup> (There is no document to definitively prove that Whitshed ordered a condition of good behaviour, but there is every likelihood that he did, and such a condition was implicit in bail anyway, particularly in a prosecution presided over by such a volatile judge.) It follows that Waters could not print anything that was faintly irreverent or ill-mannered<sup>212</sup> for fear of breaching his bail and being brought before the court yet again. The works Swift sent to Waters need to be discussed in their contexts as works written and published under prosecution conditions.

The first was *A Letter From A Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders*.<sup>213</sup> There is an anomaly concerning the dating of this work. The end of the *Letter* is dated “9<sup>th</sup> January 1719–20”, but at the front is the date “July 9<sup>th</sup> 1719-20”. As David Woolley infers, it must have been written at the earlier date and published at the later, with Waters neglecting to change the date at the back.<sup>214</sup> Accordingly, this was a work that Swift had written previously but that he sent to Waters soon after the trial. Given also that it was particularly well written,<sup>215</sup> Swift’s sending it to Waters was a meaningful show of support for the printer (although David Woolley overstates that matter when he says it constituted “*immediate restitution*”<sup>216</sup> to Waters). It was a work that presented no issues for Waters with respect to good behaviour. As a letter of advice to a young prospective priest as to how best to prepare

<sup>211</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century, there was a question over whether there was a legal foundation for the ordering of good behaviour, but it was ordered nonetheless: Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, op. cit., 53 – 54.

<sup>212</sup> As Armer notes, “something more than ill manners is, no doubt, sedition”: 114.

<sup>213</sup> A1, 158. (When reprinted in London, the title was altered to: *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Entered into Holy Orders*).

<sup>214</sup> 15 December 1720, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 526, note 4, vol. ii, 354.

<sup>215</sup> Some commentators have considered it one of Swift’s best short prose works: Orrery, *Remarks*, 102-3; Delany, *Observations*, 104 (also Donald M. Berwick, *The Reputation of Jonathan Swift, 1781 – 1882*, New York, 1965, 9); Walsh, ‘Swift and religion’, in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 161, 174; Hunting, *Jonathan Swift*, Boston, 1989, 80.

<sup>216</sup> 15 December 1720, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 526, note 4, vol. ii, 354. Refer also: Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 20, 211, note 16.

for the order, it was righteous in content and, in this sense, a model publication. For this reason, Waters was able to publish it openly, with his name and place of business in the imprint and claim the Dublin copyright.

In November or December 1720, a short tract entitled *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders. Being An Accurate Description of the Birth, Education, Manner of Living, Religion, Politicks, Learning &c. of Mine A-----e*, was published in Dublin.<sup>217</sup> This tract is an account of the life of a personified posterior, giving details of his birth, manner of living, religion, politics and other matters. There is one characteristic of the posterior related to money and finance, and with this, the tract shows itself to be ostensibly critical of the proposal then gaining momentum amongst the commercially-minded men in Dublin for the establishment of a national bank. The sentence in question states that this posterior: “lives from *Hand* to *Mouth*, but however, the greatest and wisest People will trust him with all their ready Money, which he was never known to *Embezzle*, except, very rarely, when he is sacrificing to his Goddesses below”.<sup>218</sup> With respect to this tract, the first matter is that, whilst the question of Swift’s authorship is settled,<sup>219</sup> commentators have had difficulty justifying how he came to write such a “trifle”. It is thought to be far beneath him in both content and style.<sup>220</sup> It is submitted, though, that the reason he wrote such a trifle is because such low and coarse humour could be written quickly and was precisely the kind of material that would sell for Waters. The next matter is that, when the tract was originally printed in Dublin, the sentence related to the bank was omitted. This is a fact that is known even though there is no known surviving copy of that original Dublin edition. It can be deduced from the two London reprints of the tract, for one of those London reprints is said to be “*Printed from the Original Copy from Dublin*”,<sup>221</sup> and the other is said to be printed “with additions from the original Dublin copies”.<sup>222</sup> A comparison of the two shows that that printed from the original Dublin publication did not include the sentence related to the bank, whilst that with additions from the Dublin copy did. The original Dublin

<sup>217</sup> It is known that it appeared in Dublin in November or December 1720 because a London reprint was advertised in *The Daily Post Boy* for 30 December 1720 – 3 January 1721. See also Armer, 68 & note 78.

<sup>218</sup> *PW*, ix, 378.

<sup>219</sup> It was reprinted in Fairbrother’s *Miscellanies, The Third Volume*, 1732, and Swift’s own copy of that publication has amendments of the tract in his own hand. It was also included in *Faulkner 1735* (iv, 257 – 262), the compilation of which Swift oversaw: refer Davis, *PW*, ix, xvii.

<sup>220</sup> Davis: *PW*, ix, xvii; Ferguson, 72 – 75.

<sup>221</sup> A4, 75.

<sup>222</sup> I have not seen a copy of this edition. Instead I have relied on: Ferguson, 72 note 58, and Davis, *PW*, ix, xviii.

edition, then, did not include this sentence, which is a matter that has mystified commentators.<sup>223</sup> In my view, however, the reason is apparent. It is that the comment on the bank was an irreverent political observation and Waters omitted it out of caution with respect to his condition of good behaviour. The omission of the sentence also in my view constitutes conclusive evidence that it was Waters, and not any other stationer, who actually printed the tract. This is something for which there is no separate evidence, but only Waters, under his bail conditions, would have had reason to take this otherwise unnecessary precaution. Whether Waters included his name and place of business on this edition – which is a possibility given that he had omitted the sentence on the bank – cannot be known.

Incidentally, another edition of this tract was also produced. For this edition, there is a surviving copy that includes the sentence on the bank, but it has no imprint and it cannot be known where, when or by whom it was produced.<sup>224</sup> This could conceivably be a separate edition produced by Waters around the same time. The clean press work supports this possibility. So too does the absence of an imprint, for given that it includes the sentence on the bank, Waters would have taken no chances. But whether this is a Waters publication cannot be verified.

Sometime soon after this, a tract appeared that was effectively a companion tract to this last one. Entitled *The Wonder of All Wonders, That Ever the World Wondered at*,<sup>225</sup> it is not a sequel to the life of the personified posterior. Instead, it describes the feats of a miracle worker newly arrived in town, such as being able to run a sword clean through a person without harm, or being able to draw teeth from a dozen people, mix them up and replace them all correctly. As Ferguson and Armer point out, it is a parody of the handbills published by mountebanks to advertise their feats.<sup>226</sup> As for its date of publication, Armer speculates that it might have appeared in October 1721,<sup>227</sup> but I will present evidence to show that the association of Swift and Waters had come to an end by that time, and October 1721 was after the prosecution had come to an end, with Swift no longer having a pressing reason to support

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<sup>223</sup> Davis: *PW*, ix. xviii; Ferguson, 72. See also Ryder: 558 and note 8.

<sup>224</sup> A1, 161.

<sup>225</sup> A1, 170.

<sup>226</sup> Ferguson, 73; Armer, 162.

<sup>227</sup> Armer, 163.

Waters. In my view, the latest possible date this could have appeared was the end of March 1721, when the Waters–Swift association came to an end.

The circumstances related to the composition and publication of *The Wonder of All Wonders, That Ever the World Wondered at*, mirror those of its predecessor tract. It includes one sentence related to the proposal for a bank, which is in the description of one particular feat of the mountebank:

FINALLY, HE takes from any Gentleman, Ladies, Widows or Orphans, all the Ready Cash they can muster, with Bond and Judgment for all they are or ever will be Worth; which he secures to his own Use, for the Advantage of the said Widows, &c. and the Benefit of the whole Kingdom: And this he as certainly performs to their Satisfaction, as any of his indubitable Operations before-mentioned.<sup>228</sup>

With this tract, there is evidence of only one Dublin edition and, like the previous tract, that evidence is seen in the later London reprints. Again, these reprints disclose that the sentence was omitted<sup>229</sup> by Waters.<sup>230</sup>

In late 1720, Swift wrote a poem of fifty-five stanzas on the South Sea Bubble, which was entitled *The Bubble*. This was in no sense a trifle written for the purpose of making money for Waters. Rather, Swift sent it to London for original publication. In a letter dated 15

<sup>228</sup> *PW*, ix, xviii.

<sup>229</sup> See Ferguson, 73 note 60; Teerink 1937, 905, 906; and Davis, *PW*, ix, xviii. With regard to commentators' surprise at the missing sentence, see again: Davis: *PW*, ix, xviii; Ferguson, 72; and Ryder, 558 and note 8. With respect to both of these short tracts, it is interesting that when they were reproduced in Fairbrother's *Miscellanies*, 1732, and again in *Faulkner 1735* (iv, 257 – 262; and, iv, 263 – 266), the sentences are missing, which suggests that, for these collected volumes, these works were set from the original Dublin editions. Finally, the reason the London reprints came to include the respective sentences would have been due to either Waters or Swift sending the complete works there for syndication.

<sup>230</sup> Also of interest in this discussion is a tract that appeared in late July 1720 – before *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders* and *The Wonder of All Wonders, That Ever the World Wondered at* – entitled *Swearers Bank or, Parliamentary Security for a New Bank* (A4, 58). This is a light-hearted prose work which proposes a monetary fund to be added to by Parliamentarians every time they swear. Like the two “Wonderful Wonder” tracts, it is humour that is low on Swift's standards, but several commentators have nonetheless been of the view that it has his stylistic hallmarks (Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study* op. cit, 170; Acworth, *Swift*, London, 1947, 173 – 174; Davis: *PW*, ix, xix, 294 – 298; Ferguson, 70; Ryder, 574; Armer, 36 – 58; Kelly, ‘Swift on money and economics’, in Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Christopher Fox, ed., Cambridge, 2003, 134 – 135; Lien, ‘Jonathan Swift and the Population of Ireland’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 8, 1974 – 1975, 431 – 453, 436). It has been excluded from the canon for the reason that it was not printed by Waters, who was known to be Swift's regular printer at the time, and was instead printed by the Whig, Thomas Hume, whom Swift is not known to have worked with on any other occasion (Davis: *PW*, ix, xix). One possibility, however, is that, like the two “Wonderful Wonder” tracts, *Swearers Bank* was a trifle written by Swift specifically to support Waters, but that Waters, upon this first occasion of receiving a slightly irreverent work from Swift, decided against publishing it even without an imprint, and instead passed it over to Hume, possibly for a fee or commission – like a trade publisher arrangement. (See also in this context, Armer, who argues at length that the exclusion of this tract from the canon on the basis of its being printed by Hume is “a red herring”: Armer, 36 – 58). But this argument of mine is speculative and there is insufficient evidence to support it.



December to Charles Ford, who was then in London, Swift tells him: “When it comes out, buy one & send it franked and inclosed, immediately, and I will send it to the Printer here”.<sup>231</sup> This printer was of course Waters,<sup>232</sup> and Swift was ensuring that Waters would be able to reprint the poem for the Dublin market. By the time Waters came to reprint it, Swift had added two further stanzas, which he instructed Waters to insert as stanzas nine and ten, extending the poem to fifty-seven stanzas. Waters included an imprint but again took the precaution of not including his name or place of business,<sup>233</sup> and on this occasion the consequence of not claiming the Dublin copyright was the appearance of three unauthorised editions (one of which contained five textual changes). To maximise the profits of his particular edition, Waters promoted it with an Advertisement on the recto of the title page in which he gives a hint as to the identity of the author: “[the poem] is ascribed to a great Name, but whether truly or no, I shall not presume to determine”.<sup>234</sup>

Four further works are relevant to this discussion. The first is another poem of Swift’s concerned with the South Sea Bubble, *The Run Upon the Bankers*. One surviving copy of this poem is a Cork edition,<sup>235</sup> and Harold Williams, although not then aware of the existence of another edition, said that this Cork edition “probably” derived from an original edition published in Dublin.<sup>236</sup> But a copy of another contemporary Irish edition does exist.<sup>237</sup> It has no imprint, which is the first indication of it possibly having been produced by Waters during the prosecution. It has a hand-written note at the top of the first page, “1720”. The appearance and quality of the press work closely resembles that of *Universal Use*. The ornament that runs across the top of the first page, a thick rectangular ornament with an elaborate pattern within its borders, is also revealing. It is nearly identical to the ornament that appears across the top of the first page of text of *Universal Use*. The pattern within the borders of the ornament on the *Universal Use* is a variation on that which appears in *The Run Upon the Bankers*, but several other works produced by Waters around this period, including *Hibernia’s Passive*

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<sup>231</sup> 15 December 1720, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 526, vol. ii, 353 – 354.

<sup>232</sup> Refer also: 15 December 1720, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 526, note 4, vol. ii, 354.

<sup>233</sup> A1, 169.

<sup>234</sup> See Images 7 and 8.

<sup>235</sup> A4, 73.

<sup>236</sup> Williams, *Poems*, i, 238; refer also ESTC: T171972.

<sup>237</sup> A1, 160.

*Obedience*, also have the same generic rectangular ornament with differing variations in the pattern,<sup>238</sup> suggesting that the ornament on *The Run Upon the Bankers* was one of a family of ornaments owned by Waters. All of this evidence amounts in my view to a reasonable probability that this edition of *The Run Upon the Bankers* is the original edition published for Swift by Waters in Dublin.

Secondly, in December 1720, a tract appeared entitled *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet*.<sup>239</sup> It is not certain that Swift wrote this.<sup>240</sup> And it was not published by Waters. It was “Printed for J. Hyde”. Although Waters could conceivably have performed the printing work for Hyde, the fact that the principal stationer was Hyde is in my view another circumstance indicating that this was not written by Swift, because during this period Swift was sending all of his Dublin works to Waters only.

Thirdly, sometime during the prosecution, Swift wrote *An Excellent New Song on a Seditious Pamphlet. To the Tune of Packington’s Pound*, the song of four stanzas that presents the Dean and his printer as brothers-in-arms in the fight for the universal use of Irish manufactures.<sup>241</sup> Despite the fact that no contemporaneously published copy is known to exist, several commentators have said that it was published.<sup>242</sup> The *Song*, however, mentions the “Printer and Dean” and “The Dean and his Printer”. The chorus of every verse refers to “his Deanship and Journeyman *Waters*”, and the third verse mentions expressly “Our noble Grand Jury” and “the Dean’s Book”. It was an acknowledgement of authorship and, for that reason, I look upon this work as one that Swift never intended for publication. Being a song to be sung to the tune of Packington’s Pound, it would appear to have been written for the purpose of being sung from manuscript copies in ale houses and taverns to rouse moral support for Waters, although even with this Swift would have had to have been careful. If there was any circulation of manuscript copies of this work around the town, it would

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<sup>238</sup> A1, 63; A1, 114; A1, 120; A1, 122; A1, 137; A1, 144; A1, 150; A1, 153; A1, 154; A1, 155; A1, 164; A1, 172.

<sup>239</sup> A1, 162.

<sup>240</sup> Commentators inclined to think this might be a work of Swift are Williams (*Poems*, xiii, xv) and Davis (*PW*, ix, xxiv-xxvii). Those who think it is not include Armer (66) and Ehrenpreis (*Swift*, iii, 135 – 136).

<sup>241</sup> Williams, *Poems*, i, 236 – 238. (It was first published in *Faulkner 1735*, ii, 358 – 360).

<sup>242</sup> Refer: Fauske, *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland: 1710 – 1724*, Dublin, 2002, 102; Weedon, ‘An Uncancelled Copy of the First Collected Edition of Swift’s Poems’, *The Library*, Fifth series, Vol. XXII, No. 1. (March 1967), 44 – 56, 49 note 2; Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, London, 1954, 322; Rowse, *Jonathan Swift*, New York, 1975, 131; and Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography*, Oxford, 1985, 268.

seemingly have had to have been done under the supervision of someone in Swift's trust, such as Magee or Blakely, to ensure copies did not fall into the wrong hands. Even the act of singing it was not without risk, because officials who overheard it (or who after receiving a report came on a subsequent night in anticipation of another rendition) could have arrested people. Ricardo Quintana says that "thanks to the broadest of irony... [the *Song* was] safe from prosecution, and one could roar out the refrain secure in the knowledge that Chief Justice Whitshed could take no action",<sup>243</sup> but where the irony lies is unclear (and irony would have stood no chance before Whitshed anyway). Accordingly, it is uncertain to what extent, if at all, this work circulated in manuscript form.<sup>244</sup>

Finally, a work that was published in July 1720 was an elegy on death of the well-known Dublin usurer, Joseph Demar, who had lived to be ninety.<sup>245</sup> Entitled *An Elegy on the much lamented death of Mr. Demar, the Famous Rich Man, who died the 6<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, July 1720*, this was co-written by Swift, Sheridan, Stella and Rebecca.<sup>246</sup> It was published with an anonymous imprint. Presumably only because he was known to be Swift's printer at the time, ESTC ascribes the printing to Waters, although Stephen Karian also thinks it was "probably" printed by him.<sup>247</sup> It is, however, poor work by Waters' standards, which suggests the possibility that arrangements for publication were made by one of the other co-authors, with that person sending it to a different printer.

### The End of the Swift–Waters Association

Swift and Waters ended their association in March 1721. This is known because Harding began printing for Swift from the beginning of April 1721 and Waters was never again regularly engaged by Swift. The association came to an end midway through the period of the prosecution – before Easter Term and five months before the *noli prosequi* was entered. It is unknown why this happened. Given that Waters and Swift were now linked in the public mind, it might be thought that Swift ended the association out of a concern that every work Waters would hereafter produce for him, would be perceived as being part of a prosecution-

<sup>243</sup> *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, Gloucester, 1965, 127.

<sup>244</sup> Refer also: Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 76.

<sup>245</sup> An obituary appears in *Whalley's News-Letter* for 11 July 1720.

<sup>246</sup> A1, 159. On the circumstances of the composition of this *Elegy*. Delany, *Observations*, 53; Walter Scott, xiv, 120; and Williams, *Poems*, i, 233.

<sup>247</sup> *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 211, note 16.

recovery programme, rather than being considered independently of this, but this seems unlikely. Another possibility is that the decision was taken mutually, shortly before Easter Term, in the hope that the news of their parting would be looked upon favourably by Whitshed and that he who would thereafter treat Waters less harshly. If this had been the case, though, it would be expected that Swift and Waters would have reunited after the prosecution terminated, which did not happen. A further possibility is that Waters made demands on Swift for support which Swift refused to meet, leading to a disagreement. Looking ahead a few years, after all, Sarah Harding would in diplomatic terms give vent to a complaint that Swift could have done more for her husband during *his* period of suffering. Another possible explanation is that which James Woolley has advanced. James Woolley has speculated that Waters had reached the point where he was no longer prepared to incur risks.<sup>248</sup> This is something that finds support in the fact that, from this point of his career, Waters for the most part kept a lower profile.

Waters continued in business until about five years before his death in October 1751, when he was aged probably about seventy.<sup>249</sup> He again printed original works of Swift. In 1726, *A History of Poetry, In a Letter to a Friend. By the Revd. D— S—t*, which Herbert Davis and David Woolley consider to be Swift's,<sup>250</sup> found its way to him, and in 1736 Waters printed Swift's *Reasons why we should lower the coins now current in this Kingdom. Occasioned by a paper intituled, Remarks on the coins current in this Kingdom*, which was the text of a speech that Swift had given at the Tholsel on the subject of lowering the value of the coin in Ireland.<sup>251</sup> But Waters was never again retained as Swift's permanent Dublin printer. That role for the next four years fell to his former apprentice, John Harding, and thereafter Harding's widow printed occasionally for Swift without being formally retained as her husband had been. Throughout these years, Waters watched on at the triumphs and tragedies that befell these two young people, both of whom he would have known well. During the latter 1720's and into the 1730's, Waters would also have looked on at the rise of the conceited but brilliant new printer on the scene, George Faulkner. Indeed, after Sarah Harding's association with Swift came to an end in late 1729, Waters might have had hopes of being restored to his old post. This is something that Waters

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<sup>248</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 165 – 166.

<sup>249</sup> An obituary in the *Dublin Weekly Journal* of 12 October 1751 describes him as "formerly a very eminent printer".

<sup>250</sup> A1, 182. Davis *PW*, iv, xxxvi; David Woolley: 10 May 1726, Thomas Tickell to Swift: DW Letter 693, note 2, vol. ii, 647.

<sup>251</sup> A1, 216.

might have felt was owing to him, particularly given that the lasting fame of *Universal Use* was due to the prosecution he had endured, as much as for the pamphlet itself,<sup>252</sup> but he would be trumped in this regard by Faulkner.

As will be discussed in a later chapter, there is evidence suggesting that Faulkner launched his career by taking advantage of the disarray in the Harding printing business following the death of its principal in April 1725, with Faulkner at that time assuming to himself much of the intellectual property of the Harding business, and in subsequent years becoming a favourite of Swift and gathering and publishing a collected edition of his *Works* in 1735. Possibly as a consequence of these matters, there are circumstances indicating that Waters was troubled by Faulkner's success during these years. In February 1736, Faulkner published a tract written by Bishop Hort, with which Swift assisted, *A New Proposal for the Better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille*, which was another attack on the previously mentioned Parliamentarian, Richard Bettesworth.<sup>253</sup> As soon as this tract appeared, Bettesworth had Faulkner brought before the House of Commons and imprisoned in Newgate for a few days, but despite this, Waters produced a reprint of the same tract a week later,<sup>254</sup> which saw *him* imprisoned as well. It was a mindless act and seemingly a mental implosion on Waters' part.<sup>255</sup> Then in 1740, Waters published a work by Samuel Wesley, *Battle of the sexes: a poem*, in which he included a note to his readers complaining about Faulkner having produced his own edition of this work with unauthorised textual changes.<sup>256</sup>

Through all of these years, though, Waters maintained a successful business. He had been Swift's printer for approximately fifteen months – from early 1720 to March 1721 – and he carried the financial and possibly also the physical scars for the rest of his long career. Whatever his faults, he was a survivor.

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<sup>252</sup> See: Orrery, *Remarks*, 196.

<sup>253</sup> A4, 207.

<sup>254</sup> It is uncertain if the Waters edition of this tract is that which I have listed in Appendix 1 (A1, 215), which is an edition that has no imprint. David Woolley is of the view that it is: 23 February 1736, Bishop Hort to Swift: DW Letter 1243, note 1, vol. iv, 264. But the *Journals of the House of Commons* (JHCI Vol. IV, 214) show that the House did not have to investigate to identify Waters as the printer, which raises the possibility that Waters produced an edition in his own name, with no copies of that edition surviving.

<sup>255</sup> On these events: JHCI Vol. IV, 211 – 216; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 822 – 823; Williams, *Correspondence*, 23 February 1736, notes; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 500; D. Ben Rees, 'Waters, Edward', ODNB, page 2.

<sup>256</sup> A1, 226.



## Chapter 4: John Harding – His Life and Career up to February 1724

From a young age, John Harding was intent on becoming the most audacious Tory printer Ireland had seen. Having served an apprenticeship under Waters, from the beginning of his independent career he pursued a course of all round rebelliousness. He printed Jacobite and other provocative news for which he would be imprisoned on multiple occasions. He also made himself a provider to the market for bootleg and other illicit printing requirements, coming to be known as the stationer to go to for such services. With the dissolution of the association of Waters and Swift in the spring of 1721, then, Harding was well-placed and well-qualified to succeed his former master as Swift's printer. This chapter discusses Harding's career up to February 1724. It presents new circumstances associated with his first years in business and his marriage into a family of type-founders. It also offers new evidence pertaining to his engagement by Swift in April 1721 and his working relationship with the author throughout the first years of their association.

### Family and Early Years

John Harding can be considered with reasonable certainty to have been the John Harding christened in the Protestant Parish of St. Bride's, Dublin, on 6 August 1697, for parents James and Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> Another possibility is that he was the John Harding baptised in the Parish of the Union of Monkstown, County Dublin, on the 26 August 1688,<sup>2</sup> but this makes him too old for his apprenticeship with Waters that ended in about 1717. As the son of James and Elizabeth, then, his family was probably of the Old English. People of the name "Harding" began settling in Ireland from the fifteenth century<sup>3</sup> and, as Colm Lennon has observed, by the seventeenth century the bulk of the people in Dublin were Old English or Gaelic Catholic<sup>4</sup> (and Harding was not the latter). Harding had an older brother, James, who had been baptised in St. Bride's for James and Elizabeth on 1 December 1692.<sup>5</sup> (A *Directory* of people and occupations of Dublin compiled in 1738, lists a James Harding of Little Green –

<sup>1</sup> *St. Bride's Register. Births from 1633 – 1800*: located in TCD Manuscript 1478; see also Alita Dusek, 'Baptisms in St. Bride's, Dublin, 1633-1713', *Irish Genealogist*, v. 7, no. 2, (1987), 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Parish Registers, 1669 – 1786, vol. 4 – 6, 9* [located in the State Library of Victoria].

<sup>3</sup> See MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, Dublin, 1969, 115; Wolfe, *Irish Names and Surnames*, Dublin, 1983, 295.

<sup>4</sup> Colm Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1500 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 67.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Bride's Register. Births from 1633 – 1800*, 174 (Trinity College MSS 1478).

with no occupation listed – which could conceivably be this James Harding, who was still living in Dublin thirteen years after his younger brother's death).<sup>6</sup> A line in the *Elegy on Harding* referring to “*poor Jack's untimely fall*”,<sup>7</sup> suggests that Harding went by the name Jack rather than John, and his surname was pronounced *Hardin* and often written as Hardin or Hardyn. The historian and antiquarian, Basil Cottle, in his *Penguin Dictionary of Surnames*, says that the name Harding signifies: “brave man, warrior, hero... (also absorbing *Hardwin* ‘bold friend’ Germanic, brought up by the Normans)”.<sup>8</sup> Whether John Harding is to be considered a warrior or a hero depends on one's perspective, but with a career characterised by the invincibility of youth, his braveness cannot be questioned. Nor can the boldness of his friendship to Ireland.

Harding's apprenticeship under Waters would have begun in 1709 or 1710, when aged twelve or thirteen.<sup>9</sup> It might have been Harding's status as a non-inheriting younger brother that saw him embark on a trade,<sup>10</sup> and his parents are nonetheless likely to have been pleased with the particular trade he chose because the stationery industry was looked upon as intellectually demanding.<sup>11</sup> The trade was also a good choice for Harding personally. Apprentices in the stationery industry were expected to have a sound grasp of reading and writing,<sup>12</sup> and over time Harding showed himself to have a natural aptitude in that regard. Apart from his ability to gather news, assess it, edit it and set it to type, in his own original newspaper copy he demonstrated a good call on the language and a sharp way with words. It seems reasonable to assume that Harding had come from a middle-class family and had received a fair education. In Dublin at the time, boys most often obtained a place as an

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<sup>6</sup> Dublin Corporation Public Libraries, *A Directory of Dublin for the Year 1738: Compiled from the most authentic sources*, Dublin, 2000, 43.

<sup>7</sup> A4, 139, line 6. See Image 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Penguin Dictionary of Surnames*, 2nd edition, London, 1978, 174.

<sup>9</sup> Boys generally began apprenticeships in their early teens: Kinane, ‘Printers’ Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin’, *The Linen Hall Review*, vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1993), 11 – 12, 14, at 11.

<sup>10</sup> See ‘The Younger Brother's Lament’, in Thomas Wilson, *The State of England* [1600], F. J. Fisher (ed.), 1936 [quoted also in Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, Cambridge, 1983, 241]. The problems of a younger brother turning to the “Mechanick Arts” are also voiced in *A Letter to the Intelligencer. Written by a Young Gentleman, of Fourteen Years Old*, 1728 (A3, 48). Refer also Dickson, ‘Catholics and Trade in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: an Old Debate Revisited’, in T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan, *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, Dublin, 1990, 85 – 100.

<sup>11</sup> Kinane, ‘Printers’ Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin’, op. cit., 11.

<sup>12</sup> Kinane, ‘Printers’ Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin’, op. cit., 11.



apprentice through a family connection with the master,<sup>13</sup> but whilst there may have been an acquaintance between the Harding and Waters families, there is nothing to verify it. It is also not known if Harding was an Indoor or an Outdoor apprentice, or what the financial terms might have been between Harding's father and Waters. Younger sons were known to receive a cash settlement from their fathers to fund an apprenticeship or help in the acquisition of start-up capital, and it has been reported that some settlements were known to be as large as £200.<sup>14</sup> If Harding was an Indoor apprentice, it is possible that most or all of any settlement money from his father would have been paid to Waters to cover his board.

Whatever money Harding may have had left over for his own discretionary investment would probably have been idly spent. The evidence suggests that his approach to money and financial security was reckless. Despite episodes of success throughout his career, it is clear that he never had any money. He made money, lost it, made money, lost it again – in a repetitive cycle. Most often, he lost it on government fines and prison expenses stemming from another piece of seditious printing. This happened often enough to suggest that he was the kind of person who habitually threw his money to the wind. Although it is not known what kind of character his sibling, James, was, Harding might have been looked upon by the family as the younger brother who rebelled at every opportunity. In Harding's adult life, government and authority existed only to be openly defied; laws and regulations existed only to be brazenly broken; and acts of bravado by other Tory stationers existed only to be outdone. But this is a character that is likely to have been formed by the time of his apprenticeship. Upon embarking upon that apprenticeship, Harding and his father would have entered into a covenant with Waters for the "binding-out" of Harding for seven years. If that covenant was similar to the standard English covenant for apprentices at this time, it would have included a clause on Harding's side to this effect:

Taverns and alehouses he shall not haunt; dice, cards or any other unlawful games he shall not use; fornication with any woman he shall not commit; matrimony with any woman he shall not contract. He shall not absent himself by night or by day without his master's leave but be a true and faithful servant.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Munter, *HINP*, 31 – 32.

<sup>14</sup> Dickson, 'Catholics and Trade in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: an Old Debate Revisited', op. cit., Dublin, 1990, 94.

<sup>15</sup> This is a clause from an English covenant entered into for an apprenticeship of husbandry in 1705. It can be found in Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, op. cit., 3. Laslett says the wording was conventional: 293, note 4. For the fact that the covenants for printers' apprentices in Dublin were similar if not identical: Kinane, 'Printers' Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin', op. cit., 11.

Harding's marriage seemingly occurred after he had completed his apprenticeship, and the only relevant question with respect to this clause is whether there was any aspect that Harding did not breach. Harding's apprenticeship was also unique in the course of its day-to-day business. It was one in which the boy's learning in the craft of printing would have been matched by a learning in Tory politics.

The first two years of Harding's apprenticeship were served at the shop in School-House Lane that Waters shared with John Brocas. During this period, Harding would have been kept occupied with mostly rudimentary tasks, such as wetting paper in preparation for printing, hanging printed sheets to dry, distributing type and washing the formes.<sup>16</sup> Under the rules of the Guild, Harding was required to be registered as an apprentice within three months of his commencement, but in keeping with Tory disdain for the Guild, Waters did not register him, and at no point in his subsequent career did Harding have any association with, or pay dues to, the Guild in any capacity. After the two years at School-House Lane, Harding went with Waters to the New Post Office Printing House on Essex Street, an establishment that was the centre of Tory publishing during the Ormonde-Phipps administration from 1710 to 1714. The publisher, Lloyd, would have worked from here daily. Other Tory stationers such as Pue, Carter, Tompson and Henly are likely to have been through the door regularly. Tory writers would have visited, possibly including Swift whilst he was in Dublin in the summer of 1713. Even Lord Chancellor Phipps might have come into the shop on occasion. During these years, Harding would have been training as a compositor. With any of the eighty-five publications that are known to have come from the Lloyd-Waters press between 1710 and 1713,<sup>17</sup> Harding might have had a hand in the type-setting or working the press. These included many polemic political works as well as two reprints of works of Swift – *The Conduct of the Allies* and *Remarks on the Barrier Treaty* (two editions of each).<sup>18</sup> Harding might also have worked on *Lloyd's News-Letter*. These years at the New Post Office Printing House also included Harding's first direct experience with a Whig prosecution. This was the occasion in 1715 when Waters produced Hyde's Dublin edition of *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England*, and on 8 March, the seventeen-year-old Harding and a fellow apprentice were

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<sup>16</sup> Kinane, 'Printers' Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin', op. cit., 12.

<sup>17</sup> A1, 15 through to A1, 99, inclusive.

<sup>18</sup> A1, 38; A1, 39; A1, 44; A1, 45.

examined before a Committee of the Privy Council in relation to their master's involvement with the publication.<sup>19</sup>

Harding's apprenticeship was completed not long after this, and was certainly at an end by the time Waters moved to the shop in Copper Alley, leaving Harding in sole occupation of the New Post Office Printing House. Vincent Kinane reports that this milestone for apprentices was customarily acknowledged, firstly in the printing shop by the banging of instruments in a cacophony of sound, and secondly by everyone transferring to an ale house where the newly-qualified stationer bought the drinks out of his first wages.<sup>20</sup> If such an event was held for Harding, it would have marked the completion of a seven-year process during which he went from a boy with a predisposition to rebel to a stationer inculcated in the Tory ethos.

### His Marriage to Sarah Sadlier

At age nineteen or twenty, Harding married a woman by the name of Sarah Sadlier (or variant spellings: Sadleir, Saddler, Sadler or Sadlor). The Sadliers were a Protestant family that belonged to the Parish of St. Paul's, a relatively new parish situated in the north of the town that had been established in 1697 to ease the burden on the adjacent St. Michan's. From the 1690's, the Sadlier family had been the first type-founders in Ireland.<sup>21</sup> This type-founding business appears to have been commenced by Ralph Sadlier, the son of a William Sadlier of Bedfordshire, England, who had been apprenticed to a type-founder in London by the name of Robert Andrews and had sometime afterwards moved to Dublin.<sup>22</sup> Ralph Sadlier married Elizabeth Fookes and they had a daughter whom they christened Sarah. The parish register of St. Paul's records the baptism for these parents of "Sara Sadler" on 24 October 1700.<sup>23</sup> Ralph Sadlier died when his daughter was an infant, with the burial record of "Ralfe Saddler, letter cutter", in the Register of the Parish of St. Paul's being dated 4 May 1703.<sup>24</sup> The type-founding

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<sup>19</sup> SP 63/372/5, 7, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Kinane, 'Printers' Apprentices in 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Dublin', op. cit., 12.

<sup>21</sup> On the issue of the origins of type-founding in Ireland, *HOIB* refers only to "a native type-founding industry from the early 1700's": Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 83. This overlooks the Sadlier business of the 1690's.

<sup>22</sup> For some of the matters concerning the Sadlier family that are discussed in this paragraph, I have drawn upon the research of Mary Pollard: *Dictionary*, 506 – 507.

<sup>23</sup> The record can be seen at: [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) Record Identifier: DU-CI-BA-167920.

<sup>24</sup> [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) Record Identifier is: DU-CI-BU-224255.

business was then continued by a Francis Sadlier, who was probably a brother of Ralph. Francis Sadlier maintained the business until his death, which is recorded in the Register of St. Paul's for "Francis Sadler", on 24 September 1712.<sup>25</sup> From that time, the business came to a Sarah Sadlier, who was not the daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth but possibly the widow of Francis. This Sarah Sadlier operated the business from a shop on School House Lane, which may have been the premises of the business all along (although there is nothing to confirm that). Then, for reasons that are not clear, in 1715, the business came to Elizabeth Sadlier, the widow of Ralph and the mother of the then fifteen-year-old Sarah. From this time, Elizabeth Sadlier and her daughter lived and worked in the premises on School-House Lane, where Elizabeth Sadlier continued to sell type (whether she manufactured it as well is unclear) and operated as a printer. Accordingly, given that Harding worked, and possibly boarded Monday through Saturday, on School-House Lane between about 1709 and 1711 whilst apprenticed to Waters, it is fair to assume that he would have been in frequent contact with the type-founders on the same Lane.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that this is how they first met – when Harding was between twelve and fourteen and Sarah Sadlier was between nine and eleven.

A few of the genealogical matters mentioned in relation to Harding and the Sadliers can be supported by evidence from newspapers. Firstly, the fact that the maiden name of Elizabeth Sadlier was Fookes can be inferred from an advertisement Harding inserted into in his *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* for 20 January 1719: "Elizabeth Sadlier, alias Fookes, in School-House Lane, Dublin, will sell good Long Primer... and other sorts of Letters..." The next matter is associated with the fact that there is no categorical proof that the woman named Sarah who Harding married was the Sarah Sadlier who was the daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth Sadlier. But various newspaper comments settle this. Firstly, in *Whalley's News-Letter* for 21 December 1721, in the course of an attack on Harding, Whalley refers to Harding's "mother-in-law" who had printed a parody of Whalley. No copy of that parody has been found, but the mother-in-law referred to by Whalley must be Elizabeth Sadlier, because she appears to have been the only female printer in Dublin at the time who printed consistently under her own name.<sup>27</sup> If there *was* another female printer in Dublin at the time, it would be quite a coincidence if it should eventuate that *that* woman, and not Elizabeth Sadlier, was

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<sup>25</sup> [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) Record Identifier is: DU-CI-BU-224734.

<sup>26</sup> School House Lane was known by that name at least by 1610. The western part of it was anciently called Ram Lane: *IHTA*, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 275; and JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 168 and note 24.

Harding's mother-in-law. Secondly, Elizabeth Sadlier advertised in Harding's newspapers reasonably frequently.<sup>28</sup> Thirdly, on one occasion Harding printed a broadsheet "for Elizabeth Sadlier".<sup>29</sup> And fourthly, in 1726, after Harding's death, the poem written either by or on behalf of Sarah Harding, *A Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, was printed by Elizabeth Sadlier.<sup>30</sup> A final genealogical matter for which the newspapers provide some evidence is the date of the marriage of Sarah Sadlier and Harding (there is no surviving marriage record). The fact that Elizabeth Sadlier first advertised in Harding's *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* on 20 January 1719 suggests that the marriage had taken place by that time. If the marriage did take place sometime in 1718, then that was the year that Harding turned twenty-one, and Sarah Sadlier eighteen.<sup>31</sup>

This marriage was of course one in which both contributed to the family business. Husband and wife partnerships were not uncommon in the stationery industry in Dublin at the time. Carter's wife, for instance, is known to have worked with her husband to some extent, because in March 1727 she was imprisoned in the Black Dog with him for publishing false news.<sup>32</sup> Edwin Sandys was succeeded by Anne Sandys following his death in May 1708.<sup>33</sup> In April 1714, after Lloyd had fled Ireland, his wife remained in Dublin and continued to raise revenue from *Lloyd's News-Letter* for a time.<sup>34</sup> The business of Richard Pue was maintained by his widow, Elizabeth, after his death in 1722. And John Hyde was succeeded by his widow, Sarah, in 1728. The partnership of John and Sarah Harding perhaps differentiated itself in that it was a union of two branches of the industry. Through it, the business would have had ready access to type and gained another printer. Sarah Harding, like her mother, showed herself to have printing abilities in her own right, skills she would have acquired during the course of her

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<sup>28</sup> On each of: 20 January 1719, 21 April 1719, 20 June 1719 and 28 April 1722.

<sup>29</sup> A2, 21.

<sup>30</sup> A4, 158. James Woolley is also satisfied that Harding's wife was the Sarah Sadlier from the Sadlier family of type-founders: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 168.

<sup>31</sup> Late teens was a socially acceptable age for women to marry: Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* — further explored op. cit., 116.

<sup>32</sup> *Dublin Weekly Impartial News-Letter*, 29 March 1727; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 93.

<sup>33</sup> On husband and wife partnerships in the stationery industry, refer also: Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1974, 172; Munter, *HINP*, 34.

<sup>34</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 368.

upbringing without any formal apprenticeship.<sup>35</sup> Although Harding's name alone appeared on the imprints, during periods when he was away on business or in prison, Sarah Harding appears to have done what she could on her own to keep the press active. It can also be speculated that she tried to exercise some general management over the business. The historian, Peter Laslett, observed that wives often ran the family finances.<sup>36</sup>

John and Sarah Harding had two children. This is known because in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* of 1726 Sarah Harding said: "He left with his Widow, two Children behind".<sup>37</sup> Of the first child, there is no baptismal record or any other evidence. Given that the second child was a boy who was christened John – the same as the father – this could have been the first-born son, from which it follows that the first child was a daughter, but this cannot be certain. Whether a daughter or son, the first child was presumably born sometime between 1719 and 1723. The second child, John, was born six weeks after Harding's death in April 1725, and will be discussed later.

### Harding's First Years in Business

The independent career of John Harding appears to have begun in 1717. (He is not to be confused with a London stationer of the same name who, incidentally, was associated with Curll in an unauthorised publication of some works of Swift in 1710).<sup>38</sup> James M. O'Toole infers that it began in 1714,<sup>39</sup> but there are no known publications in Harding's name from that time. Munter and David Woolley both say Harding began in 1716,<sup>40</sup> but there are no known publications with the Harding imprint from that year. Pollard, on the other hand, marks the commencement of Harding's career at 1718.<sup>41</sup> However, 1717 was the year during which Waters left the New Post Office Printing House for a shop on Copper Alley, and there is no evidence that Harding went with him. Rather, the evidence suggests that Harding's first

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<sup>35</sup> Although, it was not unknown for women to undertake apprenticeships: Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, op. cit., 100.

<sup>36</sup> Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, op. cit, 292, note 3.

<sup>37</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14.

<sup>38</sup> A4, 16. Also on this John Harding of London: H.R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1688 to 1725*, Oxford, 1922, 142.

<sup>39</sup> *Newsplan: report of the Newsplan project in Ireland*, Dublin, 1992, at the entry for 'Dublin Impartial News-Letter'.

<sup>40</sup> Munter: *Dictionary*, 127; David Woolley: 14 December 1724, Swift to John Harding: DW Letter 632 bis, headnote, vol. ii, 536.

<sup>41</sup> Refer also, Munter: *Dictionary*, 127; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274.

premises as an independent printer was the New Post Office Printing House.<sup>42</sup> As such, the departure of Waters to Copper Alley in 1717 also dates the start of Harding's career. Harding seemingly began his career as the sole occupant of the printing house that had been one of the centres of Tory publishing throughout the preceding decade. It appears possible that Waters and Harding came to an agreement whereby Harding leased the premises for a period as a sub-tenant from Waters. After spending some time at Copper Alley, Waters spent much of 1718 at Milltown to work on the paper mill with his father (and during this time his wife, Sarah, gave birth to their second child), before returning to Copper Alley and resuming his occupation of the New Post Office Printing House in early 1720, at which time Harding moved out. Although there is no evidence to confirm it, in my view it is reasonable to speculate that Waters and Harding came to an arrangement whereby Harding would occupy the New Post Office Printing House for an interim period. That arrangement might also have allowed Harding to use one of Waters' presses and other infrastructure that was already in that shop.

From these premises, Harding began his trade in newspapers, of which he produced three during the course of his career. The earliest newspaper for which there is a surviving Number is his *Post-Boy* for 23 June 1718. As this was a title that had been produced by Carter between 1712 and 1716,<sup>43</sup> Harding might have bought it from Carter, or the veteran Tory might have transferred it to him to help him start his career. The Harding editions are not numbered, only dated, so it cannot be known precisely when his *Post-Boy* started, but Harding published it for most of his career, with the last known edition being for July 1724. Harding's second newspaper was his *Dublin Impartial News-Letter*. This was an original title and the earliest known Number is that for 6 January 1719. This particular Number is "110"<sup>44</sup> and given that it was a weekly newspaper, the "110" suggests that Harding had been printing it for over two years by this time, but his numbering was erratic and unreliable. Of the three newspapers Harding produced, this *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* was his most successful, and from April 1721 he began publishing it twice weekly. Harding varied the title from time to time, as *The Weekly Impartial News-Letter*, or just *The Impartial News-Letter*, but it was always the

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<sup>42</sup> *Dictionary*, 274.

<sup>43</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92.

<sup>44</sup> The Number on the copy in the Gilbert Collection is cut off before the "10", but the Number for the edition of 7 February is 134, indicating that that this was Number 110, and not Number 10.

same newspaper.<sup>45</sup> The final Number appeared on 9 March 1725. The third newspaper that Harding produced was his *The Dublin Journal*. Like the *DINL*, this was an original title. Harding might have been modelling himself on the frequently prosecuted Jacobite printer in London, Nathaniel Mist, who had a *London Journal*. Or, not long before he began this newspaper, Harding reprinted an extract “From Peele’s *London Journal*” in his *INL* for 13 March 1722. Maybe this provided the inspiration for a newspaper with the name *Dublin Journal*.

This is the newspaper title that a few years later was appropriated by George Faulkner and thereafter became the most famous Irish newspaper of the eighteenth century, with “*Dublin Journal*” and “George Faulkner” effectively becoming synonymous terms. For this reason, commentators have always associated this title with Faulkner at the expense of Harding. In their respective *Dictionaries*, Munter and Pollard make no mention at all of Harding having produced a *Dublin Journal*. Elsewhere, it has been suggested that the *Dublin Journal* commenced as a joint venture of sorts,<sup>46</sup> and it has seemingly been inferred that Harding was fortunate enough to be involved in this enterprise with Faulkner in some secondary fashion. No one has stated the clear fact that this was Harding’s title and that Faulkner later took it. (This matter will be discussed further in a later chapter). There are just nine surviving Numbers of Harding’s *Dublin Journal*. They have a date range between March 1722 and May 1724,<sup>47</sup> and as such it is unclear when he began producing it.

In format and appearance, Harding’s newspapers resembled all others in Dublin insofar as they consisted of news from the foreign packets with any local advertisements or news snippets placed in the final column of the final page. Harding did not distinguish himself with his press work, which was never of a high quality. (Clearly Waters was not as successful as his own master, Brocas, in passing on the skills of the trade). But through his newspapers, Harding soon made himself known throughout the town. One objective for a Tory newspaper proprietor was to be ‘impartial.’ By this was intended the Tory version of impartiality which had been pioneered by Lloyd and Pue in their *Impartial Occurrences*, and which was being continued by Harding with his “Impartial” newspapers. The other objective for a Tory

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<sup>45</sup> Hereafter referred to as: *DINL*, *WTNL*, and *INL*, respectively.

<sup>46</sup> For example: Douglas Hyde, *Catalogue of the books and manuscripts comprising the library of the late Sir John T. Gilbert, compiled by Douglas Hyde and D.J. O'Donohue, for the Corporation of the City of Dublin*, Dublin, 1918, at the entry for ‘*Dublin Journal*’.

<sup>47</sup> The nine surviving Numbers (or issues, as they are not numbered) are those for: 29 March 1722, 6 April 1722, 21 May 1722, 20 August 1722, 4 October 1722, 12 November 1722, 7 December 1722, and 11 May 1724.



newspaper proprietor was to be ‘honest’, by which was meant having the courage to advance truths, including the one concerned with the rightful monarch of England and Ireland being anointed by divine hereditary right. Accordingly, the first known overt display of Harding’s impartiality and honesty was in March 1719. This was when Harding, Carter and Pue each reported in their newspapers that the King of Spain had proclaimed the Pretender to be the rightful monarch of England.<sup>48</sup> As Whalley reported in his *News-Letter* for 4 April 1719:

I am told that Cornelius Carter, John Harding and Richard Pew, apprehending there was an order issued to take them into custody, for publishing in their Jack-ish News-Papers that the King of Spain had caused the Pretender to be Proclaimed King of Great Britain... tending to disquiet the minds of his Majesty’s good Subjects, and Bouy up the Seditious Spirits of their restless Party, have thought fit to play at *Boo-peep*, so that they can’t be found since Tuesday last, to be brought to Justice.

Whether Harding, Carter and Pue were later arrested and imprisoned on this occasion is not known. Surviving Numbers of Harding’s newspapers appear less regularly than usual throughout April and May of this year,<sup>49</sup> which possibly indicates that Harding was in prison during these months and that these interim Numbers were produced by Sarah Harding. Maybe this prosecution ended reasonably quickly with apologies and fines. Or possibly, as appears to have happened occasionally, the prosecution was simply not pursued any further and the stationers slipped quietly back to work. What is seen from the known events of this incident is that Harding, Carter and Pue were acting in concert – publishing the same copy, being arrested and probably going into hiding together. The Tory statesmen, Pue and Carter, then, were suddenly Harding’s peers (the twenty-one-year-old would certainly have felt that he had come of age).

Yet, whilst Harding’s Tory impartiality and honesty were soon apparent, he also made an impression with honesty of a more common kind. The newspaper copy he wrote was pitched to the man on the street. For instance, in reporting on the imprisonment of a printer ‘Tom Tatler’:

P.S. Tom Tatler is not flown to see his Kindred in the Moon, but is as fast in the Black-Dog, as a Lempit on a Sea Crag, he having a retir’d Air and Low feeding,

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<sup>48</sup> Despite searching through the Gilbert Collection and elsewhere, I have not found the original offending comments by any of Harding, Carter or Pue. There is much in Harding’s newspapers of the period concerning the allegiance at that time between the King of Spain and the Pretender, but I could not locate the Numbers with the offending comments. On this incident, refer also: Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685 – 1766: a fatal attraction*, op. cit., 231.

<sup>49</sup> The only surviving Harding newspapers from April and May 1719 are: *Post-Boy* for 20 April, 27 April, 28 May; *DINL* for 21 April.

resolves to continue his News-Letter weekly with the Spirit of an Author. On Monday the 13<sup>th</sup> Inst he publishes the present State of his New Lodging.<sup>50</sup>

Or in reporting the death of a tailor:

On Thursday Night last about Ten a Clock, a Journy-man Taylor in High-street, being very airy, had a mind to cool his Bum at a Garret Window; whether it was to discharge his Piece of Ordnance or no, I can't tell, but he happen'd to make a false Step to Kennel and so made his Exit. Quare the Coroner's Inquest of Yesterday.<sup>51</sup>

With a no-nonsense style, Harding presented himself to the town as a straight talker.

In early 1720, Harding moved into new premises. This brought to an end his period of over two years at the New Post Office Printing House and, as has been mentioned, it is possible that this move was precipitated by the return of Waters to that printing house. Waters, that is, might have left Harding in occupation of the New Post Office Printing House from 1717 on an arrangement akin to a sub-tenancy, and then after being engaged by Swift in late 1719 or early 1720, returned to that printing house and asked Harding to find new premises. This is only a hypothesis for the motives of Harding and Waters at this time and there is no substantive evidence to support it. But given the confluence of events – the engagement of Waters by Swift, the return of Waters to the New Post Office Printing House, and Harding's departure from there – it is an hypothesis that in my view is worthy of consideration. The hypothesis also finds some support in the possibility of Waters having given to Harding his newspaper, *The Flying-Post; or the Post-Boy*, which Harding published for a short time.<sup>52</sup> This may have been a parting gift from Waters that was intended to ease the pressure that came with having to establish a new shop.

This hypothesis potentially adds perspective to an incident involving Harding at this time. A request from Waters to find new premises would have placed Harding under financial stress. Harding would have needed money to lease and fit out a shop, and although he probably had a supply of type through the Sadliers and possibly cheap paper from the Waters' mill, he might have needed to acquire other capital items, including a press.<sup>53</sup> Whether by

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<sup>50</sup> DINL for 11 June 1720. The identity of 'Tom Tatler' is unclear. It might be thought to be Ann Sandys on account of her reprinting the English periodical, *The Tatler*, and the fact that she then appears to have been the printer of the *Irish News-Tatler* newspaper. But Harding is not referring to a woman here.

<sup>51</sup> DINL for 17 August 1720.

<sup>52</sup> Refer Munter, *Hand-List*, 8 (item 39), 13 (item 70).

<sup>53</sup> Most presses in Ireland at the time were the wooden hand press, a Blaeu press, designed by the seventeenth century Dutch publisher, William Blaeu, and imported from Holland: see Munter, *HINP*, 41; Phillips, 217. Presses were not manufactured in Ireland before 1730: Phillips, 217.

coincidence or not, in January 1720, Harding found himself charged with having picked the pocket of one Mr. Murray Crimble in the sum of £49. Convicted pick-pockets were known to be thrown in the Liffey and thereafter released,<sup>54</sup> but this was generally for the theft of sums that were trivial in comparison with £49. Proceedings against Harding were issued out of the Court of King's Bench and he was forced to hire a Mr. Oliver Blake (possibly a relation of the prominent Irish barrister of the 1730's, Henry Blake)<sup>55</sup> to represent him. On the day of the trial, the case was dismissed after it was ruled that the prosecution evidence left Harding no case to answer, which was presumably because the main prosecution witness had not testified on the day. Other stationers in an equivalent position are unlikely to have reported such an event in their own newspaper, but in his *DINL* for 6 February 1720, Harding crowed about it:

This is to give Notice, That John Harding Printer, hereof who was Indicted for Picking the Pocket of one Murray Crimble of several Cash Notes, amounting to the Value of 49l. was Yesterday Try'd for the same at the King's Bench Bar, and acquitted, without having examin'd one Witness on his side, because there was not sufficient Evidence for the Crown to prove the charge laid in that Indictment against him; Oliver Blake, Esq; being his Council.

Soon afterwards, Harding took a shop in Dirty Lane. This was a narrow laneway that ran south from Dame Street over Temple Bar down to a ferry station at the river,<sup>56</sup> and which was occupied by warehouses and stables and the popular Shakespeare Tavern.<sup>57</sup> By 1 March 1720, Harding had moved. A Number of *The Flying-Post; or the Post-Boy* was produced from this new address that day, then in his *DINL* for 2 April he formally announced: "The Printer hereof is remov'd to the middle of Dirty-Lane". The "middle" of Dirty Lane, Mr. Murray Crimble might have noted, was probably the dirtiest part.

### The Engagement of Harding by Swift

Turning now to the commencement of Harding's association with Swift from the spring of 1721, I wish to present new evidence pertaining to the timing and the circumstances in which this arrangement was put in place. This evidence suggests a simple hand-over of the role from Waters to Harding. It is evidence that in my view consistent with my proposition

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<sup>54</sup> Refer: Garnham, 54 – 56.

<sup>55</sup> On Henry Blake, refer: O'Flanagan, *The Irish Bar: comprising anecdotes, bon-mots, and biographical sketches of the bench and bar of Ireland*, London, 1879.

<sup>56</sup> It seems to have been soon after Harding's time that Dirty Lane was renamed Temple Lane: Gilbert, ii, 316. It is now South Temple Lane (although it no longer extends as far as the river). The existence of the lane, the first name of which was Bridgefoot Street, possibly dates back to the thirteenth century: *IHTA*, 13.

<sup>57</sup> Gilbert, ii, 317.

that, from late 1719 forward, Swift at all times wanted to have an arrangement in place with a stationer whereby that stationer was to be his printer-at-the-ready for all of his public and private printing requirements.

Before coming to that evidence, I would first like to mention a matter that is a little more speculative in nature, but which warrants a place in this discussion. It concerns a letter to Harding that the printer published in his *DINL* for 24 September 1720. This was during the course of the prosecution of Waters, three months after the trial and approximately one month before the scheduled retrial at Michaelmas Term. The letter is as follows:

*SIR, Though I am no Conjurer, Fortune-Teller, or French Prophet, I cannot forbear Predicting, that I shall one Day see you strutting in another-guise Habit; and instead of being a notorious Frequenter of Ale-houses, you'll pay most of your visits to the Taverns. Don't think this Prediction proceeds from a Principle of Vanity in me, since I never yet had the Honour to appear in any of your Papers, and never may again: But this Prophetick Humour seized me, as I was considering the general Usefulness of your Paper, and your own commendable Resolution not to offend any, nor ever publish any thing to the World, that may in the least tend to lessen your Readers Regard to Truth and Good Manners. Upon these Grounds I raised my Prediction, which is Calculated for the Year 1722; when you'll perceive by the Event, whether I am a true Prophet or no. I am, Yours, A.B.*

The letter predicts a change of fortunes for the better for Harding: he will be wearing another guise habit and he will progress from ale houses to taverns (clearly one thing he was *not* impartial to was a drink).<sup>58</sup> This prediction is interesting because the Swift–Waters association was under some strain at this time, and that strain would have been a matter of public knowledge. As I have argued, Waters by this time had seemingly undergone one violent bout in the pillory, with another threatened for Michaelmas Term. But even putting this issue of corporal punishment to one side, the town was aware that the prosecution of Swift's printer was torrid and ongoing. Accordingly, one possibility is that this letter was sent to Harding by someone who could anticipate the end of the Swift–Waters association (as did happen) and that Harding, as Waters' former apprentice and protégé, was the likely beneficiary. The prediction is made for the year 1722, and it might have been suspected, at the time of writing this letter of prediction, that the prosecution of Waters was only going to come to an end upon the arrival of Grafton for the Parliament in September 1721. Therefore, a prediction that

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<sup>58</sup> One manner in which a tavern distinguished itself from an ale house was with an implied offer an overnight accommodation: Brown, 'The location of learning in mid-eighteenth century Ireland', in *Marsh's Library: a mirror on the world: Law, Learning and Libraries: 1650 – 1750*, Dublin, 2009, 104 – 126, at 115. Also on taverns: MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, Cork, 1950, 60. Refer also: Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, op. cit., 166. With regard to ale houses, Swift depicts a scene of drunkenness and theft "in the Back-Room of one of our Ale-houses at Midnight", in *The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston* (A2, 22, page 2; *PW*, ix, 41).

Harding would not become Swift's printer until a few months after that event, is logical. Admittedly, this interpretation of this letter is a surmise. There is every possibility that the letter has nothing to do with Swift. (Indeed, the self-promoting Harding could have written and published it himself). But, given the timing of the letter, it is submitted that it is an interpretation that should not be dismissed.

It is sufficiently clear in my view that the role of Swift's printer was transferred from Waters to Harding in March 1721. This is seen in the cumulative effect of several pieces of evidence. To begin with, the first occasion on which Harding printed for Swift was on 1 April 1721 (April Fools' Day – something Harding should have taken more notice of). The work was *An Epilogue to be Spoke at the Theatre-Royal This present Saturday being April the 1<sup>st</sup>. In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers*. This was an *Epilogue* specifically written for a performance of *Hamlet* performed that night at the Theatre Royal on Smock Alley, a charity performance to support the starving weavers. Sheridan wrote a Prologue, Swift wrote an Epilogue, and Harding printed them on either side of a broadsheet with his imprint at the foot of the sheet, and sold them outside the theatre on the night.<sup>59</sup> This one publication for Swift by Harding does not in itself establish anything. It was, after all, a work that Waters could not have printed himself at this time, at least not with his name on the imprint. This is because the *Epilogue* celebrates the fact that Hamlet, Ophelia, Claudius, the ghost and every other character in the play had appeared in costumes made of Irish manufacture. This is the type of content that would, it can be considered reasonably certain, have caused problems for Waters with respect to his condition of good behaviour. To this point, then, this *Epilogue* could have represented a once-off transaction between Harding and Swift – one necessitated by Waters' bail conditions.

Within a week, however, Harding had printed another work. This was entitled *The Puppet-Show, A Poem*, and it is a work that several commentators have considered to be Swift's. Sheridan had arranged another charity event for the weavers, a puppet show that he had written and produced entitled *Punch Turn'd Schoolmaster*. After it had been performed, *The Puppet-Show, A Poem*, which makes light of the show, was written.<sup>60</sup> If this poem was written by Swift, it represents significant evidence with respect to the transfer to Harding. This is because the poem has nothing to do with Irish manufactures or the boycotting of English goods and should not have presented any risk to Waters in relation to good behaviour. More significant

<sup>59</sup> A2, 7. Another edition was afterwards printed by a "J.W." seemingly in breach of Harding's copyright (A4, 64). It might have been one of the Whigs, John Whalley or James Watts.

<sup>60</sup> A2, 8.

still is the fact that was printed privately for Swift by Harding. This is seen in the fact that the imprint – “Dublin: by John Harding” – does not include the word “printed”, and Swift suggested it was privately printed when he referred to it in a letter to Ford as “a very pretty Copy of Verses on Puppet shews printed here but not published”.<sup>61</sup> Given that there is no reason at all that Waters could not have produced a work privately for Swift, the fact that Harding was given the work signifies that the transfer to that printer was completed by this time.

The one question with respect to *The Puppet-Show, A Poem* concerns its authorship. Even if it is shown that Swift did *not* have any hand in writing the poem, in which case this component of evidence is of no consequence, in my view the balance of the circumstances still illustrates that the role of Swift’s printer was transferred to Harding at this time in the manner I am proposing. But it is submitted that the evidence of Swift’s authorship is sufficient. Swift’s authorship was accepted from the time of Faulkner, who included the poem in his edition of Swift’s *Works* for 1762, and it remained accepted as part of the canon for the next 173 years. Scholarly opinion was then altered following the 1935 discovery of Swift’s letter to Charles Ford dated 15 April 1721. In this letter Swift says to Ford:

Sheridan put the players upon acting a Puppet shew, but his Subject was ill chosen, and his Performance worse, and it succeeded accordingly; yet gave Occasion to a very pretty Copy of Verses on Puppets shews printed here but not published, yet I shall soon get one, and would send it to you if I could Frank it; We cannot find the Auth<sup>r</sup>, and it is not Delany.<sup>62</sup>

This letter was first published by David Nichol Smith, who added: “Swift is not given to mystifying Ford”.<sup>63</sup> Soon after this comment by Nichol Smith, Williams cited this letter, along with Nichol Smith’s comment, as “strong evidence against Swift’s authorship”,<sup>64</sup> and in 1983 Rogers excluded it from his edition of Swift’s poems. In more recent years, David Woolley has supported the original view. He says that the metrics and rhyme scheme of the poem are precisely that of Swift’s poem, *The Bubble*, which Swift had written shortly before. He says that “the versatile punning *modus operandi* is in the same vein [as *The Bubble*], making a strong case for restoration to the canon”.<sup>65</sup> With regard to Swift’s comment to Ford, David Woolley is of

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<sup>61</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 372.

<sup>62</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, vol. ii, 372.

<sup>63</sup> Nichol Smith, ed., *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, Oxford, 1935, 91.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1103; Williams, *Correspondence*, ii, 381, note 2.

<sup>65</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, note 7, vol. ii, 372.

the view that Swift's "mystifying the authorship of *The Puppet-Show* [was] in order to remain on good terms with Sheridan".<sup>66</sup> I agree with this argument of David Woolley. The contention that Swift was "not given to mystifying Ford", after all, seems to be contingent upon Swift having had a hard-and-fast rule never to play games with or deceive this particular friend. This in my view is unrealistic, and in a recent article on the close friendship of Swift and Ford, W.B. Carnochan discusses three separate instances of Swift having written to Ford in a manner that was either ironic or slightly misleading.<sup>67</sup> Also in favour of Swift's authorship in my view is the fact that the poem is directly in keeping with the style of raillery and ridicule that had characterised the poetic exchanges between Swift and Sheridan from as early as 1718 (which is an aspect of the Sheridan–Swift friendship that will be discussed further). There is also the fact that it was printed by Harding, which is circumstantial evidence of Swift's authorship insofar as it is consistent with my proposition that Harding was Swift's printer from no later than 1 April 1721. The only other possibility with respect to the authorship of this poem is that it was written by Delany, who had called on Harding earlier the same year to print his poem, *News from Parnassus*.<sup>68</sup> But Swift says to Ford, "it is not Delany". Maybe this was also part of his mystification in this instance for the sake of preserving harmony amongst the friends with Sheridan.

It cannot be known, but in my view the evidence favours the possibility of Swift having either written or had a hand in the composition of this poem – either of which is sufficient for the purposes of my discussion with respect to Harding. Even Harold Williams, despite his comment that Swift's letter to Ford constitutes "strong evidence" against Swift's authorship, ends his discussion with observations on how the style and manner of the poem resembles Swift, and concludes: "A possibility that Swift played some part in the composition of 'The Puppet Show' remains".<sup>69</sup>

The next evidence is from Harding's newspaper (his *DINL*). As discussed earlier, my hypothesis is that the appointments of each of Waters and Harding to their role as Swift's printer began with an offer and acceptance, which in real terms was simply a notification that the printer was never going to object to. With this in mind, a particular announcement made

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<sup>66</sup> 15 April 1721, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 533, note 8, vol. ii, 372 – 373.

<sup>67</sup> W. B. Carnochan, 'Fidus Achates: Swift and Charles Ford', in *Reading Swift: Papers from The Sixth Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munchen, 2013, 45 – 55, at 48, 52 and 53.

<sup>68</sup> A2, 3.

<sup>69</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1103.

by Harding is of interest. In his *DINL* for 11 April 1721, which is within the period of April that marks the beginning of his printing for Swift, he announced that the *DINL* would be published twice weekly. This in itself is a sign of a new confidence in the stationer. Significant also is the style in which the announcement was made:

This Paper being a Faithful and Impartial Account of Foreign and Domestick News, will be published twice a week: When packets are Slack, City and Country shall have Harmless and Divertful Amusements. But the printer is ready to serve any Gentleman &c. in his way for payment but will not undertake to force Trade or become a porter by posting up Bills and advertisements in the Coffee-Houses but in the News, promises them at Rates as Reasonable as any Printer in Dublin can afford.

This notice has been observed by commentators previously.<sup>70</sup> James Woolley refers to it in the context of Harding being a printer at the very bottom of the trade, saying: “In 1721 John Harding found it necessary to protest that while he would do job printing “at Rates as Reasonable as any Printer in Dublin can afford”, he would “not undertake to force Trade or become a porter by posting up Bills and advertisements in the Coffee-Houses”.”<sup>71</sup> No commentator has made the connection that this notice was written and published by Harding at the very time he began working with Swift, and once this connection is made, it can be seen for what in my view it is. It has a tone of euphoria and the declaration that he will not force trade or post bills in coffee-houses is one of exaltation. It is submitted, then, that Harding’s decision to start publishing the *DINL* twice-weekly, and his announcement of that decision in this triumphant manner, was a direct consequence of having received a notification from a messenger from the deanery.

A further circumstance is associated with the fact that within three months of having first printed for Swift, Harding moved shop again. In his *WINL* for 20 June 1721, Harding announced: “*The Printer hereof is remov’d from Dirty-Lane to Molesworth’s Court in Fishamble Street*”, ending a term of a little over a year at Dirty Lane. Fishamble Street had been the area for fish vending from Norman times – fish *shambles* had been booths of bowed wood<sup>72</sup> – and in 1721 it sloped down from Castle Street to the river at Wood Quay.<sup>73</sup> There was also an

<sup>70</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 166.

<sup>71</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 166.

<sup>72</sup> Refer: Gilbert, i, 47 – 48. Swift, also, would use the word “Shambles” in *A Modest Proposal* in late 1729: “As to our City of *Dublin*, Shambles may be appointed for this purpose [selling fattened babies for food]”: A3, 65, page 8; *PW*, xii, 112.

<sup>73</sup> As it does today, though from what is now Lord Edward Street. It is a coincidence that currently on the corner of Fishamble Street and Lord Edward Street stands The Harding Hotel, with its adjoining Darkey Kelley’s bar. The history of this Hotel is as follows. In 1878 a boys’ home was established in Denzille Street, then in the late



extra limb of Fishamble Street that forked out from just north of Castle Street, and Molesworth's Court, a narrow laneway running east–west and parallel to the Quay, bridged that fork. The Vikings had settled in this part of Dublin in the eighth and ninth centuries, and after they were conquered in 1014, the town wall for the city's defences, which was up to seven metres in height and three metres in width, was built between 1100 and 1125. Demolition of the wall began in the seventeenth century, but in 1721 sections remained, including one of about a hundred metres running parallel and very close to, if not directly on, Molesworth's Court.<sup>74</sup> Harding's new shop must have been within twenty or so paces east or west of this section of wall. The significance of this move to Molesworth's Court is that the new premises were within the ward of St. Patrick's (in the Parish of St. John the Evangelist)<sup>75</sup> and about half the distance from the deanery as Dirty Lane.

The new premises were in Molesworth's Court, and the most ardent supporter of Swift's Irish writing at this time was Robert Molesworth. Viscount Molesworth had seen an advance copy of *Universal Use* and had thought so well of it that he had contemplated having it reprinted in London.<sup>76</sup> Molesworth had also been the first person Swift had turned to amidst the shock of the prosecution of Waters. Molesworth's Court was so named because Robert Molesworth's father had settled his family there in the 1640's or early 1650's. The original Molesworth home was situated there, and Robert Molesworth himself was born there in 1656.<sup>77</sup> In the summer of 1721, Molesworth was living at Brackenstown, County Swords

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1880's two sisters, the Harding sisters (whether descendants of the Harding family of the present discussion is unknown) bequeathed money to this boys' home to create a technical school, from which time it became The Dublin Working Boys' Home and Harding Technical School. In 1891, this establishment was transferred from Denzille Street to what was then a new Elizabethan building on the corner of Fishamble and Lord Edward Streets, and this Dublin Working Boys' Home and Harding Technical School later became The Harding Hotel. A sign in the foyer of the adjoining Darkey Kelley's bar (to the north on Fishamble Street) says that in the first half of the eighteenth century the bar was the site of a brothel run by Madame Darkey Kelly, who was later executed. Once he had moved to Molesworth's Court, this would have been Harding's closest drinking establishment (fifty or so paces from his shop and home). I obtained this information about the history of The Harding Hotel in October 2007 with help from the management of the Hotel, who gave me extracts of a written history, but not its title or author, so I cannot cite it.

<sup>74</sup> Part of this section of the wall is still preserved today. The city is now built higher on landfill and the location is occupied by the buildings of the Dublin City Council, but a small section of the wall is to be seen in the lower ground level of the southern of the two Council buildings, which is now the 'Wood Quay Conference Centre.' For the history of the wall, refer this Conference Centre's small handbook: *Dublin Through the Ages: The City Walls*, Dublin City.

<sup>75</sup> See: Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory of 1850*, Dublin, 1850, 1988 [in TCD Early Printed Books].

<sup>76</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 3); *PW*, x, 82; Molesworth to Toland, 25 June 1720 (quoted in Ferguson, 58).

<sup>77</sup> Refer: Gilbert, i, 58 – 59. *IHTA* gives the earliest known record of Molesworth's Court as being from 1721 (page 17). It is unclear why the *IHTA* does not cite Gilbert for these details from decades earlier.

(where the meeting with Swift and the Duke of Wharton to discuss Waters had taken place on 18 July 1720), but he may have still owned the residence on Molesworth's Court. In my view, then, particularly given all of the other circumstantial evidence pertaining to both Waters and Harding that is indicative of purposeful relationships between Swift and the printers, it is likely that these new working and living premises were facilitated with the help of Robert Molesworth. As a form of sponsorship of Swift's Irish writing, Molesworth could have arranged for Harding and his family to take occupation of a dwelling he owned that was part of Molesworth's Court. Also supporting this possibility is that no address on Molesworth's Court is known to have been used as a printing house before this time.<sup>78</sup> This structure on Molesworth's Court was being used for printing for the first time. (Chances are it was also more commodious than Dirty Lane had been.) My contention is that this move to Molesworth's Court was a direct consequence of Harding having succeeded to the role of Swift's printer. Given the converged interests of Swift, Molesworth and Harding at this time, a move to new premises situated in a location bearing the name "Molesworth's Court", cannot be considered a coincidence.

It was in this way that from the spring of 1721, the twenty-three-year-old disreputable Tory stationer, John Harding, came to be engaged for all Dublin printing requirements of the writer widely acknowledged as the best in Great Britain. The role did not come to Harding as a consequence of any specific episode from his earlier career that Swift approved of, as Ferguson, and Degategno and Stubblefield, suggest with respect to Harding printing in his newspaper in March 1719 that the King of Spain had proclaimed the Pretender to be rightful monarch of England and Ireland.<sup>79</sup> Harding would have had the recommendation of Waters and possibly also that of Hyde,<sup>80</sup> but the role devolved to him. Harding was the printer in the right place at the right time who was also eminently qualified. After Harding's death, the *Elegy on Harding* included a four-line epitaph, one of which said he was "By Merit and by Chance prefer'd".<sup>81</sup> As a line that can only have been written by someone with first-hand knowledge of how Harding came to work with Swift, it confirms that he had been "prefer'd".

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<sup>78</sup> I have found this address in no imprint earlier than Harding in 1721.

<sup>79</sup> Ferguson, 125; Degategno and Stubblefield, 82.

<sup>80</sup> Harding had dealings with Hyde in 1719. Hyde had been part of a publishing syndicate which advertised in Harding's *DINL* on 11 July 1719. Also, sometime that year, a London tract was reprinted in Dublin for Hyde, and although it does not state the Dublin printer, it has Harding's ornaments (A2, 2 - on the ornaments, see the ESTC comment).

<sup>81</sup> A4, 139. See Image 12.

### ***The Present Miserable State of Ireland***

Interesting circumstances are associated with a letter that was originally published in a London periodical and soon afterwards reprinted in Dublin out of the Harding shop. It is a letter from a man of trade in Dublin to a gentleman in London, where the writer of the letter is responding to a request for an account of affairs in Ireland. Accordingly, the writer gives his thoughts on Ireland's economic problems and their effects on the people. The letter details the detrimental effects that English legislation has wrought in Ireland. It does not do so, however, in an offensive or seditious vein. Rather, it is written with a broad perspective on Anglo-Irish affairs as it also, for instance, criticises the legislation for the negative effects it has had within England itself. Signed "S.T." and dated 15 March 1721, the letter was published in London by the Jacobite, Mist, in his *The Weekly Journal or Saturdays Post* for 30 September 1721.<sup>82</sup> The letter was given no title. It was simply printed by Mist on the opening page of the *Journal*, with Mist adding a prefatory passage as well as a closing comment of his own. These remarks at each end of the letter make reference to the Irish Parliament then in session and offer hopes that that Parliament could move to address the matters raised by the Dublin trader, the writer of the letter. The Harding reprint appeared not long after this original publication by Mist. This can be surmised from the fact that the date of the letter is changed to "Sept 1721",<sup>83</sup> which suggests that it was published by the Harding shop in late September or possibly early October. The Harding reprint also differs from the original in other respects. It reprints the letter on its own, without any prefatory or closing remarks, and as an independent folio over two pages. It is given a title, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland in a letter from a gentleman in Dublin to his Friend in London*, which is a title that Dublin readers would have associated with Swift. And the initials of the letter writer are changed from "S.T." to "J.S.", in this way expressly identifying Swift as the author. A further unique aspect of this Harding edition is seen in its imprint: "London Printed: And Re-printed in Dublin by Sarah Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble Street, 1721". This represents the only occasion Sarah Harding is known to have put her name in an imprint before she started printing on her own

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<sup>82</sup> T-S infer that this Mist edition is a reprint of the Sarah Harding edition (310, item 1583), but it is the other way around.

<sup>83</sup> A3, 1. Ferguson is mistaken, therefore, in saying that it was "first published in Dublin in the summer of 1721" (61). It was a reprint of Mist's London publication, and it appeared in late September or early October. Wagner is mistaken with respect to the date (5, item 9) for the same reason. Also, there are three other known Dublin editions of this tract. One is dated 1735. The other two are undated but it seems they appeared after the Sarah Harding edition, which declares itself to be a reprint of the original London edition: see T-S 310, items 749, 750, 751.

after her husband's death. Whilst she was a partner in her husband's business, the name in the imprint was on all other occasions that of John Harding.

There are questions concerning whether Swift wrote this letter and how it came to be published in London and reprinted in Dublin in this manner. In searching for answers, it is best to look at the alternative possibilities regarding its authorship and weigh the circumstances. The first hypothesis is that it is Swift's. This is something that was openly projected from the time of the Sarah Harding edition. A Dublin edition of 1735 that redated the letter to May 1735, retained the initials "J.S." and included a woodcut image purporting to represent Swift.<sup>84</sup> Temple Scott included the tract in his 1908 collected edition of Swift's prose works<sup>85</sup> and, more recently, James Woolley has considered it to have been written by Swift.<sup>86</sup> If this was the case, Swift could have sent the letter to a friend in London who then arranged its publication by Mist. Or, given that the letter is dated 15 March 1721, which was at the end of Swift's association with Waters, it could have been another tract written specifically to support Waters, who on this occasion passed on the opportunity to publish, and instead sent it to an associate in London. This could explain the unusual circumstance of the work finding its way to Mist. Then, still entertaining the hypothesis that the tract was written by Swift, the Dublin reprint could have been produced by the Hardings seven months later with Swift's authorisation, just as he had authorised Waters' Dublin reprint of *The Bubble*.

The other hypothesis is that it was written by someone other than Swift. In this scenario, the manner by which the tract originally came to Mist in London does not need to be examined. The only question concerns the Dublin reprint and why the Hardings changed the initials on the letter to "J.S." to give the impression that it was written by Swift. The only explanation for this, seemingly, is that given that the tract had echoes of Swift's style, the Hardings opportunistically dressed it as a work of Swift to promote themselves as Swift's printers and help the sale of the publication. In my view, this represents the most likely scenario for how this work came to be written, then published in London and reprinted in Dublin. I think Herbert Davis was right in excluding this work from the canon.<sup>87</sup> If it resembles Swift's prose style at all, it does so only poorly. It is written for an English audience,

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<sup>84</sup> A4, 206.

<sup>85</sup> Temple Scott, vii, 151 – 165.

<sup>86</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 168, 170.

<sup>87</sup> Davis, 'The Canon of Swift', *English Institute Annual*, 1942, New York, 1943, 128 – 129; *PW*, xii, xv-xvi.

which is something that, for a tract concerning Irish affairs, would have served little purpose for Swift at this time. Swift would not have commented injudiciously on the writings of Temple concerning Ireland, as the author of this tract does when disagreeing with Temple's views. And I agree with Ferguson that the line complimenting Westminster as an "uncorrupted Parliament and ministry, strenuously endeavouring to restore trade to its former happy state", makes Swift's authorship "extremely unlikely".<sup>88</sup> With respect to it being reprinted by the Hardings to pass it off as a work of Swift's, such an act is consistent with an approach to business on Harding's part that was compulsively cavalier, even at the risk of jeopardising his own interests (and it would not be the last time Harding would take a liberty of this kind with Swift). This hypothesis is a scenario that also offers one possible explanation for the name on the imprint being that of Sarah Harding instead of John Harding. If it eventuated that Swift responded negatively to this tract being represented as his work, Harding could do what husband and wife partnerships in the stationery industry did regularly – let one take responsibility to absolve the other.

There is another possible explanation for the appearance of the name "Sarah Harding" in the imprint of *The Present Miserable State of Ireland*. It is associated with a separate set of events from the same time, a set of events in which printers and their wives came to be involved. In September 1721, the House of Lords moved against three printers after the opening of the first Parliamentary session under the new Lord Lieutenant, Grafton. At this Parliament, the item of business on everyone's mind was the proposal for establishing a national bank in Ireland, and because Grafton was in favour of the proposal, in his opening speech from the throne on 12 September he took the unusual step of directly addressing the matter. This speech was then printed in each of Hume's *Dublin Courant*, Carter's *St. James's Evening Post* and Harding's *Weekly Impartial News-Letter*. There was a degree of uncertainty at the time as to whether it was lawful to print a Lord Lieutenant's speech to Parliament. It was known that the proceedings of Parliament themselves could not be printed,<sup>89</sup> but newspaper proprietors were clearly under the impression that it was permissible to print the viceroy's speech.<sup>90</sup> On this occasion, though, the House of Lords responded. Given that the Lords were

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<sup>88</sup> Ferguson, 62, note 8.

<sup>89</sup> The printing of Parliamentary proceedings was a privilege reserved only for the authorised *Dublin Gazette*. Munter, *Dictionary*, 241; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 507 – 509. Refer also Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 206.

<sup>90</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 144.

predominately Tory and therefore against the bank, their actions on this occasion may have been intended as a show of strength against the House of Commons, which was mainly Whig.

Whatever the motivation of the Lords, the Whig, Hume, and the Tories, Carter and Harding, were called to appear before the House. Harding was scheduled to appear first. This was on Friday 15 September, but according to the Reports of the House for that day, the messenger who had gone to Molesworth's Court to serve the summons deposed "that he left the said Order with the said *Harding's* Wife at his House, who told the Deponent, that the said *Harding* was gone into the Country, to the Lord *Altham's*". Harding was then summoned to appear again on the following Tuesday, 19 September.<sup>91</sup> This was the day on which the other two were scheduled to appear for the first time. As such, Thomas Hume, Cornelius Carter and John Harding were all legally obliged to front the House on 19 September. The Whig, Hume, dutifully did so. He apologised and was discharged without penalty. Carter did not appear. He sent his wife, Mary, and the Reports state that she "informed the House, that her Husband was sick in Bed, but hoped he would be able, in a Day or two, to attend their Lordships". Harding was for the second time in four days also represented by his wife. She told the Lords again that her husband "was out of Town about Lord *Altham's* and Lord *Annesley's* Affairs", and she added something that she had seemingly omitted four days earlier, that he "has been so [out of town] for near Three Weeks". The House subsequently ordered that "the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, his Deputy or Deputies, do forthwith attach the Body of the said *John Harding*, and keep him in safe Custody, until further Order of this House", although whether Harding was eventually arrested and imprisoned in relation to the printing of this speech is not known.<sup>92</sup>

The relevant matter from this proceeding is that at the time of the printing of the Lord Lieutenant's speech in the respective newspapers, both Carter and Harding were away. A few days later when Carter rose from his sick bed and came before the House, he said "That his Wife printed ... [the speech] ... without his Knowledge, he being then out of Town". Harding too had been out of town. Indeed, he had been out of town for three weeks attending to the affairs of Lords Altham and Annesley,<sup>93</sup> which might have been the same business that Carter

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<sup>91</sup> For all references to the *Journals* of the House of Lords in this episode: *JHLI*, ii, 686 – 690.

<sup>92</sup> Munter presumes that all three apologised and were dismissed, but his evidence in relation to Harding is not specified: *HINP*, 144.

<sup>93</sup> Lord Altham was Arthur Annesley, and his associate, Lord Annesley, was more than likely his younger brother, the bigamist and child kidnapper, Richard Annesley, and not their cousin, the friend of Archbishop King, Francis Annesley, who was then in England: see the *ODNB* entry for Richard Annesley, Lord Altham.

had been attending to. And as for the nature of that business, given that Altham and Annesley were soon afterwards brought before the House to answer charges of misuse of Parliamentary privilege through the creation twenty-one false Parliamentary protections,<sup>94</sup> it appears to have been the production of these forged protections. When both Carter and Harding had been away, then, the printing of Grafton's speech in each of the *St. James's Evening Post* and the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter* had been undertaken by Mary Carter and Sarah Harding respectively, yet whilst Mary Carter's role had been disclosed, Sarah Harding's had gone unsuspected. With the reprint of *The Present Miserable State of Ireland* only a few weeks later, therefore, it could be speculated that Sarah Harding's motivation for using her name, instead of her husband's, was to have the last laugh over the Lords. She, too, printed – a matter the Lords had overlooked.

Two possible reasons have been offered by commentators for this unusual circumstance of the name "Sarah Harding" appearing on the Dublin reprint of *The Present Miserable State of Ireland*. Pollard says it was "presumably printed [by her] while John was in hiding",<sup>95</sup> and James Woolley says it was printed by her "presumably while John was in prison, in 1721".<sup>96</sup> But Harding is not known to have been in hiding or in prison in October or November 1721, and evidence will be seen of publications from the Harding shop that were produced at other times when Harding was almost certainly either in hiding or in prison, which still bear the name "John Harding". For this reason, I think that the appearance of the name "Sarah Harding" on this publication can only be explained by something else. I have presented two alternative explanations. Both are to a significant extent conjectural because many of the facts relevant to this episode are not known. It is nonetheless submitted that, on the available evidence, each is reasonable.

### The Proposal for a Bank

Having printed for Swift in April 1721, the next work Harding undertook for Swift was during the controversy over the proposal for the establishment of a national bank in Ireland. During November and December 1721, Harding printed a series of tracts for Swift opposing the proposal. This episode is a clear illustration of why, for his printing requirements

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<sup>94</sup> The two Lords would soon afterwards be brought before the House to answer charges in relation to these forged protections: *JHLI vol. II*, 693 – 696.

<sup>95</sup> *Dictionary*, 275.

<sup>96</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 168.

in Dublin, Swift needed a Tory stationer who would be prepared to publish any material at all – including material that gave highly provocative personal offence.

Although the proposal for the establishment of a national bank was the subject of debate *within* the Parliament, during the Parliamentary recess between 9 November and 6 December, the principal persons involved directed their energies to the writing of pamphlets, thereby placing the arguments for and against the proposal in the public sphere.<sup>97</sup> The opening pamphlet was written by a young member of the House of Commons by the name of Henry Maxwell. It took the form of a letter written to Hercules Rowley, a member of the House of Commons who was known to be opposed to the bank (and who was Maxwell's uncle). Entitled *Reasons offer'd for erecting a bank in Ireland; in a letter to Hercules Rowley, Esq; by Henry Maxwell, Esq.*, over sixty-three pages it set out the proposed regulatory machinery of the bank. This tract was in some ways like a prospectus, explaining the rules to which the subscribers and directors would be bound, whilst detailing the measures that had been put in place to safeguard against the kind of mishap that had beset the South Sea Investment Scheme in England. The publication also presented the economic case for a bank, with lengthy explanations of how Ireland's domestic industry and manufacturing would prosper, thereby lessening its reliance on imports from England and elsewhere. Published by the well-regarded Whig stationer, Aaron Rhames,<sup>98</sup> it was written in a gentlemanly style as it invited open and frank debate. And it carried Maxwell's name as author.

The addressee of this letter, Hercules Rowley, then responded with a tract that was unusual in one respect. It was a little shorter than Maxwell's, being fifty-two pages and in a larger font. It was entitled *An Answer to a Book, Intitl'd, Reasons Offer'd for erecting a Bank in Ireland. In a letter to Henry Maxwell, Esq; By Hercules Rowley*, and it was printed by another highly regarded stationer, this time George Grierson on Essex Street.<sup>99</sup> The reason it was unusual was because, as those on the opposite side of the argument discerned immediately, most of it

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<sup>97</sup> Most of the twenty or more tracts published on the issue appeared during this period. For the most comprehensive listing of these tracts: Wagner, 5 – 14. For discussion of the bank controversy generally and Swift's contributions: Armer, 100 – 108; Burns, i, 120 – 132; Davis, *PIW*, ix, xxi; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 159 – 165; Ferguson, 66 – 67; Hall, *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946*, Dublin, 1949, 21; Hone, J.M., 'Berkeley and Swift as nationalist economists', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiii, 91, (1934), 425; and Ryder, 557 – 582.

<sup>98</sup> A4, 65.

<sup>99</sup> A4, 66. A proposal for a bank in Ireland had been published in 1696: A4, 4. With respect to this push for a bank over two decades later, however, the first printed comment is that in *Whalley's News-Letter* of 7 May 1720, which comments on "a Scheam for erecting a Bank in Ireland to save our Moneys in the Kingdom". Then Swift, with *Universal Use*, was the first to offer partisan commentary. Refer also: Armer, 33.



had not been written by the stated author. Rowley had been acquainted with Swift in Ireland since 1714,<sup>100</sup> and Swift's own opposition to the bank was already on the record because he had written of it in *Universal Use* in 1720<sup>101</sup> and had alluded to it in each *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders* and *The Wonder of All Wonders, That Ever the world wondered at*.<sup>102</sup> Accordingly, there could be no mistaking that for the composition of this pamphlet, Rowley had turned to Swift. I do not agree with Ferguson, who appears to doubt that Swift contributed to this *Answer*.<sup>103</sup> Nor can I agree with Michael Ryder, who says only that Swift's involvement is "possible".<sup>104</sup> Armer goes further. She "assume[s] that most of the ideas expressed in the *Answer* are basically Rowley's and that Swift gave 'hints' and corrected the style".<sup>105</sup> But even this understates the matter.

In my view, Swift's hand in much of this pamphlet could not be more apparent. From page twelve onwards (as well as in occasional earlier passages), Swift's turn of phrase and manner of argument is so overtly on display it is as though he wanted his involvement to be recognised (just as when he wrote anonymously or pseudonymously). He characteristically hinted at his involvement in this pamphlet when he wrote to Knightley Chetwode on 5 December: "This subject [of the bank] filled the Town with Pamphlets, and none writt so well as by M<sup>r</sup>. Rowley though he was not thought to have many Talents for an Author".<sup>106</sup> Similarly, in a separate publication that he would soon afterwards write on the bank, his narrator in that tract, a Lady in Town, is referred by a Lord to "Mr. Rowley's Letter, where he told me the Subject was treated in so handsome a Manner, that he was sure it would both please and convince me".<sup>107</sup> The pamphlet reads as though Rowley gave Swift some notes, or at most a short draft, and that Swift then made it his own. One example of a specific likeness to Swift is the argument on page twenty-six that it is wrong to depict Ireland as a rich country when it is not, which is precisely the argument that Swift would make in 1726 in *A Short View*

<sup>100</sup> Refer: 30 October 1714, Swift to Arthur Langford: DW Letter 362, vol. ii, 92, and note 2, at 93; 5 December 1721, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 554, vol. ii, 404, and note 6, at 405.

<sup>101</sup> A1, 156.

<sup>102</sup> A1, 161; A1, 170.

<sup>103</sup> Ferguson, 68 – 69.

<sup>104</sup> Ryder, 571.

<sup>105</sup> Armer, 120.

<sup>106</sup> 5 December 1721, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 554, vol. ii, 404.

<sup>107</sup> A2, 17; *PW*, ix, 303.

of the *State of Ireland*.<sup>108</sup> Another is the reverse scenario presented with respect to the bank on page eight, which is a strategy that Swift would employ in the third *Letter* of the Drapier and more than once in the fourth. But almost every paragraph from page twelve onwards has Swift's distinctive ring, as seen in the fact that this *Answer* veers away from the straight matters of regulations, finance and trade that had been Maxwell's principal subjects, and argues instead: that a bank has the potential to enrich Catholics and thereby offer the Pretender an avenue for invasion; that the directors would not hold themselves immune from bribery and corruption; and that because Ireland is a dependent kingdom, the bank would be turned to England's advantage. Unlike Maxwell, this *Answer* is written with an individualistic tone and a strain of invective towards the other side.

The supporters of the bank must have been bemused by the way "Rowley" ended his letter by seeking pardon for any inadvertent errors, "but as I have no Reputation to lose as an Author, and am not desirous of acquiring any, I shall not make any further Apology... Your Affectionate Uncle, Sincere Friend And Servant, HERCULES ROWLEY".<sup>109</sup> Rowley might never have had any reputation as an author, but the pamphlet written in reply to his *Answer* ensured that he lost reputation generally. This next pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Gentlemen of the Landed Interest in Ireland, related to a bank*, was again printed for the supporters of the bank by Aaron Rhames.<sup>110</sup> No author's name appears on this pamphlet, but it was thought to have been written by Dr Francis Hutchinson, Bishop of Downe and member of the House of Lords.<sup>111</sup> Despite the provocation given by "Rowley's" *Answer*, it is a balanced and well-reasoned work that takes "Rowley" to task. Referring to the *Answer's* "Chimerical Objections", its "vain Frights", the "unfair and uncertain Weapons" it calls upon and its "Objections that destroy all Faith in Men",<sup>112</sup> several of "Rowley's" arguments are turned against him to demonstrate hypocrisy and gaps in his thinking. The *Letter* is intent, moreover, on illustrating that Hercules Rowley had, at best, been only a part-author of the *Letter*. This is alluded to as early as page four, and as the *Letter* progresses, it directly addresses the issue of the inconsistencies in content and style of "Rowley's" work. Likening the work to a bank to which

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<sup>108</sup> A3, 26.

<sup>109</sup> A4, 66, page 51.

<sup>110</sup> A4, 68.

<sup>111</sup> Refer the ESTC comments.

<sup>112</sup> A4, 68, pages 4, 5, and 7.

many people had subscribed, the *Letter* says that the critics are left to guess which part was written by whom:

The Gentleman-like Strokes and Civility [in the *Answer*], they attribute to Mr. Rowley's known Candour and Probity; but the bold Accusations of the *English* Parliament, and the dreadful Consequences with which the Mob is frighted, they attribute to some zealous Pen, that is angry and discontented....  
He that suggests so much of Bribery, Villaines and Corruption, is some peevish Hater of Mankind, whilst he who Compliments the present Managers, can be no Other than Mr. Rowley.<sup>113</sup>

This becomes a recurring theme, with the *Letter* near its end saying of one lurid line from the *Answer*, that the words used are “so unlike his [Rowley's] Character and Behaviour on all proper Occasions, that I cannot think them the Result of his own Thoughts”.<sup>114</sup>

Swift then wrote his first tract specifically on the subject. It did not carry his name, of course, but it did not need to. Printed by Harding, it was a short publication that was spiteful and seemingly retaliatory for the treatment “Rowley” had met with in the *Letter*. An official list of the intended subscribers to the bank had been printed and posted around the town. This listed the subscribers alphabetically. Swift took this as his cue for a short tract setting out how many subscribers belonged to each societal rank and station. Designed to show how few of the subscribers were people of rank or title, it was entitled *Subscribers to the Bank Plac'd according to Their Order and Quality with Notes and Queries*.<sup>115</sup> It does not give any names. Instead, it simply lists the rank with the number of people holding that rank given alongside. To give the first example:

NOBILITY.				
Arch Bishops	..	..	..	0
Marquisses	..	..	..	0
Earls	..	..	..	0
Viscounts	..	..	..	3
Barons	..	..	..	1
Bishops	..	..	..	2
French Baron	..	..	..	1

<sup>113</sup> A4, 68, page 17.

<sup>114</sup> A4, 68, page 29.

<sup>115</sup> A2, 15.

Similar lists follow under headings for GENTRY, CLERGY, WOMEN and TRADERS.<sup>116</sup> These lists are interspersed with some “Notes and Queries”, such as one making the observation how little of Ireland’s land is owned by the subscribers. Another notes that many of the subscribers go by “Esquire”, when in fact their qualifications for that title are questionable and it should be for the King at Arms to determine who are real Esquires and who are reputed Esquires only. In its calculations of the numbers of subscribers belonging to each rank, the tract was accurate. As Bishop Nicolson said, Swift’s observations “are generally believ’d to be as true as they are biting”.<sup>117</sup> But it was a tract that in no way addressed the issues in the debate and was, needless to say, incendiary.

The supporters of the bank then compiled a short tract of their own in which they did their best to reciprocate. Entitled *The Bank of Ireland’s Answer to the Author of the Notes and Queries about Subscribers to the same. By way of Queries upon Queries*, it answers Swift’s queries with a set of its own,<sup>118</sup> enumerated one through sixteen. The queries pry into Swift’s motives for writing the material, as with the first: “Is the Author a Citizen or a Countryman; whether he Scribbles for pence in Town, or Enveighs against the Bank for want of Money, or Money Security to put into it?” and the third: “Do’s the suppos’d Author put Cyphers to the Miter, because perhaps the Fall of a White Staff broke his hopes of wearing one seven Years ago?” These queries ask why Swift should give such offense whilst himself remaining unseen, as with the second: “Is this Author any Bird or a night Bird, or what time of the Year is he to be met with?” And the fourteenth: “Why does not this Author put his name to his Paper; or whether he be not asham’d of his Performance?”

Harding is also drawn in. The fourth query asks: “Is the suppos’d Printer a real Printer, or a dispenser of Pye; Some body, or no body, or a John o’ Stiles in the Clouds,<sup>119</sup> seen no where but at the tail of a Street Ballad?” And the fifth: “Do’s the Author think to escape Scot free if an English half Crown can tempt his Printer to discover him?” The queries relating to Harding do not represent the strongest part of this tract’s argument. To the extent that the supporters of the bank were questioning why Swift would work with such a lowly-regarded

<sup>116</sup> Ferguson says that one mistake in Swift’s lists is the omission of the bank’s most prominent supporter, James Hamilton, Lord Abercorn, because the number for the category of Lords is zero: 71 & note 52. But Armer corrects Ferguson, saying that Abercorn was otherwise Viscount Strabane, and he is included in that category: 81 and 144 – 145.

<sup>117</sup> Nicolson to Wake, 6 January 1722: quoted in Ferguson, 66.

<sup>118</sup> A4, 67.

<sup>119</sup> “John o’ Stiles” was a general pseudonym for a lawless figure: *OED*.

printer, the answer was self-evident in the very document they were complaining of – no one else in Dublin, other than perhaps Carter and Waters, would have had the audacity to print it. And if their motive was to cast a reflection on Swift for his choice of printer, in the case of their tract detailing these sixteen queries, they lacked credibility because that tract had itself been printed for them by a disreputable Tory. Aaron Rhames, the stationer who had produced their previous pamphlets, had presumably refused to publish material that descended to this level of vitriol, and they had resorted to Carter, the entrepreneurial Tory who would print anything if it promised a return.<sup>120</sup> The treatment of Harding aside, this tract represented a concerted effort on the part of the supporters of the bank to hurl some acrimony at Swift, even though Swift soon afterwards showed that the effort had been in vain.

Swift's next tract, *A Letter from a Lady in Town to her Friend in the Country, Concerning the Bank. Or, The List of the Subscribers farther Explain'd*, is for the most part a more artful contribution to the debate. Written as a dialogue between a Lady and a Lord, where that dialogue is set forth by the Lady in a letter to her friend in the country, the Lady's letter relates how she came to town intending to deposit her money in the new bank she had heard of, only to be dissuaded by the reasons articulated by this Lord. But showing no remorse for the affront he had given in *Subscribers to the Bank*, in the *Letter from a Lady in Town*, Swift pressed the point further, with the Lady explaining that while in town she came across a printed paper which ranked the subscribers according to their classes:

I took Paines to examine that Paper very carefully by the *Original List*, and found it in every article a *Notorious Truth*, but not the whole Truth, for the Author hath Omitted.

One *French* Corn-Cutter,  
One *French* Drawer,  
One Deal-Merchant,  
One *French* Apothecary,  
One *Anabaptist* Clothier,  
One Barrack-Master,  
One Butcher,  
One Agent's-Clerk,

Besides several *South-Seaers* and *Mississippians*.<sup>121</sup>

Harding published this *Letter from a Lady in Town* on 9 December (it was advertised in his *WTNL* as published that day).

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<sup>120</sup> For another tract on the bank printed by Carter: A4, 69. On Carter's involvement in the bank controversy: Armer, 112 – 113.

<sup>121</sup> A2, 17, page 2.

As was too often the case with Harding, this period of pamphleteering on the bank did not end well for him. During this time, he also printed three works by authors other than Swift. The first of these he published without incident. Entitled *A Letter to the King at Arms. From a Reputed Esquire, One of the Subscribers to the Bank*,<sup>122</sup> and written by Sheridan, this work expands upon Swift's query in *Subscribers to the Bank* as to whether the subscribers were real or reputed Esquires. The second was entitled *A Strange Collection of May-Be's Fully Answered and Cleared Up. By a Subscriber and Well-Wisher to the Bank*,<sup>123</sup> and was written by an unknown author. This tract, which is ambivalent as to whether it supports the bank or not and does not "answer and clear up" as its title declares, was also published by Harding without incident. But on 9 December, Harding printed as a one-page folio, *The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Bank of Ireland Which was Executed at College-Green, on Saturday the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst.*<sup>124</sup> Also written by an unknown author, this is a tract in which the bank (or the *proposal* for the bank) is personified and is giving its last speech before going to the gallows. However, insofar as the title implies that the speech will be one of remorse as the bank seeks forgiveness, this is misleading. The speech is one of protest, vigorously making the point that a mistake had been made and casting blame in various directions. It is the only known instance of Harding having produced a publication that represented a Whig point of view.

Proving that trouble was his destiny, Harding was prosecuted and imprisoned by the House of Commons for this publication. The *Journals* of the House of Commons described it as "a false, scandalous and malicious Libel, highly reflecting on the Justice and Honour of the House".<sup>125</sup> Which particular part of the speech answers that description is unclear. Armer suggests it is the comment where the bank attributes its downfall in part to the "Pique" of "the Benches and their friends" in not having been consulted,<sup>126</sup> although who this refers to is not clear. Another possibility is that the offending passage is that which charges the kingdom with lacking sense and good judgement. Either way, on 10 December, Harding was ordered

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<sup>122</sup> A2, 12. This was contemporaneously thought to be Swift's and some commentators have in varying degrees agreed: Davis, *DL*, 201, and *PIW*, ix, xx; Armer, 148 – 150; and Degategno and Stubblefield, 216. But Ferguson would appear to be right in saying it is Sheridan's: 71 – 72. Also relevant is Swift's own comment from shortly after this time: "Mr. Sheridan sometimes entertains the World and I pay for all": 13 March 1722, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 560, vol. ii, 416.

<sup>123</sup> A2, 13.

<sup>124</sup> A2, 19.

<sup>125</sup> *JHCI* vol. III, 290. For comment, refer also: Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 223.

<sup>126</sup> Armer, 170 – 171. In support of this Armer cites Malcolm Dillon, *History and Development of Banking in Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London, 1889, 41.

into custody. Ensuring that the money he made during this period was lost, he would also have been fined. The Commons, however, may have had a hidden motive in this prosecution. This is seen in the fact that, in addition to arresting Harding, they established a Committee to enquire into the identity of the author. In 1725, the House of Lords would prosecute Sarah Harding for a publication they *believed* to have been written by Swift (this will be discussed later). This action by the House of Commons in December 1721 might have been similarly motivated. Even though the speech itself does not reflect Swift's views, the members of the Commons might have suspected that he was reversing his hand to embarrass them, and such a suspicion would have been furthered by the fact that the printer was Harding.<sup>127</sup> Alternatively, the Commons might simply have been seeking retribution against Harding – Swift's agent – for the offence given by *Subscribers to the Bank* and *Letter from a Lady in Town*. Indeed, Harding could conceivably have been coerced by the author of the *Speech*, who was a supporter the bank and possibly a member of the Commons, into publishing this tract (which as a Whig tract represents an exception in Harding's career) for the express purpose of giving the Commons the opportunity to punish him.

How long Harding was imprisoned for on this occasion is not known. He might have spent Christmas 1721 in the Black Dog. If Harding was in prison during December, the final work Swift wrote on the subject of the bank cannot have been produced by him. This was *The Bank Thrown Down. To an Excellent New Tune*,<sup>128</sup> a song of eleven stanzas that mocked the proposal whilst celebrating its defeat. It carried the usual John Harding imprint, but if Harding was in prison it must have been printed by someone else in his shop – probably his wife. The Number of his *WINL* for 23 December, too, has been pressed more lightly, suggesting it is the printing work of someone else.

Swift had prevailed, but it seems fair to say that if there was one episode where he owed it to his adversaries to put his name to the material he wrote, this was it. The closest he came to admitting his authorship of these tracts concerned with the bank came three years later during the controversy of the halfpence. His *Letter to Middleton* was purported to be written under his own name – even though it was signed only “J.S.” and those initials were afterwards

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<sup>127</sup> The possibility of it having been believed to have been Swift's at the time finds support in Herbert Davis, who classified the work as one “Attributed to Swift and his friends”: *PW*, ix, vi, 306 – 307. More recently, Paul Baines has considered it to possibly have been written by Swift: Paul Baines: ‘Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*. Reading the Ephemeral Text’, *Swift Studies*, 28 (2013), 78 – 95, at 88.

<sup>128</sup> A2, 18.

blotted out on the manuscript<sup>129</sup> – and during the course of this *Letter to Middleton* he assumed credit for the defeat of the bank.<sup>130</sup>

### A Possible Visit to the Harding Printing House

The next work Harding is known to have produced for Swift was a hoax Last Speech of a condemned criminal, and an examination of the period in which this tract was produced discloses evidence of close co-operation between the author and the printer, including the possibility of a visit by Swift to the Harding shop. The subject of the work was Ebenezer Elliston. A thief in and around Dublin for the previous few years,<sup>131</sup> in the spring of 1722, Elliston was tried and found guilty of stealing a counsellor's mare and ordered to be hanged at St. Stephen's Green on 2 May. During the period preceding the execution, a Last Speech of Elliston made its way to either Harding or Elizabeth Sadlier. This seemingly genuine Last Speech of Elliston, *The Last Farewell of Ebenezer Elliston To this Transitory World*, had been written by himself or possibly written by a priest in the prison on his behalf.<sup>132</sup> It was "Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fish-shamble Street for Elizabeth Sadlier in School-House Lane near High Street",<sup>133</sup> and was on sale at St. Stephen's Green on 2 May. Four days before the execution, however, Harding declared that another 'Last Speech' would be published. In his *INL* for 28 April he stated: "The last and true Speech of Ebenezer Ellison will be Printed by the Printer hereof (containing several Things for the Common Good) and by no other in this City".<sup>134</sup> As it came to pass, then, there were two Last Speeches of Elliston – *The Last Farewell*, which was seemingly genuine, and *The Last and True Speech*, which was Swift's hoax.

<sup>129</sup> Faulkner reported: "I could discover his Name subscribed at the End of the Original, although blotted out by some other Hand": (Faulkner 1735, iv, 183), but how a blotting out can be discerned to have been done by another hand is not clear.

<sup>130</sup> *Letter to Middleton*, in Faulkner 1735, iv, 199; *PW*, x, 108. (On the question of what in fact influenced the outcome of the bank issue, opinions amongst the commentators previously cited vary).

<sup>131</sup> In 1720 Elliston had confessed to twenty-four robberies but had been freed after informing on his fellow gang members, who were subsequently executed on the strength of his evidence. Refer: *Whalley's News-Letter*, 5 March 1720; also Ferguson, 78, note 72.

<sup>132</sup> Last Speeches were often written by the prison chaplain. For instance, the Ordinary of London's Newgate, Paul Lorrain, wrote many and was referred to by Pope and Bolingbroke in a letter to Swift of December 1725 as "the great historiographer": see McCue, 'A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIII, (1959), 362; Temple Scott, vii, 34 n.

<sup>133</sup> A2, 21.

<sup>134</sup> In this advertisement as well as in *The Last and True Speech* itself, Harding mis-spells 'Elliston' as 'Ellison.'



Swift's *The Last and True Speech* was almost certainly inspired by having read the genuine *Last Farewell*. This is because of a few similarities in structure, and principally because of a particular idea that is central to *The Last and True Speech* and which Swift appears to have taken from *The Last Farewell*. In the *Last Farewell*, Elliston refers to the many accomplices he has had over the years, saying: "I have no reason to Publish the names of the Persons who was concern'd with me in several Roberies, only leave them to the mercy of God, hoping that he in his own time may give them a true sence of their sins and folly before it be too late". Swift's *The Last and True Speech* takes this one step further. It presents Elliston as a remorseful criminal doing one last good deed. "Elliston" says he has put the names and addresses of all of his accomplices on a document and left that document in the keeping of an honest man, and that honest man has instructions, that should any one person on that list be caught for committing another crime, he is to hand the entire list over to the authorities for every person listed there to be prosecuted for their previous crimes.<sup>135</sup> A consensus of commentators is of the opinion that the development of this idea from *The Last Farewell* to *The Last and True Speech* is not a coincidence and that Swift can only have written the latter with the former in front of him. George P. Mayhew at one point suggests that Swift could have written *The Last and True Speech* without having seen *The Last Farewell*.<sup>136</sup> Elsewhere in his article, though, he says that Swift might have seen it.<sup>137</sup> Valerie Rumbold also states that Swift might have seen it,<sup>138</sup> whilst Paul Baines and particularly Oliver Ferguson are more definite in their respective claims that Swift wrote *The Last and True Speech* with the aid of *The Last Farewell*.<sup>139</sup>

As to how Swift came to see *The Last Farewell* before writing *The Last and True Speech*, one possibility is the straightforward one that *The Last Farewell* was published sufficiently in advance of the execution to allow time for Swift to obtain a copy, write his hoax and have it printed before 2 May. The other possibility, though, is that Swift obtained a proof copy of *The*

<sup>135</sup> When he reprinted this tract in 1735, Faulkner said that this trick by Swift was to good effect, with "very few Robberies of that kind" committed in the fifteen years since: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 375; refer also: Orrery, *Remarks*, 201-2; Walter Scott, i, 283; and McCue, 'A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*', op. cit., 362. But Mayhew doubts the veracity of Faulkner's claim: 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', in A. Norman Jeffares, ed., *Fair Liberty Was All His Cry: A Tercentenary Tribute to Jonathan Swift*, London, 1967, 290 – 310, 303 – 304; and is supported in that view by Paul Baines: 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text*', op. cit., at 89, 90.

<sup>136</sup> 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., 294, 303.

<sup>137</sup> 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., 296.

<sup>138</sup> *Cambridge Swift Vol. 2*, 201, 680.

<sup>139</sup> Ferguson, 76 and note 68, 78 – 79; Baines, 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text*', op. cit., 78 – 79 and note 5.

*Last Farewell*. Oliver Ferguson speculates that this may have been the case. Paul Baines also says Harding “probably gave him [Swift] prior access” to it.<sup>140</sup> Because there appears not to have been enough time for *The Last Farewell* to have been written and published before the composition of *The Last and True Speech*, the evidence supports this view. Elliston had been convicted of his crime on Wednesday 25 April. Accordingly, it would appear that the earliest possible date by which *The Last Farewell* can have been written and published was Friday 27 April. Harding’s advertisement for his upcoming *The Last and True Speech*, however, appears in his INL for 28 April. This shows that Harding either had the manuscript of *The Last and True Speech* in his possession by that time, or was on notice of receiving it, and he certainly had it by Monday 30 April, because Swift left Dublin for a journey to the north no later than that day.<sup>141</sup> These matters in my view give rise to a reasonably high probability that Swift received an advance copy of *The Last Farewell* from Harding.

If Swift did receive an advance copy from Harding, this alone supports my proposition that the Swift–Harding working relationship was well-established with efficient modes of communication by this time. However, Ferguson goes a step further by speculating that Swift might have obtained an advance copy in the course of a visit to Harding.<sup>142</sup> There is no substantive evidence to support this, but it is in my view a credible hypothesis. Firstly, it is not easy to envision how Swift might have obtained an advance copy by any other means. It seems unlikely that a part of the Swift–Harding association included regularly sending advance materials to the deanery. This would have been an impractical way for Harding to conduct his business. And the only other possibility is that Swift’s messenger asked Harding for any publications of interest, with Harding then handing over an advance copy of *The Last Farewell*, but this too seems unlikely. There are also separate circumstances that support the possibility of a visit. One concerns the fact that only five weeks before this time, Swift’s footman, Alexander Magee (“Saunders”), had died at age twenty-nine, and Swift, reportedly affected by his death,<sup>143</sup> might have taken to running an occasional errand to Harding himself. Then there

<sup>140</sup> Ferguson, 76 and note 68; Baines, ‘Swift’s *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*: Reading the Ephemeral Text’, op. cit, 78 (also page 85, and another comment assuming it as fact on page 84).

<sup>141</sup> Refer: June 1722, Miss Esther Vanhomrigh to Swift: DW Letter 564 and note 1, vol. ii, 422, 424; also: Ball, *Correspondence*, vol. iii, 131.

<sup>142</sup> Ferguson, 76.

<sup>143</sup> Swift composed an inscription in Saunders’ honour, which remains in the south transept of St. Patrick’s. Swift reportedly wanted to describe Saunders in that inscription as his “friend”, but was dissuaded: see Delany, *Observations*, 132; and refer also: Williams, *Correspondence*, ii, 422 – 423, note 5; and DW Letter 560, note 8, vol. ii, 417. On Swift’s affection for Saunders: Lyon, *Materials for a Life of Dr. Swift* [in Nichols 1776 *Supplement Volume Two*, 395]; Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 458 – 459; Elias, ‘Swift’s Don Quixote, Dunkin’s Virgil Travesty,

is the issue associated with some of the language Swift used in *The Last and True Speech*. Walter Scott and Mayhew have been impressed with Swift's versatility and adeptness with criminal jargon in this work, such as in his knowledge of the small amounts remaining to thieves after portions of stolen monies are given to tapsters, whores, inn-keepers and fences, and in his familiarity with expressions such as "Setters", "to go Snacks with", and "to get a Booty". Mayhew goes as far as to say that Swift's language in this work betrays "a psychological insight [into the criminal world] worthy of Milton's Satan".<sup>144</sup> This knowledge on Swift's part could be attributable to his having studied relevant printed sources. Criminal cant of this kind had been published from as early as Robert Greene's *Black Bookes Messenger* of 1592,<sup>145</sup> and *A new dictionary of the terms ancient and modern of the canting crew in its several tribes of Gypsies, beggars, thieves, cheats, &c.*, had been published in London in 1699.<sup>146</sup> But Swift also had a rich source of knowledge in this field available to him in the form of his printer, and could have obtained it from him in the course of a visit to the printing house. It must certainly be considered a coincidence that Swift wrote a work containing this language at the same time as having received, in all probability, an advance copy of *The Last Farewell*.

Harding published *The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*<sup>147</sup> on the eve or on the actual day of the execution. He was in the enviable and possibly unprecedented position of selling two competing "Last Speeches" at an execution, and is sure to have been present at St. Stephen's Green to co-ordinate business on the day. The speech "Printed by John Harding... For Elizabeth Sadlier" was genuine, and the one "Printed by John Harding" was a hoax, although when fielding questions from the crowd Harding no doubt shifted the blame to his mother-in-law.

#### Possible Comment from Swift in a Harding Newspaper

It is known that during the course of the controversy of the halfpence in 1724, Swift on a few occasions sent Harding copy to be printed in his newspapers (these will be discussed later). Given that their association began in the spring of 1721, however, there could have

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and Other New Intelligence: John Lyon's 'Materials for a Life of Dr. Swift', *Swift Studies*, 13, (1998), 27 – 104, 93 – 94.

<sup>144</sup> Mayhew, 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., 306.

<sup>145</sup> Refer: Baines, 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*: Reading the Ephemeral Text', op. cit, 90, 92 – 93.

<sup>146</sup> A4, 6.

<sup>147</sup> A2, 22.

been earlier instances of this practice, and there are several short passages or snippets of verse in Harding's newspapers from this time that are well-written and have a turn that is not uncharacteristic of Swift. Examples include the *Poem* and *Answer* concerning the placing of a statue of King George on the water of the Liffey in the *INL* for 21 July 1722, and the comment concerning the wealth of the Whig, Stephen Ram, in the *WINL* for 30 March 1723. But one passage which in my view is of particular interest in this regard appeared in Harding's *INL* for 29 September 1722. This passage concerns Swift's friend, Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who was preparing for trial for his role in the Jacobite plot involving Christopher Layer. The issue discussed in this passage is whether Atterbury should be tried by his Peers in the English House of Lords, who were likely to convict, or by an ordinary jury. It is printed within the Number's "London News" and is not a reprint from the foreign packets. Neither is this passage known to have appeared in any other Dublin newspaper. It is original copy, printed only by the Harding press:

The Publick being divided in Opinions as to the manner of trying the Bishop of Rochester, we take the Liberty to inform our Readers of our apprehensions relating to that matter.

Tis the Priviledge of all Englishmen to be Try'd by their Peers: But the Question is, Whether a Bishop be such a Peer of the Realm as Entitles him to be Try'd by the Peers or Lords of Parliament? The solve this Doubt it will be proper to Reflect, that one may [possess] a Title of Nobility by *Creation*, *Descent*, *Prescription*, or *Succession*: By *Creation*, either by Writ or Letters Patents: By *Descent*, as when Nobility comes down from the Ancestor, and is enjoy'd by Right of Blood: By *Prescription*, as those that have continued Barons beyond the Memory of Man: By *Succession*, and these are the Bishops, who, by Virtue of ancient Baronies held by the King, (into which the Possessions of their Bishopricks have been converted) are called by Writ to Parliament, have always had a place in the Upper House, and are called *Lords Spiritual*. The Temporal Possessions of Bishops are held by their Service to attend in Parliament, when called; and that is in the Nature of Barony: But though the Bishops are Barons, and are Lords of Parliament, and are called by the King's Writ, and have a Vote there, yet they shall not be Try'd by the Peers, (unless Impeach'd by the Commons) because they do not sit in Parliament by Reason of their Nobility, but by Reason of their Baronies, which they hold in Right of the Church, as some Abbots did heretofore; and yet were not to be Try'd by the Peers, but by a Jury. Bishops are to be Try'd by the County, i.e., by a Jury, for that they are not of the Degree of the Nobility.

The commentator, T.F. Sherry, refers to this passage in the course of an article discussing Harding's prominence amongst the Tory stationers in Dublin in the early 1720's, and Sherry suggests that the passage was written by Harding himself.<sup>148</sup> But although Harding was a wordsmith in his own way, his talents were on the street level and are unlikely to have

<sup>148</sup> T.F. Sherry, 'The Present Horrid Conspiracy: Dublin Press Coverage of Two Political Trials in the Early 1720's', *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, iv, (1989), 143 – 157, 156.

extended to legal nuances such as those discussed here. This raises the possibility of the passage having been copy provided by Swift. The passage is not as sharp or polished as Swift's best prose, but it nonetheless resembles his style in some respects. Atterbury, moreover, was on Swift's mind around this time, as seen in his letter to Robert Cope of 9 October 1722, where he refers to Atterbury's difficulties in the opening lines.<sup>149</sup> And Swift would have been aware that copies of Harding's newspapers, like all Dublin newspapers, were sent to London.<sup>150</sup> Certainly, at the time Harding printed this passage, Swift was not in Dublin.<sup>151</sup> He had been in the north of Ireland for a few months, and around the period that Harding printed this passage, he was at Sheridan's estate at Quilca. But this does not preclude Swift having sent the copy from Quilca to Dublin by messenger (as he would do with the manuscript of *Humble Address* in 1725). Whether this particular passage was written by Swift or not, though, the Harding newspapers from April 1721 onwards represent a potentially fruitful source of as yet undiscovered Swift writings.

### The Incurable Harding

It might be thought that coming into a working association with Swift might curb a stationer's errant ways. Such an association might instil a renewed sense of righteousness or moral purpose, and might restrain and straighten the stationer a little. This was not the case with Harding. Having begun working with Swift in April 1721, Harding to some extent became a stationer of increased stature who commanded more respect. This is seen in his production of the eminent work, *A history of the lives and reigns of the Kings of Scotland*, written by William Duncan and published by Harding in July 1722<sup>152</sup> (indicating that he probably received the assignment for this work not long after the beginning of his association with Swift). But throughout 1721, 1722 and 1723, Harding's Tory recklessness grew to successive new heights. Perhaps emboldened all the more by the publicity he received as a John o' Stiles,

<sup>149</sup> 9 October 1722, Swift to Robert Cope: DW Letter 569, vol. ii, 431.

<sup>150</sup> Refer: Kennedy, 'Reading Print, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 154.

<sup>151</sup> Swift would return to Dublin on 7 or 8 October: 9 October 1722, Swift to Robert Cope: DW Letter 569, vol. ii, 431. Refer also: McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, op. cit., 89 – 90; Ferguson, 76; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 131; Fabricant, 220 – 221.

<sup>152</sup> A2, 25. It would be advertised in his *INL* for 14 July 1722 as about to be published. (Munter incorrectly ascribes this publication to 1721: *Dictionary*, 127). Starratt describes this publication as "a very creditable specimen of typography": 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 1 – 40, 23 note.

he was, as Robert Munter described him, an “incorrigible antagonist” and “the only Tory journalist who made no effort to mask his political allegiance”.<sup>153</sup>

Firstly, Harding assumed the mantle of the Tory aggressor in the printed warfare with the Whig stationers. With Carter having led the way in this regard during the previous decade, for a young Tory like Harding it was a rite of passage to lock horns with the Whigs in the industry, and he took to the task with relish. The arch-Whig, John Whalley, was now in the twilight of his career,<sup>154</sup> yet he remained an almanac writer, prognosticator, newspaper publisher and a fundamentalist in his anti-Catholic stance. Harding parodied Whalley, in particular with respect to his prognostication, in his newspapers as well as in independent publications. No copies of these parodies survive, but one was good enough to provoke Whalley. Entitled *Doctor Whealy's Prophecy* and printed for Harding by Elizabeth Sadlier, Whalley responded in his *News-Letter* for 21 December 1721:

In my Almanack for this Year (now near Expiring) I acquainted my Readers, That it afforded in all no less than six *Eclipses*, viz, 3 of the Sun and 3 of the Moon of which two only wou'd be Visible to us, The first of the Visible was of the Sun of which I gave my thoughts formerly and was Counterfeited by that Common Rapp of the *Press* John Harding who for his Scandalous and Lying Weekly News-Papers is forc'd to Skulk and Hide himself from the Messengers of both Houses of the Lords and Commons, and whose *Mother-in-Law* wanted not Impudence, the last Week to Publish a Fraudulent Paper by the Title of *Doctor Whealy's Prophecy*, which I declaim and disown as a Fraudulent Imposition on the Publick, which I desire my Readers to take Notice.

Harding responded two days later in his *WINL* for 23 December by reminding Whalley of his days as a cobbler in London: “*Without consulting cobbling Whalley or his Pretended Lady's Stars, either in the Pantry or Closet, I'll boldly say by the 28<sup>th</sup> of March next I shall be better able to give my Readers more Satisfaction out of One Packet, than I can now out of Five*”. The following month, Harding shifted his sights to three almanac makers and three Whig printers, all six of whom he defamed in the space of two paragraphs. The almanac makers were Whalley, John Coates and a Frenchman by the name of Laboissire, whilst the printers were three who were new on the Dublin scene: Abraham Thiboust, James Watts and one other, who were joint publishers of a Whig newspaper, *The Dublin Mercury*. These paragraphs appeared consecutively in Harding's *WINL* for 12 January 1723:

By Letters from the North of Ireland, there is an Account, that on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December last between the Hours of Twelve and One at Night, such strange Sight

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<sup>153</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 147 – 148.

<sup>154</sup> He died on 17 January 1724. See Hume's *Dublin Courant* for the following day. Madden is mistaken in saying he died in 1729: i, 239.

were seen in the Air, as have not been known for many Years past, such as the Resemblance of Flaming Swords, Armies drawn in Battle Array, Stramers of Light descending from the midst of the Firmament, that caused such Brightness as the smallest Pins might have been taken from the Ground by the Light thereof. All which signs and Tokens of the Heavens, can't but Presage somewhat more than common, which I shall leave to Time to bring forth. And if any Credit cou'd be given to some of our *Starry Interpreters*, this will certainly be a Year of *Wonders*. But this I will affirm; that *Rats* will Prognosticate the Ruin of a Kingdom with more Certainty than the best of them; For Instance, (which is certainly matter of Fact) Old *Whalley* being once Consulted to discover a Thief, could not discover who had shit at his own Door. All I can say of *Coats* is; That all his Predictions are Calculated for every *Meridian*, and are as much Truth to the *Turks* as to the understanding Part of the *Christians*. As for *Laboissire*, he has one Foot in the Grave, and the other just following, so that he is like to Descend from the Heavens to a lower Sphere.

Whereas there are *Three Strange* animals living next Door to the sign of the Head with Horns in *Big Ship Street*; the *First* a *Spawn* of a *French Refugee*; the *next* a *Runaway* Printice-Boy, and the *Third* the *Litter* of a *Sow*, viz., a *Pig*, who under the false Names of *Printers*, have the Impudence to Impose on the Publick, with false and old News, as their last *Thursday's* Letter plainly testifies: Therefore this is to Caution the Publick to beware of such *Counterfeits* for the future.

Thiboust, Watts and their other Whig partner then paid Harding the compliment of a lengthy reply in their *Dublin Mercury* for 15 January.

On Saturday the 12<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, Mr. Harding was pleas'd to publish in his News-Letter, a scurrilous Invective against the Printers of this Paper, incerting therein, that we faisted on the Town false News, (a Practice which the Publick are sensible he is notoriously guilty of, and for which he has lain under the Displeasure of the Government), which serve only to shew the Impertinence, Ignorance, Impudence and Malice of the Author; with other scurrilous Invectives, so ridiculous, that we do not think 'em worth our Notice. We shall not therefore trouble our Readers with a long Discourse in our Vindication, being persuaded, that the Candid will plainly see the Drift of the Author, and therefore take no Heed of any thing that shall proceed from the wild *Caprino's* of a Fellow of so mean Reputation, and who confess'd some time since, in his own News-Letter, that he was try'd at the King's Bench-Bar, for picking the Pocket of a certain Person in this Town, of a Pocket-Book with Cash Notes in it; for which Crime, had he not had better luck than Honest Men, he would have receiv'd a due Reward.<sup>155</sup>

And so the pleasantries continued. With his Tory confidence impregnable, Harding launched upon Whalley again in his *Dublin Journal* for 29 March 1722, and yet again in his *INL* for 3 April 1722:

All Persons that are willing to Read Truth, or fresh News, are desir'd to shun cobbling John Whalley's News-Letter, for neither the one or the other is ever to be found in

<sup>155</sup> On the same day that this response appeared, 15 January, Harding repeated his "Three Strange animals" passage in his *WINL*.

them, they being always set Two or Three Days before the Packets arrive, nay sometimes a whole Week. Probatum est.

Whilst never descending to threats of violence – as the exchanges between Carter and Whalley had previously – this kind of material shows that the “liberty of the press”, as it was understood to apply between rival stationers, knew few limits. It was also the kind of copy that sold newspapers, and for Harding all publicity was good publicity.

During these years, Harding even took chances in his association with Swift. I discussed earlier the tract *The Present Miserable State of Ireland*, published under Sarah Harding’s name in September or October 1721, including my hypothesis that the Hardings changed the initials on the letter in the tract from “S.T.” to “J.S.” for the purposes of attracting sales while knowing that Swift might not be pleased with their actions. A similar incident occurred in early 1723. In February that year, a work entitled *SERIOUS and Cleanly Meditations on a House of Office; by CATO for the good of his Country, Dedicated to the Goldfinders of Great Britain. To which is added, The Bog-house, a Poem, in Imitation of Milton*, was published in London under the fictitious imprint “A. Moor”.<sup>156</sup> The first part of the publication, which is in prose, is a meditation on the experiences of defecating in a public toilet, complete with reproductions of some choice poetic compositions found on toilet walls. The poem complements this with analysis of the same necessities undergone in country settings. The prose dissertation is written under the pseudonym “CATO” and the poem is anonymous, but both imitate Swift and are intended to give the impression of having been written by him. When this publication came to Dublin and made its way to the Harding printing house, Harding announced in his *WTNL* for 5 March 1723: “On Thursday next will be Publish’d, *SERIOUS and Cleanly Meditations on a House of Office; by CATO for the good of his Country, Dedicated to the Goldfinders of Great Britain. To which is added, The Bog-house, a Poem, in Imitation of Milton. By D---n Sw---t*”.<sup>157</sup> Why Harding did this, like the corresponding incident with *The Present Miserable State of Ireland*, is a matter for speculation. But it is submitted that this conduct is typical of Harding. Maybe he naïvely thought that Swift, his patron, would indulge him and let it pass. Or maybe he did it with no care with respect to his association with Swift. Either way, it is conduct that is consistent with the character of a stationer who pushed his luck at everything he turned his hand to (a quality that Swift for his own purposes needed in him). As it eventuated, a week later Harding again advertised the publication in his *WTNL*, but with the reference to Swift’s

<sup>156</sup> A4, 80. On the imprint “A. Moor”: Rogers, ‘The Phantom Moor’, *Bibliography Newsletter*, I, No. 11 (Nov. 1973), 9 – 10.

<sup>157</sup> Harding prints “**By D---n Sw---t**” in bold as reproduced here.



authorship omitted. This in my view is a reasonably clear indication that Harding had received an instruction from the deanery to remove it.<sup>158</sup> When Harding published the Dublin reprint itself, he left the title exactly as it was in the London original, with no mention of Swift.<sup>159</sup>

In the summer of 1723, Harding's Tory impudence saw him imprisoned for the longest term he would ever endure. Three years earlier, the Lords Justices had publicly notified publishers that the spreading of false rumours to the effect that the value of the currency would be raised, was unlawful, and because such rumours caused trade and economy to suffer, the Lords Justices warned that any publisher reporting such a matter would be prosecuted.<sup>160</sup> Notwithstanding this, as well as the generally known fact that the publishing of false news of any kind was considered a crime,<sup>161</sup> Harding reported in his *WINL* for 14 May 1723: "We hear a Proclamation will speedily be issued out for Raising the Gold Coin in this Kingdom". This was a bald-faced impertinence seemingly done for no other reason than to goad the establishment, and an order for his prosecution was issued by the Lords Justices and Privy Council on 17 May.<sup>162</sup> Harding went into hiding for a few weeks as notices appeared repeatedly in the Whig press advising of the prosecution and calling for his arrest,<sup>163</sup> and it is not clear when, precisely, he was taken up.

In late June, another offence was printed in Harding's *WINL*, when a Judges' Assize showing in which places and times Judges were scheduled to preside in the upcoming Trinity Term appeared in his *WINL* with errors showing the wrong judges in the wrong places and times.<sup>164</sup> This can only have been the work of Harding, who must have found a way to arrange

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<sup>158</sup> Intriguingly, the copy of the *WINL* for 5 March 1723 in the Gilbert Collection – being the Number which contains the reference, "By D---n Sw---t" – has a contemporary hand-written note at the top of the first page, "Lyes", with an arrow pointing overleaf where Harding's false advertisement is. The style of the hand-writing resembles Swift's, and Swift must of course be considered one of the people most likely to have made such a note.

<sup>159</sup> A2, 28.

<sup>160</sup> See Hume's *Dublin Courant* for 4 February 1720.

<sup>161</sup> On the criminal nature of printing false news: Munter, *HINP*, 190. On the value of gold in respect to the Irish economy of the time, see: JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 105; Ferguson, 87; Goodwin, 'Wood's Half-pence', *English Historical Review*, 51, (1936), 651; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 188, 192; and Kelly, 'Swift on money and economics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Christopher Fox, ed., Cambridge, 2003, 131.

<sup>162</sup> See *The Dublin Courant* for 25 May 1723.

<sup>163</sup> These notices were paid for by the government: see: "Account of secret service money, 11 June 1723", in Marsh's Library MS 3.1.1 (41). Refer also: Munter, *HINP*, 149, note 3; and JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 105 and note 12.

<sup>164</sup> I have not seen the Number of the *WINL* with the false assize, but it is reported in the *Dublin Courant* for each of 1 July and 10 July.

this whilst still avoiding the messengers. What better way to confound the authorities who were hunting him out, after all.

It would appear to have been late June or early July when he was eventually seized and imprisoned. James Woolley has surmised that he was not taken up until late November.<sup>165</sup> This is because, as James Woolley says, there is a surviving Number of Harding's *WTNL* for 16 November as well as a tract, *A Letter sent to a Member of Parliament setting forth the oppression the subjects of this kingdom lye under*, from November that year that carries the John Harding imprint.<sup>166</sup> However, there are also surviving Numbers of the *WTNL* for 28 and 31 December, and an imprisonment beginning only after that time does not correspond with Swift's description of this term as a "long confinement".<sup>167</sup> Harding, then, would probably have been imprisoned in late June or early July, and these three newspaper Numbers and this publication must have been produced by someone else in the Harding business, almost certainly Sarah Harding, possibly with the assistance of her mother, Elizabeth Sadlier.

Throughout this long period in prison, Harding could have spent time in any one or more of Dublin's four prisons: Newgate, the Black Dog, the Marshalsea or the Four Courts. The gaol-keeper of all three was a man by the name of John Hawkins. Having come into the position in May 1721 with a bribe to the outgoing keeper, Hawkins could transfer prisoners between the gaols. He was a brutal gaol-keeper who would extort money from his prisoners for every night's lodging as well as for food and drink. These and other expenses were forced upon the prisoners daily, and in the event of failure to pay, prisoners were known to be stripped, bashed and loaded in irons, or thrown naked into one of the prison "black holes". In the Black Dog, the black hole was a dungeon known as the Nunnery, a room that was reported to have a sewer running through it that occasionally overflowed. The equivalent in Newgate was called the Felons' Room. Hawkins, who is reported to have killed a man in ordinary life, was someone whom Harding would have known already from his previous stints in prison, and one year from this time there is every possibility that Hawkins had a hand in taking Harding's life.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 105 – 106.

<sup>166</sup> A2, 31.

<sup>167</sup> A2, 37. See Image 9.

<sup>168</sup> In 1729, Hawkins would be brought to justice and himself imprisoned. For primary sources on Hawkins: (in chronological order): *Whalley's News-Letter* for 11 July 1720; *The Last Farewell of Ebenezer Elliston To this Transitory World*, April 1722 (A2, 21); *Dublin Courant* for 8 May 1723; 'REPORT FROM THE Committee appointed to enquire into the State of the Gaols and Prisons of this Kingdom', 24 November 1729, *JHCI Vol. III*, Appendix

Harding was imprisoned for seven months, from late June or early July 1723, through to February 1724. The fact that Harding was released in February is all but confirmed by the poem Swift wrote to celebrate the event, *Harding's Resurrection. From Hell upon Earth*, which Harding published on 18 February. One possibility mentioned by James Woolley is that he was released at the end of Hilary Term on 12 February,<sup>169</sup> although there was also a custom for prisoners detained by the Lords Justices or Privy Councillors to sometimes be released upon the proroguing of Parliament,<sup>170</sup> which for the Parliament of 1723–4, took place on 10 February 1724.

Whichever of these two was Harding's mode of release, within a few days Swift had written *Harding's Resurrection. From Hell upon Earth*.<sup>171</sup> There is no evidence more illustrative of a purposeful pre-existing association between the author and the printer, and a meaningful bond between them, than this poem. Beginning "FORTH from my *Dark and Dismal Room*/ Behold to Life again I'm come", it is a poem that shows empathy with Harding whilst urging the people to support his business. In writing it, certainly, Swift also had his own interests in view. He had a new publishing venture in mind for which he wanted to fortify Harding. But this poem demonstrates that Harding was the only printer he was going to consider for that venture. He sent it directly to Molesworth's Court with permission for Harding to print it within the pages of his newspaper, which Harding did on the second page of his *WTNL* for 18 February.<sup>172</sup> As it personifies the various types and fonts in Harding's type-case as soldiers

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to Vol. 3, ccclxxxvi – viii; Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for 25 – 29 November 1729; *A Curry-Comb of Truth for A Certain Dean: or, The Grub-Street Tribunal*, 1736 (A4, 208). For secondary sources: Gilbert, i, 265 – 269; Mayhew, 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., and JW, *Poor John Harding and Mad Tom*, 106 and note 17.

<sup>169</sup> JW, *Poor John Harding and Mad Tom*, 106.

<sup>170</sup> See Burns, i, 152. On this long imprisonment, refer also: Munter, *HINP*, 149 note 2; and David Woolley: DW Letter 632 bis, note 2, vol. ii, 536. Davis is mistaken in saying that the imprisonment was for 29 months, when he dates it from the time Harding was taken into custody for Sarah Harding's printing of the Lord Lieutenant's speech in September 1721: *DL*, 201.

<sup>171</sup> Opinions have wavered over the years as to whether this is Swift's. Faulkner says it is: *Faulkner 1763*, xi, 277 – 278; Ball indicates it is: *Swift's Verse*, 192; Williams tends to think not: *Poems*, ii, 417; iii, 1109; Munter implies that it was written by Harding himself: *HINP*, 149 – 150; David Woolley suggests it is Swift's: DW Letter 632 bis, note 2, vol. ii, 536; and James Woolley, in his article discussing the poetics and the context of the poem, concludes that "the preponderance of the evidence... favours Swift's authorship": *Poor John Harding and Mad Tom*, 113. From my own point of view, it is submitted that no other writer in Dublin would have celebrated Harding's release in this manner.

<sup>172</sup> A2, 37. See Image 9. Faulkner incorrectly says Harding was "prosecuted, fined and imprisoned" for this poem: *Faulkner 1763*, vol. xi, 277. Williams is mistaken in saying it was published "while the printer lay in prison": *Poems*, iii, 1109. And an error of a different kind is made by Starratt, who says that the poem is commentary on

doing battle, the poem suggests knowledge on Swift's part of the inside of Harding's shop.<sup>173</sup> It also shows insight into the printer's character: "For *Stops* and *Points* I take to be/ To *Them*, what is a *Goal* to *Me*". Swift knew he had the right man for what lay in store.

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Harding's death: *Irish Quarterly Review*, 1852, ii, 23 note.

<sup>173</sup> James Woolley has also suggested that this poem was intended to "spirit up" Harding for a new challenge, and that it represents evidence of Swift possibly having visited the Harding shop in some capacity: JW, *Poor John Harding and Mad Tom*, 109, 110.

## Chapter 5: John Harding – Printer of the *Letters* of M.B. Drapier

Throughout 1724, Harding was the printer of the *Letters* of M.B. Drapier. Written for the principal purpose of bringing the people to a unanimous resolve to not let the new halfpence and farthings being coined for Ireland by the Englishman William Wood enter into Irish currency, these *Letters* brought a unity and solidarity to the people of Ireland the like of which the country had not seen before. The first *Letter* was published in March 1724 and the remaining four were published in relatively quick succession between August and December. This chapter discusses Harding's working relationship with Swift up to the time of publication of the most dangerous of the *Letters*, the fourth. This chapter presents new circumstances concerning Harding's involvement in the creation and promotion of the *Letters*, and it offers new evidence with regard to the extent of the cooperation between Swift and Harding, and the closeness of their publishing association. This chapter also offers an original discussion with respect to the risks associated with each *Letter*.

### The First Printed Matter in the Halfpence Controversy

The first newspaper comments in Ireland concerning the impending introduction of the halfpence and farthings being coined for the country by the ironmonger from Bristol, William Wood,<sup>1</sup> began earlier than has been acknowledged by commentators. Munter says the first is that in the *Dublin Mercury* for 26 January 1723,<sup>2</sup> which reprints a paragraph of news from the London packets that refers to Wood having commenced production of the coin. T.F. Sherry then corrects Munter by saying that the first newspaper comment was four days before this, in *The Dublin Mercury* for 22 January 1723.<sup>3</sup> This is true, although *The Dublin Mercury* was one of four Dublin newspapers that simply reprinted this paragraph of London news verbatim between 22 and 28 January, with no original copy apart from two of the newspapers adding a sentence at the end: "And we hear that pursuant to the said Grant, he is to Coin 360 Tuns for Ireland only".<sup>4</sup> However, Munter and Sherry both overlook some

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<sup>1</sup> On the career of Wood: Nelson, *The American Coinage of William Wood, 1722 – 1733*, Brighton, 1905. Refer also Oakleaf, 167.

<sup>2</sup> *HINP*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> "The Present Horrid Conspiracy: Dublin Press Coverage of Two Political Trials in the Early 1720's", op. cit., 143 – 157, at 157, note 43.

<sup>4</sup> The two newspapers that reprinted the paragraph without the added sentence were: *Dublin Gazette* for 22 – 26 January, and *The Dublin Courant* for 28 January. Those that reprinted it with the added sentence were: *Dublin Mercury* for 26 January, and *Whalley's News-Letter* for 26 January.

comments that were published six months earlier. In his *Dublin Courant* for 11 July 1722, Thomas Hume reprinted the news: “London and Manuscripts, July 3, 5. We hear that two Patents under the Great Seal are ordered for Coyning Brass-Money in Ireland, and the West Indies”. This represents the first newspaper comment of any kind concerning the patent (which was awarded to Wood in London the following day, 12 July 1722). Then Harding, in his *INL* for 1 September 1722, reported:

London, August 23. The last Packet-Boat from Lisbon brought over One hundred thousand Moydores; great Part of which are to be sent for Ireland. (So that tho’ People, for no other Reasons but purely to spoil Trade, begin to refuse the late coin’d brass Half-pence, we shall soon be plentifully stor’d with Gold, to the great Joy of all honest Traders in this Kingdom).

The first sentence reprints the news from the London packets, but the sentence in parentheses is Harding’s own, and it represents the first partisan comment on the matter in Ireland, referring ironically to the people’s aversion to the halfpence being not due to the fact that they are made of brass but their desire to spoil trade. Harding offered original comment again in his *WINL* for 9 February 1723 (after the identical reports in the various newspapers between 22 and 28 January), reporting: “We hear that a great Quantity of the new Coin’d Half-pence and Farthings will be sent for Ireland the latter End of next Month”.

With regard to pamphlets on the matter, the first appeared in August 1723, shortly before the Parliamentary session that began the following month.<sup>5</sup> Entitled *Ireland’s Consternation in the loosing of Two Hundred Thousand Pound of their Gold and Silver for Brass Money*, it was written and published anonymously, with no imprint at all, and is thought to have been written by the Dublin metal worker James Maculla.<sup>6</sup> The pamphlet consists of a series of *Queries* and *Answers* and it anticipates all of the issues and objections that came to encompass the Irish argument in the controversy over the next two years. Using images and similes that Swift later drew upon and developed as the Drapier, the pamphlet proposes a national boycott of the coin, making the point that every Irish citizen could elect whether to accept it or not. The publication put the Lord Lieutenant, Grafton, to the test. On ordinary standards it was unquestionably seditious as it sought to further public agitation and as it suggested that any persons who let the coin come into currency be voted by the Parliament as “Betrayers of their

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<sup>5</sup> Davis says that this Parliamentary session of 1723 was the first since November 1715: *DL*, xx. But Davis overlooks the Parliaments of 1717 and 1719 (both under Lord Lieutenant Bolton) and that of 1721 (the first under Grafton).

<sup>6</sup> A4, 76.

Country, and utter Enemies to his Majesty's Crown and Government". But on 22 August, Grafton, floundering under the strength of the country's opposition to the coin, wrote to Walpole in these terms:

[T]he new Copper Money... is so distatefull to the Country that even those who are the most forward to enter into measures agreeable to our side of the water in all other instances dare not undertake the defence of this Patent... A Paper has been printed here call'd Irelands Consternation wherein this Grant is sett out in the worst light, it is certainly writt by a downright Enemy and is plainly calculated to stir up ill blood but severall of our friends think that some of the objections are unanswerable. A stop is putt to the publication of it, but whether thro the discretion of the Printer or for the Author to amend it I am not sure, but we expect to see something of the same Kind abroad when the Parliament meets.<sup>7</sup>

This extract from Grafton's correspondence uncannily illustrates the very moment he needed to act. The publishers had put a stop to the publication and, although he is not sure why, he suspects it is because the printer or author is concerned about its lawfulness. If Grafton had acted at this moment, the course of events throughout 1724 would have been different. But Grafton let the publication pass, and others soon followed. *Ireland's Case Humbly Presented to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled*, was published in late August or September.<sup>8</sup> With no imprint and written "by an Artificer in Metals and a Citizen of Dublin" – possibly Maculla again – it lists twenty-eight separate reasons why the introduction of this coin would work to Ireland's detriment, and remarks that "a King and Parliament, that will do themselves and their Nation Justice", will put an end to these halfpence and farthings. In late 1723 or early 1724, the short tract, *A Creed for an Irish Commoner*, appeared.<sup>9</sup> Also published anonymously, this tract took the form a parody of a religious creed offering instruction on articles of faith, and it included material that openly mocked Grafton for the episode that occurred during the Parliament, when, asked if he had seen a copy of the patent, he answered unconvincingly that he had not, only for the patent to surface two days later, having been "misplaced" by his Secretary.<sup>10</sup> He was a viceroy commanding no authority.

<sup>7</sup> SP 63 vol. 381 [quoted in *DL*, xvii-xviii].

<sup>8</sup> A4, 77.

<sup>9</sup> A4, 79.

<sup>10</sup> On this and other mistakes made by Grafton during this period: Grafton to Walpole, 22 August, 1723: SP 63 vol. 381 [quoted in *DL*, xvii-xviii]. And secondary sources: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690 – 1763*, op. cit., 103 – 109; Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, op. cit., 382; Davis, *DL*, xvii-xxi; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 198; Burns, i, 139 – 141 (who says that forty copies of the patent were alleged to be in circulation at this time – although his source for this is unknown); and McNally, 'Wood's Half-pence, Carteret and the Government of Ireland, 1723-6', *Irish Historical Studies*, 30, (1997), 356 – 357.

There is only one other publication on the matter that can be said with certainty to have appeared before Swift's involvement began. Accordingly, the comment of Burns, that upon arriving in Dublin for the Parliament of the autumn of 1723, Grafton "discovered that dozens of pamphlets against the halfpence were being hawked throughout the city",<sup>11</sup> is without foundation. That further publication was *The Patentee's Computation of Ireland*.<sup>12</sup> However, this tract differs from the preceding three publications insofar as it is a balanced paper that sets out the arguments for and against the coin, and cannot be considered seditious in any way. Its legality is also reflected in the fact that it was printed by the establishment Whig, Whalley.

There are two further publications that are seditious and which have been thought by some commentators to have been published prior to Swift's involvement, but with each of these there is evidence indicating that they were in fact published later in the controversy. One is *Punch's Petition to the Ladies*, which was possibly written by Thomas Sheridan and has been thought by Williams and Davis to have been published in the winter of 1723–4.<sup>13</sup> However, the line "For 'gainst the BRASS we 'us'd no Power", with its use of the past tense, suggests that the battle is over at this time. The other publication is *A New Dialogue Between Two Beggars Upon the Passing of Wood's Coin. By M.B.*,<sup>14</sup> which is a dialogue for and against the patent and can be considered slightly seditious given that the 'against argument' wins. This publication has been thought by Wagner<sup>15</sup> to have been published before the Parliament of September 1723 due to its comment: "I hope the Parliament will take the Matter into their Consideration, and order it so that they may not pass". But the imprint is 1724 and, as Davis says, a little later that year anything with the initials "M.B." would sell.<sup>16</sup> It seems likely that the date on the imprint is accurate and that the printer, Gwyn Needham, received the manuscript in the early stages, prior to the 1723 Parliament, but withheld it from publication until a time when he felt it was safe from prosecution.

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<sup>11</sup> i, 137.

<sup>12</sup> A4, 78.

<sup>13</sup> A2, 66; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1108 – 1109; Davis: *DL*, 374;

<sup>14</sup> A4, 102.

<sup>15</sup> 20 (item 52).

<sup>16</sup> *DL*, 373.



### The First Letter of the Drapier

Swift's entry in to the controversy might have begun sooner than it did if not for other circumstances in his life in 1723. Between June and September, he was away from Dublin on a journey through the south of the country. This was a journey that he had been considering for some time<sup>17</sup> but which was brought forward by the death of Vanessa – his spurned lover in Dublin – at age thirty-five. Vanessa died in Dublin during the evening of Sunday 2 June and after midnight that evening Swift wrote to Knightley Chetwode saying, "I am forced to leave the town sooner than expected".<sup>18</sup> Vanessa's burial was at St. Andrew's Churchyard, Dublin on Tuesday 4 June,<sup>19</sup> but Swift left Dublin on Monday 3 June, for what would become a solitary journey of over three months.<sup>20</sup> Then, upon his return to Dublin in September, the Parliament was in session and the country's indignation with respect to the halfpence was at a height, but any thoughts he might have had of contributing a pamphlet on the subject at this time are likely to have been affected by the fact that his printer was in prison.

In October, he did write and publish a pamphlet on a separate subject. This was his *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops, in Letting of Leases. With Remarks on some Queries Lately published*, which was "Printed for J. Hyde".<sup>21</sup> As for why this came to be published by Hyde, there is of course the straightforward fact that Swift's usual printer was detained at the time. Also, towards the end of the pamphlet, Swift reveals that he had been prompted to write it by certain comments in favour of the Bishops made in a short tract entitled *The History of the Popish clergy: or, the Case of the Laity. With some Queries*,<sup>22</sup> and he says that

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<sup>17</sup> His correspondence indicates that he had had such a journey in mind for a few years and that he had begun to think on it more specifically at least a month out from departure (as Vanessa's health was deteriorating). Refer: 11 May 1723, Swift to Robert Cope: DW Letter 582, and note 2: vol. ii, 454 – 455.

<sup>18</sup> 2 June 1723, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 586, vol. ii, 460.

<sup>19</sup> Bernard, 'Dean Swift in Dublin', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 180 (Nov 1906), 676 – 693, 691 in footnote; Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 141 – 142. Also on Vanessa's death: McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 74; McMinn, 'Swift's Life', in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 14 – 30, at 25; and Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 389, 205. On Vanessa generally: Orrery, *Remarks*, 104 – 118; Delany, *Observations*, 111 – 124; Deane Swift, *Essay*, 240 – 265; Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 308 – 356; Craik, 20 – 35; Freeman, ed., *Vanessa and her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift: the letters edited for the first time from the originals*, London, 1921; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 683 – 684.

<sup>20</sup> McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 86 – 87. Also on this trip through the south: Delany, *Observations*, 135 – 136; Fabricant, 222. Ehrenpreis is in error when he says it was a fourteen-month trek: *Swift*, iii, 205. And James Woolley overstates it to an extent in saying that he was travelling through the south for much of 1723: Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 10.

<sup>21</sup> A1, 174. The quality of the press work suggests it might have been printed for Hyde by Waters.

<sup>22</sup> A4, 81.

this tract had been sent to him by “a Bookseller”.<sup>23</sup> This raises the possibility that, with Harding unavailable, Swift had the added convenience of reciprocating Hyde by sending him this pamphlet.

*Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops* is one publication that in my view could have had a bearing on the events of the succeeding years. It argues against proposed legislation then before the Parliament which would have had the effect of allowing Bishops to draw greater rents from their tenants. In doing so, it refers to the Bishops as mostly Tories and Jacobites and as being so old as to be nearly dead.<sup>24</sup> It is a publication that can be associated with new evidence to be presented in later chapters which illustrates that, during and after the halfpence controversy, although Swift had the adoration of the common people of Ireland, opposition to his pamphleteering and his ongoing authorial aloofness, emanated from the Bishops in the House of Lords. *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops* is likely to have gone some way to setting the Bishops at variance from Swift in these early months of the halfpence controversy.

But this pamphlet is the only work Swift is known to have published during the latter months of 1723, despite the fact, as suggested by Middleton Murry, that the events of the Parliament concerning the halfpence had an influence on him.<sup>25</sup> Swift bided his time a little longer. Harding was released by mid-February 1724, and Swift marked the occasion with *Harding's Resurrection. From Hell upon Earth*, a poem that implies that it was an occasion he had been waiting for.

In my view, Swift's decision to write a pamphlet in which he assumed to himself national leadership on the issue of the coin was one that was taken alone. It has been thought by commentators that this was a decision made in consultation with other leaders. In particular, it has been considered that he was drawn into the role by the joint encouragements of Archbishop King and Lord Chancellor Midleton. The evidence, however, does not support this. The proposition that King and Midleton encouraged him to write was first advanced by Herbert Davis in 1935. Davis cites a passage from Swift's letter to Ford of 2 April, where Swift says:

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<sup>23</sup> A1, 174, page 17.

<sup>24</sup> A1, 174, pages 11, 12, 18. For discussion of this pamphlet: Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, Gloucester, 1965, 259; and Oakleaf, 168.

<sup>25</sup> *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, London, 1954, 356.

I came just now from a Commission with the Chancell<sup>r</sup> and ArchB<sup>p</sup> Dubl<sup>n</sup> &c. I spoke very severely to the former about the Farthings. I told them the Baseness and pusillanimity when they and others were sent for by the L<sup>t</sup> upon that Subject they all talked as much against the Thing as I.

In this letter, Swift then explains to Ford how he has written a pamphlet in the name of a Draper and 2,000 copies have been dispersed around the country.<sup>26</sup> Davis cites this in suggesting that Swift might have “had a good deal of assistance – if not in planning, at least in distributing the *Letter*”<sup>27</sup> (the *Letter to the Shop-Keepers*). Then in 1962, Oliver Ferguson cites this same passage in concluding that: “There can be no doubt that Swift had been asked by King and Midleton to intervene in the controversy”.<sup>28</sup> But the conclusions of Davis and Ferguson are difficult to justify. Swift’s letter to Ford is dated approximately three weeks after the first *Letter* appeared, and if Midleton and King had invited and encouraged Swift to become involved, it would be odd for Swift to then be turning on them for their baseness and pusillanimity a few weeks later.<sup>29</sup> Swift’s reaction to King and Midleton at this meeting on 2 April in my view shows the opposite from what Davis and Ferguson contend. It demonstrates that Swift saw himself as *the* leader on the matter. He was the person who had taken the decision to write the pamphlet, which at this time was gaining a hold over the country. Indeed, the fact that Swift made the decision alone was disclosed by Swift himself in his *Letter to Molesworth* written at the end of 1724, in which, looking back on the time that he decided to write the first *Letter*, he says, speaking in drapery metaphors: “until it happened some Months ago, considering with my self, that *the lower and poorer Sort of People* wanted a *plain, strong, course, Stuff*”.<sup>30</sup> Further, in the letter to Ford just mentioned, Swift says “I” sent out a pamphlet, with no allusion to having been approached by King or Midleton. Given that he had just mentioned those two, this was where any such matter would have been divulged.

Swift having acted alone is also consistent with other matters. It is consistent with his manner of publishing throughout his career, which was to do so with the element of surprise

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<sup>26</sup> 2 April 1724, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 607, vol. ii, 493 – 494.

<sup>27</sup> DL, xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>28</sup> Ferguson, 96.

<sup>29</sup> Ferguson has nonetheless been followed on this by: Tucker, *Jonathan Swift*, Dublin, 1983, 77; Burns, i, 163; JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 109; Oakleaf, 168; and seemingly Ehrenpreis (who adds that Lord Abercorn might also have solicited Swift): *Swift*, iii, 206. For other comments and alternative theories on the origins of the Drapier: Doody, ‘Swift and women’, in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 105; and Mayhew, ‘Jonathan Swift’s Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston’, op. cit., 298.

<sup>30</sup> A2, 65, page 3; PW, x, 82.

and thereafter watching on at the effects. It is consistent with that aspect of his pride by which he liked to watch events impassively, then hand over a document to surpass it all, and turn and walk. It is consistent with the evidence that in Dublin from early 1720, he at all times had a stand-by printer, an arrangement designed to accommodate publishing decisions taken alone. And it is consistent with Swift's motives that had been apparent since late 1719 – to bring the people of Ireland under his sway to cause difficulties for the Whig administration at Westminster. Moreover, with the four remaining pamphlets published as the Drapier during 1724, it has never been questioned that Swift acted alone on each occasion. It is contended that this first pamphlet was created in precisely the same way. Publication and distribution to the country towns would have been co-ordinated by Harding and his network of Tory stationers. Amongst Swift's friends, conceivably the only person who might have been privy to his plans was his active supporter, Molesworth, though even this is not certain.

Like in 1720 with the issue of promoting Irish manufactures, Swift was writing on a matter that already had its own momentum in the country. On this occasion, though, he adjusted his voice. With the success of a national boycott of the coin being dependent upon the united support of the common people, he devised a pamphlet in the form of a *Letter* specifically addressed to them and written under a pretence that the author was in fact one of them. "M.B. Drapier" – "M.B.", a draper – gave his address as on St. Francis Street in the vicinity of St. Patrick's, where several of the town's drapers were located. As mentioned previously, a matter that has been advanced only in relatively recent times, but which has since been accepted as fact, is that the initials "M.B." represent Marcus Brutus,<sup>31</sup> the Roman senator who risked his liberty and life for the sake of his country by murdering Caesar. As for the word "Drapier", which was a mis-spelling of "Draper", one possible explanation for the mis-spelling concerns the fact that in Swift's hand-writing, his "a" was open and looked like "ei." The spelling "Drapier" may therefore have evolved in some way from a mis-reading of the manuscript by Harding at an early stage. A trial edition produced by Harding, after all, does in fact spell it "Dreipier" (and this is repeated in a Limerick edition after Harding presumably sent his trial edition there).<sup>32</sup> Another possibility is that "Drapier" was a deliberate mis-spelling

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<sup>31</sup> Jack Gilbert, 'The Drapier's Initials', *Notes and Queries*, 208, (1963), 217 – 218. Cf: Davis, *DL*, 186 (note to page 1, line 19).

<sup>32</sup> See T-S 314 (item 635 (1): *Another edition*); Davis, 'Review of Herman Teerink's A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift', Arthur H. Scouten., *The Library*, 5th Ser., vol. 22, (1967), 75 – 79; Lord Rothschild, 'The Publication of the First Drapier's Letter', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society: The Library*, Ser. 4 xix, 107 – 115.

on Swift's part intended to convey the impression of a common person who was not entirely literate.

Entitled *A Letter to the Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common-People of Ireland, Concerning the Brass Half-Pence Coined by Mr. Woods. With a Design to have them Pass in this Kingdom, By M.B. Drapier*,<sup>33</sup> the pamphlet was intended by Swift to be the nation's definitive document on the matter. Commentators have in varying degrees presumed that with this first *Letter* (as it later became known), Swift was setting out to write a series of pamphlets as the Drapier, with changing strategies from one to the next in the form of a campaign.<sup>34</sup> But this cannot have been so. Swift could have had no certainty as to how the pamphlet would be received, either by the people or the government (remembering of course *Universal Use*). Nor could he have been able to foretell how the controversy would unfold generally. The fact that Swift looked upon this first *Letter* as his one and only contribution is seen in the text itself. The title page recommends the publication as one "Very Proper to be kept in every FAMILY". The opening paragraph extols the importance of the *Letter* to the people's livelihoods and lives and urges them "to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others". And towards the end, Swift says that all persons should "keep this Paper carefully by them to Refresh their Memories whenever they shall have farther Notice of Mr. WOOD's Half-pence, or any other the like Imposture".<sup>35</sup> This *Letter* represented Swift's complete statement on the matter.

But it is apparent, even from this first *Letter*, that only Swift could have brought about the Irish success of 1724–5. Firstly, it required a person who perceived himself as the holder of an inalienable right to lead the country on a political matter such as this – a criterion which Swift unquestionably met. Swift, who considered Ireland a scene too little for his genius, from 1714 if not earlier saw himself as entitled to a position of political command in this kingdom, so much so that upon the failure of his first venture in 1720, he described himself as "mortified".<sup>36</sup> Nor had that mortification fully subsided at the time of writing this first *Letter*.

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<sup>33</sup> A2, 41.

<sup>34</sup> See for example: Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 176, 182; Rossi and Hone, 270 – 271; Davis, *DL*, 201; Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 263; Donoghue, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge, 1969, 146 – 147; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 292; David Woolley, 'Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections', in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, Clive T. Probyn., ed., London, 1978, 143; and JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 165 – 167.

<sup>35</sup> A2, 41, title page, page 2, page 16; *PW*, x, 1, 3, 12.

<sup>36</sup> A2, 65, page 3; *PW*, x, 82.

In the opening paragraphs, Swift reminds the people of *Universal Use* along with the prosecution of “utmost Violence” suffered by its printer. Swift upbraids them for not having adhered to his advice in that pamphlet, before ending his rebuke with: “However I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought”.<sup>37</sup> Rather than this first *Letter* representing a second attempt on Swift’s part to bring the people of Ireland to his view, in Swift’s mind he was offering the people a second chance to listen to *him*.

Secondly, the campaign against the coin required a writer with the ability to infuse the necessary unanimity and strength of spirit in the people – again something for which there could be no more qualified person than Swift. In terms of the actual issues and ideas raised, there is in fact nothing original in this first *Letter*. The notion of a national boycott had been suggested by Archbishop King as early as September 1722,<sup>38</sup> and all other objections and arguments had been set out by Maculla in *Ireland’s Consternation*.<sup>39</sup> Even one or two of the metaphors used to illustrate the practical problems that would flow, are taken directly from Maculla. But with Swift’s involvement, the matter progressed beyond the realm of thoughts and ideas. He introduced a concept of Irish unity, addressing the people, for instance, “as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*.”<sup>40</sup> Men – yes, many of them were. Christians – all of them were. Parents – many of them were. But “*Lovers of your Country*” was novel. Whatever passing notions of patriotism may have arisen from time to time, the perpetually subjugated and fractious Irish were filled with a sense of inferiority and can scarcely be said to have gone about their lives with a love of their country. But, writing with a sincerity that was absent in *Universal Use*, and introducing new subjects with expressions such as, “I will now my Dear Friends to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you *to do*, and what it does *not* oblige you to”,<sup>41</sup> Swift yokes them together. He gives lucid analogies and examples drawn from his “experiences” as the owner of a drapery shop to demonstrate the effects the coin would have on their way of life. With clear, evocative

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<sup>37</sup> A2, 41, page 3; *PW*, x, 4.

<sup>38</sup> King to Annesley, 3 September 1722 (quoted in Goodwin, ‘Wood’s Half-pence’, *English Historical Review*, 51, (1936), 647 – 674, 668, note 1). On King and Swift’s similar thinking on the issue refer also: O’Regan, *Archbishop King of Dublin (1650 – 1729) and the Constitution in Church and State*, Dublin, 2000, 304.

<sup>39</sup> A4, 76.

<sup>40</sup> A2, 41, page 2; *PW*, x, 3.

<sup>41</sup> A2, 41, page 14 (the lack of punctuation here is how the type was set by Harding); *PW*, x, 11.

imagery, this first *Letter* is perspicacious and powerful. It strikes the right tone with the common people as it beseeches them to “stand to it One and All, and refuse this *Filthy Trash*”.<sup>42</sup>

Thirdly, the success of this campaign was contingent upon its writer being able to set forth complex – even frightening – matters of law and constitution in plain, digestible terms. It required someone uncowed by matters of Parliament and monarchy. This was Swift. Over five pages,<sup>43</sup> he reviews the legislative history of the question of what constitutes lawful money, and after concluding that the only lawful money is that which is alloyed with gold or silver, explains that the King’s prerogative with respect to coining cannot extend to any other variety, and that the people of Ireland are not therefore under any obligation to obey this present patent that authorises the production of *copper* money. Stripping the law of its mystique, Swift explains further that, irrespective of the King’s prerogative, the wording of this particular patent does not enforce the coin on Ireland, but makes it available only to those willing to receive it. This was a passage that brought abstract concepts within the understanding of the common people, gaining their trust and giving them confidence that in resisting the coin they would be acting lawfully and had nothing to fear.

Whilst preparing the first *Letter* for publication, Swift and Harding were nonetheless aware that they were taking a significant risk. If *Universal Use* in 1720 was a seditious libel, so too was this. Indeed, as a publication that more successfully engaged the minds of the people, it was one which was even more likely to excite disaffection towards the King or the Westminster ministry.<sup>44</sup> It was audacious even in the act of *broaching* the subjects of the prerogative and the constitution. And one problematic passage in particular is that which says that Wood, “is an ENGLISH MAN and had GREAT FRIENDS, and it seems knew very well where to give Money, to those that would speak to OTHERS that could speak to the KING and could tell A FAIR STORY”, and that his obtaining this royal patent “was all A WICKED CHEAT from the *Bottom to the Top*”.<sup>45</sup> It is a passage that alleges fraud on the part of Lords in the King’s Court, with reflections also upon the King himself.

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<sup>42</sup> A2, 41, page 15; *PW*, x, 11.

<sup>43</sup> A2, 41, pages 10 – 15; *PW*, x, 8 – 11.

<sup>44</sup> For commentary on the seditious qualities of this *Letter*: Walter Scott, i, 288 – 296; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 114 – 115, 118; Acworth, *Swift*, London, 1947, 171; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 212 – 213; Van Doren, *Swift*, London, 1931, 175 – 176.

<sup>45</sup> A2, 41, page 5; *PW*, x, 5.

To what extent Swift and Harding obtained legal opinions prior to publication is not entirely clear. During the course of the first *Letter* itself, Swift does say, “I will now go on to tell you the Judgments of some great Lawyers in this Matter, whom I fee’d on purpose for your Sakes”.<sup>46</sup> Firstly, there is no substantive evidence to indicate who these lawyers were. Ehrenpreis says one who might have helped Swift throughout 1724 was his friend, Robert Lindsay. Given that Lindsay was counsel to St. Patrick’s cathedral,<sup>47</sup> this is logical. Swift’s comment in his *Letter to Middleton* later in the year, that he had sent the first *Letter* “to an eminent Lawyer (and yet a Man of Virtue and Learning into the Bargain)”,<sup>48</sup> also indicates that he knew this lawyer as a friend. Another source of legal advice for Swift might have been Bishop Bolton who, says Ehrenpreis, had good legal knowledge.<sup>49</sup> But irrespective of whom Swift’s legal advisers were, it is clear from Swift’s comment that the advice he sought with respect to this first *Letter* was only in relation to matters associated with the prerogative, and not the question of sedition generally. Whether Swift also obtained that general advice is not known. One circumstance indicating that he might have done, is seen in the assertion he made later in the year that he always told Harding to seek his own advice of this kind. He made this comment in the course of a letter addressed to Harding entitled “Directions to the Printer”, which was printed as a preface to the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier at the end of December. With Harding at this time released from his imprisonment of November 1724, but having sustained the illness or injury that would claim his life five months later, Swift says to him:

I do assure you upon my Reputation, that I never did send you any thing, for which I thought you could possibly be called to an Account. And you will be my Witness that I always desired you by a Letter to take some good Advice before you ventured to Print, because I knew the *Dexterity of Dealers in the Law* at finding out something to Fasten on where no Evil is meant; I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able Persons; and even Some who afterwards *appeared against you*: To which I can only answer, that you must either change your Advisers, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *Drapier*.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> A2, 41, page 11; *PW*, x, 8 – 9.

<sup>47</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 275, 389 and note 3. Also on Lindsay: Deane Swift, *Essay*, 192; and Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 358).

<sup>48</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 208; *PW*, x, 114.

<sup>49</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 389.

<sup>50</sup> A2, 65, pp. iv-v; *PW*, x, 79.



This potentially implies that Swift sought his own general advice on each occasion. It also reveals that Harding himself sought legal opinions during the course of the year. But whether Harding did so in the case of this first *Letter*, remains unclear.<sup>51</sup>

Newly released from his seven-month imprisonment ending in February, Harding would have had no money to pay for legal advice, and it was not in his character to partake in any such pre-publication caution anyway. If he did obtain a legal opinion, he was presumably told that this first *Letter* was safe to publish (either that or he published it against advice) – which, if it was the case, is surprising advice for this lawyer to have given. Maybe the lawyer took the view that this first *Letter* was sufficiently restricted to economic matters. Maybe the lawyer reasoned that although the *Letter* was concerned with the King and his prerogative to coin, the point in issue represented an exception to that prerogative, which therefore constituted an open space for public discourse. But these were optimistic arguments in relation to a *Letter* that rallied the people to spurn England on this matter and which cast aspersions on the ministry and the King. Even the lay people of Ireland were under no illusions with respect to the sedition in Swift's publications during the year, with at least two writers openly referring to it in the course of other tracts.<sup>52</sup> To whatever extent Swift and Harding did obtain legal opinions on the question of sedition, then, they appear to have been of little use to them.

But Swift's consciousness of the risk involved in his *Letters* of 1724 is also manifested in the precautions he took with the manuscripts. Two of these precautions are further matters that Swift disclosed in the "Directions to the Printer" preface to the fifth *Letter*: "My Custom is to Dictate to a Prentice who can write in a Feigned Hand, and what is written we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy".<sup>53</sup> A further precaution was revealed in 1735 by Faulkner: "it never lay in the Power of the printer to discover him [Swift], for the Copies were always sent to the Press by some obscure Messenger, who never knew the Deliverer, but gave them in at a Window".<sup>54</sup> His amanuensis is believed to have been his valet, Robert Blakely,<sup>55</sup> and

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<sup>51</sup> Compare R.A. King, who presumes that Harding followed Swift's recommendation every time: *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 132.

<sup>52</sup> Refer: *An Express from Elisium to the once Revd. Dr. M-gee, Couple-Beggar* (A4, 99; quoted in DL, 361); and *Some farther Account Of The Original Disputes in Ireland About Farthings and Halfpence*, 1724 (A4, 96, page 5).

<sup>53</sup> A2, 65, p. iv; PW, x, 79.

<sup>54</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 'Advertisement' (p. iv).

Ehrenpreis speculates that someone in Swift's trust (presumably Blakely again) followed the blackguard boy at a distance to ensure safe delivery.<sup>56</sup> Again, though, these precautions were of little purpose. They appear to have been a legacy of the practices Swift employed in London with Barber between 1710 and 1714. But whilst in London – where the judges were willing to indulge technicalities in the law – these measures might have proved prudent, in Dublin they would have been of no service whatsoever. Harding knew full well where the manuscripts were coming from and any statement of belief from him to that effect would have been enough for Whitshed.

The one important matter in Swift's and Harding's favour at this time was not legal but political. Momentum against Wood's coin was much stronger than that with respect to Irish manufactures of four years earlier. Ireland's leaders were uncompromising in their opposition to Wood's patent. The only person inclined to take prescriptive action was the Lord Lieutenant, but he was flailing under the weight of opinion and, as Ehrenpreis points out, the instigation of a prosecution at this time would have been at *his* risk.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, knowing that the entire kingdom shared their sentiments, Swift directed Harding to commit substantial resources to this publication. Showing that they can only have been working in close co-operation during the weeks preceding publication, at least one trial edition is known to have been produced.<sup>58</sup> For the final version, as Swift revealed in his letter to Ford of 2 April,<sup>59</sup> they agreed to press over 2,000 copies. In 1714, for Hyde's Dublin reprint of *English*

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<sup>55</sup> Refer for example: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 'Advertisement' (p. iv); Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 244, 289; Walter Scott, i, 298 – 299; Starratt, 'The Streets of Dublin', op. cit., 22 note; Davis, *DL*, 289. Cf. Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift*, London, 1998, 169.

<sup>56</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 308. On these precautions, see also Swift's comment in 1729: *PW*, xii, 112. Allowing for different editions and instructions with corrections, there would have been many errands run by this boy during the year. To avoid suspicion, they would probably have been run during daylight hours, although street lighting had been introduced into Dublin, as well as Cork and Limerick, in 1719: Garnham, 31.

<sup>57</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 213.

<sup>58</sup> For discussions of the typographical details of the trial and other editions of the first pamphlet: Lord Rothschild, 'The Publication of the First Drapier's Letter', op. cit., 107 – 115; Davis, *DL*, lxx – lxx; Davis, 'Review of Herman Teerink's A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift', Arthur H. Scouten., op. cit., 75 – 79. It has been speculated that one of the trial editions might have been produced by Swift or his friends at a secret press that Patrick Delany might have had in a cellar in his miniature garden at his private villa at Glasnevin, near Dublin, called Delville. see McMin, *Jonathan's Travels*, 138; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1107; Lady Llanover, ed., Mary Granville, *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, 1861, ii, 308, 314; Ball, *History of County Dublin*, Dublin, 1920, vi, 129 – 133, 476 n. Legend has it that when Delville was demolished in the nineteenth century, some type was found in this garden cellar: see Craik, 348 – 349 note. For reasons given earlier, however, I think few, if any, of Swift's friends would have been privy to his plans on this particular occasion.

<sup>59</sup> 2 April 1724, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 607, vol. ii, 493 – 494.

*Advice, to the Freeholders of England*, it was said that between 1,400 and 1,500 copies were produced,<sup>60</sup> but there is no evidence of a publication in Ireland having been produced in greater numbers than this until this *Letter* of the Drapier. This first *Letter* was published over sixteen pages in octavo. Of the five *Letters* published under the name of the Drapier in 1724, it is the only one for which there is no clear evidence of a date of publication, but it seems safe to assume that it appeared in late February or early March.<sup>61</sup> To stamp the *Letter* more meaningfully upon the Irish consciousness, it was given a formal title page, and for the first time in this episode of Wood's coin, the printer openly stated his name and place of business, in this way lending the publication further legitimacy and gravitas.

M.B. Drapier was now in the public domain in Ireland. Commentators, however, have not discussed the fact that the *Letter* took root in the country only slowly, and that it was a full five months before Swift decided to write a second pamphlet. As forceful and persuasive as this first *Letter* was, in its initial reception many people were perturbed by its ease and familiarity with matters of the constitution, the prerogative and the monarchy. Sarah Harding's *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, written in 1726, sets out several important matters pertaining to the events of 1724, and with regard to the people's reaction to the first *Letter*, it says of the Drapier:

To cure their Disease, a quick method he took,  
Which wanted success, tho', but for a short Season;  
For tho it Cur'd many, as many more shook,  
Who knew not his Cure, or their sickness's Reason.<sup>62</sup>

This complaint of being shaken by Swift's *Letters* would persist throughout the year, particularly from the House of Lords, with the source of discomfort being the perception of Swift drawing the divine order down to himself. As Molyneux said towards the end of his *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* of 1698 (which Swift had read): "But let us not make thus light of Constitutions of Kingdoms, 'tis *Dangerous* to those who *do it*, 'tis *Grievous* to those that *suffer it*".<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Refer: SP 63/372/5, 7, 19; also JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 118, note 3.

<sup>61</sup> Burns says it was published on 17 March precisely (i, 163), but on what authority is unclear. Middleton Murry says it was the end of February: *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 356; Davis: early March: *DL*, xxiii; and Quintana: early March: *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, Gloucester, 1965, 130.

<sup>62</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14.

<sup>63</sup> A4, 5, page 160.

Accordingly, the weeks that followed saw the Harding press actively promoting this first *Letter*. Within about a fortnight of its publication, Harding published a tract entitled *Ireland's Warning, Being an Excellent New Song, upon Wood's Base Half-pence. To the Tune of Packington's Pound*.<sup>64</sup> The evidence is strong in my view that John and Sarah Harding had a hand in the composition of this song. Whether Swift himself was also involved is less certain. The song consists of twenty-one verses where the first sixteen restate the Drapier's argument and explain how each of the soldier, the baker, the butcher, the farmer and people of other vocations will be inconvenienced by the coin. For the final five stanzas the voice changes as the song speaks directly of the *Letter*, affirming its righteousness and its importance to Ireland:

Now God Bless the *Drapier* that Open'd our Eyes,  
I am sure by his *Book* that the WRITER is Wise.  
He shews us the CHEAT from the END to the RISE.  
Which no Body can deny.

Nay further he shows it a very hard Case,  
That this fellow WOODS of a very low Race,  
Shou'd of all the FINE GENTRY of *Ireland* take Place.  
Which no Body can deny.

That he and his Half-pence should come to Weigh Down  
Our Subjects so LOYAL and TRUE to the CROWN.  
But I hope after all that they will be his *Own*.  
Which no Body can deny.

This BOOK I do tell you is Writ for your GOODS,  
And a very good BOOK against Mr. WOODS,  
If you Stand TRUE together he's left in the Suds.  
Which no Body can deny.

Ye *Shep-Men*, and *Trades-Men*, and *Farmers*, go Read it,  
For I think in my Soul at this Time that you need it.  
Or I gad if you don't there's an END of your CREDIT.  
Which no Body can deny.

Firstly, with regard to the question of whether Swift was involved in the writing of this song, Ball thinks he “had at least some share in it”,<sup>65</sup> whilst Davis and Williams are both of the view that he did not, saying the lines are too “clumsy” and bear “rather weak repetition of some of

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<sup>64</sup> A2, 42.

<sup>65</sup> Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 182.

the points from the First Letter”.<sup>66</sup> The question of whether Swift was involved, then, remains unresolved. My contention, however, is that the last five verses, if not all twenty-one, were written by the Hardings. One circumstance supporting this is the fact that these verses strenuously promote the first *Letter*, with descriptions of it as “a very good Book” and one which “I think in my Soul... you need” that are intended to assuage people’s anxieties concerning it. This promotion of the *Letter* suggests that the song was written by its publishers. Then, in the penultimate verse, the expression “left in the Suds” would appear to be an idiosyncratic Harding expression, for the only other two works of the period in which the expression is known to appear, are seemingly written by the Hardings. One of these works was another song, *An excellent new ballad upon the new half-pence. To the tune of, Which no body can deny*, which was published by Harding sometime in 1724 and includes the line: “And if you refuse it, he’s left in the *Suds*”.<sup>67</sup> This appears to have been written by the Hardings, given the coincidence of this expression appearing again here. The other work was certainly either authored or co-authored by Sarah Harding. This is her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* of 1726,<sup>68</sup> which includes the line: “Who, but for the DRAPIER, wou’d been left in the Suds”. In my view, these matters constitute substantial evidence that the last five verses of *Ireland’s Warning*, if not all of it, represent the work of John and Sarah Harding, who were doing all they could to sell Swift’s *Letter* to the country.

Further promotional work was undertaken throughout April and May, and on these occasions the evidence concerning the persons involved is undisputed. It was collaboration between Swift and Harding through the medium of Harding’s newspapers during the period in which the *Letter* began to gain a hold in the kingdom. The fact that the *Letter* began to gain a hold, firstly, is seen in the meeting that Swift attended on 2 April, where, as he afterwards told Ford, he upbraided Archbishop King and Lord Chancellor Midleton for their “Baseness and pusillanimity” on the matter of the halfpence when they had been before the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>69</sup> Clearly, Swift could not have spoken this way without having a sense that his authority on the issue was being affirmed. Then, in London on 17 April, the *London Post-man* newspaper reported that, at the hearing of the Committee of the English Privy Council, which

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<sup>66</sup> Davis, *DL*, 374; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1109 – 1110. Refer also: Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 265.

<sup>67</sup> A2, 40.

<sup>68</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14.

<sup>69</sup> 2 April 1724, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 607, vol. ii, 493.

had been established to enquire into concerns with regard to the patent that had been raised by the Irish Parliament, no one had appeared to give evidence for Ireland in support of those concerns. This London newspaper report then came to Swift's attention with surprising alacrity. Ehrenpreis has suggested that a friend of Swift's in London must have dispatched it to him.<sup>70</sup> In my view, though, given the close co-operation between Swift and Harding at the time, it is more likely that the report was sent to Swift from Molesworth's Court immediately upon Harding receiving copies from the London packets. Either way, Swift wrote a paragraph in response to this London report and sent it to Harding for him to print in his newspaper, which Harding did in his *WTNL* for 21 April. Anticipating the tone of the second *Letter* of the Drapier, it is a paragraph of potent invective against Wood. It asserts that this Committee in London was weighing the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland against the interests of a private businessman in a manner resembling a suit between two individuals, and it reminds the people that "the Pamphlet lately Publish'd, Entitled, *A Letter to the Shop-Keepers; Tradesmen, Farmers, &c.* upon this Subject, shews: *That by the Law no Man is bound in Payment to take any Money but Gold and Silver*".<sup>71</sup> Then, three weeks later, a report was received from London that Wood was pushing more aggressively to have his coin introduced into the Irish currency, and Swift again sent comment to Harding. On this occasion, Harding printed the copy not in his *WTNL*, but in his *Dublin Journal*, which, knowing that the town was watching his publications for material from Swift, was seemingly a strategy on Harding's part to increase circulation of that second newspaper. This passage, printed in his *Dublin Journal* for 11 May,<sup>72</sup> alerts Dubliners to the fact that:

[T]he Author of the Pamphlet called a Letter to the Shop-keepers &c. upon that Subject, hath Directed the Printer to Sell the said Pamphlets to any Gentleman at the Rate of three Dozen for two English Shillings, having himself undertaken to pay the Printer the Charge of Publishing them.

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<sup>70</sup> *Swift*, iii, 221.

<sup>71</sup> The full text is reproduced at: *PW*, x, 153 – 154. On this Harding newspaper report, Davis says it appears in the *Dublin Impartial News-Letter*: *PW*, x, 153; Ehrenpreis refers to it as the *Dublin News Letter*: *Swift*, iii, 221; and Ferguson calls it *The Dublin Journal*: 103. It is the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter*. On Swift's comment, refer also Davis, *DL*, xxv.

<sup>72</sup> And whether a coincidence or not, this is the last of the nine surviving Numbers (or editions, as they were not numbered) of this Harding newspaper. The previous eight are those for: 29 March 1722, 6 April 1722, 21 May 1722, 20 August 1722, 4 October 1722, 12 November 1722, 7 December 1722, and 24 December 1722.

This passage from Swift then exhorts the tradesmen who have not yet heard of, or read, the *Letter*, to buy it and read it and also read it to others.<sup>73</sup> It says that “the said Book will fully Convince every Man” that the people are under no obligation to accept the coin.<sup>74</sup> Both of these newspaper contributions active promote the first *Letter*. They are also indicative of how far the publication had already progressed into the Irish consciousness. By this time, at least two other tracts on the halfpence written by other authors had appeared.<sup>75</sup> There was no doubting, though, that the essential text was that of the Drapier, and Swift was using Harding’s newspaper copy to push that text into every last corner of the kingdom.

By the summer of 1724, Swift was imposing himself on Ireland in the manner he had first envisioned in 1720. He was a law unto himself and it is evident that he was inspiring awe amongst the common people. The paragraph he had written for Harding’s *WINL* for 21 April had finished with: “But after all, is it possible without some Indignation to conceive a whole Kingdom kept in a Fright for so many Months by one *Obscure, Inconsiderable, Insignificant, Ill-designing Mechanick?*” Never before had the people of Dublin seen such comment printed as ‘news’. Further, for the first time in four years, Swift remained in Dublin for the summer instead of heading for the country,<sup>76</sup> and in July he was a pallbearer at the funeral at Christ Church of the Primate, Thomas Lindsay. The *Dublin Gazette* reported the crowd at this funeral to have been “the greatest Concourse of People that has been seen here on the like Occasion.”<sup>77</sup> Many may have come out simply to look upon Swift. As for Harding, the “John o Stiles” of the industry had in the space of a few months become the most important printer in the town. Although Swift was directing him to sell at the lowest price, he was clearly making money, and to reflect his new stature he altered the appearance of his *DINL* by changing the headpiece to one of three castles. In what was a new innovation for Dublin newspapers, too,

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<sup>73</sup> On the practice of reading aloud to groups in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Gillespie, ‘Reading Print, 1550 – 1700’, in *HOIB*, 141 – 145; and especially Kennedy, ‘Reading Print, 1700 – 1800’, in *HOIB*, 146, 148, 156. Refer also: Blackstock, ‘Politics and Print: A Case Study’, in *HOIB*, 245.

<sup>74</sup> The passage in its entirety consists of four short paragraphs. The first two are reproduced in: *DL*, 186 – 187.

<sup>75</sup> *A Letter to William Woods, Esq; From his Only friend in Ireland*, printed by James Carson probably in April (A4, 85), and Edward Southwell’s *A Letter from Dublin, to William Wood, Esquire*, published anonymously in late April or early May (it is dated 25 April) (A4, 86). Two others that could have appeared any time between March and October, are: *A Word of Advice: Or, A Friendly Caution To the Collectors of Ireland, In Relation to Wood’s Brass-Money* (A4, 88); and *The Soldier’s Plea: against Receiving Mr. Wood’s Brass-Money* (A4, 89), both printed by William Wilmot.

<sup>76</sup> Refer: McMin, *Jonathan’s Travels*, 96.

<sup>77</sup> *Dublin Gazette*, 18 – 21 July 1724. (From June 1724 the *Dublin Gazette* was printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, who took over from Ann Sandys).

he included an elaborate ornamental border to separate the bottom of the text on the final page from his imprint beneath.<sup>78</sup> Publication of this upgraded *DINL* began on 7 July 1724.

### The Second Letter

Another matter seemingly not noticed by commentators is that the second *Letter* was another instance of Swift writing in response to public demand. I presented evidence earlier that *Universal Use* in 1720 was to some extent published in response to public demand, but the evidence with regard to the second *Letter* of the Drapier is clearer still. During the spring and summer months, there was a lull in pamphleteering and other writing on the matter. This was seemingly because the people had accepted Swift's leadership and were deferring to him. Then, with Swift's contributions to Harding's newspapers, which were written in his ever-transparent style, what was a hope that he would write again, became an expectation, and with June and July passing with no new publication appearing, the people began to expressly signal to him. One instance of this is seen in a "Letter to the Wits of Dublin" written by a "Brother of the Quill". It was a letter that the author went to some pains to compose. It urges the writers of the town to resume their pens and it includes a hint that one subject available to them was that of Wood's halfpence. And seemingly to give it the widest possible exposure and to ensure it came before the right eyes, this "Brother of the Quill" sent his letter to Harding, who printed it in his *DINL* for 25 July:

GENTLEMEN,

HAS the Devil cast his Club over you? What is become of all your Entertaining Conceits? Where are your *Puns*, *Bargains*, *Pastorals*, *Elegies*, *Epigrams*, and *Lampoons*? I am afraid *Apollo* and the *Muses* are Dead. If so why the Plague does not some of you Write their ELEGY? The poor PRINTERS are like to Starve, having nothing but the thin DIET of *News* and *Advertisements* to live upon. For the Lord's Sake Dear Gentlemen Write. What though the lovely *Nine* be Dead and their Great Lord and Master? Let the best Writer among you selves be set up in his Place, and Pick out *Nine* of the ablest among the *Female Bards* of this Town, which are a pretty round Number, let them be unto you for *Muses*. St. *Patrick's* Well or *Bridget Coal's* Pump may supply the Fountain of *Hypocrene*, the Hill of *Hoath* serve for *Parnassus*, and so my Lads Revive your Old Genius again. You see I have Equip'd you as well as your Hearts can wish. Do not you observe how Melancholly the poor Publick is grown: O my Conscience it is scarce able to hold up it's Head for want of it's usual Diversion, I am afraid it will fall into a Lethargy, Rouze it, Rouze it, I say, for if this old Gentleman Dies, there's an End of your Writing, you may keep your Wit in your Pockets, or Patch broken Windows with

<sup>78</sup> See Image 10. On the use of flower-ornaments to separate articles in London newspapers: James Raven, 'Serial Advertisement in Eighteenth Century Britain and Ireland', in *Serials and their Readers, 1620 – 1914*, New Castle, 1993, 103 – 122, at 112, 113.



it. Consider too that WOOD's Half-pence may chance to come among us, and there will be Money enough to Buy what you Write nay though you should Write Twenty Papers for One that you have done heretofore, no Body will want Cash to Buy your half Sheet. And let me advise you Gentlemen to keep to that, it is enough both for you and for us, any more is tedious; and I know by this LETTER (which is my first ESSAY of the Kind) what a cursed Deal of Pains a very little Writing Costs a Man. Now I believe when this is printed it will take but a small Compass, and yet the Studying and Hamering, the Biting my Nails and Scratching my Head, walking about my Chamber, laying down my Pen and taking it up, Correcting Blotting and Tearing has cost me above Week if it were all put together. I am not ashamed to own it, and I will tell you the Reason: *Because I will see you all Hanged before I will let you know who writ it.*

I am with all Prouddness and Respect.

*A Brother of the QUILL.*

The reference to St. Patrick's Well would appear to be intended to identify Swift as a potential writer. But whether through this letter or otherwise, it is known that the people successfully reached Swift with their message that they wanted him to write again. This is another of the facts given by Sarah Harding in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* of 1726. Referring to the first *Letter* as a "Cloath" that the Drapier had woven for the people, she says:

The Sickness abating, and the Air growing warm,  
The Cloath was thrown off, which had eased their pain;  
But soon it return'd with a mighty Alarm,  
Which made 'em all cry to the DRAPIER again.<sup>79</sup>

As it eventuated, in London in July, Wood announced a series of proposals with respect to the coin, which were compromises designed to appease the Irish people's concerns. These proposals were printed in London newspapers on July 15 and thereafter reprinted in several Dublin newspapers two weeks later, including in Harding's *Post-Boy* for 31 July and his *DINL* on 1 August.<sup>80</sup> They provided Swift with his impetus and, satisfying the call of the people in doing so, he wrote a second *Letter* as the Drapier.

The working relationship between Swift and Harding was never closer and the comradeship between them never stronger, than during this period of the production of the second *Letter*. Already in the preceding months, certain details of their association had become

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<sup>79</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14.

<sup>80</sup> The proposals of Wood as they were reprinted in Harding's *Post-Boy* for 31 July are reproduced in: *PW*, x, 189 – 190. Carter reprinted them in his *Flying-Post* on 31 July, and Gwyn Needham and Thomas Hume reprinted them in their *Dublin Intelligence* and *Dublin Courant* respectively, both on 1 August. In the case of the Harding reprint in his *Post-Boy* for 31 July, he added the observation at the end: "[The Printer of this Paper leaves the Intention of the above Paragraph to the serious Consideration of every True Well-Wisher to Ireland.]" No copy of his *DINL* for 1 August survives, although it is likely that it, too, included this editorial comment. (The evidence of the existence of a *DINL* for 1 August is in the title of the second *Letter* of the Drapier).

public. It was known that the Swift–Harding association was one that incorporated comment being sent from Swift for insertion into the printer’s newspapers. Also, in Harding’s *Dublin Journal* for 11 May, Swift had said that he had met the costs of producing further copies of the first *Letter*. According to Swift’s own public statement, then, he and Harding were in communication about the production costs and money was being sent from the deanery to the printing house at Molesworth’s Court. Further evidence of the co-operation between Harding and Swift through this time is associated with the possibility that Harding was making regular newspaper dispatches to the deanery. Circumstances suggestive of this have been seen in the events surrounding the advertisements for *The Bog-House, a Poem*, as well as with the *London Post-man* for 17 April, which pre-empted Swift’s comment in Harding’s *WTNL* for 21 April. Then, with this second *Letter* of the Drapier, Swift was responding to the reprint of Wood’s proposals in Harding’s *DINL* for 1 August. The full title of the second *Letter* was: *A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-Paper of Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>. Relating to Mr. Woods’s Half-Pence. By M. B. Drapier. Author of the Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c.*<sup>81</sup> Although written for all of Ireland, it takes the form of a personal letter to Harding. (As Swift expressly states towards the end of the publication, “Though my Letter be Directed to you, Mr. Harding, yet I intend it for all my Country-men”.)<sup>82</sup> The “Sir” whom Swift addresses with the opening word, is Harding.<sup>83</sup> The “your News Letter”, is Harding’s *DINL*. The “your Paragraph”, is the report from Harding’s *DINL* for 1 August, and the “I am your Servant, M.B.” at the conclusion, defers to Harding. He could have received no better endorsement than this. It also marked the full reversal in his fortunes. The printer who four years earlier had stood trial at the King’s Bench for pick-pocketing £49 was now at once the addressee and publisher of one the most anticipated publications in the history of printing in Ireland to this time.

In my view this second *Letter* itself is the most effective of the five Swift wrote as the Drapier. The events of 1724 that led to the year being described as Ireland’s *annus mirabilis*<sup>84</sup> were triggered by this second *Letter*. Taking issue with each of Wood’s proposals and demonstrating how these compromises would still bring about the people’s undoing, the *Letter* is written in a different register from the first. Cordialities of tone and manner that normally

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<sup>81</sup> A2, 43.

<sup>82</sup> A2, 43, page 13; *PW*, x, 22.

<sup>83</sup> A2, 43, page 2. This word “Sir” was omitted from the version published in *Faulkner 1735*: iv, 80. Refer also: *PW*, x, 15, 209.

<sup>84</sup> Rossi and Hone, 274.

attend a public address are done away with as Swift gives full vent to his anger. It is anger that is inclusive, directed against Wood and the subsequent predicament that the people of Ireland now find themselves in. The *Letter* is written at a pace and with a level of aggression that escalate throughout as Swift takes each of the Wood's proposals in turn and progressively heightens the indignation against him. All of Wood's proposals are presented in such a way as to portray that Englishman as an enemy to the kingdom to be resisted at all costs. Swift shows Wood as having under-estimated the Irish people and through clarity of argument and force of invective turns the tables on him. He writes with the tenor of an author clapping the shoulders and going eye-to-eye with each and every person in the kingdom, infusing his strength and showing them that the power is theirs to take:

Mr. *Woods* will *OBLIGE* me to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Brass in every Payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Woods* and his Deputies through the Head, like *High-way Men* or *House-breakers*, if they dare to force one Farthing of their Coyn upon me in payment of an Hundred Pounds.<sup>85</sup>

The potency of this metaphor would have shocked and unnerved yet it demonstrates that this political issue was one that plumbed the depths of human dignity. The line that immediately follows is to similar effect: "It is no Loss of Honour to submit to the *Lyon*: But who, with the figure of a *Man*, can think with Patience of being devoured alive by a *Rat*".<sup>86</sup> It is a *Letter* that brings Protestants and Catholics, rich and poor, native Irish and English-Irish, law abiders and non-law abiders, all together in an arm-in-arm resolution never to fail each other on this matter. And towards the end, Swift proposes that declarations be drawn up to formally state that the coin represents an evil to the kingdom and that it is not to be received. He suggests that such declarations be signed by all men in the country in a show of commitment, and even offers pro-forma wording.<sup>87</sup> This is a time in their lives, he is saying, when the one thing that matters to them all is preventing this coin from gaining an entry.

In preparing this second *Letter* for the press, Swift and Harding again had to consider the question of sedition. It was a *Letter* that made the first look virtuous in that respect. It raises the people's disaffection to a searing pitch and although it does not again discuss the prerogative in detail – instead referring people back to his first *Letter* for that<sup>88</sup> – it offers an

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<sup>85</sup> A2, 43, page 9; *PW*, x, 19 – 20.

<sup>86</sup> A2, 43, page 9; *PW*, x, 20.

<sup>87</sup> A2, 43, page 14-16; *PW*, x, 23 – 24.

<sup>88</sup> A2, 43, page 6; *PW*, x, 17.

extension of the argument by saying that, in the event of a Proclamation being issued by the King ordering the people to receive the coin, that Proclamation would have no legal force and need not be obeyed.<sup>89</sup> Swift was also becoming bolder in directing that disaffection against the ministry and the King. As he had done in the first *Letter*, in this second he characterises the dispute between the two countries as one of *Wood against all of us*, in this way diverting all of the blame off to the businessman. But he edges closer to the identities of the people whom he considered the real villains when he expostulates, “Good God! Who are this Wretch’s *Advisers*? Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers* or *Sharers*?”<sup>90</sup> There was no mistaking who he was alluding to, and as the law stood at the time, an oblique or ironical reference still constituted a libel.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Swift refers to an incident involving a Mr. Hambden from around a hundred years earlier, where after explaining that this Mr. Hambden had chosen to go to prison rather than pay a few shillings to King Charles without the authority of Parliament, he says “I will rather chuse to be *Hanged* than have all my Substance Taxed at Seventeen Shillings in the Pound, at the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of the Venerable Mr. *Woods*”.<sup>92</sup> Whilst he again presents the culprit as Wood, the analogy with Mr. Hambden puts him in direct confrontation with George I.<sup>93</sup>

As had been the case with the first *Letter*, though, with this second the state of the law was irrelevant. The act of initiating a prosecution was a political one, and in August there was even less likelihood of that happening than there had been in March. Grafton had been recalled by Walpole in early April and had departed the kingdom on 8 May. With Grafton’s replacement, Carteret, not due to arrive until shortly prior to the next Parliament – which was scheduled for September 1725 – the kingdom was to be governed by the Lords Justices in the interim. These were Middleton, William Connolly and Lord Shannon,<sup>94</sup> all of whom were against the halfpence<sup>95</sup> and not about to weaken the campaign by instigating or authorising a prosecution.

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<sup>89</sup> A2, 43, page 11-12; *PW*, x, 21.

<sup>90</sup> A2, 43, page 9; *PW*, x, 19.

<sup>91</sup> Giles, *A New Law-Dictionary*, 1729, op. cit., (A4, 199, under “Libel” – pages are not numbered).

<sup>92</sup> A2, 43, page 10; *PW*, x, 20.

<sup>93</sup> Also on this passage: Ferguson, 106.

<sup>94</sup> These three had been sworn in on 9 May 1724.

<sup>95</sup> See Burns, i, 160 – 161; Ehrenpreis, iii, *Swift*, 219 – 220; Goodwin, ‘Wood’s Half-pence’, *English Historical Review*, 51, (1936), 663; McNally, ‘Wood’s Half-pence, Carteret and the Government of Ireland, 1723-6’, *Irish*

Accordingly, this period was one in which the laws of seditious libel were effectively put into abeyance and publishers were left unregulated. Harding may have taken this into account, for the evidence suggests that on this occasion he did not bother to seek a legal opinion before publishing. The date of the *Letter* in its published form is 4 August, which would have been the date of the manuscript and also the earliest date on which Harding would have received it. Harding published it only two days later, which indicates that he did not follow Swift's recommendation and obtain his own legal advice (presuming that Swift's comment that he "always" told him in writing to do so is accurate). Instead, upon receiving the manuscript on Tuesday 4 August, Harding read it and advertised it immediately, giving himself just one clear day to set it to type and prepare the title page.

Commentators are mistaken, then, in presuming that the euphoria of 1724 began in March with the appearance of the first *Letter*.<sup>96</sup> It was only from August. On the first of that month, Harding printed Wood's proposals of compromise in his *DINL*. A copy of this newspaper was sent to the deanery and Swift wrote this second *Letter* within two or three days, with the manuscript sent to Harding on the fourth of the month. On that day, the newspaper notice Dublin had been waiting for appeared in Harding's *DINL*: "On *Thursday* next will be Publish'd, A LETTER to Mr. *Harding* the Printer, upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his Newspaper of *Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>* relating to Mr. *Wood's* Half-Pence. By *M.B. Drapier*, Author of the Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c". The scale of the town's anticipation is reflected in the fact just mentioned, that Harding received the manuscript on 4 August and immediately advertised it and set the type. Then, from the moment it appeared on Thursday 6 August,<sup>97</sup> this second *Letter* set fire to the hearts and minds of the kingdom. The excitement that had been welling up in coffee houses, ale houses and living rooms burst out on to the streets, and the over the coming days and weeks the people, filled with a sense of righteousness, began publishing declarations of the kind Swift had proposed. Written in upstanding tones as they expressed their contempt of this coin, declarations from Counties, Towns, Corporations and Trades from all around the country began appearing in newspapers – both Harding's<sup>98</sup> and others –

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*Historical Studies*, 30, (1997), 363.

<sup>96</sup> For example, Munter: *HINP*, 146.

<sup>97</sup> Burns mistakenly says it appeared in the week after 11 August: i, 164; Taylor says it "appeared about the middle of August": *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Essay*, London, 1933, 154. Madden mistakes this second *Letter* for the first and incorrectly says Harding was imprisoned for it: i, 300.

<sup>98</sup> Those printed by Harding in his *DINL* were: the Declaration of the Coopers and Brewers; the Declaration of the Grand Jury of St. Patrick's; the Declaration of the Burroughs of Swords; the Declaration of Cavan; and the Declaration of the town of Galway.

with the names of sometimes one hundred and fifty or more people printed underneath. In the “Declaration of the Bankers”, which was published in the *Dublin Gazette* for 11 – 15 August as well as in Hume’s *Dublin Courant* and Needham’s *Dublin Intelligence* in subsequent days, the name “J. Swift” appeared. This was James Swift, the Dublin banker. And in the “Declaration of the County of Dublin”, which was printed in the *Dublin Gazette* for 14 October, the name “Jonathan Swift” appeared. This was a clergyman who was the Dean of St. Patrick’s and who had a reputation for writing anonymous and pseudonymous prose and verse works. So intoxicating was the spirit that had overtaken the country that no one could bare to be outside of it, and people who had previously been suspected of having had dealings with Wood even published personal notices in the newspapers disavowing any such involvement.<sup>99</sup> The psychology of the kingdom had been transformed overnight.

The brief period of Harding’s fame in Ireland, which would end abruptly and tragically, is to be dated from this time. Harding was more than just the printer who on behalf of the nation had assumed the risk. In a campaign that was dependent upon the support of the trading classes and the common people, he was the ideal real-life counterpart to the fictional draper. To some extent Harding would have been a ground manager of the campaign, with his shop on Molesworth’s Court likely to have been a meeting place for talks and rallies,<sup>100</sup> and he is readily imaginable at this time holding court in his shop and taking questions from people of all ranks. With regard to financial success, the evidence is not entirely clear as to precisely how well he did through this period. Towards the end of the second *Letter*, for instance, Swift gives him a paternalistic dressing-down, which includes observations associated with his money:

I must tell you in Particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several Hundred Persons have enquired at your House for me<sup>101</sup> *Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c.* and you had none to sell them. Pray keep your self provided with that Letter and with this; you have got very well by the Former, but I did not then Write for your Sake, any more

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<sup>99</sup> See the statement of John and Daniel Molyneux in Hume’s *Dublin Courant* for 25 August, and that of Thomas Handy in Rider and Harbin’s *Dublin Gazette* for 29 August. Both are reproduced in: *DL*, xxxvii.

<sup>100</sup> For example, on 7 September, a mob carried an effigy of Wood in triumph through the town to St. Stephen’s Green, and it has been speculated that this might have commenced from Harding’s shop: Fabricant, 250. It could also be speculated that Harding himself had a role in this particular event, given the way in which it was later described by Swift in *A Full and true Account of the Solemn Procession to the Gallows, At the Execution of William Wood, Esquire, And Hard-Ware Man*. Swift refers to a wake for the effigy having been held in an ale house, and that “a worthy Member of the Assembly stood up, and proposed, that the Body should be carried out next Day, and burned with the same Pomp and Formalities used at his Execution”: *PW*, x, 149. Maybe the ale house was one of Harding’s choosing, and the Worthy Member was Harding himself, who afterwards gave Swift the detail of the story. Also on this incident with the effigy: *The Dublin Intelligence* for 8 September 1724; and King to Gorges, 17 October, 1724 (TCD Manuscripts 2537/279 – 282).

<sup>101</sup> This word should be “my”. It is a Harding error.

than I do now. Pray Advertise both in every News Paper, and let it be not YOUR Fault or MINE, if our Country-Men will not take Warning. I desire you likewise to Sell them as Cheap as you can.<sup>102</sup>

Whilst it is difficult to believe that Harding would have been without stock of the first *Letter* for so long as to have to turn “Several Hundred Persons” away, the problem was to a significant extent not of Harding’s making, for Swift had ordered him to sell the first at the lowest possible rate, and on 11 May Swift had publicly stated that he had had to send money to Harding to help him with the costs of producing more. These are matters that suggest that Harding was not clearing any profit. On the other hand, Swift says in the course of these comments to Harding in the second *Letter*, “you have got very well by the Former”. These statements concerning Harding’s finances, then, are contradictory. However, separate evidence, such as the ornamental border Harding introduced to his *DINL* from 7 July, as well as new evidence to be seen shortly, indicates quite clearly that the latter was the case – Harding was making money and, moreover, the people did not begrudge him for it. Harding would not run short of the first *Letter* again. This is seen in his *DINL* for 15 August, when he readvertised the second *Letter* with the comment that it was written by the “Author of the Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c. which continues to be Sold by the Printer hereof”.

With leaders and influencers in Dublin following Swift’s example, other writers began sending their manuscripts to Harding. And enhancing his celebrity all the more, he continued to be named in the titles, such as *Another Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer*<sup>103</sup> and *A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer*.<sup>104</sup> Even Lord Abercorn, the Whig who had been the director of the proposal for a national bank in 1721 and who had overseen the “John o’ Stiles” disparagement, sent Harding a tract.<sup>105</sup> This was a period during which Harding had greater stature than the King’s Printer in Ireland, the King’s Stationer in Ireland and the Printer to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, combined. In the course of the second *Letter*, the Drapier had

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<sup>102</sup> A2, 43, page 16; *PW*, x, 24.

<sup>103</sup> A2, 49, published in mid-to-late August. Monck Mason considers this to be Swift’s (342, n. i), although Temple Scott (vi, 88 – 89), Wagner, (18, item 43), and Davis (*DL*, xxxiii, 247 – 248) all think it more likely to have been Sheridan’s.

<sup>104</sup> A2, 48, published on 25 August. Wagner (18, item 44) and Baltes (186 & n. 196) think this is Swift’s whilst Davis thinks it was one of his “under spur-leathers” (*DL*, xxxv). Another tract sent to Harding in this period was: *A Word or Two to the People of Ireland*, published on 19 August (A2, 45). Also, pamphlets published by printers other than Harding that may have appeared in this period between the second and third *Letters*, are: Rider and Harbin: A4, 97; William Wilmot: A4, 88; A4, 89; A4, 92; and Samuel Powell: A4, 101. Others that were published anonymously and may have appeared in this time are: A4, 87; A4, 90.

<sup>105</sup> A2, 39. This had been sent to Harding in the weeks following the publication of the first *Letter* of the Drapier: see *DL*, 355.

proclaimed his credentials with, “I am no inconsiderable Shop-Keeper in this Town”.<sup>106</sup> Set to type by Harding for a *Letter* addressed to him in the title, this was perfectly apposite to his own circumstances at the time.

### The Third *Letter*

For the third *Letter*, no soliciting or other encouragement of Swift was required. Published only five weeks after the second, it was intended to sustain the strength and unanimity of the opposition to the coin and maintain the rapture that had enveloped the country. This third *Letter* was prompted by the final Report of the Committee of the English Privy Council which had enquired into Ireland’s complaints. It was a Report that found in favour of Wood in every respect. Dated 24 July, it appears to have taken between two and three weeks for copies of the Report to reach Dublin, and there is an element of uncertainty as to how Swift came to obtain his particular copy. In the opening paragraphs of this third *Letter*, Swift says that the Report, rather than being published in London in any formal, authoritative format, was printed within the pages of the *London Journal* “or some other”<sup>107</sup> newspaper. If this was in fact what happened, Swift would surely have been sent a copy of that London newspaper by Harding, or even any other stationer, the moment it arrived in Dublin. Instead, Swift says that the copy he received, sent to him on 18 August, was an independently printed copy that carried no printer’s name or place of publication,<sup>108</sup> and he presumes this copy to have been produced by a Dublin stationer “who hath a Mind to make Penny by Publishing something upon a Subject, which now employs all our Thoughts in this *Kingdom*”.<sup>109</sup> Swift seems to be saying that the copy he received is one that can only have been produced a day or two after the arrival of the original in the London newspaper, which is odd, for as Ehrenpreis presumes, a copy of the Report would have been sent to Swift immediately.<sup>110</sup> One possible explanation is that, with these comments in the third *Letter*, Swift was drawing attention to what he considered improper practice on the part of the Dublin stationer, when he had in fact already seen the original. Or another possibility is that the independently printed version he

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<sup>106</sup> A2, 43, page 4; *PW*, x, 16.

<sup>107</sup> A2, 50, page 2; *PW*, x, 27.

<sup>108</sup> A4, 91.

<sup>109</sup> A2, 50, page 2; *PW*, x, 27.

<sup>110</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 236 – 237, n.1.



refers to was in fact the authorised London printing, with copies of this only making their way to Dublin after it had already been reprinted in London newspapers.

Whatever the origins of the copy of the Report Swift first saw, this third *Letter* was entitled *Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, relating to WOOD's Half-Pence. By M.B. Drapier*.<sup>111</sup> It is twice as long as either of the first two *Letters* and it adopts a different tone again. Whilst the first two had been written for the common people, this *Letter* is addressed at the outset “*To the NOBILITY and GENTRY of the Kingdom of IRELAND*”.<sup>112</sup> It is written in a more dispassionate register, as though Swift is assuming the podium to address a seated assembly of the nobility and gentry.

From a legal point of view, this *Letter* was – in theory at least – more problematic than either of the first two. The first and second *Letters* had carried the implicit complaint that through all of this business of Wood's patent, Ireland was being treated by England as an inferior country under the Crown. In this third *Letter*, Swift brings this issue to the forefront and discusses it in a manner that under ordinary conditions would have been considered to be edging towards treason. Illustrating the point that England and Ireland are not on an equal footing, he imagines what would happen in the reverse scenario of such coinage being proposed for England and being met with the same opposition from the Parliament of that country: “[W]ould his Majesty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Minister dare advise him against Recalling such a Patent?”<sup>113</sup> In the very next paragraph, Swift poses the question more directly with his “Does not the same *Sun* shine over them?” passage.<sup>114</sup> And later in the *Letter* he ventures an observation with regard to a particular comment in the Report. This Report, which had been written by a Committee of the King's Privy Council, states that patents such as this granted to Wood are “Legal and Obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of your Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory, or invasive, of any Liberties or Privileges of your Subjects of Ireland”.<sup>115</sup> Swift isolates the words “in Ireland” in this statement, saying that their presence alone connotes that the people of Ireland are treated differently from others in the King's dominions: “so that in my humble

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<sup>111</sup> A2, 50.

<sup>112</sup> A2, 50, page 2; *PW*, x, 27.

<sup>113</sup> A2, 50, page 7; *PW*, x, 30 – 31.

<sup>114</sup> A2, 50, page 7; *PW*, x, 30 – 31.

<sup>115</sup> A4, 91, page 3.

Opinion, the word *Ireland* standing in that Proposition, was, in the mildest Interpretation, *A Lapse of the Pen*".<sup>116</sup> Needless to say, these were precarious arguments to publish at this time. Ireland's constitutional status had deep roots – roots, moreover, that had not before been exposed in such a manner.

With each successive *Letter*, Swift was showing increasingly less regard for Molyneux's warning about discussing the constitutions of countries. As part of his argument in this third *Letter*, he revisits the subject of the prerogative. In the first *Letter* he had defined it, and in the second he had said that any Proclamation issued for the purposes of enforcing it need not be obeyed. In this third, Swift explains that, in its implementation, the exercise of it by the King and his ministers has been flawed. One passage of dense argument, in particular, consists of several express or implied allegations in this regard.<sup>117</sup> Swift insinuates that the prerogative in this instance represented "a JOBB" for a private businessman. He suggests that the exercise of the prerogative was irregular on account of the failure of the King and the ministry to consult Ireland or take the welfare of the country into consideration. Swift questions the advice given to the King, doing so in a way that alludes to the judgement of the King himself. In the course of asserting Ireland's historical fidelity to the Crown, Swift mentions that the country has never taken any step towards returning the Pretender to the throne, a statement that inevitably implies that Ireland's continued loyalty should not be taken for granted. And in a later passage in this third *Letter*, Swift refers to the *Answer* the King had delivered to the Address of the Irish House of Lords concerning the coin, saying that, in this *Answer*, the King "is pleased to say that *He will do every Thing in his Power for the Satisfaction of his People*. It should seem therefore, that the Recalling the Patent is not to be understood as a Thing *In his Power*".<sup>118</sup> If this could be published with impunity, it is to be wondered what it would take to stir Dublin Castle into action.<sup>119</sup>

Circumstances indicate that Harding might on this occasion have obtained a legal opinion – at least, he had time to do so. The *Letter* as published is dated 25 August, which also therefore would have been the date of the manuscript. As such, Harding would have received the manuscript on 25 or 26 August. He then announced in his *DINL* for 29 August:

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<sup>116</sup> A2, 50, page 20; *PW*, x, 39.

<sup>117</sup> A2, 50, pages 11 – 13; *PW*, x, 34 – 35.

<sup>118</sup> A2, 50, page 28; *PW*, x, 46.

<sup>119</sup> For further discussion of the seditious qualities of the third *Letter*: Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 182; Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction*, London, 1955, 132 – 133; Ferguson, 118; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 238 – 239; Goodwin, 'Wood's Half-pence', op. cit., 661.

Next Week will be publish'd (Inscrib'd to the NOBILITY and GENTRY of the Kingdom of IRELAND) Some OBSERVATIONS upon a Paper call'd, *The REPORT of the Committee of the most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, relating to WOOD's Half-Pence*, By – M.B. Drapier. Author of the Letters to the *Shop-Keeper*s, &c.

But it would in fact be a complete week from 29 August before the *Letter* appeared. Accordingly, Harding was in possession of the manuscript for ten or eleven days prior to publication. One thing that appears to have occurred during this time was that Swift, working closely with his printer, sent him additional text to insert. This is known because the type in one section towards the end – pages 27, 28, and the first two-thirds of 29 – is in a smaller font (which Davis suggests indicates that Swift sent this text to Harding as the *Letter* was being set).<sup>120</sup> But this period also gave Harding the opportunity to adhere to Swift's written recommendation. Again, whether he did so is not known, but even if he did, it was a superfluous exercise, for the political status quo within Ireland remained unchanged from five weeks earlier and this third *Letter* was never going to be prosecuted. As Walpole himself commented in a letter to Newcastle on 1 September, the people "are Supported and countenanced in their obstinacy by their Governours and those that are in authority under His Majesty".<sup>121</sup> In his *DINL* for 5 September, Harding advertised the third *Letter* as published "this Day".<sup>122</sup>

As was part of its purpose, this third *Letter* sustained the country's grandiose new atmosphere. It contained several passages that were emotive in the popular sense<sup>123</sup> but the appearance of another publication from Swift alone was enough. In a new egalitarianism, writers from all corners of life began writing pamphlets such as *A Word of Advice: Or, A Friendly Caution To the Collectors of Ireland, In Relation to Wood's Brass-Money*.<sup>124</sup> With tracts such as *A Letter From a Quaker-Merch't. to Will. Wood, Hard-Ware-Man*,<sup>125</sup> and *Advice To The Roman Catholicks of Ireland Concerning Wood's Halfpence*,<sup>126</sup> traditional hostilities were set aside as sects and factions began recognising each other's role and addressing each other in familial terms.

<sup>120</sup> Davis, *DL*, lxxxiv – lxxxv. Refer also: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 238. n.1

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in Goodwin, 'Wood's Half-pence', op. cit., 664, note 1. See also Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 249 and note 2.

<sup>122</sup> In a letter to Edward Southwell of 7 September Marmaduke Coghill also said it was published on 5 September: B.L. Add MS 21, 122, folio 18: cited in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 238 note 1.

<sup>123</sup> For example: A2, 50, page 14; *PW*, x, 36; page 22; *PW*, x, 41; page 31; *PW*, x, 48.

<sup>124</sup> A4, 88.

<sup>125</sup> A2, 51.

<sup>126</sup> A4, 87.

Longer, more studious dissertations such as *Remarks Upon Mr. Wood's Coyn and Proceedings. Salus Populi, Suprema lex est*, by Sir Michael Creagh,<sup>127</sup> and *Some Considerations on the Attempts Made to Pass Mr Wood's Brass-Money in Ireland. By a Lover of his Country*, by David Bindon,<sup>128</sup> also contributed to the spirit of open and frank discussion. And through it all, the people were at the same time laughing at the miracle of their newfound unity. In *Needham's Post-Man* for 2 September (days before the publication of the third *Letter*), the weavers, long-time foes of the butchers, had called a quasi-comical truce where they said that if the introduction of Wood's coin would see the butchers' meat being stolen, they would come to their defence. In *A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer*, which Harding had published on 25 August, the Lady of Quality and her committee of women had voted in favour of an order whereby Wood, upon his arrival in Ireland, "should be forthwith depriv'd of the Necessary Qualifications to Manhood, (and to be Exploded the society of Men)".<sup>129</sup> Swift sent Harding newspaper copy for an "Advertisement from the *Church-Wardens* of the *City*", which was printed in the *DINL* for 5 September. This cautioned the people against putting Wood's coin into the poor boxes because the poor and starving will have nothing to do with them. And Harding's *DINL* for 12 September included "The Declaration of the Beggars, Lame and Blind, Halt and Maimed, both Male and Female, in and about the City of Dublin", which declared to the ale wives, hucksters, tobacco and brandy sellers with whom they ordinarily deal that they will never offer the coin by way of payment. This might also have been sent to Harding by Swift.<sup>130</sup>

Yet, although all of these matters suggest that there was not one person in the country who did not revere Swift for what he was doing, this was not the case. An important matter which has been overlooked by commentators is that there was a pocket of irritation with Swift for his conduct through this time (a matter which would in time bear directly upon the fortunes of Sarah Harding). The evidence of this becomes clearer from shortly after the time of this third *Letter*. In this third *Letter* itself, the only evidence of it is Swift's comment that "the whole Nation, almost to a Man",<sup>131</sup> was joined in the opposition to Wood's coin. It is a comment that shows that the support of his pamphleteering was not universal. But it is

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<sup>127</sup> A4, 92.

<sup>128</sup> A4, 104.

<sup>129</sup> A2, 47, page 7.

<sup>130</sup> Two commentators who think it is not Swift's are Ferguson (111 – 112) and Baltes (186 – 187).

<sup>131</sup> A2, 50, page 7; *PW*, x, 30.

apparent from evidence on this matter that will be seen in subsequent chapters that the sentiments of the people who disapproved of Swift had been building over a period and were in place at the time of this third *Letter*.

Those sentiments emanated mostly from the House of Lords and were to the effect that it was not for Swift to undertake this role, much less in a manner that suggested he was the oracle of matters of constitution, King and God. (Swift at one point refers to the King as being “God’s Vice-gerent upon Earth”<sup>132</sup> – something the Bishops might otherwise have thought he had overlooked.) Adding to their aggravation was Swift’s ongoing authorial aloofness and his inability or refusal to directly engage. By the time of this third *Letter*, the pseudonym M.B. Drapier had become an absurdity, with comments such as at the opening: “Having already written *Two Letters* to People of my own Level and Condition; and having now very pressing Occasion for writing a *Third*; I thought I could not more properly Address it than to *Your Lordships and Worships*”,<sup>133</sup> or “This (May it please your *Lordships and Worships*) may seem a strange Way of discoursing in an *Illiterate Shop Keeper*”.<sup>134</sup> Whilst it cannot be known for certain, circumstances indicate that this facade was maintained even in all of his person-to-person dealings, with Swift never acknowledging, or even allowing questions on, his role as the Drapier. This pretence was at all times preserved whilst within the privacy of his deanery he wrote lines, such as also appeared in this third *Letter*: “How shall I, a poor Ignorant Shop Keeper, utterly unskill’d in Law, be able to answer so weighty an Objection”,<sup>135</sup> or “God forbid that so mean a Man as I should meddle with the King’s *Prerogative*”.<sup>136</sup>

But these issues were of no concern to Harding. Having published the third *Letter* on 5 September over thirty-two pages in octavo, his rate of sales is reflected in the fact that he produced four editions. Given that it consisted of twice as many pages as either the first or the second *Letters*, his price must have been higher, and as this particular *Letter* was intended principally for the nobility and gentry, Swift might not have directed him to sell at a rate that barely covered his costs (there is no evidence that Swift did so on this occasion). The second edition corrected two misprints<sup>137</sup> whilst introducing a new one of its own – the anomalous

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<sup>132</sup> A2, 50, page 25; *PW*, x, 43.

<sup>133</sup> A2, 50, page 2; *PW*, x, 27.

<sup>134</sup> A2, 50, page 3; *PW*, x, 28.

<sup>135</sup> A2, 50, page 6; *PW*, x, 29.

<sup>136</sup> A2, 50, page 12; *PW*, x, 34.

<sup>137</sup> These were, on page 12 line 1, “extraordinrry”, and on page 16, line 34, “consiust”.

“The Second EDITOIN Corrected” on the title page.<sup>138</sup> In the days or weeks that followed, Harding produced a third edition, a fourth edition and a “Fourth Edition Corrected”. Each of these subsequent editions was not technically a new edition, for the ongoing presence of the smaller font from page 27 to two-thirds of the way down page 29 shows that the type had not been fully reset, as required to constitute a new edition. Further blurring the distinction between editions is the fact the misprints in the original edition do not appear in all surviving copies of that original edition. Teerink-Scouten, with comments that are generally characteristic of commentators’ perspectives of Harding throughout history, distrust him in his production of these editions. They presume that “the second and third editions never existed” (copies were later discovered), and they refer to the “Fourth Edition Corrected” as “a publisher’s trick”.<sup>139</sup> It is probably fairer to call it an astute sales strategy at a time when Harding, like Swift, could do as he pleased.

Subsequent to Swift’s third *Letter*, Harding published tracts including *A letter from the grand mistress of the female free-masons to Mr. Harding the printer*<sup>140</sup> and two from the Quaker, George Rooke.<sup>141</sup> Harding also printed a separate work of Swift, written anonymously and not as the Drapier, *A Serious Poem Upon William Wood, Brasier, Tinker, Hardware-man, Coiner, Counterfeiter, Founder and Esquire*.<sup>142</sup> As George Rooke said to Wood in the course of his *Letter From a Quaker-Merch’t. to Will. Wood, Hard-Ware-Man*: “Harding the Printer hath in one week received a vast Quantity of *Half-pence* for Papers written against thee, by *my much esteemed Friend the Drapier*, whose praises we cannot enough set forth”.<sup>143</sup> The halcyon days of Tory publishing for Lloyd and Waters from the New Post Office Printing House from 1710 to 1713, were nothing in comparison with the business Harding appears at this time to have been doing from Molesworth’s Court. Harding and his wife also conceived their second child at this time.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> See Image 11.

<sup>139</sup> T-S, 318 (item 642).

<sup>140</sup> A2, 56.

<sup>141</sup> A2, 51; A2, 54.

<sup>142</sup> A2, 52.

<sup>143</sup> A2, 51, page 15.

<sup>144</sup> As will be discussed in Chapter 7, their second child was baptised in the Protestant Parish of St. John the Evangelist on 18 June 1725, and there is a small hand-written note in the Register book, “18 days old”. The baby was born, therefore, on 1 June 1725 (six weeks after Harding’s death).

### The Fourth Letter

Even from before the publication of the third *Letter*, the politics of the controversy had begun to alter. Commentators, however, have not carefully analysed the various steps taken by Westminster and the effects they had in Ireland during this period. It is necessary to do this to appreciate the changed environment in which the fourth *Letter* – the *Letter to the Whole People of Ireland* – was prepared and published.

The most significant matter is that of the viceregal office. Walpole had recalled Grafton in April and his replacement, John Lord Carteret,<sup>145</sup> was appointed on 6 May.<sup>146</sup> This in itself had no effect on Irish attitudes or actions, with Carteret remaining in England and not scheduled to come to Dublin to be sworn in until shortly before the next session of Parliament, which was scheduled for September 1725. But in a decision that appears to have been taken on 1 September,<sup>147</sup> Walpole directed Carteret to prepare to leave for Ireland in the coming weeks. This was a shrewd move on Walpole's part for more than one reason. Carteret was a linguist who was fluent in German and was on that account a favourite of George I. His elevation to the Lord Lieutenancy, therefore, ingratiated Walpole to the King. But throughout the preceding years Carteret had been factionally opposed to Walpole in the Whig administration, and one of Carteret's means of undermining the First Minister had taken the form of quiet support to Irish leaders in their opposition to Wood's patent. Walpole, then, was sending Carteret directly into the mayhem he had helped create.<sup>148</sup> Accordingly, upon arriving in Ireland and throughout his subsequent management of the controversy, Carteret was conflicted between, on the one hand, his duty to oversee the implementation of the royal patent, and on the other, his sympathies for Ireland and his prior friendship with Swift.

Word of his early arrival reached Dublin within a few weeks and was first reported by Gwyn Needham in his *Dublin Intelligence* for 19 September: "Tis Reported by private Letters from Great Britain, that they of that Kingdom hearing WE were all in an Uproar about

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<sup>145</sup> On the life and career of Carteret, see: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, London, 1887; Cannon, 'Carteret, John, second Earl Granville (1690 – 1763), politician', *ODNB*; Pemberton, *Carteret: the Brilliant Failure of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1936; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 382.

<sup>146</sup> Carteret had first been advised of his appointment on 2 April. This was reported in Hume's *Dublin Courant* for 7 April.

<sup>147</sup> Refer: 22 September 1724, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 625, note 5, vol. ii, 523.

<sup>148</sup> As Walpole wrote to the Duke of Newcastle after deciding to send him over early, "I should not be for sending him over now, if I did not think it would end in totally recalling him. We shall at last get rid of him here". BL, Add. MS 32687, fol. 54: quoted by Cannon in 'Carteret, John, second Earl of Granville (1690 – 1783) politician', *ODNB*.

Wood's Coin, the Ld. Carteret was to be dispatch'd away with all Expedition for Ireland...".<sup>149</sup> Irregular as it was for Lords Lieutenant to come to Ireland at times outside of the Parliament, it was a development that for the Irish people signalled law enforcement and the end of their united spirit against Wood's coin.

Within days of this news being reported, legal action was taken against a publication associated with Wood's coin. The tract that was the subject of this action is of interest with respect to the question of its authorship. It is a short prose work entitled *The Present State of Ireland Consider'd: In a Letter to The Revd Dean Swift. By a True Patriot*. Anonymously written and also bearing an anonymous imprint,<sup>150</sup> it concerns itself only a little with the issue of the coin, and instead discusses a range of matters pertaining to Irish affairs, including absentee office holders, the expenditure of Irish revenue in England, prohibitions on Irish exports and the curtailment of Irish parliamentary authority. The only commentator to have ventured an opinion on its authorship is Wagner. Without offering any reasons for his opinion, Wagner says this was probably written by Thomas Sheridan.<sup>151</sup> This view has not found support from others, with Davis, for example, saying that it is an attribution that "would be difficult to prove".<sup>152</sup> Without going so far as to prove it, however, there are two circumstances I would like to add in support of Wagner's proposition. This friend of Swift's, Sheridan, is a person who would work more than any other to support Sarah Harding in the years following her husband's death, and for that reason evidence of his character and relationship with Swift will be discussed further in later chapters. For the moment the relevant matters are, firstly, that Sheridan was the one friend of Swift's with the courage to confront and challenge him on issues. Unlike other friends of Swift's, that is, he was not intimidated by him. But secondly, he at the same time liked to make social capital from his known close friendship with the great writer. This *The Present State of Ireland Consider'd*, then, covers a range of issues relevant to Ireland, seemingly in a manner that emulates Swift's broader Irish writing (such as in *Universal Use*). The other circumstance supporting the possibility of Sheridan's authorship concerns the fact that Swift is openly named in the title. This is something that had not been done in the course of this controversy. Whilst all of Ireland knew who the Drapier was, the closest Swift

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<sup>149</sup> After the word "Ireland", this report continued, "and 'tis said the...." but from there, on the only copy of this Number of Needham's *Dublin Intelligence* that I have seen, the report is cut off at the bottom. That copy is on *Irish Newspapers on Microfiche*.

<sup>150</sup> A4, 103.

<sup>151</sup> Wagner, 25 (item 73).

<sup>152</sup> DL, 363.



had come to being named by other writers was by George Rooke, who circulated lines from scripture that proclaimed, “And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die... there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day”,<sup>153</sup> and who wrote *A Letter To William Wood, From a Member of that Society of Men, who in Derision are call'd, Quakers*,<sup>154</sup> which refers to “Friend Jonathan’s miraculous Performances in Three Successive Operations”. No one, though, had been so bold as to publish a letter concerned in some way with Wood’s coin and address it in its title to “*The Revd Dean Swift*”. My contention is that only a friend, and only an *audacious* friend, would have had the gall to do this – a friend who was accustomed to overstepping the mark with Swift, and at the same time liked to make a show of the fact that he was closer to him than anyone else. This is a rationale that supports Wagner’s suspicion with respect to this tract’s authorship.

The question of authorship aside, this tract acquired the ignominious honour of becoming the first publication in the controversy of Wood’s halfpence to be prosecuted. The action was taken not with Parliamentary authority or out of the courts, but under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, a man by the name of John Porter (who, because the mayoral office changed hands at the commencement of Michaelmas Term each year, only had a few weeks of his Term to run). The printers of the work were discovered.<sup>155</sup> They were arrested and bound over to appear before the King’s Bench at Michaelmas Term, and an enquiry was instigated into the identity of the author.<sup>156</sup> At a time when the third *Letter* of the Drapier had just been published, then, why this particular tract was prosecuted is unclear. It said nothing that had not been said before and the only comment it has that approaches the level of sedition displayed by Swift is where the author refers to Wood as no more than “a Tool... to some of the greatest Men at the Helm”.<sup>157</sup> Maybe the singularity of the openness of Swift’s name in the title gave it a heightened visibility. However it came to pass, it is a prosecution that has the appearance of one undertaken by the Lord Mayor simply out of

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<sup>153</sup> I Sam. Xiv. 45. Refer also: Tickell to Delafaye of 1 November: PRONI 580/1, 230 – 232; DL, xliv-xlv.

<sup>154</sup> A2, 54.

<sup>155</sup> Any documentary record of their identities has not survived.

<sup>156</sup> For the evidence of the prosecution, refer the Lord Mayor’s Report to the Lords Justices of 17 October, which is enclosed in the Letter of the Lords Justices to Newcastle of the same date: PRONI 580/1/210 – 220. Also: King to Gorges, 17 October 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537/279 – 282.

<sup>157</sup> A4, 103, page 7.

anxiety with regard to the incoming administration and in order to secure some credit with the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>158</sup>

Next, even before Carteret left London for Dublin, Westminster took independent action of its own in an attempt to bring the governors of Ireland to a sense of their duty to the Crown. Described afterwards by Archbishop King as a measure intended to ply the ground ahead of Carteret's arrival,<sup>159</sup> it took the form of a letter from the Secretary of State for the South, Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, to the Lords Justices of Ireland dated 3 October, which read in part:

His Majesty is very much concerned at the constant and repeated accounts he receives of the great disorders that are raised and seem to be so industriously fomented and kept up in the Kingdom of Ireland, and cannot but wonder that no measures are taken by those in authority under His Majesty to quiet the minds of the people, or at least to discountenance the authors of all public disturbances that may threaten the Peace of the kingdom; which the King's enemies will without all doubt take advantage of and improve with all possible art and industry...

... and His Majesty hopes that your Lordships will do all that is in your power to satisfy the people and to remove the groundless fears and jealousies which they have conceived, and that in justice to yourselves, as well as in regard to His Majesty's service, you will not suffer seditious and audacious libels to be published and dispersed in a manner as if countenanced and encouraged by those in authority under His Majesty.

And Newcastle ended this letter with those final words, "in authority under His Majesty", without signing off in any way.<sup>160</sup> Upon receipt of this letter, the Lords Justices summoned a meeting of the Sheriffs, the Justices of the Peace and the new Lord Mayor, John Reyson. Held on 12 October, the Lords Justices, as they afterwards reported back to Newcastle, ordered these officers "to be vigilant in preserving the public peace by quelling riots and tumults, and by taking up the authors and publishers of seditious and audacious libels, for the time to come".<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, the Lord Mayor immediately had some printers arrested and bound over for "for some scandalous and seditious Paragraphs in their Papers".<sup>162</sup> In taking this

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<sup>158</sup> If it was in fact written by Sheridan, it represents yet another instance of the bad luck that dogged him throughout his life (although at least he was not discovered as the author of this tract).

<sup>159</sup> King to Gorges, 17 October 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537/279 – 282.

<sup>160</sup> Newcastle to the Lords Justices, 3 October 1724: PRONI 580/1/200 – 209.

<sup>161</sup> The Lords Justices to Newcastle, 17 October 1724: PRONI 580/1/210 – 220.

<sup>162</sup> The Lord Mayor's Report to the Lords Justices of 17 October, which is enclosed in the Letter of the Lords Justices to Newcastle of the same date: PRONI 580/1/210 – 220. Refer also: King to Gorges, 17 October 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537/279 – 282.

action, the Lord Mayor did not adhere to that part of the directive to be vigilant against libels “for the time to come”, because no seditious paragraphs or publications of any kind are known to have appeared between the meeting on 12 October and the Lords Justices report to Westminster on 17 October which declared that action had been taken. Instead, the Lord Mayor must have prosecuted the printers of previously published libels.

An interesting question, then, concerns precisely which publications were prosecuted. In what in one sense is remarkable, it is reasonably certain that they did not include the publications that were the most seditious of them all – those of the Drapier – for if one or more of these had been prosecuted, it is almost certain that a record of such an incident would have been made by Swift or one of his friends or a government person and would be known to us today. But then, the publications of the Drapier were sacrosanct in Ireland at the time, and the fact that they were not the subject of the Lord Mayor’s action is in this sense to be expected. Be that as it may, there nonetheless seems to be a reasonable possibility that one of the printers taken up on this occasion was Harding, because most of the “scandalous and seditious Paragraphs in... Papers” had come from his press. Harding could have been apprehended for any of the several tracts he had produced that had not carried the name of the Drapier, or if by the word “Papers”, is meant newspapers, it could have been for “A LETTER from *Cork* to Mr. *Harding* the Printer”, which Harding published in the *DINL* on 10 October, or even one of the paragraphs in his *WINL* for 21 April or his *Dublin Journal* for 11 May, which although written by Swift were unsigned as the Drapier. Accordingly, there is every possibility that during the period preceding the fourth *Letter*, Harding was forced to pay a bond to ensure his appearance before the King’s Bench at Michaelmas Term.

These actions of the Lord Mayor were a consequence of Newcastle’s letter of warning to the Lords Justices. That letter was also then tabled at a meeting of the Privy Council on 15 October where, to answer with the letter’s requirements, the far weightier measure of a Proclamation was considered. The evidence of what occurred at this meeting consists only of a letter of one of those present, Archbishop King, written two days later.<sup>163</sup> Archbishop King says that the issuing of a Proclamation would in and of itself have been sufficient to frighten the people into submission, but it is apparent that the Privy Councillors were uncertain as to what any Proclamation could actually state. Given that the people were at liberty to individually accept or refuse the coin, the most a Proclamation could have ordered, it seems,

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<sup>163</sup> King to Gorges, 17 October 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537/279-82.

was that the Officers of the Revenue and other relevant Officials not hinder the coin's introduction. Regardless, support for the motion of issuing a Proclamation was insufficient and the Privy Council deferred any decision on such a move until Carteret's arrival.

Whilst all of these measures by Westminster were designed to weaken Irish resolve ahead of the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, Swift in the meantime had been plying the ground with Carteret in a different way. Between April and August, six letters were exchanged between Swift and the incoming viceroy, four from Swift to Carteret and two in reply. This exchange had an immediate bearing on the events of late October 1724 and the fate of Harding, but commentators have never discussed it in these contexts.

The friendship of Carteret and Swift had its origins in May 1711 when the twenty-one-year-old Carteret assumed his inherited seat in the House of Lords. Due to his royalist ancestry, he was a Tory during his first years in Parliament, and Swift to some degree came to be a mentor to him. In 1714, Swift departed for Ireland and over the ensuing years Carteret, now a Whig, served successful terms as Ambassador-Extraordinary to Sweden and England's Secretary of State for the South. By April 1724, then, there had been no communication between Swift and Carteret for a decade,<sup>164</sup> but after Carteret's appointment to the vice-regal office (reported in the *Dublin Courant* for 7 April), Swift wrote to him from Dublin on 28 April.<sup>165</sup>

In this first letter, Swift employs little subtlety in letting Carteret know what is expected of him with respect to Wood's patent. Swift begins by saying that, because some people in Dublin were aware that he knew the Lord Lieutenant, he was asked to write to him. Swift then informs Carteret that there is not a person in the kingdom who is not convinced that the coin will end in the ruin of them all. And for the purposes of educating Carteret, Swift encloses with the letter two of the recent publications on the matter. One was Lord Abercorn's *The True State of the Case Between The Kingdom of Ireland on the One Part, and Mr. William Wood Of the Other Part. By a Protestant of Ireland*,<sup>166</sup> and the other was his own first *Letter* as the Drapier – the *Letter to the Shop-Keepers* – which he described to Carteret as “the work of a Weaver, and suited to the Vulgar, but thought to be the work of a better hand”. Both tracts, incidentally, were Harding publications. With Carteret not replying to this letter, Swift wrote

<sup>164</sup> Refer: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, op. cit., 118 – 119.

<sup>165</sup> 28 April 1724, Swift to Carteret: DW Letter 608, vol. ii, 496 – 497.

<sup>166</sup> A2, 39, and A2, 41, respectively.

to him again on 9 June.<sup>167</sup> Pointing out that only one other person had ever done so, he reprimands Carteret for not having answered his letter, with observations that he hoped Carteret's elevation to high office had not affected his good character. Accordingly, with Swift having made it clear that the Lord Lieutenant had no authority over him, Carteret's first letter in reply, dated 20 June, does not do enough to correct the balance.<sup>168</sup> Carteret explains that he had been unable to reply to Swift's first letter due to having been in the country,<sup>169</sup> also saying that he hoped that the freedom with which Swift had expressed himself was a sign that he still retained some friendship for him. And Carteret's only comment on the matter of Wood's patent goes some way to saying what Swift wanted to hear from him:

The principal affaire You mention is under examination, & till that is over, I am not inform'd sufficiently to make any other judgement of the matter, than that w<sup>ch</sup> I am naturally led to make, by the general aversion w<sup>ch</sup> appears to it in the whole nation. I hope the nation will not suffer by my being in this great Station, & if I can contribute to its prosperity I shall thinke it the honour and happiness of my life.<sup>170</sup>

To this, Swift replied warmly on 9 July.<sup>171</sup> With Carteret having said what he wanted him to say, Swift takes it upon himself to restore the relationship of authority between them to its rightful status. Beginning, "My Lord, I humbly claim the privilege of an inferior, to be the last writer", Swift confesses himself to have been a "bully". He says that his "forwardness" is at an end and gives an assurance: "Therefore I foretel, that you who could so easily conquer so captious a person, and of so little consequence, will quickly subdue this whole kingdom to love and reference you". It was upon receipt of this that Carteret made his most telling mistake. He had no need to reply again. Indeed Swift had said he did not expect him to. But in the depths of his gratification for Swift's intimate expressions, Carteret wrote a short letter dated 4 August<sup>172</sup> where in obsequious tones he hopes Swift still thinks well of him, and concludes:

Whatever You may thinke of it [this letter] I shall not be testy, but endeavour to shew that I am not altogether insensible of the force of that Genius, w<sup>ch</sup> has outshone most

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<sup>167</sup> 9 June 1724, Swift to Carteret: DW Letter 610, vol. ii, 498 – 499.

<sup>168</sup> 20 June 1724, Carteret to Swift: DW Letter 612, vol. ii, 502 – 503.

<sup>169</sup> In this explanation for not having replied, Carteret refers to Swift's first letter as having been dated "28 May", when it had been 28 April.

<sup>170</sup> On this comment, see also *DL*, xli.

<sup>171</sup> 9 July 1724, Swift to Carteret: DW Letter 613, vol. ii, 513.

<sup>172</sup> 4 August 1724, Carteret to Swift: DW Letter 620, vol. ii, 512.

of this age, & when You will display it again, can convince us that its lustre & strength are still the same. Once more I commit myselfe to Yr censure and am S<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> great respect. Yr most affectionate humble servant. Carteret

He hands all authority back to Swift and, even though these letters were exchanged before they knew that Carteret would be coming over early, there can be little doubt in my view that Swift interpreted Carteret's final comment as granting him licence. Swift waited three weeks before writing once more. Dated 4 September,<sup>173</sup> this is a longer letter in which Swift asks Carteret to in his viceregal capacity dissuade George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, from heading to the Bermudas to establish a university and missionary there, and to intervene in a matter involving allegations of popery levelled against the son of the well-liked Surgeon General of the Army, a Mr. Proby. Both of these requests Carteret complied with in time.

These were the conditions in which the fourth *Letter* was conceived.<sup>174</sup> Swift had promised Carteret that he would find him subdued but in mid-September Swift learned that Carteret would be coming over early. As for precisely when Swift received this news, David Woolley says that it was by 22 September, for on that day Swift wrote to Knightley Chetwode, "Lord Carteret is coming over suddenly",<sup>175</sup> but Swift would have known of it at least by 19 September because it was reported by Gwyn Needham in his *Dublin Intelligence* for that day.<sup>176</sup> Possibly as early as this time, then, Swift devised his plan for a fourth *Letter*. It was a *Letter* that was designed to curb English encroachments upon Ireland's solidarity and to ensure what for Swift had increasingly become the only acceptable outcome of this affair – a personal triumph over the Whig administration. In writing and publishing it, Swift was clearly acting of his own volition. He was also acting in defiance of the sentiment amongst certain quarters that he had done more than enough already (a sentiment which the opening line of the fourth *Letter* potentially infers he was aware of: "My Dear Countrymen, HAVING already written Three *Letters* upon so disagreeable a Subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *Half-pence*; I conceived my Task was at an End").<sup>177</sup> The element of surprise that was characteristic of Swift, then, was never deployed with more devastating effect than with this fourth *Letter*. Orchestrated to sound a

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<sup>173</sup> 4 September 1724, Carteret to Swift: DW Letter 622, vol. ii, 517 – 521.

<sup>174</sup> A2, 57.

<sup>175</sup> 22 September 1724, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 625, vol. ii, 522. Refer also: 4 September 1724, Carteret to Swift: DW Letter 622, note 7, vol. ii, 520 – 521.

<sup>176</sup> And on 3 October Harding reported more specifically in his *DINL*: "We hear that his Excellency the Lord Cartarett, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, goes for Dublin Monday come Fortnight to Settle Wood's Halfpence".

<sup>177</sup> A2, 57, page 3; *PW*, x, 53.

symphonic clash between the two kingdoms, this fourth *Letter* was timed to appear as close as possible to the docking of Carteret's ship on the Liffey.

The aggression of the publication was for the most part attributable only to these matters associated with the timing and circumstances of its appearance. In its tone and pace, the *Letter* is measured and well-reasoned. Having written the third in a voice more suited to the nobility and gentry, in this fourth Swift reverts to the tone of paternalistic instruction that had characterised the first, although on this occasion showing a more meaningful empathy with the people, as in particular in his observations on Irish notions of liberty in the opening passage.<sup>178</sup> This fourth *Letter* does not have a particular issue to fix on, such as the newspaper report of Wood's proposals of compromise, or the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council of England. Instead, it meanders from one idea to the next in a more casual manner, not dissimilar to that of *Universal Use* in 1720. And reducing the menace of the text all the more is its comedy in its passages concerning Walpole.

This is not to suggest that the fourth *Letter* presented less of a risk to Harding. Indeed, its calmness of tone only adds to the gravity of what Swift is saying. But I do not agree with the view of several commentators that the dangers of the fourth *Letter* far exceeded anything else written under the name of the Drapier.<sup>179</sup> These views are potentially influenced by the circumstances of the publication of this *Letter* and the subsequent prosecution. Certainly the fourth *Letter* is more seditious than the third, but in my view it is not substantially so. The problems with it are the same overarching ones that had been present from the beginning – Swift's assumption of authority over the kingdom and presuming to himself the role of arbiter on matters of King and Constitution. Still, with Swift's manner of dealing with a few specific subjects, it does represent the most dangerous *Letter* that Swift wrote as the Drapier.

Swift again addresses the prerogative. He does with a long passage where he refutes the allegation that he had ever disputed what it was,<sup>180</sup> but it is a circular argument insofar as he maintains that all he ever did was state what the prerogative was *not*, therefore implying that that definition was not in dispute – in his view. As Swift did in the third *Letter*, he again offers

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<sup>178</sup> A2, 57, page 3; *PW*, x, 53.

<sup>179</sup> Refer: Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 184 – 185; Walter Scott, 286 – 287; Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1892, i, 454; Taylor, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Essay*, op. cit., 155 – 156; Davis, *DL*, xlii; Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction*, 133 – 134, Middleton Murry, 370 – 371; Goodwin, op. cit., 670; Rowse, *Jonathan Swift*, New York, 1975, 136 – 137; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 273; Tucker, *Jonathan Swift*, Dublin, 1983, 82.

<sup>180</sup> A2, 57, pages 4 – 6; *PW*, x, 54 – 56.

an impertinence with respect to the King. The King's *Answer* given to the Address of the House of Lords early in the year said that Wood's patent had been granted in a manner "agreeable to the Practice of His Royal Predecessors". Unable to comprehend how this can be so, Swift discusses what in his view are the differences between the terms of Wood's patent and the terms of those from earlier times, saying that he mentions these matters:

only... because in my private Thoughts I have sometimes made a Query, whether the *Penner* of those Words in his Majesties *Most Gracious Answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several Circumstances, which, in my poor Opinion seem to make a Difference.<sup>181</sup>

He suggests that the "Penner" of the King's *Answer* had not maturely considered all of the circumstances.

Swift offers his thoughts with respect to Carteret, the appointed representative of the King. His intention with Carteret is to lessen the Lord Lieutenant's stature in the eyes of the people and reduce their fears associated with his early arrival. Writing as the Drapier and alluding to himself, Swift refers to Carteret as someone "whose Character hath been given me by a Gentleman that hath known him from his first Appearance in the World",<sup>182</sup> and purposes introduces him, for all intents and purposes, as a young man from whom we can expect no trouble. Because the present dispute is one between the kingdom of Ireland and William Wood, Swift says that the Lord Lieutenant has no standing in the matter and cannot intervene.<sup>183</sup> Further, although past viceroys have implemented unpopular measures by 'buying' people with offers of employments in Church or State, Carteret will be unable to do this because all such employments have already been given to Englishmen,<sup>184</sup> and besides, no such underhand practices are to be expected "under the Administration of so Excellent a Person as the Lord *Carteret*".<sup>185</sup>

Similarly, Swift presents a passage concerned with Walpole. Knowing that irreverence shown to a Minister of the Crown was equivalent to irreverence to the King himself,<sup>186</sup> Swift

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<sup>181</sup> A2, 57, page 7; *PW*, x, 56.

<sup>182</sup> A2, 57, page 11; *PW*, x, 59.

<sup>183</sup> A2, 57, page 8–9; *PW*, x, 57 – 58.

<sup>184</sup> A2, 57, page 10; *PW*, x, 59.

<sup>185</sup> A2, 57, page 12; *PW*, x, 60.

<sup>186</sup> Refer these lines from the anonymously written poem, *The Progress of Patriotism. A Tale*, which would be published in Dublin by Sarah Harding in 1728 in *Intelligencer Numb. XII*: "That Ministers, by Kings appointed,/ Are,



tests the issue as he speaks of Walpole with a gamesmanship that is designed to reduce the spectre of the First Minister for the Irish people. He refers to the newspaper reports that Walpole had said he “*will cram this Brass down our Throats*”,<sup>187</sup> and that he “*hath sworn to make us swallow his Coyn in Fire-Balls*”,<sup>188</sup> and instead attributes these words to Wood: “WHAT vile Words are these to put into the Mouth of a great Councillor, in high Trust with his Majesty, and looked upon as a prime Minister?”<sup>189</sup> Swift then makes light of this proposal concerning fireballs by saying that, if it is to be carried through, all of the halfpence would first have to be melted, every person would have to swallow seventeen of them, the project would require about fifty thousand operators stationed around the kingdom, and so on.<sup>190</sup> Further, it had been suggested elsewhere that Walpole had said that “we must *either take these Half pence or eat our Brogues*”,<sup>191</sup> but Swift says that the people need have no concern that this was in fact said by Walpole, “for I am confident Mr. W----- never heard of a *Brogue* in his whole Life”.<sup>192</sup> And the one invincible proof that Ireland had nothing to fear from Walpole, is that “he has the Universal Opinion of being a Wise Man, an able Minister, and in all his Proceedings pursuing the *True Interest* of the *King* his Master: And that as his *Integrity* is above all *Corruption*, so is his *Fortune* above all *Temptation*”.<sup>193</sup> These comments concerning Walpole are written in a spirit of cajolery, and looking ahead to 1726 and 1727 when Swift would be looking to abandon Ireland for better life in England, his efforts to win favour with Walpole through those times can potentially be discerned from as early as this fourth *Letter* of the Drapier.<sup>194</sup>

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under Them, the *Lord's Anointed*, Ergo, it is the self-same Thing,/ T' oppose the *Minister* or *King*,/ Ergo, by Consequence of Reason, To ensure [sic: 'censure'] *Statesmen* is *High Treason*”: A3, 43, page 8.

<sup>187</sup> A2, 57, page 20; *PW*, x, 67.

<sup>188</sup> For Dublin newspaper reports of this last comment: Needham's *Dublin Intelligence* for 10 October and Carter's *Flying-Post* for 12 October.

<sup>189</sup> A2, 57, page 21; *PW*, x, 67.

<sup>190</sup> A2, 57, page 21-2; *PW*, x, 68.

<sup>191</sup> “A rude kind of shoe, generally made of untanned hide, worn by the inhabitants of the wilder parts of Ireland and the Scotch Highlands”: *OED*: brogue, n.2.

<sup>192</sup> A2, 57, page 21; *PW*, x, 67 – 68.

<sup>193</sup> A2, 57, page 22; *PW*, x, 68.

<sup>194</sup> For commentary concerning Swift's hopes of a Church position in London in the mid 1720's and his dealings with Walpole in that regard: Rossi and Hone, 279, 332; Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 139; Ferguson, 140 – 141; Fabricant, 48 – 72, at 51.

Finally, there are the paragraphs dealing with the issue of Ireland's dependence on England. In this carefully crafted passage, Swift says that there is no statute that states that Ireland is dependent upon England (ignoring the Declaratory Act of four years earlier because he here is looking for *original* foundations of the dependency). There is only an Act from the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII, which says that Ireland and England are united and knit under the one Crown. Accordingly, says Swift, Ireland is bound to have the same King as England, just as England is bound to have the same King as Ireland. Imagining a scenario of an insurrection in favour of the Pretender occurring in England (as opposed to Ireland where it would be more anticipated to happen) by which the Pretender came to be King of England, Swift says he would be prepared to fight to ensure that the Pretender did not also become the King of Ireland, in this way transgressing the Act from the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII Act by creating a situation where Ireland and England would not be knit under the one Crown. This passage in a round-about fashion only affirms Swift's allegiance to the Hanoverian Succession, but it uses imagery of fighting, insurrection and transgression of statutes. And Swift ends the passage with his observation that from time to time England has indeed reduced Ireland to a state of subjugation, for "*Eleven Men well Armed will certainly subdue one Single man in his Shirt*".<sup>195</sup>

It is known that this was one occasion on which Harding did follow Swift's recommendation and obtain his own legal opinion. Swift reveals this expressly in his *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* where, speaking of the fourth *Letter*, he says of Harding: "He advised with Friends, who told him there was no harm in the Book, and he cou'd see none Himself".<sup>196</sup> There is also the fact that Swift's comment to him in the "Directions to the Printer" prefaced to the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier, that "I always desired you by a Letter to take some good Advice before you ventured to Print",<sup>197</sup> was made in the aftermath of this fourth *Letter*. The date of the fourth *Letter* as published is 13 October. This would also have been the date on the manuscript and the day on which it was delivered to Molesworth's Court. This left Harding just over a week to obtain his legal opinion. It cannot be known what the advice given to him consisted of. It is possible that Harding was advised against publishing the *Letter* and ignored it. There is every likelihood, however, that the advice given to him was the same or similar to the separate advice obtained by Swift, and the evidence suggests that *Swift's*

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<sup>195</sup> A2, 57, page 15; *PW*, x, 63.

<sup>196</sup> A4, 115, *PW*, x, 71.

<sup>197</sup> A2, 65, pp. iv-v; *PW*, x, 79.

advice was in favour of the *Letter*. Swift's comment to Harding, "I do assure you upon my Reputation, that I never did send you any thing, for which I thought you could possibly be called to an Account",<sup>198</sup> implies that all of the *Letters* were cleared by Swift's lawyers.

With regard to this fourth *Letter*, Swift's lawyers presumably took into account the prevailing legal position that *anything* could be published provided it was sufficiently connected with the subject of the halfpence.<sup>199</sup> The lawyers presumably considered that the comment that the "Penner" of the King's *Answer* had not maturely considered all of the circumstances, was specifically directed towards the "Penner", and not the King. And as for the passage on the dependency, this asserted loyalty to the Crown, and the scenarios it presented were imagined and hypothetical anyway. Swift and his advisers, then, appear to have been of the same view with regard to the fourth *Letter* as the people came to be, with Swift afterwards saying: "The People in general find no Fault in the *Drapier's* last Book, any more than in the three former".<sup>200</sup> (Swift also had the added personal security of Carteret having intimated that he was against the patent and having effectively invited Swift to once again show the full lustre of his genius.)

The advice to Harding is likely to have been to the same effect as that given to Swift. But it is advice that appears not to have taken into account the feature of the *Letter* that gave it its sinister aspect – its being published as close as possible to the time of the Lord Lieutenant's arrival. Likewise, the fact that his case would come before the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Whitshed, who four years earlier had compromised procedure in an effort to obtain a conviction against a pamphlet he considered to be a Jacobite publication, was a pertinent matter for Harding. These are the politico-legal matters Harding most needed to be advised on. As it was, circumstances suggest that the advice given to Swift, and also therefore Harding,

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<sup>198</sup> A2, 65, pp. iv-v; *PLW*, x, 79.

<sup>199</sup> This view would soon after be expressed in correspondence: Carteret to Newcastle, 28 October 1724: PRONI: T580/1/221 – 224; Carteret to Newcastle, 22 November 1724: PRONI: T/580/1, 241 – 243; Carteret to Newcastle, 24 November 1724; PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246; and Boulter to Newcastle, 3 December 1724 (quoted in Monck Mason, 346 note s).

<sup>200</sup> A4, 115. For commentary on the seditious qualities of the fourth *Letter* generally: Walter Scott, 286 – 287; Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1892, i, 454; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 124 – 125; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 183 – 185; Taylor, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Essay*, op. cit., 155 – 156; Davis, *DL*, xlii; Middleton Murry, 370–371; Rowse, *Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 136 – 137; Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction*, op. cit., 132 – 134; Tucker, *Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 82; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 261, 273; Goodwin, 'Wood's Half-pence', op. cit., 670; McMin, *Jonathan Swift: A Literary Life*, Basingstoke, 1991, 109 – 110; McMin, 'Swift's Life', in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 20-1; Degategno and Stubblefield, 81.

was limited to the legal nuances of the pamphlet itself.<sup>201</sup> Before blaming the lawyers, though, it is to be considered that they were probably not aware of Swift's intention to publish in that manner. True to his style, that is a decision which in my view Swift would have kept to himself until the eleventh hour.

In being asked to publish this fourth *Letter*, Harding found himself in the dilemma of his life, and his difficulties were compounded by the instruction to publish as close as possible to the arrival of Carteret's ship. He did not *have* to publish it, but he had the expectations of Swift and the weight of the nation upon him. The use of an anonymous imprint would not have been of any avail at this time; he had been the printer for M.B. Drapier all year and would have been the first to be arrested and interrogated. Even so, he would have been hoping that the worst case for him might not be that bad. It is known, that is, that he believed to himself at this time that the people of Ireland would do everything possible to ensure that no harm came to him. In *A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer* in August, for instance, the Lady signed the letter: "SIR, Your assur'd Friend and Protectress, HIBERNIA". Harding had set this to type and he certainly believed that in the event of a prosecution for sedition issued out of the Court of King's Bench, the Hibernian people would see to it that he was bailed from prison immediately (as had been done for his former master, Waters, in 1720). As the printer who had had the courage to publish the pamphlets that had wrought these changes throughout the country, he would surely not be left to languish in prison for more than a day. The evidence of Harding's belief in this regard will be presented in the next chapter. Or, even failing bail, he probably hoped that a mob would break the doors of Newgate and rescue him, as was known to be done for prisoners on occasion.<sup>202</sup> Harding's worst fear, however, would have been that the charge against him, instead of sedition, would be a state charge of treason, which would place his life in immediate jeopardy.

At one point Harding made a gift to Swift of a pair of scissors. This is something that has never been commented on despite the fact that Swift openly disclosed it. In his *Letter to Middleton*, written after the commencement of the prosecution, Swift explains how he never received any money from writing as the Drapier, saying: "and the unfortunate Adventurer

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<sup>201</sup> Swift's later comments related to the legality of the pamphlet are all related one way or another to these nuances, and he at no point mentions the issue of the timing of publication: "Directions to the Printer" (A2, 65, page v); and the *Letter to Middleton* (Faulkner 1735, iv, 197; *PW*, x, 107).

<sup>202</sup> See Garnham, 40.

Harding, declares he never made the *Drapier* any present, except one Pair of Scissars”.<sup>203</sup> It is not known precisely when Harding gave this gift to Swift but it seems probable that it was at this time of preparing the fourth *Letter* for the press. (And it could have been given to Swift in the course of a meeting – either at Molesworth’s Court or the Deanery). It was a clever gift on Harding’s part, suggesting that the Drapier needed to do some trimming of his cloth, although whether Swift took the hint and deleted anything from his pre-published text cannot be known. The fact that Swift disclosed the gift, and detailed it as a pair of scissors, raises the possibility that he missed the innuendo.

The timing of the publication would of course have been co-ordinated by Swift. He would have seen the reports in Harding’s and other newspapers in early October that Carteret was scheduled to leave London on the 12th of the month,<sup>204</sup> and having made the same journey himself many times, he would have been able to estimate that it would take Carteret around eight days to reach Dublin. Swift then would have seen the report from Hume in his *Dublin Courant* for 21 October: “Dublin, Oct. 20. The Three Men of War appointed to attend the Lord Carteret there, are detained on this Side, by contrary Winds, &c”. It seems to have been on this same day, 21 October, that he sent a message to Molesworth’s Court to publish *now*.

Entitled *A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland. By M.B. Drapier* and published over twenty-four pages in small octavo, the evidence suggests that it did in fact appear in the afternoon or early evening of that day – Wednesday 21 October – with Carteret’s ship arriving at about nine the next morning.<sup>205</sup> The other possibility is that it appeared on the actual day of Carteret’s arrival. The evidence for this is Carteret’s own comment that, “The very day of my arrival the pamphlet which is herein enclosed was published and sold”.<sup>206</sup> But the evidence for a publication date of the previous day is stronger. In a letter dated 30 October, Bishop

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<sup>203</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 207; *PW*, x, 113. This *Letter to Middleton* would not be published until 1735. This comment concerning the scissors, then, might have been added to that *Letter* in the course of editing at that time, for it was clear then that Harding had indeed been “unfortunate”. On the other hand, the *Letter to Middleton* was one that Swift added to gradually over the course of October and November 1724 and he could therefore have written the comment at that time, which was during Harding’s prosecution and imprisonment.

<sup>204</sup> The *DINL* for 3 October, the *Dublin Courant* for 30 September, and the *Dublin Gazette* for 3 – 6 October.

<sup>205</sup> Ballantyne and Froude both say in error that he arrived on Friday 23 October: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, op. cit., 114; Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1872 – 1874, 533.

<sup>206</sup> Cited by Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, op. cit., 117-8; Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction*, op. cit., 132; and Oakleaf, 170.

Nicholson reported to Archbishop Wake: “Care was taken to publish this satire the very day before the Lord Lieutenant landed”.<sup>207</sup> Further, the fact that the *Letter* appeared in advance of Carteret’s arrival, coupled with the fact that that arrival was at about nine in the morning of Thursday 22 October, makes it more likely that the *Letter* had appeared the day before. Also, the copy text I have used has a contemporaneous note on the title page: “October the 21<sup>st</sup> 1724”.<sup>208</sup>

By the time of the docking of Carteret’s ship, the *Letter* had been on sale for several hours. Upon alighting, it was reported that the Lord Lieutenant was greeted with ceremonial speeches at the dock before being escorted through the streets to the Castle with the escort of a military regiment, a retinue of nobility in their carriages and between two and three thousand gentlemen on horseback.<sup>209</sup> He arrived at around midday and after being sworn in, the guns of the barracks fired three rounds and bells were rung and bonfires lit into the night. Through all of this, Swift’s fourth *Letter* was being hawked on the streets and sold within the gates of the Castle itself.<sup>210</sup> Swift’s pamphleteering had become meta-pamphleteering and, in a more literal sense this time, he was flying in the King’s face.

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<sup>207</sup> Quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 267.

<sup>208</sup> Ferguson is also of the view that it appeared on 21 October: 114 – 115, and note 111. Starratt and Churton Collins are incorrect in saying it was published on 23 October: Starratt, ‘The Streets of Dublin’, *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 16–17.; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 184. And Temple Scott is well out when he says “13 October”: vi, 96 and note 1. He says this adamantly and purports to correct other commentators in doing so, but 13 October is just the date on the manuscript (as printed by Harding).

<sup>209</sup> Details of the ceremonies upon his arrival were given in each of Harding’s *DINL* for 24 October, Hume’s *Dublin Courant* for 6 October, and Rider and Harbin’s *Dublin Gazette* for the same day.

<sup>210</sup> Carteret to Newcastle, 28 October 1724: PRONI: T580/1/221 – 224.

## Chapter 6: John Harding – The Prosecution and His Subsequent Death

Carteret instigated King's Bench proceedings against the printer of the fourth *Letter* and issued a Proclamation offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author. Subsequently fearful of the matter being elevated to an affair of state with a charge of treason, Swift wrote a hurried *Letter* in his defence, which he intended to publish under his own name. Swift left this unpublished but nonetheless issued separate documents during the course of the case to influence the minds of the juries. In the meantime, both Sarah and John Harding served terms in prison, with the latter sustaining the illness or acquiring the injury (whichever of the two it was) that claimed his life five months later. On the final day of the year, a fifth *Letter* of the Drapier was published, in which Swift disavowed any responsibility for Harding's predicament and, for his own sake, effectively pleaded for the case to be discontinued. By carefully analysing the conduct of Swift through this time, this chapter casts new light on his actions in response to the King's Bench case and the Proclamation. This chapter draws on new interpretations of circumstantial evidence to argue that the extent of the collusion between Carteret and Swift in steering the course of the proceedings was greater than has been suspected. This chapter also presents new evidence pertaining to the circumstances in which Sarah and John Harding were imprisoned, and offers previously unseen perspectives on John Harding's physical decline and death.

### Carteret's Response

Having been ambushed by Swift's fourth *Letter* upon his arrival, Carteret had no option but to respond in a manner befitting the dignity of the viceregal office. This is something that any person at the time would have been able to foresee. Anyone must have been able to anticipate that by doing nothing, Carteret would have conceded all authority to Swift (both in the perception and the reality). Even Swift must surely have expected that Carteret would not let the publication pass without response. Certainly, Carteret had made that comment in correspondence in early August which implicitly encouraged Swift to exercise his talents, but that comment had been made in the course of personal friendship. It had also been made before it was known that Carteret would be coming over early. Regardless, with his actions with this fourth *Letter*, Swift must have known that he had given that comment an interpretation that Carteret can never have envisaged. Swift, then, must have realised that a legal response of some kind would be forthcoming (he cannot have under-estimated the Lord Lieutenant to such an extent). Subsequent events make it clear, however, that Swift never

anticipated that Carteret's response would amount to anything beyond a regular prosecution of the publication – one that incorporated the arrest and imprisonment of his printer together with the imposition of a fine for that printer to pay. Given the bond he had with Carteret, Swift did not contemplate the possibility that the Lord Lieutenant would instigate a proceeding that threatened to draw him in personally. It was an assumption on Swift's part that miscalculated the scale of the affront he had given.

The evidence of the initial steps Carteret took is clear and undisputed, but one aspect that has not been analysed is the degree to which it reflects the complex relationship between Ireland's leaders and Swift at this time. Events in the days following the fourth *Letter*'s publication were as follows. Having arrived on Thursday 21 October, Carteret consulted Sir Bernard Hale, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Lord Chancellor Midleton and Chief Justice Whitshed, all of whom confirmed his opinion that the fourth *Letter* was seditious and possibly treasonous. Carteret subsequently summoned a meeting of the Privy Council to be held at the Castle on the coming Tuesday 27 October. The twenty-one Privy Counsellors present at this meeting included the Lord Chancellor, the three Lords Justice, the Chief Justices of each of the four courts, several Bishops of the House of Lords, as well as Carteret himself and the secretary to the Lords Justices, the poet Thomas Tickell.<sup>1</sup> The meeting lasted six hours, during which Carteret is reported to have “harangued” them to great effect<sup>2</sup> in his efforts to implement measures that were intended to not just reciprocate, but exceed, the shock that had greeted him upon his arrival. Those measures were a prosecution of the printer, and a Proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the author.

Their debate during the six hours of the meeting was concerned almost entirely with the Proclamation, and it is here where the tensions in the Privy Counsellors' relationship with Swift are apparent. On the one hand, most of the Privy Counsellors were opposed to Swift's conduct with this fourth *Letter*. There is ample evidence of this. Midleton soon afterwards described the *Letter* as a “hot-headed libel” which “will probably raise such resentment as may turn to the prejudice of the kingdome, if care not be taken to have it understood, that the

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<sup>1</sup> Commentators generally refer to Tickell as having been *Carteret's* secretary, when he was in fact the secretary to the Lords Justices: refer Helvar Stover-Leidig, ‘Jonathan Swift and Thomas Tickell’, *Swift Studies*, 27, (2012), 69 – 79, at 69 and note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Tickell to Delafaye, 1 November, 1724: PRONI 580/1, 230 – 232. For other sources on this meeting: Carteret to Newcastle, 28 October 1724: PRONI: T580/1/221 – 224; and Coghill to Southwell, 31 October, 1724: quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 269 – 270.



kingdome is in no sort of the mind of the author”.<sup>3</sup> Archbishop King considered the *Letter* “very unnecessary the Kingdom being resolved to a man to have nothing to do with [the coin]”.<sup>4</sup> Whitshed, needless to say, would soon afterwards show himself opposed to the *Letter* with all of his Hanoverian fibre. And as for Swift’s ecclesiastical seniors, the Bishops, this entire episode involving M.B. Drapier had from the beginning been one of self-aggrandisement for Swift. Although nothing is known of the sentiments of any one individual Bishop present at this meeting, it seems reasonable to assume that they all in varying degrees shared the view of another of their rank, Bishop Nicolson of Londonderry, who referred to the fourth *Letter* as a “sneering panegyric” and one which “our spiritual *Draper*... alone thinks necessary at this juncture”.<sup>5</sup> Swift himself, moreover, when writing as the Drapier and referring to the *Letters* as cloths he had made for people to wear, afterwards said of this fourth *Letter*, that “some *Great Folks* complain as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *Shuddering in their Limbs*, and have thrown it off in a Rage, cursing to Hell the poor *Drapier* who invented it”.<sup>6</sup>

With Carteret having already shown a degree of sympathy for Ireland in the matter, the Irish leaders appear to have been of the view that the Lord Lieutenant could be persuaded to recommend the withdrawal of the patent through normal diplomatic measures alone, without the grandstanding of this fourth *Letter*. As the historian, Robert E. Burns, expressed it more recently:

At a time when his Majesty and Walpole had already agreed not to force acceptance of Wood’s coin, publication of a pamphlet as reckless and irresponsible as *A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland* was about the worst thing that could happen to the movement against Wood’s patent.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, whilst resentful of Swift for his manner of proceeding, the Privy Councillors appear to have remained fearful of him to some extent. This is apparent from the remarkable fact that throughout this six-hour meeting they preserved the charade of his authorship. With Carteret

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<sup>3</sup> Middleton to his brother Thomas Brodrick, 17 November 1724: quoted in Goodwin, ‘Wood’s Half-pence’, op cit., 671.

<sup>4</sup> King to Annesley, 3 November 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537, 185 – 186; refer also King to Molyneux, 24 November 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537, 187 – 190; and King to Southwell, 24 November 1724: TCD Manuscripts 2537, 190 – 193.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolson to Wake, 30 October 1724; quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 267.

<sup>6</sup> A2, 65, page 4; *PW*, x, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Burns, i, 177.

pressing them for information on the identity of M.B. Drapier, they all denied any knowledge, (and the questioner himself, Carteret, knew as well as any of them). As Tickell afterwards said of this episode, if all of the most comical scenes involving great ministers of state from Roman times to the present could be collected in one volume, he had a new chapter to add.<sup>8</sup> This observation from Tickell suggests that Swift's name was never so much as mentioned. There appears to have been no open acknowledgement even of a *suspicion* that the author was Swift and that the issue before them was one of evidence and proof. Instead, showing the degree to which they were intimidated by him, Swift's name was never spoken. The farce that was Swift's pseudonymity never knew a finer moment.

By the meeting's end, Carteret had been successful with both of his intended measures. The principal measure, the Proclamation, was passed with one slight compromise. Carteret was of the view that the entire *Letter* – from beginning to end – was seditious,<sup>9</sup> and as it was customary for government action against a publication to be brought against the publication *per se*, he wanted the Proclamation to be drafted so as to reflect this. But despite their dislike of Swift's actions, the Privy Councillors remained opposed to Wood's coin, with many of them having put their names to the printed declarations. Accordingly, in its final wording the Proclamation made a distinction of sorts. In its opening line it describes the publication as a whole as "a Wicked and Malicious Pamphlet", but it thereafter states that the *Letter* "contained several Seditious and Scandalous Paragraphs highly Reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministers, tending to Alienate the Affections of His Good Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* from each other, and to promote Sedition among the People".<sup>10</sup> Subsequent events would show that at least two of the paragraphs complained of were those concerning the penner of the King's *Answer* and the dependency (in Carteret's copy of the fourth *Letter*, these paragraphs are marked).<sup>11</sup> This attention given to these paragraphs was designed to assure the people that the Proclamation was not directed towards their opposition to the patent.

Other matters decided upon with respect to the Proclamation included the amount of the reward for evidence of the author. For this, Carteret pushed for a high sum. He drew

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<sup>8</sup> Tickell to Delafaye, 1 November, 1724: PRONI 580/1, 230 – 232. Refer also: Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, 372, 375; Quintana, *Introduction*, 134; Ferguson, 97; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 317. On Tickell and his friendship with Swift before and after this time: Helgard Stöver-Leidig, 'Jonathan Swift and Thomas Tickell', *Swift Studies*, 27, (2012), 69 – 79.

<sup>9</sup> Carteret to Newcastle, 28 October 1724: PRONI: T580/1/221 – 224.

<sup>10</sup> It was also published in the *Dublin Gazette* for 2 November. The full text is reproduced at: *PW*, x, 205.

<sup>11</sup> Refer: *DL*, 266.

upon the precedent of *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England*, the anti-Hanoverian pamphlet published in London in June 1714 for which a Proclamation was issued offering a great reward for discovery of the author (being also the pamphlet for which Hyde and Waters were separately prosecuted for their Dublin reprint of January 1715),<sup>12</sup> and the amount ultimately settled on was £300. This was not that great a sum by London standards,<sup>13</sup> but for Ireland it was said by Archbishop King to be three times higher than anything previously offered, even for a serious felon.<sup>14</sup> It was a reward that was not, of course, open to anyone on the street with an opinion. It was open only to people with some kind of direct evidence of Swift's authorship. This meant that there was only a small group of potential claimants: Robert Blakely, the amanuensis; any friend who might have proofed the fourth *Letter* on Swift's direction, such as Sheridan, John Worrall, Patrick Delany or John Grattan; Swift's legal people; and John and Sarah Harding.<sup>15</sup> The Privy Councillors decided that the reward would remain open for the period of the Proclamation, which would be six months from the date of issue, 27 October. The Proclamation was signed by all Privy Councillors except four, who were unwilling to give any indication that could be interpreted as a softening of their attitude against the halfpence. These were Archbishop King, Theophilus Bolton (Bishop of Elphin); Marmaduke Coghill and John, Viscount Allen.<sup>16</sup>

The second measure decided upon at the meeting was the prosecution of the printer. Archbishop King abstained from this also, but there is unlikely to have been any debate on

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<sup>12</sup> Refer: Chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup> In April 1722, for example, a reward of £500 was offered in London for the discovery of a person by the name of Weston who had reportedly been involved in a libel entitled *The Advantages of the Hanover Succession* (refer *The Dublin Courant* for 18 April 1722). And in August of the same year, a Proclamation was issued offering a reward of £1000 for the discovery of one Thomas Carr, who was facing charges of high treason for numerous letters published in *Mist's Journal* (refer *The Dublin Courant* for 27 August 1722).

<sup>14</sup> 12 December 1724, King to General Gorge: TCD Manuscripts 2537/195 – 198. Three commentators have said that the reward was not three times higher, but five times higher, than anything previously offered in Ireland: Starratt, 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 18; Monck Mason, 344, note n; and Mayhew, 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., 305 note 1. But as there is no evidence to support this, it seems possible that Monck Mason misread King's letter to Gorge and that Gilbert and Mayhew thereafter followed him.

<sup>15</sup> As discussed earlier, for Whitshed, the threshold for evidence of Swift's authorship would have been low. Middleton Murry, therefore, is in error with his comment: "Everybody knew, or everybody believed, that he *was* the author of the fourth *Letter*. Nobody could prove it; it is doubtful whether the printer himself could have proved it, so careful was Swift to employ intermediaries": *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 375.

<sup>16</sup> Refer Tickell to Delafaye, 1 November 1724: PRONI 580/1, 230–232. The latter three were described by Lord Chancellor Midleton as "creatures" of the Archbishop: quoted in Ferguson, 122.

this measure.<sup>17</sup> It was an order that went without saying. The printer would be met with the full force of the law. Indeed, subsequent events suggest that the impotence of the action against Swift saw the efforts against the printer redoubled.

### **The *Letter to Midleton***

Swift's instinctive reaction to Carteret's measures was to write another document for intended publication. Entitled *A Letter to Lord Chancellor Midleton*,<sup>18</sup> it was a defence and justification of the work of the Drapier. However, in my view the events surrounding the preparation of this *Letter* have been misinterpreted by commentators. Because this *Letter to Midleton* was purported to be written in Swift's own name, commentators have described it as an heroic *Letter* in which Swift was intending to come forward and sacrifice his liberty for the sake of Ireland.<sup>19</sup> However, the evidence is clear, that in writing it and in his prevarication over whether to publish it, Swift was acting solely from an impulse of self-preservation and out of his fear of the case being escalated to an affair of state. If Carteret's intention had been to frighten Swift, the Lord Lieutenant succeeded.

Swift was informed in advance of Carteret's intention to summon a meeting of the Privy Council. With that meeting scheduled for Tuesday 27 October, Swift appears to have been notified of this no later than Saturday 24 October. Davis and Ehrenpreis both suggest that the person who told him might have been the Lord Chancellor himself, Midleton.<sup>20</sup> If this is accurate, it is another illustration of the contradictory sentiments that Ireland's leaders had towards Swift at this time, for three days after this, Midleton, the holder of the highest legal post in the country, would be in attendance at the meeting of the Privy Council and would put his name to both the Proclamation and the order to prosecute Harding. However, given that

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<sup>17</sup> Refer Tickell to Delafaye, 1 November 1724: PRONI 580/1, 230–232. Tucker confuses the Proclamation and the Order against Harding when he says that several Councillors refused to sign the latter: *Jonathan Swift*, Dublin, 1983, 82.

<sup>18</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 186–209; *PW*, x, 99 – 115. This *Letter* is most often referred to by commentators as the “sixth” *Letter* of the Drapier. Commentators, that is, refer to the five that were published by Harding during the course of 1724 as the “first” through to the “fifth”. Then, this *Letter to Midleton*, which was not published until 1735, is referred to as the “sixth”, and *Humble Address*, written by Swift in the summer of 1725 but not published until 1735, is considered the “seventh”. But in an attempt to avoid confusion, I do not refer to these two publications of the Drapier – which did not appear contemporaneously – as the “sixth” and “seventh” *Letters* respectively. I refer to them by the short titles I have assigned them for this thesis – *Letter to Midleton* and *Humble Address*.

<sup>19</sup> For example: Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, op. cit., 539; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 276 – 277; Oakleaf, 172 – 173.

<sup>20</sup> Davis, *DL*, xlviii; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 271, note 2.

the *Letter* Swift wrote was addressed to Middleton and to some extent took the form of a pleader, Davis and Ehrenpreis may be correct.

Upon receipt of the news of the intended meeting of the Privy Council, then, Swift, shut himself away in the deanery and wrote in a state of anxiety. The fact that this *Letter to Middleton*, as published in 1735, bears the date “Oct. 26, 1724”, shows that Swift’s initial version was completed and ready to be set to type on that day<sup>21</sup> – the day before the meeting. As such, in what would have been yet another surprise for the Lord Lieutenant, Swift was planning to have this *Letter to Middleton* in the hands of the Privy Councillors and under their consideration before and during the meeting. And this is how the *Letter* is to be read – as a document in which Swift pleads with the Privy Councillors for understanding while offering them guidance on what they should now do. A comment that appears early in the *Letter* is: “Neither is this an Affair of State, until Authority think fit to declare it so: Or if you should understand it in that Sense”.<sup>22</sup> In telling the Privy Councillors that this is not an affair of state while at the same time acknowledging that it is in their power to alter that, this line demonstrates Swift’s predicament. By writing this *Letter* in his own name, then, part of Swift’s motivation was to do the honourable thing by putting an end to the charade, in the hope that his doing so would avert the worst case scenario, a charge of treason. But there was a further motive for Swift writing in his own name at this time. It is one that has never before been commented on despite clear evidence (to be discussed shortly): Swift wanted to come forward before Harding offered evidence to claim the reward, in this way avoiding the ignominy of being drawn out by his printer.

The *Letter to Middleton* has a deceptive quality in the reading. Although it is a letter of legal appeal, it is defiant and righteous, and with the momentum of the *Letters* of the Drapier carrying over into it, its tone is awash with command and infallibility. This camouflages the fact that the *Letter* is replete with pleas of defence, including some weak pleas. Swift explains, for instance, that in England it is routine for Parliamentary issues of any kind to be represented by pamphlets on both sides, in this way likening the controversy of the coin to a party political dispute, when it was nothing of the sort.<sup>23</sup> And he maintains that he only ever

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<sup>21</sup> Ehrenpreis is of the view that the date “26 October” is in error and that Swift only began to write after 27 October (*Swift*, iii, 271 & note 2). Davis, however, thinks the date is valid and that it was partly written by that time (*DL*, xlvii, 303). Davis’ view is consistent with all of the *Letter*’s internal evidence.

<sup>22</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 188; *PW*, x, 100.

<sup>23</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 198; *PW*, x, 107.

wrote out of a sense of patriotic duty and that he always kept “within the Bounds of Truth, of Duty, and of Decency”,<sup>24</sup> which is open to debate. Elsewhere, Swift mounts legitimate arguments, such as where he claims the benefit of the legal principle that words and expressions are to be given their most favourable interpretation.<sup>25</sup> He also laments the lack of clarity in the law for people who venture to write for the public good.<sup>26</sup> And the most effective defence he offers is where he responds to the objection that this M.B. Drapier had no right to intervene in the matter in the first place. To this, he says in comparatively plain terms that, with the Addresses of both Houses of the Parliament having come to nothing, the situation called for *someone* to write to the people, and considering himself possessed of the talents necessary for the task, it had had to be him.<sup>27</sup> But other matters Swift mentions by way of defence are dubious. With regard to the prerogative, he suggests that he was compelled to speak about it only on account of Wood having commented that the patent could be enforced by Proclamation,<sup>28</sup> but this is inaccurate because Swift had written on the prerogative in the first *Letter*, which was before the fear concerning a Proclamation had arisen. In response to the objection that he had written inappropriately of the King, he says, “I SOLEMNLY delcare,<sup>29</sup> that I never once heard the least Reflection cast upon the King, on the Subject of Mr. *Wood’s* Coin: For in many Discourses on this Matter, I do not remember His Majesty’s Name to be so much as mentioned”.<sup>30</sup> Given that Swift had mentioned the King countless times, this can only mean that the name “George I” had never been mentioned. Then, after deciding not to publish this *Letter to Middleton* ahead of 27 October, Swift added to it with comments specifically concerned with matters that had arisen out of the meeting of the Privy Council. He says that it has come to his attention that one of the passages objected to, is that where he states his preparedness to transgress the statute of the 33rd year of Henry VIII. To this he explains that he would never support anyone in transgressing a statute, but hopes that “the loyal Intention of the Writer, might be at least some small Extenuation of his Crime”.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 195; *PW*, x, 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 201–202; *PW*, x, 109 – 110.

<sup>26</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 200 – 201, 208 – 209; *PW*, x, 109, 114 – 115.

<sup>27</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 199, 202 – 203; *PW*, x, 108, 110.

<sup>28</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 196 – 197; *PW*, x, 106.

<sup>29</sup> “delcare” is a printing error by Faulkner.

<sup>30</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 190; *PW*, x, 101 – 102.

<sup>31</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 197 – 198; *PW*, x, 107.

Elsewhere, he takes a half-hearted step towards an apology when he says that he would be “heartily sorry, that any Writer” should write material that drew the kind of censure as that which had been expressed in the Proclamation, saying that “I thought he [the Drapier] meant well”,<sup>32</sup> and insisting that nothing the Drapier had written would have planted a seed of sedition in any one Irish mind.<sup>33</sup> With regard to the comments he had made concerning Carteret and the vice-regal office, he optimistically says: “I will never give myself leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my *Lord Lieutenant*; whose Person and great Qualities I have always highly respected; (as I am sure his excellency will be my Witness)”.<sup>34</sup> And similarly, with Walpole, Swift retreats with an extended passage in the course of which he maintains that he cleared the First Minister from the imputations the Dublin newspapers had conveyed against him, and had at all times written of him with civility.<sup>35</sup> Swift is doing all he can to assuage the situation by restating the Drapier’s arguments to give them a softer appearance, but the printed words from the earlier *Letters* could not now be changed. With Walpole, he mentions that during his London days he had never once spoken out against that Minister, despite the fact that, as Swift relates, Walpole had once made a speech in the House directly against him.<sup>36</sup> By referring to the fact that he had refrained from retaliating after Walpole had made this speech, Swift appears to be appealing to Walpole to reciprocate the leniency.

Three days after the meeting of the Privy Council, Swift was still considering having this *Letter to Middleton* published. The risk was that, instead of *improving* his situation, the publication of the *Letter* would prompt Carteret to elevate the case to a matter of state. If the case was to remain an ordinary one of sedition issued out of the Court of King’s Bench of Dublin, Swift would come before juries of his countrymen and would be safe. But if the case was escalated to treason, it would be heard by the peers in the House of Lords (whether that of Ireland or England), and if the House was to find against him, he would be imprisoned with the possibility of greater punishment.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, it was on Friday 30 October that

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<sup>32</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 189 – 190; *PW*, x, 101.

<sup>33</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 190, 192; *PW*, x, 101, 103.

<sup>34</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 196; *PW*, x, 105 – 106.

<sup>35</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 190 – 191; *PW*, x, 102.

<sup>36</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 191; *PW*, x, 102.

<sup>37</sup> For other comments on the issue of Swift’s preparedness to meet a charge of treason with the possibility of execution: A.C. Elias, Jr., ed., *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, 2 vols., Athens and London, 1997, i, 280. For an alternative view associated with Swift’s “willingness” to face death, related to his feelings for Vanessa: Margaret

Archbishop King paid an unexpected visit to Carteret at the Castle to ask some questions around these matters.<sup>38</sup> Davis says this action of Archbishop King was instigated by “Swift’s friends” on his behalf,<sup>39</sup> implying that it was only these friends who were looking to Swift’s safety, and not Swift himself. But this in my view is unlikely. Clearly Swift, in his anxiety at this time, had been talking to Irish leaders who were sympathetic to him, but it was *Swift* who had been writing about his concerns associated with the matter becoming an affair of state, not the others. As such, I think the likelihood is high that the visit to Carteret by Archbishop King was an errand at Swift’s request designed to test the water with the Lord Lieutenant. As for what happened during this visit, Carteret gives a vivid account in his letter to Newcastle written later the same day, where he explains that he told the Archbishop, amongst other things, that in the opinion of himself and at least two judges, the fourth *Letter* was treasonous and “that no man in the Kingdom how great and considerable soever he might think himself was of weight enough to stand a matter of this nature”.<sup>40</sup> This was the warning that was relayed back to Swift by Archbishop King.

One curious matter is that, even if Swift did decide to declare himself by publishing the *Letter to Middleton*, that *Letter* does not amount to an admission of authorship of the *Letters* of the Drapier anyway. It is signed “JS. Deanry House”, and throughout the *Letter* Swift refers to himself throughout as “I”. These are matters that, in the view of J.A. Downie at least, are sufficient for the *Letter to Middleton* to be considered as having been written “in his own name”.<sup>41</sup> But Swift always marks a distinction between himself and the Drapier and at no stage presents an association between the two, much less a direct acknowledgement that *he* is the person who writes under that pseudonym. As Middleton Murry says, avowing his authorship is “precisely what he does not do in the *Letter to Middleton*”, and, “There was nothing in the *Letter to Middleton* which could possibly have justified legal proceedings against Swift as the author of the fourth *Letter*”.<sup>42</sup> Regardless, Swift ultimately did not publish it. The reason for

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Ann Doody, ‘Swift and women’, in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 87 – 111, at 105.

<sup>38</sup> On this, refer also: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, op. cit., 122 – 123.

<sup>39</sup> DL, xlviii.

<sup>40</sup> 31 October 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 224 – 230. The letter is reproduced at length by Davis: DL, xlvii-xlviii. For other discussion of King’s visit to Carteret: Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, op. cit., 539; Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 373 – 375; Ferguson, 124; Davis, DL, xlv – xlviii; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 275 – 277; Oakleaf, 172 – 173.

<sup>41</sup> J.A. Downie, *Jonathan Swift: Political Writer*, London, 1984, 243.

<sup>42</sup> *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 373, 375.



this decision has never before been stated. It was not as Faulkner declared when he first published the *Letter to Middleton* in 1735: “I can tell no other Reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the Writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the People in Power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the Paper in his Cabinet.”<sup>43</sup> Nor was it due to the warning given by Carteret that the fourth *Letter* was considered treasonous. Ferguson says it was due to this, and both Davis and Ehrenpreis imply that it contributed to it,<sup>44</sup> but this warning only caused Swift to defer his decision a little longer.

Swift’s decision was made just over a week after Archbishop King’s visit to Carteret and was associated with his fears of being informed upon by a claimant for the reward under the Proclamation. Firstly, the evidence that Swift was highly anxious about the possibility of being drawn out in this fashion is clear. It is seen to an extent in the *Letter to Middleton* itself, where he affects indifference to that possibility with his comment that any person who believes that the fourth *Letter* is truly deserving of the epithets ascribed to it by the Proclamation, “would do well to discover the Author, (as little a Friend as I am to the Trade of Informers) although the Reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the Discovery”.<sup>45</sup> And Swift’s anxiety is on full display in the events involving his valet and amanuensis, Blakely, on the day that the Proclamation was issued. Blakely absented himself from the deanery without permission and stayed out through the night. During that time, Swift spoke to friends who advised him to be circumspect with Blakely if he should return, but when Blakely appeared the next day, Swift flew into a rage, accusing him of taking advantage of the power he now had, only for the accusation to be false – Blakely had only been out drinking. But with Blakely from that time back in the deanery and under a closer watch,<sup>46</sup> the other person of concern for Swift was Harding, and it is in relation to this printer that the evidence pertaining to Swift’s decision not to publish the *Letter to Middleton* is seen.

Harding had been in hiding from the time the Proclamation was issued. Accordingly, as Swift knew, Harding had options open to him: he could stay in hiding or flee the country

<sup>43</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 183; *PW*, 97. Refer also: Davis, *PW*, x, xxi.

<sup>44</sup> Ferguson, 124; Davis, *DL*, xlviii; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 276 – 277.

<sup>45</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 198; *PW*, x, 107.

<sup>46</sup> This story was first told by Deane Swift, *Essay*, 190 – 191. For later retellings and comments: Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 244, 289; Walter Scott, i, 297; Monck Mason, 344 note n; Starratt, ‘The Streets of Dublin’, op. cit., 22 note; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 131; Davis, *DL*, 289; Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift*, London, 1998, 169.

(in spite of his wife and child), he could wait until he was found and arrested, he could turn himself in and face the prosecution, or he could give evidence against Swift to claim the reward and in this way save himself.<sup>47</sup> Harding was eventually arrested on 8 November, eleven days after going into hiding, and for Swift, these would have been eleven days of having his printer at large and not knowing what he was going to do. However, upon being arrested and examined before Whitshed on 7 November, Harding remained true to Swift and stated his intention to meet the prosecution, and the evidence suggests that, with this intention on Harding's part being declared, Swift's decision was made. The day after Harding was arrested, Carteret wrote to Newcastle:

I would not let this packet go away without doing myself the honour of writing to your Grace, tho' I have nothing further since my last to acquaint you with, only that my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed told me that John Harding printer of the Libel against which a Proclamation has been issued, & who has absconded ever since, was taken yesterday into custody by his warrant, & that His Lordship had taken informations upon oath against him in order to his being prosecuted as Printer and Publisher of the said libel. The author's designs of owning himself seems to be laid aside.<sup>48</sup>

This alone implies that Swift's decision was a consequence of the arrest of Harding. (It also shows that word of Swift's intention to lay aside his plan upon Harding's arrest circulated immediately.) But whilst this letter from Carteret of 8 November only *implies* that Swift's decision to withhold the Letter to Middleton was associated with Harding's arrest, six days later Carteret wrote to Newcastle again: "I acquainted your grace in my letter of the 8th that the author's design of owning himself seemed to be laid aside, which I believe I may now say with certainty, since the printer is spirited up to stand the prosecution, and hitherto persists in concealing the author".<sup>49</sup> The significance of this comment is in my view clear. It is not as

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<sup>47</sup> Although this particular reward for discovery of the author did not include an express clause giving an assurance of pardon to anyone making the discovery, such a term was implicit, for without it there can have been no inducement for anyone involved in the publication – amanuensis, proof reader or printer – to give the evidence. Indeed, evidence that the reward was understood at the time to include this promise of pardon is seen in a tract written in early 1725, *Seasonable Advice to M.B. Drapier. Occasioned by his Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth* (A4, 129). Imagining a scenario in which a claimant of the reward came forward against Swift, the writer of this tract assumes that any such successful claimant would be "dismissed by Law". The implicit nature of such a condition is also seen in the case of Defoe's pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, published in London in 1704, when Defoe turned himself in to secure the release of his printer and publisher: Williams, *Old-Time Punishments*, London, 1971 [1890], 99. For an example of a reward which included a promise of pardon as an express clause, refer: Rivington, 'Tyrant': *The Story of John Barber*, op. cit., 46 and note 20. Another example is in the Proclamation issued against the 1725 poem thought by some commentators to be by Swift, *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate* (this will be discussed in Chapter Seven). On the issue generally, refer also: McCue, 'A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIII, (1959), 362 – 368, 363, note 7.

<sup>48</sup> PRONI: SP 63/382; MIC 223/162, 177 – 180.

<sup>49</sup> PRONI: T/580/1, 236 – 241.

Ehrenpreis states. Ehrenpreis says correctly that Swift's decision was finalised upon Harding's arrest,<sup>50</sup> but stops there, without explaining how or why the arrest of Harding finalised Swift's decision, and indeed the tone of Ehrenpreis' surrounding discussion suggests that it was an heroic deed on Swift's part. In my view, the reason for Swift's decision to withhold the *Letter to Middleton* from publication is apparent on the evidence. Swift initially wrote it and considered publishing it in his own name to avoid the indignity of being forced out of his pseudonymity by a claimant of the reward, but with Blakely now attending closely to his duties in the deanery, and with Harding now in prison and having stated an intention to meet the prosecution rather than discover the author, Swift's anxieties were sufficiently calmed for him to decide that the more prudent measure was to leave the *Letter to Middleton* unpublished.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, he filed the manuscript away,<sup>52</sup> but to be perfectly safe, one further precaution was taken – his name as it appeared on the manuscript, or possibly just his initials, was blotted out. This fact is given by Faulkner, who reported in 1735, referring to the manuscript he had set to type: "I could discover his Name subscribed at the End of the Original, although blotted out by some other Hand."<sup>53</sup> But a blotting-out is a blotting-out. How Faulkner could discern that it was done by someone other than Swift is unclear.

### The Prosecution

The first few days following publication of the fourth *Letter* were more or less business as usual for Harding. On Friday 23 October, he produced a second edition of the fourth *Letter*.<sup>54</sup> Clearly produced by Swift and Harding before the author had received notification of Carteret's intentions, this corrected some errors from the first edition whilst also appending a page with an advertisement listing errata in that first edition, although two errors in the second

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<sup>50</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 277.

<sup>51</sup> Churton Collins mistakenly implies that it was in fact published contemporaneously: *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 186; as does McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 94, 100.

<sup>52</sup> I have argued that at this time neither John nor Sarah Harding was at Molesworth's Court – the former was in hiding and the latter was in prison. This, however, cannot be considered a reason for Swift's decision not to publish the *Letter to Middleton*. Elizabeth Sadlier could have printed it – especially with the help of another printer. Alternatively, Swift could have arranged publication with any of a number of other stationers.

<sup>53</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 183; *PW*, x, 97.

<sup>54</sup> A2, 57. Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake, 30 October 1724: "Care was taken to publish this satire the very day before the Lord Lieutenant landed; and within two days after, it had a second edition": quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 267.

edition remain.<sup>55</sup> Produced just two days after they had sold the original edition on the streets of the town and within the walls of the Castle, this second edition was a further display of belligerence towards Westminster. Then, a Number of Harding's *DINL* appeared on the day of the meeting of the Privy Council itself, Tuesday 27 October. This Number includes "A POEM on the safe Arrival of his Excellency the Lord Carteret", written by a youth of fourteen, which is followed immediately underneath by an advertisement for "the Second EDITION Corrected" of the fourth *Letter* – as if to suggest that the welcoming of Carteret and Swift's fourth *Letter* went hand-in-hand, all in the ordinary course. If the juxtaposition of these two items was intentional, it can be seen as a characteristically audacious printing manoeuvre by Harding.

At the same time, though, the appearance of these two items in the *DINL* for 27 October manner raises the question of whether at the time of setting the type for this Number, Harding was even aware of the meeting of the Privy Council, along with Carteret's intention to bring the full force of the law against the fourth *Letter*, scheduled for that day. That is, although Swift had had advance knowledge of those matters for at least three days, it is unclear whether Swift passed that information on to his printer. The answer cannot be known. It is possible that Harding received notice of these matters independently of Swift anyway. The historian, Maureen Wall, observes that when a Proclamation affecting the interests of the Catholic population was imminent, news of that intended Proclamation often reached the Catholics before it reached the law enforcers.<sup>56</sup> Maybe on this occasion in October 1724, Harding received advance information in a similar fashion. But then, the circumstances of this sudden vice-regal action taken by Carteret were different from public policy measures intended to affect the Catholics, which are measures that are likely to have been some time in the making. And certainly the appearance of an advertisement for the second edition of the fourth *Letter* on the very day of the Privy Council meeting is evidence that is open to interpretation as signifying that Harding was oblivious to what was about to occur. Harding simply continued selling and promoting the fourth *Letter* in his usual aggressive manner through all of the days that Carteret was consulting other leaders and preparing his moves, up to and including the day of the meeting itself. By the end of that Tuesday, 27 October, though, he knew. A few days later Tickell reported: "the printer is run away".<sup>57</sup> This comment is in a

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<sup>55</sup> In line 6 of page 10, "Test" is as it is rather than being amended to "Jest", and in line 29 of page 7, "hvae" remains uncorrected.

<sup>56</sup> O'Brien, ed. *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall*, Dublin, 1989, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Tickell to Delafaye, 1 November 1724: PRONI 580/1, 230 – 232.

letter dated 1 November. Given that the messengers would have been at Molesworth's Court within the hour of the issuing of the order, Harding must have fled in the afternoon or evening of that Tuesday.

The circumstances in which the Hardings were arrested and imprisoned represent another matter that has never been examined. It is known that both Sarah and John Harding were imprisoned. This fact is given by Swift in the course of the "Directions to the Printer" prefaced to the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier, when he refers to "your own and your Wife's Confinement in PRISON".<sup>58</sup> It is also known that John Harding was arrested on 7 November. Equipped with these two facts, every commentator has assumed that John and Sarah Harding were both arrested and imprisoned on this day, 7 November.<sup>59</sup> The only exception to this is David Woolley, who at one point suggests that Sarah Harding might have been imprisoned *after* her husband.<sup>60</sup> In my view, the evidence suggests a different scenario. There are two matters that have been overlooked and which, when considered, reveal the plausibility of these previously unseen events. One is that it was eleven days between the commencement of the prosecution and the arrest of Harding. This represents a long period in which, according to the assumption that has prevailed to date, the government had no person in custody to answer for this "wicked and malicious libel highly reflecting on the King and his Ministers". The other matter is that this was a prosecution that called upon all possible resources.

Indeed, this prosecution took place during a period in which prosecutions of printers in London were marked by a new ruthlessness on the part of judicial officers and messengers of the press. One of the first instances of this ruthlessness occurred when a printer by the name of Berrington was seized by two messengers whilst in his bed in September 1718,<sup>61</sup> but by 1732 the Whig administration's conduct of these prosecutions was sufficiently infamous to have become the subject of a poem, *On the Liberty of the PRESS*, which was printed in an English newspaper and reprinted in *The Dublin Evening Post* for 4 – 7 November 1732. Contrasting these Whig prosecutions with the more restrained practices of the previous Tory

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<sup>58</sup> A2, 65, page iv; *PW*, x, 79.

<sup>59</sup> Refer: Davis, *DL*, xlviii; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 417; Ferguson, 125; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 276 – 277; JW, *Intelligencer*, 35; McMinn, *Jonathan Swift: A Literary Life*, London, 1994, 110; David Woolley: DW Letter 632 bis, note 2, vol. ii, 536; Walsh, 'Harding, John', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography, under the Auspices of the Royal Irish Academy*, Clark, Fanning, Happon, Johnson-Liik, McGuire, Murphy, Quin, eds., London, 2009, vol. iv, 453 – 454.

<sup>60</sup> DW Letter 630, note 8, vol. ii, 532.

<sup>61</sup> Refer: *Pue's Occurrences* for 6 September 1718. For further instances of the conduct of messengers: *The Dublin Courant* for 19 August 1721, and *Walley's News-Letter* 20 March 1722.

administration, this poem describes how the Whig messengers would ransack a printer's shop: "From Messengers secure no Printer lies/ They take Compositors, Press-Men, Devils, Flies". And further examples of these practices on the part of messengers are detailed by Laurence Hanson in his 1936 book, *Government and the Press, 1695 – 1763*.<sup>62</sup> Yet, whilst the practices described here were taking place in London, it is seen that they were also introduced into Dublin, with Thomas Sheridan providing evidence of this in one of his papers written for his periodical, *The Intelligencer*, in 1728. Writing hypothetically of what might have happened in 1724 if the identity of the Drapier had been discovered, he says "it is highly probable, they would have Seized all the *Goods* in his *Shop*, and have *Imprisoned*, and *Pilloried* him into the *Bargain*".<sup>63</sup>

My contention is that these kinds of merciless practices on behalf of the messengers were witnessed in this prosecution of the fourth *Letter*. Harding had fled, but on their arrival at Molesworth's Court, the messengers could not return empty handed. Never before in a prosecution for sedition in Ireland was a wife known to have been taken in her husband's stead. It had happened in recent times in London, with the arrest of Mist's wife in 1722,<sup>64</sup> but in Dublin, just as Lloyd and Waters had left their wives to answer questions from the messengers, so Harding would I think have left his shop and living quarters on 27 October without suspecting that his wife would be taken in his place.<sup>65</sup> I am proposing that Sarah Harding was arrested on this day, Tuesday 27 October. Swift soon afterwards revealed that "He [Harding] and his Wife have offered to take their Oaths that they know not the Author".<sup>66</sup> Sarah Harding's examination before Whitshed in my view took place on that day, immediately after her arrest. She was then imprisoned for all effects and purposes as ransom for her husband, and she was released when Harding was finally taken on 7 November. Supporting this hypothesis is the comment made by Sarah Harding in her 1726 *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, when she explains that whilst her husband was in prison, Swift sent him a message: "To hearten him, the DRAPIER sent to him in Jail,/To tell him, he'd quickly get

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<sup>62</sup> Op. cit., 48 – 50.

<sup>63</sup> *Intelligencer Numb. XVIII*: A3, 50, page 5; JW, *Intelligencer*, 199.

<sup>64</sup> Reported in the *Dublin Intelligence* for 21 August 1722.

<sup>65</sup> As for instances of the wife of a Dublin stationer being imprisoned *after* this time, there is only the joint imprisonment of Carter and his wife for printing false news in 1729: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 93.

<sup>66</sup> A4, 115; *PW*, x, 71.

home to his Wife”.<sup>67</sup> This shows that for part, if not all, of the time Harding was in prison, his wife was not (and it was probably these lines that prompted David Woolley to suggest that Sarah Harding might have been imprisoned *after* John Harding). This is the sequence of events, then, that in my submission is more realistic in the context of this prosecution.

Whether or to what extent goods or stock from Molesworth’s Court were confiscated by the messengers, this is unknown, but it seems reasonable to speculate that the premises were not left undisturbed. The Hardings probably also had their money hidden in bags in different places. Whether this was taken cannot be known, although certainly Sarah Harding would let it be known after her husband’s death that she had no money, with all of it lost in fines and prison expenses, and possibly other means.

It follows from these proposed events that between 28 October and 7 November neither John nor Sarah Harding was in the shop on Molesworth’s Court, and it might therefore be wondered how a Number of the *DINL* came to be published on 3 November. But this could have been produced on their behalf by someone else. The most likely person to have undertaken this work is Elizabeth Sadlier. With Sarah Harding in prison and John Harding in hiding, Elizabeth Sadlier would have been caring for the Harding’s young child (her grandchild). She would, therefore, have been in the shop and living quarters at Molesworth’s Court and, being a stationer herself, could have produced this Number. Alternatively it could have been produced by any of several stationers or apprentices who were sympathetic to the Hardings at this time. And there is substantive evidence that this Number was indeed produced by someone other than its usual publisher. This is seen in the colophon. On the standard colophon on the *DINL*, the street name of Harding’s business read, “Fishamble Street”, but in this Number for 3 November, the type has been broken in its chase, and reads: “Fiam ble-Street”. This suggests that someone new and inexperienced with the Harding shop had accidentally or otherwise interfered with the colophon.

A further matter concerning the events associated with the imprisonments of John and Sarah Harding that has not before been noticed is that, regardless of which particular day she was detained, Sarah Harding was pregnant at the time. She had been carrying the baby only for about six weeks and would not have been showing. As such, whilst there is every possibility that upon being apprehended she pleaded her belly,<sup>68</sup> she might not have been

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<sup>67</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14 (the first lines of stanza nine).

<sup>68</sup> On this plea: Garnham, 248; and Madden, i, 230. It is also mentioned in *Pue’s Occurrences* for 23 December 1760.

believed anyway. Sarah Harding's pregnancy at this time also provides a clue with regard to the circumstances in which John Harding came to be arrested on 7 November. Harding feared that by turning himself in, he would be going to his death (as proved to be the case – although not as a result of a charge of treason). This is why he stayed out for as long as eleven days. At the same time, it can be fairly assumed in my view that he had knowledge that his pregnant wife had been imprisoned in his place. There is a reasonable possibility, then, that on 7 November he handed himself in to free his wife.

It was only upon the arrest of Harding that the case issued out of the King's Bench could commence.<sup>69</sup> With respect to the exceptional events that followed, there are, again, no surviving Law Reports or other King's Bench documents. The evidence consists only of references in Swift's works, passages and comments in the correspondence of him and others, and the inferences that can be drawn from these materials. The case was similar to that involving Waters in 1720 insofar as the law and procedure of sedition hardly had a role. Instead, it was concerned almost exclusively with the politics of personal ambition and the politics of nationhood. A further dimension to this case of 1724 was the politics of friendship. That is, the course of the proceeding appears to have been covertly directed by the collusion of the two friends – the Lord Lieutenant and the author of the publication that was before the Court.

With Harding arrested, the case began with an appearance of regularity. Harding was examined in a Preliminary Hearing before Whitshed,<sup>70</sup> and after denying all knowledge of the author (and foregoing the opportunity of the reward) was imprisoned to await trial. A Grand Jury was then empanelled to deliberate on the bill of indictment. This empanelling appears to have occurred on Wednesday 11 November, and a hearing of the Grand Jury was scheduled for the following Saturday 14 November. But the day before that Grand Jury hearing witnessed the dispersal of the document prepared by Swift to influence the minds of the Grand Jury members. Its full title was: "SEASONABLE ADVICE. Since a *Bill* is preparing for the Grand Jury, to find against the Printer of the *Drapier's last Letter*, there are several

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<sup>69</sup> Madden is mistaken in saying it was the first pamphlet of the *Drapier*, rather than the fourth, that was prosecuted: i, 59/60.

<sup>70</sup> This is reported by Midleton in a letter to his brother dated 23 November: quoted in *DL*, 269. On the history of the procedure of the Preliminary Examination, see: Plucknett, *Concise History of the Common Law*, London, 1948, 407 – 408.



things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before whom this *Bill* is to come, before they determine upon it”.<sup>71</sup>

*Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* consisted of six enumerated paragraphs advising the members of the Grand Jury of matters they needed to consider and instructing them how to act. Several of the arguments that Swift would have made with the *Letter to Middleton* – had that been published – are made in shorter form here, although on this occasion his defences are presented more aggressively and without any express or implied plea for forgiveness. Swift says that the three prior *Letters* had all met with approval and that the fourth *Letter* had been written by an author whose good intentions and loyalty to the Crown was never doubted by anyone. He addresses the two parts of the fourth *Letter* that had been specifically objected to, saying with respect to the comment concerning the “*Penner*” of the King’s *Answer*, that as English was not the King’s native language, his Majesty could not possibly have been that “*Penner*”.<sup>72</sup> Then, with respect to the passage concerning the dependency, he challenges any lawyer in the town to produce a statute that shows that Ireland is in fact a dependent kingdom. Swift impresses on the Grand Jury the disastrous effect that a finding against the fourth *Letter* would have upon the kingdom and its opposition to the coin. He appeals to their patriotism by saying that, unlike other senior government men, they did not stand to gain in any way by the introduction of the coin. He appeals to them to consider the consequences that finding the bill would have upon the printer, who was perfectly innocent. And he ends by recounting the Fable of Demosthenes, which warns of the dangers of betraying a great national hero. It is a fable that, by analogy, warns of the dangers of betraying him by finding the bill.<sup>73</sup>

Although *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* consisted only of these six paragraphs with an epilogue, it is not a short document. It has enough copy to fill a small pamphlet. But it was printed in small type and squeezed on to one side of a broadsheet. It has no authorial or pseudonymous name – it was not written under the name of the Drapier. Nor does the

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<sup>71</sup> A4, 115; *PW*, x, 69 – 71. Davis gives it a different title: “Seasonable ADVICE to the Grand-Jury, concerning the Bill preparing against the Printer of the preceding Letter”: *PW*, x, 69. This difference is also noted by Oakleaf, 233, note 142. It is hereafter referred to as: *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*.

<sup>72</sup> The King’s lack of mastery of the language was a sensitive issue in itself. In the English Parliament in 1717, the Jacobite William Shippen, upon complaining in the Parliament that the King was “unacquainted with our language and constitution”, was dispatched to the Tower for the remainder of the Parliamentary session. Refer: Torbuck, *A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England (1668 – 1741)*, 21 vols., (1739–42), vol. 7, 15: cited in G. C. Gibbs, ‘George I (1160 – 1727)’, *ODNB*.

<sup>73</sup> For discussion of this fable: Oakleaf, 172.

document have an imprint, and as such the identity of the printer is uncertain. Davis and Ehrenpreis suggest it came off the Harding press<sup>74</sup>, but both appear to overlook the fact that John Harding was in prison at the time. It can only have been a Harding publication if the work was undertaken by Sarah Harding and Elizabeth Sadlier, and given the meticulous nature of the work – with its small type – they might have needed the help of a more experienced stationer. A separate possibility mentioned by Davis is that it was produced on the secret press that, according to legend, was in the garden of Delany's country villa, Delville,<sup>75</sup> but this is speculative and, regardless, the production of this work would appear to have required a higher level of skill in the trade than amateurs such as Delany and friends are likely to have possessed. It may have been produced in the Harding shop with the assistance of stationers such as Waters, or Rider and Harbin, the latter of whom would soon afterwards demonstrate their commitment to the Drapier's cause by printing the "Presentment" that the second Grand Jury would offer in court to Whitshed. But on the evidence available, the printing provenance of the document cannot be verified.

With regard to its composition, *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* is dated 11 November, which shows that the manuscript was completed early in the week. Within a few days, Swift had, with the assistance of unknown persons, arranged for printed copies to be sealed in envelopes and sent to the members of the Grand Jury, as well as to many of Ireland's leaders, including the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>76</sup> Faulkner later reported that it was sent to these people "*The Evening before the Tryal*"<sup>77</sup> – on Friday 13 November, the evening before the hearing of the Grand Jury – and this would appear to be correct. Some commentators have said that it was sent on the day of the hearing itself.<sup>78</sup> This may be a consequence of a mistake made by Davis in 1935 when quoting a comment by Carteret in a letter to Newcastle of 22 November. Davis quotes this comment as: "a copy of Seasonable Advice was brought to me on Nov: 14th of so scandalous and seditious a nature, that I thought it my duty to send it to the Attorney and Solicitour General".<sup>79</sup> In fact the letter reads: "In my letter of the 14th instant I

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<sup>74</sup> Davis, *DL*, xlix; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 278.

<sup>75</sup> Davis, *DL*, xlix.

<sup>76</sup> 24 November 1724, Coghill to Southwell: B.M. *Add. MSS.* 21122.

<sup>77</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 158.

<sup>78</sup> Ferguson, 126 – 127; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 279; Baltes, 242. David Woolley says that it was sent "by the 14<sup>th</sup>, when Carteret was brought a copy": DW Letter 630, note 8, vol. ii, 532.

<sup>79</sup> *DL*, l [roman 50].

transmitted to your Grace a paper intituled *Seasonable Advice*, of so scandalous and seditious a nature that I thought it my duty to send to the Attorney and Solicitor General” – which leaves open the possibility that Carteret had received it before the 14th. Whenever Carteret received it, he had sufficient time to take a decision that affected events on that Saturday, 14 November.<sup>80</sup>

*Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* is of most interest for this decision taken by Carteret. On Saturday 14 November, with the hearing of the Grand Jury to deliberate on the bill of indictment against the fourth *Letter* scheduled to proceed, Carteret directed the court to set that prosecution to one side, and to find a bill against this newly published document instead. As it eventuated, then, no hearing at all took place on Saturday 14 November. Presumably to give the lawyers time to prepare, this newly devised hearing for the Grand Jury to determine the bill against *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* was scheduled for the following Saturday, 21 November. This was an odd decision by Carteret because, although a more flagrant instance of the offence of “embracery of a jury” (as it was then known) could hardly be imagined, and the document was therefore deserving of censure, this decision to prosecute *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* diverted the court’s attention away from the publication that was the subject of the Proclamation and the principal concern in the affair. The only justification that has been offered for this decision is that the prosecution of the fourth *Letter* could never have succeeded because of the difficulties in bringing sufficient evidence against Harding.<sup>81</sup> This implies that counsel for Harding were intending to argue that, to be proven guilty of having printed the libel, it would have to be shown, despite the open appearance of his name on the imprint, that he had knowledge of the seditious effect of the material he was printing. But Whitshed – as mentioned earlier – would in my view have had no tolerance for any such technicality (which were practiced only by English judges who had tenure of office). And this purported justification makes little sense, regardless, because the Grand Jury was just as unlikely to find a bill against the *new* document. For the Grand Jury, that is, this case was one of Ireland versus William Wood, irrespective of which publication was before the court. One

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<sup>80</sup> Also, in his letter to Newcastle of 14 November, Carteret ends with: “P.S. Since the writing this letter the inclosed scandalous paper has been brought to me, which has been dispersed throughout the Town”. But this, too, is inconclusive of whether Carteret received Swift’s document on the 13th or 14th. Carteret could have written this letter on the 13th, then, receiving *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* that evening, added this post-script and dated the letter the next morning.

<sup>81</sup> Refer: 24 November, 1724, Coghill to Edward Southwell: BM *Add. MSS* 21122; Davis, *DL*, xlix; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 277.

Irish leader who certainly could not understand Carteret's decision was no less than Midleton, the Lord Chancellor. Writing to his brother on 17 November, he said:

Just now a very sober man of good fortune, and well affected to his [Carteret's] good fortune and government, expressed a good deal of surprize, that no bill of indictment had been drawn against Harding, the printer, and seemed to hint, if that had been done, it is possible the bill might have been found, which would have shewn how little influence the "*Seasonable Advice*" had on the minds of the jurors; and indeed it is pretty unaccountable to me, why that hath not been done all this time, if there be sufficient for finding the bill; and this would have put the offence of printing into a legal examination.<sup>82</sup>

The Lord Chancellor of the kingdom was bewildered. And similarly, commentators ever since have struggled to comprehend the move. It has been suggested that Carteret might have been deliberately shielding Swift by ensuring that the fourth *Letter* written as the Drapier would not come before the court.<sup>83</sup> It has also been said that the move was beneficial to Harding insofar as he would not be convicted.<sup>84</sup>

I would like to submit a new hypothesis for Carteret's actions with respect to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*. The circumstantial evidence supporting this new hypothesis is in my view substantial. The hypothesis also includes a reason for Carteret's move. Looking firstly to the action itself – before the proposed reason for it – my hypothesis is that sometime during the fortnight preceding 14 November, Carteret and Swift found a way to communicate, and that *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* was contrived between them to give Carteret the means to divert the proceeding as he did. To begin with, the document evinces a sudden reversal in Swift's attitude towards the prosecution. Less than two weeks earlier, sensing that the case was on the cusp of being elevated to a matter of state, Swift had withheld his passive-aggressive defence, the *Letter to Midleton*, from publication, yet here he produced a document which undermined the Court of King's Bench and made a mockery of the judicial system, all in the tone of supreme command in which he had written before the Proclamation. Next, on 31 October, Carteret had declared his determination to prosecute the fourth *Letter* with the utmost rigour, and if the author was to come forward, to detain him in custody to await the King's instructions with respect to a charge of treason.<sup>85</sup> If Carteret had persisted in this

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<sup>82</sup> Quoted in: Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford*, op. cit., ii, 405 – 406; also Davis, *DL*, 269.

<sup>83</sup> Ferguson, 126 – 127; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 279; Baltes, "'The Grandson of that Ass Quin.'" Swift and Chief Justice Whitshed', *Swift Studies*, 23, (2008), 126 – 146, at 133 note 37.

<sup>84</sup> Ferguson, 127.

<sup>85</sup> Carteret to Newcastle, 31 October 1724, PRONI T/580/1, 224 – 230.

resolve to hold Swift to account, upon the appearance of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, surely he would have taken steps to have him interrogated. Further, the possibility of a communication between Swift and Carteret of this kind is in my view consistent with the nature of their friendship, as illustrated in the exchange of letters between them earlier in the year. Throughout that correspondence, Carteret had oscillated between maintaining his vice-regal authority over Swift and yielding to the affection of his friendship.

My contention is that this pattern in their friendship continued. Upon Carteret's arrival in Ireland, Swift shocked him with the fourth *Letter*. Carteret then reciprocated with the Proclamation. But thereafter Carteret in my view retreated. Indeed, even during the meeting of the Privy Council on 27 October, there was a suspicion that Carteret was manoeuvring to ensure that no actual harm would come to Swift. This is seen in the comment of Marmaduke Coghill, who was at the meeting, where he implies that it was thought that by pushing to set the reward in such a high (on Irish standards) sum, Carteret was intending to intimidate any potential claimants out of coming forward.<sup>86</sup> But after the issuing of the Proclamation, there was a period of two weeks during which both Carteret and Swift had time to reflect, and according to my hypothesis, during that period Carteret weakened again, sending Swift a message of friendship that culminated in the appearance of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*. It would not have been difficult for Swift and Carteret to find a way to communicate. As Swift knew too well, messages could be sent surreptitiously through the employment of a trusted servant or a blackguard-boy, and could reach their recipients unseen.

There are further matters that offer support to this hypothesis. *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* had no printer's imprint and no authorial or pseudonymous name – Swift on this occasion withheld the pseudonym of the Drapier. A prosecution of this document, then, could lead to no single person, an outcome which in all the circumstances has an appearance of having been contrived. Next, there is the anomalous fifth paragraph. In a document that is characterised by its tone of defence (albeit high-handed), this fifth paragraph is openly aggressive as it gives unexpected and unnecessary provocation to Whitshed and the Irish Privy Council.<sup>87</sup> The fifth paragraph reads as though it was deliberately planted into the document to facilitate the move that followed (and this paragraph was indeed the one that was most

<sup>86</sup> Coghill to Edward Southwell, 31 October 1724: quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 269 – 270. On the reward, refer also: King to Molyneux, 24 November 1724: TCD Manuscripts: 2537/ 187 – 190; King to Southwell, 24 November 1724: TCD Manuscripts: 2537/190 – 193.

<sup>87</sup> Midleton considered himself libelled by this paragraph: Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, 23 November 1724: quoted in *DL*, 269 – 270).

complained of in court). Another unusual aspect of the prosecution of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* concerned the particular charge that was brought against it. Whilst it is abundantly clear that the primary offence of this document was embracery of a jury, and that its secondary offence was the libel in its fifth paragraph, the document was prosecuted for the latter. Whether this was a part of a strategy to protect Swift is uncertain. Although it seems possible, it is not known if a charge of embracery gave the court broader powers to investigate the identity of the perpetrator. Certainly there is a touch of mystery in the decision to prosecute the document for libel, which confined the court to that document.

Next, there is all of Swift's subsequent conduct in the case. This included the public dissemination of a printed extract from the debates of the English House of Commons on 21 October 1680,<sup>88</sup> which claimed that the dismissal of a Grand Jury whilst the matter was still under its deliberation – as Whitshed had done on 21 November – was unlawful. Swift's conduct also included the writing of a "Presentment". This document presented all persons who were in favour of the introduction of Wood's coin as enemies to the kingdom, and, subverting the authority of the King's Bench, the second Grand Jury delivered it up in Whitshed's Court on 28 November. These acts by Swift, particularly the last, must rank amongst the some of the most treasonous ever committed, yet Carteret let them pass. Finally, there are the comments by Middleton to his brother in his letter of 17 November, which have just been quoted. These comments have been interpreted as an expression of surprise on the part of the person speaking to Middleton – a sentiment shared by Middleton himself – that Carteret had decided to redirect the proceeding away from the fourth *Letter* to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*. But a literal reading of these comments goes further. The person is telling Middleton that no *bill of indictment* against the fourth *Letter* had even been drawn, and he expresses his surprise that this had not been done "all this time". These comments suggest that Carteret's decision not to proceed with the prosecution of the fourth *Letter* was taken, not with the appearance of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* on 13 or 14 November, but around two weeks earlier. It is submitted that all of these matters lend plausibility to my hypothesis that this shielding of Swift by Carteret that some commentators have suspected, in fact consisted of secret communications between them, during the course of which they steered the proceeding in this different direction and hoodwinked the rest of the country. As Carteret wrote to Swift twelve years later, when back in London and with his term as Lord Lieutenant

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<sup>88</sup> A4, 112.

behind him, “When people ask me how I govern’d Ireland I say yt I pleas’d D<sup>f</sup>. Swift. Quaesitam meritis sume superbiam”. [Assume the proud place thy deserts have won].<sup>89</sup>

With regard to a reason for Carteret’s decision to redirect the proceeding in this way, I agree with the suspicion that it was to shield Swift by taking the fourth *Letter* that had been written by the Drapier and printed by Harding out of the court, but in my view there was also something specific involved. My contention is that it was done to prevent Harding coming under examination by Whitshed in open court, a scenario that would have presented the highest likelihood of the printer faltering under pressure and divulging evidence of Swift’s authorship. I am suggesting that, having shocked Swift with the Proclamation, Carteret thereafter weakened by doing what he could to lessen his friend’s discomfort: taking steps to ensure that the worst case for Swift – Harding discovering him – could not eventuate. Indeed, whether considered within my hypothesis of express communication between Carteret and Swift in advance of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, or simply as Carteret’s motive for, as has been suspected by commentators, shielding Swift of his own volition, this in my view was the most important measure to be taken for the protection of Swift – keeping Harding out of court.

As support for this proposed explanation of Carteret’s redirection of the court’s attention to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, I would first like to mention the broader issue that, throughout the entire six months of the validity of the reward that ended on 27 April 1725, Swift remained wary of the possibility of someone discovering him. A month after the reward expired, Swift commented in a letter to Knightley Chetwode: “The 6 months are over, so the Discoverer of the Draper, will not get the 300<sup>l</sup> as I am told”.<sup>90</sup> In my view this is not something that Swift would have to have been told. This is apparent from the second part of the story concerning his amanuensis, Blakely. Having vented his rage with Blakely after he stayed out all night after the Proclamation was issued on 27 October, a little over six months later, when the Proclamation had expired, Swift called Blakely before him and ordered him to go away and strip off his livery and return in his civilian clothes. Thinking he was about to be

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<sup>89</sup> 24 March 1737, Carteret to Swift: DW Letter 1323, vol. iv, 406. Carteret’s enduring affection for Swift is also seen in an incident that was reported to Swift by John Barber on 6 August 1733. Barber told Swift of an exchange that had recently happened between himself and Carteret at a dinner: “The conversation turning on another subject, Lord Carteret pulled me to the window, and bade me tell you, that he loved and honoured you, and so you should find on all occasions, and he toasted your health. This is literally true, upon the honour of a —”: 6 August 1733, John Barber to Swift: DW Letter 1060, vol. iii, 686. Refer also: Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, op. cit., 118 – 119.

<sup>90</sup> 27 May 1725, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 645, vol. ii, 555.

dismissed, Blakely did so, but upon his return, the room was filled with servants, and Swift announced that Blakely was no longer his servant, but Mr. Blakely, Verger of St. Patrick's. This is a revealing incident. Commentators have without exception depicted it as being illustrative of Swift's magnanimity and grandeur,<sup>91</sup> but clearly Swift was acting out of relief – this was a reward to Blakely for not having informed on him during the six months.

However, the person who was of greater concern to Swift throughout these six months was the one he had less control over – Harding. The fact that Swift would have been worried about the possibility of Harding discovering him in my view speaks for itself. Although there is circumstantial evidence indicating that this was indeed the case, none should be necessary. I have argued that during the preceding years, a spirit of camaraderie developed between Swift and Harding, but from Swift's point of view this counted for nothing under the conditions of the Proclamation. This young, lawless Tory stationer held his liberty, and possibly his life, in his hands. Moreover, Harding was suffering in prison with the prospect of a long sentence ahead of him if he was to be convicted. Given that by discovering Swift, Harding would be freeing *himself*, he had every incentive to do so. The dilemma for Swift was: could he trust Harding to remain faithful to him in these conditions? With the independent evidence that does exist, this is the context in which it is to be seen.

The first piece of evidence is of interest for more than one reason. It is a passage from the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier which Swift would write in December. A *Letter* that is addressed to Lord Molesworth, at one point the Drapier extols Molesworth as man whose political principles and skills as a writer were superior even to his own, with the consequence that, "if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in Honour to pay my Fine, and support me in Prison; or else I may chance to *Inform* against you by Way of *Reprisal*".<sup>92</sup> As this was written soon after Harding's three-week imprisonment, it is clear that, whether intentionally or not, Swift is analogising his own situation with respect to his printer. The comments suggest that Swift had paid Harding's fine and sent him money during his imprisonment, but only for the purpose of trying to prevent him from betraying him. Indeed, this is how these comments were interpreted at the time. In a tract written in early 1725 entitled *Seasonable Advice to M.B.*

<sup>91</sup> Refer: Deane Swift, *Essay*, 199 – 201; Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 244, 289; Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; with Critical Observations on their Works*, [1781], Lonsdale, Roger, ed., 4 volumes, Oxford, 2006, Vol. 3., 202; Walter Scott, i, 297; Monck Mason, 344 note n; Starratt, 'The Streets of Dublin' op. cit., 22 note; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 131; Davis, *DL*, 289.

<sup>92</sup> A2, 65, page 10; *PW*, x, 87.



*Drapier. Occasioned by his Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth,*<sup>93</sup> written under the pseudonym “M.M.”, the author specifically queries these comments with Swift:

There is one thing in your Letter to Lord Molesworth which partly moves the pitty, and partly the Indignation of all your Customers; I think the Words are as follows:

I do not know a Person of more exceptionable Principles than Yourself; and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in Honour to pay my Fine, and support me in Prison; or else I may chance to *Inform* against you by Way of *Reprisal*.

Now Sir, some People are of Opinion that you carried this too far, in as much as you become a Precedent to Informers; others think that you intimate to his Lordship, the miserable Circumstances you are in by the Minaces of the ‘Prentice to whom you Dictate; they conceive your Declaring to Inform if not fee’d to the contrary signifies your said ‘Prentice on the least occasion to swear if you don’t forthwith deliver from his Indentures, and half of your Stock to set up Trade with, he will inform against you, bring you to Justice, be dismissed by Law, and get the promised 300l. to begin Trade with; how near these Conceptions be to truth I can’t tell; but I know People think that word INFORM unreasonable, insomuch as WOODS accomplices would Embrace the Image of any Precedent.

This confirms that Swift’s comments in the fifth *Letter* were contemporaneously understood as reflecting upon his fear of being discovered pursuant to the Proclamation. And a remarkable side issue concerning these comments by “M.M.”, is that they are saying that the person who was the subject of Swift’s fear was not Harding, but Blakely. This is clear from M.M.’s comments because this writer’s description of a person who was a “prentice” to whom Swift “dictates”, is precisely how Swift described his amanuensis, Blakely, in the “Directions to the Printer” prefaced to this fifth *Letter*. This is a revealing mistake by “M.M.” for there can be no doubt that Swift’s analogy is associated with Harding – it was him, not Blakely, who was “in Prison”. It illustrates that, even at the very time of the events themselves, no one’s mind ever turned to Harding. But, returning to the analogy itself in the fifth *Letter*, it conveys the inference that the money Swift spent on Harding was for the purpose of ‘buying’ his continued loyalty.

A second piece of evidence is a little more ambiguous but potentially bears on the issue nonetheless. Whilst Harding was in prison, Swift sent him a message of support. This fact is given by Sarah Harding in the course of her 1726 *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*: “To hearten him, the DRAPIER sent to him in Jail,/ To tell him, he’d quickly get home to his Wife”.<sup>94</sup> Swift, then, sent Harding a message to comfort him. In 1814, Walter Scott reported an anecdote that had been handed down orally, to the effect that Swift actually went to

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<sup>93</sup> A4, 129.

<sup>94</sup> A4, 158. Refer Image 14.

Newgate disguised as a spalpeen clown purportedly to visit Harding. Upon coming to Harding, according to the anecdote, Swift found that the printer had family and friends with him, and as he sat beside them, unrecognised by any of them, he listened to the family urging the printer to obtain his own release by informing on the Drapier, only for Harding to tell them that he would rather die in jail than commit such an act.<sup>95</sup> This anecdote receives some circumstantial support from the report of Faulkner and Thomas Sheridan (the younger) that Swift liked occasionally to go on adventures amongst the common people as a gypsy or a beggar or a lady's footman,<sup>96</sup> but Craik discredits the anecdote as a "foolish invention"<sup>97</sup> and other biographers overlook it altogether. Craik appears to be right, for if such a visit had happened, Sarah Harding would surely have made the matter clear in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*. Instead, she says only that "the DRAPIER sent to him in Jail". This could have taken the form of a written note delivered to Harding by a servant (in which case it would have been signed "M.B. Drapier" and not "J.S."). Alternatively, it could have been a verbal message given to Harding by a servant, or just given to Sarah Harding for her to pass on. However it was delivered, the purpose of the message may simply have been to keep Harding's thoughts from straying towards the lure of the reward.

Further indications that the motive in the decision to redirect the proceeding to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* was to keep Harding out of court can be drawn from the document itself. As mentioned already, it has no imprint and it is not written as the Drapier, so that any prosecution of it could not lead to Swift or his printer. Even the broadsheet format was uncharacteristic of the Harding press, which is a matter that could have been contrived to deflect all attention away from that stationer. The risk that an examination of Harding in open court by Whitshed presented to Swift's safety was clearly apparent to Carteret at the time. His letters to Newcastle during the preceding fortnight include references to the uncompromising attitude of Whitshed in the affair, with Carteret explaining that the Chief Justice was unmoved by the popular agitation in favour of the Drapier and was fully resolved, for the sake of King and country, to prosecute the matter with "regularity and firmness" (as he

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<sup>95</sup> Walter Scott, i, 297 – 298. This anecdote as reported by Walter Scott is repeated almost verbatim by Timperley: *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, London, 1839, 629-30.

<sup>96</sup> Faulkner, 'A Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield', late 1752 or early 1753 [published in Nichols' 1776 *Supplement*, ii, 406 – 420; Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 399.

<sup>97</sup> Craik, 359, note 5.

had done in 1720 in the case of Waters).<sup>98</sup> Carteret knew that with Harding in the dock, Whitshed, in a display of loyalty to the Crown amidst the theatre of his court, would be thundering down upon the printer.<sup>99</sup> Swift himself, moreover, in the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier, directly refers to Whitshed's desire to have that opportunity, speaking of "the laudable Zeal and industry of my *Lord Chief Justice* in his Endeavours to discover" an informer against the author.<sup>100</sup> As Swift said elsewhere in that fifth *Letter*, it was at all times just one "unfortunate *Circumstantial Lapse*" that would bring him "within the Reach of *Power*".<sup>101</sup> Because an examination of Harding in Whitshed's Court posed a real possibility of such a lapse, it is submitted that this was the principal motive for the redirection of the proceeding.

As for the events of the prosecution from this time, a review shows the three protagonists all in clearly defined roles. Whitshed, like in 1720, was intent on securing the outcome that in his view the House of Hanover wanted, and although there was nothing judicial about his conduct at all, he was the most honest of the three insofar as he held steadfast to what he considered his duty. Swift in his deanery wrote short anonymous pieces and had them dispersed in an attempt to undermine the legal process and draw public contempt upon Whitshed. Carteret, by doing nothing, gave Swift free reign. In the Court of King's Bench on Saturday 21 November, it was of no consequence to the public – if it was aware at all – that the publication before the court was *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* and not the fourth *Letter*. Nor were the people concerned with any ironies in the fact that this

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<sup>98</sup> 31 October 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 224 – 230; 8 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: SP 63/382; MIC 223/162, 177 – 180.

<sup>99</sup> One matter that might be thought to detract from the possibility that the motive for the redirection was to prevent Harding from being examined by Whitshed in open court is that, in his letter to Newcastle dated 14 November, Carteret reports: "I acquainted your grace in my letter of the 8th that the author's design of owning himself seemed to be laid aside, which I believe I may now say with certainty, since the printer is spirited up to stand the prosecution, and hitherto persists in concealing the author": PRONI: T/580/1, 236 – 241. Because this letter is dated 14 November, which was the day of the scheduled hearing of the Grand Jury to deliberate on the fourth *Letter*, this last comment of Carteret's – that Harding "persists in concealing the author" – might be understood as stating that Harding was examined in Court that day. However, it is clear from the postscript to Carteret's letter, that everything preceding that postscript was written *before* the appearance of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, which suggests that the letter was written on Friday 13 November then finished and dated the next day, after the appearance of the new document, and if this was the case, it follows that any subsequent denial of knowledge of the author from Harding occurred in a different setting, not in open Court and not necessarily before Whitshed, earlier in the week. Next, if Carteret is in fact saying that Harding was examined in Court on 14 November, it follows that the hearing concerning the fourth *Letter* must have commenced and been aborted after Carteret's decision to redirect the case, which is a dramatic event that would surely have been reported in correspondence or elsewhere. (There is no evidence of any hearing at all having been conducted that day). But finally, and probably most significantly, Carteret's comment does not necessarily signify that Harding had been examined a second time at all. It confirms only that Harding had not voluntarily come forward with evidence.

<sup>100</sup> A2, 65, page 1; *PW*, x, 81.

<sup>101</sup> A2, 65, page 14; *PW*, x, 89.

Grand Jury was being asked to find a bill of indictment for seditious libel against a document with the title *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, a document that a week earlier had sought to embrace that same Grand Jury. It was still a case that pitted the government of England against the people of Ireland. On the bench were four judges in addition to Whitshed – the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Judge Parnell, and one other whose identity is not known.<sup>102</sup> Counsel for the government would no doubt have been several in number. With regard to these counsel, Swift later commented in the “Directions to the Printer” that were addressed to Harding and prefaced to the fifth *Letter* that the lawyers Harding had consulted during the course of the year for advice on the *Letters* included “even *Some*, who afterwards *appeared against you*”.<sup>103</sup> In one sense this comment cannot be considered accurate, because the hearings on 21 and 28 November concerning *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* did not involve Harding.<sup>104</sup> Given that the fourth *Letter* never came before the court, Swift’s comment can only signify that lawyers who advised Harding during the year, afterwards *prepared* to appear against him at the scheduled hearing concerning the fourth *Letter*. Either way, Swift’s comments disclose another instance of the low priority afforded to the rights of the printer in this affair.

Representing the Crown, then, might have been six or seven counsel. Whether any were in attendance on behalf of the ‘accused’ – the anonymously written and published *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* – is uncertain. But as with the trial of Waters in 1720, the role of counsel was largely superfluous in a hearing that was a battle between a bench of judges representing the King, and a Grand Jury representing the people of Ireland. As with the event of four years earlier, Whitshed’s open determination to be of service to his employer knew no

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<sup>102</sup> With regard to Parnell, there is no definitive record that he was in fact on the bench this day, but he was a Justice of the King’s Bench at the time (appointed in 1722) and those who consider him to have been on the bench on this occasion include: Ferguson, 127; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 279; Rogers, 745; and Baltes, 242. Refer also: David Woolley: DW Letter 630, note 8, vol. ii, 532 – 533.

<sup>103</sup> A2, 65, page v; *PW*, x, 79.

<sup>104</sup> Several commentators also overlook or misinterpret this redirection to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury*, and expressly or implicitly say that the hearings on 21 and 28 November were a continuation of the case against Harding. Refer: Faulkner: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 158; Dilworth, *The Life of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick’s, Dublin*, 1758 [quoted in Williams, *Swift: The Critical Heritage*, op. cit., 166]; Walter Scott, x, 581; Monck Mason, 348 note ii; Starratt, ‘The Streets of Dublin’, op. cit., 18; Bernard, ‘Dean Swift in Dublin’, *Blackwood’s Magazine*, 180 (Nov 1906), 676 – 693, at 679; Rossi and Hone, 273; Goodwin, ‘Wood’s Half-pence’, op. cit., 673; Newman, *Jonathan Swift*, London, 1937, 293; Acworth, *Swift*, London, 1947, 177; McCue, ‘A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift’s *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*’, op. cit., 363 note 7; Ward, *Jonathan Swift: An Introductory Essay*, London, 1973, 118; JW, *Intelligencer*, 183 note 167; Degategno and Stubblefield, 82, 427; Walsh, ‘Harding, John’, in *Dictionary of Irish Biography, under the Auspices of the Royal Irish Academy*, op. cit., iv, 453 – 454.

bounds.<sup>105</sup> After the Grand Jury returned from considering its decision, the Foreman announced that they had agreed unanimously against finding the bill. Reminding them of the character of the document, in particular the fifth paragraph, and calling their attention to the certainty of divine retribution if they did not find the bill, Whitshed ordered them to consider again, and upon their return on this second occasion they had fractured. Of the twenty-three members, three – who were afterwards said to have been the only three on the Grand Jury of French origin<sup>106</sup> – were prepared to find the bill in its entirety, and a further eight were prepared to find against the fifth paragraph only. The remaining twelve, which was a majority by one, held out and would not find it at all. Beginning with the youngest, Whitshed stood each of those twelve up and individually asked them to account for their conduct. The youngest answered that he believed he had discharged his duty honestly, and others answered that the finding of the bill would be a step towards the introduction of the halfpence. Whitshed ordered them back yet again, only for the Foreman on this occasion to refuse to follow his order. The Foreman told the court that not one of the twelve would change their position, upon which Whitshed dismissed the Grand Jury from service and ordered the empanelling of a new one. Whitshed in no way doubted the righteousness of this action. As the Grand Jury had openly defied him in his court, he had dismissed them in an instant. Indeed, so pleased was Whitshed with his efforts during the hearing, and so sure was he that those efforts would be well received by his superiors, that later in the day he handed the Lord Lieutenant the minutes of his speeches.<sup>107</sup>

In the days that followed, Swift and his advisers found a resolution of the English House of Commons from forty-four years earlier, which declared the practice of dismissing a Grand Jury whilst the matter before it was still under deliberation, as unlawful. Swift, the person who days earlier had embraced the Grand Jury with his *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* from outside the court, was publicly denouncing for Chief Justice of that court for dismissing that same Grand Jury. Whether Whitshed's action was unlawful is not certain. It

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<sup>105</sup> The two principal accounts of this hearing on 21 November are: the first-hand account by Marmaduke Coghill: 24 November 1724, Coghill to Southwell: quoted in Davis, *DL*, lii; 268 – 269; and the report of Carteret, who was not in Court but received information directly from Whitshed: 22 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: T/580/1, 241 – 243. There are also the poems concerning the conduct of the Grand Jury (whilst naming them all): A4, 111, and A4, 113. Refer also: A4, 196.

<sup>106</sup> A4, 111 and A4, 113.

<sup>107</sup> Refer: 22 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: T/580/1, 241-3. For other commentary in defence of Whitshed's dismissal of the Grand Jury: Burns, i, 183; and Baltes, "*The Grandson of that Ass Quin*:" Swift and Chief Justice Whitshed', op. cit., 143.

was not the first time a Grand Jury had been dismissed whilst the matter was under deliberation. In 1680, in London, Justice Scroggs had dismissed the Grand Jury in the case of Carr II for not receiving a presentment against the Duke of York.<sup>108</sup> It had been in response to this case that the English House of Lords had passed the resolution that Swift circulated around Dublin at this time, but whilst that Resolution was binding in England where it was passed and where judges had tenure, it is not clear if it was binding in Ireland, a country with its own Parliament and where judges held office at the pleasure of the Crown.

Whether Whitshed's conduct in dismissing the Grand Jury was lawful or not, Swift's action in distributing this Resolution was the first step in what would become a sustained campaign to bring public opprobrium upon Whitshed, a campaign that succeeded due to Carteret offering no public support to his Chief Justice. Disrespect of Whitshed began to be openly displayed almost immediately.

A hearing for the empanelling of a new Grand Jury was scheduled for Monday 23 November. This was the same day that the document entitled *An Extract out of a Book, Entituled An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21<sup>st</sup>. 1680*,<sup>109</sup> was distributed. With the new Grand Jury installed, the hearing commenced the same day, and Whitshed resumed where he had left off on the Saturday, instructing them with regard to the absurdity of the notion of Irish independence and the subsequent need to find the bill. But there was disquiet in the court. As Carteret afterwards reported, "some impertinent people, who stood by, were heard to say by way of criticising upon his conduct, *He need not have gone out of his way to discourse upon that subject*".<sup>110</sup> Carteret appears to have downplayed the scale of the disruption here, for it was enough for Whitshed to adjourn the hearing to the next Saturday, 28 November. Then on that Saturday, which would be the last day of Michaelmas Term, the Chief Justice was humiliated. In advance of the hearing, Swift prepared a "Presentment of the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin". This was a statement of three paragraphs which purported to make a formal "Presentment" of "all such Persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by Fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said Half-pence upon us, contrary to his Majesty's most gracious Intentions, as Enemies to his

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<sup>108</sup> On this case and on Scroggs generally: *Common Sense, or The Englishman's Journal*, April 29, 1738; *Letters and Memorials of State*, London, 1746, 163; Madden, i, 36 – 37, 51 – 58; Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, op. cit., i, 311 – 313. Refer also: 22 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: T/580/1, 241 – 243.

<sup>109</sup> A4, 112.

<sup>110</sup> 24 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246.

Majesty's Government". Swift had it sent, presumably in manuscript, to the Foreman of the Grand Jury, with instructions for him to present it during the hearing. Given that with such an act the Grand Jury would be subverting the authority of the court, it was an undertaking of the highest risk, but the mere fact that it could be contemplated illustrates the degree to which the court was weakened and the extent to which Dublin Castle was compromised. After the document reached the Foreman, he would have transcribed it into his own hand before arranging for the signatures of all other members of the Grand Jury to be appended to it. On 28 November, the Foreman would have carried it into court with him, concealed.

After Whitshed declared to the Grand Jury that it now had the opportunity of doing the justice to their country that the former Grand Jury had neglected to do, the Foreman, as Carteret reported,<sup>111</sup> turned to consult the others, before facing the bench and delivering Swift's "Presentment". Whether the Foreman read it aloud or simply handed it up is not known, but he told Whitshed they had been two days drawing it up.<sup>112</sup> As such, by telling this fiction that they had written it themselves, the charade of Swift's authorship was expressly played out even in this climactic moment.

With this, Michaelmas Term came to a close. The two cases for seditious libel that were on foot – against the fourth *Letter* and the *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* – were held over to Hilary Term beginning in January. The "Presentment" written by Swift was printed in none other than Rider and Harbin's *Dublin Gazette* complete with the names of all twenty-three Grand Jury members.<sup>113</sup> Neither the printing of the "Presentment" nor the actions of the Grand Jury on 28 November drew any response from Carteret. The Lord Lieutenant simply informed Newcastle on 1 December, "there is great reason to believe the paper came from a hand that has been employed before now with too much success in disturbing the peace of this kingdom."<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> 1 December 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 247 – 248.

<sup>112</sup> Refer also: Burns, i, 184.

<sup>113</sup> A separately published version (A4, 119) had appeared by 1 December: see Carteret to Newcastle, 1 December 1724: PRONI T/580/1, 247 – 248. Other publications of Rider and Harbin from the same period are: A4, 108 and A4, 140. Refer also: A4, 126.

<sup>114</sup> For commentary on this Presentment, see: Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 237; Monck Mason, 346; Davis, *DL*, liv – lv; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 282 – 283; David Woolley: DW Letter 630 note 8, vol. ii, 532 – 533.

### Harding's Three Weeks in Newgate

Harding was in Newgate from 7 November to 28 November and during that time he was inflicted with the ailment that claimed his life five months later. As for precisely what it was that caused this physical decline, the evidence is not certain. Sarah Harding, when referring to her husband's demise in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* of 1726, avoids the cause of death:

To hearten him, the DRAPIER sent to him in Jail,  
 To tell him, he'd quickly get home to his Wife;  
 But, scarce cou'd he find one, to stand for his Bail,  
 Which struck to his Heart, and depriv'd him of Life.<sup>115</sup>

One explanation is that he contracted a disease. Given that the gaol-keeper Hawkins might on this occasion have cast him into the Felon's Room or the Nunnery, this is a possibility, and one commentator who possibly infers that this was the cause of death is Munter, who comments that "his health was ruined".<sup>116</sup> The other possibility is that Harding was heavily beaten, sustaining injuries that proved fatal. A separate comment from Sarah Harding in the *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* is of interest in this regard. Referring to the fact that so soon after her husband's efforts on behalf of the people of Ireland and his subsequent death, she has been wholly forgotten, Sarah Harding laments with: "Tho' her Husband helped to hinder their [the people's] Fall,/ And she suffer'd by it much shame, and Disgrace". What precisely was the cause of this shame and disgrace? Maybe it was simply the fact that, as part of her husband's ordeal, she was forced to undergo time in Newgate herself. Or maybe it was Harding's physical condition upon his release being something horrific to behold. Why after all did Sarah Harding avoid mentioning the cause of death in her poem?

The first commentator to offer any statement on the issue, Starratt in 1852, says: "John Harding, the humble instrument of the saviour of his country, died from the effects of the treatment inflicted on him by the government officials".<sup>117</sup> If this was the case, it represents a set of events that in my view can be readily imagined. The monster, Hawkins, would have had more than enough of Harding by this time, and given that the printer was returning to him on this occasion as the ringleader of this new fanfare about town, Hawkins and his lackeys might have seen fit to sober him up even on the first night.

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<sup>115</sup> A4, 158. Image 14.

<sup>116</sup> *HINP*, 149 – 150.

<sup>117</sup> 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 1 – 40, 23.



A further possibility is that Hawkins was acting on orders from above to deal with Harding in this way. Evidence has already been seen of Swift's wariness of Harding at this time, as with Swift's reason for his prevarication over whether to publish the *Letter to Middleton*. It has also been suspected by commentators that Carteret was shielding Swift and I have argued with supporting evidence that the reason for Carteret redirecting the case away from the fourth *Letter to Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* was to prevent Harding from coming before Whitshed in court. Accordingly, it is possible that Hawkins received an order from the Castle to maim Harding, being an order intended to render the printer incapable of giving evidence but which came to occasion his death. Indeed, there is no mention of Harding's death in the correspondence of Carteret to Newcastle or in any other official record. It is as though the printer simply vanished from the earth never to be thought of again. Also, the fact that during the years ahead, no person in Ireland is known to have made a public comment on Harding's cause of death, is indicative of something dark having attended the circumstances. Maybe this is the context in which Sarah Harding's "shame, and Disgrace" is to be understood. When calling for public support for Sarah Harding in 1728, Thomas Sheridan said that the Hardings "were ruined by Iniquitous Imprisonments, and hardships"<sup>118</sup> – was Sheridan alluding to something with the word "Iniquitous"? Exceptional measures had been taken in the past to "save the Doctor's Bacon".<sup>119</sup> In November 1724, maybe an even more exceptional measure was taken.

There is then the question of why Swift did not bail Harding. As just seen, in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, Sarah Harding in the most diplomatic terms made clear her complaint that no one had bailed her husband. The relevant lines in her poem show that Harding had had not just a hope, but an expectation, that this would happen. If Swift had done this for Harding, he would have saved him, but the question as it applies to Swift is more pertinent, particularly given the evidence I presented earlier indicating that he had bailed Waters in 1720. Apart from any other line of enquiry, there is the question of why Swift did not bail Harding *after* the onset of Harding's ailment (illness or injury). News of this ailment would almost certainly have reached Swift. In the unlikely event that no one else had given Swift that information, in my view Sarah Harding would herself have sent a message to the deanery to bring it to Swift's attention in the hope that he would then be sufficiently moved to bail her husband. Why Swift did not do so at this time is not known.

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<sup>118</sup> A3, 50, page 8; *JW, Intelligencer*, 201.

<sup>119</sup> Cartwright, ed., *The Wentworth Papers 1705 -1739*, London, 1882, 359.

This issue of Swift and Harding's bail is one that only six commentators have ever broached. The first was Madden in 1867, who addresses the issue squarely before giving Swift the benefit of the doubt:

Perhaps if all the circumstances of that case were known, a serious imputation of neglect, and something worse, on the justice and generosity of Dean Swift might not unjustly lie. There is, no doubt, the publication of writings of Dean Swift mainly, but not altogether, occasioned the prosecution of that printer. But I am not acquainted, nor can any writer of the present time be acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, and I am disposed to think a man of Swift's genius and character, could not have had something exculpatory on that subject said for him, if any representative of his, or exponent of his acts and principles, and conduct in reference to them, were now in being to vindicate them.<sup>120</sup>

The second commentator was Richard Ashe King in 1895. This historian makes mention of "Swift's supposed meanness in allowing Harding to lie in jail", before, like Madden, exculpating him. King points out that Swift always told Harding to get his own legal advice and concludes: "It appears to me that Swift did all that he could for Harding – and, indeed, all that could have been done for him – by fortifying the Grand Jury against Whitshed's browbeating",<sup>121</sup> which is a statement that overlooks the availability of bail. The third commentator was Stephen Gwynn in 1933. Gwynn offers a different kind of observation. Although there is no substantive evidence to support it, Gwynn simply assumes that there was ill-feeling towards Swift with respect to his treatment of Harding, with the comment: "though the printer died in prison, Swift walked the streets, no man daring to lay hand on him"<sup>122</sup> (although Gwynn is mistaken in saying that Harding died in prison). The fourth commentator, Munter in 1967, simply observes that "Harding, who was imprisoned throughout the proceedings for want of bail, was eventually freed, but his health was ruined and he died in 1725".<sup>123</sup> Similarly, the fifth commentator, Elizabeth A. Kraft in 1986, mentions that Harding "remained jailed during its [the prosecution's] entirety through his inability to raise bail".<sup>124</sup> Finally, James Woolley is of the view that Harding *was* in fact bailed by someone. James Woolley refers to the line in the *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*, "But, scarce cou'd he find

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<sup>120</sup> Madden, i, 301.

<sup>121</sup> *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 131 – 133.

<sup>122</sup> *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift*, London, 1933, 234.

<sup>123</sup> *HINP*, 149 – 150.

<sup>124</sup> Elizabeth A. Kraft, 'The Intelligencer', in Sullivan, ed., *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698 – 1788*, London, 1983 – 1986, 170.

one, to stand for his Bail”, and says, this “implies, I think, that he *did* find one”.<sup>125</sup> However, a plain reading of the line in my view suggests the contrary. Also with respect to this suggestion by James Woolley, in the stanza in which these lines appear, Sarah Harding is giving a euphemistic cause of death for her husband, which is another matter indicating that she intends “absence of bail” rather than “delayed bail”. This stanza is her way of avoiding the true cause of death whilst voicing her complaint that, despite everything her husband did, no one would bail him from prison. If he had been bailed, she is saying, his death would have been averted – why was that not done? On the evidence available, the answer to that question cannot be known. By way of exploration of the matter, though, I here discuss two opposing hypothetical arguments, one in defence of Swift one in criticism of him.

The hypothetical argument in Swift’s defence would begin by saying that the posting of a bail bond was probably beyond his financial means on this occasion. There is every likelihood that Whitshed set Harding’s bail at the uppermost limit (if not beyond), making it impossible for Swift to act in the same way that he had for Waters. Not too many years previously, Swift had made an investment of £1,200, which he had lost and not yet recovered.<sup>126</sup> Accordingly, his finances were not in optimum condition at this time. The fact that Harding, as Swift knew, would have been more tempted to give evidence against him and claim the reward whilst suffering in prison, further demonstrates that bail must have been out of reach for Swift. With regard to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, this argument in Swift’s defence would not permit of the suggestion that this document was contrived with Carteret to give the Lord Lieutenant an avenue to redirect the proceeding away from the fourth *Letter*. This argument would contend that during the first week of Harding’s imprisonment – up to and including Saturday 14 November – Swift did all he could to bring about his printer’s release by writing and distributing *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*. This document was written for no other purpose than persuading the Grand Jury to decline to find the bill against the fourth *Letter*, an outcome that would have brought the case to a conclusion and secured Harding’s immediate release. With regard to the message Swift sent to Harding telling him that he would soon be home with his wife, this would be assigned to this first week, illustrating the

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<sup>125</sup> JW, *Intelligencer*, 35.

<sup>126</sup> Precisely when the investment was made is not clear. It was an investment with John Pratt, the Vice Treasurer for the government, and Pratt was imprisoned in 1725 for fraud, although Swift eventually secured the return of all except £100 of the money. Refer David Woolley: 6 May 1716, Swift to Archdeacon Walls: DW Letter, 410 and note 1, vol. ii, 163; 18 March 1725, Swift to Mrs. Pratt: DW Letter 642, headnote and note 8, vol. ii, 550, 551; 25 July 1725, Swift to Thomas Sheridan: DW Letter 647 and note 4, vol. ii, 559, 560; 9 July 1725, Swift to Archdeacon Walls: DW Letter 653, vol. ii, 569; 14 August 1725, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 662, vol. ii, 585 – 586.

earnestness of Swift's intentions with *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*. Then, for the period of Harding's imprisonment after 14 November, this argument would say that Swift still believed that the case against the fourth *Letter* would come back before the court, providing the opportunity for Harding to be acquitted and released. Failing the possibility of the case coming back before the court, Swift was probably aware that Harding was going to be released on the last day of the Term, on 28 November (two weeks after 14 November), and with bail not possible, there was no option for Harding but to sit it out. He was young, fit and prison-hardened, after all. This argument would then assert that, although unable to bail him, Swift did all he could to help Harding financially through this time. This is seen in the comment from the fifth *Letter* that has already been mentioned, which by analogy implies that Swift was supporting Harding by helping him meet his prison expenses. It might also be seen in a separate comment in the fifth *Letter*, where Swift imagines himself "drawn in to pay a *Fine*, double to the Reward of *Betraying me*".<sup>127</sup> The analogy Swift offers here would, as part of this argument in Swift's defence, be interpreted as broadly as possible, to suggest that Swift paid Harding's fine and that it was in a sum that was double the reward of the Proclamation – £600. This argument would then also offer alternative points. It would say that if bail *was* in fact within Swift's reach, he might have been unable to stand as surety for Harding on this occasion. Amid the intensity of this particular prosecution with its accompanying Proclamation, maybe the act of standing as surety would in some way have opened a window to his authorial identity. Or, it could be said that because these proceedings were all preliminary in nature with no indictment having been found, Swift might have been waiting for a longer-term resolution to appear before taking any action. If Swift bailed Waters in 1720, this is seemingly what happened on that occasion, with Swift not taking action for Waters until after the trial and when it had become apparent that the printer had four months to wait in prison before his retrial in Michaelmas Term.

The hypothetical argument against Swift would begin by saying that there can be no question that he should have bailed Harding without delay. As Sarah Harding afterwards made very clear, it had been Harding's expectation that he would be bailed, and given what he had done for Swift and the country, it was an expectation that was fair. As for the amount of bail required, it is clear that Harding himself thought it was within reach. Indeed, Harding may have known specifically what the amount of bail was, because it would have been set by

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<sup>127</sup> A2, 65, page 5; *PW*, x, 84.

Whitshed after the Preliminary Examination<sup>128</sup> upon his sending Harding to prison, through all of which the printer may have been present. Even if bail was set extremely high, Swift could have asked for help from a friend such as Lord Molesworth, the richest man in Ireland who was a supporter of Swift's Irish writing and who seemingly also helped establish the Hardings at Molesworth's Court. With regard to *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury*, this argument would say that this document was contrived with Carteret and that its purpose was less to free Harding than to ensure that he did not make an appearance in court. Even if *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* was not contrived in this way, this argument would say that Swift's lack of bona fide intentions in relation to Harding is abundantly clear from his conduct after *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* failed in its attempt to free the printer. Swift could have had no certain knowledge that Harding would be released at the end of Term, and as such he was letting the printer remain in prison indefinitely. Further, Swift is almost certain to have been informed of the setback that Harding received whilst in prison, and Swift *still* let him stay there. Swift was unable to bring about the conditional release of the tradesman he had relied on to publish his seditious pamphlets despite having a team of lawyers at his disposal and being able to control the course of this King's Bench proceeding from out-of-doors by writing documents to influence the jurors and having them delivered to Ireland's leaders, the sheriffs of the court, and the members of the Grand Juries. A release on compassionate grounds, after the onset of Harding's ailment, was not arranged. Swift standing as surety, it would be said, posed no legal risk to his authorial identity – the prosecution against the fourth *Letter* and the act of standing as surety were mutually exclusive in that context. Even if there *was* any such risk, it would be said that Swift should not have hesitated in taking it for Harding (as he had done for Waters in 1720). It would be said that during all of these events, Swift's only concern was for himself. Swift's fear was that Harding would disclose evidence of his identity whilst being examined in court, or would voluntarily discover him and claim the reward. The message he sent to him in prison and the money he relayed to him were acts, it would be said, only intended to ward off that last possibility – as is clear from the analogy in the fifth *Letter* where the Drapier says to Molesworth that, if he is discovered and imprisoned, Molesworth will be obliged to pay his fine and support him in prison "or else I may chance to *Inform* against you by Way of *Reprisal*".<sup>129</sup> As for why Swift chose to leave Harding in prison, knowing that whilst there the temptation for him to make the discovery was higher, this argument

<sup>128</sup> On the nature of the Preliminary Examination: Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, op. cit., i, 237.

<sup>129</sup> A2, 65, page 10; *PW*, x, 87.

would say that Swift must have had a reason for this. One matter contributing to it might have been Swift's pride, insofar as, at this triumphant time in particular, he could not bring himself to condescend to such a task for a tradesman.<sup>130</sup> Another contributing matter might have been Swift's parsimonious ways with money. It could be said that he did not meet well with unforeseen expenses, and given the evidence indicating that he had bailed Waters in 1720 and lost part or all of the bond in the process, he was not going to make the same mistake twice.<sup>131</sup> Whether Swift had any other reason for wanting Harding to remain in prison, cannot be known for certain.

This issue of Swift and Harding's bail does not allow any conclusions to be drawn. Another matter that bears upon it, though, is from eleven-and-a-half years later. This is a set of events that occurred in the spring of 1736 involving Swift's then printer and bookseller, George Faulkner. In March that year, a short prose tract was written and published by Faulkner which included a gibe at the expense of the Whig member of the Irish House of Lords, Richard Bettesworth. Entitled *A New Proposal for the Better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille*, it was written by one of Bettesworth's detractors, Josiah Hort, the Bishop of Kilmore and Armagh, although Swift also had a hand in it.<sup>132</sup> Hort sent it to Swift for editing, and whilst Swift had it, he added two paragraphs of his own before sending it to Faulkner.<sup>133</sup> It is a harmless tract offering suggestions for the more efficient co-ordination of meetings for Quadrille, the popular card game for women. But it had two paragraphs saying in part, that in

<sup>130</sup> On instances of Swift's pride in this regard, refer for example: Orrery, *Remarks*, 33; Deane Swift, *Essay*, 102 n; Treadwell, 2, 13; Clive Probyn, 'Swift, Jonathan', *ODNB*, 2.

<sup>131</sup> The question of Swift's parsimony has always been a matter of debate. For examples of commentators who either criticise or defend him on this issue: Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington, Wife to the Rev. Mr. Matthew Pilkington. Written by Herself wherein are occasionally interspersed, All Her Poems, with Anecdotes of several eminent Persons, Living and Dead. Amongst others, Dean Swift, Pope, Esq; &c.*, 2 volumes, [1748], A.C. Elias Jnr., ed., 2 volumes, Athens and London, 1997, i, 36; Faulkner, 'A Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield', late 1752 or early 1753 (published in Nichols' 1776 *Supplement*, ii, 406 – 420, at 409); Orrery, *Remarks*, 4 – 5, 67, 239; Delany, *Observations*, 5 – 6; 145, 259 – 260; Hawkesworth, *The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.;... With Some Account of the Author's Life, and Notes Historical and Explanatory*, London, 1755, i, 35 – 36; Delany, *Observations*, 203 – 204; Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 387 – 390, 483; Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets; with Critical Observations on their Works*, [1781], Lonsdale, ed., 4 volumes, Oxford, 2006, iii, 191, 206; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, op. cit., 13; Strahan, 'Swift and Ireland', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 208 (Aug 1920), 210 – 224, 211; Rossi & Hone, 131 – 132; Ferguson, 59 and note 100; Mayhew, 'Jonathan Swift's Hoax of 1722 upon Ebenezer Elliston', op. cit., 300; Landa, 'Swift and Charity', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 44, October, 1945, 337 – 350, 337 note 3; McMin, *Jonathan's Travels*, 68, 98, 107; Denis Johnston, *The Dreaming Dust*, in *The Dramatic Works of Denis Johnston*, Gerrards, Cross, 1977 (in particular the line of the character, Avarice: "That was his only real fault. He was avaricious in money matters"): vol. i, 272; and Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32, at 30 – 31.

<sup>132</sup> Refer: 23 February 1736, Bishop Hort to Swift: DW Letter 1243, vol. iv, 264 – 265.

<sup>133</sup> A4, 207.

the event of any dispute between the ladies playing the game, the appointed arbitrator was to be “the renowned Mr S-rj-t B—th”, and that any appeals from the decisions of the said Bettesworth were to be heard “before the Upright Man in Essex Street” (the wooden man that had been on that street since late the previous century).

Upon the publication of the tract, Bettesworth exercised his Parliamentary powers to have Faulkner imprisoned, with the printer remaining in custody from 3 to 9 March.<sup>134</sup> But the matter of interest in relation to the issue of Harding occurred over two months later, when Swift wrote to Hort upbraiding him for not having compensated Faulkner for the suffering he underwent on his behalf. In this episode, then, Swift was not the person under any obligation to act. Swift’s role was reversed and he was charging someone *else* with neglect towards a printer. He does this in a letter to Hort dated 12 May 1736 that includes graphic detail as Swift complains to Hort of Faulkner having been “confined to a dungeon among common thieves, and others with infectious diseases, to the hazard of his life; besides the expence of above twenty-five pounds, and besides the ignominy to be sent to Newgate like a common malefactor”.<sup>135</sup> Bettesworth had written a letter to Faulkner explaining that in publishing dealings the printer is the adventurer who must run the risk. “Indeed, my Lord”, says Swift, having seen that letter, “the case is otherwise”.<sup>136</sup> Swift goes on further in what is a lengthy letter to Hort, referring to Faulkner’s “losses, disgraces, and dangers of his life”, and exhorting Hort out of “common justice and humanity”<sup>137</sup> to compensate him appropriately.

The question that bears upon the issue of Harding’s bail, is how Swift could have written this letter to Hort if his own record in respect of care for his printers was in any way blemished? A further matter is that Swift says to Hort in the letter that every person he knows, including the Lord Lieutenant (at this time the Duke of Dorset), had spoken to him in a manner suggesting that he needed to write to the Bishop in this way. These circumstances all seem to suggest that Swift’s record with respect to his printers was faultless and that he had

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<sup>134</sup> He was in Newgate for two days, then after apologising and pleading for mercy on account of a fever in the prison, on 5 March he was transferred into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. He was released from there after a second apology on 9 March. Refer: *JHCI Vol. IV*, 211 – 216. For discussion of all of the circumstances surrounding the publication: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 822 – 823; 23 February 1736, Bishop Hort to Swift: DW Letter 1243 and notes, vol. iv, 264 – 265; 12 May 1736, Swift to Bishop Hort: DW Letter 1261 and notes, vol. iv, 291 – 293.

<sup>135</sup> 12 May 1736, Swift to Bishop Hort: DW Letter 1261 and notes, vol. iv, 291.

<sup>136</sup> 12 May 1736, Swift to Bishop Hort: DW Letter 1261 and notes, vol. iv, 291.

<sup>137</sup> 12 May 1736, Swift to Bishop Hort: DW Letter 1261 and notes, vol. iv, 292.

done everything in his power for Harding in late 1724. But, firstly, this letter to Hort is not concerned with the issue of bail. It is only concerned with financial support and compensation for the printer's suffering, which are matters on which Swift might have felt he had a right to speak given the likelihood that he had helped Harding to some extent in that regard. Secondly, the letter is generally nonsensical, and is hypocritical in the extreme given that the paragraphs that gave offence to Bettesworth are the two that are considered with near certainty to have been those contributed by Swift himself.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, Swift's letter to Hort indicates that he inserted his two paragraphs and then sent the manuscript directly to Faulkner, from which it follows that Hort did not even *see* the paragraphs before the work was printed (in the view of Teerink-Scouten the paragraphs were surreptitiously inserted by Swift to annoy both Bettesworth and Hort together).<sup>139</sup> Nor does Swift's statement that so many people of influence in Dublin encouraged him to write to Hort as he did, prove in any way that there was never any issue pertaining to his conduct in relation to Harding. Two matters are relevant to this. One is that this incident involving Hort occurred eleven years after Harding's death and, like the printer himself, all matters pertaining to Harding were from the time of his demise clean forgotten. They were forgotten partly because Harding was a tradesman of such low standing and partly because the subject of him was effectively taboo. There was so much love for Swift and at the same time so much fear of him, that to the extent that there were in fact any lingering thoughts related to Harding's death, the subject would have been unmentionable. This was a time when songs were already being written and sung of Swift, depicting him as the champion of the people who had remained unmoved when his life was threatened.<sup>140</sup> It was a construct that the people wanted to preserve and perpetuate,<sup>141</sup> and for that reason any negative issue related to Swift would have been shunted to the farthest margins of Irish consciousness.<sup>142</sup> The other matter that is relevant to the issue of these influential people in Dublin who were endorsing Swift's actions with respect to Hort, is

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<sup>138</sup> Harold Williams says it is "not improbable" that the paragraphs are Swift's: *Poems*, iii, 823. David Woolley says they are "undoubtedly" his: DW Letter 1243, note 1, vol. iv, 264.

<sup>139</sup> T-S 402-3 (item 978).

<sup>140</sup> Refer, for example, the Third of the Five 'Songs Sung at Mr. Taplin's' (all five are printed in *Fraud Detected*: A4, 142, page 222).

<sup>141</sup> Commentators have generally perpetuated it ever since. Refer, for example: Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, 373 – 375; Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1872 – 1874, 539; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 276-7; Oakleaf, 172 – 173.

<sup>142</sup> For vivid observations concerning Swift's authority over the kingdom in this post-Drapier period and the country's unwillingness to entertain any notion of fallibility or inaccuracy on Swift's part: Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 271 – 272.



Ireland's obsequiousness to Swift at the time. After the successes of the *Drapier* in 1724 and 1725, *Gulliver's Travels* published in late 1726, and his career *Works* published by Faulkner in 1735, recognition of Swift's genius was more ubiquitous than ever, and people would have been taking every opportunity to agree with him.

Like all of the other circumstances relating to the issue of Harding's bail, then, this letter to Hort is not conclusive of anything. But by addressing the issue of obligations to printers in such a forward manner, the letter could potentially be seen as Swift attempting to fend off any hovering issues associated with Harding once and for all. Swift opens the letter by saying, "I have two or three times begun a letter to your Lordship, and as often laid it aside". Maybe something more than just not wanting to offend Hort prompted this hesitation.<sup>143</sup>

A further manner by which the issue of Harding's bail can be assessed is by looking at how it has been received and dealt with by commentators over the centuries. The fact that amongst the hundreds of published works on the life and career of Swift from before the time of his death, only six have discussed or alluded to the issue of Harding's bail in any way, would appear to be a significant matter in Swift's favour. None of Swift's early biographers mention it at all. The first discussion of Harding's bail did not appear until 1867 with Madden. Significantly, not even the biographers who were hostile to Swift mention it. Orrery in his *Remarks* published in 1752, despite his personal and professional criticism of the author, including his meanness with money, does not refer to it. Neither does Samuel Johnson in his essay on Swift in his *Lives of the Poets* published in 1781, and this notwithstanding the fact that in parts of this essay, Johnson offers some severe criticism of Swift's parsimony.<sup>144</sup> Yet, again, the fact that the Harding issue has not been written about can be attributed to it never having taken root in the national consciousness. This is seen in the tract of early 1725 that has been discussed, *Seasonable Advice to M.B. Drapier*,<sup>145</sup> where the pseudonymous author, "M.M.",

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<sup>143</sup> This letter of Swift to Hort is also hypocritical in that, by the time it was written, Swift had also displayed a distinct lack of "common justice and humanity" to Sarah Harding during the years following her husband's death (this is the subject of the remaining chapters). This episode with Hort also has a curious epilogue. Hort replied to Swift's letter. That reply from Hort is lost, but on 22 May, Swift referred to it in a letter to Sheridan: "I did write him [Hort] lately a Letter with a Witness, relating to his Printer of Quadrille (did you ever see it) with which he half ruined poor Faulkner. He promise[s] (against his Nature) to consider him, but interposed an Exception, which I believe will destroy the whole". What that exception was is a matter for speculation, but one possibility which in my view is not unreasonable given the circumstances of their joint composition of the tract, is that Hort required that Swift share in the compensation of Faulkner with him.

<sup>144</sup> Johnson, *The Lives of the English Poets; and a Criticism of their Works*, op. cit., ii, 443, 447 – 448.

<sup>145</sup> A4, 129.

instinctively assumes that the person with whom Swift is anxious in relation to the possibility of being informed upon, is Blakely, despite the fact that the evidence clearly indicates that it was Harding. Even at this time, M.M.'s mind never so much as turned to Harding. Similarly, when the early biographers prepared to write about Swift, Harding and matters associated with him were simply not amongst the materials before them. This is supported further by the fact that Waters, despite the exceptional circumstances of his prosecution, is also scarcely mentioned. It seems that events pertaining to these lower sorts of tradesmen just did not register with the more educated classes who wrote the histories and biographies.

But whilst the question of Swift and Harding's bail is difficult, and the many variables and uncertainties involved do not permit any conclusions, it is not right, as Madden and R.A. King do, to make a presumption in Swift's favour. If any presumption is to be made at all, in my view the balance of the circumstances indicates that it should be the other way. The matter should, however, be left open. It is as Madden said before he went on to exculpate Swift: "Perhaps if all the circumstances of that case were known, a serious imputation of neglect, and something worse, on the justice and generosity of Dean Swift might not unjustly lie... [but no one can] be acquainted with all the circumstances of the case".<sup>146</sup> That is where it should be left.

As for the timing of Harding's release from his imprisonment, there has been some confusion on this amongst commentators over the years. For almost the first two centuries following the death of Swift in 1745, only three commentators referred to Harding's death, and all three say that he died in prison, which implies, of course, that he was not released at all and that he remained in Newgate for over five months through to his death.<sup>147</sup> The first to suggest that he was released before that time was Davis in 1935,<sup>148</sup> and Davis is clearly correct. Davis cites the comment in "Directions to the Printer", published on 31 December 1724, when Swift, addressing himself to Harding, says he is wary of "sending you again to Prison".<sup>149</sup> Some commentators since Davis have still said that Harding died in prison,<sup>150</sup> but the

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<sup>146</sup> Madden, i, 301.

<sup>147</sup> Gilbert, i, 59–60 (1854 – 1859); Madden, i, 267 (1867); and Gwynn, *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift*, London, 1933, 234.

<sup>148</sup> *DL*, 289 (and 269).

<sup>149</sup> A2, 65, page vi.

<sup>150</sup> Williams, *Poems*, ii, 417 (1937); Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 93 note 2 (1965); Fabricant, 43 (although Fabricant mistakes Harding for Waters) (1982); Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 108 (1983); Rogers, 771 (1983); Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography*, Oxford (1985), 294, 296; Higgins, *Swift's politics: A study in disaffection*,

comment in “Directions to the Printer” cannot be mistaken. It indisputably shows that by the time Swift wrote that line in December, Harding had been released.

Commentators have also varied with respect to the mode of Harding’s release. In 1935, Davis said that Harding was released on account of the case against the fourth *Letter* having been dropped.<sup>151</sup> But the case was not dropped (at least not at the end of Michaelmas Term); it was held over to Hilary Term. This is stated by Carteret in his letter to Newcastle dated 24 November 1724,<sup>152</sup> and in the “Directions to the Printer” written in December, Swift refers to the case as “still impending”.<sup>153</sup> In 1992, James Woolley suggested that Harding’s mode of release was bail, but for reasons mentioned earlier, this is unlikely. As such, there appears to be just one possibility, which is that Harding was released pursuant to a common law custom that prisoners of the King’s Bench who had not been formally indicted by the end of Term, are no longer to be detained. Whilst there is no definitive proof that such a rule or custom existed, the fact that the same rule – though applicable to cases of felony and treason – was passed into legislation at Westminster in 1782,<sup>154</sup> suggests that it previously existed in some form at common law. David Woolley is of the view that Harding was released pursuant to this rule.<sup>155</sup> Allowing this to have been the case, it follows that Harding emerged from prison, bearing either a disease or a disfigurement, on the last day of Michaelmas Term, Saturday 28 November. This was the day that Swift left Dublin for the estate of John Grattan at Belcamp.

### The Fifth *Letter*

Whilst at Belcamp, Swift wrote again as the Drapier. For many people this was the last thing they expected or wanted to see. After the fourth *Letter*, an anonymously written tract had appeared entitled *The Fifth and Last Letter to the People of Ireland In Reference to Wood and his*

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Cambridge (1994), 159; Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685 – 1766: a fatal attraction* (2002), op. cit., 231 note 191; Degategno and Stubblefield (2006), 426 – 427.

<sup>151</sup> *DL*, 289.

<sup>152</sup> PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246.

<sup>153</sup> A2, 65, page iv. And regardless, Davis’ logic in concluding that the case was dropped at the end of Michaelmas Term is questionable, with the passages of the correspondence of Midleton that he cites not in fact supporting his position: *DL*, 289 (and 269), 315. Davis was nonetheless followed by: McCracken, ‘Protestant Ascendancy and the Rise of Colonial Nationalism, 1714-60’, in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, *A New History of Ireland, Vol. IV: Eighteenth Century Ireland: 1691 – 1800*, Oxford, 1986, 113 – 114.

<sup>154</sup> 21, 22 G.3.c.11: *The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliament of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 20 volumes, Dublin, 1799.

<sup>155</sup> *DW Letter* 632 bis, headnote and note 2, vol. ii, 536.

Brass.<sup>156</sup> Without naming Swift or M.B. Drapier, this tract thanked all of the writers who had exerted themselves on the issue of the halfpence, whilst offering praise to God, in this way announcing with solemnity that the matter was at a conclusion. Nor was Swift wholly insensible to the resistance against him from certain quarters. In the course of this fifth *Letter*, he expressly mentions that these people had been “cursing [him] to Hell... so that I am determined never to *work for Persons of Quality* again”.<sup>157</sup> But Swift had reasons for needing to appear again as the Drapier. These reasons had nothing to do with the prolongation of the country’s opposition to Wood’s coin, and everything to do with his reputation and the preservation of his own interests. Firstly, the preface to the *Letter*, entitled “Directions to the Printer”, is concerned with warding off any suggestion that he was responsible in any way for Harding’s current ill-health. Secondly, with Hilary Term approaching and the cases against each of *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury* and the fourth *Letter* due to come again before the court, the *Letter* itself is concerned with restating his points of defence and justification in the hope that Westminster would issue orders to Carteret to discontinue the cases. Swift’s ongoing anxiety with respect to the cases may still have been due in part to the threat posed by Harding. The printer was still alive and, if he was physically capable of it, might at this time have been the more ready to give evidence against Swift. But the separate concern for Swift was that the proceedings could still be elevated to an affair of state. Thirdly, Swift ends the *Letter* by sending a message to Walpole that he was hoping for a preferment in England.

The “Directions to the Printer”<sup>158</sup> that are prefaced to this *Letter* consist of four paragraphs that are addressed to Harding although intended for the public eye. These are followed by the fifth *Letter* itself, which was addressed to Viscount Molesworth. The *Letter* is dated 14 December, which shows that Swift had completed the manuscript before leaving Belcamp on 19 December, and it was published on 31 December. It was printed over thirty pages in small octavo and it carries the usual imprint: “Dublin: Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth’s-Court* in *Fishamble-Street*”.<sup>159</sup> Interestingly, it is reasonably certain in my view that the prefatory part of the publication – “Directions to the Printer” – was set to type by a different stationer. Both the font and the quality of the press work indicate clearly that it did

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<sup>156</sup> A4, 117.

<sup>157</sup> A2, 65, page 4; *PW*, x, 83.

<sup>158</sup> A2, 65, pp. iii-vii; *PW*, x, 79 – 80. Herbert Davis reverses the italicisation of “Directions to the Printer” in *PW*, x, 79 – 80, whilst reproducing it as in the Harding original in his other authoritative text: *DL*, 99 – 100.

<sup>159</sup> A2, 65.

not come from the Harding press. And as for the fifth *Letter* itself, although it is in a standard Harding font, the press work is arguably a degree or two better than the usual Harding standard. Accordingly, whilst it can be considered almost certain that the “Directions to the Printer”, for some unknown reason, were set to type by another stationer, it is possible that the entire publication was produced this way, with maybe Waters, Rider and Harbin, or some other stationer undertaking the work whilst maintaining the Harding imprint to support that printer. If this was the case, it is an indication that Harding was unfit to work at this time.

For several reasons, this fifth *Letter* from Swift was a disagreeable one. To begin with, the games he plays with his identity are taken to even greater heights. This is seen even within the “Directions to the Printer”, with Swift telling Harding that this fifth *Letter* is a private letter that he would prefer was sent to Molesworth in printed form, although he gives Harding the option to publish it if he likes, provided he first seek a legal opinion. As such, the straightforward fact that Swift wanted this fifth *Letter* including the “Directions to the Printer” widely published, had to be veiled in this pantomime.<sup>160</sup> Then, within the *Letter* itself are comments such as: “The Provocation must needs have been Great, which could stir up an indolent *Drapier* to become an *Author*”,<sup>161</sup> and elsewhere he explains that he – M.B. Drapier – has consulted “a certain *Dean*” who four years earlier had undergone a similar experience of *his* own after having written a tract promoting the use of Irish manufactures, being a Dean who offered *him* some sage advice.<sup>162</sup> As was intimated soon afterwards by Dean Smedley,<sup>163</sup> Swift’s self-congratulation for his achievement in this affair and his self-love generally began to be openly displayed from this time. This is seen, for instance, in Swift’s comment in this fifth *Letter*, “I am not the first who hath been condemned to Death for *gaining a great Victory* over a powerful Enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict Orders of Military Discipline”<sup>164</sup> (when not even the fictional Drapier, let alone Swift, had come close to being condemned to death). After this controversy of the halfpence was resolved in Ireland’s favour, Swift’s life in Ireland came to be characterised by a longing for what he considered due rewards and honours for his efforts, accompanied by a sense of feeling aggrieved at their non-bestowal. The emergence of this characteristic can be marked from this fifth *Letter*.

<sup>160</sup> Refer also David Woolley: DW Letter 632 bis, headnote, vol. ii, 536.

<sup>161</sup> A2, 65, page 13; *PW*, x, 88.

<sup>162</sup> A2, 65, page 14 – 15; *PW*, x, 89 – 90.

<sup>163</sup> Refer: Dean Smedley’s *A SATYR. Canit, ante Victorium Triumphum* of 1725: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 369 – 370.

<sup>164</sup> A2, 65, page 13; *PW*, x, 89.

The four paragraphs of the “Directions to the Printer” are in my view offensive to John and Sarah Harding almost from beginning to end. Written in the guise of directions sent personally to Harding whilst in fact speaking publicly, Swift begins by acknowledging Harding’s present physical condition. It is an acknowledgement that shows that he knew about that condition before he left for Belcamp on 28 November (either that or he was notified of it by a message sent to him whilst there), and in describing it he uses the word “hurt”: “Mr *Harding*, When I sent you my former Papers, I cannot say I intended you either *Good* or *Hurt*, and yet you have happened through my Means to receive *Both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *Latter*, and increase the *Former*”, and, “I am afraid, You in particular think you have Reason to complain of Me”.<sup>165</sup> But, “I will tell you”, Swift thereafter says, “how the Matter stands”. Swift then proceeds to comments that are off the topic, discussing the unpredictability of the law and detailing the precautions he took with an amanuensis and a blackguard boy, which are matters that have nothing to do with Harding’s predicament but, rather, are mentioned out of Swift wanting the world to be apprised of the measures he had taken to protect *himself*. Then, turning to “how matters stand” for Harding, he says:

I do assure you upon my Reputation, that I never did send you any thing, for which I thought you could possibly be called to an Account. And you will be my Witness that I always desired you by a Letter to take some good Advice before you ventured to Print, because I knew the *Dexterity of Dealers in the Law* at finding out something to Fasten on where no Evil is meant; I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able Persons; and even Some who afterwards *appeared against you*.<sup>166</sup>

Swift did no doubt instruct Harding to obtain his own advice, but as Swift acknowledges, Harding *did* follow that instruction, and the aspect of the fourth *Letter* that was most provocative of all – its timing – is something Swift may not have disclosed in advance to either the printer or any of the lawyers. As for the “you will be my Witness” comment, Swift should have been *thanking* Harding for not having given witness against him as author. But so far was he from showing any indebtedness to Harding, or compassion towards him, that the “Directions to the Printer” end with a postscript that delivers a personal snub to the printer.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> A2, 65, page iii; *PW*, x, 79.

<sup>166</sup> A2, 65, page iv-v; *PW*, x, 79.

<sup>167</sup> A2, 65, page vii; *PW*, x, 80.

Looking to the fifth *Letter* itself, the Harding issue is again present, though less overtly. It includes this passage where Swift is speaking to Molesworth of the prospect of imprisonment:

And as it often happens at Play, that Men begin with *Farthings*, and go on to *Gold*, till some of them lose their Estates and die in Jail: So it may possibly fall out in my Case, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *Fine*, double to the Reward for *Betraying* me; be sent to Prison, and *not be delivered thence until I shall have payed the uttermost Farthing*.<sup>168</sup>

Farthings, going on to gold, dying in jail, fines, rewards and betrayals – all of these matters are referred to as if they are commonplace terms that fall naturally into his dialogue, when it is questionable that they do. Like in the unpublished *Letter to Middleton* where Swift contemplates the possibility that he “consequently may be ruined in his Fortunes, and left to rot among Thieves in some stinking Jail”,<sup>169</sup> the use of these expressions seems out of context. Perhaps it is of interest that, of all of these terms related to prison and the prison experience that Swift inserts, the one that is conspicuous by its absence is “bail”.<sup>170</sup> The fifth *Letter* has one further express reference to Harding. Unrelated to all previous references and allusions to Harding in this *Letter*, it appears at the end of a discussion of the vagaries of the law and the inability of authors and publishers to proceed on any sure footing, “So that my Good Friend *Harding* lyes under this *Dilemma*, either to let my *Learned Works* hang for ever a drying upon his Lines, or venture to publish them at the Hazard of being laid by the Heels”.<sup>171</sup> “My good friend Harding” – certainly Harding had been a good friend to Swift.

The Harding issue aside, this fifth *Letter* is one in which Swift calls upon all of his arguments to again assert that he at all times acted in the interests of his country and that no harm ought to come to such a person. Swift restates his defences and justifications of the fourth *Letter* whilst also making comments on the two documents that subsequently appeared,

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<sup>168</sup> A2, 65, page 4-5; *PW*, x, 83 – 84.

<sup>169</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 201; *PW*, x, 109.

<sup>170</sup> Further references to jail and jail conditions in subsequent Irish tracts from Swift. In *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, Concerning the Weavers* (1729), he says: “I desire to know, My Lord, whether such a Person hath any other course to take than to sink half his expenses in every article of Oeconomy, to save himself from Ruin and Jail”: *PW*, xii, 67. And in *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures* (1729) he uses the phrase “rot in Jail”: *PW*, xii, 123; and refers to “a man in an embroidered coat begging out of Newgate in an old shoe”: 127.

<sup>171</sup> A2, 65, page 19; *PW*, x, 92. The expression “laid by the heels” referred to being committed to prison: refer *Duhaime's Law Dictionary*: [www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary](http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary). For examples of other contemporary use of this expression, refer: Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, London, 1936, 37, 48.

*Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* and the *Extract of a Book*. In the course of his arguments, he appears to make a few inadvertent slips. On the issue of Ireland's dependency, he seems to amend his argument, for whereas he had previously said that the statute of the thirty-third year of Henry VIII simply unites the two kingdoms under the one monarch without creating any dependency, here he suggests that that statute is in fact where the dependency consists and that he was never endeavouring to undermine it.<sup>172</sup> It is unclear whether this is intentional. At one point Swift lowers his guard with respect to his pseudonymous identity. This is where he says: "it was with great Satisfaction that I observed some *Right Honourable Names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the Bottom of a *strong Declaration* against Him and his Coyn".<sup>173</sup> He is here referring to the name "J. Swift", where it appeared in the Declaration of the County of Dublin in the *Dublin Gazette* for 14 October alongside the names of Molesworth, Edward Synge, John Grattan, Robert Grattan and others. With regard to the *Extract of a Book*, Swift alters his position by saying that this Resolution of the English House of Commons from 1680 does not in fact bind Ireland, for if it did it would represent an instance of an Irish legislative dependency upon England,<sup>174</sup> yet it follows from this revised argument that Whitshed's conduct in dismissing the Grand Jury was lawful. Other than these curiosities, this fifth *Letter* is characterised by Swift's high-handed style of defence and justification in which nothing is conceded. What he prefaced in the "Directions to the Printer" as an "Humble Apology" in the fifth *Letter*, is a statement to the effect that he *would* apologise if he could, but he cannot, for he is concerned that government lawyers would turn it against him.<sup>175</sup> He defends *Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury* with an argument that essentially says: *if a Judge can influence a Grand Jury, so can I*.<sup>176</sup> Late in the *Letter*, Swift acknowledges one of the errors of his ways:

As to my self, it hath been my Misfortune to begin and pursue it [writing] upon a wrong Foundation. For having detected the Frauds and Falshoods of this Vile Imposter *Wood* in every Part, I foolishly *disdained* to have Recourse to *Whining, Lamenting* and *Crying for Mercy*, but rather chose to *appeal* to *Law* and *Liberty* and the *common Rights of Mankind*, without considering the *Climate* I was in.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> A2, 65, page 8; *PW*, x, 85.

<sup>173</sup> A2, 65, page 12; *PW*, x, 88.

<sup>174</sup> A2, 65, page 16-17; *PW*, x, 91.

<sup>175</sup> A2, 65, page 8-9; *PW*, x, 86.

<sup>176</sup> A2, 65, page 16; *PW*, x, 90 – 91.

<sup>177</sup> A2, 65, page 20-1; *PW*, x, 93.



It is an ironic revelation – it can be seen to be an acknowledgment that he had all along written from a vantage point of command that was unbecoming to Ireland, yet the acknowledgement itself shows no preparedness to change. Indeed, at one point he refers to the legal opposition to his *Letters* as “this *Commendable* Resentment against me”.<sup>178</sup> This fifth *Letter*, then, represents an unusual mode of defence and justification, but that is precisely what it is. Intended for the eyes of Westminster, it is a plea for clemency in the only way Swift could make such a plea – asking for grace whilst maintaining he had done no wrong. And the *Letter* ends with the Drapier saying to Molesworth, “if your Lordship will please to give me an easy Lease of some Part of your Estate in *Yorkshire*”, there he will reside quietly “and Live and Dye a FREE Honest English Farmer”.<sup>179</sup> But it was not for Molesworth to bestow on Swift an English preferment. Only Walpole or the King could do that.

There is no evidence in Swift’s correspondence or in contemporary publications or elsewhere of either the case against the fourth *Letter* or that against *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* having returned before the court at Hilary Term. Strangely, even the correspondence of Carteret to Newcastle is silent on what happened to these cases. But with this absence of evidence, it can be considered certain that they were discontinued. With Hilary Term having begun in mid-January 1725, it follows that this happened within a fortnight of the publication of the fifth *Letter*. Carteret had at this time instigated an investigation into allegations of fraudulent conduct on the part of Officers of the Treasury, and it seems that, whilst the town was distracted by this new affair, he quietly let the cases drop.<sup>180</sup>

With the cases at a conclusion, Carteret and Swift had their first meeting since Carteret’s arrival. It was a private meeting at the Castle on 16 January, and little is known of what passed between them. Swift said only two days later that “the Town has a thousand foolish Storyes of what passed between us; which indeed was nothing but old Friendship without a word of Politicks”.<sup>181</sup> But years later, Swift’s biographer, Deane Swift, reported a story of certain words said to Swift by Carteret. It is a story that Deane Swift can only have obtained from Swift himself, and although Deane Swift does not state that it occurred during the course of this 16 January meeting, I agree with Middleton Murry and Davis that this is

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<sup>178</sup> A2, 65, page 11; *PW*, x, 87.

<sup>179</sup> A2, 65, page 21-2; *PW*, x, 94.

<sup>180</sup> Refer Burns, i, 188 – 189.

<sup>181</sup> 18 January 1725, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 637, vol. ii, 543. On this meeting, refer also: Davis, *DL*, lviii – lvix; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 368; and David Woolley: DW Letter 639, note 2, vol. ii, 545 – 546.

when it is likely to have taken place.<sup>182</sup> Swift asked the Lord Lieutenant why he had issued a prosecution and a Proclamation against an honest draper who had done nothing but write a few pamphlets for the good of his country, to which Carteret replied with a line from Virgil: “Regni novitas me talia cogit Moliri. [Doubts over an unsettled state Force me]”.<sup>183</sup>

### The Death of Harding

The Harding press continued to be active during the early months of 1725. This is seen in that fact that a few publications from these months either carry the Harding imprint or are anonymously published but potentially from Molesworth’s Court.<sup>184</sup> And the last Number of the *DINL* appeared on 9 March 1725. But with Harding’s physical condition deteriorating, he is unlikely to have taken any part in this work himself (one indication that he did not do so is that the error in the colophon of the *DINL* which first appeared on 27 October – “Fiam ble-Street” – remained uncorrected). Harding died on Monday 19 April 1725, at age twenty-seven. The date of his death was just eight days before the expiry of the Proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the Drapier. Sarah Harding, then seven-and-a-half-months

<sup>182</sup> Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 379; Davis, *DL*, xlv.

<sup>183</sup> Deane Swift, *Essay*, 269 – 270. Deane Swift cites Dryden in his translation. Other commentators have translated it thus: “My cruel fate, And doubts attending an unsettled state, force me”: Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 292; “Cruel circumstances and the newness of my position force me to commit such acts”: Pemberton, *Carteret: the Brilliant Failure of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1936, 99; “Hard fortune, and the newness of my reign, compel me to such measures”: Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed*, op. cit., 291; and “the harshness of things and the newness of my rule makes me act in such a manner”: Hammond, *Jonathan Swift*, Dublin, 2010, 121. Deane Swift says he obtained this story from Swift in about 1731. Several commentators have said that this comment from Carteret was made in the midst of a confrontation between him and Swift in front in the Castle foregrounds. In saying this, however, they are following a false story related by Thomas Sheridan (the younger). This 1784 biographer sensationalised the story, saying that on the day following the Proclamation, Swift went to the Castle, burst in upon the Lord Lieutenant’s levee, and demanded to know why he had prosecuted as he had, to which Carteret responded dispassionately, stunning everyone present, with his line from Virgil. Thomas Sheridan (the younger) in fact expands upon the line from Virgil from that given by Deane Swift, and tells his readers that he obtained this story from a German man then living in Dublin who happened to be present at the incident, a Mr. Hoffileger (someone who could not be traced for verification): Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 246-8. Sheridan’s story would appear to be a fabrication. Indeed, this biographer was prone to distort or embellish on occasion (refer: Sun, *Swift’s Eighteenth Century Biographers*, op. cit., 145 – 160). But his version has nonetheless been followed (occasionally with further embellishment) by: Walter Scott, i, 296 – 297; Stephen, *Swift* [English Men of Letters Series], London, 1882, 58; Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, London, 1839, 630; Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography*, op. cit., 120; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 186 – 187; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, op. cit., 130; Mitchel, *The History of Ireland, From the Treaty of Limerick to the Present Time: Being a Continuation of the History of the Abbe Macgeoghagan*, London, (1906), 57; Pemberton, *Carteret: the Brilliant Failure of the Eighteenth Century*, London 1936, 98; Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography*, Oxford, 1985, 291; and Hammond, *Jonathan Swift*, Dublin, 2010, 121.

<sup>184</sup> Publications that carry the Harding imprint from the period beginning at the commencement of the prosecution on 27 October 1724, through to Harding’s death on 19 April 1725, are: (by Swift), A2, 60; A2, 61; A2, 65; (by Sheridan), A2, 66; (by other authors): A2, 62; A2, 63. Those from the same period with no imprint or an anonymous imprint but which may have been produced at Molesworth’s Court, are: (by Swift), A2, 64; A3, 10; (by other authors), A2, 59; A3, 2; A3, 3; A3, 4; A4, 134; and A4, 151.

pregnant, had him buried the next day. Harding was buried in the parish of the Sadlier family, St. Paul's, rather than the parish of the Harding family,<sup>185</sup> possibly because plots were cheaper at the relatively new St. Paul's.

Within a few days, an *Elegy* in his honour had been written and published.<sup>186</sup> The thirty-two lines of this *Elegy* speak of the inability of the Muse to find suitable lays for a man so good and who died so young, and end with an image of Harding's spirit soaring towards the heavens and contracting to form a new star in the night sky. As for its authorship, although it has never before been attributed to Thomas Sheridan, I think there is a reasonable possibility that it was written by him. It was Sheridan who, from this time, demonstrated an active concern for the welfare of Harding's widow, and a further circumstance supporting the possibility of his authorship is seen in the epitaph that follows the *Elegy*, in particular the line that says that Harding was "By Merit and by Chance prefer'd", by which is meant that he was by merit and by chance preferred to the role of Swift's printer.<sup>187</sup> This in my view can only have been written by someone close to Swift who had knowledge of the matter. It could also be considered that Swift himself had a hand in the composition of this *Elegy*. One commentator who appears to entertain this possibility is Harold Williams.<sup>188</sup> It could be said that, given all of the circumstances of 1724, this was one *Elegy* that was only for Swift to write. But if he did not, in my view the friend who would have been the first to step forward to

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<sup>185</sup> *St. Paul's, Dublin, Parish Registry Book*, RCBL, Burials April 1725: "20: John Hardnig". [sic]. This record is the last on page 10 of the Book, then it is repeated as the first on page 11: "April 20: Bur: John Harding". It is accessible online at: [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) The Record Identity Numbers for these two entries are: DU-CI-BU-226622 and DU-CI-BU-226623. With regard to St. Paul's Church, the last burial there was in 1887, and the Church was closed in 1987. It was then converted into an Enterprise Centre, SPADE, and its address today is 115B North King Street. As it was when I visited it in June 2010 (I do not know if it has since changed), behind the Enterprise Centre was a car park and a railed-off abandoned lot. This abandoned lot had stones scattered on it that looked like the remnants of old headstones, indicating that this lot had remained largely untouched since 1887. For a brief history of St. Paul's: Igoe, *Dublin Burial Grounds & Graveyards*, Dublin, 2001, 307 – 309. A listing of the surviving headstones and memorials at St. Paul's, compiled in 1910, does not mention anything for Harding. It is unlikely that he had one. Refer: Mrs. T. Long, 'St. Paul's, North King Street, Dublin, 1697', *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, 1907 – 08 – 09, ii, 57 – 71. For another brief history of St. Paul's and its conversion to SPADE, refer: France Luce, *SPADE: The Vision that became a Reality*, Dublin, 1997 [copy in the office of the RCBL]. Also on St. Paul's: Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 38 note 1.

<sup>186</sup> A4, 139. See Image 12.

<sup>187</sup> An incidental note associated with the epitaph concerns the lines, "The Drapier's Printer he was stil'd/ While stout *Snarlerus* he beguil'd". The expression "stout *Snarlerus*" possibly signifies the British Bulldog. For another instance of "*Snarlerus*", refer the poem by Dean Smedley, *A Satyr* (Williams, *Poems*, ii, 369 – 370).

<sup>188</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1109. With regard to the style of the *Elegy on Harding*, Paul Baines says it "faintly echoes" *The Last Farewell of Elliston*, which is the genuine Last Speech of Ebenezer Elliston, from April 1722 (not Swift's hoax Last Speech of Elliston): 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 91 note 34. I cannot see any resemblance between the two. One is in verse and the other is in prose. One is the Last Speech of a condemned criminal. The other is an elegy for a courageous printer. Nor are there any common elements in subject matter or specific images.

supply the omission, would have been Sheridan. The chances of Swift's involvement are also lessened by the timing of his departure for Quilca. As mentioned, Harding died on Monday 19 April. On this day Swift rode out of Dublin in company with Stella and Rebecca.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Swift began a journal of sorts of his stay in Quilca, entitled *The Blunders, Deficiencies, Distresses, and Misfortunes of Quilca*, which says at the outset "Begun April 20, 1724": *PW*, v, 219 – 221. David Woolley says this "probably" indicates Swift left Dublin on 19 April to cover the fifty miles to Quilca: DW Letter 643, note 1, vol. ii, 552. I think this departure date can be considered certain. Refer also: 14 August 1725, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 662 and note 6, vol. ii, 586 – 587.

## Chapter 7: Sarah Harding – Her First Years as a Widow

At the time of her husband's death, Sarah Harding was in her mid-twenties and about to give birth to her second child. With some printing abilities of her own, she intended to carry on the business, and the evidence is clear that she had expectations of the patronage of Swift and the support of the town. This chapter presents new evidence illustrating how these expectations were rebuffed, and demonstrating the extent of her suffering for a period of approximately two-and-a-half years. In particular, this chapter discusses the never-before-seen circumstances suggesting that the aggressive young stationer, George Faulkner, launched his career in 1725 by riding roughshod over the intellectual property rights of the Harding business. It discusses the conduct of the House of Lords – conduct that has never been seen in its true context – whereby the Lords imprisoned Sarah Harding for publishing a poem which they believed to have been written by Swift, simply in an effort to draw the author out of his anonymity and bring him before them. This chapter also provides a clear understanding of how Sarah Harding came to find herself forgotten by one and all and barely able to keep her children alive, facts that have never been acknowledged by commentators, despite Sarah Harding herself voicing them in a published plea to the nation in 1726.

### “The Widow Harding”

Although grieving for the loss of her husband, Sarah Harding's outlook on the future was not without optimism. Given the price her husband had paid in this affair involving the livelihoods of every Irish citizen, she would have been anticipating the proactive sympathy of the people of Dublin and the support of the author of the *Letters* her husband had published. The fact that Sarah Harding would have been anticipating this support is something that in my view goes without saying, yet Sarah Harding gave evidence of it nonetheless when she explained in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* that after Harding's death:

He left with his Widow, two Children behind,  
And little, God help her, to keep them from Starving.  
But hoped for the DRAPIER'S Sake friends she wou'd find,  
Or, for his own merit, they'd think her deserving.<sup>1</sup>

During the first few months after Harding's death, the evidence indicates that there were indeed some people who thought her deserving. The first work she is known to have published appeared a little over a month after Harding's death. This was an *Elegy* in honour of

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<sup>1</sup> A4, 158, stanza 10. Image 14.

Lord Molesworth, who had died on 23 May at age sixty-eight.<sup>2</sup> Given that this *Elegy* was not written by Swift (the style is certainly not his), it cannot have been a work that came to Molesworth's Court from the deanery. Accordingly, the manuscript of this *Elegy* appears to have made its way to Sarah Harding courtesy of the Molesworth family. If this was the case, it represents another instance of the support of the Molesworth family for John and Sarah Harding, which began, as I argue, in the summer of 1721 when the Hardings took possession of the printing house and living quarters on Molesworth's Court. It is clear that this *Elegy* was produced with the help of another stationer, because the text of the *Elegy* itself is bordered by a series of elaborate woodcut images that the Hardings are not known to have used on any other occasion (and which they could not have afforded).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the work might have been performed in its entirety by another stationer on Sarah Harding's behalf. The circumstances of the production of this *Elegy*, then, show that in this period immediately after her husband's death, Sarah Harding had some supporters. The imprint on the publication is an illustration of the fact that she hoped that support would continue. It read: "Dublin, printed by the Widow Harding, 1725", although this is the only occasion that she is known to have publicly referred to herself this way.

Within days of the publication of this *Elegy*, Sarah Harding gave birth to her second child, a son. She had him christened on 18 June, although for reasons that are not known, this was done not in her own family parish of St. Paul's or the Parish of her husband's baptism, St. Bride's, but in the Parish of St. John the Evangelist.<sup>4</sup> The words "18 days old", written in a small hand in the register book at the far right of the entry (alongside the stitching of the book), show that this son was born on 1 June 1725.<sup>5</sup> She named him after his father and gave him the middle name "Draper" – John Draper Harding. Although it cannot be known for certain, in my view this middle name would not have been intended as any kind of tribute to Swift, but only to honour the memory of the work that the boy's father had performed for his country. The fact that Sarah Harding chose the correct spelling of the word, instead of Swift's

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<sup>2</sup> His death was reported in the newspaper and literary journal commenced by James Carson on 3 April 1725, the *Dublin Weekly Journal*, in his Number IX of 29 May 1725.

<sup>3</sup> A3, 5. See Image 13.

<sup>4</sup> "son of John and Sarah Hardin Printer in Moulds Worth Court baptysed 18 days old": RCBL, P 328/1/2-3, St John the Evangelist, 1720-1823. Refer: [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) Record Identifier: DU-CI-BA-93018. This baptism is also noted by Pollard, although with the wrong date – "18 May": *Dictionary*, 275. Munter also refers to it in his *Dictionary* (127) and again in his *HINP*, though in the latter he gives a date of "28 June 1728": 150, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> The Christian name suggests that their first child might have been a girl – if, that is, they named their first-born son after the father.

“Drapier”, which was one of the best known words in the kingdom and was one that was coming into popular use,<sup>6</sup> is perhaps an indication of that.

It seems to have been not long after giving birth to this son that Sarah Harding moved out of Molesworth’s Court into new premises. She moved to a shop on the Blind Quay, a narrow street formerly known as Scarlet-Lane that in its lower part ran parallel to the river before taking a bend at its eastern end to the south in the direction of the Castle.<sup>7</sup> Although parallel to the Liffey, the Blind Quay ran behind Essex Quay, and it might have been on account of an obscured view to the river that through popular usage in the 1670’s it came to be renamed the “Blind Quay”<sup>8</sup> (contemporaneously written, the “Blind Key”). It was only about a hundred yards north-east of Molesworth’s Court, and Sarah Harding appears to have made the move sometime in the summer months (it was made by 30 September, when she would publish a work from that address), taking her press and other printing infrastructure with her.<sup>9</sup> Sarah Harding would, of course, have taken her two children – the toddler and the baby – with her, and her mother, Elizabeth Sadlier, probably also joined her. As for the reason for the move, it might have been forced upon her by the death of Molesworth and new ownership of Molesworth’s Court,<sup>10</sup> or maybe she simply needed to leave the house that had been the scene of her husband’s death. Given that all of the Hardings’ money appears to have been lost in fines and prison expenses, an added incentive might have been a cheaper rent.

Following all of the upheaval in Sarah Harding’s life through the preceding months, it was from these premises on the Blind Quay that she began anew. Commentators have assumed that in these years after her husband’s death, she continued as a full-time printer, but this was not the case. She was a full-time mother who with the help of her own mother made

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<sup>6</sup> For instances of “drapier” appearing in place of “draper”, see: *Dickson’s News-Letter*, 4 July 1727, with its reference to: “Mr. John Gowan Linnen Drapier in Back-Lane;” Faulkner’s *Dublin Journal* for 21 – 25 May, 1734, which mentions the ship “This Week came into our Harbour, the Drapier-Galley of Dublin”; as well as *Pue’s Occurrences* for 27 Sept – 1 Oct, 1737. Similarly, *The Old Dublin Intelligence* for 8 March 1731 has an advertisement for: “WILLIAM JONES, WOLLEN – DRAIPER, AT The DRAIPER’s Head in Francis-Street”. On the other hand, in the pamphlet of September 1729, *The Truth is Out at Last: Recommended to all Freeman and Freeholders*, the Drapier is referred to as “the WORTHY DRAPER.” *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 16 October, 1731; and Carson’s *Dublin Weekly Journal* for 16 October 1731 refers to “the Draper’s Remarks upon the late Importation of the new English Half pence with the Consequences thereof to the Kingdom”.

<sup>7</sup> In the present day it is Exchange Street.

<sup>8</sup> Gilbert, ii, 117; *IHTA*, 11, 14.

<sup>9</sup> A3, 7.

<sup>10</sup> In future years, possibly the same Molesworth’s Court premises would again be used as a printing shop, with Thomas Hume operating from that address between 1736 and 1738: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 300.

time to work on the printing press whenever she received a manuscript from an author. But she was not a printer of choice in Dublin. She did not produce many works, and those that she did produce appear to have been sent to her by writers or stationers going out of their way to help her. This is seen in two other works that Sarah Harding is known to have produced from the Blind Quay in 1725.<sup>11</sup> One, *The Virtuous and Pious Life of his Holiness Peter Francis Ursini, the Present Pope*,<sup>12</sup> could conceivably have been gifted to her by one of the Catholic stationers in town, such as Luke Dowling or Cornelius Carter. And a poem entitled *To His Excellency the Lord Carteret, Occasion'd by seeing a Poem Intitul'd, The Birth of Manly Virtue*, appears to have been given to her by Rider and Harbin, or at the very least she had help from them in the printing of it. This is because, although it bears the imprint, "Dublin: printed by S. Harding, 1725", the ornaments on the publication are those of Rider and Harbin. As a consequence of this, Pollard is of the view that Rider and Harbin printed this work on her behalf.<sup>13</sup>

### The Emergence of George Faulkner

George Faulkner launched his business in Dublin during the summer and autumn of 1725 and had a direct bearing on Sarah Harding's fortunes. It is necessary to first review his career and character.<sup>14</sup> Faulkner was born in Dublin in 1703 (and was therefore just a few

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<sup>11</sup> In addition to the three publications to which Sarah Harding put her name during the course of 1725, two others which have anonymous imprints but which could potentially have been printed by or on behalf of her are: A3, 6 and A3, 11.

<sup>12</sup> A3, 13. Her imprint on this publication did not in fact include the year but as Ursini was Pope Benedict XIII from May June 1724 to February 1730 it is thought that the publication might have appeared not long after she began printing in her own right in 1725. This is the opinion of Pollard: *Dictionary*, 276, who also communicated with James Woolley on this: see JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171. The ESTC on the other hand estimates 1727.

<sup>13</sup> A3, 12. Pollard's view is published by James Woolley in: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 170 – 171; refer also Williams, *Poems*, ii, 382. The circumstances preceding this poem, incidentally, involve Swift. Delany was seeking a preferment in the church, and with that in mind, Swift helped him write a poem in obsequious praise of Carteret entitled *The Birth of Manly Virtue, from Callimachus*: A4, 146. (For an opinion that Swift may in fact have written the poem in its entirety for Delany and in a style that would see the credit go to him: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 194 – 195; although for an opinion that it was all the work of Delany: James Woolley, 'The Canon of Swift's Poems: The Case of 'An Apology to the Lady Carteret'', in *Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munchen, 1993, 247, 255 – 256; refer also Williams, *Poems*, 381; Sun, *Swift's Eighteenth Century Biographers*, op. cit., 58). Delany sent this poem to the printer and bookseller of standing, George Grierson on Essex Street, doing so no doubt to add to the eminence of the publication and thereby further his cause with Carteret (on this choice of printer, refer: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 194 – 195).

<sup>14</sup> Unless attributed to a specific separate citation, the facts in this discussion are drawn from a study of the following sources: Anon., 'Authentic Memoirs of the Late George Faulkner, Esq.', *Hibernian Magazine*, 1775, op. cit.; Madden, ii, 1 – 81; White, 'The Printing Trade in Dublin: George Faulkner – A 'Prince of Dublin Printers'', *Irish Printer*, December 1912, pp. 4 – 6; Jan. 1913, p. 4; Feb. 1913, pp. 4 – 6; Mar. 1913, pp. 10 – 12; April 1913, pp. 12 – 14; O'Connor, 'George Faulkner and Jonathan Swift', *Studies, an Irish Quarterly*, XXIV (1935), 473 – 486; O'Connor, 'George Faulkner and Lord Chesterfield', *Studies, an Irish Quarterly*, XXV, (1936), 292 – 304; Dustin, 'The 1735 Dublin edition of Swift's Poems', *PBSA*, LIV, (1960), 57 – 60; Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962; Slepian, 'When Swift First Employed



years younger than both John and Sarah Harding). His father was a butcher whilst his mother was related to nobility. With regard to his mother, the second cousin of Lord Viscount Thomas Dillon had had a son who had been cut from the family estate around the time of the Restoration. That son was her father (Faulkner's grandfather). As such, the appellation that Swift would later bestow upon Faulkner, the "Prince of Dublin Printers",<sup>15</sup> can be seen to have its origins in his parentage. Faulkner was the tradesman who had the carriage and air of a statesman. He was schooled under Reverend Lloyd, one of Dublin's most eminent schoolmasters, and began his apprenticeship as a stationer under the Whig, Thomas Hume, from Hume's shop against the Sign of Time on Cork Hill in about 1716. As a teenager seemingly boarding with Hume six days a week, Faulkner grew affectionate with Hume's daughter, with at least implicit promises from the young Miss Hume that she would marry him once he came of age, but when the time came, she spurned him. It was a decision Miss Hume would come to regret, for not only would she fall on hard times herself in later years, but the notion of greatness that Faulkner had had as an apprentice would prove to be a self-fulfilling prophesy.

This was the positive aspect of Faulkner's character. Assuming to himself a natural right to ascendancy in his chosen field, he was imperturbable to all disappointments and criticisms regardless of their nature or degree of severity. Faulkner was a visionary insofar as he saw the heights the industry could rise to, and he single-handedly took it there. He did this with a new scale of production and professionalism in both the periodical press and book production. With the former, he produced a newspaper that would dominate the Dublin market for decades and earn him a fortune, and with the latter he successfully undertook projects of a size and scope not before seen. Having the ability and application to match his ambition, Faulkner's achievements as a stationer throughout the eighteenth century were unparalleled anywhere in Britain.

From the beginning of his career, Faulkner cultivated an interest in London. Whether he had aspirations of setting up in London and pursuing his business in that much larger market is uncertain, but he formed an association with a prominent printing house there, and established a co-operation with that house with regard to the exchange of publications for the

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George Faulkner', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 56, (1962), 354 – 356; Slepian, 'George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* and Jonathan Swift', *Library Chronicle of the friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library*, 31, (1965), 97 – 116; Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, Kentucky 1972; Munter, *Dictionary*, 96 – 98; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198 – 205; Pollard, 'George Faulkner', *Swift Studies*, 7, (1992), 79 – 96; Tierney, 'Faulkner, George', ODNB; and Dennehy, 'George Faulkner', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 18 March 2005 (?), 812 – 814.

<sup>15</sup> 16 February 1734, Swift to the Earl of Oxford: DW Letter 1080, vol. iii, 721.

purposes of reprinting. Within his first decade, Faulkner made possibly as many as four separate trips to London, and most of those trips proved to be in some way significant to either his career or his personal life. The first appears to have been made soon after he completed his apprenticeship in 1723 or early 1724. It was on this occasion that he first worked with the printing house with which he would form a long-lasting alliance, that of the Bowyers, William Senior and William Junior.<sup>16</sup> The second trip was during the summer of 1726 when Faulkner again worked with the Bowyers whilst bearing letters of introduction from Swift (whom he had met the previous year) to important political figures. The third trip was in 1729, and during the fourth in 1730, two events took place. Upon boarding the ship on the docks of the Liffey, he took a knock on the shin which he neglected to have tended until he arrived in London, but by that time it had become gangrenous and had to be amputated. Despite this setback, it was whilst in London on this occasion that he met the woman he married, a widow by the name of Mary Taylor (nee Compton), and she returned with him to Dublin.

The defining moment of Faulkner's career came not long before this 1730 trip to London. This was the formalisation of his publishing association with Swift. It was something he had been working towards from as early as 1725 when he made his first personal approach to the author. Even from that first meeting, Swift appears to have been taken by the young printer, liking his dignified air, his gravitas and aura of self-importance. Faulkner did not print any original works for Swift between 1725 and 1730,<sup>17</sup> but around the time of the latter year, Swift gave his tacit approval to Faulkner's ambitious plan to gather together as many of the author's career works as possible to publish in a collected edition. From this time their partnership was on a sure footing. Over the years that followed, Faulkner busied himself tracking these works down from Swift's friends and other people, and although in his correspondence to his friends, Swift would refer to this project as one that had been foisted upon him by this importuning printer,<sup>18</sup> it is clear between the lines that he was delighted with what Faulkner was doing. It was an undertaking that brought unity and a sense of celebration to Swift's career in these its latter decades. In 1733 and 1734, Swift worked directly with

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<sup>16</sup> On this trip, refer: Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 2, and Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, op. cit., 6.

<sup>17</sup> Other than a few short poetical works that Faulkner printed in his newspaper. These will be discussed.

<sup>18</sup> Refer for example: 8 July 1733, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 1050, vol. iii, 661; 9 October 1733, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 1065, vol. iii, 693; 20 November 1733, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 1072, vol. iii, 708; 16 February 1734, Swift to the Earl of Oxford: DW Letter 1080, vol. iii, 722.

Faulkner in preparing the works for publication,<sup>19</sup> and it was during this period that Swift referred to him in correspondence to his friends as “the Prince of Dublin Printers”,<sup>20</sup> and “our famous Printer”.<sup>21</sup> The inaugural edition of Swift’s career *Works* was published in four volumes between November 1734 and January 1735, and was an immediate success, with some copies being produced on a royal paper.<sup>22</sup> But this was only the beginning. In subsequent years, the name of Faulkner became synonymous with Swift, and Faulkner amassed colossal wealth as he collected more and more of the author’s works and periodically published new expanded editions of the *Works*. The six-volume second edition appeared in 1738, whilst Swift was still alive. The remainder of Faulkner’s editions appeared after Swift’s death in October 1745: eight volumes in 1746, eleven volumes in 1763, nineteen volumes in 1768 and twenty volumes in 1772.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout the middle decades of the century, Faulkner’s publishing interests grew wider and his success seemed to know no bounds. He cut a famous figure on the streets of Dublin as the one-legged stationer who in dress, demeanour and deportment, belonged to the aristocracy, and his profile came to be as prominent as that of a viceroy. Faulkner’s dinner parties were a ‘who’s who’ of Dublin society, and one of his closest friends and confidantes, Philip Dormer Stanhope, the fourth Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1745 and 1746, offered him a knighthood, which Faulkner declined seemingly out of deference to the public he served as a stationer. Faulkner became one of the most successful men of business in Britain in the eighteenth century.

The negative aspect of Faulkner was his personal manner in business. He was conceited, brutish, and had the hide of a rhinoceros. These qualities were evident not just in his dealings with competitors and authors, but also in the way he managed his shop internally,

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<sup>19</sup> An account of this is given by Faulkner himself in the preface to his 1768 edition of Swift’s *Works*: vol. i, page viii; and throughout the course of this thesis, a few isolated instances of it have been commented on. For an argument that Swift’s involvement in the preparation of these volumes was of a lesser scale than that claimed by Faulkner: Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., Chapter 1.

<sup>20</sup> 16 February 1734, Swift to the Earl of Oxford: DW Letter 1080, vol. iii, 721.

<sup>21</sup> 14 August, 1735, Swift to Archbishop Bolton: DW Letter 1183, vol. iv, 161.

<sup>22</sup> Refer: T-S, 22. The high demand for this inaugural edition is seen in the story from April 1736, when Faulkner, after being imprisoned for publishing Bishop Hort’s libel on Sergeant Bettesworth, paid part of his fine with copies of this publication: see *JHCI vol. IV*, 211 – 214; and Anon, ‘Authentic Memoirs of the Late George Faulkner, Esq.’, *Hibernian Magazine* (September 1775): 505. Refer also: Madden, ii, 33 – 34; and Munter, *Dictionary*, 97.

<sup>23</sup> See: ‘Short Titles and Abbreviations’. See also T-S, 22 – 65.

as seen in his relationship with his initial business partner. This was James Hoey, a Catholic stationer with whom Faulkner started out in a shop on Pembroke Court in Castle Street in late 1724 or early 1725. Hoey worked with Faulkner for around six years before severing ties in about 1730 and starting up his own newspaper in direct opposition to Faulkner's and carrying the same title.<sup>24</sup> New evidence will be presented suggesting that throughout those years, Faulkner treated Hoey with belligerence, and that their parting was particularly acrimonious. Apart from this autocratic style within his business, as the years progressed Faulkner acquired a reputation generally. His expansive ego and his tendency to wear his greatness on his sleeve did not sit well with the people, and the problem was compounded by a perception of dubious business ethics on Faulkner's part along with a preparedness to compromise principle for financial gain. What surprised people more than anything else in this regard was his disloyalty to Swift. Even whilst Swift was still alive, Faulkner came under suspicion for including pieces that were not Swift's in his expanded editions of Swift's *Works*. This is seen in a poem that appeared immediately after Swift's death entitled *The Draper's Apparition to G----e F-----r, a new Poem*, in which the ghost of Swift appears to Faulkner to reproach him for devaluing his legacy.<sup>25</sup> Then in 1751, Faulkner stunned both Dublin and London when he published Lord Orrery's *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*,<sup>26</sup> which was, of course, a hostile biography. As one anonymous poet commented, referring to a marble bust of Swift that Faulkner had on display in his shop:<sup>27</sup>

FAULKNER! for once you have some judgment shown,  
By representing Swift transform'd to stone,  
For could he thy ingratitude have known,  
Astonishment itself the work had done!<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hoey was said to have been an ironmonger without any formal training in printing, but it is nonetheless thought to have been his organisational skills that made Faulkner's newspaper a success: Munter, *HINP*, 35; Munter, *Dictionary*, 97. Also on Hoey, see: Munter, *HINP*, 25, 28. And the *Dublin Intelligence* of 25 February 1729 refers to him as a "Compiler, Writer, Corrector and Author": [also quoted in Munter, *HINP*, 35, note 2].

<sup>25</sup> A4, 211. This is dated 1745 and must therefore have been published in the last months of that year, given that Swift died on 31 October.

<sup>26</sup> Faulkner's Dublin edition was published in November 1751, just a few weeks after the London edition. Faulkner's edition was not, however, a reprint. The two can be considered joint publications co-ordinated in Dublin and London by the author: see Elias, 'The first printing of Orrery's *Remarks on Swift* (1751)', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 25, (1977), 310 – 321.

<sup>27</sup> That same marble bust is now in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

<sup>28</sup> Reproduced in Browning, ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 407.

In subsequent years, with Faulkner continuing to inflate his editions of Swift's *Works* with dubious prose and poetry,<sup>29</sup> even his act in declining the knighthood offered to him by Chesterfield failed to soften the people's attitude towards him. Faulkner became an easy target for satirists. In 1762, the playwright, Samuel Foote, parodied him with his one-legged character, Peter Paragraph, in a play entitled "The Orators" which was performed at the Smock Alley Theatre (although because the ridicule extended to his wife, who had died five years earlier, Faulkner successfully sued.)<sup>30</sup> Another exchange of hostilities occurred in 1770 when a Dublin author, a Mr. Howard, took exception to Faulkner's proposal to publish a series of pamphlets that in Howard's perception included material that reflected poorly on him, and was being published by Faulkner with no other view than his own revenues.<sup>31</sup> Howard confronted Faulkner in person and expressed his feelings in two private letters. "But Mr. Howard finds", wrote Howard in one letter, "that Mr. Faulkner reverses St. Paul's maxim, *That godliness is great gain*, for with Mr. Faulkner great gain is godliness". This controversy was amplified and protracted in other newspapers, although Faulkner did what he was wont to do now and then when people sent him defamatory letters – he published them to turn them to his profit. It was probably a humiliated Howard who was responsible for an anonymous poem that appeared the same year, entitled *The Snake in a Bosom; A Fable from Phaedrus. Lib. IV. Fab. XVII.*<sup>32</sup> Depicting Faulkner as a dying snake which its benefactor, Swift, takes to his bosom and restores to health only for the snake to turn malicious, the poem is a long, vituperative and exceptionally personal attack on the stationer.

Faulkner lived a long life. He died on 30 August 1775 at age seventy-two, and because he had no children, his successor in business was his nephew Thomas Todd, who thereafter took the name Thomas Todd Faulkner.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This allegation, along with many others against Faulkner, is made in a poem published in 1770 entitled *The Snake in a Bosom; A Fable from Phaedrus. Lib. IV. Fab. XVII* (A4, 215).

<sup>30</sup> Faulkner would also have taken note of the coincidence a few years later that Foote himself lost a leg in an accident.

<sup>31</sup> This Howard might have the attorney and government writer, Gorges Edmond Howard, who amongst other achievements, compiled the only known collection of Irish law reports from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On this person: Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 45 and note 42; Osborough, 'Catholics, Land and the Popery Acts of Anne', in T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan, ed., *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, Dublin, 1990, 21 – 56, at 27 – 28.

<sup>32</sup> A4, 215.

<sup>33</sup> Allan Blackstock is mistaken in describing Thomas Todd Faulkner as "George Faulkner the younger:" 'Politics and Print: A Case Study', in *HOIB*, 242.

In the spring of 1725, Faulkner was twenty-one or twenty-two and just starting out in partnership with Hoey from their shop on Pembroke Court in Castle Street.<sup>34</sup> Faulkner may have already been in business by late 1724 given that one of the ornaments on the pamphlet, *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland, In their Unanimous Refusal of Mr Wood's Copper-Money*, which was printed for the bookseller, George Ewing, at that time, later became associated with Faulkner.<sup>35</sup> But he was certainly in business by early 1725, because eight surviving publications from that year, as well as a newspaper dated 27 March, all bear his imprint.<sup>36</sup> This was a time when Faulkner was looking to make his mark, and a time that coincided with the demise of John Harding. This concurrence of events was one that Faulkner turned to his advantage. With Sarah Harding seemingly not recognised as a printer in her own right, much less a successor to her late husband's business, Faulkner seized on the opportunity presented by Harding's death by acquiring three assets that can be categorised as belonging either to the goodwill or the intellectual property of the Harding business.

The first asset was the newspaper title, *The Dublin Journal*. This title had been a Harding original. There are nine surviving Numbers of Harding's *Dublin Journal* between March 1722 and May 1724.<sup>37</sup> Although the word "Journal" had appeared in the titles of English newspapers before this time,<sup>38</sup> Harding had been the first to introduce it to Ireland. The first Number of Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* appeared on 27 March 1725 – three weeks before Harding's death – and this was the newspaper that went on to make a fortune for Faulkner and to become the most successful Dublin newspaper of the eighteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Faulkner's biographer, Ward, says that Faulkner "made arrangements to purchase" the title,<sup>40</sup> but there is

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<sup>34</sup> It would appear likely that Faulkner started out from the very beginning in partnership with Hoey, and there is certainly evidence that they were together by March 1726 (see Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* for 22 May 1726). See also Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198; and Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 14. Munter dates the commencement of their partnership at around 1728 (*HINP*, 35) but this is in error.

<sup>35</sup> A4, 116. With regard to the ornament: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198.

<sup>36</sup> One of those eight publications is: *The case of prisoners for debt considered*, (A4, 149). Details of the others are all accessible on the ESTC. On the question of precisely when Faulkner started in business, refer also: Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 2, and Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, op. cit., 6.

<sup>37</sup> They in fact do not bear numbers but their dates are: 29 March, 1722; 6 April, 1722; 21 May, 1722; 20 August, 1722; 4 October, 1722; 12 November, 1722; 7 December, 1722; 24 December, 1722; and 11 May, 1724.

<sup>38</sup> As for example in *Mist's Weekly Journal* which had commenced publication in 1716. The word "Journal" in fact had its origins in a news-letter context in Roman times with "Diurnal": see Madden, i, 27 – 28, 78.

<sup>39</sup> In the 1730's, it was referred to as a "source of wealth" for Faulkner, then its readership increased in the 1740's: see Munter, *HINP*, 66, 172. It continued to be published until 1825: Madden, ii, 99.

<sup>40</sup> *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, op. cit., 6.

no evidence to support this (and Ward does not name the supposed vendor, which can only have been Sarah Harding). It was not necessary for Faulkner to buy the title anyway, for there was no property in newspaper titles until later in the century<sup>41</sup> – as illustrated by there having been competing *Dublin Intelligence's*, *Dublin Mercury's*, and *Dublin Gazette's* at various times. But in a non-legal sense, he was indebted to Sarah Harding for the intellectual property.

The second asset was another newspaper title, *The Dublin Post-Boy*. This title had originally been Carter's but, having been given to Harding in 1718 not long after his career had begun, Harding used it at various times until 1724. The first known Number of Faulkner's *Dublin Post Boy* appeared in late 1725,<sup>42</sup> approximately six months after Harding's death. Clearly it was an appropriation of the title, although it was one that incurred no enforceable debt on Faulkner's part.

The third asset was the rights to the *Letters* of the Drapier. Under the non-legal rules of the Dublin stationery industry, rights in publications passed to heirs and successors,<sup>43</sup> and as such, unlike the situation with the newspapers titles, the copyright in the *Letters* was at this time vested in Sarah Harding. But in the spring of 1725, Faulkner in one way or another acquired these rights, and later in the year published a collected edition of the *Letters*, together with a few other works by Swift and other authors that were associated with the halfpence,<sup>44</sup> under the title *Fraud Detected: or, The Hibernian Patriot*.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Refer: Madden, i, 266; Munter, *Hand-List*, viii; Munter, *HINP*, 96 – 97.

<sup>42</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 16 (item 88). Refer also Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 33. It thereafter seems to have been continued sporadically although Numbers survive into the 1740's. Madden says the first known Number of *Faulkner's Dublin Post-Boy* is for 22 May 1728 (i, 266) but clearly earlier copies were subsequently located by Munter.

<sup>43</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 96; Phillips, 128.

<sup>44</sup> The additional works were as follows. Firstly, Swift's *Prometheus, A Poem*, which had originally been published anonymously, though almost certainly from the Harding press, in October or November 1724 (A2, 64). Secondly, five songs written at the Drapier's Club. Thirdly, the first two in what would become a series of *Letters from a Friend To the Right Honourable* —, which were criticisms of Whittshed thought to have been written by the son of Lord Midleton, St. John Brodrick, although the last sixteen paragraphs of the second *Letter* are thought to have been contributed by Swift: refer David Woolley: DW Letter 638 note 3, vol. ii, 544 (for the series refer: A4, 121; A4, 130; A4, 132 and A4, 137). And fourthly, a few of the best pamphlets on the controversy by authors other than Swift.

<sup>45</sup> A4, 142. A comment by the scholar, James Kelly, indicates that the production of bound volumes of collections of pamphlets only became fashionable in the late eighteenth century: 'Political Publishing, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 229. The production of *Fraud Detected*, therefore, is another illustration of Faulkner being ahead of his time.

Before coming to the question of whether Faulkner compensated Sarah Harding for this, it is necessary to look at how this collected edition came into being and, in particular, whether Swift was privy in any way to Faulkner's activities. Opinions have varied on this. Two commentators have said that Swift was in fact the one who *instigated* the venture, and that he "employed" Faulkner for the purpose.<sup>46</sup> But the evidence does not support this. Three other commentators are of the view that Swift had no involvement with this collected edition at all, and that he and Faulkner did not meet until later in the decade.<sup>47</sup> Again, circumstances suggest that this is not accurate. The remaining scenario is that Faulkner made an approach to Swift and successfully obtained his consent. This is the opinion of Madden, Ehrenpreis and David Woolley,<sup>48</sup> and in my view the evidence overwhelmingly supports it. Indeed, there are circumstances indicating that, after Swift had given his consent, he had a degree of involvement with Faulkner in the preparation of the edition. Whether the dealings between the printer and the author consisted of any actual meetings between the two cannot be verified, but the evidence clearly suggests that, at the very least, they were in correspondence over the matter.

An overview of this evidence begins with the fact that there was a group that called themselves the Drapier's Club that met at what was seemingly a tavern situated on Truck Street that was owned by a Mr. Taplin. This club met weekly to drink to the Drapier and write and sing songs in his honour,<sup>49</sup> and it was afterwards said by Faulkner that this club conceived the idea for a collected edition of the *Letters*.<sup>50</sup> This statement by Faulkner can in my view be interpreted as saying that Faulkner associated himself with the Drapier's Club, and that the idea for the venture in fact originated with him. Faulkner was, after all, the one with the entrepreneurial publishing character. He was the one who about five years later made the exact same kind of approach to Swift – on that occasion to seek the author's approval for a proposal to compile his career works and publish them in a four volume edition. Further,

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<sup>46</sup> Nichols, 'Letter to the Editor', *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVII (1777), 420; Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 16 – 17; Slepian, 'When Swift First Employed George Faulkner', op. cit., 355 – 356.

<sup>47</sup> Davis, *DL*, xc; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1128; and James Woolley, 'Arbuckle's Panegyric', in *Contemporary Studies of Swift's Poetry*, John Irwin Fischer and Donald C. Mell Jr., eds., Delaware, 1981, 191 – 206, 202. Tierney leaves the matter open: 'Faulkner, George', *ODNB*, page 2.

<sup>48</sup> Madden, ii, 4; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 317; and David Woolley: DW Letter 671 *his* headnote, vol. ii, 603, and Letter 1036, note 18, vol. iii, 641.

<sup>49</sup> See the five 'New Songs Sung at Mr. Taplin's The Sign of the Drapier's Head in Truck-Street', which Faulkner printed in *Fraud Detected* (A4, 142), pp. 217 – 224.

<sup>50</sup> In the preface to *Fraud Detected*: A4, 142, page vi.



Faulkner was a businessman who took every opportunity to ingratiate himself with persons of influence. A further matter supporting the possibility of Faulkner having made an approach to Swift is the sheer unlikelihood of Swift not having been consulted on the matter. Swift did not *have* to be consulted, because in Ireland there was no enforceable property in publications for either the author or the publisher, and Faulkner was under no legal obligation to obtain the consent of the author, but given the authority Swift had over the kingdom at this time, together with the reverence in which he was held, I think it would have been extremely unlikely that any publisher would have taken the risk of upsetting him by proceeding without his express approval.

There are also circumstances that are indicative of Swift's involvement in the actual preparation of the text. Some changes of words and grammar from the original Harding editions are authorial in the view of David Woolley.<sup>51</sup> The preface to the collected edition, which explains how brilliantly the *Letters* had been written, is in David Woolley's opinion of a style that is "entirely worthy of the supposed author's hand".<sup>52</sup> It is an opinion shared by Ehrenpreis,<sup>53</sup> and one small matter I would like to add to this particular argument, concerns a comment in the preface that the style of the *Letters*, "tho' plain and easy, never sinks into the Languid; and tho' not filled with Metaphors or high Expressions, falls not so low as to offend, or grate the Ears of the politest reader".<sup>54</sup> The expression "grate the Ears" is one that Swift had used as recently as the fifth *Letter* of the *Drapier*.<sup>55</sup> There are also circumstances associated with the larger planning of the publication that potentially indicate Swift's involvement. On 25 September, just a week before its publication, Faulkner wrote to Lord Chancellor Midleton requesting permission to dedicate the book to him,<sup>56</sup> which as David Woolley suggests, is likely to have been done at Swift's suggestion.<sup>57</sup> Swift would have liked the symbolism of

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<sup>51</sup> DW Letter 671 *bis* headnote, vol. ii, 604. Davis is of the contrary view: *DL*, xc. But in my view, Faulkner at this time would not have dared to interfere with Swift's text in any way whatsoever without the author's consent. And as David Woolley notes, all of the changes made at this time were retained by Swift for the edition of the *Letters* published in *Faulkner 1735*. The changes themselves can be ascertained from the table of changes across several editions of the *Letters* between 1724 and 1735 which was prepared by Herbert Davis: *PW*, x, 207 – 214.

<sup>52</sup> DW Letter 671 *bis* headnote, vol. ii, 603.

<sup>53</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 317.

<sup>54</sup> A4, 142, page ii.

<sup>55</sup> A2, 65, page 9; *PW*, x, 86.

<sup>56</sup> September 1725, George Faulkner to Viscount Midleton: DW Letter 671 *bis* headnote, vol. ii, 603 – 604.

<sup>57</sup> DW Letter 671 *bis* headnote, vol. ii, 603.

having it dedicated to the man who was at once a leading opponent of the halfpence, the first to sign the Proclamation against the Drapier, and the holder of the highest legal post in the kingdom. (Midleton declined the offer abruptly.)<sup>58</sup> Another circumstance pertaining to the planning of the proposal is associated with the fact that the publication appears to have been delayed for legal reasons. The risk in this collected edition was in fact quite low, for the cases against the fourth *Letter* and *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* had been dropped, and Carteret's administration was doing everything it could to move on from the controversy of the halfpence. But publication of the book, *Fraud Detected*, a publishing proposal that was first announced by Faulkner on 1 May, did not occur until six weeks after Wood's patent was formally withdrawn at Westminster on 14 August. One plausible explanation for this delay is that the publication was deliberately deferred to this time to ensure that it was wholly safe from the standpoint of sedition. If so, it is a decision that Swift or his lawyers might have influenced.

The cumulative effect of all of these circumstances in my view amounts to a substantial argument that Faulkner obtained Swift's consent for the book and thereafter consulted him in its preparation. The initial Notice from Faulkner announcing the proposal and calling for subscriptions was printed in his *Dublin Journal* on 1 May 1725. As this was just twelve days after Harding's death, it follows that Faulkner must have obtained Swift's consent around the very time of Harding's death, and probably before. Faulkner's notice on 1 May stated an intention to reprint several other works in addition to the *Letters* of the Drapier, and these included some that had been originally published by stationers other than Harding. The Notice also listed six other booksellers and victuallers who would accept payment for subscriptions.<sup>59</sup> It would have taken Faulkner some time to negotiate these matters. Further, Swift left Dublin for Quilca on the day of Harding's death, 19 April, which indicates that Faulkner had obtained Swift's consent before that time, for otherwise the arrangement between them must have been reached through an exchange of letters between Dublin and Quilca. Such an exchange would have taken several days at least, and it seems unrealistic that this could have taken place, and that Faulkner could have conducted all other negotiations, all between 19 April and 1 May (if this *is* what happened, Faulkner made his announcement very

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<sup>58</sup> Midleton endorsed the letter from Faulkner with a note: "I would not by any means consent to the dedication of the Drapiers to me, and if done, would complain of the printer": refer DW Letter 671 *bis* headnote, vol. ii, 603; also, David Woolley: DW Letter 638, n. 3, vol. ii, 544.

<sup>59</sup> This Number of Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* (for 1 May 1725) can be accessed online through: "17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century Burney Collection Newspapers", Gale, Cengage Learning, 2012: Gale Document Number: Z2001692822.

hurriedly). Accordingly, it is probable in my view that Faulkner approached Swift, and that Swift thereupon gave his consent for the reprinting of “All of the DRAPIER’s Letters, Poems and Songs”,<sup>60</sup> as Harding lay dying.<sup>61</sup>

The question, then, is whether Faulkner, who was seemingly acting with the knowledge of Swift, offered Sarah Harding any compensation for the rights of the works that he appropriated for *Fraud Detected*. In my view the evidence suggests that neither Faulkner nor Swift ever for a moment thought of her. There are, of course, other possible scenarios. One is given by Barry Slepian, the only scholar to offer a comment in relation to these circumstances. Speculating that Swift was the proactive party in the creation of *Fraud Detected*, Slepian suggests that Swift first asked Sarah Harding to produce the book, but with Sarah Harding too afraid to do so, it came to Faulkner by default.<sup>62</sup> But this overlooks the evidence that the proposal was initiated by the Drapier’s Club and by Faulkner in particular. And regardless, Sarah Harding would not in my view have been afraid to publish it. The evidence indicates quite clearly that she was not a retiring or timid character. It is true, as Stephen Karian states, that the production of larger works was also going to be problematic for Sarah Harding due to her limited resources,<sup>63</sup> but, entertaining for the moment Slepian’s hypothetical offer from Swift, this is an undertaking that she could have performed with the help and additional resources from one or two other stationers. Indeed, nothing could have been more fitting at this time than a collected edition of the *Letters* printed by Sarah Harding with the help of other stationers and with the profits to go to her. Yet, whilst Slepian’s hypothesis is not supported by the evidence, at least it is a hypothesis that assumes that Sarah Harding was taken into consideration – a reasonable assumption to have made.

Another possible scenario is that Faulkner considered that the rights in the works had lapsed and were not in fact held by Sarah Harding. This is possible because, although it is not entirely clear, the Dublin copyright might have subsisted only for so long as the work or works in question continued in print, and in the spring of 1725 Sarah Harding could have been out of stock of all five *Letters* of the Drapier (and the separate works of Swift that Harding had printed.) With a dying husband to care for whilst advanced in her pregnancy, she

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<sup>60</sup> From Faulkner’s Notice in his *Dublin Journal* for 1 May 1725.

<sup>61</sup> David Woolley is also of this view. He says that at the time Harding’s death, “It seems that arrangements were already in place for George Faulkner” to produce this collected edition: DW Letter 671 *bis*, headnote, vol. ii, 603.

<sup>62</sup> *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 16–17; also, Slepian, ‘When Swift First Employed George Faulkner’, op. cit., 355 – 356.

<sup>63</sup> *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, op. cit., 22.

would have no opportunity to produce new editions. Again, though, this seems a remote possibility, and it is countered by the one piece of direct evidence that does exist in relation to the question of whether Sarah Harding was compensated. This was given years later by Faulkner himself, when in his prefatory remarks to the *Letters* in his 1763 edition of Swift's *Works*, he commented:

In the Year 1724, Dr. Swift wrote the Drapier's Letters, and other Papers to the People of Ireland, against Wood's Patent for coining Halfpence and Farthings for this Kingdom... The year following, 1725, many people were desirous of having the Papers written on this Occasion preserved and collected together, which was accordingly printed by the Editor, Mr. John Harding, the first printer being dead.<sup>64</sup>

In fact, Harding was not quite dead at the time, as it seems. However, this comment from Faulkner is a reasonably clear indication that the rights and welfare of Sarah Harding were never taken into account in this matter, and that Faulkner simply swooped on the opportunities that became available upon the death of Harding.

Also relevant to this apparent disregard shown to Sarah Harding, are circumstances suggesting that in the course of Faulkner preparing the book, some stationers distanced themselves from Faulkner. In his announcement in his *Dublin Journal* on 1 May, Faulkner listed six other booksellers or retailers from whom subscriptions could be bought, but when he advertised it again on 3 July, he listed only Mr. Taplin of the Drapier's Club and himself. The booksellers Samuel Fuller, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Thornton, and the owners of Lucas's Coffee-house and Dempster's Coffee-house, potentially all disassociated themselves from the undertaking between 1 May and 3 July. Then in the penultimate paragraph of the Preface to *Fraud Detected*, which is a portion of that Preface that had certainly been written by Faulkner (and not Swift), Faulkner says:

And, now I must humbly ask Pardon for not incerting the Letters to the Rt. Hon. ————— and the *Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland*, the first being not of that universal Concern as the other PAPERS are, and the latter the Arguments used by the Author of the Considerations, done by a less ingenious Hand, and set in a worse Light.<sup>65</sup>

The *Letters from a Friend To the Right Honourable* ——— had been announced on 1 May as forming part of the venture, and their withdrawal seems to indicate that something went amiss either with the author, thought to have been St. John Brodrick, or the printers, possibly Rider and

<sup>64</sup> *Faulkner 1763*, i, page ii (also quoted in *PW*, vol. xiii, 201; and Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 14 – 15.

<sup>65</sup> A4, 142, page vi.

Harbin. And Faulkner's comment that *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland*<sup>66</sup> is "done by a less ingenious Hand, and set [sets the arguments] in a worse Light", is simply false, for this pamphlet has been considered one of the best-written on the subject.<sup>67</sup> Accordingly, the fact that Faulkner goes out of his way in this preface to make a disparaging remark about that pamphlet hints at some kind of problem having arisen between himself and either the author of that pamphlet, whose identity is not known, or its printer, George Ewing. The issues these people appear to have had with Faulkner might have been associated with Sarah Harding.

### *An Humble Address to Both Houses of Parliament*

Whilst at Quilca, Swift wrote again as the Drapier. Entitled *An Humble Address to Both Houses of Parliament*,<sup>68</sup> Swift intended this next piece to appear on the opening day of the upcoming session of the Irish Parliament. But due to the news of the official withdrawal of Wood's patent reaching Dublin on 25 August, it is a work that Swift withheld from publication at the last minute. However, *Humble Address* itself (as published in subsequent years),<sup>69</sup> and Swift's intentions with regard to its intended production, are revealing of certain matters associated with John and Sarah Harding.

Before coming to those matters, the *Address* itself is a long and loquacious account of matters for the Parliament to take into its consideration. With the prosecutions discontinued and the six months of the Proclamation at an end, Swift writes like a bird released as he offers his proposals for reform in agriculture, forestry and land tending, whilst recommending that before anything else, the Parliament launch an investigation into the 'fraud' of William Wood. Above all, *Humble Address* is in my view characterised by Swift's egotism and what Rossi and Hone argue was his inability to appreciate, or even comprehend at all, the reality of opposition to his ideas and himself. Circumstances suggest that publishing this *Address*, whether on the day the Parliament was scheduled to begin or at any other time in 1725, would have been the worst thing Swift could have done. Evidence of the swell of feeling against him amongst the Bishops in the House of Lords throughout 1724 has already been seen. Further evidence is seen in early 1725 with the pamphlet, *Seasonable Advice to M.B. Drapier*,<sup>70</sup> where the seasonable

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<sup>66</sup> A4, 116.

<sup>67</sup> Refer: Wagner, 20 (item 51); Davis, *DL*, 367 – 368; and Baltes, 232.

<sup>68</sup> Hereafter referred to as *Humble Address*.

<sup>69</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 210 – 242; *PW*, x, 117 – 141.

<sup>70</sup> A4, 129.

advice gently administered to Swift by the pseudonymous “M.M.” is that it was time to stop writing. There is also the verse of Dean Smedley: “Most Reverend *Dean*, pray cease to Write/ Nor longer dwell on Things so Trite”, for you “Write, and Write our Spirits down”.<sup>71</sup> The events that followed the publication of the poem *On Wisdom’s Defeat in a Learned Debate*<sup>72</sup> during the course of the Parliament itself – which are events that will be discussed in this chapter – leave little doubt that if this *Address* had been published it would have been prosecuted by the Lords, with the printer imprisoned and efforts made to bring “M.B. Drapier” before the House. But Swift could not see this.

This “Humble Address”, although written with a spirit of patriotism as he calls for Irish solidarity, in fact has nothing humble about it at all. Swift calls for the end of factionalism in the Parliament, which only means that he wants everyone to be united under his sway. He offers gestures of deference to the Parliament, saying for instance that “I look upon your *unanimous Voice* to be the *Voice* of the Nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe to be, in some Manner, the *Voice of God*”,<sup>73</sup> which in the context of this *Address* only means that he was telling God what to do (something many in the House of Lords would have said he had been doing all along). This Parliament consisted of a body of men already piqued at having been usurped of any real authority by this writer, yet here was that writer giving them wide-ranging advice, telling them that he had not flinched at either the prosecution or the Proclamation,<sup>74</sup> and protesting, “I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing Death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed Coin*”<sup>75</sup> – all whilst continuing pseudonymous and out of personal reach.

The Parliament would not have had any difficulty finding passages to complain of for the purposes of legal action. This *Address* included material that was arguably more seditious than anything previously written as the Drapier. In particular, the passage where Swift implies that the actions of the King and his Ministers were contrary to the laws of nature, of

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<sup>71</sup> Williams, *Poems*, ii, 369.

<sup>72</sup> A3, 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 222; *PW*, x, 127.

<sup>74</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 216; *PW*, x, 123.

<sup>75</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 221; *PW*, x, 127.

humanity, of countries, and of God,<sup>76</sup> is open to interpretation as suggesting that the King and his ministers were not only derelict in their duty but had all along had malicious intent towards Ireland. Other seditious comments include Swift's reference to Irish litigants having to travel over land and sea for final resolution of a matter being "a Mark of *Servitude* without Example, from the Practice of any Age or Nation in the World";<sup>77</sup> his remark that the people England sends to Ireland to hold office are only ever "Persons of second-rate Merit in their own Country; who, like *Birds of Passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *Credit* and *Employments* are at an End";<sup>78</sup> and the five paragraphs where he deals flippantly with the allegation of having flown in the King's face.<sup>79</sup> The Lords would have had no shortage of grounds of objection if this *Address* had been published.<sup>80</sup>

With the withdrawal of the patent seeming imminent at the time, it is an *Address* that has the air of a victory speech, yet it is a speech that would have been improved if Swift had shown the grace to give appropriate acknowledgement to the person who had been his partner in the venture and who had paid for the victory with his life. Being the first occasion on which Swift had written since his printer's death, this was the occasion. Surely just a paragraph or two on Harding's character, the courage he had shown and the service he had given to Ireland, was called for. Instead, at the end of another paragraph celebrating his own achievements, Swift says: "And therefore I was no further affected with *their Proclamation*, and subsequent Proceedings, than a good Clergyman is with the *Sins* of the People. And as to the poor *Printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a RIGHTEOUS Tribunal".<sup>81</sup> That is all. There are no accolades, or tributes, and no explanation as to what in fact happened to Harding. It is as though Swift was suppressing the matter. Indeed, it seems Swift was only prompted to mention Harding at all by his preceding sentence, which says he had been without fear throughout the course of the Proclamation. The person who seemingly *had* affected him during the Proclamation, that is, is mentioned immediately after this purported denial.

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<sup>76</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 220-1; *PW*, x, 126 – 127.

<sup>77</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 227; *PW*, x, 131.

<sup>78</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 228-9; *PW*, x, 132.

<sup>79</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 236-8; *PW*, x, 137 – 138.

<sup>80</sup> For further discussion of the dangers of this *Letter*: Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography*, op. cit., 382-3.

<sup>81</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 216; *PW*, x, 123.

Also relevant to the issue of Swift's relationship with the Hardings are circumstances from the period in which *Humble Address* was being prepared for publication. With Swift at Quilca at the time, arrangements for the work were being made in the course of correspondence with friends in Dublin: Reverend John Worrall, Swift's Vicar; John (Jack) Grattan, a member of the Chapter of St. Patrick's; and Sheridan.<sup>82</sup> Planning to publish *Humble Address* on the opening day of the Parliament, which was scheduled for 6 August, on 29 June Swift wrote to Sheridan, saying: "Pray remem<sup>br</sup> to leave th[e] Pamphlet with Worrall, and give him Directions, unless you have settled it already some oth<sup>r</sup> way. You know it must come out just when the Parlmt meets".<sup>83</sup> The "Directions" to be given to Worrall in my view incorporate the question of who the printer of the work was going to be. This view is shared by Ehrenpreis and Williams, both of whom say that Swift left the decision of the choice of printer to his friends.<sup>84</sup> Why was Swift doing this? One possibility is that he feared that *Humble Address* would be prosecuted and he was leaving it to his friends in Dublin to identify the stationer best suited to the challenge. This, however, seems unlikely. As mentioned, with this *Humble Address* to the Parliament, Swift could only ever envision universal agreement with his sentiments, and even though he again took the precaution of having the manuscript transcribed into an unknown hand, this in my view was done simply by way of following his established procedures, and out of his ongoing sense of self-importance. Indeed, the fact that the manuscript did in the end make its way to Sarah Harding shows that his friends, who had read the work and had been in communication with Swift, had no concerns for her in that regard. Rather, it appears that Swift's ambivalence on the question of the printer was due to his wanting to avoid the decision of whether to support the widow, or give the work to Faulkner, who seems by this time to have made a positive impression on him. Accordingly, the comment to Sheridan on 29 June, "unless you have settled it already some oth<sup>r</sup> way", in my view means: *I would prefer it to go Faulkner unless you have already given it to Sarah Harding*. Not long after this, the commencement of Parliament was prorogued by Carteret from 6 August to 7

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<sup>82</sup> The person travelling back and forth between Dublin and Quilca for these purposes would of course have been Sheridan, the owner of Quilca. On this, refer: Ferguson (134), and also Ehrenpreis (*Swift*, iii, 309 & n. 2) who draws inferences from Swift's letters to Sheridan of the period: 25 June: DW Letter 647, vol. ii, 558 – 561; 26 June: DW Letter 648, vol. ii, 561 – 562; 28 June: DW Letter 649, vol. ii, 562 – 564; and 29 June, 29 June 1725, Swift to Esther Johnson and Sheridan: DW Letter 650, vol. ii, 564 – 546.

<sup>83</sup> 29 June 1725, Swift to Esther Johnson and Sheridan: DW Letter 650, vol. ii, 565.

<sup>84</sup> Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 308; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 91. James Woolley's comment, then, that: "Had the Wood's halfpence controversy continued, Sarah would have continued printing for the Drapier" (JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 167; also, JW, *Intelligencer*, 36), is accurate only if the intervention of Swift's friends is allowed for.



September, and with this the planned day of publication of *Humble Address* was pushed to the latter date. As late as 27 August, however, eleven days before the intended publication, Swift wrote to Worrall:

I gave Jack Grattan the papers corrected, and I think half spoiled, by the cowardly caution of him and others. He promised to transcribe them time enough, and my desire is they may be ready to be published upon the first day Parliament meets. I hope you will contrive it among you, that it may be sent unknown (as usual) to some printer, with proper directions.<sup>85</sup>

The reference to “some printer” shows that Swift still did not know who the printer was going to be, and was still leaving the matter with the others. It is seen from a comment Swift made after the withdrawal of the patent that the manuscript was in the end given to Sarah Harding for her to prepare it for publication. On 25 August, though, the formal exemplification of the surrender of the patent reached Dublin, and when news of this reached Swift at Quilca, he decided to withhold the *Address* from publication, writing to Worrall on 31 August:

Since Wood’s patent is cancelled, it will by no means be convenient to have the paper printed, as I suppose you, and Jack Grattan, and Sheridan will agree; therefore, if it be with the printer, I would have it taken back, and the press broke, and let her be satisfied. The work is done, and there is no more need of the Drapier.<sup>86</sup>

Commentators have been of the view that the “her” here is Sarah Harding,<sup>87</sup> and there can be little doubt that this is correct. Swift is asking Worrall to pay her for the work she had done to this point. The friend who arranged for the manuscript to go to her in the first place was almost certainly Sheridan. This is indicated by Swift’s comment to Sheridan on 29 June – “unless you have settled it already some oth’ way” – which suggests that Sheridan was the one who was deciding the matter. It can also be inferred from the fact that, from this time forward, the only person in Ireland who made concerted efforts to support Sarah Harding was Sheridan.

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<sup>85</sup> 27 August 1725, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 665, vol. ii, 591.

<sup>86</sup> 31 August 1725, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 667, vol. ii, 593. Rowse and McMinn both mistakenly imply that it was in fact published: Rowse, *Jonathan Swift*, New York, 1975, 137 – 138; McMinn, *Jonathan’s Travels*, 94, 100. This decision to withhold *Humble Address* from publication because of the surrender of the patent is unusual insofar as the *Address* was concerned with independent matters of economics, whilst calling for an investigation into what Swift considered to be the fraud committed by Wood – all of which are matters that could have been pursued irrespective of the cancellation of the patent. Maybe Swift’s decision to withhold *Humble Address* had something to do with a threat he received. As he confided to Worrall on 27 August, “I had lately a letter without a name, telling me, that I have got a sop to hold my tongue”: 27 August 1725, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 665, vol. ii, 591.

<sup>87</sup> David Woolley: DW Letter 667 note 3, vol. ii, 594; James Woolley: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 167; also, JW, *Intelligencer*, 36.

### Sheridan's First Attempt at a Periodical for Sarah Harding

Thomas Sheridan is known to have been a man who felt the suffering of others keenly.<sup>88</sup> It is also known that he did not fear Swift and that, unlike the others in Swift's inner circle, he challenged him on occasion, as can be detected in the tones of their poetic exchanges and in Sheridan's 1718 poem, *The Funeral*, which claimed that Swift's poetic muse had died, and which Swift did not take in good humour.<sup>89</sup> But despite these characteristics of Sheridan being known, never-before-seen instances of them are disclosed in the course of Sheridan's efforts to bring meaningful support to Sarah Harding between 1725 and 1729.

Born in County Cavan in 1687, and therefore twenty years younger than Swift, Sheridan was a small, lightly built man with a high-pitched voice. He wrote occasional poetic and prose pieces and also translated ancient works, but his natural gift was in his work as a school master, where he taught the classics not through the traditional methods of rigid rulebooks but with a liberal style all his own. In 1710, at age twenty-three or twenty-four, Sheridan married a woman by the name of Elizabeth McFadden, from whom he inherited the estate, Quilca. It was a marriage that may have been forced upon him by a pregnancy,<sup>90</sup> and within a week of having taken his vows he knew he had made the mistake of his life<sup>91</sup> – despite which he proceeded to have nine children with her.<sup>92</sup> Sheridan's friendship with Swift is thought to have begun in 1717. From the beginning, the two of them shared a love of wordplay and punning, and their appreciation of each other appears to have grown quickly, with Swift admiring Sheridan's talent as a teacher (and on occasion helping him mark papers).<sup>93</sup> Yet the two were a study in contrasts. Whereas Swift was meticulous and frugal,

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<sup>88</sup> In my view the best insights into Sheridan's character are to be found in: 'B', 'A Pilgrimage to Quilca', *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xl, No. ccxxxix, November 1852, 509 – 526. The comment related to Sheridan feeling the pain of others keenly, is at page 522.

<sup>89</sup> Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 42.

<sup>90</sup> Dolan also suggests this may have been the case: 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32, at 5.

<sup>91</sup> Refer: 5 April, 1735, Sheridan to Swift: DW Letter 1143, vol. iv, 81 – 82; also, JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 110 note 8. Swift portrayed her as a detestable person: *The History of the Second Solomon; PW*, v, 222 – 223, and 'A Portrait from the Life': Williams, *Poems*, iii, 954 – 955.

<sup>92</sup> Maybe Sheridan persisted with his marriage because of his vocation. As Swift said of him to Carteret on 17 April 1725: "His greatest Fault is a Wife and seven Children, for which there is no Excuse, but that a Wife is thought necessary to a Schoolmaster": DW Letter 643, vol. ii, 552.

<sup>93</sup> 29 June 1725, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 650, vol. ii, 565; Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 23, note 3, and page 37; JW, *Intelligencer*, 10.

Sheridan prided himself on having no attachment to money or anything material (as a consequence of which he was forever in debt).<sup>94</sup> Whereas Swift's compassion for the world could be said to have been confined mostly to his writing, Sheridan's took effect in real actions. Whereas in Swift's written work the laughter is almost always at someone's expense, Sheridan in his written work is often laughing at himself.<sup>95</sup> And whereas Swift preached from the pulpit that a person's first duty was always to himself or herself, there was a tendency in Sheridan to always put himself last. There was a paradoxical aspect to Sheridan's relationship with Swift in that on the one hand he revered his friend, the great author, revelling in being on such intimate terms with him and even making social capital out of the fact, but on the other hand, he was the one person who was not intimidated by Swift and who had the courage to confront him with home truths. By vocation and by nature, Sheridan was a teacher and instructor. Believing himself to be the one person who could keep a check on Swift, he saw it as his duty to keep a 'moral watch' on his friend.<sup>96</sup>

Evidence of Sheridan's support for Sarah Harding begins from the time of Harding's death. As I have discussed already, there is a reasonable likelihood in my view that Sheridan was the author or co-author of the *Elegy on Harding*. Then, on the day of Harding's death, Swift, Stella and Rebecca left Dublin to go to Sheridan's estate at Quilca, but Sheridan himself stayed behind, indicating that he might have attended the burial service the next day. And it has just been seen that the friend of Swift's who arranged for *Humble Address* to go to Sarah Harding appears to have been Sheridan.

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<sup>94</sup> On Sheridan's recklessness with money, refer the comment of Stella, in 'Bons Mots de Stella', *PW*, v, 237; also Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32, at 12.

<sup>95</sup> For instance, Sheridan often wrote under the non-de-plume "Tom Punsibi", and whilst one interpretation of the word "Punsibi" was simply "punster", in Irish etymology it can also signify "a pun on himself". In the native Irish, the word also has a direct association with the name 'Sheridan.' Refer JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 93 – 114, 101 – 102; also Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32, 11.

<sup>96</sup> For accounts of Sheridan by Swift, refer: *The History of the Second Solomon* (*PW*, v, 222 – 223); the 'Character of Doctor Sheridan' (*PW*, v, 216 – 218); and the comments of Faulkner in *Faulkner 1746*, which are sure to have been informed by Swift (Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1012 – 1013). For other commentary on Sheridan, refer: Orrery, *Remarks*, 84 – 85; Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 369 – 395; 'B', 'A Pilgrimage to Quilca', *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xl, No. ccxxxix, November 1852, 509 – 526; Stanley Lane-Poole, 'Dr. Sheridan', *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172; Ball, 'Sheridan and His Relations with Swift', in Ball, *Correspondence*, vi, 210 – 212; Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32; Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 29 – 56; W.R. Meyer, 'Sheridan, Thomas, (1687 – 1738)', *ODNB*; James Woolley: JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 1 – 26.

Around the time that *Humble Address* was being prepared for the press, circumstances suggest that Sheridan attempted to start a weekly periodical for the benefit of Sarah Harding. In August and September 1725, Sheridan sent her two separate poems that appear to have comprised the first two Numbers of a periodical of some description. Both of these works were occasioned by the events of this time involving Sheridan's gaffe at Rincurran, and the Irish Privy Councillor, Richard Tighe.

A few months earlier, Carteret had been asked by Swift to give Sheridan a Church preferment, and had bestowed upon Sheridan a preferment at Rincurran in County Cork, as well as a chaplaincy at Dublin Castle. But for his very first sermon at Rincurran, Sheridan had made the mistake of choosing to speak on the text, "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", overlooking the fact that the day on which he gave it, 1 August, was the anniversary of the death of Queen Anne in 1714, and also therefore the anniversary of the Hanoverian Succession. The incident came to the attention of Tighe, who, no doubt aware of the circumstances in which the preferment had been given to Sheridan in the first place, took pleasure in reporting it to Carteret, in this way pressuring the Lord Lieutenant to act against Swift's friend. Compelled to do so for fear of exhibiting further favour to Swift, Carteret could not deprive Sheridan of the Church preferment – which once granted was held for life<sup>97</sup> – but he stripped him of the chaplaincy in the Castle.<sup>98</sup>

Accordingly, Sheridan wrote two satiric poems on Tighe and sent them to Sarah Harding to publish. The first portrayed Tighe as a pesky insect interrupting the routines of life. It was entitled *To the Honourable Mr. D. T. Great Pattern of Piety, Charity, Learning, Humanity, Good Nature, Wisdom, Good Breeding, Affability, and one Most Eminently Distinguished for his Conjugal Affection*,<sup>99</sup> and it would appear to have been intended as the first Number of a periodical. There is nothing on the first page to indicate this. The title of the poem is the only title that appears on the publication and there is no overarching periodical title, but immediately preceding Sarah Harding's imprint is the printed statement: "Note, This Paper will be

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<sup>97</sup> Sheridan could only have been deprived of this preferment by his Bishop and by an order issued by the Spiritual Court under canon law: refer David Woolley, DW Letter 671, note 5, vol. ii, 602.

<sup>98</sup> For discussion of these events: Lane-Poole, 'Dr. Sheridan', *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172, 158 – 161; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 202 – 203; David Woolley: DW Letter 649, headnote, vol. ii, 563; DW Letter 668, headnote, vol. ii, 596; and DW Letter 671, note 2; vol. ii, 602 McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 99; Weedon, 'An Uncancelled Copy of the First Collected Edition of Swift's Poems', *The Library*, Fifth series, Vol. XXII, No. 1. (March 1967), 44 – 56, 50 – 51; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 97 – 98 and 111, note 21; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 11 – 12, 101 – 102.

<sup>99</sup> A3, 8.

continued weekly, if due Encouragement be given". The second poem, which compares Tighe with a sickly, cowardly ass, discloses itself as the second Number in the periodical in its title: *Numb. II. The Following Fable Is Most Humbly Inscribed to the Honourable Mr. D. T. A Most Extraordinary Personage... The Sick Lyon and the Ass.*<sup>100</sup> This indicates that these two publications represent the beginning of a periodical for the benefit of Sarah Harding.

There has been a degree of speculation as to whether these poems were in fact written by Swift rather than Sheridan. Ball says they were by Swift.<sup>101</sup> But the balance of opinion clearly favours the possibility of them having been written by Sheridan,<sup>102</sup> and in my view the style of the poems, together with the fact that it had been Sheridan who had suffered on Tighe's account and was therefore the most likely person to respond, support that proposition. Interestingly, Sheridan and Swift were writing to each other throughout this time about the need to take some vengeance on Tighe, with Sheridan mentioning in the course of this correspondence that he had some "Sport" in mind for Swift,<sup>103</sup> and Swift saying to Sheridan "you shall have Help".<sup>104</sup> Maybe these circumstances suggest that Sheridan was taking the lead in an effort to establish a periodical for the benefit of Sarah Harding to be jointly written by Swift and himself. This after all is exactly what he would do in 1728 – and on that occasion with more success. But whatever the circumstances might have been with respect to Swift, this apparent periodical in the autumn of 1725 was hastily contrived and short-lived. An intervening event in early October ensured that it did not go beyond its "Numb. IP". It nonetheless represents the first concerted effort to support Sarah Harding.

### *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate*

The action taken by the Irish House of Lords against the poem, *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate*, is another matter that has never been discussed in any detail and which has consequently never been seen for what it was. Believing the poem to have been written by Swift, the Lords prosecuted the publication and imprisoned its printer, Sarah Harding, and thereafter pressured Carteret into issuing a Proclamation offering a reward for the discovery

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<sup>100</sup> A3, 9.

<sup>101</sup> *Swift's Verse*, 202 – 203, 349 – 355.

<sup>102</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1055, 1126 – 1127; James Woolley: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171; JW, *Intelligencer*, 101 – 102; David Woolley: DW Letter 672, note 2, vol. ii, 605.

<sup>103</sup> Sheridan's letter to Swift is lost, but see: 19 September 1725, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 671, vol. ii, 602.

<sup>104</sup> 25 September 1725, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 672, vol. ii, 605.

of the author. This was a series of measures that came to be protracted over a period of more than three months, and it was undertaken with one objective in mind – to make an honest pamphleteer of “M.B. Drapier” and bring him before the House.

This poem was written in response to the comical events in the Parliament associated with the insertion of the phrase “great wisdom” into the Lords’ Address of thanks to the King. Briefly reviewing those events, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the Parliament on 21 September,<sup>105</sup> Carteret announced the formal withdrawal of the patent and in doing so called upon the House to prepare a humble address of thanks to the King for his action. This was done, but after a draft of the address was read to the House, attention was given to the part of the address that stated that the members of the House wish “to express the grateful Sense they have of his Majesty’s royal Favour and Condescension”. Archbishop King moved that the words “great Wisdom” should be added to this line, such that it read, “to express the grateful Sense they have of his Majesty’s great Wisdom, royal Favour and Condescension”, and this amendment was promptly passed with no one perceiving the unfavourable innuendo towards the King. The Archbishop himself, however, could not contain himself, and according to a report given by Marmaduke Coghill, “said to the Primate, who sat next to him, that he had clinched the matter, for if it was wisdom to gett the Patent surrendred, it must have been the contrary to have it granted, this gave the alarm”.<sup>106</sup> Debate over whether the words should be retained endured in the House over two further days, with those against their retention maintaining that they were indecent and improper, and those in favour of their inclusion denying that any affront was ever intended and arguing the procedural point that, because the Address had been approved by the House, the words could not now be struck out. But Carteret let a message circulate that if the words were not removed Parliamentary pensions would be in jeopardy, and one Lord, the Earl of Roscommon, gave in immediately. Others followed and the words “great wisdom” were ultimately voted down twenty-one to twelve.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The commencement of the Parliament had been further prorogued from 7 September to this date.

<sup>106</sup> 9 October 1725, Coghill to Southwell: quoted in Davis, *DL*, lxxv. Refer also McNally, ‘Wood’s Half-pence, Carteret and the Government of Ireland, 1723 – 1726’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 30, (1997), 354 – 376, at 369.

<sup>107</sup> Refer: *JHLI* vol. II, 812 – 813; and 9 October, 1725, Coghill to Southwell: quoted in Davis, *DL*, lxxv; Boulter, *Letters Written by His Excellency Hugh Boulter*, D.D., Dublin, 1770, i, 41 – 45. For commentary on these events: Monck Mason, 347, note t; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1117 – 1118; and Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 315 – 316; Rogers, 751 – 752.

It was soon after these events that *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate* was published. Comprising four triplets, it mocks the Lords who voted against the inclusion of "great wisdom". In doing so, it inevitably gives a degree of offence, but it does so in a light-hearted style and in a humourous tone, with a gibe at the Earl of Roscommon in its final words, "*Rose Common,/ Shameless Woman*". The manuscript came to Sarah Harding and clearly she saw no danger in it. Indeed, if anything, she is likely to have been expecting that the Parliament would be looking sympathetically upon "the Widow Harding". She published it as a broadside, seemingly on 30 September,<sup>108</sup> and included her imprint: "DUBLIN: Printed by Sarah Harding on the Blind-Key".<sup>109</sup>

As for its authorship, the House of Lords at the time was in no doubt that it was written by Swift. Clear evidence of this belief will be presented in the course of this discussion. But the question of whether it was in fact written by Swift is one that has never been finally settled amongst scholars. One matter counting against the possibility is that, later in his life, Swift expressed a dislike of writing in triplets.<sup>110</sup> Ehrenpreis, however, points out that he used triplets on another occasion and says that other matters of poetics in *On Wisdom's Defeat* favour Swift's authorship. He concludes that the attribution to Swift "is not certain, but I accept it".<sup>111</sup> The only scholar who says outright that it was written by Swift, is Munter, who does so in a passing comment.<sup>112</sup> Davis offers contradictory comments, in one publication indicating that it is likely to have been Swift's whilst in another saying it was probably the work of one his friends.<sup>113</sup> Ball thinks that Swift "wrote or inspired" it.<sup>114</sup> David Woolley says

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<sup>108</sup> On the date of publication, refer: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 315; and David Woolley: DW Letter 667 note 3, vol. ii, 594. On events to this point, see also: Boulter, *Letters Written by His Excellency Hugh Boulter*, D.D., Dublin, 1770, i, 41 – 45; Monck Mason, 347, note t; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1117 – 1118; and Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 315 – 316.

<sup>109</sup> A3, 7. Hereafter referred to as *On Wisdom's Defeat*.

<sup>110</sup> Refer: 12 April 1735, Swift to Thomas Beach: DW Letter 1147, vol. iv, 88. Swift's friend in his later years, Laetitia Pilkington, also relates a story in which Swift expressed this negative sentiment about triplets: *Memoirs of Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington*... Elias, Jnr., ed., op. cit., i, 55.

<sup>111</sup> *Swift*, iii, 315, note 1.

<sup>112</sup> *Dictionary*, 127.

<sup>113</sup> The first opinion is in: Davis, ed., *Swift: Poetical Works* [Oxford Standard Authors Series], London, 1967, where Davis includes the poem in his section "Poems attributed to Swift" (page 663 of his text) and in his Preface describes the works he has put in this category as "a few of the more likely Attributions" (page xiv). The second opinion is at: *DL*, lxvi.

<sup>114</sup> *Swift's Verse*, 193.

Swift's authorship is likely,<sup>115</sup> and Williams, Rogers and James Woolley all consider it possible.<sup>116</sup>

I would like to add some further arguments supporting the possibility of Swift's authorship. Firstly, the poem offers a compliment to Archbishop King in referring to "his Grace's wise Motion". Swift had been giving compliments to Archbishop King in prose and verse throughout this period,<sup>117</sup> a sentiment on Swift's part that might have been partly attributable to the fact that Swift had (in the public perception at least) taken the mantle as Ireland's leading patriot, which was a mantle that had previously belong to the Archbishop. Secondly, there is the fact that the House of Lords was never in any doubt whatsoever that Swift was the author, even going as far as having Carteret issue a Proclamation in an effort to draw him out. The fact that the Lords were so resolute in this belief is in my view telling. The leadership of Ireland, which had the Lords and Swift in its number, was a relatively small community and it seems reasonable to speculate that at least one of the Lords received information on good authority that the author was Swift. This after all is what appears to have happened only weeks earlier when Swift was writing *Humble Address* and making preparations for that work to be published. Word circulated that Swift was writing again, and this led to Swift receiving an anonymous letter telling him he had "got a sop to hold... [his] tongue".<sup>118</sup> Reliable information that Swift had written *On Wisdom's Defeat* might have reached one or more of the Lords in a similar way. Thirdly, the fact that the poem makes light of the Lords and has an air of condescension towards the business of Parliament is wholly characteristic of Swift at this time (and parallels the tone of *Humble Address*). Fourthly, it is known that Swift wanted his presence felt at this Parliament. This is why he had written *Humble Address*. Having withheld that pamphlet, it could be said that he instead made his presence felt with this poem. And lastly, there is the fact that the poem was printed by Sarah Harding. With Swift still at Quilca when the poem was written,<sup>119</sup> it is foreseeable that the manuscript of the poem found

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<sup>115</sup> DW Letter 667 note 3, vol. ii, 594.

<sup>116</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1055, 1117 – 1118; Rogers, 751 – 752; JW, *Intelligencer*, 36.

<sup>117</sup> Refer, for example: *Universal Use* (A1, 156, page 8; PW, ix, 18); *Seasonable Advice to the Grand-Jury* (A4, 115; PW, x, 71); *To his Grace The Arch-Bishop of Dublin, a poem* (A2, 61).

<sup>118</sup> Refer: 27 August 1725, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 665, vol. ii, 591.

<sup>119</sup> Swift returned to Dublin in the first days of October, just two or three days after the poem was published. This was reported Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* for 9 October: "The Revd. Dean Swift... on Thursday last return'd to this City". Williams leaves open the possibility that this report of Carson is inaccurate and that Swift in fact returned in late September: *Poems*, ii, 758; but there is no reason to doubt Carson's report. And regardless, Williams elsewhere says Swift returned in the opening days of October: *Poems*, iii, 1118. Ehrenpreis is also of this view: *Swift*, iii, 317.



its way to Sarah Harding the same way the manuscript for *Humble Address* had a few weeks earlier – through the agency of Sheridan. A reasonable argument can be made, then, that Swift wrote this poem or at least had a role in it. For present purposes, though, the question of the authorship of *On Wisdom's Defeat* can remain open. In the discussion that follows, what matters is that the Lords *believed* it to have been written by Swift.

As mentioned, the Parliament began on 21 September 1725. This was the first occasion on which the Lords had assembled in congregation since the Parliament of late 1723, and the first opportunity they had had to share their thoughts on Swift: his arrogating authority on the matter of the halfpence; the charade of “M.B. Drapier”; his having been shielded by Carteret during the prosecution (which they were all aware of); his having survived the six months of the Proclamation; his privately basking in the glory whilst making no public appearances (indeed spending lengthy periods out of Dublin); and presumably his maintaining a poker face on those occasions when out of necessity he did need to meet with other leaders. There is evidence suggesting that even the fact that the Dublin newspapers had begun reporting on Swift’s movements in and out of the city or the country and celebrating his birthday – which was a newspaper practice normally reserved for monarchs – riled the Lords.<sup>120</sup> The appearance of *On Wisdom's Defeat*, another anonymous work, brought these issues to a head. Needing to assert its ascendancy, the House of Lords decided to prosecute the publication and bring him before the House. What was the point in a Parliament at this time, after all, if this *de facto* ruler could not be brought within its compass?

The first measure the Lords took is one that shows them to have been concerned about the possible public reaction to a prosecution that the people might perceive to be directed against their hero. On 1 October, the day after the poem appeared, they issued warrants for the arrests of Sarah Harding and three other printers as well, with these other three arrested for separate matters that the Lords deemed to be in contravention of the law. This arrest of four printers at one time was seemingly done by the Lords to give the impression that the action they were taking represented a general sanctioning of the press, and to diffuse the fact that they were pursuing Swift. The other three printers were Hume, Carson and Carter, who were arrested for printing the Lord Lieutenant’s speech of 21 September in

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<sup>120</sup> Bishop Nicholson, for example, commented to Archbishop Wake on the “remarkable account” in a Dublin newspaper of Swift departing Dublin in April 1725 (quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 298 – 289; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 57 note 2).

the *Dublin Courant*, *Dublin Weekly Journal* and *Pue's Occurrences* respectively, with each of them doing so on 25 September.<sup>121</sup>

The likelihood that these three arrests were made in order to draw attention away from the prosecution of the “Swift” publication is seen in two matters. Firstly, as discussed in relation to the September 1721 arrests of Hume, Carter and Harding for the same offence, the enforcement of this Parliamentary rule was uncertain and haphazard.<sup>122</sup> Secondly, the warrants against these three were issued belatedly. The printers printed the speech on 25 September, but they were not arrested until 1 October, which was after *On Wisdom's Defeat* had appeared. It would appear, then, that these three arrests were of little significance to the Lords and that what mattered to them, as the *Journals* of the House for 1 October state, was “a scurrilous Pamphlet being [sic] printed by *Sarah Harding*, intituled, “Wisdom's Defeat” .... [which is] base, scandalous and malicious, highly reflecting upon the Honour of this House, and the Peerage of this Kingdom”. The House ordered “that the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod attending this House, his Deputy or Deputies, do forthwith attach the Body of the said *Sarah Harding*, and keep her in safe Custody, until further Order of this House”.<sup>123</sup>

Sarah Harding would have been arrested at her home on the Blind Quay that afternoon or evening. Leaving her child and her baby son with her mother, she would have been brought before an Officer of the House for questioning on the identity of the author, and upon denying any knowledge, would have been cast into Newgate,<sup>124</sup> the Black Dog, the Marshalsea or the Four Courts prison.<sup>125</sup> Less than a year earlier, when her husband had been in hiding, Sarah Harding had been imprisoned by the Court of King's Bench after offering no evidence as to the identity of the Drapier. For the second time within twelve months, then,

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<sup>121</sup> *JHLI* vol. II, 815 – 817. The speech appeared in both Carson's and Hume's newspapers on 25 September. I have not seen Carter's Number for *Pue's Occurrences* which contains it, but Munter has: refer *HINP*, 144. It presumably appeared on the same date or one day either side.

<sup>122</sup> Refer: Munter, *HINP*, 144.

<sup>123</sup> *JHLI* vol. II, 815.

<sup>124</sup> As this was not a prosecution issuing out of the King's Bench, she would not have been taken automatically to Newgate.

<sup>125</sup> McClintock Dix says that Sarah Harding was imprisoned in 1728 as a result of a satiric poem: Plomer, Bushnell, McClintock Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1726 to 1775*, Oxford, 1932, s.v. Sarah Harding. And this is repeated by Munter in his *Dictionary* when he refers to “a satirical poem in 1728 for which she suffered a brief imprisonment”: 127 – 128. But as James Woolley points out (*JW*, *Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer*, 168, 176), this is in error. McClintock Dix and Munter have mistaken 1728 for 1726.

she was being imprisoned as ransom for Swift, and again, no author came forward to claim authorship of the poem to bring about her release.

During the days following her imprisonment, a petition was prepared on her behalf for the purpose of submission to the House. With her mother and possibly others consulting her whilst in prison, Sarah Harding might have had a hand in the preparation of this document herself, although it must have been drafted and prepared in form with outside help. What this petition said precisely is not known, although it can be safely presumed that it pleaded the hardness of her circumstances, with no husband to earn money and with two children at home including a baby dependent on her feed. It might have alluded to the service her husband had given to the country. And it is likely to have been signed by a few friends in the industry. After eleven days in prison, Sarah Harding was given the opportunity to submit this petition to the House. On this same day, 12 October, Hume also was given a hearing for having printed the Lord Lieutenant's speech. He appeared before the House and after delivering abject apologies and receiving a reprimand from Midleton, was freed.<sup>126</sup> There is no record of what happened to Carson or Carter on this occasion but, given the release of Hume, it is likely that they were freed around the same time. When Sarah Harding's petition came before the House, it appears that she was not permitted to appear in person, instead remaining in prison as the document was read to the Lords. As the *Journals* of the House for 12 October state:

A Petition of Sarah Harding was presented to the House, and read.

Ordered, that the said Petition be rejected.

Ordered, that Lords' Committees be appointed to examine the said Sarah Harding, in relation to the publishing a scandalous Libel (called *Wisdom's Defeat*) printed by her, and that all the Lords present be the said Committee, and report.

Their Lordships, or any three of them, to meet To-morrow Morning, at Ten O'clock, in Committee-Chamber, near the house of Peers, and adjourn as they please.

Ordered, that the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod do, To-morrow Morning, bring the said *Sarah Harding* in Custody, to be examined by their Lordships accordingly.<sup>127</sup>

It is clear from this rejection of Sarah Harding's petition that any pretence on the part of the Lords of a general policing of the press had been dropped. They were pursuing Swift at all costs and there was no longer any disguising the fact. Indeed, as Bishop Nicholson made clear

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<sup>126</sup> The *Journals* of the House for the day state that he expressed sorrow and pleaded poverty and ill health, and that the reprimand he received from Lord Chancellor Midleton was whilst on his knees at the bar: *JHLI vol. II*, 817.

<sup>127</sup> *JHLI vol. II*, 817.

in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury written on this same day, this was a session of Parliament where the only item of business of any significance to them was this matter of making Swift accountable:

Our House, my Lord, have few or no matters of consequence in their own view. Their sole business in Appearance, is to meet weekly, and adjourn. They have ordered a Committee, to examine the Printer of ye Libel (sent to your Grace) call'd Wisdom's Defeat; and 'tis expected that, in the course of their Enquiries, they'l discover the true Author of the Drapier's Letters. I do very much question whether such a Discovery will be of any sort of use in our present Circumstances. That Writer is, at present, in great Repute; the Darling of the populace; His Image and Superscription on a great many Sign-Posts in this City and other great Towns.<sup>128</sup>

Accordingly, in the morning of 13 October, Sarah Harding would have been escorted under guard to a Committee Chamber of the House of Lords to be interrogated as to the identity of the author. Whether through genuine ignorance or withholding information, she disclosed nothing and was returned to prison.

The Lords did not meet again until nine days later, on 22 October. With no author having come forward, and with Sarah Harding remaining in prison, on this occasion they resolved to ask the Lord Lieutenant to issue a Proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the author. It was an extraordinary measure for what was a relatively innocuous poem, and a measure that illustrates the extent of the Lords' determination. Tactically, one benefit of the move from the Lords' point of view was that it would potentially add to the pressure on Swift by directly involving Carteret. The Lords were under no misapprehension with regard to the friendship between the author and the Lord Lieutenant. They had seen Carteret's protection of Swift during the prosecution. They would have known that the two had enjoyed a private meeting at the Castle in mid-January as soon as the prosecution was discontinued. The Lords were probably aware that Swift had entertained Lady Carteret in the spring in his newly built Naboth's Vineyard. And they had seen that it had been at Swift's request that Carteret had given Sheridan the preferment at Rincurran and the chaplaincy in the Castle.<sup>129</sup> This new proposal of requesting a Proclamation from Carteret was shrewd insofar as, if he was to refuse it, Carteret would only be evincing further partiality towards Swift. The Lords began by establishing a Committee to draft a request to the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>130</sup> Whether

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<sup>128</sup> Wake Manuscripts, vol. CCXLVII; quoted in Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1117; Davis, *DL*, lxvi.

<sup>129</sup> On the Lords' surprise at Sheridan being given this preferment at Rincurran by Carteret: JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 97 – 98, and 111, note 22.

<sup>130</sup> *JHLI* vol. II, 820.

such a formality was necessary is uncertain. It may have been intended as no more than a preliminary step to give forewarning to Carteret in the hope that the author would then yield without them having to proceed. But if that was in fact their tactic with this initial move, it was to no avail, and four days after establishing this Committee, the House presented its formal request to the Lord Lieutenant, citing the “very great Indignity offered this House, and the Peerage of this Kingdom, in a false, scandalous and malicious Libel (called *Wisdom’s Defeat*) printed by Sarah Harding”, and asking that a Proclamation be issued offering a reward to any person who shall discover the author, “with Indemnity to such Discoverer (the Author excepted) if the same shall be made within two Months from the Date of the said Proclamation”.<sup>131</sup> Another week passed before Carteret acted and maybe in that time he was hoping the author might save him the embarrassment, but on 3 April 1725 a Royal Proclamation was issued against a poem that did little more than call one of the Lords a woman. It offered a reward of £100 and it was made valid for two months.<sup>132</sup>

What happened with regard to Sarah Harding’s imprisonment from this time is uncertain. The Proclamation itself, as the Lords would have anticipated, was to no effect. Just as between 27 October 1724 and 26 April 1725, when no one had come forward to claim the reward of £300 for evidence of the identity of the Drapier, at this time no one was prepared to give evidence of the authorship of *On Wisdom’s Defeat*. And the author himself, or herself, was not prepared to come forward to in this way free Sarah Harding. Accordingly, she remained in prison. Her mother and possibly others in the industry would have been supporting her with her prison expenses, and there is at least one publication that appears to have been written by Sheridan which seems to have been sent to Elizabeth Sadlier as a means of raising some money. Entitled *To Richard Helsham, M. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin*, it was “printed on the Blind-Key, 1725”.<sup>133</sup> The term of this imprisonment could conceivably have extended from Sarah Harding’s initial arrest on 1 October through to the end of the two

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<sup>131</sup> JHLI vol. II, 821.

<sup>132</sup> A copy is in the British Library Manuscripts (C. 21, f.136). It is also reproduced in Carson’s *Dublin Weekly Journal* of 13 November. Refer also Madden, 255 – 256; Davis, *DL*, lxvi, note 2; Baltes, 274, note 396.

<sup>133</sup> A4, 145. ESTC says that this work was “apparently once attributed to Swift”, though there is no other authority for a claim of Swift’s authorship. It could have been written by Swift, Sheridan or Delany (all of whom knew Helsham well). As for the dating, the imprint says only “1725”, but given that it was printed by Elizabeth Sadlier rather than Sarah Harding, it seems reasonably certain that it appeared in the latter part of the year, when Sarah Harding was in prison. Also, Pollard says that Elizabeth Sadlier operated from the Blind Quay from “1726-1727-”: *Dictionary*, 506. But this publication is evidence supporting my proposition that she moved there in 1725, in company with her daughter and grandchildren.

months of the Proclamation, in which case it was a term of just over three months in all, ending on 3 January 1726.

At some point during the course of these events, a poem appeared. It was entitled *The Last Speech of Wisdom's Defeat. etc. A Scandalous Libel, Burnt this second Day of October, 1725 By the Common Hangman*, and it was published anonymously by "W.P. in Skinnerrow, 1725".<sup>134</sup> The poem is a personification of the offending publication, *On Wisdom's Defeat*, written in the voice of that publication as it is about to be burned by the hangman, and the metre is the same as that original poem. Whether *The Last Speech of Wisdom's Defeat* was written by the same author as *On Wisdom's Defeat* is not known, but at the very least it appears to have been a friend of that author, for it explains that the author of *On Wisdom's Defeat* had had good intentions and had never expected such a response from the Lords. It also calls for some leniency for Sarah Harding. Here is the poem, complete with the final three stanzas which represent a speech by the hangman:

Good People,

I repent, that, my Wisdom hither should bring me,  
For already I find my Conscience does sting me,  
Cause in the Fire the Hangman will fling me.

Ye T— L—<sup>135</sup> whom I thought would Befriend me,  
Were your Good Intentions all that detain'd ye,  
Therefore I now pray, from this sad Fate Defend me.

Tho' I own that my Guilt is justy [sic] rewarded  
For when from my Tongue all Respect I discarded  
The future Events I neither fear'd nor regarded.

But alas! Of my Fault I too late Repent,  
And with the Word W— had never meant  
To promote such D— in our good P—<sup>136</sup>

But since 'tis over, and Fortune's unkind,  
To bring me to Ruin, give Ease to my Mind,  
Set free my poor Mistress! let her Pity find.

And now my good Judges let th' Hangman do's Duty,  
And let the hot Fire give a Blush to my Beauty,  
Since 'tis Guilty Conscience that now does Confute me.

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<sup>134</sup> A4, 144.

<sup>135</sup> Temporal Lords.

<sup>136</sup> Wisdom; Debate; Parliament.

## Jack Ketch's Speech

As Hangmen had always Liberty to speak,  
 Our ancientest Priviledge I freely would take,  
 And now my good Lad's [sic] this Oration I make.

Our Author has secretly told me to Day,  
 In his own Excuse he has nothing to say,  
 But patiently sorry he is every Way.

He Confesses his Sentence he greatly deserves,  
 Your J——t to his W——m he greatly prefers,  
 And Hopes Condemnation you'll not now defer.

"Set free my poor Mistress! let her Pity find" – whether this had any effect upon the Lords is not known.

## Sarah Harding in 1726

Very little is known of Sarah Harding in the year 1726. With regard to her work as a printer, there are no surviving publications that carry her name. That in itself is not proof that she did no printing at all throughout the year. Sheridan is known to have written the poem, *To the Dean, when in ENGLAND, in 1726*. There is no known contemporaneously published copy, but as it appears to have been written for an audience,<sup>137</sup> it is possible that it was printed, and if it was, Sheridan is almost certain to have given the work to Sarah Harding. It can also be speculated that either or both of two other works with anonymous imprints came from her press. One is an unnamed riddle contemporaneously attributed to Delany but thought by Williams to be Swift's, which was published as a broadside in 1726,<sup>138</sup> and the other consists of a riddle by Delany and an answer from Swift.<sup>139</sup> Even if Sarah Harding did produce either or both of these two works, the chances of them having come to her through the patronage of Swift himself appear remote. Swift spent nearly half of 1726 in London and even whilst in Dublin, as will be discussed in a moment, Sarah Harding was the last person on his mind. Throughout 1726, then, Sarah Harding did little, if any, printing work. James Woolley has suggested that the reason for this "is unexplained, although it was perhaps a consequence of

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<sup>137</sup> It is relevant that for a similar poem written by Sheridan to Swift in 1727, during Swift's absence in London that year, an anonymously printed broadside copy does survive: A3, 24.

<sup>138</sup> A3, 15.

<sup>139</sup> A3, 14.

[Sarah] Harding's imprisonment for printing *On Wisdom's Defeat* in 1725".<sup>140</sup> It appears not to have been a consequence of the imprisonment *per se*, because that imprisonment probably ended with the expiry of the Proclamation in early January (if not earlier). The lack of printing work from Sarah Harding in 1726 was in my view due to the accumulation of events since Harding's death. She had had realistic hopes of the support of the town, but the people had shown no regard for the circumstances that had attended her husband's death, the rights to the *Letters* had been whisked away from her, and the Lords and Bishops, leaders of the land from whom she had expected understanding, had for reasons peculiar to themselves persecuted her as though she was a felon. (And *Fraud Detected*, Faulkner's handsome collected edition of the *Letters* her husband had printed for the nation during 1724, was published in Dublin on either 1 or 2 October 1725<sup>141</sup> – the very time she was cast into prison for *On Wisdom's Defeat*.) She must have been reluctant to ever print again. Adding all the more to her difficulties in 1726 is the fact that she found herself forgotten by all. After the cruelty of the second imprisonment, surely she was entitled to some charitable support, but the poem she wrote or co-wrote at some stage during the year, her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland*,<sup>142</sup> shows that the opposite was the case.

In 1726, Swift was preoccupied with plans associated with London. It was one of the most important years in his literary and clerical career, and he spent five months of it in that city, from early March until 22 August.<sup>143</sup> It was his first visit there since 1714. Taking with him the manuscript of his *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*, he stayed mostly with Pope at Twickenham whilst resuming acquaintances with Gay, Bolingbroke, Arbuthnot and Congreve, and making arrangements for the publication of his new work. In an effort to bring his days in Dublin to an end and obtain a Church preferment in England, Swift also made his presence felt at court. He had two meetings with Walpole. One was at a dinner to which his friends were also invited. The other was a formal interview.<sup>144</sup> It was rumoured by the Whigs

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<sup>140</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 170.

<sup>141</sup> A4, 142. In his *Dublin Journal* for 2 October, Faulkner advertised it as "Just publish'd". Refer also: David Woolley: DW Letter 671 *bis*, headnote, vol. ii, 603 – 604.

<sup>142</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14.

<sup>143</sup> Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* reported on 12 March: "On Sunday last Dean Swift went for London". On this trip to London, refer also: Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 259 – 261; Ferguson, 140; Degategno and Stubblefield, 8; McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 108; and Probyn, 'Swift, Jonathan', ODNB, page 20.

<sup>144</sup> For Swift's own comments on these two meetings: 11 July 1726, Swift to Delany: DW Letter 697, vol. ii, 653; 20 July 1726, Swift to James Stopford: DW Letter 700, vol. ii, 659; 8 January 1733, Swift to Lady Elisabeth Germain: DW Letter 1005, vol. iii, 575 – 576; and Williams, *Poems*, ii, 560 note 2.



after this interview that Swift offered to switch his politics and write for the Whig government if Walpole would give him an appropriate Church living in London.<sup>145</sup> The part concerning switching politics was never substantiated, but certainly Swift wanted to live the remainder of his life in England.

Through the agency of Pope, Swift met Henrietta Howard, the mistress to Prince George, who in spite of this role was also the Woman of the Bedchamber and a friend and confidante to the Princess. Over the summer, Swift had several meetings with both Mrs. Howard and the Princess, and during the course of them two promises were made to him. One was that of a gift of a medal to Swift to acknowledge his standing with the Princess. The other, as events of the following year tend to verify, was an overture from the Princess that a suitable Church preferment would be offered to him in London.<sup>146</sup> There were two separate promises – the medal and the preferment – but for Swift it seems the two could not be separated. After his return to Dublin, and with the ‘medal’ not having materialised, Swift continued to write to Mrs. Howard<sup>147</sup> (knowing that he was at the same time writing to the Princess).<sup>148</sup> On one occasion, when writing as “Lemuel Gulliver”, he enclosed a miniature Crown which “Gulliver” said he found in his waistcoat pocket, having put it there whilst extinguishing the fire in the Lilliputian palace and having forgotten about it ever since.<sup>149</sup> On another occasion, Swift sent a set of Irish silks that the Princess had in fact asked for<sup>150</sup> (and

<sup>145</sup> For commentary pertaining to these meetings with Walpole, see: Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 258; Ferguson, 140 – 141; Rossi and Hone, 279; Sun, *Swift's Eighteenth Century Biographies*, Yale University, 1963, 161 point 1; and Fabricant, ‘Swift the Irishman’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Christopher Fox, ed., Cambridge, 2003, 51.

<sup>146</sup> See JW, Friends and Enemies in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 212 – 213 and note 34. On Swift’s dealings with Mrs. Howard, refer also: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 587 – 593.

<sup>147</sup> October 1726, Swift to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 725, vol. iii, 41 – 42; 17 November 1726, Swift to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 731, vol. iii, 54 – 55; 28 November 1726, ‘Lemuel Gulliver’ to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 734, vol. iii, 58 – 59; 1 February 1727, Swift to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 740, vol. iii, 69 – 70.

<sup>148</sup> It was later revealed that the Princess made Mrs. Howard write to Swift just so she could see his replies. And the Princess kept copies of all of the letters that passed. Refer: Toynbee, ed., *Reminiscences Written by Mr. Horace Walpole in 1788 for the Amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry*, Oxford, 1924, 116, 119 – 120; also, JW, Friends and Enemies in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 212, 228 note 32.

<sup>149</sup> 28 November 1726, ‘Lemuel Gulliver’ to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 734, vol. iii, 59.

<sup>150</sup> On this gift, refer: 17 November 1726, Swift to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 731, vol. iii, 54; 1 February 1727, Swift to Mrs. Howard: DW Letter 740, vol. iii, 69 – 70. For later accounts by Swift concerning events related to the gift: 10 November 1730, Swift to Gay: DW Letter 892, vol. iii, 335; 8 January 1733, Swift to Lady Elisabeth Germain: DW Letter 1005, vol. iii, 575. He also gave a short account of the relevant events, from his own point of view, in the course of two footnotes to his *Verses on the death of Dr. Swift* of 1731 (Williams, *Poems*, ii, 559). For a discussion of the evidence of a promise of a preferment having been made to Swift by Caroline: JW, Friends and Enemies in *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 213 – 216, 228 note 33, and 229 note 51.

which Swift calculated to be more than twice the cost of the proposed medal).<sup>151</sup> Both of these gifts were clearly intended to return the Princess's mind to her own undertaking. Accordingly, these were the matters occupying Swift's mind during 1726. It was a time when anything associated with Dublin, let alone the widow of a lowly printer, had no priority with him.

Within the Dublin printing industry, meanwhile, other stationers were having dealings either with Swift personally or with his works. At least four stationers are known to have had dealings of this kind and to a degree it was as though they were vying for Swift's attention. The leading stationer in this regard was Faulkner. The growing bond between Swift and Faulkner is seen firstly in Swift's appreciation of *Fraud Detected*. Upon arriving in England in March 1726, one of the first things Swift did was visit Oxford University, where he inscribed a copy of *Fraud Detected* as "M.B. Drapier" and made a gift of it to the Bodleian Library.<sup>152</sup> Then, during 1726, Faulkner spent time in London. Faulkner's stay in London was longer than Swift's. Going to that city principally to work again with the Bowyers, Faulkner left Dublin in January and returned in October,<sup>153</sup> whilst Swift left in March and returned in August.<sup>154</sup> But the concurrence of the two trips appears unlikely to have been a coincidence. Swift could have told Faulkner of his intentions for 1726 and the stationer could have made his plans accordingly. Certainly the two of them made arrangements to know each other's whereabouts and to meet on certain occasions whilst in London. The evidence of this is seen in Faulkner's Preface to the 1763 edition of Swift's *Works*, where Faulkner claims that whilst in London on this occasion, he visited Swift in the company of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Richmond Lodge, as well as at Pope's residence at Twickenham. Faulkner also claims that Swift introduced him to Gay, Bolingbroke and other friends including the Earl of Oxford, the son of Harley. In later years, Faulkner was prone to exaggerate or lie with respect to his friendship with Swift, but correspondence between these people and Swift tends to confirm him on this occasion, particularly with respect to Bolingbroke and Oxford.<sup>155</sup> Swift, then, was allowing the twenty-three-year-old stationer into his circle.

<sup>151</sup> Refer: 10 November 1730, Swift to Gay: DW Letter 892, vol. iii, 335.

<sup>152</sup> A facsimile of Swift's inscription is reproduced by David Woolley: DW, vol. ii, plate 16. David Woolley dates it March 1726. Refer also: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 317; and Davis, *DL*, lxxxix.

<sup>153</sup> Tierney, 'Faulkner, George', *ODNB*, 1; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 202 – 203.

<sup>154</sup> Rider and Harbin's *Dublin Gazette* for 23 August 1725 reported: "DUBLIN, Aug. 23. Last Night the Reverend Dean Swift, arriv'd here from England, and was receiv'd with much Joy".

<sup>155</sup> With respect to Bolingbroke, refer: 22 September 1726, Bolingbroke to Swift: DW Letter 720 and note 1, vol. iii, 30 – 31; also Ball, *Correspondence*, iii, 343, note 4; and David Woolley: DW Letter 699, note 5, vol. ii, 659. As for

Ironically, one of the threats to Faulkner's prospects with Swift came not from any rival Dublin stationer but from his business partner within his own shop. Whilst Faulkner was in London, his partner, James Hoey, was left to conduct the business in Dublin, and in the course of doing so Hoey appears to have had no qualms in publishing material that had the potential to harm Faulkner's standing with Swift. There are three instances of this. Firstly, whilst on a visit to Chester in April, Swift, as the story was related, wrote some lines on a pane of glass, and Faulkner, either through being with Swift at the time and transcribing it or through Swift making a copy and afterwards giving it to him, sent the lines to Hoey, who then printed them in the *Dublin Journal* for 30 April 1725, as follows:

DUBLIN, April the 30<sup>th</sup>.

The Revd. **Dean Swift**, of Dublin, upon making his publick Entrance into Chester, and the habit of the Clergy, writ with his Diamond Pencil, upon a Pane of Glass the following Lines.

Your Mouldring walls are mending still,  
     Your Churches empty lye,  
 And yet the Scripture you fulfil,  
     By walking Circumspectly.  
 The Church and Clergy, they are both  
     Here very near a kin,  
 Both weather-beaten are without,  
     And empty both within.<sup>156</sup>

Whether Swift wanted these lines printed by Hoey is unknown, although the fact that they were edited when reprinted in Faulkner's 1735 edition of Swift's *Works* – with the first four

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Oxford, refer: 26 February 1734, Swift to Oxford: DW Letter 1080 and note 1, vol. iii, 721 – 722. Further supporting Faulkner's claims on this occasion is the fact that this period in 1726 would be the only time that he and Swift would ever be in London at the same time. It is unlikely, then, that Faulkner's 1763 Preface was an *entire* fabrication. It follows that Tierney is in error in saying that there is no evidence that Faulkner and Swift had anything to do with each other in London in 1726: 'Faulkner, George', ODNB, op. cit., 1.

<sup>156</sup> These lines are followed immediately by this:

"Some extempore Lines, sent to the Revd. *Dean Swift* on his extempore Description, of the *Church*, and *Clergy*, of *Chester*,  
 (By Tom \* Parnell's Ghost.)  
 Note, (the Rev'd, and most Ingenious Mr. Parnell, lyes inter'd in a Leaden Coffin at Chester)  
     Tho' long confin'd, in sheets of *Lead*,  
 Our mould'ring Clay, bereav'd of Life,  
     An *Empty Noise*, Disturbs the dead,  
 As Canons, *Church*, and all, in strife.  
 The *Church* and *Clergy's* all Mens Talk,  
 A *Tub*, and *Glass*, They have at will  
*Circumspectly*, *Deans* ought to walk,  
 Should they the *Scriptures* all fulfil.  
     *Court Dresses*, are not much our Sphere,  
 Nor *Glasses*, That have soon an end:  
 In *Weather-beaten Church* appeare  
     Dear Doctor, *Pray*, and Manners mend."

lines removed and the remaining four altered – suggests not.<sup>157</sup> The second instance of Hoey printing material that had the potential to annoy Swift was in the *Dublin Journal* for 28 July 1726, when he printed the following advertisement:

DUBLIN, July 28.

There will Speedily be Publish'd, by the Printer hereof,

The most Wonderful Wonder that ever appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation. Being an Account of the Travels of Myrnheer Veteranus. thro, the Woods of germany: And an Account of his taking a most Monstrous She Bear, who had Nurs'd up the Wild-Boy: Their Landing at the Tower; Their Reception at Court; The Daily Visits they receive from Multi[...] of all ranks and Orders of both Sexes. With a Dialogue between the Old she Bear and her Foster-Son. To which is Added, *Firi Humani Salfi, & Faceri* GULIELMI SUTHERLANDI, *Maliarum Artium & Scientiarum, Doctoris Doctissimus, Diploma.*

**Written by the Copper-Farthing DEAN.**

This was an advertisement for a reprint of a work that had been published in London and erroneously fathered upon Swift.<sup>158</sup> Hoey not only advertised it as seen here, but proceeded to produce the reprint of the work, including an imprint in Faulkner's name and even altering the statement of authorship from "Written by the Copper-Farthing DEAN", as it had appeared in the London edition, to "Written by the Reverend Dean Swift".<sup>159</sup> The third instance occurred sometime prior to August<sup>160</sup> when Hoey published a poem entitled *A young Lady's Complaint for the Stay of Dean Swift in England*. Published not within the *Dublin Journal* but as an independent publication, it is written in the voice of a young lady who uses suggestive imagery in beckoning Swift to return to Dublin, ending with the lines:

Come *Cadenus* come with haste,  
Come before the Winters Blast,  
Swifter than the Lightning fly,  
Or I like *Vanessa* die.

Nichols claims that this poem was written by Swift himself,<sup>161</sup> but as Williams says, such a poem would surely never have come from Swift,<sup>162</sup> and there is the added matter mentioned

<sup>157</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, ii, 470. Refer also: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 401; and Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 35.

<sup>158</sup> Refer David Woolley: DW Letter 693, note 2, vol. ii, 647.

<sup>159</sup> A4, 155.

<sup>160</sup> With regard to the timing of this publication, the imprint states that it was printed from the shop in Pembroke Court and it was in August that the business moved to new premises on Christ-Church Yard (Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198). As Faulkner was in London until October, then, clearly this was produced by Hoey alone.

<sup>161</sup> *Works*, 1775, quarto edn., ix(2), 203, and his *Supplement*, 1779.

<sup>162</sup> Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1128.

by Ball, that Swift would hardly have written a poem suggesting that Vanessa's death was due to his own neglect.<sup>163</sup> The publication was produced by Hoey with the imprint: "Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Pembroke-Court Castle-street. 1726".<sup>164</sup> Accordingly, with Hoey having taken these actions during Faulkner's absence – actions that seemingly had the potential to damage Faulkner's standing with Swift – it is of interest that upon his return to Dublin, Faulkner included a Notice in his *Dublin Journal* for 1 November. Appearing directly under the title banner, it stated:

WHEREAS since my Absence from *Ireland*, the *Dublin Journal* hath been publish'd very defective; and faulty in several Particulars, occasion'd by the Mismanagement of those who had it in their Care. This is to give Notice, that hereafter, it shall contain all material News, as well what is in the *London* Prints, and Manuscripts, as faithful Transactions from the *Amsterdam* and *Paris Gazettes*, so that it may be justly esteemed, an exact Collection of all Foreign and Domestick Transactions, that are worthy of Note... All that is here promis'd shall be (God willing) faithfully performed by GEORGE FAULKNER.

One possible explanation for this is that Faulkner was in a deliberate sense publicly admonishing Hoey, and it might also have been intended for Swift's eyes, to assure that author that he had had no control over the material published under his name whilst he had been in London.

The second stationer to have a dealing associated with Swift was Waters. Seemingly in April 1726, Waters published a two page essay entitled *A History of Poetry, In a Letter to a Friend. By the Revd. D— S—t*.<sup>165</sup> It is a publication that Davis, David Woolley, and Degategno and Stubblefield, all believe to be a genuine Swift work.<sup>166</sup> Accordingly, this represents the first time Waters is known to have produced a work of Swift's since his time in 1720 and 1721 as the author's retained printer. How it came to him is unknown. It is conceivable that from the time of Harding's death, Waters had been soliciting Swift to restore him to his former position. Or maybe in seeking to work again with Swift, Waters' main motivation was less for his own advancement than to thwart Faulkner, who was threatening what should have been a natural right of succession to the post of 'Swift's printer' for his former apprentice's widow.

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<sup>163</sup> Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 228. Ball in my view is wrong, however, with another reason he submits for the poem not being Swift's: namely, that in 1726 Swift had not yet formed any connection with Faulkner.

<sup>164</sup> A4, 161.

<sup>165</sup> A1, 182. As for the timing of the publication, given that the first London reprint was published on 19 May (David Woolley, DW Letter 693 and note 2, vol. ii, 646 – 647), it must have been before this.

<sup>166</sup> Davis: *PW*, iv, xxxvi; David Woolley: DW Letter 693 note 2, vol. ii, 647; Degategno and Stubblefield, 196.

Either way, Swift may have sent him this work to appease him a little. It was published with the imprint: “Dublin. Printed by E. Waters, in the Year, 1726”.

The identity of the third stationer to publish a work of Swift’s in 1726 is uncertain. The work concerned was *Cadenus and Vanessa*, the long and intimate poem Swift had written supposedly for Vanessa’s eyes only in 1713.<sup>167</sup> After Vanessa had died on 2 June 1723, her original manuscript of the poem had passed to her executors,<sup>168</sup> and the only other possible copy might have been one retained by Swift, yet thirteen years after it was composed, it came to be published under the anonymous imprint: “Dublin: Printed in the Year, 2726 [sic]”.<sup>169</sup> Precisely how this came to pass is not known. A few manuscript copies of the poem were said to be circulating in Dublin in 1726,<sup>170</sup> from which it follows that either or both of the executor’s copy or Swift’s copy had become available, with further copies then being made from those. One of these copies made its way to a stationer. This appears to have been something that did not perturb Swift. Despite it being such a personal work, with details of his private relationship with the late Vanessa, Swift seems to have wanted it published, saying to Knightley Chetwode: “I am very indifferent what is done with it, for printing cannot make it more common than it is; and for my own Part, I forget what is in it, but believe it be onely a cavalier Business”.<sup>171</sup> The stationer concerned nonetheless guarded against offending Swift by omitting the ten lines that are the most intimate of all, concerning the issue of whether Vanessa had succeeded with her sexual advances upon Swift. But soon afterwards that stationer produced a second edition with these ten lines included.<sup>172</sup> In this way, the stationer concerned would have doubled his or her profits, for the second edition was effectively a sequel to the first that included the one piece of information everyone wanted to know – did they or did they not? The ten lines in question would not have disappointed:

But what Success *Vanessa* met,  
Is to the World a Secret yet:  
Whether the Nymph, to please her Swain,

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<sup>167</sup> On the timing of its composition, refer: *Miscellanies In Prose and Verse. The Last Volume*, 1727, page 1 (T-S 15 (item 27 (4a))); *Faulkner 1735*, ii, 53; and Doody, ‘Swift and women’, op. cit., 102 & n.16. Williams suggests it might have been 1712: *Poems*, ii, 684.

<sup>168</sup> Refer: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 685.

<sup>169</sup> A4, 153.

<sup>170</sup> Refer: 19 April, 1726, Swift to Chetwode: DW Letter 690, vol. ii, 639.

<sup>171</sup> 19 April 1726, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 690, vol. ii, 639. Cf: Degategno and Stubblefield, who say it was printed against Swift’s wishes: 8.

<sup>172</sup> A4, 154.

Talks in a high Romantic Strain;  
 Or whether he at last descends  
 To like with less Seraphick Ends;  
 Or, to compound the Business, whether  
 They temper Love and Books together;  
 Must never to Mankind be told,  
 Nor shall the conscious Muse unfold.

The matter must remain a secret – a statement that discloses, of course, that Vanessa had succeeded.<sup>173</sup>

As for the identity of the stationer, one possibility is that it was the printer, bookseller and binder, Samuel Fairbrother. From 1715, Fairbrother had been the printer and binder of the Journals of the House of Commons, and in 1723 he had been appointed the King's Stationer in Ireland.<sup>174</sup> He was a wealthy stationer and is likely to have paid well if someone were to have offered him the manuscript of a poem such as *Cadenus and Vanessa*. Another circumstance associated with Fairbrother concerns the error in the imprint which gives the year as "2726". Five years earlier, when the partnership between Swift and Waters had been breaking down, Fairbrother had produced a belated Dublin reprint of Benjamin Motte's 1711 *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* of Swift and Pope,<sup>175</sup> and on that occasion Fairbrother's imprint had read: "Printed by S. Fairbrother, Book-Seller, and are to be Sold at his Shop in *Skinner-Row*, over against the *Tholsel*, 2721 [sic]". Maybe this error was characteristic of Fairbrother in some manner. And there is the fact that in 1735, Fairbrother obtained access to certain manuscripts of Swift's and published some of them in his *Vol. IV. Of The Miscellanies Begun by Jonathan Swift, D.D. And Alexander Pope, Esq.*, 1735. (On that occasion it has been thought that Fairbrother might have obtained the manuscripts through the agency of Sheridan.)<sup>176</sup> But I know of no substantive evidence associating these Dublin editions of *Cadenus and Vanessa* with Fairbrother, and my proposed attribution to him is speculative.

The fourth Dublin stationer to interact with Swift in this period was John Hyde. This is the stationer who in 1711 had produced a Dublin edition of Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies* containing authorial amendments distinct from the London editions, and who in 1719 had

<sup>173</sup> Rossi and Hone also interpret these lines this way: 247.

<sup>174</sup> Munter, *HINP*, 26; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 195 – 197.

<sup>175</sup> A4, 71.

<sup>176</sup> Refer: Fischer, 'Swift's *Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse, Volume the Fifth: Some Facts and Puzzles*', *Swift Studies*, 2000, 76 – 87, 82; also JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 106.

worked with Swift in managing Irish subscriptions for Prior's *Works*. By 1726, Hyde was an elder statesman of the industry, and it was towards the end of that year that Swift gave him a new publishing assignment. The first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* had been published in London in October by Benjamin Motte. Swift was back in Dublin at the time this original London edition was published, and after obtaining a copy of his book he inserted corrections and revisions and sent this marked copy to Hyde for him to publish as an Irish edition.<sup>177</sup> Interestingly, Swift did not consider Faulkner for this job, despite the fact that that stationer would have had the capacity and ability to perform it. Instead, Swift bestowed it upon his publishing associate of longer standing. As seen earlier, Hyde died less than two years later.

So it was that whilst these other stationers all had dealings of some kind with Swift, the stationer who did not was the one who most deserved them. For Sarah Harding, the year 1726 marked the first anniversary of her widowhood, yet it was a year in which she was dealt one injustice after another. At the very time she had expected the world to show her some favour, it had turned on her all of its cruelty. All Swift had had to do was print a Notice under his name or that of the Drapier asking the town to support Sarah Harding, and her troubles would have been at an end, but no such thing materialised.

There is only one known instance of Sarah Harding's involvement in any form of publishing activity in 1726. Sometime during the course of the year, she wrote a poignant poem in which she let her feelings be known. Imitating the title of the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier, it was entitled *A POEM to the whole People of Ireland, Relating to M.B. Drapier*. Whether she had any help in writing it is unknown, although given the circumstances previously discussed which indicate an ability on her part to compose, this seems unlikely. Defeated, without all hope and reduced almost to beggary, she laid herself before the nation in the fifteen stanzas of this poem. She signed it with another pseudonym associated with the textile industry, "A. R. Hosier", and it was published sometime between 26 March and 31 December under the imprint of her mother.<sup>178</sup> The poem is composed with care as Sarah Harding

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<sup>177</sup> A4, 157. On the amendments to this Irish edition, refer: David Woolley, 'Swift's Copy of *Gulliver's Travels*: The Armagh *Gulliver*, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections', in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, Clive T. Probyn, ed., London, 1978; Probyn, 'Swift, Jonathan', *ODNB*, page 21. Like Motte in London, Hyde did not include the episode in which the flying island lowers itself over the city of Lindalino to oppress the subjects — depicting English oppression of Ireland. No publisher of *Gulliver's Travels* had the courage to include this until 1896: refer Ferguson, 135, note 181.

<sup>178</sup> A4, 158. See Image 14. It is dated "1726" and not "1725/6", which shows that it was sometime after 25 March. Also, in the only known surviving copy, there is one word cut off at the bottom of stanza eight (see Image 14). James Woolley thinks that the characters preceding "he groan'd for his Nation" are: "C f ment", and that the line may therefore be along the lines of: "As when/while in his Confinement he groan'd for his



reviews the history of events from her own and her husband's perspectives. It goes without saying in my view that when she complains that she has been forgotten, the person this complaint is principally directed against is Swift. The title itself, "*Relating to M.B. Drapier*", suggests this. But as nothing negative could be said of this figure at this time, she is ever-mindful not to cast any reflection. Instead, the poem is eloquent as it poses the questions in the most respectful possible way: how can the role her husband played in bringing about the events of 1724 and 1725 be of no significance? How can his courage and sacrifice vanish from memory? How can his widow with his two children be without all sympathy and support?

Whether because she had enough paper to produce only a small number of copies, or for some other reason, her plea appears to have been to no avail, and not long afterwards fate dealt her yet another blow. In what is another fact that has never before been seen or enquired into, in late January 1727 her infant son, John Draper, died at the age of nineteen months. She had him buried on 29 January in the Parish of St. Paul's with the father who had never seen him.<sup>179</sup> The cause of death is not known, but in the course of the *Poem to the Whole of People of Ireland* she had said of her husband: "He left with his Widow, two Children behind,/ And little, God help her, to keep them from Starving".

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Nation". I am indebted to James Woolley for sending this opinion on email in 2006 to my supervisor, Clive Probyn, who forwarded it to me.

<sup>179</sup> "Jan 29 Bur: *Jo<sup>r</sup> Draper Harding*": Parish Register of St. Paul's, Dublin: RCBL P.273.1.2, p. 19. The digitised entry is at: [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) Record Identifier: DU-CI-BU-227085.



## Chapter 8: Sarah Harding – Sheridan and *The Intelligencer*

It was seemingly not until late 1727 that Swift's mind turned to Sarah Harding. At that time Swift had just returned from a second consecutive summer in London, and he and Sheridan sent a few tracts concerned with a Dublin Parliamentary election to Sarah Harding to publish. Then, in 1728, following the death of Stella in January, Swift began sending works to Sarah Harding a little more regularly. These works included his pamphlet, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, and some pieces for the periodical, *The Intelligencer*, which was commenced by Sheridan and Swift in May that year. This chapter discusses new evidence demonstrating that Swift's efforts to support Sarah Harding were made only as a consequence of pressure brought to bear by his friends, in particular Sheridan. This chapter explores the relationship between Sheridan and Swift through this time and presents never-before-seen circumstances illustrating that *The Intelligencer* was a periodical devised by Sheridan for the sole purpose of providing support to Sarah Harding. This chapter also presents a new reading of the second half of *The Intelligencer* (from Number Eleven on). The premise of this new reading is that, in several of these Numbers, Sheridan's frustrations with Swift for his failure to keep to that periodical are expressed under a veil of irony.

### Sarah Harding through Most of 1727

As with the year 1726, little is known of Sarah Harding's life in 1727. It seems that sometime after early May, she lost her mother, Elizabeth Sadlier. This is seen in the fact that the last publication Elizabeth Sadlier is known to have produced is the *Last Speeches and Dying Words* of a few men set to be hanged on 3 May 1727, which she printed from the Blind Quay.<sup>1</sup> With no further evidence of the life of Elizabeth Sadlier, she might have died in the summer or autumn of 1727, from that time leaving Sarah Harding on her own with her first-born child. It appears to have been not long after this that Sarah Harding moved premises again, to a shop on Copper Alley. This was in the same pocket of Dublin in which she had been living since June 1721. Copper Alley was a little to the south of the Blind Quay, running parallel to the river.<sup>2</sup> Sarah Harding's address, "next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley" was within a few paces of the shop of Andrew Crooke, who was the King's Printer for Ireland at the time.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A4, 163.

<sup>2</sup> As it is today.

<sup>3</sup> Crooke served as the King's Printer from his shop in Copper Alley from 1710 to 1732: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 129.

This address appeared on a publication she produced in 1727,<sup>4</sup> but it is not known when during the course of 1727 she produced this work. Given that Elizabeth Sadlier's final publication was published from the Blind Quay in late April or early May, and that Elizabeth Sadlier was living with Sarah Harding at that time, the move to Copper Alley must have been made in May or later. It could be speculated that she moved because the Blind Quay had been the scene of further loss. She had left Molesworth's Court after the death of her husband there, and her home on the Blind Quay had now witnessed the death of her son and also, seemingly, that of her mother.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to Sarah Harding's printing, there is only one known publication from 1727 that carries her name in the imprint. This is a poem written by Sheridan. Entitled *To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Mont-Cassel: This Fable is Most Humbly Dedicated by a Person Who Had Some Share in His Education*, it offers advice and encouragement to his former student, Mont-Cassel, and it was published with the imprint: "Dublin: printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, MDCCXXVII".<sup>6</sup> Apart from this work, it is known for certain that late in the year she published three tracts for Swift and Sheridan concerned with a Dublin Parliamentary election. These were published with anonymous imprints, but have been attributed to the Sarah Harding press on the basis of the ornaments used (these tracts will be discussed in this chapter.) Other than these four tracts that are accepted as having been printed by Sarah Harding, there are three others from 1727 that have anonymous imprints but which in my view could conceivably have come from her press. The possibility that these were printed by Sarah Harding is advanced in direct correlation to the possibility of Sheridan having been their author, for in my view he was the person in Dublin who was trying to support Sarah Harding more than any other at this time. With these three tracts, then, the higher the likelihood of Sheridan's involvement as author, the higher the likelihood of the printing having been done by Sarah Harding.

Firstly, in early April 1717, an elegy for a pet dog named Tiger appeared as a broadside with an anonymous imprint.<sup>7</sup> Because Rebecca's dog was called Tiger, Ball has thought that

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<sup>4</sup> A3, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Waters, too, had operated from Copper Alley for twelve months or so in 1719, but there seems to be no connection between that and Sarah Harding's move to this Alley eight years later. It seems improbable, that is, that Waters had an interest in a shop on Copper Alley all that time, and that in 1727 he offered it to Sarah Harding on favourable terms.

<sup>6</sup> A3, 23.

<sup>7</sup> A3, 16.

this may have been written by Swift.<sup>8</sup> It is a claim that finds some support in the elegy's epitaph, with its Swift-like pun: "HERE lies beneath this Hollow Marble, / An Animal cou'd Bark, or Warble. / Sometimes a Bitch, sometimes a Bird, / Cou'd eat a Tart, or eat a T—". Williams, on the other hand, is of the view that it is not of Swift's style, and that a comment in the elegy's postscript saying that "Mrs. Sally, and Jane and Robin cried three Days", suggests it was written by someone not associated with Rebecca at all.<sup>9</sup> But Williams appears to be suggesting that "Mrs. Sally, and Jane and Robin" were other *people*, and that because Rebecca had no known friends by the name of Sally, Jane or Robin, the poem cannot have been written by anyone associated with her. To me, however, these names read like those of other pets in the household (birds, maybe) and as such the likelihood that the poem concerned Rebecca's dog remains. If the author was not Swift, as Williams suggests, there is a possibility that it was someone else in the group, such as Sheridan. For Number Fourteen in the periodical, *The Intelligencer*, in 1728, Sheridan would after all write a poem, "THE TALE. OF THE T—D".<sup>10</sup>

Secondly, in June 1727, a short tract giving an account of a controversy in an election for a junior fellowship at Trinity College, entitled *A Short History of the Eight Philosophers of the Island Cos*, was published anonymously.<sup>11</sup> This appears to have been written by either Sheridan or Delany. Sheridan sent a copy of the tract to Swift in June 1727 whilst Swift was in London<sup>12</sup> and, as James Woolley has observed, the ornaments on the publication associate it with Sarah Harding.<sup>13</sup> And thirdly, sometime during the year, Sheridan wrote a poem entitled *Tom Punsibi's Letter to Dean Swift*, which relates the many inconveniences Swift encounters when he visits Sheridan's home, such as jamming doors and broken seats and other things in need of repair. Sheridan had it published for the town as an anonymous broadside.<sup>14</sup>

But even if all of these tracts were published by Sarah Harding, her printing output throughout 1727 appears to have consisted only of occasional tracts. How she was able to make ends meet is not clear. Maybe she found some kind of work that she could perform

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<sup>8</sup> *Swift's Verse*, 227, 360 – 361.

<sup>9</sup> *Poems*, iii, 1130.

<sup>10</sup> A3, 45, page 11. See Image 15.

<sup>11</sup> A3, 17.

<sup>12</sup> Refer: 24 June 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 763 and note 1, vol. iii, 100 – 101.

<sup>13</sup> JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172.

<sup>14</sup> A3, 24.

whilst at the same time caring for her child, who by this time would have been five or six. There is also one known instance of charitable support for Sarah Harding in 1727. This was a bequest made by William Wilmot. A colleague from 1723, Wilmot had worked in a shop on the Blind Quay, where Sarah Harding had worked and lived for much of 1726 and part of 1727, and after Wilmot's death in June or July 1727, his ornaments passed to her.<sup>15</sup> Conceivably, then, during 1727 Sarah Harding came to receive help and support of other kinds from people who were sympathising with her.

### Tensions between Sheridan and Swift

Throughout this period, there was growing tension in the relationship between Swift and Sheridan. This is evident from some previously unseen circumstances that need to be discussed at this point. This tension was only partly attributable to the issue of Sarah Harding and the obligation to support her after her husband's death. The tension was due also to what Sheridan viewed as Swift's neglect of Stella during her terminal illness by absenting himself for two lengthy periods in 1726 and 1727. In broader terms, this tension could be characterised as Sheridan, the teacher and instructor, wanting to bring his talented but self-absorbed and wayward friend to a sense of his responsibilities.

Before coming to the evidence concerning Sheridan and Swift, it is necessary to review Swift's conduct in relation to Stella throughout the years leading up to this time. The view of Swift's conduct that I express here is not the one taken by the consensus of commentators, which is loath to find fault with Swift (on any issue). Rather, it is what must be considered the alternative view, a view that finds support in only a few commentators, despite the fact that it accords with plain humanity. The evidence suggests that during all of Stella's adult life through to the night of her funeral, Swift did not reciprocate Stella's love, and that his one reason for not doing so was to prevent the perception and the associated gossip of his being intimately associated with the daughter of a house-keeper. Indeed, this is the view of Swift's relationship with Stella expressed by Swift's first biographer, Orrery, who knew Swift during his lifetime.<sup>16</sup> To begin with, there is the fact that Swift was persistently placing physical distance between the two of them with his travels between the kingdoms, and only weeks after Stella arrived in Dublin on his invitation, Swift left for what would become his longest continuous residence in London. As Rossi and Hone said, "By being now in one place, now in another, he provided a

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<sup>15</sup> See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 276, 623.

<sup>16</sup> Orrery, *Remarks*, 24 – 25.

further protection against scandal”.<sup>17</sup> When writing to Stella during his years in London, every letter was addressed to Stella and Rebecca jointly, for both to read (the collected edition of those letters which was given the title *Journal to Stella* is in fact a “Journal to Stella and Rebecca”). This was a measure that in the view of Thomas Sheridan (the younger) was intended to diffuse any perception of intimacy between Swift and Stella.<sup>18</sup> Swift appears to have warded off William Tisdall in Tisdall’s intended proposal to Stella,<sup>19</sup> only to never marry her himself. Or, if the story of a marriage in 1716 is true,<sup>20</sup> it was a marriage that was conditional upon Stella forever keeping the fact a secret and never publicly owning their love (the kind of marriage in my view that only Swift could have contemplated).

Looking ahead to the mid-1720’s, it was then that Stella first fell ill,<sup>21</sup> yet in the spring of 1726, the person she had given her life to (possibly her secret husband) left for London for five months to arrange publication of his newest work, and despite Swift giving an undertaking to Stella that he would not accept any offer of a preferment in England,<sup>22</sup> this is precisely what he was hoping to receive from Walpole or the Princess.<sup>23</sup> Whilst in London in 1726, Swift’s friends in Dublin were writing to him frequently to advise him of Stella’s declining condition. They were seemingly hoping that Swift would cut short his stay in London to return to Stella, but far from that, Swift in his replies<sup>24</sup> tells them that he would

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<sup>17</sup> Rossi and Hone, 239.

<sup>18</sup> Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 305.

<sup>19</sup> Refer: 20 April 1704, Swift to William Tisdall: DW Letter 25, vol. i, 152 – 154. Also: Deane Swift, *Essay*, 87 – 89; Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 297 – 301; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1123.

<sup>20</sup> The story of this marriage was first reported by Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 323.

<sup>21</sup> See Swift’s comments concerning Stella’s condition during the course of 1725 in his letter to Sheridan of the following year: 27 July 1726, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 702, vol. iii, 1 – 2.

<sup>22</sup> Swift reveals this in a letter to Delany: 11 July 1726, Swift to Delany: DW Letter 697 and note 4, vol. ii, 653, 655.

<sup>23</sup> On this issue of seeking a Church preferment in London, Swift was cagey with his friends. At no point is he known to have divulged that this is what he was seeking and in separate letters to Delany and Worrall in 1726 he objected to their suspicions: 11 July 1726, Swift to Delany: DW Letter 697, vol. ii, 653; 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 698, vol. ii, 657. At one point he did write to Sheridan that he had received “the fairest Offer... of a Settlement here that one can imagine” (8 July 1726, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 696, vol. ii, 652), and that he had declined it. As discussed earlier, however, there can be little doubt that a suitable preferment in England was his ambition. He reveals this more openly in a letter written seven years later: 8 January 1733, Swift to Lady Elisabeth Germain: 8 January 1733: DW Letter 1005, vol. iii, 575 – 576. And the fact has been presumed by commentators such as James Woolley: JW, *Skinibonnia*, 332; JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 228, note 33. It seems reasonable to speculate that what Swift wanted was a Bishopric in England.

<sup>24</sup> Refer in particular: 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letters 698, vol. ii, 655 – 656; 27 July 1726, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 702, vol. iii, 1 – 2; and 6 August 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 708, vol. iii, 8.

“not for the Universe” be in Ireland when she is dying because he could not bear the distress.<sup>25</sup> Swift tells them that if she dies, he is to be notified immediately so that he can extend his time away from Dublin even longer. Then there is the letter to Worrall of 15 July 1726. This is the letter where Swift on two occasions implores Worrall to tell no one of the contents and to burn the letter the moment he has read it,<sup>26</sup> although clearly Worrall kept it. In this letter, Swift tells Worrall to encourage Stella to make a will, and says that she is not to move into the deanery to pass her final months there, “which besides you know cannot but be a very improper Thing for that House to breath her last in”.<sup>27</sup> And Swift asks Worrall to let Stella know that he has bought her “a repeating gold Watch for her Ease in winter Nights”.<sup>28</sup> As Rossi and Hone say of this period, “He mourns – not for her but for himself. He says so openly, for he has no shame”,<sup>29</sup> and elsewhere: Swift loved people “without human sympathy, as one loves a dog”.<sup>30</sup> In my view this conduct from Swift can be explained by the straightforward matter already mentioned, that throughout all of these years he was placing distance between himself and Stella for the purpose of preventing the appearance of a loving union.<sup>31</sup>

Swift returned to Dublin in late August 1726 to find that Stella still had time to live. In early April 1727, however, he went to London again, and this time, from his friends’ point of view, for no clear reason. At least in 1726 he had gone for the purpose of arranging publication of *Gulliver’s Travels*. That was at least something of a justification for leaving Stella during her terminal illness. But in 1727, whilst one reason for the trip was to work with Pope in preparing a two volume edition of their combined *Miscellanies*, the principal reason was the one he never disclosed – to pursue the promise of an English preferment from Princess Caroline and her Woman of the Bedchamber, Mrs. Howard. Before leaving, Swift wrote a letter to Stella under the guise of the Prince of Lilliput, where the Prince (analogous either for

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<sup>25</sup> 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letters 698, vol. ii, 656.

<sup>26</sup> 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letters 698, vol. ii, 656.

<sup>27</sup> 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letters 698, vol. ii, 656.

<sup>28</sup> 15 July 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letters 698, vol. ii, 656. Whether Swift eventually gave this watch to her, is uncertain. Thomas Sheridan (the younger) observes that, in his will, Swift bequeathed his “repeating gold watch” to James Stopford: Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 563.

<sup>29</sup> Rossi and Hone, 34.

<sup>30</sup> Rossi and Hone, 169.

<sup>31</sup> Even Ehrenpreis acknowledges that the reason for not wanting her to stay in the deanery was “To avoid malicious gossip”: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 545. Refer also: Rossi and Hone, 303.



King George or the Prince of Wales) beseeches Stella for permission for the Man Mountain (Gulliver – that is, Swift) to return once more to Lilliput to help them with a new predicament that had arisen with respect to Blefuscu (Spain). The Prince asks Stella to come along with the Man Mountain as the finer air and diet of Lilliput will help her with her recovery.<sup>32</sup> But this was a hollow gesture on Swift's part. On a trip to London such as this, where he would be at court, the last thing he would have wanted was to be encumbered with Stella – particularly an ill Stella – and he knew all along that she was incapable of such a journey. Whilst in London in 1727, Swift's hopes of an English preferment were lifted by the sudden death of George I on 11 June, and the expectation that the incoming monarch, George II, would replace the incumbent Whig ministry with a Tory one. Swift wrote to his friends in Dublin that another bout of his vertigo prevented him from returning sooner, but as Rossi and Hone say, this was “an excuse for failing to leave England to be present at Stella's end”.<sup>33</sup> It was also an excuse for staying in London longer to await developments with regard to the new monarch. Even after it became clear that George II was going to defy expectations and reinstall Walpole's Whig ministry, however, Mrs. Howard was encouraging Swift to stay in the hope that a preferment might still come his way.<sup>34</sup> But none was forthcoming. Swift left London on 18 September and reached Dublin on 4 October,<sup>35</sup> after being detained in Holyhead for a week by the weather.

<sup>32</sup> c. February 1727, ‘The Prince of Lilliput’ to ‘Stella:’ DW Letter 746, vol. iii, 79 – 80.

<sup>33</sup> Rossi and Hone, 302.

<sup>34</sup> 16 August 1727, Mrs. Howard to Swift: DW Letter 774, vol. iii, 118. Also, one of the messages sent to Swift by Mrs. Howard in this period was in fact given to Swift by Bolingbroke (refer: 17 June 1727, Bolingbroke to Swift: DW Letter 760, vol. iii, 96), but it is considered reasonably certain that Bolingbroke was relaying a message from Mrs. Howard: see JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 229, note 44. Swift later blamed Mrs. Howard for misleading him with respect to the possibility of an English preferment, and Mrs. Howard strongly defended the charge: refer, on Swift's part: 26 October 1731, Swift to the Countess of Suffolk: DW Letter 937, vol. iv, 436 – 438; 1 December 1731, Swift to Gay and the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry: DW Letter 940, vol. iii, 443; 8 January 1732, Swift to Lady Elisabeth Germain: DW Letter 1005, vol. iii, 574 – 576; *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*: Williams, *Poems*, 551 – 572; and for Mrs. Howard's part: 25 September 1731, The Countess of Suffolk to Swift: DW Letter 935, vol. iii, 434 – 435. For commentary on Swift's relationship with Mrs Howard, including the possibility that Walpole intervened with the Queen to ensure that no preferment would be granted to Swift: JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 218 – 219. Further, Swift wrote a ‘Character of Mrs. Howard’, which is dated 12 June 1727, and he seems to have presented it to her in person that day or the next (12 or 13 June): refer JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 214 – 215. The copy of the Character that was presented to Mrs Howard is in the British Library (Add. MS 22,625, fol. 4) and it is reprinted in Croker, ed., *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her second husband, the hon. George Berkeley, from 1712 to 1767*, London, 1824. There is a copy reproduced in: *PW*, v, 213 – 215, 357, but this is a draft that was retained by Swift. Refer also: JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 228 – 289, note 43.

<sup>35</sup> Rough seas forced his ship to dock in Ireland sixty miles north of Dublin and he then travelled to the town by coach, arriving there on 4 October: McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 115; Ferguson, 114.

During this six month absence from Dublin in 1727, Swift's correspondence with his friends followed a similar pattern to that of 1726. His friends were telling him frequently that it was unclear how much longer Stella had to live, and in his replies Swift was again saying that he would under no circumstances be there to witness the scene of her death, and that if she was going to die he was to be informed immediately so that, to make the ordeal easier for him, he could prolong his absence through to the autumn or winter.<sup>36</sup> Before departing for London on this occasion, Swift appears to have given permission for Stella (with Rebecca) to move into the deanery during his absence.<sup>37</sup> Swift's relenting on this issue may have been a necessary measure to appease his friends before leaving for a second consecutive summer. But Swift spent this time in London not knowing whether Stella had in fact moved in, and his anxiety over the matter is revealed in his letter to Worrall of 12 September 1727. He says: "I desire to know where my two friends lodge", then tells Worrall of a caution he had given to Mrs. Brent. For the purposes of secrecy he describes that caution to Worrall in Latin. Thomas Sheridan (the younger) translated it. According to that translation, Swift's caution to Mrs. Brent (and afterwards told to Worrall in this letter) was that Stella not be permitted to live "in the deanery, because this would evidently be very improper, as is evident, as I have many maligners, who would put a bad interpretation on it, if it should happen [which God forbid] that she should die there".<sup>38</sup> Denis Johnston says that this action "makes JS appear so contemptible that it is surprising that anybody who accepts it at its face value could ever waste their time any longer on such a character".<sup>39</sup> Later in his book, Denis Johnston discloses his reason for not accepting Swift's conduct "at face value". In Johnston's view, Swift's father was John Temple (father of Sir William Temple), and William Temple was the father of Stella. In other words, Stella was Swift's half-niece. Johnston excuses Swift by reasoning that if Stella died in the deanery, it might have become known that Swift had married his half-niece.<sup>40</sup> However, Johnston's evidence that Stella was Swift's half-niece, although of real interest, cannot be considered conclusive, and even if there *was* a blood relationship between them, it

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<sup>36</sup> Refer: 13 May 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 750, vol. iii, 83 – 84; 24 June 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 763, vol. iii, 100 – 101; 1 July 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 765, vol. iii, 103 – 104; 29 August 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 778, vol. iii, 122 – 123; 2 September 1717, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 779, vol. iii, 123 – 124; 12 September 1727, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 781, vol. iii, 126.

<sup>37</sup> Refer: 8 April 1727, Swift to Thomas Wallis: DW Letter 748, vol. iii, 81; also: DW Letter 781 note 1, vol. iii, 126.

<sup>38</sup> Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 365. A similar translation is offered by Ehrenpreis: *Swift*, iii, 540, note 1.

<sup>39</sup> Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 176.

<sup>40</sup> The rumour that Swift and Stella were related by blood was current at the time: refer the *Monthly Review* for November 1751 (quoted in Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 168 – 169); Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 367.

in my view does not justify Swift. It was incumbent on him to act honourably with respect to Stella irrespective of any issues associated with public perceptions. Also bearing on the matter is the fact that *all throughout* their relationship – from *before* the supposed marriage in 1716 – Swift was placing distance between them to ward off gossip.

Turning to the evidence pertaining to the friendship of Sheridan and Swift, the first thing to be said is that the general presumption that all was well between Swift and his Dublin friends is mistaken. To assume that Swift's Dublin friends were untroubled by Swift's conduct through this time is in my view to under-estimate them. As difficult as it was to challenge this person who saw himself as beyond reproach, circumstances indicate that these friends – Sheridan in particular – did what they could to make their feelings known. This is seen in the regularity of their letter writing on the issue of Stella. It is seen in Worrall ignoring Swift's pleas to burn his letter dated 15 July 1726. And for Sheridan, it is seen in the evidence that is available of the manner in which he wrote to Swift. It is a shame that the only surviving letters in these exchanges are Swift's. Swift kept none of his friends' letters to him whilst they kept all of his to them.<sup>41</sup> But hints of Sheridan's content and tone can be gleaned from certain comments in Swift's replies.

Looking firstly to the period of Swift's absence in 1726, Swift made it clear that he preferred receiving news from Worrall. He considered Worrall's reports to be balanced and sensible. This is seen in Swift's comment to James Stopford on July 1726 where he specifically commends Worrall for being "so just and prudent as to tell me the truth",<sup>42</sup> as well as in the fact that Swift chose Worrall as his confidante in relation to his concerns associated with Stella dying in the deanery.<sup>43</sup> Sheridan's letters in 1726, on the other hand, annoyed Swift. What bothered him about Sheridan's letters is uncertain. Maybe it was their frequency. Maybe it was the more emotional language used by the man whom Swift considered the more temperamental of his two correspondents. In one of his replies to Sheridan, for instance, Swift accuses Sheridan of having exaggerated Stella's condition by referring to reports he has

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<sup>41</sup> Stella (with Rebecca) wrote to Swift herself during this time. None of her letters survive but in his letter to Delany of 11 July 1726, Swift refers to having received two letters from "the Ladyes": DW Letter 697, vol. ii, 654. David Woolley suggests that the letters would in fact have been written by Rebecca at this time, and not Stella: DW Letter 697, note 9, vol. ii, 655.

<sup>42</sup> 20 July 1726, Swift to James Stopford: DW Letter 700, vol. ii, 660.

<sup>43</sup> For further examples of Swift dealing openly with Worrall in 1726: 6 August 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 708, vol. iii, 8; 13 August 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 713, vol. iii, 15 – 16.

received from others that suggest the contrary.<sup>44</sup> But it is clear that by August 1726, Swift had had enough of Sheridan's letter writing. Swift writes to Worrall on 6 August, "Tell D<sup>r</sup> Sheridan I had his Lett<sup>r</sup>, but care not to answer it",<sup>45</sup> and again a week later, "pray hinder Dr. Sheridan [sic] from writing to me any more".<sup>46</sup>

During 1727, Swift's letters to Sheridan are generally more positive and friendly in tone, but indications of terseness remain, such as when Swift again suggests that Sheridan has exaggerated ("I hardly thought our Friend would be in danger by a Cold"),<sup>47</sup> and when Swift again writes to Worrall about "Dr Sh—ns frequent Letters".<sup>48</sup> Sheridan also upbraids Swift at one point for not writing enough.<sup>49</sup> And in my view a clear indication that the Dublin friends had ongoing concerns with Swift in 1727 is seen in the circumstances surrounding the short poem Sheridan wrote, entitled *The Humble Petition of Stella's Friends*. It consisted of ten lines written on 11 June 1727 and underneath the lines Sheridan wrote, "Signed by the following Persons". The names that then appear on this petition are: (in order) Mary Worrall, John Worrall, Patrick Delany, Rebecca Dingley and Thomas Sheridan at the bottom. Sheridan left a space between Rebecca's name and his own, which was clearly intended for Swift to add his, and he sent it to Swift in London:

Poor Stella hourly is perplext  
Betwixt this World here and the next;  
Her friends imploring her to stay,  
And Angels beck'ning her away.  
Behold the Balance in Suspence!  
She's unresolved for Here, or Hence.  
Ah let our Friendship turn the Scale,  
Let Friendship over Heav'n prevail,  
'Till you have liv'd what Time is due,  
And then we'll all expire with you.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> 8 July 1726, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letters 696, vol. ii, 650 – 651.

<sup>45</sup> 6 August 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 708, vol. iii, 8.

<sup>46</sup> 13 August 1726, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 713, vol. iii, 15 – 16.

<sup>47</sup> 13 May 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 750, vol. iii, 83 – 84.

<sup>48</sup> 12 September 1727, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 781, vol. iii, 126.

<sup>49</sup> Swift defends the charge: 1 July 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 765, vol. iii, 103.

<sup>50</sup> These verses were first found by Harold Williams and were printed, with a short article by him, in the *Times Literary Supplement* for 9 May 1936. That article can also be accessed online through: 'TLS Historical Archive, 1902 - 2007', Gale, Cengage Learning, 2011. Also on these verses: Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 165, 345 – 346; David Woolley: DW Letter 708 note 7, vol. iii, 9.

Commentators have in my view misinterpreted the lines in this petition. Harold Williams describes them as “touching lines” that represent “further evidence of his [Sheridan’s] anxiety to divert and cheer her in her last illness”.<sup>51</sup> James Woolley, similarly, describes them as “tender verses to Stella, signed by her friends”.<sup>52</sup> And David Woolley refers to them as “affecting verses”.<sup>53</sup> I do not read these lines this way. It is not possible in my view that these lines were intended to comfort Stella. Rather, I see these as subtly provocative lines calculated to stir guilt in Swift. Indeed, Swift is not known to have signed and returned the petition.<sup>54</sup> “Why did he not do so?” asks James Woolley.<sup>55</sup> To me the answer is clear. Even though a few weeks later Swift acknowledged the petition in neutral terms, saying to Sheridan “I was in a Fright about your Verses on Stella’s Sickness, but glad when they were a Month old”,<sup>56</sup> he understood the message his friends were sending and would have nothing of it.

My contention is that underlying tensions in the friendship between Sheridan and Swift were rising throughout this period. And the evidence of this is not to be compromised by two poems Sheridan wrote to Swift during this time – *To the Dean, when in England, in 1726*,<sup>57</sup> and *Tom Punsibi’s Letter to Dean Swift*, of 1727.<sup>58</sup> Both of these poems are replete with expressions of affection for Swift and they disclose the intimacy of Sheridan’s friendship with him, but both can be distinguished on account of the fact that they were intended for publication. The latter was published as an anonymous broadside (almost certainly in my view by Sarah Harding). As for the former, although no contemporaneously published copy survives, there is every likelihood that it too was published anonymously. Such was the paradoxical nature of Sheridan’s relationship with Swift. Sheridan publicly gloated at being such an intimate friend of the great writer, whilst privately he seethed at what he saw as Swift’s

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<sup>51</sup> *Times Literary Supplement* for 9 May 1936.

<sup>52</sup> JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 107.

<sup>53</sup> DW Letter 708 note 7, vol. iii, 9.

<sup>54</sup> The only surviving copy is that found by Harold Williams in which his name is missing. David Woolley suggests he did not sign them: DW Letter 708, note 7, vol. iii, 9.

<sup>55</sup> JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 107.

<sup>56</sup> 1 July 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 765, vol. iii, 104. Swift writes this on 1 July, when he can only have had the verses for about two weeks, so they are not “a Month old”.

<sup>57</sup> Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 163 – 164, 344 – 345; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1042 – 1044.

<sup>58</sup> A3, 24.

selfishness and lack of accountability. These issues concerning Stella represented just one element in Sheridan's efforts to anchor Swift to his responsibilities at home in Dublin. As will now be discussed, another element was Swift's obligations to Sarah Harding.

### *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind*

Although it has never been seen before for what it is, there is clear evidence from the year 1727 of Swift yielding to pressure from his friends to support Sarah Harding. It was not pressure to retain her as his permanent Dublin printer in the same sense that Edward Waters and John Harding had been retained. Having triumphed as the Drapier, Swift's Irish work was in many respects complete and he no longer needed a risk-taking Tory stationer to serve as his stand-by printer, as Waters and Harding had done. To the extent that Swift *did* need a printer in Dublin at this time, moreover, it is reasonably clear in my view that his printer of choice was Faulkner. The relationship between Faulkner and Swift had not taken any backward step since the summer of 1726 when they had been in London at the same time and Swift had introduced the stationer at court and amongst his friends. During the year or more since that time, Faulkner had been publicly flaunting his friendship with Swift in his reports related to the author that he printed in his *Dublin Journal*. For instance, whilst over the previous two years, several Dublin newspaper stationers had begun reporting on Swift's movements in and out of the town or the kingdom, and had started acknowledging his birthday on 30 November, Faulkner's reports on these matters always outdid the others in terms of length and exuberance.<sup>59</sup> Swift, meanwhile, had for his part exhibited a continued appreciation of Faulkner. Whilst in London in 1727, Swift had written to Sheridan in Dublin to have him arrange for six copies of *Fraud Detected* to be sent to him,<sup>60</sup> and one of these copies appears to have been given by Swift to Mrs. Howard.<sup>61</sup> Also whilst in London in the summer of 1727,

<sup>59</sup> Refer for example, Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for each of 29 November – 3 December 1726, and 3 – 7 October 1727, as well as his *Dublin Post-Boy* for 4 October 1727. For reports on Swift by other printers in 1726 and 1727: Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* for 9 October 1725, 12 March 1726, 7 May 1726, and 2 July 1726; Hume's *Dublin Gazette; Or, Weekly Courant*, for 23 August 1726; Needham and Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* for 29 November – 3 December 1726; and Needham and Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* for 3 – 7 October 1727.

<sup>60</sup> Refer: 13 May 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 750, vol. iii, 84. Swift afterwards upbraided Sheridan for sending bound instead of unbound copies: 1 July 1727, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 765, vol. iii, 104. There appears to have been confusion over the words "Setts", which Swift used in his original request. David Woolley says that with the word "Setts", Swift was "indicating sewn and wrapped gatherings", being books in quire, but there is no authority for this interpretation of the word at this time. In the same letter – that of 1 July – Swift told Sheridan that two or three copies would have been enough, despite the fact that he had asked for six. Sheridan could not win with Swift. Also on this request of Swift to Sheridan for copies of *Fraud Detected*: Stanley Lane-Poole, 'Dr. Sheridan', *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172, at 157.

<sup>61</sup> The evidence of this is seen in the copy of *Fraud Detected* that is now housed in the Rare Books Room of the Matheson Library at Monash University. An inside page of this copy bears an inscription: "Removed from

Swift had given an address to the new King and Queen 17 July, and a report of that address was printed by Faulkner in his *Dublin Journal* for 4 – 8 July.<sup>62</sup> Given that it was printed as an original item and not as a reprint from an English packet, it is likely that Swift had a hand in sending it to Faulkner. The friendship between Faulkner and Swift, then, was progressing. Swift's Dublin friends, however, wanted him to send some work to Sarah Harding – not for her to become his stationer for all purposes, but simply to support her.<sup>63</sup>

The evidence of this is in the poem Swift wrote sometime during the course of 1727, entitled *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind*. This poem is a comedy of early eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish female manners as it sets forth all of the idiosyncrasies and fopperies of the female character that Swift can think of. One after another, through five stanzas and fifty-six lines, it relates these 'virtues' of the female mind, and then in the final stanza Swift changes register to speak directly to his audience:

O YES! If any Man can find  
More virtues in a Woman's Mind,  
Let them be sent to Mrs. *Harding*,  
She'll pay the Charges to a Farthing;  
Take Notice, she has my Commission  
To add them in the next Edition;  
They may out-sell a better Thing;  
So, Holla Boys; God save the King.<sup>64</sup>

These lines have not before been interpreted this way, but to me their significance is clear. Swift is calling on the town to think of further female fopperies and to send them in to Sarah Harding for publication. It represents an attempt to provide an ongoing source of work for Sarah Harding. As will be discussed, this method of attempting to provide work for her was the same as that which would be used with the periodical, *The Intelligencer*, in 1728 – creating a

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Marble Hill House". Marble Hill House was the residence of Mrs Howard, a mansion at Twickenham on the Thames, for which she herself had commissioned the architecture, and in which she continued to live until her death in 1767. It appears reasonably certain, then, that this copy in the Matheson Library is one that was given to Mrs. Howard by Swift (and might even have been intended as a gift for the Princess). Swift must have made this gift either in the course of his time in London in 1726, or on this trip of 1727, and if it was the latter, it was probably one of the six sent over by Sheridan. David Woolley also speculates that this is one of the six copies sent by Sheridan in 1727: DW Letter 765, note 13, vol. iii, 105. David Woolley provides a facsimile reproduction of the inscription at: DW, vol ii, Plate 15.

<sup>62</sup> Most of Faulkner's report is also reproduced in: JW, *Friends and Enemies in Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*, 229, note 46.

<sup>63</sup> Walsh is mistaken in saying that Sarah Harding was retained by Swift from the time of Harding's death: 'Harding, John', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography, under the Auspices of the Royal Irish Academy*, op. cit.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, *Poems*, ii, 417 – 418.

humourous theme and calling on the people to send stories of their own experiences or observations to Sarah Harding for publication. In my view, it is also reasonably clear from these lines in *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind* that this announcement from Swift was made to appease his friends. One indication of this is the straightforward fact that this poem was written two years after Harding's death – a belated response from Swift. But the line, "Take Notice, she has my Commission", reads as though it is answering a call. The final line, "So, Holla Boys; God save the King", may also be relevant in this regard. This could just be a summons to the "Boys" in the town to start sending in their thoughts on the female character to Sarah Harding. Alternatively, it could be a nod to the "Boys" who had been asking Swift to do this – Sheridan, probably Worrall and possibly Delany. This line does, after all, convey a tone of celebration or of relief in something overdue having been achieved.

There is no known contemporaneously published copy of this poem. Williams says that "it is probable that... [it] appeared in Dublin as a broadside",<sup>65</sup> and in my view this should be considered reasonably certain. Whether as a broadside or in another format, because this poem was written for the purpose of procuring support for Sarah Harding, it is only logical that it would have been published by her. Indeed, Sarah Harding would have included her name and place of business on the imprint so that readers knew where to send the submissions Swift had called for. The lack of a surviving copy could be attributable to a problem that appears to have hindered Sarah Harding all throughout this period – an inability to afford good supplies of paper, and subsequent short print runs. (Nor are there known printed copies of any submissions sent to her about female fopperies in response to *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind*.)

If it is allowed that the poem was contemporaneously published by Sarah Harding, a further question concerns precisely when that occurred. The likelihood that it was sometime in 1727 is seen in the subtitle to the poem as it appeared in Faulkner's 1735 edition of Swift's *Works*: "Written in the Year 1727".<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, it appears to have been published either early in 1727, before Swift left for London in April, or late in 1727, after his return in October. Circumstances favour the former possibility. This is closer in time to the publication of Sarah Harding's plea for help in her *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* in 1726 and the death of John

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<sup>65</sup> Williams, *Poems*, ii, 415.

<sup>66</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, ii, 413; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 415. Cf. James Woolley, who thinks it could have been published as late as the summer of 1728: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 29.



Draper Harding in January 1727. Swift might also have done this to be on better terms with Sheridan before departing in April 1727. But the question of whether it appeared early or late in the year is largely immaterial. What matters is that this can be considered the first substantive effort on Swift's part to help Sarah Harding.

### The Dublin Parliamentary Election

Very soon after Swift's return from London in early October 1727, he became involved in a contest in a local Parliamentary election. There were three candidates for two places in the Irish House of Commons: a Mr. Samuel Barton; a young lawyer and King's Counsel who was sympathetic to the Dissenters by the name of William Howard; and an old friend of Swift's and an Englishman by origin, Alderman John Stoyte. Polling was open at the Tholsel seemingly all through the month of October, and with Barton obtaining a substantial early lead which all but assured him of one of the two places, it became a contest between Howard and Stoyte for the second. It was about midway through October, after Howard had gained a lead on Stoyte and was threatening to win, that Swift weighed in on behalf of Stoyte. Written anonymously, the first tract that appeared in support of Stoyte is accepted as having been co-written by Sheridan and Swift, whilst a second and third are accepted as having been the work of Swift alone.<sup>67</sup> All three tracts were printed by Sarah Harding. Again, it is possible that Swift only became involved in through the coercion of Sheridan, and if this was in fact the case, it follows in my view that Sheridan's motivation all along was to bring Swift to provide work for Sarah Harding. For Swift to descend to a domestic party political dispute at this time was, after all, unusual. He had established himself as the oracle on national, not domestic, politics. Having just returned from his experiences at court in London, moreover, it is difficult to see how a contest such as this could have overly concerned him.

The first tract was entitled *To the Gentlemen Freeholders, and Freemen of the City: A Few Words Concerning the Alderman and Squire*.<sup>68</sup> It depicts Stoyte as an honest and reliable man who can be expected to serve the people well, and Howard as an untrustworthy schemer who is buying votes by wining and dining the electorate. Contrasting styles within the tract indicate that it is not the work of Swift alone. Davis suggests that it is a collaborative work when he says, "we may I think detect the method of the Drapier though the hand is rather that of

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<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of this election, the tracts on both side that were written, and Swift's involvement as a supporter of Stoyte: Davis, *DL*, 323 – 351.

<sup>68</sup> A3, 19. The complete text is also reproduced in Davis, *DL*, 328 – 331.

Sheridan”,<sup>69</sup> and internal evidence from the tract support this. For instance, the tract concludes with an historical anecdote followed by a fable, which was a practice for ending tracts that was characteristic of Swift. On this occasion, though, whilst the historical anecdote is in the style of Swift, the fable resembles the hand of Sheridan. Next, in the principal text, one sentence that warns the electors against being led by their stomachs, reads: “If you think so [that you will be led by your stomach], and resolve to be deluded, there is a *Dutch Painter* in Town, who says he will draw ye with Pack threads, fastened to your Guts, and the *Squire* leading you as Captain *Gulliver* drew the Ships”. This sentence in my view is Sheridan’s, for Swift is unlikely to have drawn an analogy with his character, Gulliver, particularly an insipid one as this is. Yet, other sentences are characteristic of Swift, such as the advice to electors to refund Howard the money he spent on entertaining them: “Refund his Reckonings, it will be but a Trifle to each of you; For, to my Knowledge, the *Wine* which the *Squire* bought at the *Merchants*, stood him only in Three-pence a Bottle, which you may recollect, if you have not forgotten your *Cholicks* and *Head-Achs*”. The prose and the humour here is in Swift’s style. Also, only Swift – certainly not Sheridan – would have taken notice of how much the wine had cost Howard. Throughout the tract, comments and passages alternate in styles that can be attributed to either Swift or Sheridan, suggesting that they worked on it together. My contention is that it was Sheridan who drew Swift into this episode. As for Sheridan’s motivation being to bring Swift to generate work for Sarah Harding, this is supported by the evidence of Sheridan’s concerns for Sarah Harding up to this time, as well as evidence of Sheridan acting the same way with respect to Swift in other publications of 1728, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

However Swift came to be involved, if he assumed that his newly exalted status in the country would render him immune from attack in a matter such as this, he was mistaken. The writers for Howard responded with *A Commendatory POEM to the Honourable City of DUBLIN, in the behalf of William Howard; Anno 1727*.<sup>70</sup> Signed “R.V.”, it opens by saying that the practice of entertaining voters with food and wine was long-standing and that those who refrained from it did so probably because they were too parsimonious. This was an aspersion directed at Stoyte and possibly also his writer, who was known for his frugality. The *Commendatory POEM* then turns its attention directly to the tract that had been co-written by Swift:

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<sup>69</sup> DL, 328.

<sup>70</sup> A4, 167.

that heinous,  
 Vile, preposterous Scrole lately Publish'd,  
 In Prose, Jeune stile, very Impolish'd.  
 Go on *Free-Men*, the *Guild* has lead the Van,  
 And all affirm that *Howard* shall be the Man:  
 In spite of that Great Pamphleteer, whose Quil,  
 Belch out his Malice, not with any skill,  
 In *Rhetorick*, his Figures and his Tropes,  
 Denotes his empty Brain, quite out of hopes;  
 And like the Wooden-Man in *Essex-Street*,  
 A living Statue standing on his Feet:  
 Th' former Inoffensive, but the later,  
 An Envyous, Spightful Emulator.<sup>71</sup>

Davis says that with the expression “Great Pamphleteer”, the writer of this poem “might well” be intending Swift.<sup>72</sup> In my view that goes without saying. It is also confirmed by the next tract that appeared. Entitled *A Letter to the Freeman and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, Who Are Protestants of the Church of Ireland as by Law Established*,<sup>73</sup> it was written by Swift alone. Swift discusses the issue of Howard’s support for the dissenters and plays the politics of fear as he reasons with his Protestant readers that the election of another Parliamentarian with sympathies for the dissenters would represent the next step towards the empowerment of the dissenters in civil office and land holdings, and the overthrow of the established Church. As for the treatment he had received in the *Commendatory POEM*, he answers that by resorting to the same identity games he had used in the fifth *Letter* of the *Drapier* in 1724. Although it was clear that he, Jonathan Swift, was the author of this anonymous tract, he pretends to be someone who knows the “deserving Gentleman” who wrote under the name of the *Drapier*:

I am assur'd by a Hundred People, that the Person who is supposed to be the *Drapier*, declared himself entirely of these Sentiments in the Several Answers he made to those Societies of *Weavers*, who attended him upon his Return to *Ireland*,<sup>74</sup> and as you have all

<sup>71</sup> Part of the text is also reproduced by Davis (although Davis accidentally omits the line: “In Prose, Jeune stile, very Impolish’d”): *DL*, 332. Another point regarding this poem by “R.V.” is that it draws attention to an expression in the Swift-Sheridan tract which is either a spelling error by the authors or a typographical error by Sarah Harding whilst setting it to type. The Swift-Sheridan tract had described Howard as “a Man who comes from *Terra Incognito*; that is, *From the Devil’s Arse a Peak*”. “*Terra Incognito*”, however, should be “*Terra Incognita*”, as “R.V.” points out: “Tho’ *Terra incognito*, a false concord make,/ Let not that Bias Freeman for Howard’s sake”. (Refer also: *OED*, “*Terra Incognita*”; and Davis, *DL*, 331 – 332, where this correction by ‘R.V.’ is mentioned). Ironically, in the very couplet where he points out this error, “R.V.” makes an error of his own – “Freeman” should be “Freemen”.

<sup>72</sup> *DL*, 332.

<sup>73</sup> A3, 20. The text is also reproduced in Davis, *DL*, 336 – 338.

<sup>74</sup> The Society of the *Weavers* greeted Swift upon his return to Dublin in October 1727 and the Address it delivered to him on that occasion illustrates the extent to which Swift was revered in Ireland at this time: A4, 168. The text is also reproduced in: *DL*, 323 – 324.

professed a great Regard to the Opinions of that deserving Gentleman, I cannot but doubt you will take his Advice. Let your *Heads* be of your own *Body*, not a MONSTRUOUS ONE taken from another, which neither knows your Inclinations, your Abilities, your Diseases, nor your Wants.

To this, the writers for Howard responded in prose. Out of patience with Swift's anonymity and pseudonymity, they made their point firstly in the title of their tract, *THE DRAPIER DISSECTED. An Address to the Protestant Freeholders, Freemen &c. of the Church of Ireland; Containing, A brief defence of the Dissenters of Dublin from the Opprobrious Calumnies thrown on them by the author of A late Letter Address'd to the Freeholders and Freemen of the City, concerning the Present Election &c. &c.*<sup>75</sup> They also pressed the issue in the course of the tract itself:

The Devil with all his Artifices can't hide his cloven Foot... I fancy there may be some Truth in this Observation since that *Deserving Gentleman* the DRAPIER (to give him his own Compliment) notwithstanding all the Pains he has taken to conceal himself under the Disguise of *Modesty, Goodmanners* and *Concern for the Publick Good* can't forbear confessing his *true Character*, in a late Paper... call'd a *Letter &c.* which whoever carefully examines can have no doubt of His being the Author, if the Likeness of a *Brat* to his *Parent* can be any evidence of the Relation between them.

Swift replied one more time with a prose tract, *Advice to the Electors of the City of Dublin*.<sup>76</sup> This did not offer anything by way of direct retort. Instead, it gives a series of cautions and warnings related to the risks of electing Howard. Although it does not stretch to the fear-mongering of his previous contribution, it insinuates that the government rewards Parliament men for voting against the national interest, and that Judges and Officers of the Revenue only obtain their positions by failing to consult the interests of Ireland. This tract from Swift drew one more response from the other side. The full title of this next publication from the writers for Howard again left little in reserve: *An Appeal to the Citizens of Dublin in behalf of His Majesty, Several of our Chiefs, and One of our Worthy Candidates, Against the Scandalous Insinuations contained in an abusive LIBEL upon them, Intitled Advice to the Electors, &c. &c. In a Letter from an Eminent Gentleman to a Friend*.<sup>77</sup> Referring again to "The Brazen-head and Cloven Foot [that] appear so plainly thro' the whole performance", it called for this anonymous writer to be pilloried for his comments pertaining to the government and the Judges and Officers of the Revenue. Swift resisted the urge to write again, although in the final days of the campaign, someone on his behalf – conceivably Sheridan – admonished the writer for Howard, who, "like a Pyrate, he

<sup>75</sup> A4, 171. Part of the text is also reproduced in Davis, *DL*, 338 – 339.

<sup>76</sup> A3, 21. The text is also reproduced in Davis, *DL*, 339 – 342.

<sup>77</sup> A4, 166. Part of the text is also reproduced in Davis, *DL*, 343 – 344.

throws his Stink-pots, most plentifully, at Alderman Stoyte and all his Friends, and chiefly at a certain worthy Gentleman, who has Signaliz'd himself by his Eminent Services to his Country". Swift soon afterwards said of Irish politics, "it is a shame to be in them."<sup>78</sup>

Interestingly, Howard defeated Swift's man, Stoyte, in the election,<sup>79</sup> but Howard died on 30 December 1727. It was an unexpected death. Howard was young and had been active in the Parliament throughout the preceding months.<sup>80</sup> Maybe he met with foul play. There is no evidence in support of this; it is purely conjectural. But for the common people of Ireland, the word of Swift was akin to the word of God, and as such, maybe one of Swift's devotees looked upon Howard's election as defying the rightful order. Following Howard's death, a by-election was held on 11 January 1728 and on this occasion Stoyte won, although Stoyte himself died a little over a year later – of natural causes.

The three tracts that Swift either wrote or co-wrote were all printed by Sarah Harding without any imprint but with ornaments that are known to have been hers. The first two had an ornament of the arms of France, and the third had an ornament of a fountain with dolphins. As noted by Davis and James Woolley, Sarah Harding used both of these ornaments on the works that Swift and Sheridan sent to her throughout 1728.<sup>81</sup> There is even one indication from this episode of Swift having worked with Sarah Harding in a manner similar to that in which he had worked with her husband previously. In Swift's third tract, *Advice to the Electors of the City of Dublin*, the pieces of advice Swift offers are in paragraphs enumerated "FIRST", "SECONDLY", and "THIRDLY", but the last two are both introduced as "LASTLY". This suggests that Swift sent Sarah Harding an additional paragraph to insert into the type, and that this was done without correcting the original "LASTLY" to "FOURTHLY".

### Further Developments with Sheridan and Swift

Through the winter of 1727–8, further tension developed between Sheridan and Swift. The source of this tension was again Swift's lack of care and attention for Stella during the

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<sup>78</sup> 23 November 1727, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 790, vol. iii, 139.

<sup>79</sup> Following his election victory, corruption on the part of the sheriffs in favour of Howard would be alleged: refer A4, 176.

<sup>80</sup> On Howard's activities during November and December and then his death: *JHCI vol. III*, 460, 492; A4, 170; A4, 177; A4, 178; Davis, *DL*, 346.

<sup>81</sup> See also Davis, *DL*, 325, 331; JW, *Intelligencer*, 288 – 291; and JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171 – 172.

closing period of her life. As already mentioned, during these years, Sheridan saw himself as Swift's moral instructor, and evidence from the year 1728 indicates that, after Stella's death on 28 January, Sheridan directed his teaching back to the issue of Sarah Harding.

During Stella's final months, it was Sheridan who was the primary care-giver. Having assumed this role during Swift's absences in 1726 and 1727, Sheridan might have expected to be relieved of at least a portion of it following Swift's return to Dublin in early October 1727. But this would not prove to be the case. The evidence is clear that through Stella's final months, Swift continued to distance himself emotionally and physically. In my view, this conduct is entirely consistent with the anxiety Swift had expressed to Mrs. Brent and Worrall associated with Stella dying in the deanery – his wanting to prevent public perception of more-than-friendship between himself and a woman of "her rank".<sup>82</sup> It was again Sheridan again compensated for Swift's neglect. As Thomas Sheridan (the younger) said of his father during this time, "During her long illness, he never passed an hour from her which could be spared from business; and his conversation, in the Dean's absence, was the chief cordial to support her drooping spirits".<sup>83</sup> The same biographer tells the story of how, shortly before her death, Stella called Swift to her bedside, where Sheridan was also present, and as her last wish asked him that he publicly own their matrimony so that she may die his acknowledged wife, upon which Swift turned and left without saying a word, and never saw her again.<sup>84</sup> Following this incident, it was Sheridan who sat with Stella to prepare her will, writing it out for her and agreeing to act as her first executor, a task that Swift should have undertaken himself.<sup>85</sup> And of course, Swift did not attend the funeral service (held in his own Cathedral). Stella died with Sheridan at her side at the house of Lady Eustace<sup>86</sup> at around six on the night of Sunday 28

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<sup>82</sup> For his use of this term in relation to Stella, refer for instance: 'On the Death of Mrs. Johnson', *PW*, v, 229.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 362.

<sup>84</sup> Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 361 – 363.

<sup>85</sup> Ehrenpreis says of this that Swift "would have feared the unseemliness of his witnessing or executing the document": *Swift*, iii, 547. On Sheridan's assistance with the will, refer also David Woolley: DW Letter 779, note 2, vol. iii, 124; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Jonathan Swift, 107; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 22. On questions related to whether a person could do one or more of: write a will on the testator's behalf, witness it, and be a beneficiary under it; the law appears to have offered little if any regulation at this time. In his *Law Dictionary* published in 1729, Giles Jacob makes no mention of these matters in the course of his detailed entry under "Wills" (A4, 199 – pages are not numbered). The legal historian, Milsom, indicates that regulation of these matters, including the role of an executor, was not formalised until the Statute of Wills in 1837: Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1981, 221 – 222.

<sup>86</sup> On Lady Eustace: Helgard Stöver-Leidig, 'Jonathan Swift and Thomas Tickell', *Swift Studies*, 27 (2012), 69 – 79, at 70 – 71.

January, and after being given the news in the deanery about two hours later, Swift that night began writing a Character of her. Described by one commentator as “freezing”,<sup>87</sup> this Character is interspersed with comments in the style of a journal, as Swift makes notes of when he starts and stops writing. He wrote five paragraphs that Sunday night. The following night, he had his headaches and noted in this Character only that he could not write. Then, on the Tuesday night, the night of the funeral, he noted in this Character that he was too ill to attend the service. He was not so ill, though, that he could not add six further paragraphs, including the long one which reviews Stella’s history in money management and domestic economy.<sup>88</sup> As John Lyon observed, Swift was certainly the person who should have read the funeral service,<sup>89</sup> but this is another duty that would have fallen to Sheridan. Nor did Swift write Stella’s epitaph, despite being expected to by her executors.<sup>90</sup>

It is significant that not long after Stella’s death, Sheridan and Swift travelled together through the south-east for between two and three weeks. No one else went with them. It was just the two of them passing through small towns such as Gorey and Wexford on a trip which they afterwards said was “for their Health”.<sup>91</sup> With regard to precisely when this trip took place, Ball says it was “in the spring” of 1728,<sup>92</sup> but it could be narrowed to either February or early-to-mid March, because from that time Swift is known to have begun publishing a few works in Dublin. What induced Swift to go on this journey alone with Sheridan cannot be known for certain, but it seems reasonable to speculate that it was out of appreciation for the care Sheridan had shown for Stella together with a sense of guilt for his own conduct.<sup>93</sup> It was a trip during which their friendship was consolidated as they mourned Stella, and it must have been a gratifying time for Sheridan. Other than one incident that appears to have happened in Gorey (and which became the subject of a Number of *The Intelligencer*, which will be discussed), nothing is known of what they did or the matters they discussed. However, circumstances from this time forward suggest quite clearly in my view that Sheridan took the

<sup>87</sup> Lane-Poole, ‘Dr. Sheridan’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172, at 157.

<sup>88</sup> Refer also: Rossi and Hone, 170, 304 – 305.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted by Denis Johnston: Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 166.

<sup>90</sup> Refer: Johnston, *In Search of Swift*, 178, 194.

<sup>91</sup> *Intelligencer Numb. II* (A3, 31, page 2; JW, *Intelligencer*, 52).

<sup>92</sup> Ball, *Correspondence*, iv, 33 n. Refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 51, 84.

<sup>93</sup> On the renewed warmth in their friendship immediately after Stella’s death: Lane-Poole, ‘Dr. Sheridan’, op. cit., 162.

opportunity to exercise some influence over his friend, and to remind him of his responsibilities in Dublin.

### *A Short View of the State of Ireland*

In mid-March 1728, Sarah Harding printed Swift's pamphlet, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, over fifteen pages in small octavo.<sup>94</sup> This is a tract where Swift lists what he considers to be fourteen conditions that are essential to a nation if it is to be able to flourish, before proceeding to illustrate how Ireland falls short on all fourteen. This was the first pamphlet on national affairs Swift had published since the fifth *Letter* of the Drapier, which had appeared on 31 December 1724. Given that *A Short View* lays much of the blame for Ireland's condition at England's door, it is the Drapier revisited.

Ferguson is of the view that Swift wrote the pamphlet in response to an assertion that had been made in print only days earlier in a tract entitled *Seasonable Remarks on Trade*, which had been written by John Browne.<sup>95</sup> This was the same John Browne who had given evidence for Wood at the hearing of the Committee of the English Privy Council in London in July 1724, and whom Swift had consequently named as an enemy to the kingdom in the third *Letter*. Since that time, Browne had begun the process of trying to redeem himself in the eyes of Ireland with a number of tracts on Irish economic matters,<sup>96</sup> and this *Seasonable Remarks on Trade*, with its comments that Ireland's harbours are well-suited for trade, its people hard-working, the cost of its necessities relatively cheap, and its taxes few, was one of those. The hapless Browne meant no harm with any of this. He was simply emitting a positive outlook for the sake of raising spirits and restoring his reputation with the people. But, according to Ferguson, Swift took this 'false optimism' with regard to Ireland as his premise for *A Short View*.<sup>97</sup> Not all commentators agree with Ferguson on this. Both Coleborne and James Woolley offer alternative reasons for Swift having written *A Short View*.<sup>98</sup> The fact, however, that Swift ends *A Short View* with the pointed comment that any person who declares Ireland

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<sup>94</sup> A3, 26. Hereafter referred to as *A Short View*.

<sup>95</sup> A4, 180.

<sup>96</sup> On Browne, refer: 4 April 1728, Browne to Swift: DW Letter 809 and note 1, vol. iii, 174 – 177; Ferguson, 146 – 147; and in particular the thesis of Coleborne: *Jonathan Swift and the Dunces of Dublin*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, National University of Ireland, 1982.

<sup>97</sup> Ferguson, 146 – 147, 189. (Refer also: Lien, 'Jonathan Swift and the Population of Ireland', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 8, 1974 – 1975, who cites Ferguson on this point: 431 – 453, 439).

<sup>98</sup> Coleborne, op. cit., 111 – 118; JW, *Intelligencer*, 170.



to be in a flourishing condition “must be either ignorant to Stupidity, or a Man-pleaser at the Expence of all Honour, Conscience and Truth”,<sup>99</sup> is a significant matter supporting Ferguson. Another matter relevant to this issue concerns the date in the imprint of Browne’s *Seasonable Remarks on Trade*, which reads “MDCCCXXVIII”. The fact that this is not Lady Day dating indicates that it might have appeared after 25 March, therefore post-dating *A Short View*. But the use of Roman numerals suggests that it could have been published in the early months of 1728 and that Lady Day dating was not a concern to the printer, Samuel Powell. Nowhere have I seen a publication dated, for instance, “MDCCXVVIII/IX”.

My view is that *A Short View* was conceived and written principally for the purpose of generating income for Sarah Harding. Even if Ferguson is correct and *A Short View* was written with Browne’s *Seasonable Remarks on Trade* in mind, my contention is that this simply provided Swift with his cue for a work that was intended for the benefit of Sarah Harding. Further, I think that internal evidence from *A Short View* itself indicates that the publication comes within the parameters of what can be considered Sheridan’s programme for bringing Swift to provide work for her. That programme is seen to have begun in the summer of 1725, with Sheridan ensuring that Swift’s *Humble Address*, which Swift had said to send to “some printer”, went to Sarah Harding. The programme continued soon after this, with Sheridan’s attempted periodical – consisting of two Numbers both concerned with Richard Tighe – which was aborted by the events associated with *On Wisdom’s Defeat*. Then, in 1727, circumstances suggest that Sheridan was prominent in bringing about Swift’s attempt to provide some ongoing work for Sarah Harding with *The Furniture of a Woman’s Mind*. There is also the distinct possibility that Swift’s involvement in the Dublin Parliamentary election of late 1727, which saw three tracts printed by Sarah Harding, was due to the influence of Sheridan. Given all of this history, it would seem anomalous if *A Short View* was not also a work produced under pressure from Sheridan.

Turning to the internal evidence, the first thing to be said is that *A Short View* appears to have been written hurriedly. The art that is crafted into the five *Letters* of 1724 is missing, with Swift instead listing his fourteen criteria for a nation to flourish in point form, and then addressing each of those fourteen in turn. The title, too, is one to which little thought has been given.<sup>100</sup> The pamphlet has the appearance of being put together relatively quickly to

<sup>99</sup> A3, 26, page 15; *PW*, xii, 12.

<sup>100</sup> Publications with similar titles from the preceding centuries include: Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, 1598 (refer: *HOIB*, 255); James Ware, *A View of the State of Ireland*, 1633 (refer: *HOIB*, 256 note 23, and 257); Barnaby Rich, *A Short Survey of Ireland*, 1609 (refer: *HOIB*, 254); Peter Walsh, *Prospect of the State of Ireland*,

answer an obligation. There is also the fact that *A Short View* was precisely the type of pamphlet the people wanted from Swift and that would therefore generate sales. The people cared little for his involvement in domestic politics and were probably disappointed that he had weighed in at the election of October the previous year. The people wanted to again feel the spirit and force of the writing that had set their blood racing a few years earlier. *A Short View* did this and was, therefore, sure to bring Sarah Harding a substantial profit.

A further circumstance supporting the possibility that *A Short View* was designed specifically for Sarah Harding is seen in the manner of its publication. From a viewpoint of sedition, this pamphlet was at least as dangerous as anything Swift had written as the Drapier. It resembled a collection of the most provocative thoughts and expressions that Swift had left over from that time – all condensed into one *Short View*. Despite this, Sarah Harding published the pamphlet on 19 March 1728 with a title page which displayed the title of the work in an impressive large font, accompanied by her ornament of the arms of France. The title page also included her full imprint: “DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1727-8”. Given that she had not put her name to anything even remotely dangerous since *On Wisdom's Defeat* in 1725,<sup>101</sup> this suggests that in publishing *A Short View*, she was in receipt of some kind of assurance that it would not be prosecuted. How else would Sarah Harding, who had suffered so much already, have put her name to such a publication? Immediately upon *A Short View* being published, moreover, there was an expectation amongst the people that she would be prosecuted. This is seen in a report of a Dublin newspaper from 20 March: “Yesterday came out a small Pamphlet, Entitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland*, the Author of which every Body pretends to know by the bold Strokes in it... ‘Tis said the Printer will be taken up”.<sup>102</sup> And when Nathaniel Mist in London

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1682 (refer: HOIB, 273); and Guy Miège, *The Present State of Great-Britain and Ireland in three parts... Containing an Accurate and Impartial Account of these Famous Islands*, London, 1707.

<sup>101</sup> The only works she had put her name to between *On Wisdom's Defeat* and this time were both perfectly safe publications: A3, 22; A3, 23.

<sup>102</sup> There is no known surviving copy of this newspaper, but this report on *A Short View* was reprinted in London as a “Dublin Report” of 20 March by Nathaniel Mist in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 30 March. (This extract from Mist's *Journal* is also reproduced in: JW, *Intelligencer*, 237). This Dublin newspaper report, incidentally, also constitutes evidence that *A Short View* was published on 19 March. Further evidence concerning its dating is the fact that Swift, in his pamphlet dated 25 March, *An Answer to a Paper, Called a Memorial of the poor inhabitants, Tradesmen and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland* (A3, 27), says: “But having sent out a paper some days ago entitled, *A Short View of the State of Ireland...*” (page 14). When he reprinted *A Short View* in 1735, Faulkner prefaced it with “Written in the Year 1727” (Faulkner 1735, iv, 250), but on this occasion Faulkner and Swift (who helped him edit this edition) appear to be a little out in their retrospective dating. This error of Faulkner and Swift appears to have been the cause of the comment by Teerink-Scouten that it was “Written in late 1727”, as well as their subsequent mistake that it was “published ca. Jan. 28, 1728”: T-S 329 (item 663). The ESTC also reproduces this error, saying it was “published in January 1728”. *A Short View* was also reprinted in Cork for the bookseller

reprinted portions of *A Short View* – “the material heads” of it only – in his *Weekly Journal* for 20 April 1728, he *was* prosecuted in that city.<sup>103</sup> The fact that Sarah Harding was not prosecuted suggests that Swift or his friends had obtained an assurance prior to publication.

Relevant to this issue of Swift or his friends obtaining a prior assurance with respect to *A Short View*, is a comment Swift made about two years later when looking back on the publication of this pamphlet:

About two years ago there was a small paper printed, which was called *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, relating the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitshed was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled.<sup>104</sup>

This is inaccurate from Swift. The fact that Whitshed had died in August 1727 had no bearing on the question of whether or not *A Short View* would be prosecuted. As Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, Whitshed’s role had been to implement prosecutions pursuant to orders from above. This had been the case in the prosecution of the *Universal Use* in 1720, which had been ordered by Midleton, as well as the prosecution of the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier in 1724, which had been ordered by Carteret. This comment from Swift represents just another in what by that time had become a long-running campaign to blame everything on Whitshed. Potentially what this comment from Swift does imply, however, is that Swift had turned his mind to the risk in *A Short View* and had made enquiries of other Irish leaders prior to publication. Either that or Sarah Harding independently received knowledge that she would not be prosecuted.

There are indications that sympathy for Sarah Harding was beginning to spread through the town, including amongst persons of influence. In late 1727 or early 1728, for instance, she was engaged by the almanac writer, Peter La Boissiere, to print and publish his *The Starry Interpreter: or, A Most Useful and Compleat Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1728*.<sup>105</sup> Another work from early 1728 appears to have been sent to her on the suggestion of someone

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Combra Daniell: T-S 329 (item 664); *PW*, xii, 323. On Daniell, refer: Munter, *Dictionary*, 71 – 72, and see also: *JW*, *Intelligencer*, 327.

<sup>103</sup> Swift refers to this prosecution of Mist in his tract of 1729 or 1730, *A Proposal that All the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures* (*PW*, xii, 122). Mist’s commentary on *A Short View* is reproduced by James Woolley in: *JW*, *Intelligencer*, 237 – 238. On Mist’s partial reprint, refer also: T-S 329 (item 664); *PW*, xii, 323.

<sup>104</sup> *A Proposal that All the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures* (*PW*, xii, 122).

<sup>105</sup> A3, 22.

senior at Trinity College.<sup>106</sup> And in May 1728, she printed *The Speech of a Noble Peer: Made in the House of Lords in Ireland, When the Privilege-Bill Was in Debate There*, which is thought to have been the speech of Lord Abercorn,<sup>107</sup> the same Lord who had led the proposal for a national bank in 1721.

### The Ghost of William Whitshed

In the course of *A Short View*, Swift made comments about Whitshed that were considered by some to be offensive to the memory of that Chief Justice. As mentioned earlier, Whitshed had died in August 1727, and the evidence in my view is clear that his death was a consequence of the campaign of nation-wide vilification against him that Swift instigated. That campaign began after Whitshed's efforts to bring the Grand Juries to find the bill against *Seasonable Advice against the Grand Jury* in November 1724. From that time, Swift began depicting Whitshed as a corrupt judge who misused his power to betray his country for the sake of furthering his own personal interests. The printed attacks included criticism of Whitshed's conduct on the bench, but with research undertaken into his past and his ancestry, the attacks also included verses that let the world know of his grandmother's apparent infidelity and grandfather's subsequent suicide, complete with the detail that his grandfather's suicide was by slitting his throat in a fit of rage.<sup>108</sup> With Swift targetting him in this way, the man who had been the most respected and feared judge in Ireland suddenly found himself met with hatred on every side. An unmarried man seemingly without any close support, Whitshed continued for a time as Chief Justice of the King's Bench. This was despite what is certain to have been a lack of appropriate respect from those before him in his court. It was also despite a motion tabled in the Parliament of late 1725 that Whitshed be removed from office (which he narrowly survived). But in December 1726, Whitshed requested a transfer to the Court of Common Pleas. This was a transfer downwards to a court of lesser jurisdiction, and one that in recent times had been comparatively quiet. Whitshed requested this transfer

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<sup>106</sup> A3, 25.

<sup>107</sup> A3, 28. As the Parliamentary session ended on 6 May 1728, she must have printed this by, or perhaps soon after, this time. On the question of the speaker of this speech, refer James Woolley: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172; JW, *Intelligencer*, 115.

<sup>108</sup> For Swift's part in the campaign, refer for example: *Whitshed's Motto on his Coach*, which was probably written in November 1724 (Williams, *Poems*, i, 347 – 348), and *Verses on the upright Judge, who condemned the Drapier's Printer*, thought to have been written in December 1724 (Williams, *Poems*, i, 349 – 350). The most prominent works written by others are the four *Letters* addressed to "the Right Honourable —", which appeared between December 1724 and February 1725: A4, 121; A4, 130; A4, 132 and A4, 137. There are thought to have been written chiefly by St. John Brodrick, the son of the Lord Chancellor, although the last sixteen paragraphs of the second have been attributed to Swift.

citing fatigue on account of the many enemies he had made in the course of serving His Majesty, and his request was granted. Immediately upon taking up his new position, however, the Court of Common Pleas became crowded with litigants and onlookers wanting to press the advantage over the weakened judge whilst witnessing the spectacle of his demise. Threats were also made on Whitshed's person whilst he was in this lower court. Then, in the summer of 1727, Whitshed went alone to his country house at Stormonstown. Despite the professional difficulties he had been encountering surely being apparent to other Irish leaders, no one anticipated the toll it would take. (As was said in the *Elegy* published for him, "Had it but been suspected ——— He would die/, His People sure had stop'd him with their Cry".)<sup>109</sup> Late in August, his friend, Archbishop King,<sup>110</sup> called on him unannounced to find him physically wasting and close to death. The Archbishop immediately called for a doctor, but Whitshed refused to take the medicine the doctor wanted to administer, and died a few hours later, on 26 August 1727.<sup>111</sup> He was fifty-one.<sup>112</sup> These were the circumstances of Whitshed's death.

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<sup>109</sup> A4, 164.

<sup>110</sup> King's friendship with Whitshed was of long standing. It was evidenced during the prosecutions of late 1724, when King tried to defend the Chief Justice's conduct with the argument that, by showing such zeal in his actions on the bench, he was simply trying to demonstrate to Westminster how hopeless the case was, and that the patent had to be withdrawn: 25 March 1725, King to Gorges: TCD MSS: 2537/ 225 – 226; 27 September 1727, King to Carteret: TCD MSS: 750/9/70 – 74.

<sup>111</sup> There has been confusion over the actual date of his death. Johnston-Liik says 19 August (*History of the Irish Parliament, 1692-1800*, 6 vols., 2002, vi, 539), but this is too early. The *Elegy* for Whitshed gives the date, Saturday 26 August 1727, and this is the most reliable source. The copy of this *Elegy* in TCD has a contemporary handwritten correction, saying "Tuesday the 25<sup>th</sup>", but this confuses days and dates and would appear to be wrong. Saturday 26 August is also restated in Carson's *Dublin Weekly Journal* of 2 September. In his letter to Carteret of 12 September 1727, Archbishop King says the date of death was 2 September, but he appears to have accidentally post-dated it by a week.

<sup>112</sup> For the details of the Archbishop's visit to Whitshed, refer: 27 September 1727, King to Carteret: TCD MSS: 750/9/70 – 74. Refer also: King to E. Southwell, 29 August 1727: TCD MSS: 750/9/9 – 12. For a selection of further material on Whitshed's career and death: 3 January 1717, Swift to Walls: DW Letter 437; vol. ii, 212; 19 August 1717, Swift to Walls: DW Letter 469, vol. ii, 257; 24 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246; 29 August 1727, King to Southwell; *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 2 September, 1727; *An Elegy on the much lamented death of the right honourable William Whitshed...* Dublin, 1727 (A4, 164); May 1731, Chetwode to Swift: DW Letter 920, vol. iii, 394; Orrery, *Remarks*, 78 – 79; Deane Swift, *Essay*, 192 – 194, 196 – 199; *Letters Written by His Excellency Hugh Boulter, D.D.*, Dublin, 1770, 2 vols., i, 111 – 112, 196 – 197; Monck Mason, 323 note n, 345 and note q; Gilbert, i, 221 – 222; Churton Collins, *Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study*, London, 1893, 168 – 169; R.A. King, *Swift in Ireland*, London, 1895, 103 – 104, 132 – 133; Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 77 – 78, 81, 96, 104 – 105, 117; Williams, *Correspondence*, 358, n. 3; Ferguson, 196; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 434; Burns, i, 107, 198 – 199; David Woolley, DW Letter 434, note 3, vol. ii, 208 – 209 (who in a rare slip estimates his year of birth as "c. 1656", overlooking the fact that Whitshed was born in 1679); Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament, 1692-1800*, op. cit., 538 – 540; and Baltes, "'The Grandson of that Ass Quin.'" Swift and Chief Justice Whitshed', *Swift Studies*, 23, (2008), 126 – 146.

Commentators have been reluctant to expressly state that it was a consequence of Swift's actions,<sup>113</sup> but my contention is that there is little room for doubt on the matter. In my view, it is sufficiently clear from the evidence that the universal hatred Swift had inspired, broke Whitshed's spirit and in turn his health. A contributing matter may also have been a shortage of public support from the Lord Lieutenant. This is to be distinguished from *private* support from the Lord Lieutenant. Carteret is known to have provided this, and even when the people of Dublin began to turn against Whitshed, he instructed Ireland's leaders to support the Chief Justice and to do so openly.<sup>114</sup> However, if Carteret had given a meaningful public defence of Whitshed, in printed form and which demonstrated to the people that the Chief Justice was not the villain Swift was making him out to be, this might have saved Whitshed. Further, there is independent evidence supporting my proposition that Whitshed died as a consequence of Swift's campaign. In Archbishop King's eulogistic letter concerning Whitshed to Carteret, dated 27 September 1727, the Archbishop refers to Whitshed's "Tender mind", and laments "what a slippery thing the Love or opinion of the world is & how easily it is lost".<sup>115</sup> The Primate, Hugh Boulter, also commented. In a letter to Newcastle written just days after Whitshed's death, he refers to the "great storm of malice [brought upon Whitshed] by his faithfully serving his Majesty". He also says, "it is thought his uneasiness upon some affronts he met with since his removal [from the Office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench], helped shorten his days", and the editor of these volumes of Boulter's letters annotates the word "affronts" with: "From Dean Swift and some of his subjects the mob".<sup>116</sup> It is apparent that the judge who built his reputation upon being stronger in the face of popular opinion than any other, fell victim to the intensity of public opinion orchestrated against him by Swift. Whitshed's death appears to have been an instance of what Bolingbroke once foreshadowed in a private letter. No doubt alluding to Swift, Bolingbroke wrote: "I know how to revive fellows that will write them to death."<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Refer for example: Deane Swift, *Essay*, 196 – 199; Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, op. cit., 630; Starratt, 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 18; Monck Mason, 345; Baltes, "'The Grandson of that Ass Quim': Swift and Chief Justice Whitshed", *Swift Studies*, 23, (2008), 126 – 141.

<sup>114</sup> Refer: 22 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: T/580/1, 241 – 243; 24 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246.

<sup>115</sup> 27 September 1727, King to Carteret: TCD MSS: 750/9/70 – 74.

<sup>116</sup> *Letters Written by His Excellency Hugh Boulter*, D.D., Dublin, 1770, 2 vols., i, 196 – 197. Refer also the comments by Boulter on 20 December 1726 (before Whitshed's death), at: i, 111 – 112.

<sup>117</sup> Quoted in: *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, page 8.

Seven months after Whitshed's death, *A Short View* was published. The passage that caused offence was Swift's response to his sixth criterion for a prosperous nation, which was that a nation needs to be governed only by laws made with its own consent. As for Ireland on this score:

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some Laws we never consented to, which is a Condition I must not call by it's true unconverted Name for fear of my L— C— J— W—'s Ghost with his *LIBERT AS ET NATALE SOLUM*, written as a Motto on his Coach, as it stood at the Door of the Court, while he was Perjuring himself to betray both.<sup>118</sup>

The true uncontroverted name Swift is referring to is of course 'slavery'. And Whitshed's perjuring himself, concerns the motto on his coach, "Libertas et Natale Solum" (Liberty and My Native Country). Swift seems to be saying that Whitshed had sworn himself to this motto and that by his conduct in court he was lying on oath, betraying both the notion of Liberty and the kingdom of Ireland.<sup>119</sup>

Having received word of criticism from certain quarters for speaking disrespectfully of the late Chief Justice, Swift responded almost immediately with a passage of writing that is peculiar. This response came at the end of a separate pamphlet Swift was writing at the time. A tract had been published and addressed to him in the title, *To the R—d Dr. J—n S—t, The Memorial Of the Poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland*.<sup>120</sup> This tract proposed a scheme to remedy the shortage of bread by raising ten thousand pounds to import cheap corn from the plantations, and Swift responded with *An Answer to a Paper, Called a Memorial of the poor inhabitants, Tradesmen and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland*.<sup>121</sup> Despite the fact

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<sup>118</sup> A3, 26, page 8 – 9; *PW*, xii, 8. There are two printing errors by Sarah Harding here: "*LIBERT AS*" should be "*LIBERTAS*"; and "unconverted" should be "uncontroverted" (these were corrected by Faulkner in 1735: *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 250; *PW*, xii, 8, 323). The word "it's" in the second line cannot be considered an error for it was repeated numerous times by Sarah Harding throughout 1728. The use of the apostrophe in this word must therefore be considered to have been common at this time.

<sup>119</sup> Swift had in fact previously libeled Whitshed with reference to this motto in two previous works, but neither of those two works was published. The first was the Drapier's *Letter to Middleton*, where Swift refers to the motto in almost identical terms to here in *A Short View* (*PW*, x, 100 – 101). The second was the poem, *Whitshed's Motto on his Coach*, (Williams, *Poems*, i, 347 – 349). Whitshed's relatives could have brought action against Sarah Harding for printing this comment in *A Short View*, given that the law of libel at this time did not distinguish between people living or dead: Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary*, 1729, (A4, 199, under "Libel" – pages are unnumbered).

<sup>120</sup> A4, 179. A copy of this was sent directly to Swift at the deanery. The identity of the author of this *Memorial* is uncertain. Davis thinks it is John Browne (*PW*, xii, xii–xiii), and he makes this claim with reference to Browne's letter to Swift of 4 April 1728 (DW Letter 809 and notes, vol. iii, 174 – 178). This claim is also supported by T-S (330 (item 665)). Ferguson on the other hand says there is no evidence to associate Browne with this tract: 189 – 190; also Wagner, 31.

<sup>121</sup> A3, 27. Madden is mistaken in saying that this *Answer* is dated "25 March, 1726": i, 299.

that the original *Memorial* had been addressed to Swift by name, this *Answer* from Swift was written under the pseudonym “A.B.” In what was by this time becoming a pattern, too, this *Answer* was another work that was printed for Swift by Sarah Harding. She printed it in small octavo over sixteen pages. To promote the fact that it was another work from Swift, she commented on the title page: “By the AUTHOR of the SHORT View of the State of IRELAND”. And she included her full imprint: “Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728”. Given that the work is dated 25 March, she must have published it in the final days of that month.

It is at the end of this *Answer*, after having dismissed the Memorialist’s proposal as being without sufficient merit, that Swift changes subject entirely to take the opportunity to respond to “an Objection, that some People think I have treated the Memory of a departed J—ge, with an Appearance of Severity”.<sup>122</sup> There follow four paragraphs of the most strenuous self-justification. Drawing on historical and classical precedents, Swift over-exerts himself in his effort to blacken the memory of Whitshed. He lays it down as a “Postulatum, which I suppose will be universally granted”,<sup>123</sup> that Whitshed misused his power to further his own interests at the expense of those of the kingdom. He also declares that it is a crime to say anything negative of the dead where there is the least doubt as to the facts, but in the case of Whitshed, says Swift, there can be no doubt as to the facts. The question of any doubt with regard to the facts, though, is all the other way. As a judge with no tenure presiding over cases involving government interests, the only question is not whether there was anything in Whitshed’s conduct that was *right*, as Swift suggests, but whether he did anything *wrong*. The only aspect of his conduct that could potentially be considered to have been a mistake was the openness of his determination to secure convictions, and the consequent perception that justice was not being served. But then again, even after his conduct on the bench in November 1724, Carteret wrote to Westminster, “I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal, prudence, and integrity of my Lord Chief Justice upon all occasions, and in nothing more than that he has thought proper to discharge this Grand Jury and to order a new one”.<sup>124</sup> In these paragraphs, Swift is espousing the principle that history must remember people for precisely what they were. However, if anyone was going to set down for posterity the type of person

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<sup>122</sup> A3, 27, page 14; *PW*, xii, 23.

<sup>123</sup> A3, 27, page 14; *PW*, xii, 23.

<sup>124</sup> 22 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI: T/580/1, 241 – 243. And Carteret praised Whitshed at greater length in his letter to Westminster two days later: 24 November 1724, Carteret to Newcastle: PRONI T/580/1, 244 – 246.



Whitshed was, it was the person to whom Whitshed was answerable in his vocation – the Lord Lieutenant – and not Swift, the pseudonymous accused in Whitshed's Court. In the course of this passage, Swift also offers this comment:

As to my Nameing<sup>125</sup> a Person Dead, the plain honest Reason is the best. He was Armed with Power, Guilt, and Will to do Mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his Prosecuting two *Printers*, one to Death, and both to Ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the King, nor Him, nor the Publick.<sup>126</sup>

How Whitshed prosecuted Harding “to death” is unclear. All Whitshed did was imprison him and set his bail – all pursuant to his duty. And Swift ends this passage with the remark that, “although their [the wrongdoers] Memories will Rot, there may be some Benefit for their Survivors to smell it while it is rotting”.<sup>127</sup>

What prompted Swift to expend such energy in response to the criticism of his comment concerning Whitshed in *A Short View*, cannot be known for certain, but in my view this long-running campaign against Whitshed was symptomatic of Swift wanting to suppress the issue of John Harding. On every occasion that Swift as part of this campaign reminded people of the ‘impropriety’ of Whitshed's conduct, he did so with reference to the case of Waters in 1720,<sup>128</sup> and not that of Harding in 1724, despite the ramifications of the latter being immeasurably more severe. Also relevant to this issue are a few measures taken by Swift to dispel any notion that either Waters or Harding had at any time had him in their power. These were measures that in my view were calculated to erase any lingering suspicion that Harding's ailment and subsequent death had been to Swift's advantage. Firstly, in the fifth *Letter* of the *Drapier* written in late 1724, where Swift reflects on the events related to *Universal Use*, he says in relation to Waters: “the *Printer*, who had the *Author* in his Power”.<sup>129</sup> When this fifth *Letter* was edited for *Fraud Detected* in 1725, this comment was removed – an editorial change that in my view would certainly have been at Swift's behest rather than a printer's amendment by

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<sup>125</sup> “Nameing” is a Sarah Harding type-setting error.

<sup>126</sup> A3, 27, page 15; *PW*, xii, 24.

<sup>127</sup> A3, 27, page 16; *PW*, xii, 25. Refer also: Deane Swift, *Essay*, 196 – 199.

<sup>128</sup> Refer: *Letter to Middleton* (Faulkner 1735, iv, 189; *PW*, x, 100 – 101); *Humble Address* (Faulkner 1735, iv, 236 – 237; *PW*, x, 137); *A Proposal that all the Ladies of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures* (*PW*, xii, 121); *The Substance of what was said by the Dean of St. Patrick's to the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, when his Lordship came to present the said Dean with his Freedom in a Gold Box* (*PW*, xii, 147).

<sup>129</sup> *Letter to Molesworth* (A2, 65, page 14).

Faulkner.<sup>130</sup> Secondly, as the 1735 edition of the *Letters* was being prepared, a prefatory comment was made by Faulkner concerning Harding. A comment that can only have been made by Faulkner on information provided by Swift, and probably made under Swift's direction, it states: "it never lay in the Power of the printer [Harding] to discover him [Swift]".<sup>131</sup> As discussed earlier, this is demonstrably false. And thirdly, for the 1735 edition of the *Letters*, an explanation was included as to why the *Letter to Middleton* was not published when written in October and November 1724. As Faulkner says: "I can tell no other Reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the Writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the People in Power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the Paper in his Cabinet."<sup>132</sup> As I argued with clear supporting evidence, however, the reason Swift withheld the *Letter to Middleton* was because, after eleven days at large, Harding was eventually imprisoned, and in this state of confinement could not – seemingly – claim the reward to draw Swift out. All of these measures were in my view intended by Swift to draw attention away from certain circumstances associated with the prosecution of Harding in late 1724. And this sustained campaign against Whitshed was in my view for the same purpose.

Sometime after the publication of Swift's *An Answer to a Paper, Called a Memorial*, a tract appeared entitled *W———t's Ghost Appears to the R-----d D---n S----t*. Written anonymously and published with no imprint at all,<sup>133</sup> it presented a dialogue between the ghost of Whitshed, and Swift, upon the occasion of the former visiting Swift in his deanery study. With its title and general premise, then, this tract promised to say something pertinent about Swift's treatment of the memory of Whitshed. But it does not do so. Rather than dealing directly with the passage in *A Short View* that had been complained of, the dialogue has the ghost speaking of that pamphlet in a way that offers back-handed compliments to the author. The only comment of the ghost that is mildly effective as a criticism is: "'Tis not enough for you to see and be exempt from the Miseries with which your Country is Involv'd". Otherwise it is a watery tract which presents Swift as the invincible patriot and Whitshed as the vanquished judge. It again illustrates how no one in Ireland had the nerve to admonish Swift.

<sup>130</sup> The omission of this comment is recorded by Davis: *PW*, x, 89, 213. And as mentioned earlier, all changes to the *Letters* that were made for *Fraud Detected* in 1725 were retained for *Faulkner 1735*.

<sup>131</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 'Advertisement' (p. iv).

<sup>132</sup> *Faulkner 1735*, iv, 183; *PW*, 97. Refer also: Davis, *PW*, x, xxi.

<sup>133</sup> A4, 183. Precisely when this tract appeared in the course of this brief episode cannot be known, but given that the *Answer* appeared only days after *A Short View*, it is likely to have been after that *Answer*.

### *The Intelligencer*

The first Number of the periodical, *The Intelligencer*, appeared on 11 May 1728. Planning for it would therefore have begun in April or probably even March, which was the period during which Swift was writing *A Short View* and *An Answer to a Paper, Called a Memorial*. Commentators have been uncertain as to why this periodical was initiated. They have, for the most part, never considered the possibility that it was conceived principally for the purpose of supporting Sarah Harding. James Woolley, in his annotated edition of *The Intelligencer* published in 1992, says “a good guess might be that at first the *Intelligencer* was for Swift a diversion from the loss of Esther Johnson and from his failure to establish the rapport he wished with the court of the new king, George II, both within the previous year”.<sup>134</sup> Accordingly, James Woolley is one of several commentators who has assumed that the choice of Sarah Harding as printer was incidental to the authors’ design to produce this periodical for their own purposes – whatever those purposes might have been.<sup>135</sup> This would appear to be due in part to the fact that, in the only written comment Swift is known to have made about the beginnings of *The Intelligencer*, he did not offer any suggestion that the periodical had been created with Sarah Harding in mind. This comment by Swift was in a letter to Pope written three years after the periodical ended. Pope had seen a copy of one of the collected volumes of all of the Numbers of *The Intelligencer* which by that time had been published in London,<sup>136</sup> and he had written to Swift asking him which particular Numbers had been written by him. In the course of his reply, Swift explained, “Two or three of us had a fancy three years ago to write a Weekly paper, and call it an *Intelligencer*”,<sup>137</sup> with nothing further about how or why the periodical began – it was just the product of “a fancy”. But this omission of any mention of Sarah Harding could perhaps be explained by Swift’s pride insofar as he was never going to admit that this periodical he was involved in was for the benefit of a printer (particularly the widow of the stationer who had died for printing one of his *Letters* as the Drapier). Or more likely, the omission was due to the fact that, even though it *had* been for the benefit of Sarah

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<sup>134</sup> JW, *Intelligencer*, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Refer: James Woolley: JW, *Intelligencer*, 1, 35, 38, 39; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 169; Madden, i, 297 – 303; Temple Scott, ix, 309 – 331; Davis: *PW*, xii, 325 – 329; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 306, 559, 580 – 586; Dolan, “Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift”, *Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. 16., no 1, January 1987, 3 – 32, at 20 – 21). For other general commentary on *The Intelligencer*: Monck Mason (376 – 378, and notes m, n, and o); and Temple Scott (ix, 311 – 312).

<sup>136</sup> A4, 191; A4, 201.

<sup>137</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

Harding, this was something that was of never of any consequence to Swift. Nonetheless, even though in this short passage to Pope, Swift does not expressly say that *The Intelligencer* was for the benefit of Sarah Harding, elsewhere in the passage he explains that the periodical did not survive for long because “the printer here could not afford [a manager for the project]”,<sup>138</sup> implying, at the very least, that the printer was an integral person in the venture.

The view that *The Intelligencer* was designed specifically for Sarah Harding has been adopted by two commentators. One is Munter, who says: “This project was evidently engineered by the dean in order to assist the ruined Harding family”.<sup>139</sup> And this opinion is shared by Elizabeth Kraft.<sup>140</sup> In my view the only alteration that needs to be made to this opinion is that the project was engineered by Sheridan, not by Swift. The evidence of this is in abundant supply. It consists of all of the efforts by Sheridan to bring Swift to provide work for Sarah Harding up to this time. It also consists of the evidence from the period of the life of the periodical itself, with Sheridan doing everything he could to preserve Swift’s commitment to it, and ultimately losing patience with him.

Accordingly, the commencement of this periodical to be co-written with Swift represented a triumph for Sheridan. Having spent the preceding years caring for people who in his view were Swift’s responsibility, Sheridan now had Swift’s agreement to work with him in the support of one of those people. He had finally succeeded in imposing his will upon Swift in a meaningful way. An added personal boon for Sheridan was the fact that the periodical would be a public exhibition of the bond between himself and Swift as writers and friends.

It was not a small undertaking they were embarking upon, and accordingly, a degree of planning preceded it. Previous attempts to generate work for Sarah Harding were haphazard in comparison. Sheridan’s periodical of 1725 comprising two poetical Numbers concerning Richard Tighe had had no title or strategy. *The Furniture of a Woman’s Mind* was an isolated effort to bring the town to send work to Sarah Harding which appears to have come to nothing. *The Intelligencer*, on the other hand, was a weekly periodical that would require

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<sup>138</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

<sup>139</sup> HINP, 163.

<sup>140</sup> Kraft, ‘The Intelligencer’, in Sullivan, ed., *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698 – 1788*, London, 1983 – 1986, 169 – 172, at 170.

sustained commitment from its writers. Swift's letter to Pope of 12 June 1732 suggests that a third person was involved in the planning stages. This might have been Worrall, but as it turned out, the third person had no part in the writing, with all of that work falling to Sheridan and Swift. The theme settled upon for the subject of the periodical was the general one of a weekly report of the most interesting instances of folly and vice in the town. Entitled *The Intelligencer*, signifying 'newsgatherer' or 'spy',<sup>141</sup> it was intended to be a periodical mostly of fun and laughter, with Swift explaining in the opening Number – which served as a preface to the periodical generally – that an Office of Intelligence had been created and that its members would station themselves in play houses, balls, assemblies, coffee houses, courts of justice, churches, ale houses, meetings of quadrille and other sorts of gatherings, to monitor closely for folly and vice and report their findings in *The Intelligencer*, without using people's real names. The Office of Intelligence would also report any acts of virtue or generosity, in the unlikely event, as Swift said, that any could be found.<sup>142</sup> As an entertaining periodical that carried the inherent promise of gossip and scandal, it was precisely the kind of publication that would find a market. Like the model in *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind*, it was designed to actively engage the town, with the people encouraged by the authors to keep watch themselves and to send their own reports and advertisements "to the *PRINTER* of this *Paper*".<sup>143</sup> Swift and Sheridan directed Sarah Harding to employ a manager to help sort and edit the incoming reports and assist with the publishing generally. Clearly, Sheridan and Swift were hoping that reports from the town would indeed come in and that in this way their workload would be reduced. In the absence of such reports from the town, the evidence from the periodical indicates that they agreed to alternate the writing duties between themselves more or less week-by-week.<sup>144</sup> *The Intelligencer*, accordingly, was a substantial publishing enterprise. It was also one to which they were committing themselves long-term. This is seen in the hope expressed in the opening Number, that a virtuous or generous deed "may be offered to us, once in a Year or two, after we shall have settled a Correspondence round the *Kingdom*".<sup>145</sup> This periodical represented a genuine effort to provide for Sarah Harding over the long term.

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<sup>141</sup> Refer: James Woolley: JW, *Intelligencer*, 1.

<sup>142</sup> A3, 30, pages 5 – 6; JW, *Intelligencer*, 48.

<sup>143</sup> A3, 30, page 6; JW, *Intelligencer*, 49.

<sup>144</sup> Refer also: Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 581, note 1.

<sup>145</sup> A3, 30, page 6; JW, *Intelligencer*, 48.

It was as though Sheridan was imposing on Swift a life-time commitment to the support of that widow.

The only potential problem in the planning concerned the ability and capacity of Sarah Harding. She needed to be able to manage the undertaking in all of its aspects and produce each weekly Number to an appropriate standard. She also needed to be able to produce enough copies within each seven-day period to meet demand and, for her own sake, realise the periodical's potential. That her capacity proved to be a problem is seen in two matters. Firstly, although Swift and Sheridan told her to employ a manager (and that Swift reported in the first Number that she had in fact done so), this would never happen. The reason, as Swift afterwards said, was that "she could not afford such a young man one farthing for his trouble".<sup>146</sup> Secondly, she appears to have had short supplies of paper. As seen already, this appears to have been an issue for her ever since her independent printing began in the summer of 1725, with a few of her publications seemingly having been produced only with small print runs. (Raymond Gillespie observes that paper was "the largest cost in book production".)<sup>147</sup> For *The Intelligencer*, Sarah Harding needed to rectify this, but was seemingly unable to. This is suggested by the fact that for many Numbers there are multiple surviving impressions,<sup>148</sup> which indicates that she was printing a batch, selling that batch, using the profits to buy more paper, printing another batch, selling it, and so on.

Perhaps Swift and Sheridan should have advanced her the money to allow her to employ a manager and acquire a bulk supply of paper. It could be thought that this was incumbent upon them to enable her to capitalise on the venture. On the other hand, this could be said to have been the time when Sarah Harding needed to find a way to take responsibility for these matters herself. This, after all, was a most substantial opportunity that was being offered to her, one that publishers anywhere in Ireland or England would have paid a small fortune for. Sarah Harding needed to plan and obtain some funding in advance. For some reason, though, she did not or could not do so. All that she may have done by way of planning was arrange for an extra person or two to be on hand to help with the printing from

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<sup>146</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

<sup>147</sup> Gillespie, 'Print Culture, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 27.

<sup>148</sup> There are multiple impressions (a re-pressing with only minor changes to the type that is already set) and sometimes multiple editions (where the type is entirely reset) of all twenty Numbers of *The Intelligencer*: see JW, *Intelligencer*, 288, with reference to 299 – 336. For more detailed discussion of what constitutes an "impression": JW, *Intelligencer*, 288, with reference to 299 – 336; McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography, for Literary Students*, Oxford, 1927, 175, 179.

time to time. This is disclosed by Swift in a letter to Worrall of January 1729, when he referred to Sarah Harding's "people" and "her printers".<sup>149</sup> But she had no manager and no money to buy a good supply of paper, which, needless to say, was an inefficient way of proceeding. It could be hypothesised that no one ever turned their mind to the issue of her finances. Swift for his part had agreed to write. He was appeasing Sheridan, and other than the recommendation that Sarah Harding employ a manager, he would have seen the affairs of the printer as none of his concern. Sheridan had no mind for business matters and is unlikely to have applied himself too much to Sarah Harding's situation, thinking simply that he had brought the idea to fruition and that she would profit by it as a matter of course. As for Sarah Harding herself, she also did not have any mind for business. Maybe she did in fact seek finance but was considered too much of a risk on account of her record of imprisonments, although that seems improbable. It is more likely that she approached the venture little differently from any of her previous jobs, and that no other stationer in Dublin thought to take her aside to offer advice or assistance. In this way, then, a periodical co-authored by Swift at a time when his fame was at a height, came to be produced by one of the most under-resourced printing houses in all of Britain.

For the first ten Numbers, everything went reasonably well. The authors and the printer worked in unison, with all Numbers appearing more or less in keeping with the weekly schedule. The active involvement of the town did not materialise as they had hoped. No "citizen's reports" of folly or vice appear to have come in. But, with multiple impressions of each of these Numbers,<sup>150</sup> the periodical appears to have sold well for Sarah Harding from its beginning.

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<sup>149</sup> 13 January 1729, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 828, vol. iii, 206.

<sup>150</sup> All of Sarah Harding's different impressions and editions for each Number have been catalogued by James Woolley: *Intelligencer*, 299 – 336. My copy texts correspond to that catalogue as follows: *Intelligencer* Number I (A3, 30): "28b *The second impression*" (page 300); Number II (A3, 31): "28a *The first edition, first impression*" (301); Number III (A3, 32): "28a *The first edition*" (302); Number IV (A3, 33): "28c *Another impression*" (306); Number V (A3, 34): "28a" (307); Number VI (A3, 36): "28c *Another impression of 28b*" (310); Number VII (A3, 37): "28a" (311); Number VIII (A3, 38): "28a *The first edition*" (312); Number IX (A3, 39): "28a *The Harding edition*" (316); Number X (A3, 40): "28a *The first edition*" (319); Number XI (A3, 42): "28a *The Harding edition, first impression*" (320); Number XII (A3, 43): "28 *The Harding edition*" (321-2); Number XIII (A3, 44): "28d *Reissue of 28c with reset title-page*" (323); Number XIV (A3, 45): "28a *The Harding Edition*" (325); Number XV (A3, 46): "28C *The Harding Intelligencer*" (327); Number XVI (A3, 47): "28 *First Edition*" (330); Number XVII (A3, 49): "28a *First edition, first impression*" (331); Number XVIII (A3, 50): "28 *The first edition*" (332); Number XIX (A3, 51): "28 *The first edition*" (323-3); Number XX (A3, 61): "28 *The first edition*" (335 – 336). Finally, although in his edition of *The Intelligencer* James Woolley also uses as his copy texts a particular impression from Sarah's editions (as opposed to one of the London reprints from 1729 or later), for the benefit of his readers he has corrected most of the typographical, spelling and other errors made by Sarah Harding (as he states in his 'Textual Introduction' at page 43). Those errors are set out in catalogued form in his 'Textual Notes' (299 – 366). In this thesis, reproductions from the copy texts retain their original Sarah Harding errors.

The first Number consisted of only six paragraphs and was the introduction to the notion of this new Office of Intelligence established to seek out and report on folly and vice, along with its invitation to everyone to join in on the policing. Written by Swift, it bears his unmistakable style from the opening paragraph, as it needed to in order to alert the town from the outset of his involvement. The quality of the printing surpassed anything Sarah Harding had previously done or would subsequently achieve. The press work is clean. She used three different ornaments: one of Cupid on the title page, an ornate globe at the top of page three where the text begins, and a fountain with dolphins as the tail piece. The opening word of each paragraph is put in all capitals. A line space is put between every paragraph and a header title of *The Intelligencer* runs across the top of pages four through seven. There are no spelling or typographical errors.<sup>151</sup> The title page states: “Saturday, May 11. *To be Continued Weekly*”, and at its foot has the imprint in bold type: “**DUBLIN:** Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the *Crown* in *Copper-Alley*, 1728”.

The second Number was written by Sheridan although seemingly overseen by Swift. It relates the story of some inhospitable treatment received by two gentlemen on a recent visit they undertook to a country village. The story is that a carriage came along the street, for which one of the gentlemen, who happened to be standing in its way, was compelled to step sharply aside to allow it to pass, but the coachman redirected the coach to charge this gentleman, who was then against the wall of an inn. If not for the quick actions of his travelling companion and one other person in pulling him away, the coach might have killed him. The story relates how the owner of the coach was the tyrannical squire of the village and that he refused to apologise. This second Number then lays down some rules for the proper treatment of visitors to towns. The two gentlemen in the story are not named, but the teller of the story is Sheridan. The other person, whom Sheridan refers to as a “Gentleman, to whom the Nation hath in a particular manner been obliged”,<sup>152</sup> is Swift. And the incident is one that occurred during their recent trip through the south-east. The person whose life was momentarily threatened was Swift, and the coach owner who seemingly tried to kill Swift is thought to have been the landlord of Gorey, also a Dublin banker, Abel Ram (appropriately named given the circumstances of this incident).

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<sup>151</sup> Facsimile reproductions of the ornaments used by Sarah Harding throughout this period can be found in: JW, *Intelligencer*, 290 – 291.

<sup>152</sup> A3, 31, page 4; JW, *Intelligencer*, 52.



This second Number, then, has Sheridan as the writer, who is describing Swift in the third person. In my view, this Number would have been deliberately crafted in this way in order to introduce the notion that there were two people writing as *The Intelligencer*, Swift and another. Given that one of Swift's reservations about the periodical would have been a concern that Sheridan's work would be mistaken for his own, I think it would have been important to him to have this 'dual writer' announcement made early on. It is for this reason that he may also have had a hand in the writing of this second Number, as Walter Scott suspects.<sup>153</sup> Sarah Harding published it probably on Saturday 18 May and, like the first, she printed it over eight pages in octavo, although on this occasion without the features in the first Number – the capitalisation of the first word of every paragraph, the space between paragraphs and the running header.

The third Number is Swift's commentary and recommendation of his friend, John Gay's, play, *The Beggar's Opera*, which was playing to sell-out theatres in Dublin and London. This Number can be considered the beginning of *The Intelligencer's* diversion from its stated purpose, because although it discusses in part how *The Beggar's Opera* successfully exposes folly and vice in courts and ministries, it is a report of specific instances of folly and vice in the town of Dublin itself only insofar as it mentions certain aspects of the conduct of Dublin theatre-goers. From this point on, with no reports from the people coming in, the 'charter' of the Office of Intelligence would be more or less abandoned, and the authors would find themselves writing on whatever topic or issue came to mind from week to week. This third Number was published by Sarah Harding seemingly on Saturday 25 May.<sup>154</sup> Again, she printed it over eight pages in octavo, although with the quality of her press work slipping.

Number Four is an essay by Sheridan on the effects of gambling amongst women and how it can lead to a loss of time, reputation, health, fortune, temper and even life. There is little that is humorous in this Number because the periodical, following on from Number Three, took more of a moralistic bent, but it would have sold well nonetheless. It was published by Sarah Harding probably on Saturday 1 June. On this occasion, she printed it without a separate title page and with some passages set in a smaller font to squeeze the copy

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<sup>153</sup> Walter Scott, i, 367 – 372, notes.

<sup>154</sup> A3, 32. Within days of this, Sarah Harding also published a tract independently of *The Intelligencer*. This was the *Last Speech* of a surgeon who had murdered his servant and who was to be executed at St. Stephen's Green on 5 June: A3, 35. *Last Speeches* such as this were ordinarily printed by Elizabeth Sadlier. The fact that this one is printed by Sarah Harding, then, is another indication that Elizabeth Sadlier had died by this time.

into eight pages.<sup>155</sup> For the first time, she omitted her imprint, which was probably on account of Sheridan having given names and street addresses of four gambling women who had pawned jewellery and household goods to support their habit, which in this instance might have been real names and addresses.

Number Five is a commentary by Swift explaining how the surest way to advance in the world is to cultivate the trait of discretion – that is, dullness. Uninspiring people of average intelligence who take the middling way and offend no one, Swift says in this Number, are invariably elevated to high stations, whilst people who evince any talent or genius find doors closed to them. At the end of this Number, Swift also foreshadows a future paper on the same theme. This would in time materialise as *Intelligencer* Number Seven, and Swift probably wrote it at the same time. This Number Five was published probably on Saturday 8 June and was printed by Sarah Harding over eight pages with a separate title page and with her usual imprint.<sup>156</sup>

After Number Five, publishing arrangements underwent a change when Swift accepted an invitation to travel to the north for a stay with Sir Arthur Acheson and his wife, Lady Anne Acheson, at their estate near Market Hill in County Armagh, about seventy miles north of Dublin.<sup>157</sup> This would be the first of three consecutive summer visits Swift would make to the Achesons' residence at Market Hill (now known as Gosford Castle) in 1728, 1729 and 1730.<sup>158</sup> This friendship with the Achesons had begun only within the previous few months of 1728. Sir Arthur was then aged forty. He was a baronet of Scottish descent who had had a seat in the Irish House of Commons since 1727. He had married Lady Acheson in 1715. She was the daughter of Philip Savage, who had previously served for twenty years as Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland. Swift had known Savage in earlier years, but this new friendship with Savage's daughter and her husband appears to have been facilitated by Sheridan. The Achesons had a Dublin residence in Capel Street, which was the same street as Sheridan's school, and as the Achesons had two sons, aged about ten and seven, David Woolley speculates that those sons were schooled under Sheridan, and that this is how Swift

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<sup>155</sup> A3, 33.

<sup>156</sup> A3, 34.

<sup>157</sup> On the Achesons, Market Hill and Swift's visits there: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 847; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 600 – 609; McMin, *Jonathan's Travels*, 119 – 132; David Woolley: DW Letter 819 notes 1 and 2, vol. iii, 193; James Woolley: JW, Skinnibonia.

<sup>158</sup> Rossi and Hone are mistaken in saying that Swift's last trip to Market Hill was in 1728: 413, note 11.

came to know the parents.<sup>159</sup> A further circumstance supporting this possibility is the closeness of the friendship of Swift and Sheridan during this time following Stella's death, and the subsequent likelihood that Swift was passing more time with Sheridan, both at his home and his school. In early June,<sup>160</sup> then, Swift decided to travel to Market Hill for what seems to initially have been intended to be a stay of three months. It was a decision that must have concerned Sheridan at least a little because of the potential disruption it posed to *The Intelligencer*, but Sheridan appears to have given it his blessing, and in the spirit of their rejuvenated friendship, seems even to have travelled north with Swift to escort him there.<sup>161</sup>

As far as Sheridan was concerned, this was only going to be a relatively short absence on Swift's part. Given that, of the next five Numbers of *The Intelligencer*, four are by Swift, it seems that Swift wrote these four in advance and left them with Sheridan to help see the periodical through the period of his absence. Accordingly, with Swift at Market Hill and with copy for *The Intelligencer* in good supply for a time, Sheridan took the opportunity to undertake some journeys of his own. Sheridan travelled north along the east coast (possibly after having accompanied Swift to Market Hill), then as far south as Cork to meet obligations pursuant to his clerical position there,<sup>162</sup> and returned to Dublin around mid-July, when *Intelligencer* Number Ten would be published. The manuscripts for Numbers Six through Ten might have been left with Sarah Harding before the travels of the two authors began. Alternatively, Sheridan could have given one or more of them to Sarah Harding whilst passing through Dublin on his way south.

Number Six is the only one of the next five to be written by Sheridan.<sup>163</sup> It is a report of the condition of the country as observed by Sheridan during his travels to the north.

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<sup>159</sup> DW Letter 819 note 2, vol. iii, 193. Compare other possible explanations offered by Ehrenpreis (*Swift*, iii, 600), and McMinn (*Jonathan's Travels*, 119).

<sup>160</sup> On the timing of Swift's departure for Market Hill being early June: McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 121; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 847; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 601; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 84, 206.

<sup>161</sup> James Woolley thinks Sheridan may have accompanied Swift there: *Intelligencer*, 84; and David Woolley seems to take this as fact: DW Letter 819 note 3, vol. iii, 193.

<sup>162</sup> On Sheridan's travels in this period: David Woolley, DW Letter 819 and note 3, vol. iii, 193; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 596 – 597; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 84.

<sup>163</sup> It follows that seven of the first ten were written by Swift. The comment of Ehrenpreis, however, that Swift "contributed generously to the *Intelligencer*" (*Swift*, iii, 581), can only be applied to these first ten. It does not apply to Numbers Eleven through Twenty. Indeed, the most accurate comment regarding the origins of *The Intelligencer* and the way the two authors worked together, was made in 1746: "Dr. Thomas Sheridan of Dublin published a weekly paper, called *The Intelligencer*, for the greatest part written by himself; but his Friend, the Dean of St. Patrick's, sometimes supplied him with a paper" F. Cogan, *The Entertainer. Consisting of Pieces in Prose and Verse, Witty, Humorous, or Curious*, London, 1746 (quoted in JW, *Intelligencer*, 244, note 1). Similarly, Walter Scott

Whether those observations were made during the journey he had just undertaken, or during one which he says in the course of the Number took place “Last Year”,<sup>164</sup> is unclear. Maybe they were drawn from both. Regardless, it is a Number that opens by imitating *A Short View* by censuring those people who misrepresent Ireland as being in a flourishing state. It also draws on classical analogies. Other than these imitations of the style of Swift, though, it is some of Sheridan’s best prose as it presents graphic descriptions of the ruins of churches and the naked poverty of the people. Sarah Harding published it on Tuesday 18 June, ten days after the previous Number. She printed it over eight pages in octavo with a separate title page inclusive of her imprint.<sup>165</sup>

Number Seven is Swift’s promised sequel to Number Five on the virtues of the trait of discretion. Rather than discussing the matter objectively in essay form as he had done in Number Five, on this occasion he presents a case study contrasting the fortunes of two fictional characters, Curosodes and his university contemporary, Eugenio. Curosodes is the innocuous plodder who advances in the world, whilst the brilliant Eugenio finds himself blocked at every turn and corralled into a life of obscurity. Sarah Harding published it sometime between Saturday 22 and Tuesday 25 June, again over eight pages in octavo with a separate title page which included her imprint.<sup>166</sup>

Number Eight is the first *Intelligencer* to be in verse. It is Swift’s “Mad Mullinix and Timothy”, which is another satire on the outspoken Whig member of the House of Commons, Richard Tighe. The poem is a dialogue between Mad Mullinix, which is a pseudonym for a Dublin street character well-known for his Tory soliloquising, “Captain’ John Mullinix”,<sup>167</sup> and Tim, representing Tighe. Mad Mullinix counsels Tim with regard to his outdated Whiggish ways and reasons with him to give politics away and come and join him in a street life, with Tim ultimately acceding to Mad Mullinix’s reasoning. Sheridan added a short preface in prose before sending it to Sarah Harding, who published it sometime between Saturday 29 June and Tuesday 2 July. It has no separate title page and this was the second

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described *The Intelligencer* as “a periodical paper, published at Dublin, by Sheridan, with the occasional assistance of his illustrious friends”: vol. ix, 290.

<sup>164</sup> A3, 36, page 4; JW, *Intelligencer*, 87.

<sup>165</sup> When this Number was reprinted in London by Mist, he was prosecuted (again): refer JW, *Intelligencer*, 84. Presumably the English government thought this Number had the potential to raise disaffection.

<sup>166</sup> A3, 37.

<sup>167</sup> Refer: JW, *Intelligencer*, 101.

*Intelligencer* for which she omitted her imprint.<sup>168</sup> No doubt she omitted this out of a concern for the possibility of repercussions from the unpredictable Tighe.

Number Nine is an essay by Swift in which he reasons that the quality of education received by children decreases in proportion with the affluence of the parents. The greater the titles and wealth in the family, the less the children's application to their studies and the less fit they are for positions of leadership in adult life. Sarah Harding published it sometime between Saturday 6 July and Tuesday 9 July, and as it is a longer essay by Swift, it was the first *Intelligencer* to be printed over sixteen pages. It has a separate title page and Sarah Harding included her imprint.<sup>169</sup>

Number Ten is yet another poem making fun of Richard Tighe. Entitled "Tim and the Fables", it relates the apparently true story of Tighe reading a copy of Gay's fable, "The Monkey Who Had Seen the World", and believing it contained satire personally directed at him.<sup>170</sup> Because this was a short poem of only thirty-four lines, Sheridan added a preface in prose which is an ironic address written in the persona of a Parliamentarian. This address thanks *The Intelligencer* for having published "Mad Mullinix and Timothy" in the previous Number, given that that poem had in a short time ended party feuding in Ireland and brought the kingdom into a flourishing condition (with Sheridan in this way again giving a nod to Swift's *A Short View* by criticising false optimism in relation to Ireland). Even with this preface, this was a short Number. Accordingly, to stretch it to an eighth page, Sheridan, who must have been in Sarah Harding's shop working with her at the time, added four lines to Swift's poem, which are the only lines on that last page. These are the lines Swift refers to in his letter to Pope of 12 June 1732, when he says that Number Ten was one of the Numbers he wrote, with, of "the 10th only the Verses, and of those not the four last slovenly lines".<sup>171</sup> Sarah Harding appears to have published the Number sometime between Saturday 13 and Tuesday 16 July.<sup>172</sup> It has a title page of its own, and despite its satire of Tighe, she included her imprint on this occasion.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> A3, 38.

<sup>169</sup> A3, 39.

<sup>170</sup> Refer: JW, *Intelligencer*, 130 – 131.

<sup>171</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489. James Woolley also makes mention of Sheridan stretching this Number out to eight pages: JW, *Intelligencer*, 130.

<sup>172</sup> Also, Sheridan's preface to this Number Ten is dated 4 July. These matters indicate that Sheridan must therefore have returned from his trip to Cork by this time. David Woolley, though, suggests that Sheridan was

Despite having deviated from its original course, *The Intelligencer* had to this point been a success. The authors had co-ordinated their efforts and had continued to supply weekly copy, even after Number Five when Swift had gone to the north and Sheridan had visited Cork. The printer had produced every Number to her full capacity and sales were seemingly as good as they could have been in the circumstances. Swift later said to Pope that one reason the periodical came to an end was “The Sale being so small”,<sup>174</sup> but Swift never had anything positive to say about *The Intelligencer*. The fact that there are surviving impressions or editions of every Number suggests that Sarah Harding sold copies consistently. As James Woolley observed, “the *Intelligencer* did better than Swift was willing to concede to Pope”.<sup>175</sup> The periodical also brought Sarah Harding at least one other work to publish. This was a *Letter from Dermott Mac-Poverty; to the author of the Intelligencer*, which complimented the writers.<sup>176</sup>

On a personal level, the two authors were still on the best of terms. An incident that is illustrative of this is one that appears to have taken place in June or July. It concerned the publication of an anonymous tract that was critical of Sheridan. This tract was in fact a straight republication of a criticism of Sheridan and his writing that had been written by William Tisdall and had appeared in 1724 under the title *Tom Pun-sibi Metamorphosed: or, The Giber Gibb'd*.<sup>177</sup> That earlier tract had depicted Sheridan as little better than a hack writer and a parasite to Swift. The 1728 republication of this, simply gave it a new title, *The True Character of the Intelligencer. Written by Pady Drogheda*.<sup>178</sup> It has been thought that this re-publication was arranged by someone in Swift’s circle who was jealous of Sheridan and his association with Swift in *The Intelligencer*. In particular, it has been thought that it was Delany, although James Woolley has cast doubt on that.<sup>179</sup> Whoever it was, this *True Character of the Intelligencer* drew a

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away through “all of July”: DW Letter 819, note 3, vol. iii, 193. If this was the case the manuscript for this Number Ten must have sent by Sheridan by post to Sarah Harding.

<sup>173</sup> A3, 40.

<sup>174</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

<sup>175</sup> JW, *Intelligencer*, 4.

<sup>176</sup> A3, 54. This tract is written phonetically in the voice of “Dermott McPoverty”, a character with a thick Irish accent and limited vocabulary. The tract is therefore a challenge to decipher (for a non-Irish reader in particular).

<sup>177</sup> A4, 127.

<sup>178</sup> A4, 184.

<sup>179</sup> JW, *Intelligencer*, 244 – 245. As for the precise timing of the appearance of this *True Character of the Intelligencer*, James Woolley suggests that it might have appeared after *Intelligencer* Number Eight, with its “Mad Mullinix and Tim”, because Paddy Drogheda was a known street character in Dublin as was the Captain, John Molyneux, who was the inspiration for Mad Mullinix.

response entitled *On Paddy's Character of the Intelligencer*, which appears to be by Swift.<sup>180</sup> Although this response also laughs a little at Sheridan, for the most part it defends him and puts the creator of *The True Character* in his place. The bond between the two authors at this time, then, appears to have remained as strong as it had been through the previous months.

The evidence is clear that problems in the friendship began to set in when Swift wanted to prolong his stay with the Achesons. Swift was enjoying himself at Market Hill. It was enjoyment that had nothing to do with the company of his host, Sir Arthur, and everything to do with the company of his host's wife, Lady Anne. Then in her mid-thirties, Lady Anne was a thin, attractive, vivacious woman who was happy to submit to sixty-year-old Swift's instruction and correction in her manners, writing and reading. Much of Swift's time at the Achesons' estate was spent walking and talking with Lady Anne at the expense of Sir Arthur. Swift and Lady Anne also began writing poetry together, including verses that are sexually suggestive and boldly flirtatious. Probably the most striking poem in that regard is one entitled, *An Excellent New Panegyric on Skinnibonia*, which was composed by them in late July or early August 1728, not long after Swift's arrival at Market Hill.<sup>181</sup>

These were Swift's circumstances when Sheridan wrote to him from Dublin sometime in July. Although this letter of Sheridan's has not survived, it is clear from Swift's reply that Sheridan was pressuring Swift to return to Dublin to resume his duties with *The Intelligencer*. Swift's reply is dated 2 August, and in the course of it he says abruptly: "As to what you call my Exercise, I have long quitted it, it gave me too much Constraint, and the World does not deserve it. We may keep it cold till the middle of Winter".<sup>182</sup> Firstly, should there be any doubt, it has been accepted by David Woolley that the "Exercise" here refers to Swift's work on *The Intelligencer*.<sup>183</sup> Moreover, the use of the word "Exercise" by Sheridan is revealing insofar as it constitutes significant evidence that Sheridan saw himself as Swift's moral coach and that *The Intelligencer* was the medium of that coaching. This letter from Swift also reveals that

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<sup>180</sup> A3, 55. James Woolley argues that this is not in fact Swift's, and one matter he mentions in support of his argument is that it does not appear to have been printed by Sarah Harding (JW, *Intelligencer*, 244 – 248). But even if it was not printed by Sarah Harding (which is inconclusive), there could be an explanation for this, such as Swift sending it from Market Hill to Worrall, and Worrall finding another stationer more convenient to use on that occasion.

<sup>181</sup> Hereafter referred to as *Skinnibonia*. For commentary on Swift's visit to Market Hill in 1728 and the composition of *Skinnibonia* in particular, refer James Woolley: JW, *Skinnibonia*.

<sup>182</sup> 2 August 1728, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 819, vol. iii, 192.

<sup>183</sup> DW Letter 819, note 7, vol. iii, 193.

Sheridan's original plan had been to come to Market Hill again in September, and for Sheridan and Swift to then return to Dublin together. Swift in this letter, though, whilst still encouraging Sheridan to come for a visit in September, mentions that he wants to stay with the Achesons until Christmas, and the final line in this passage of the letter almost suggests that Swift wants Sheridan's consent on that matter: "provided you will resolve and swear that I shall stay".<sup>184</sup>

In September, Sheridan did make this visit to Market Hill, and whilst there he would have seen for himself the nature of the friendship between Swift and Lady Acheson. He also read *Skinnibonia*. The fact that Sheridan read this poem is known because soon afterwards he wrote secretly to Pope in London about it,<sup>185</sup> asking Pope to write to Swift to mention something about this poem and Swift's relationship with Lady Acheson. Sheridan asked Pope to write to Swift in such a way that it would not be known to Swift where Pope had obtained his information from. Pope did as Sheridan requested, although his letter to Swift made it sufficiently clear that Pope had received his information from *someone*, and Swift would have known that it could only have been Sheridan.<sup>186</sup>

A matter that adds all the more to the sudden deterioration in relations between Sheridan and Swift at this time, concerns the book in which Stella had though the decades transcribed many of Swift's poems. This book was of special significance in the relationship between Swift and Stella, but at Market Hill in the summer of 1728 – six or so months after Stella's death – Swift made a gift of it to Lady Acheson,<sup>187</sup> and Lady Acheson thereupon transcribed into it one of the poems Swift had written for her at Market Hill.<sup>188</sup> During Sheridan's visit there in September, he is likely to have become aware of this fact.

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<sup>184</sup> 2 August 1728, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 819, vol. iii, 192.

<sup>185</sup> Sheridan's personal notebook from this time includes a note: "To write to m<sup>r</sup> Pope about Skinnybonia". Sheridan's Notebooks are held in the Dublin City Public Library on Pearse Street. This particular note is to be found on the flyleaf of the notebook: Gilbert MS 124.

<sup>186</sup> Refer: 12 October 1728, Pope to Sheridan, in Sherburn, ed., *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Oxford, 1956, vol. ii, 523 – 524; 12 October 1728, Pope to Swift: DW Letter 824, vol. iii, 201 – 202.

<sup>187</sup> For commentary on Lady Acheson fulfilling this "Stella role": Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 601-3; David Woolley: DW Letter 819 note 2, vol. iii, 193. Swift's attentions to Lady Acheson over the next two years led to difficult relations between himself and Sir Arthur Acheson, and in late 1730 Sir Arthur and Lady Acheson separated: McMin, *Jonathan's Travels*, 128, 131; James Woolley: JW, *Skinnibonia*, 319 and note 25, 325 note 33, 339.

<sup>188</sup> The poem Lady Acheson transcribed into the book was entitled *On the Five Ladies at Sots-Hole*. Refer: JW, *Skinnibonia*, 317.



This September visit by Sheridan appears to have been brief and seems to have taken place early in the month, for later in September he and Swift were again corresponding by letter. With Sheridan seemingly not having agreed to Swift staying at Market Hill until Christmas, Sheridan wrote to Swift around the middle of the month to again remind him of his responsibilities to *The Intelligencer*. That letter is unrecovered, but Swift replied on 18 September, and in the course of this reply said:

As to what you call my Lesson, I told you I would think no more of it, neither do I conceive the World deserves so much Trouble from you or me. I think the Sufferings of the Country, for want of Silver, deserves a Paper, since the Remedy is so easy, and those in Power so negligent. I had some other Subjects in my Thoughts; but truly I am taken up so much with long Lampoons on a Person who owns you for a Back, that I have no time for any Thing else, and if I do not produce one every now and then of about two Hundred Lines, I am chid for my Idleness, and threaten'd with you.<sup>189</sup>

Swift here indicates that he might write a paper for *The Intelligencer* concerned with Ireland's sufferings, but otherwise he is looking to be released from Sheridan's strictures. What had previously had been Swift's "Exercise" was now his "Lesson" – a comment that illustrates Sheridan's growing exasperation with Swift for failing to keep to the programme. Even the final comment from Swift, that "[I am] threaten'd with you" by Lady Acheson, though humorous, again illustrates the extent to which Sheridan was harassing Swift during this time.

The problems in the friendship did not end there. Ill-feeling was also generated by what can be called the "Ballyspellin incident", which also occurred in September 1728. Ballyspellan was a village near Kilkenny, near which was a natural spring that people visited for their health. After Sheridan visited this spring in the company of a female friend,<sup>190</sup> he composed a poem in praise of it. Entitled *Ballyspellin*, the poem has eighteen stanzas of four lines where in each stanza the final words of line two are always a different rhyme with "Ballyspellin", which is always the last word of line four. The poem celebrates the healing powers of the spring and its potential to spawn new love given that it restores beauty to all women who bathe there. The poem is debonair and entertaining and Sheridan had it printed. No copy of this printed edition survives, but the fact that it was printed is seen in a comment by Swift in a letter to Worrall dated 28 September: "He [Sheridan] sent us in print a Ballad

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<sup>189</sup> 18 September 1728, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 820, vol. iii, 194.

<sup>190</sup> Who this female friend was is not known. Of course, one woman in Dublin whom Sheridan could certainly have considered a friend at this time was Sarah Harding, but the possibility of it being her who accompanied him to Ballyspellan is probably remote. For one thing, she had a child to care for.

upon Ballyspelling, in which he has emplyd all the Rimes he could find to that word”.<sup>191</sup> In my view, it can be considered almost certain that the person who printed it for Sheridan was Sarah Harding.<sup>192</sup> Having received a copy of Sheridan’s *Ballyspellin*, however, Swift and Lady Acheson wrote an answering poem. Between them they came up with a collection of new rhymes with “Ballyspellin”, and these they crafted into a poem entitled *An Answer to the Ballyspellin Ballad*.<sup>193</sup> Rather than build on the fun of Sheridan’s rhyming, though, this *Answer* can be characterised as hostile to Sheridan and his poem. Every rhyme is devised to fit into a stanza that either makes a mockery of Sheridan’s poem or denigrates him personally. The effect of the *Answer* is to subvert Sheridan’s promotion of Ballyspellan, presenting it as a decrepit place that only the dregs of society would think to visit. As for Sheridan himself – who is expressly identified by his well-known pseudonym “Tom” – the *Answer* ascribes to him the lowest of motives for going there. Swift sent a copy of the manuscript of this *Answer* to Worrall on 28 September, saying “we have found fifteen more [rhymes], and employd them in abuseing his Ballad, and Ballyspelling to”. He asked Worrall to “get it printed privately, and published”,<sup>194</sup> and accordingly Worrall took it to Faulkner, who published it in the first days of October.<sup>195</sup> Here was Swift, writing sexually provocative poetry for the wife of his host at Market Hill (a couple Sheridan had introduced him to) whilst publicly accusing Sheridan of being a womaniser, and one of no discernment. This was an abject humiliation for Sheridan. Swift would later say that it was only Sheridan’s female friend who persuaded him that the *Answer* was malevolent, and that Sheridan’s reaction to the *Answer* was “against all the rules of reason, taste, good nature, judgment, gratitude or common manners”.<sup>196</sup> As Water Scott says, Swift makes this comment “very unjustly”.<sup>197</sup>

After a break of two-and-a-half months, Sheridan resumed *The Intelligencer* in October. The fact that he did so of his own volition and without notifying Swift of his intention is

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<sup>191</sup> 28 September 1728, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 823, vol. iii, 200.

<sup>192</sup> A3, 41.

<sup>193</sup> James Woolley suggests that the authors of this *Answer* might also have included other neighbours of the Achesons at Market Hill: JW, *Skinnibonia*, 339.

<sup>194</sup> 28 September 1728, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 823, vol. iii, 200.

<sup>195</sup> A4, 186.

<sup>196</sup> *The History of the Second Solomon: PW*, v, 225. For other discussion of the Ballyspellin incident: Walter Scott, xv, 131; Lane-Poole, ‘Dr. Sheridan’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172, 162 – 163; Dolan, ‘Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift’, op. cit., 6 – 7, 19; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 437 – 443; Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 348 – 349; and JW, *Intelligencer*, 22 – 24, 31.

<sup>197</sup> Walter Scott, xv, 131.

something that in my view goes without saying. Sheridan, after all, had been the engineer from the beginning. It had been his project all along, and although it is a matter that has not been seen before, I think it is clear that Sheridan took this decision primarily out of anger. Swift had breached the terms of the pact between them. With Swift having yielded to Sheridan earlier in the year and come into his plans, he had now regressed into his self-centred ways, and all of Sheridan's negative feelings towards him came flooding back in. Swift was, from Sheridan's point of view, exhibiting ongoing disrespect for the memory of Stella whilst at Market Hill. Swift was failing to provide consistent support for Sarah Harding, a person to whom in Sheridan's view he was seriously indebted. And for Sheridan, there was also the inverse perspective of his pain in losing the renewed intimacy with his friend. Swift had leaned on Sheridan during the years of Stella's decline and in the period immediately following her death, only to now shrug Sheridan once again. The authority Sheridan had had in the friendship throughout the previous seven months – which was an authority he felt had earned and was his due – was being withdrawn and he was again being relegated to a lower place in Swift's world. It was on account of these last reasons that Sheridan's feelings throughout this second phase of *The Intelligencer* oscillated between hope and anger. Sheridan was hopeful that Swift would return and recommit to *The Intelligencer* and to him personally, yet angry with him for his refusal to do so and for what in Sheridan's view was his inability to amend his conduct and meet his obligations.<sup>198</sup> Of these two contrasting emotions, however, it was the anger that would prevail.

I now come to the never-before-seen evidence of Sheridan's feelings towards Swift as they are expressed within the pages of *The Intelligencer*. My contention is that in Numbers Eleven through Eighteen (inclusive), all of which were written by Sheridan, that writer makes his feelings about Swift apparent. Of these eight Numbers, there is not one that in my view does not contain some element of innuendo or irony in this regard, or which does not offer previously unseen evidence that is relevant in some manner to the relationship of Sheridan and Swift. The effect of this beneath-the-text messaging builds cumulatively from one Number to the next. With a few of the Numbers, the innuendo or irony I will discuss, may be

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<sup>198</sup> In my view the essence of Sheridan's feelings towards Swift are seen in a few lines Sheridan wrote during the early years of their friendship. After claiming that Swift's advancing age was taking a toll on the quality of his poetry, Sheridan says:

But yet, if my advice was ta'en,  
We two may be as great again:  
I'll send you wings, and send me wine;  
Then you will fly, and I will shine.

(Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 66).

thought open to question when considered in isolation from the innuendo or irony in the surrounding Numbers. In one Number, however, the irony in my view is particularly strong (Number Fourteen), and in two Numbers (Fifteen and Eighteen) it is in my view beyond any doubt. As such, the force of the irony in these three Numbers adds weight to the argument that the perceived matters in the other Numbers is also real, and that Sheridan was writing them consciously and deliberately all throughout this period. Also supporting this new reading of this second phase of *The Intelligencer* is the fact that their friendship of ten years to this time had all along been founded on written word-plays and double entendres. Swift and Sheridan had a long-standing practice of sending messages to each other by innuendo and irony. And Sheridan, of course, was “Tom Punsibi” (“Tom the Pun Man”).<sup>199</sup> As has been mentioned earlier, the giving of pointed affrontery to Swift was conduct that was not at all out of character for Sheridan. He had done it before and he would do it again in subsequent years.<sup>200</sup> Finally, in the following year, seemingly around or soon after the time *The Intelligencer* came to an end, Swift and Sheridan would have a bitter falling-out. Commentators have never been clear on what caused them to fall out at this time.<sup>201</sup> My contention is that the innuendo and irony that will now be discussed goes a considerable way towards explaining this next rupture between them.

For the periodical’s return with Number Eleven, Sheridan prepared a longer work. It is concerned with Jonathan Smedley, the person who for years had been outspoken in his dislike of Swift. From 1724, Smedley had been the Dean of Clogher in Ireland, but seemingly

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<sup>199</sup> Dolan, ‘Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift’, op. cit., 11. For a slightly different interpretation of “Punsibi”, refer: JW, *Intelligencer*, 17.

<sup>200</sup> As mentioned, in 1718, when Sheridan had known Swift for only a few months, he wrote a poem saying that Swift’s poetic muse had clearly died, which was a poem that Swift took offence to (*History of the Second Solomon*, PW, v, 222; Ball, *Correspondence*, vi, 210 – 212; Dolan, ‘Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift’, op. cit., 19; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 67 – 68). And Sheridan appears to have been similarly direct with Swift in 1726 and 1727 when writing to him about Stella, which were the letters that Swift told Worrall he “cared not to answer”. With regard to subsequent years, Thomas Sheridan (the younger) tells of an incident that happened sometime in the late 1720’s or early 1730’s. As the story goes, Swift had a frank discussion with Sheridan about the onset of old age and his concern over the eccentricities that come with it, and as one such eccentricity that Swift particularly wanted to guard against was avarice, he asked Sheridan to expressly warn him if he should see any sign of that trait come into his character or behaviour. Sheridan promised to do so, and from that time started making a list of every instance of avarice he saw in Swift, which within a fortnight was long, and sometime later he chose his moment to present the list to Swift, in this way keeping his promise. But Swift was indignant at the punctilious manner in which Sheridan did so: Sheridan (the younger), *Life of Swift*, 388 – 390; Dolan, ‘Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift’, op. cit., 30 – 31; Lane-Poole, ‘Dr. Sheridan’, op. cit., 163.

<sup>201</sup> See Lane-Poole, ‘Dr. Sheridan’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 156 – 172, 162 – 163; Ball, ‘Sheridan and His Relations with Swift’, in Ball, *Correspondence*, vi, 211; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 108; JW, *Intelligencer*, 22 – 23, 31.

to escape financial problems (as Swift would later insinuate), he had resigned that position in 1727 and gone to London. It was in that city in August 1728 that Smedley published his *Gulliveriana*.<sup>202</sup> This is the work in which Smedley maintains at length that Pope, and particularly Swift, are two of the most objectionable writers Britain has ever known. Smedley's principal complaint with Swift was Swift's persistent and brutal denunciation of other English writers, in particular Addison, all with no provocation from those other writers. Nor can Smedley tolerate Swift's arrogance and narcissism more generally. Smedley mocks Pope and Swift, for instance, in the Dedication to *Gulliveriana*, which is a "Dedication. To My Self" and is a commentary on "The Art of being well with one's self".<sup>203</sup> Although published two months in advance of Sheridan's next *Intelligencer*, however, this Number Eleven is not concerned with *Gulliveriana*, which is an indication that Sheridan had been preparing this next Number over the course of the recess in publication between June and September. Instead, Sheridan's Number Eleven is concerned with a separate publishing venture of Smedley's from earlier in the year. In March 1728, Smedley had announced a proposal for a two volume collection of what he considered the best and most instructional commentaries on important scripture that had been published through the centuries. This proposed book was to be entitled *An Universal View of all the eminent Writers on the Holy Scriptures*, and Smedley published his proposal in the form of a letter to the *London Journal*, that was published in that newspaper on 30 March 1728. *Intelligencer* Number Eleven satirises this proposal by Smedley. Written from start to end by Sheridan, the Number begins with a letter addressed to *The Intelligencer* signed by "A.B.", in which A.B. offers a poem on Smedley's worthy project for publication. Smedley's proposal as it appeared in the *London Journal* is then reprinted, and this is followed by A.B.'s poem itself. The Number concludes with a short letter of acknowledgement of A.B.'s poem from *The Intelligencer*. After the short Number Ten published in mid-July, then, the periodical was re-announced with a comparatively elaborate Number Eleven. Sarah Harding published it over sixteen pages with a separate title page inclusive of her imprint, and it appeared sometime between Tuesday 8 and Saturday 12 October.

In Number Eleven, the only matter that is relevant to the relationship of Sheridan and Swift is in the short concluding letter. Whereas the writers of *The Intelligencer* had previously made it clear that they were two in Number and had referred to themselves as "we", "our"

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<sup>202</sup> A4, 187.

<sup>203</sup> A4, 187, page iv.

and “us”,<sup>204</sup> here Sheridan uses “I”, saying: “SIR, I have inserted your *Poem*”, and “I am with due Respect Your’s, &c. *The Intelligencer*”.<sup>205</sup>

For Number Twelve, Sheridan simply reprinted a poem that had been published in London earlier in the year. He added a short preface in which he explains that, because Numbers of *The Intelligencer* had been reprinted in London, *The Intelligencer* would reciprocate by reprinting a work from that city. The reprinted poem is entitled *The Progress of PATRIOTISM. A TALE*. It tells the story of honest Ralph, a man of the country who after long complaining of unfair taxes imposed by the government, receives the support of his neighbours to stand for election himself, but once elected and in the company of other Parliamentarians, he too is seduced by power and falls into corrupt ways. Sarah Harding published it sometime between Tuesday 15 and Saturday 19 October. As she could only just fit all of the copy into eight pages, there is no separate title page. Nor did she have room for her imprint.<sup>206</sup>

Number Twelve is in my view relevant to the tensions between Sheridan and Swift in more than one respect. Firstly, for the first time in the periodical’s short history, it chose to reprint a work rather than produce its own original copy. This could have been intended by Sheridan as a message to Swift that it had been his turn to write. Swift, after all, had indicated to Sheridan that a paper concerned with Ireland’s sufferings would be forthcoming, but where was that paper? Secondly, the reprinting of this poem caused inconvenience for Swift in that people understood it to have been written by him (the co-author of *The Intelligencer*), particularly because its subject-matter and style are not unlike Swift’s, and in the prefatory comment in Number Twelve, Sheridan reverts to “our” and “We”,<sup>207</sup> thereby adding to the perception that Swift might have written it. Indeed, Swift was later forced to explain to Pope and Ford that he was not the author.<sup>208</sup> Thirdly, there is the content matter of the poem itself. Its themes are inconsistency of character and disloyalty as it tells the story of a righteous patriot who loses his moral compass.

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<sup>204</sup> A3, 30, pages 6 and 7; JW, *Intelligencer*, 49.

<sup>205</sup> A3, 42, page 16; JW, *Intelligencer*, 144.

<sup>206</sup> A3, 43.

<sup>207</sup> A3, 43, page 1; JW, *Intelligencer*, 147.

<sup>208</sup> 6 March 1729, Swift to Pope: DW, 831 and note 9, vol. iii, 212, 214; 18 March 1729, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 835, vol. iii, 221; 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 490.

Number Thirteen is a commentary by Sheridan on the art of good story-telling and concise speaking generally. He takes five categories of story-tellers – the Short story-teller, the Long story-teller, the Marvellous, the Insipid, and the Delightful – and discusses the elements that go to make up each whilst offering a few sample illustrations within each category. It is a Number which in itself is delightful story-telling from Sheridan. It shows Sheridan working intensively not only to maintain the life of the periodical but also to ensure high standards. Sarah Harding published this Number over fourteen pages and with some of her cleanest press work. It has a separate title page that includes her imprint, and it appeared sometime between Tuesday 22 and Saturday 26 October.<sup>209</sup>

As for matters related to Swift, when discussing delightful story-telling, Sheridan offers as a sample the story from *A Tale of A Tub* of the fat man in the crowd at Leicester Fields. Sheridan describes this story as having come “from a most Celebrated Author”,<sup>210</sup> and recommends it as story-telling at its most artful. Yet whilst on first impressions Sheridan’s thoughts with regard to his friend appear to have come into a better space in this Number, in my view Sheridan’s act of drawing on this story from *A Tale of A Tub* served dual purposes, and did so in a manner that was entirely characteristic of him. On the one hand, it made a public demonstration of Sheridan’s closeness to Swift, because *A Tale of A Tub* was a work that Swift had never publicly acknowledged as his own and here was Sheridan for all intents and purposes making that public announcement on his behalf.<sup>211</sup> But on the other hand, for this same reason of Swift never having acknowledged the authorship of *A Tale of A Tub*, Sheridan was taking a liberty that certainly had the potential to irritate Swift. Further, by calling on Swift’s work and reprinting it without Swift’s knowledge or consent, Sheridan in my view was again signalling to Swift that he was meant to be the co-author of this periodical. The more time that passed without Swift’s paper on Ireland’s suffering arriving, the more Sheridan’s patience was tested.

Number Fourteen consists firstly of a short fable in prose concerning Prometheus, a heathen potter. With the help of the journeymen potters in his shop, Prometheus creates human figures out of clay which he brings to life with a mystical reed lit by a flame that Prometheus acquires by stealth from Apollo’s Chariot of the Sun. These clay creatures are all

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<sup>209</sup> A3, 44.

<sup>210</sup> A3, 44, page 14; JW, *Intelligencer*, 161.

<sup>211</sup> See JW, *Intelligencer*, 163 (the note for line 209).

model ‘human beings’, as under Prometheus’ shop stewardship they are all infused with the appropriate dosages of the various human passions, emotions and qualities of mind in the course of their making. But after Prometheus is apprehended for having stolen the mystical reed from Apollo, the journeymen, in their newfound liberty in the shop, take to drink and start applying imbalanced measures to the new clay figures, thereby creating ‘human creatures’ of all of the worst varieties. These creatures are incapable of reform because their characters have been preordained by chemical prescription. As such, the moral – or message – of the fable, is that a human character can never be changed. This message is then delivered again in a short poem that follows the fable. This poem tells of a cook who takes a turd and tries every conceivable method of cookery to alter it into something else, including rolling it, blending it, adding sugar and eggs to it, frying it, and baking it. Whatever the cook tries, the turd retains its original character. Once a turd, this poem is saying, always a turd. Sarah Harding published this Number over fourteen pages with a separate title page inclusive of her imprint, and it appears to have been published by her sometime between Tuesday 29 October and Saturday 2 November.<sup>212</sup>

In my view, Sheridan’s exasperation with Swift escalates in this Number Fourteen. The innuendo is clear. The theme of the fable, as expressed in its final line, is “*That there is no method, as yet found out, to change Natural Inclination*”.<sup>213</sup> In these concluding lines of the fable, Sheridan also says that he will illustrate the point further, this time with an attempt to change the nature of “*Human Excrements*”.<sup>214</sup> Accordingly, he then turns to verse to demonstrate that a turd can never be improved, no matter how strenuous the efforts of the corrector may be. My contention is that the turd is analogous for Swift. A matter supporting this contention is the title Sheridan gave to the poem. There was no need for Sheridan to give this poem any title at all. As mentioned, in the final lines of the fable he introduces the poem by saying that it is now necessary to turn to verse. He could have let the poem flow straight on. But just a week after having drawn attention to *A Tale of a Tub* in Number Thirteen, he inserted the following title, which Sarah Harding printed for him in large capitalised font, taking up more than half of page eleven, “THE TALE. OF THE T—D”.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> A3, 45.

<sup>213</sup> A3, 45, page 10; JW, *Intelligencer*, 167.

<sup>214</sup> A3, 45, page 10; JW, *Intelligencer*, 167.

<sup>215</sup> A3, 45, page 11. See Image 15.



For Number Fifteen, Sheridan simply reprinted Swift's pamphlet, *A Short View*, from earlier in the year.<sup>216</sup> He added a preface of his own, and Sarah Harding published it sometime between Tuesday 5 and Saturday 9 November. It was printed over sixteen pages with a separate title page, and as she had done with the original *A Short View*, she included her imprint.<sup>217</sup> She also took the opportunity to correct two type-setting errors from the original, although, on page nine of this reprint, she made the mistake of omitting a line of type.<sup>218</sup>

It is contended that with Number Fifteen, Sheridan's anger with Swift is more transparent than in any other. This can be seen in a few aspects. Firstly, there is the simple fact that Sheridan decided to reprint *A Short View*. There can be no doubt at all in my view that Sheridan did this of his own accord and without consulting Swift at Market Hill. With Swift's paper on Ireland's sufferings not having arrived, Sheridan took it upon himself to reprint Swift's last paper on that subject, *A Short View*. Secondly, there are some curious lines from scripture that Sheridan put on the title page. This was the first time he had done something like this on a title page of *The Intelligencer*. The lines are:

Lamentations, Chap. 2. v. 19.

*Arise, cry out in the Night: in the beginning of the Watches, pour out thine Heart like Water, before the Face of the Lord: lift up thy Hands towards him, for the Life of thy Young Children that faint for Hungar, in the Top of every Street.*<sup>219</sup>

This is an intriguing choice of scripture – for the sake of our starving children we are to honour him. I think Sheridan's meaning is clear. The Lord here is analogous for Swift, who must be praised and honoured even whilst our children die of starvation. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the person for whom *The Intelligencer* was created, Sarah Harding, had recently lost a child, with the only available evidence indicating that that child's cause of

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<sup>216</sup> Kraft is mistaken when she says that two of the *Letters* of the Drapier were reprinted in *The Intelligencer*. Elizabeth A. Kraft, 'The Intelligencer', in Sullivan, ed., *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698 – 1788*, op. cit., 170. None were. She appears to have confused those *Letters* with *A Short View*.

<sup>217</sup> A3, 46.

<sup>218</sup> The line that in March she had set as, "I must not call by it's true unconverted Name for fear of my L— C— J— W—'s Ghost with his *LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM*", is here amended to: "I must not call by it's true uncontroverted Name for fear of my L— C— J— W—'s Ghost with his *LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM*". (A3, 46, page 10). As for the omitted line, in the original the relevant passage is: "yet the Native Productions which both Kingdoms deal in, are very near on equality in point of Goodness, and might with the same Encouragement be as well manufactured, I except Mines and Minerals, in some of which however we are only defective in point of Skill and Industry". (A3, 26, page 7). In the reprint, the line, "in some of which however we are only defective", is missing (A3, 46, page 9). Refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 329, with reference to lines 144 – 145.

<sup>219</sup> A3, 46, page 1; JW, *Intelligencer*, 173.

death was starvation. What else could the purpose of these lines of scripture have been? This interpretation of this scripture is further supported by the third aspect of Number Fifteen, Sheridan's preface to the reprinted *A Short View*. From beginning to end, the irony in this preface is brazen. The opening passage that argues for statues of Swift to be erected in towns round the country, is sarcastic. The remark that "so little Notice taken of a small, but excellent Pamphlet, Written by the DRAPIER... Intitled, *A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND*", and that "we listen not to the Voice of the Charmer",<sup>220</sup> is derisory. And the praise of that pamphlet that then follows is patently absurd. Sheridan says *A Short View* should be inscribed in capital letters on public buildings in towns all throughout the kingdom. He says that it should be taught to children and that the head of every family should ensure that their children can recite it by heart. To reinforce this point Sheridan again cites scripture:

Deut. chap 6. v. 7. *And thou shalt Teach them diligently unto thy Children, and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine House, and when thou walkest by the Way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.*

8. *And thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine Eyes.*

9. *And thou shalt Write them upon the Posts of thy House, and on thy Gates.*<sup>221</sup>

Sheridan recommends that the head of every family arrange for every page of *A Short View* "to be hung up in Frames, in every Chamber of the House".<sup>222</sup> His facetiousness continues through to the end of the preface. In my view, the irony in this preface is beyond any question. It is powerful, and if there are any doubts about the perceived innuendo and irony in Numbers previously discussed, this should remove them.

A question to be considered briefly at this point is whether Swift was reading these Numbers of *The Intelligencer* whilst at Market Hill. This is something that cannot be known because there is nothing to confirm that copies were being sent to him. From a speculative point of view, it seems likely that copies *were* being sent. Worrall or Delany might have sent copies to him as they were published, or despite the ill-feeling that is conveyed in some of Sheridan's irony, it is conceivable that Sheridan sent copies to his supposed co-author. In January 1729, Swift would criticise Sarah Harding's printing work with *The Intelligencer*, saying

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<sup>220</sup> A3, 46, pages 2 – 3; JW, *Intelligencer*, 173 – 174. The fact that Swift felt that *A Short View* had not received its due recognition can also be inferred from his later references to it in *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, Concerning the Weavers* (1729): PW, xii, 66; and *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*: PW, xii, 66 (122).

<sup>221</sup> A3, 46, page 3; JW, *Intelligencer*, 174.

<sup>222</sup> A3, 46, page 4; JW, *Intelligencer*, 174.

that “every body who reads those papers, are very much offended with the continual nonsense made by her printers”.<sup>223</sup> This potentially suggests that Swift himself had read them all by that time, but it does not constitute evidence that Swift was reading them as they were being published. Nor is it conclusive evidence that he had read them at all. If, however, Swift *was* receiving and reading them as they were being published throughout October and November 1728, the fact that he did not retaliate or respond to Sheridan in any way raises the possibility that he read them straight – that is, Swift read Sheridan’s preface to *A Short View* in Number Fifteen, for instance, as rightful and proper praise. If this is indeed what happened, it is quite a singular thing. It has parallels to the matter of the gift of a pair of scissors from Harding in 1724. This gift carried a clear innuendo from Harding that the Drapier needed to trim his cloths, but the fact that Swift openly disclosed this gift in the course of his *Letter to Middleton*<sup>224</sup> and detailed it as a pair of scissors, suggests that he never grasped the innuendo. Again, with this possible scenario of Swift having read Sheridan’s Numbers of *The Intelligencer* without discerning the irony, the possibility emerges of him being blind to criticism of this kind, and that he at all times instinctively interpreted people’s comments in the same light as that in which he saw *himself*. But, as mentioned, it cannot be known if Swift was in fact receiving Sheridan’s Numbers whilst he was at Market Hill. In the early months of 1729, though, Sheridan and Swift would fall out spitefully, and it seems reasonable to speculate that the cause of this was Sheridan’s irony in these Numbers. Maybe Swift only then realised the truth of Sheridan’s meaning in these Numbers. Or maybe he did not read them until that later time.

For Number Sixteen, Sheridan wrote a story concerned with Ireland’s poor treatment at the hands of England over the decades. The story is written as an analogy in which the members of a family represent the countries involved in the affair. The family consists of the brothers – Patrick, Andrew and George – and their father, where Patrick is analogous for Ireland, Andrew is analogous for Scotland, George is analogous for England, and their father is analogous for the King. The Number consists of a letter from Patrick to a friend complaining of the injustices repeatedly dealt to him by his family, as well as an answering letter from that friend. It was printed by Sarah Harding over eight pages, although with no

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<sup>223</sup> 13 January 1729, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 828, vol. iii, 206.

<sup>224</sup> *Faulkner* 1735, iv, 207; *PW*, x, 113.

room for a title page or her imprint. It appeared sometime between Tuesday 12 and Saturday 16 November.<sup>225</sup>

With Number Sixteen, there is no irony of the kind seen in Number Fifteen, but there are circumstances indicative of Sheridan taking further liberties with Swift. The story Sheridan relates in this Number is a direct plagiarism of Swift's *The Story of the Injured Lady*, which he had written in 1708 and left unpublished.<sup>226</sup> In this story, the identities of the Injured Lady, her suitor, and her rival for the attentions of that suitor, are analogous for Ireland, England and Scotland respectively, and Swift's tract consists of two parts – a letter from the Injured Lady to a friend where she tells of the history of her situation and her present predicament, as well as an answering letter from that friend. Sheridan's Number Sixteen modifies this slightly by changing the genders of the characters and adding a father who represents the King, but otherwise he has lifted Swift's concept entirely. It is a bald-faced plagiarism, and it is possible to hypothesise as to how this plagiarism came about. When Swift wrote to Sheridan on 18 September (the same letter in which he indicated that he would write a paper on Ireland's sufferings), he asked Sheridan to have Mrs. Brent open his drawer to enable him to find a few of his manuscripts – his *History of the Last Four Years of the Queen* and two others related to the reign of Anne – and to send them to him at Market Hill so he could show them to Lady Acheson.<sup>227</sup> It is possible that in the course of looking for these manuscripts, Sheridan also came across *The Story of the Injured Lady*, and that some weeks later, still with no paper having arrived from Swift, he plagiarised it for *Intelligencer* Number Sixteen. Sheridan's plagiarism is, after all, a story on the sufferings of Ireland. Indeed, Sheridan must have been tempted to go one step further and print *The Story of the Injured Lady* itself in *The Intelligencer*, but perhaps thinking that by printing an unpublished manuscript he would be crossing Swift too far, he plagiarised it instead. However it came to pass, in my view Sheridan produced this plagiarism without consulting Swift, and Number Sixteen represents further evidence of Sheridan's troubled mind with respect to Swift at this time.

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<sup>225</sup> A3, 47. There was a published reply to Number Sixteen, which James Woolley speculates might have been written by a student of Sheridan's. This was *A Letter to the Intelligencer. Written by a Young Gentleman, of Fourteen Years Old*, which was also published by Sarah Harding: A3, 48. The content of this *Letter* has no bearing on any matters pertaining to the authors or the printer. It speaks of the misfortunes that younger brothers experience in their families. The text is reproduced at: JW, *Intelligencer*, 251 – 253.

<sup>226</sup> The text is at: *PW*, ix, 1 – 9.

<sup>227</sup> 18 September 1728, Swift to Sheridan: DW Letter 820 and note 5, vol. iii, 194 – 195.

The only other issue from this Number that in any way reflects on the Sheridan–Swift relationship is a slight one. In the course of Number Sixteen, Sheridan alludes to the controversy of the halfpence of 1724. This is where his character, Patrick, says that his father and brother, George, wanted to take away his gold and silver and replace them with counters, only for this to be averted by “the Seasonable Remonstrances, made by some of my own House”.<sup>228</sup> Sheridan says here that the success of the campaign against Wood’s was due to the remonstrances of “some”, and not just the Drapier, as Swift might have preferred.

For Number Seventeen, Sheridan wrote another tract concerned with the condition of Ireland. Although written by Sheridan himself, it takes the form of a letter to *The Intelligencer* from a persona who believes Ireland to be in a flourishing state. Written in ironic mode, this persona presents several invincible ‘proofs’ of Ireland’s riches. The persona reasons that the lack of people of Irish birth who hold positions of office can only be on account of their being so wealthy as to have no need of work. As for the many streets in Ireland with empty houses, this persona says that this must be due to these people having two houses and choosing to live in the other. And with regard to the high numbers of robbers who come to Ireland, this can only be attributable to the size of the plunder on offer to them in this country. And so on. Number Seventeen is another that shows the versatility of Sheridan as a writer. Sarah Harding printed it over eight pages with a separate title page including her imprint. It appeared sometime between Tuesday 19 and Saturday 23 November.<sup>229</sup>

Number Seventeen has less to offer with regard to the tensions between Sheridan and Swift. That does not necessarily imply that Sheridan was relenting from his stance. In Number Eighteen, Sheridan’s attitude in association with Swift would reappear with potency. In my view, it simply reflects the fact that Sheridan was under pressure every week to produce copy. Potentially bearing on the issue is that all along Sheridan hoped that Swift would return and resume work with him. However, it can nonetheless be argued that this Number Seventeen is not without a subtle message to Swift. Given that it is another Number dealing with Ireland’s problems, it could be said that Sheridan was showing Swift how to write an entertaining paper on that subject. Sheridan was even appropriating Swift’s theme from *A Short View* (and which he mimicked briefly in his Number Six), that it was folly to represent Ireland as being in a burgeoning condition. Accordingly, as in several of the Numbers preceding this one, maybe

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<sup>228</sup> A3, 47, page 6; JW, *Intelligencer*, 189.

<sup>229</sup> A3, 49.

Sheridan's motive in this Number Seventeen may have been to signal to Swift that his paper was due. If this was in fact the case, it appears to have worked, for it must have been within the week following the publication of Number Seventeen that Swift finally sat down to write his paper on the sufferings of Ireland (although that paper would not arrive in time to be printed as Number Eighteen).

With Number Eighteen coinciding with Swift's birthday on 30 November, Sheridan simply wrote a tract exclusively about Swift. The Number opens with a paragraph stating how necessary it is for national heroes to be suitably honoured. Sheridan then gives quite a lengthy digression about a time during the reign of Elizabeth when, resembling the circumstances of 1724, a base coin had been introduced into Ireland. In this digression, Sheridan draws upon the work of the historian, Fines Morrison,<sup>230</sup> who had been Secretary of State to Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy for Ireland at the time. Sheridan describes some of the graphic detail Morrison provides of the misery and devastation that the introduction of this coin wrought in Ireland. And Sheridan ends this digression by pointing out that there had been no national hero at that time to save the people. This Number then returns to the subject of Swift. Throughout its remaining pages it implores the people to celebrate his birthday in the same manner that the birthdays of monarchs and other great national heroes throughout history have been celebrated, pleading with the people to honour and reward him in a manner more befitting the brilliance and courage he had shown on their behalf. Sarah Harding printed this over eight pages with a separate title page. She included her imprint and published it sometime between Tuesday 26 November and 30 November.<sup>231</sup>

Sheridan's irony in Number Eighteen is in my opinion almost as forceful as, if not equal in force to, that in Number Fifteen. The choice of subject alone is telling: an entire Number devoted to urging the people to bestow appropriate honours upon Swift for his birthday. The long digression, too, is most significant. From its beginning, it is a digression that Sheridan appears to be going out of his way to make, and this impression is furthered when Sheridan chooses to prolong it with some detail of the type of devastation caused by that base coin from the time of Elizabeth. In particular, referring to the work of Fines Morrison, Sheridan relates:

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<sup>230</sup> This work of Fines Morisson was published in 1617. Refer: A4, 1.

<sup>231</sup> A3, 50.

He [Morisson] likewise gives a Relation, of a very horrible Fact, too horrible indeed to mention! That a poor Widow of *Newry*, having six small Children, and no food to support them, shut up her Doors, died through despair, and in about three or four Days after, her Children were found Eating her Flesh. He says farther, That at the same time, a discovery being made of Twelve Women, who made a practice of stealing Children, to Eat them, they were all burned, by order of Sir *Arthur Chichester*, then Governour of the *North of Ireland*.<sup>232</sup>

For the second time in *The Intelligencer*, Sheridan includes copy that refers to starving and dying children. He had done so in the lines of scripture on the title page of Number Fifteen, and he does so again here when discussing the scenes depicted by Fines Morisson from the time of Elizabeth. On this second occasion, Sheridan also refers to a person who was a mother and a widow who had no food to support her children. This cannot in my view be considered a coincidence. Sheridan is clearly making direct allusions to the case of Sarah Harding. Sheridan purports to justify the inclusion of this digression by concluding that the consequences of this base coin in the time of Elizabeth might have been different had there been a national hero like the Drapier. But this is a transparent pretence for the digression. As in the lines of scripture in Number Fifteen, Sheridan's message is that we must praise Swift even whilst our children are *still* dying. This in my view is Sheridan's intent with this digression, and further supporting this is the fact that the description of this particular passage from Fines Morisson appears to be the whole purpose of the digression. All of these events from the time of Queen Elizabeth appear to have been related by Sheridan for no other reason than to make a place for this particular account from Fines Morrison concerning dying children and mothers.

After this digression, Sheridan returns to the subject of Swift, with the remaining four pages of the Number being devoted to enjoining the people to honour him all the more. It appears throughout these pages that Sheridan is on occasion showing care not to overstate his irony. He says for instance, that Ireland would have been ruined "had not the DRAPIER (whom I shall honour while I live) prevented that by his PEN".<sup>233</sup> And at the end of the Number, Sheridan calls for the re-institution of an annual dinner at the Tholsel in honour of the memory of King William. He recommends that the event be broadened to commemorate the work of all people, living or dead, who have performed worthy deeds for the country, and although the Drapier is not specifically named, Sheridan appears to be suggesting that he be included in this. The apparent sincerity in these particular comments offers a semblance of balance to Number Eighteen. But there is much in these pages to add weight to the other side

<sup>232</sup> A3, 50, pages 3 – 4; JW, *Intelligencer*, 198.

<sup>233</sup> A3, 50, page 5; JW, *Intelligencer*, 199.

of the scale. When reading these pages, it is to be kept in mind that Swift at this time was already feted like few, if any, people in Ireland's history. Swift's every move was being watched and recorded. His departures and arrivals from Dublin or the kingdom were being reported in the newspapers. And significantly, his birthdays had been heralded with bonfires and the ringing of bells throughout Dublin since 1726, if not 1725.<sup>234</sup> Yet, Sheridan conveys the impression that Swift has been hard done by as he argues laboriously for the need to suitably reward heroic deeds:

We ought likewise to consider, that we may possibly stand in need of a DRAPIER's Assistance another Time.

And it must be an uncommon strain of Virtue in any Man, to serve those People, who will not at least offer him their thanks, or own their Obligations to him.

What makes the *Soldier*, and Consecrates the *Heroe*, but Rewards, and *Honours*!

Let a Prince be ever so great a *Soldier* himself, if he fails in this single point, of giving Valour its due Encouragement, he will find his *Soldiers* but very slack in their Duty, and full as loose in their Loyalty.

It is even so in all other Professions; let Men pretend what they will, as to Conscience, and Duty, they are but *Hypocrites*, when they say, they Act with a View to these alone. Proper Encouragements have ever been expected, by the best of Men, and it is very just, they should have their due, as well as *Cesar*.<sup>235</sup>

Then in his next paragraph Sheridan wonders how much money the kingdom would owe Swift if its debt to him could be calculated in monetary terms. Like the preface to Number Fifteen, none of this in my view can be taken as genuine. It is cleverly disguised absurdism, written with the intention of puncturing Swift's inflated sense of self-importance. Indeed, given the consistency of Sheridan's irony in this (and other) Numbers, every passage, even those which bear more of an outward appearance of sincerity, needs to be scrutinised. One in particular that is potentially of interest is that in which Sheridan discusses the Proclamation offering reward for the discovery of the Drapier:

Some very great Men, whose Names I am loath to Mention, were so Angry with the DRAPIER, for saving his *Country*, and disobliging their Friend *William Wood*, that they ordered a good Sum of *Mony*,<sup>236</sup> as a reward to any one, who should discover which of the Town DRAPIER's, it was, that durst be so Impudent, and had it been found out, it is highly probable, they would have Seized all the *Goods* in his *Shop*, and have

<sup>234</sup> Refer Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for 29 November – 3 December 1726, and Needham and Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* for the same dates. There is every chance it was celebrated in similar fashion in 1725, although without being reported in the newspapers.

<sup>235</sup> A3, 50, pages 6 – 7; JW, *Intelligencer*, 200.

<sup>236</sup> "Mony" – this is how this word appears in Sarah Harding's text.



Imprisoned, and Pillored<sup>237</sup> him into the Bargain, to make him an example to all PATRIOTS.

Consider then my dear *Country Men*, the hazard, which this Noble Spirited DRAPIER did run for your Sakes. How like the Heroe Camillus he flew in suddainly to our Rescue, when *Wood's* Half-pence were like the Brazen Bucklers, thrown into the opposite Scale, by our Enemies, with our *Gold*, and *Silver*.<sup>238</sup>

Could Sheridan here be making light of “the hazard” Swift had run? Could the point of this passage be the unwritten comparison with the *real* hazard run by the Drapier’s printer and the price that that printer paid? The answers are unclear. However, at the end of this Number, Sheridan added a postscript. It is distinct from the principal text, and is written in a different register. It again conveys a clear message to Swift, but on this occasion, Sheridan comes much closer to speaking his mind:

#### POSTSCRIPT

I do make it my Request, that the Widdow, the PRINTER of these *Papers*, who did likewise *Print* the DRAPIER’s Letters, may be enabled by Charitable Encouragements to keep a *merry Christmass*, for She, and her Family, were ruined by Iniquitous *Imprisonments*, and *hardships*, for *Printing* those *Papers*, which were to the Advantage of this Kingdom in General.<sup>239</sup>

Happy birthday Dr. Swift, indeed. Whether Sheridan knew it or not at the time, these were the last words he would write for *The Intelligencer*. It was a fitting way for him to sign off. The purpose for which *The Intelligencer* had been initiated was at last stated. But even in this postscript, it is possible that Sheridan is not speaking his mind entirely. Maybe he had further knowledge about the circumstances of these imprisonments and hardships. Whether he meant anything by the adjective “Iniquitous”, however, cannot be known for certain.

Swift’s paper on the subject of Ireland’s sufferings finally arrived, and Sheridan published it as Number Nineteen. It takes the form of a letter written in the persona of a landlord from the north who was also a member of Parliament. The name of the persona is “A. North” and, as has been considered, the inspiration for this persona was almost certainly Swift’s host at Market Hill, Arthur Acheson.<sup>240</sup> This letter from “A. North” is not one that is addressed to *The Intelligencer*. Rather, Sheridan adds a short prefatory note on the title page. Written as *The Intelligencer*, this note says that on 12 October, a letter was received from

<sup>237</sup> This should be “pilloried”. It is a Sarah Harding error.

<sup>238</sup> A3, 50, page 5; JW, *Intelligencer*, 199.

<sup>239</sup> A3, 50, page 8; JW, *Intelligencer*, 201.

<sup>240</sup> Refer: Simms, ‘Dean Swift and County Armagh’, *Seanchus Ard Mbacha*, 6, (1971), 135; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 608; JW, *Intelligencer*, 206 – 207.

“Andrew Dealer” and “Patrick Pennyless”, which appears to have been a real letter written under these pseudonyms<sup>241</sup> and addressed to either *The Intelligencer* or Swift. The letter in the persona of A. North is offered in reply to this. It speaks of the sinking circumstances that North observes around him as well as in his tenants and people in his employ. They are hardships that are compounded by the shortage of silver coin in the kingdom, which makes it nearly impossible for him to pay wages adequately or for the people to transact dealings between themselves. North also laments the inability of Ireland to mint its own coin, for which England alone is to blame. Much of the second half of the letter is given to the subject of America and the fact that thousands of people from Ulster are emigrating there for what North considers to be a false promise of prosperity.

This paper is dated 2 December, and Sheridan says in his prefatory note that it has “just come to my Hands”.<sup>242</sup> It follows that Swift had probably completed it at Market Hill before he saw Sheridan’s Number Eighteen. Sarah Harding published this Number Nineteen sometime between Tuesday 3 and Saturday 7 December. She gave it a separate title page and included her imprint. It is one of the lengthier Numbers, being printed over fifteen pages, and although seemingly written for no other reason than to pacify Sheridan, it grinds the Irish axe more effectively than *A Short View*, which is broad-sweeping and disengaged in comparison.<sup>243</sup>

There is evidence to suggest that when this Number Nineteen was published, the people thought it was seditious and expected Sarah Harding to be prosecuted. This is seen in the comment of William Flower to Swift in a letter dated 18 March 1729 when, referring to this Number Nineteen, he says “I imagine the poor widow, his [*The Intelligencer*’s] printer, is in danger of punishment”.<sup>244</sup> This is another instance indicating that Sarah Harding was now being looked upon favourably in Dublin, because no action was brought against her.

But this contribution from Swift appears to have been too little too late for Sheridan. Precisely when he did so is not known, but the evidence is clear that sometime between writing his Number Eighteen, and mid-January 1729, Sheridan decided to bring *The Intelligencer* to an end. Despite the fact that Swift made a brief return to Dublin in late December to attend

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<sup>241</sup> Refer: Ferguson, 161 – 162. Cf. JW, *Intelligencer*, 206.

<sup>242</sup> A3, 51, page 1; JW, *Intelligencer*, 207.

<sup>243</sup> For commentary on Number Nineteen, see Madden, i, 299; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 583 – 586; and David Woolley: DW Letter 834, note 4.

<sup>244</sup> 18 March 1729, William Flower to Swift: DW Letter 834, vol. iii, 218.

the visitation of a Bishop,<sup>245</sup> Sheridan appears not to have told Swift of his decision in that time. This is apparent from the fact that in January 1729, Swift was of the view that *The Intelligencer* was an ongoing concern. He had written his poem, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*. In a *Letter to a Person of Quality*, and on 13 January 1729 he sent it to Worrall with these instructions:

I send you enclosed the fruit of my illness to make an *Intelligencer*; I desire you will inclose it in a letter to Mrs. Harding, and let your letter be in an unknown hand, and desire her to shew it to the author of the *Intelligencer*, and to print it if he thinks fit... It should be sent soon, to come time enough for the next *Intelligencer*.<sup>246</sup>

Sarah Harding, however, would print this poem as an independent publication<sup>247</sup> rather than as an *Intelligencer*. Accordingly, it would appear that after the poem had been given to Sheridan – as Swift in this letter had told Worrall to tell Sarah Harding to do – Sheridan had instructed Sarah Harding to produce it as an independent publication and not as the next Number of *The Intelligencer*. Further evidence that by this time Sheridan had decided that *The Intelligencer* was at an end is seen in the imprint Sarah Harding put on this poem, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*. It reads: “Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, where Gentlemen may be furnished with the *Intelligencer*, from No. 1, to No. 19”. Never before had she advertised *The Intelligencers* in this way, and her doing so connotes closure: Numbers One to Nineteen was a full set. Further evidence that the periodical was now finished is seen in the conduct of Faulkner at this time. Faulkner certainly looked upon it as being at an end because he sent copies of all nineteen Numbers to Bowyer, his associate in London, and a collected edition of *The Intelligencers* would be published by Bowyer in London on 21 March 1729.<sup>248</sup> (As Faulkner’s sending these copies to Bowyer is something he would have received commission for, or which would at least have brought him into further credit with Bowyer, it is another example of him profiting from Harding publications.)<sup>249</sup>

*The Intelligencer*, then, was finished, and Sheridan’s way of informing Swift of this was by letting him discover that *The Journal of a Dublin Lady* had been published as an independent work rather than as the next Number in the periodical. In the meantime, every comment Swift

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<sup>245</sup> Refer: McMinn, *Jonathan’s Travels*, 125.

<sup>246</sup> 13 January 1729, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 828, vol. iii, 205 – 206.

<sup>247</sup> A3, 57.

<sup>248</sup> A4, 191. Bowyer and Davis would publish a second edition on 2 July 1730 that incorporated Number Twenty: A4, 201.

<sup>249</sup> There is no definitive proof that Bowyer received them from Faulkner, as opposed to someone else, but in my view the matter can be considered certain.

is known to have made about *The Intelligencer* was negative. In Swift's letter to Worrall of 13 January 1729 enclosing the manuscript of *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*, he ended his instructions with: "Pray, in your letter to Mrs. Harding, desire her to make her people be more correct, and that the *Intelligencer* himself [Sheridan] may look over it, for that every body who reads those papers, are very much offended with the continual nonsense made by her printers".<sup>250</sup> It is an unfair criticism. The quality of Sarah Harding's press work fluctuated a little throughout the Numbers, but all were clear and legible and there were only four mistakes of a kind that affected the reader's understanding.<sup>251</sup> And regardless, what did Swift expect from a printing house such as hers? Then, after returning from Market Hill in 1729, and knowing by this time that *The Intelligencer* was finished, Swift showed no appreciation for the work of Sheridan. Writing to Pope on 6 March he said, "I sent it [the *Journal of a Dublin Lady*] to be printed in a paper which Doctor Sheridan had engaged in, called, *The Intelligencer*, of which he made but sorry work, and then dropt it",<sup>252</sup> and on 18 March he wrote to Ford, "I sent [*Journal of a Dublin Lady*] to make up a Paper which ran here under the name of the *Intelligencer*, which was scurvily kept up a while, and at last dropt".<sup>253</sup> For Swift, the demise of the periodical seems to have been Sheridan's fault.

A few months later, Sheridan and Swift resolved their differences and attempted to revive *The Intelligencer*. This was in May 1729 when they produced a Number Twenty. This Number was another that was concerned with Jonathan Smedley. With Smedley's proposal for the publication of *An Universal View of all the eminent Writers on the Holy Scriptures* in 1728 having not met with success, in early 1729 Smedley accepted a post as chaplain to Fort St. George in Madras. He announced this new post and his impending departure from England in a self-laudatory paragraph in Latin which was published in the London *Daily Post* on 13 February 1729,<sup>254</sup> and he set sail that same day or soon after. *Intelligencer* Number Twenty satirises

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<sup>250</sup> 13 January 1729, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 828, vol. iii, 206.

<sup>251</sup> These were, firstly, an incorrectly set sentence in Number Six (on page 6) which prompted her to produce a corrected edition (refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 310 with references to lines 110 – 111); secondly, in Number Nine a sentence appears to have missing words (refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 318 with reference to lines 155); thirdly, in Number Fifteen there is the omitted sentence in the reprint of *A Short View*, which has been mentioned already; and fourthly, in Number Sixteen a sentence on page 8 does not make sense (refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 331, with reference to lines 132).

<sup>252</sup> 6 March 1729, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 831, vol. iii, 212.

<sup>253</sup> 18 March 1729, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 835, vol. iii, 221.

<sup>254</sup> It also appeared in the *Political State of Great Britain* in early March. It is not entirely certain whether it was composed by Smedley himself or his assistant, Thomas Birch, on his behalf: refer: JW, *Intelligencer*, 219, 335 – 336. It is interesting that Smedley's announcement is in Latin and is self-laudatory. Given that Smedley's contempt for

Smedley in various respects, but in particular with regard to this scheme to go to Madras, which in Swift's and Sheridan's view had less to do with wanting to spread the gospel than a desire to escape his creditors. Whilst en route to India, Smedley died. He appears to have succumbed to an onset of gangrene in his leg, and his body was committed to the sea on 30 March.<sup>255</sup> But this news had not reached Dublin by late April or early May when Swift and Sheridan wrote this Number Twenty. The Number begins with a paragraph entitled "A Short History of the Dean, by way of illustration", which is written more in the style of Sheridan than Swift. Smedley's announcement in Latin is then reprinted and accompanied by a sardonic verse translation. These verses appear to have been written by Swift, although Sheridan, who had a better classical knowledge of Latin, may have helped. And the Number ends with a paragraph in prose where *The Intelligencer* invites readers who themselves have been attacked by dunces, to send in the details to *The Intelligencer* for possible publication. Sarah Harding published it over eight pages with a separate title page that included her imprint.<sup>256</sup> It appeared sometime between Wednesday 7 and Monday 19 May.

This was the first Number to have its own subtitle on the title page, "Dean Smedley Gone to Seek his Fortune". In this way, the periodical was given a new appearance, and it is clear that this Number Twenty represented a renewed intention on the part of the authors to continue for the long term. This is seen in the invitation to the town to send in material concerning the experiences they have had at the hands of dunces. The closing paragraph of the Number also evinces an intention for the periodical to publish into the future when it cautions all dunces to desist from writing any more, else *The Intelligencer* "does in a most solemn manner declare he will Couple them together in their own Rhymes".<sup>257</sup> The Number concludes with: "Dated at our *Chambers*. May, the 7<sup>th</sup> 1729".<sup>258</sup> The "our" here suggests that the two authors were at one again in their commitment to the periodical. But this would prove to be momentary. This Number Twenty was the final appearance of *The Intelligencer*.

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self-laudatory authors was well-known at this time, principally on account of his *Gulliveriana*, my contention is that he is again here satirising the authorial pretentiousness of Swift and Pope.

<sup>255</sup> See "Log of the Eyles", 1729-30, India Official Records, L/MAR/661/D: cited in JW, *Intelligencer*, 218.

<sup>256</sup> A3, 61.

<sup>257</sup> A3, 61, page 7; JW, *Intelligencer*, 222.

<sup>258</sup> A3, 61, page 7; JW, *Intelligencer*, 222.

With the first Number having been published on 11 May 1728 and the last quite possibly on 10 May 1729,<sup>259</sup> *The Intelligencer* had a life of a year to the day. It had been a weekly periodical of twenty Numbers with two long intermissions, and Sarah Harding had devoted all of her resources to it. Swift complained about her work, but in truth the appearance of the Numbers was as good as could have been expected from her shop. When the first nineteen Numbers were reprinted by Bowyer and his partner, Charles Davis, in London in March 1729, they commented in their preface on the condition of the originals:

The following Productions I met straggling in a mean Condition, representing the Poverty of their Country by their outward Appearance; but by their Discourse they soon betrayed their good Birth and Education... As they wanted nothing but a more genteel Dress to enable them to make their Fortune in *England*, I have given them the Cloathing of our own Countrey.<sup>260</sup>

But though in a comparatively “mean Condition”, the quality of Sarah Harding’s originals never descended too far and, as Bowyer and Davis suggest, they can be looked upon as indelibly Irish.<sup>261</sup> Sarah Harding must also have made some money from them. Swift later intimated that the price she sold them for – one halfpenny – was too low,<sup>262</sup> but every Number would have been in demand and she is likely to have sold most or all of what she produced. An incident that occurred in December 1728 testifies to the success of *The Intelligencer* in more ways than one. A tract appeared entitled “*The Intelligencer*. NUMB. XX. *A Posthumus Worke Communicated*”.<sup>263</sup> It was a hoax. It had nothing to do with *The Intelligencer* written by Sheridan and Swift. The tract itself was a mildly pornographic discourse on the exercises and skills women can undergo to keep their husbands sexually interested and faithful. It is a publication, then, that was passing itself off as the next Number in the periodical in an attempt to make some money on the strength of the name *The Intelligencer*. The other point of interest about this hoax was that the printer was afterwards identified as the Catholic, Christopher Goulding, and he was prosecuted.<sup>264</sup> This would have been for

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<sup>259</sup> On the exact date of publication of Number Twenty: JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 217.

<sup>260</sup> A4, 191, in ‘To the Reader’.

<sup>261</sup> As a general rule, Irish printing houses were significantly under-resourced in comparison to their English counterparts. Refer for example: Gadd, “‘At four shillings per year, paying one quarter in hand:’ reprinting Swift’s *Examiner* in Dublin 1710 – 11’, in K. Juhas, H.J. Real, and S. Simon, eds., *Reading Swift: Sixth Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munich, 2013, 75 – 95, 89 and note 57.

<sup>262</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

<sup>263</sup> A4, 188.

<sup>264</sup> Refer Needham and Dickson’s *Dublin Intelligence* for 31 December 1728 and again for 14 January 1729. For a short discussion of King’s Bench prosecutions for obscene libel in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth

obscenity rather than sedition, but the prosecution nonetheless illustrates another matter in Sarah Harding's favour during the life of *The Intelligencer* – she benefited from an informal immunity from prosecution. Not even Bowyer and Davis, in their collected edition published in London, were prepared to put their names on the imprint.<sup>265</sup>

As for the friendship of Sheridan and Swift, it is known that sometime in 1729 they had a falling-out. The evidence of this is a short work written by Swift sometime in 1729 entitled *The History of the Second Solomon*,<sup>266</sup> which savages Sheridan's character. Because this work mentions a poem by Sheridan concerning the Queen's birthday, which was a poem that had been published in February 1729,<sup>267</sup> it must have been written after February. Other than that, the only evidence pertaining to the date of composition of *The History of the Second Solomon* is the comment of Deane Swift when he printed it in 1765, that it was "Written in the Year 1729".<sup>268</sup> Precisely when the falling-out occurred, then, is uncertain. Nor has it ever been known why this rupture took place. It is submitted, however, that it was due to Swift discovering Sheridan's irony and innuendo in the second phase of *The Intelligencer*. There is no evidence to confirm that such a discovery on Swift's part ever took place. In his letter to Pope of 12 June 1732, for instance, when Swift is telling Pope which of the Numbers had been written by him, he says of Number Fifteen: "the 15<sup>th</sup> is a Pamphlet of mine printed before with Dr. Sh—n's Preface",<sup>269</sup> without more. But Swift was never going to draw people's attention to Sheridan's irony, and in my view it is a reasonable surmise that their falling-out was due to Swift coming to this realisation. As to precisely when this occurred, it could have been during the spring of 1729, after which they briefly reunited for Number Twenty in May. Or maybe it occurred during the period of writing Number Twenty. Given that at that time they were again preparing to commit themselves to *The Intelligencer*, maybe it was only then that Swift read those Numbers for the first time, or alternatively, that he first saw their irony. One

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centuries: Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', *The Library*, 5th ser., 32, (1977), 315 – 332, at 320 – 331.

<sup>265</sup> They used the fictitious name, "A. Moor". As mentioned earlier, on the use of this name by several English stationers, see: Pat Rogers, 'The Phantom Moor', *Bibliography Newsletter*, I, no. 11, (November 1973), 9 – 10; JW, *Intelligencer*, 292.

<sup>266</sup> *PW*, v, 222 – 226. For discussion of this work: Walter Scott, ix, 513 ("This is one of the pieces in which Swift has indulged his irritable temperament, at the expense of his head and heart"); Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', op. cit., 27; JW, *Intelligencer*, 22 – 24, 31.

<sup>267</sup> A3, 60.

<sup>268</sup> Refer: *PW*, v, 222, 357.

<sup>269</sup> 12 June 1732, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 963, vol. iii, 489.

matter supporting the possibility that the rupture happened around the time of Number Twenty is that, having committed himself to the future of *The Intelligencer* with this Number Twenty, it is unlikely that Swift had plans at that time to return again to Market Hill, but in early June this is what he did.



## Chapter 9: Sarah Harding – A New Husband and New Plans

In early 1729, Sarah Harding remarried, and she and her new husband embarked on a concerted effort to impose their printing business upon the Dublin market. During the second half of the year, however, there are indications that they changed their plans and decided to take their lives in an entirely new direction. This chapter presents new evidence concerned with Sarah Harding's new husband as well as her business activities in partnership with him throughout 1729. With there being no further evidence of Sarah Harding's life after the events of 1729, this chapter also discusses never-before-seen circumstances which raise new possibilities as to what became of her from that time.

### Sarah Harding and Nicholas Hussey

With the demise of *The Intelligencer*, the source of support for Sarah Harding through two sustained periods between May 1728 and May 1729 came to an end. To what extent she continued to receive charitable or other support from the people of Dublin from that time is unclear. As has already been mentioned, in my view one material change in her favour that occurred throughout 1727 and 1728 is that she gained a place in the consciousness of the town, and people generally had sympathy for her. This is seen, I believe, in the fact that she felt sufficiently assured to put her name to publications such as *A Short View* and *Intelligencer* Number Nineteen, together with the fact that no prosecutions of those publications ensued.

As for specific demonstrations of support, little is known. One meaningful show of support from late 1728 or early 1729 is known to have come from Mary Whalley. This was the widow of John Harding's former adversary, the Whig and almanac writer, John Whalley, who had died on 17 January 1725.<sup>1</sup> After his death, John Whalley's almanac had continued under the authorship of an Isaac Butler, and for the volume for the year 1729, Mary Whalley gave the printing work to Sarah Harding. The almanac was entitled *Advice from the Stars: or, An Almanack and Ephemeris for the Year of our Lord, 1729. By Doctor John Whalley's successor, Isaac Butler*, and it bore the imprint: "Dublin: Printed by S. Harding for Mary Whalley, and sold by John Pennel, and by the booksellers, 1729".<sup>2</sup> But no other instances of support are known of, and the problem Sarah Harding faced is perhaps illustrated in the letter from William Flower to Swift of 18 March 1729. Writing from County Kilkenny, Flower has recently read *Intelligencer*

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<sup>1</sup> Refer: Hume's *Dublin Courant* for 18 January 1725. Madden is in error when he says Whalley died in 1729: i, 239.

<sup>2</sup> A3, 52. Its preface is dated 20 August 1728.

Number Nineteen, which was Swift's Number concerned with the sufferings of Ireland under the pseudonym "A. North". Anticipating that Sarah Harding would be prosecuted for this, and sympathising with her plight generally, Flower expresses himself this way:

I imagine the poor widow, his [*The Intelligencer's*] printer, is in danger of punishment; she suffered very cruelly for the *Drapier's* works. I hope several contributed to ease her misfortunes on that occasion; I confess I am very sorry I did not, but if you will give her a piece of gold, not in my name I beg, being unwilling to vaunt of charity, but as from a friend of yours, I shall by the first safe hand send one; in return I expect the *Drapier's* Works entire.<sup>3</sup>

Slepian relies on this passage for his claim that "Swift's support for Mrs. Harding was known",<sup>4</sup> but in my view it demonstrates no such thing. What I think it demonstrates is that the type of charity Sarah Harding probably received in abundance was the kind here evinced by Flower – where everyone leaves it to someone else. Indeed, it is an exceptional request made of Swift by Flower in this passage. Flower asks Swift to give Sarah Harding a piece of gold on his behalf upon the promise that he will reimburse Swift, but in return for that reimbursement he expects a copy of *Fraud Detected*. The other flaw in Flower's reasoning is that the chances of Swift having given Sarah Harding a piece of gold on Flower's credit in the first place, can in my view be considered low. However, what this incident illustrates is that Sarah Harding could not rely on charity. The year 1729 marked four years since the death of John Harding. It could be considered that it was now time for her to reclaim some autonomy in her life. This she was able to do with the help of a new husband.

The man who became Sarah Harding's new husband was another who had skills in the stationery industry. It is known that his name was Nicholas Hussey, but everything else about his life to this point is conjectural. A circumstance that will be seen later in 1729 suggests that he was a relatively young man, maybe around Sarah Harding's age or possibly younger. It is probably unlikely, then, that he was a widower or that he brought any children of his own to the marriage.<sup>5</sup> Where he hailed from is uncertain because there are no known records of a Nicholas Hussey having printed before this time, whether in Ireland, England or Scotland. There is a possibility that he was a Londoner who came to Dublin not long before the marriage. This is seen in the fact that there was a printer in London in the seventeenth century

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<sup>3</sup> 18 March 1734, William Flower to Swift: DW Letter 834, vol. iii, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner, Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962, 17, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> On intermarriage within the printing industry, refer: Munter, *HINP*, 35. On remarriage generally in this era: Laslett, *The World We Have Lost – further explored*, op. cit, 113, 115.

by the name of Christopher Hussey,<sup>6</sup> and a bookseller there between 1712 and 1738 by the name of Mary Hussey. This Mary Hussey was involved in publishing syndicates with stationers who were associated with Swift. In 1712 and again in 1721, Mary Hussey published a work with a syndicate that included Swift's publisher during the early part of the century, Benjamin Tooke. Then, in 1727, and possibly again in 1738, Mary Hussey published as part of a syndicate with Swift's London publisher of that time, Benjamin Motte.<sup>7</sup> It could be speculated, then, that Sarah Harding's new husband was from this family of London stationers by the name of Hussey, and that, with the story of Sarah Harding having currency in London, and particularly amongst the stationers with whom Mary Hussey was associated, he came to Dublin to meet her. (A further circumstance potentially indicating that Hussey was from London will be discussed later in this chapter.)

The other possibility is that Hussey was an Irishman. There was a stationer who described himself as a 'typographer' by the name of Christopher Hussey in Dublin at this time,<sup>8</sup> and Nicholas may have been a son or other relation. Or Hussey may have come to Dublin from County Meath or County Kerry, which were the counties where families of the name Hussey first settled.<sup>9</sup> If Hussey was in fact a Dubliner or an Irishman who moved to that town, one curious possibility is associated with the fact that the name Hussey was known to be abbreviated to "de Hose".<sup>10</sup> Looking back to Sarah Harding's *Poem to the Whole People of Ireland* of 1726, this was written under the pseudonym "A. R. Hosier". This pseudonym may have been chosen simply on account of it representing another branch of the textile industry, like Draper. And the initials "A. R." do not correspond to "Nicholas" in any way. Nonetheless, if the pseudonym "A. R. Hosier" was chosen because of its association with "Hussey", it follows that this new man had been a friend of Sarah Harding's for at least two or three years and that he had helped in the writing of that poem. Supporting this possibility of

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<sup>6</sup> Refer: Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1688 to 1725*, op. cit, 166.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Hussey is not recorded in Plomer (op. cit.), and may have only been an occasional publisher. Her four known publications are the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth editions of a publication entitled *Stereometry, or, the art of gauging made sense, by the help of a sliding-rule*, which were published in 1712, 1721, 1727 and 1738 respectively (A4, 36; A4, 74; A4, 175; A4, 210). With the 1738 edition, the imprint on ESTC is abbreviated and does not name all of those involved in the syndicate. It notes instead that "7 others" were also involved. Given that Motte was a part of the syndicate in 1727, it is possible that he was one of those further seven in 1738.

<sup>8</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 303.

<sup>9</sup> De Breffny, *Irish Family Names, arms, origins and locations*, Middlesex, 1986, 117.

<sup>10</sup> Refer: De Breffny, *Irish Family Names, arms, origins and locations*, op. cit., 117, and MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, Dublin, 1969, 127.

the two of them having known each other for some time is that they might both have been involved in the Dublin type founding industry when younger; Sarah Harding certainly had been, and if Hussey was the son of Christopher Hussey, that father was a ‘typographer.’

The evidence that the marriage in fact took place<sup>11</sup> is supplied by John Harding’s former master, Edward Waters. Sometime in 1729, Sarah Harding printed *A Letter from a Country Gentleman, to the Honourable the Lord-Mayor of the City of Dublin*.<sup>12</sup> This was responded to with *The answer to the letter writ to the Lord-Mayor of the city of Dublin*. And sometime after this, Waters reprinted the Letter and the Answer together in a publication entitled *A Hue and Cry after the letter to the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin*, adding the editorial comment: “N. B. *That I have taken the above scurry Letter, exactly from Mrs. Hussey, alias Harding’s Print*”.<sup>13</sup> It follows that the marriage had taken place by the time of Waters’ publication. This is thought to have been by October, for it was then that the Lord Mayor who was its subject left office.<sup>14</sup> Given, however, that in February 1729 Hussey would produce a corrected edition of Swift’s *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*, which Sarah Harding had previously printed, it is likely that their vows had been exchanged by that earlier month. Not long after marrying, Sarah Harding left her premises on Copper Alley and returned to the Blind Quay with Hussey. This may or may not have been a return to the same shop she had occupied from the summer of 1725 through to sometime in 1727. That shop had been described in her imprints as “on the Blind Key”, whereas one of her 1729 publications would be from the more specific address: “opposite the Hand and Pen near Fishamble-Street, on the Blind-Key”.<sup>15</sup>

### New Life for an Old Business

This new printing partnership immediately set on an ambitious publishing programme of newspapers, pamphlets, *Last Speeches* and more. Sarah Harding and Hussey lived and worked in the one shop on the Blind Quay and probably had just the one press, yet they produced works individually under their own imprints. They were a new husband and wife working jointly and severally to restore the business to how it had been under the former marriage. The three newspapers they are known to have produced appeared under the Hussey

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<sup>11</sup> There is no known parish record of it.

<sup>12</sup> A3, 67.

<sup>13</sup> A1, 203.

<sup>14</sup> On this refer also: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 170.

<sup>15</sup> A3, 65. Refer also the imprint on the 1729 publication of Hussey: A4, 190.

imprint. Seemingly the first thing they did in regenerating the business was to start a new version of John Harding's *Dublin Impartial News Letter*. This title had in fact appeared on a few occasions in the period since Harding last used it. This had been during 1728, when the stationer, Thomas Walsh, had now and then varied the title of his *The Dublin Mercury: or, Impartial Weekly Newsletter* to incorporate the words, "Dublin Impartial News Letter".<sup>16</sup> But with Hussey's use of it, this title was returning for the first time as a permanent feature on a newspaper banner, even though Hussey himself expanded his title to *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter. Containing the most freshest and material news, foreign and domestick*. This newspaper commenced publication on 18 February 1729.<sup>17</sup> It was said to be weekly but it was in fact twice-weekly, as stated in the extensive advertisement that Hussey included in Number Two, which appeared on 22 February:

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS *Paper* shall be Printed twice a Week, *viz.* *Tuesdays* and *Saturdays*, with a good Collection of *NEWS*. Delivered to *Subscribers*, at Ten *shillings* a Year, and if any *Packets* Arrive after the said *Paper* is Printed there will be Added a *Postscript*. Therefore all Gentlemen either in Town, or Country, that sends Advertisements to this *PAPER*, (being incerted here), the *PRINTER* hereof, will take a particular Care, to have them Posted once a Week, in the Tholsel, of the City of DUBLIN. And all Shop-keepers and Dealers, that have Occasion to incert their Advertisements Yearly, shall be dealt much better, than any where else.

As it had been for John Harding, it would appear that this *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter* was intended to be the principal newspaper of the business. The second newspaper was another revival of a Harding title. This was *The Dublin post-boy*, which first appeared under the Hussey imprint on 4 March.<sup>18</sup> It was a title that had originated with Carter before moving to Harding, and it had been adopted by Faulkner in 1725. This second newspaper, then, was in direct competition to Faulkner's newspaper of the same name. The third newspaper was a title that had previously been associated with Waters rather than Harding. This was *The Flying post Man, or the Dublin post Man, containing the Freshest News, Foreign and Domestick*, for which the first known Number is dated 1 April.<sup>19</sup> With these three

<sup>16</sup> Refer: Munter, *Hand-List*, 16–17 (item 89). The twelve surviving Numbers of this newspaper date from 18 February 1729 to 23 April 1729 and copies are located in the Early Printed Books room of TCD. Refer also: Munter, *Hand-List*, 110; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 304; and the ESTC comments at ESTC Number: P6343.

<sup>17</sup> Madden is mistaken in suggesting that it began in February 1728: i, 265.

<sup>18</sup> Refer: Munter, *Hand-List*, 111; ESTC: P6209.

<sup>19</sup> Refer: *Hand-List*, 112; ESTC: P6148; Madden, i, 268.

newspapers, Hussey and Sarah Harding were appealing to different segments of the market and would have published on most days of the week.

Other than the newspapers, Hussey is known to have produced three independent tracts during the spring and summer of 1729. The first was a corrected edition of Swift's poem, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady*. This is the poem that Swift had sent from Market Hill in January for the purposes of making an *Intelligencer*, but which Sarah Harding had produced as an independent publication.<sup>20</sup> The Sarah Harding publication had included an error that rendered the poem unintelligible. Much of the poem consists of the dialogue of the Dublin Lady, but in Sarah Harding's edition, the quotation marks necessary to distinguish the dialogue from the commentary are entirely overlooked. As a consequence, Swift would later say that the poem was "most horribly mangled in the press",<sup>21</sup> and elsewhere that "The Journal was printed all into nonsense".<sup>22</sup> But if Swift is here blaming Sarah Harding for the error, the allegation might not have been warranted, for in accordance with Swift's own instructions to Worrall with respect to this poem,<sup>23</sup> the manuscript (including an accompanying letter) was to be transcribed by Worrall,<sup>24</sup> then sent to Sheridan for review, and then given by Sheridan to Sarah Harding for printing. The omission of the quotations marks could have happened anywhere along that line. Indeed, given the extent of the enmity from Sheridan towards Swift at this particular time, it is even possible in my view that Sheridan purposefully "mangled" it. However the error eventuated, in February or March 1729, Hussey produced *The Journal of a Dublin Lady. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. The second edition carefully corrected and amended*.<sup>25</sup> A second independent tract that Hussey produced was entitled *The Journal of a Dublin Beau. Written by a young lady*,<sup>26</sup> which is thought to be an imitation of Swift's *Journal of a Dublin Lady* by an unknown author. And a third work under the Hussey imprint in these earlier months of 1729 was *Ireland in mourning: or, a funeral elegy on the much lamented death of the Reverend Father in God*

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<sup>20</sup> A3, 57.

<sup>21</sup> 6 March 1729, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 831, vol. iii, 212.

<sup>22</sup> 18 March 1729, Swift to Ford: DW Letter 835, vol. iii, 221.

<sup>23</sup> 13 January 1729, Swift to Worrall: DW Letter 828, vol. iii, 205 – 206.

<sup>24</sup> It is unclear why Swift thought it necessary to have the poem transcribed at all, for it is perfectly harmless.

<sup>25</sup> A4, 189.

<sup>26</sup> A4, 190.

*William King, Lord Archbishop of Dublin,... May, 1729.*<sup>27</sup> The Archbishop had died on 8 May at age eighty-three,<sup>28</sup> and the fact that this *Elegy* came to be printed by Hussey would appear to be another instance – like the *Elegy* for Molesworth in May 1725 – of Sarah Harding receiving favour from people in leadership positions in Dublin.

With these newspapers and other publications, Hussey was making every effort to win new business. Nor was Hussey averse to risk-taking. The one known instance of this concerned the outspoken Catholic priest and Jacobite, Dr. Cornelius Nary. Having been at odds with one from his own denomination, the renegade Catholic and White Friar, Father Francis Lehy, Nary wrote a few paragraphs which took the form of a spurious defence of Lehy. These paragraphs were sent to Hussey, who printed them in his *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter* for 8 March under the title ‘Dr. N——ry’s *Vindication of Father F——s L——y by reason of his many good sermons, having an authority from the Pope, for his so doing.*’<sup>29</sup> Lehy immediately threatened Hussey with proceedings for libel, an action that left Sarah Harding facing the all-too-familiar scenario of having to look after the business whilst her husband was in prison. On this occasion, however, Hussey issued an apology. Seemingly drafted with legal help, in his *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter* for 15 March he stated:

WHEREAS I *Nicholas Hussey*, have publish’d a paper Intituled Dr. N——ry’s *Vindication of Father F——s L——y, &c.* Now this is to Certifie the Publick that there is Nothing of Truth or Sincerity in the scandalous Paper, being only sent to me by an unknown Hand, believing it to be true, but now am convinced of the falsehood thereof and desire the Puplick may not give any Credit to any Papers which shall appear in Print from the said F——s L——y.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps to supplement this apology, in his Number for 16 April, Hussey provided a report detailing how Catholic priests had issued orders to their clergy to respect the established Church and government or face excommunication.

For her part, tracts that appeared under the Sarah Harding imprint during the early part of 1729 are known to have included *A Letter from a Country Gentleman, to the Honourable the*

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<sup>27</sup> A4, 192.

<sup>28</sup> Refer: Dickson’s *Old Dublin Intelligence* for 10 May 1729.

<sup>29</sup> The passage is reproduced and discussed in Fagan, *Dublin’s Turbulent Priest: Cornelius Nary 1658 – 1738*, Dublin, 1991, 109 – 110. On Nary, refer also: Fagan, ‘Nary, Cornelius (1658 – 1738)’, *ODNB*; Harrison, *The Dean’s Friend: Anthony Raymond 1675 – 1726, Jonathan Swift and the Irish language*, Dublin, 1999, 29 – 30.

<sup>30</sup> Printing errors here are “Intituled” and “Puplick”.

*Lord-Mayor of the City of Dublin*,<sup>31</sup> as well as two *Last Speeches* of people facing the gallows<sup>32</sup> (which would have been printed by her mother if she was still alive.) Sheridan also sent her *An Ode, to Be Performed at the Castle of Dublin, March the 1<sup>st</sup>, 1728-9. Being the Birth-Day of Her Most Serene Majesty Queen Caroline*. This work was printed with no imprint, but as James Woolley says, it can be associated with the Sarah Harding press on account of the ornaments used.<sup>33</sup> This poem was in fact criticised by Swift as part of his condemnation of Sheridan in *The History of the Second Solomon*. Swift said that, in writing this poem, Sheridan had attempted to compete with a young wit who had written such an ode the previous year, and as that younger poet's effort had been a success, Sheridan had lost credit all round. Another work sent to Sarah Harding in the spring of 1729 was Swift's and Sheridan's *Intelligencer* Number Twenty.

### Swift's Tracts of 1729

Although it has not been seen before, Sarah Harding might also have received some further work from Swift during this period. Between April and June 1729, Swift is known to have written four tracts on matters relating to the domestic economy. The fact that contemporary copies of none of these survive has led commentators to believe that he withheld all of them from publication,<sup>34</sup> but the absence of a surviving copy is not proof that a work was not printed, and this is particularly so in the case of the printer who is likely to have produced them, Sarah Harding, given her perennial problem of low paper supplies and small print runs. Given also that all four appear to have been written for the express purpose of public dissemination, there is every chance that one or more of them was printed by Sarah Harding. In his correspondence, Swift himself offers two comments that indicate that they might have been printed. In a letter to Pope dated 11 August 1729, Swift could be alluding to tracts that include these four of 1729, when he says, "These evils [within Ireland] operate more every day, and the kingdom is absolutely undone, as I have been telling it often in print these ten years past".<sup>35</sup> And in a letter to Pope dated 15 January 1731, Swift might again have these four tracts in mind when he says, "I write Pamphlets and follies merely for amusement,

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<sup>31</sup> A3, 67.

<sup>32</sup> A3, 56; A3, 59.

<sup>33</sup> A3, 60. Refer: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173.

<sup>34</sup> Davis, Ferguson, Kelly and James Woolley all presume that Swift withheld them: Davis: *PW*, xii, xvi-xvii, xxiii-iv; Ferguson, 149 – 150, Kelly, 'Swift on money and economics', op. cit., 129 – 130; JW, *Intelligencer*, 173, 206.

<sup>35</sup> 11 August 1729, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 850, vol. iii, 245. For commentary on these remarks by Swift: Davis: *PW*, xii, xxiii-iv; Ferguson, 150.



and when they are finished, or I grow weary in the middle, I cast them into the fire, partly out of dislike, and chiefly because I know they will signify nothing”.<sup>36</sup> It is known that these four tracts of 1729 did not fall into this category for Swift because the manuscripts survived.

Of the four, seemingly the first was *A Letter on Maculla’s Project About Half-Pence*. This appears to have been written in March or April.<sup>37</sup> James Maculla, the Dublin chemist who in August 1723 had been the first person to write a pamphlet concerned with Wood’s halfpence,<sup>38</sup> had advanced a proposal to produce promissory notes stamped on copper to pass for the value of halfpence and farthings. In this tract, Swift offers a variation on Maculla’s plan. Ferguson says that this work was not printed, and in support of his argument he says that the tract became irrelevant after the appearance of a report in *The Dublin Intelligence* for 29 April that stated: “the Prospect of making Current *Ma.Culla’s* Notes, as Halfpence, seems to be almost over, the Nation not being Willing to Encourage the Passing of any thing so much Wanting the stamp *Royalty*”. But Ferguson’s opinion presumes that Swift’s paper had not been printed before 29 April, which according to Ferguson’s own earlier comments,<sup>39</sup> it had. It also presumes that the report in the *Dublin Intelligence* was accurate and that it carried weight with Swift. The possibility that *A Letter on Maculla’s Project About Half-Pence* was printed, then, cannot be dismissed.

The second of the four tracts was *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, Concerning the Weavers*. This is dated April 1729.<sup>40</sup> The Corporation of Weavers had written to Swift asking him to write something on their behalf urging the people to wear local manufactures, and this tract is Swift’s response. It offers support to the weavers whilst admonishing them for their failure to act on previous opportunities given to them.

The other two tracts both appear to have been written sometime before Swift left for Market Hill in early June. One was *An Answer to Several Letters sent me from Unknown Hands*. In this tract, Swift sets out several ideas for the betterment of Ireland such as the improvement

<sup>36</sup> 15 January 1731, Swift to Pope: DW Letter 903, vol. iii, 355. For commentary on these remarks by Swift: Davis: *PW*, xii, xxiii-iv; Ferguson, 150.

<sup>37</sup> *PW*, xii, 91 – 105. On its dating, refer: *PW*, xii, xviii; Ferguson, 149, 160 – 161. It was later printed by Faulkner in his 1758 edition of *Works* (refer: *PW*, xii, xvi). Refer also: Lien, ‘Jonathan Swift and the Population of Ireland’, op. cit., 431 – 453.

<sup>38</sup> A4, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Ferguson, 160 – 161.

<sup>40</sup> *PW*, xii, 65 – 71. On its dating see *PW*, xii, xvi. It was later printed by Deane Swift in 1765: refer, *PW*, xii, xvi; Ferguson, 161.

of roads and more sensible management of bogs.<sup>41</sup> Davis reasons that this tract would not have been printed. He refers to the fact that in the papers to which Swift here responds – the “*Letters... from Unknown Hands*” – Swift was asked to consider the proposals those people had made to him and, if he thought well of them, to offer them to the Parliament. However, in his opening comments in this *Answer*, Swift says that he is not the right person to make a submission to Parliament. For Davis, the fact that Swift states this is sufficient for him to presume that Swift did not write it for publication.<sup>42</sup> But in my view this is far from conclusive and, to the contrary, there are indications that Swift *did* write it for publication. Swift here appears to be writing here for a wide audience. There is also the fact that he only ever made submissions to Parliament his own way – by publishing pamphlets rather than presenting formally to the Houses. Further, there is this passage, which Swift goes out of his way to include in his opening paragraph:

My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expense, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both of those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place. But, let that be as it will, I am determined never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.<sup>43</sup>

As this is yet another attempt by Swift to ensure that no culpability for the suffering of Waters or the death of Harding could attach to him, in my view it was intended for public reading. (The final sentence of this passage, incidentally, only infers that Swift intends to refrain from writing dangerous material, and not that he was intending to withhold this tract from a printer.)

The last of the four tracts was an *Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons*.<sup>44</sup> This is a discussion of Ireland’s woes and the futility of so many of the proposals being sent to him, and with this tract there is clear evidence that Swift intended it for publication. This is seen in

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<sup>41</sup> *PW*, xii, 83 – 90. It was later printed by Deane Swift in 1765: refer, *PW*, xii, xvi; Ferguson, 161.

<sup>42</sup> *PW*, xii, xvii.

<sup>43</sup> *PW*, xii, 85. Later in this same tract he also refers to his printers having “already suffered too much for my speculations”: *PW*, xii, 88.

<sup>44</sup> *PW*, xii, 73 – 81. It was later printed by Deane Swift in 1765: see *PW*, xii, xvi; Ferguson, 161. The evidence that this tract was written in 1729 is seen in its opening lines. Swift here says to his correspondents, “I am inclined to think that I received a Letter from you two last summer” (*PW*, xii, 75), and Davis would appear to be right in suggesting that that letter from the previous summer was the one Swift responded to in the letter written in the persona of A. North, which was published as *Intelligencer Number XIX*: Davis: *PW*, xii, xvi-xvii.

a comment in the course of the opening paragraphs where Swift directly addresses the “Unknown Persons” who had written to him with: “I have ordered your Letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer, because I conceive it will be more acceptable and informing to the Kingdom”.<sup>45</sup> If this order was put into action, it can be considered almost certain, in my view, that the printer was Sarah Harding.

Another matter that bears upon this question of whether any one or more of these four tracts was printed by Sarah Harding is an industrial dispute that appears to have arisen around this time between the stationery industry and the writers of the town. At least a portion of the stationery industry took a stand in an effort to force writers to meet some of the costs of production of the works. The evidence that this occurred is given by Swift himself in the opening paragraph of his *Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons*:

And, Gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is so regardless of what we write for the public good, that after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage, or of Reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a Printer to be at the charge of sending it into the World, unless we will be at all or half the expence; And although we are willing enough to bestow our labors, we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket; because it probably may not consist with the Scituation of our Affairs.<sup>46</sup>

Swift was being told that he had to pay part of the costs. Given that this demand was being brought against Swift in particular, it follows that two of the printers making the demand were those associated with him through this period: Sarah Harding and Nicholas Hussey. Clearly needing a contribution from him for their costs, they were standing up to Swift with this action. However, they were asking the wrong writer to part with some money, and if it is true that any one or more of these four tracts were not in fact printed, there lies the reason. Maybe, though, they were all printed by Sarah Harding on small print runs corresponding to her paper supplies. Indeed the fact that Swift gave this retort indicates that he all along wrote with a view to publication.

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<sup>45</sup> *PW*, xii, 73. Later in this *Answer* Swift again discloses an intention for the work to be printed with his comment: “What will it import, that half a score people, in a coffee-house, may happen to read this paper”: *PW*, xii, 81.

<sup>46</sup> *PW*, xii, 75. Six years later, in April 1735, Swift was still complaining about Dublin stationers charging writers for their labour: 12 April 1735, Swift to Thomas Beach: DW Letter 1147, vol. iv, 89. This raises the possibility that Faulkner was making such claims upon Swift (around the very time that Faulkner’s four volume edition of Swift’s *Works* was published).

### Indications of a New Plan

From around late summer 1729, the approach of Sarah Harding and Nicholas Hussey to their business appears to have altered in a way that suggests they were preparing for something new. It is apparent that the commitment that characterised their efforts in the first half of the year dissipated in the second. Between July and December, the number of independent tracts known to be printed under the Hussey imprint is only three.<sup>47</sup> As for Sarah Harding, there are no tracts that carry her imprint, and only two with anonymous imprints that can be attributed to either herself or Hussey on account of the ornaments used.<sup>48</sup> More significantly, despite the vision they had had for the future of *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter*, all three of their newspapers appear to have come to an end. The last known Number of the *The weekly post: or, The Dublin impartial news-letter* is Number Twelve, which is dated 23 April. For their *Dublin post-boy*, there is in fact just one surviving Number – that for 4 March – which suggests that it was short-lived. And the last known Number of *The Flying post Man* was published no later than August.<sup>49</sup> These matters represent reasonably clear indications that they were scaling back their business.

There is also the fact that in August, Hussey left Dublin for a trip to London. It was a stay of seemingly only a few weeks or maybe less. This is seen in the fact that a tract appeared in Dublin under Hussey's imprint in early September,<sup>50</sup> which suggests that he was back by then. But whilst in London, Hussey did the unusual thing of engaging in combat in an arranged public fight. An amphitheatre in London that was built specifically for these purposes was Figg's Amphitheatre. One of England's best-known boxers and fighters, James Figg was also a master and trainer in defence, and he had this amphitheatre constructed on Oxford Road, adjoining his home, in about 1720. Combatants there quite regularly included men and sometimes women who came over from Ireland.<sup>51</sup> In keeping with the traditions of ancient amphitheatres of this kind, the combat engaged in was often gladiatorial with the use

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<sup>47</sup> A4, 193; A4, 195 and A4, 198. With regard to this last-mentioned tract, the ESTC speculates that it was published in 1730 (T163034), whilst the TCD catalogue suggests 1729. Given that there is no other evidence of Hussey's printing activities after 1729, the TCD catalogue is likely to be correct.

<sup>48</sup> A3, 62; A3, 66.

<sup>49</sup> ESTC says the last known Number appeared in August (P6148), whilst both Munter (*Hand-List*, 112) and Pollard (*Dictionary*, 304) say it was on 30 May.

<sup>50</sup> A4, 195.

<sup>51</sup> On Figg and his amphitheatre: Tony Gee, 'Figg, James (b. Before 1700, d. 1734)', ODNB.

of swords. Fights continued until one side either conceded or could not go on. Accordingly, these were fights in which blood was spilled, limbs were sometimes severed, and no doubt there was an occasional death. This is what Hussey did whilst in London. As reported by the newspaper of that city, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, on 16 August 1729:

This Week Mr. Hussey, a printer of Ireland, acquitted himself in single Combat, as a Gladiator, at Figg's Amphitheatre with great Honour. We don't tell this News, as if we took it for an Omen of War, that a Man should thus turn from *Letters* to *Arms*; that we shall leave to the Astrologers; we only conceive Mr. Hussey to be a wise Man, for as the World goes, it seems necessary for all *Printers to practice the noble Science of Defence*.<sup>52</sup>

Clearly Hussey was an aggressor, not only in business but in other arenas as well. The question, though, is why did he do this? So soon after marrying Sarah Harding and starting their new life, what made him leave for a short time to indulge in an extreme sport such as this? Part of the reason might have been to make some quick money. He probably received a flat fee or a percentage of the entrance monies for something such as this. But the principal reason in my view is that he was meeting a personal challenge before charting a new course in life. As mentioned earlier, Hussey might have been from London originally. If that was the case, this trip to London might have been to farewell his family and friends, doing so with a last hurrah at Figg's Amphitheatre. Or if he was an Irishman, this could have been his way of leaving this part of the world in style.

### *A Modest Proposal*

Having left Dublin in early June,<sup>53</sup> at Market Hill during the summer of 1729 Swift again wrote poetry with Lady Acheson. Whilst with the Achesons on this occasion, however, Swift also wrote his pamphlet, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to their Parents, or the Country, and For Making them Beneficial to the Publick*. It has been surmised that Swift received the inspiration for this pamphlet from *Intelligencer* Number Eighteen and Sheridan's description in that Number of the passage from Fines Morisson. It has been thought, that is, that *A Modest Proposal* was conceived in Swift's mind after he read Sheridan's description of Morisson's story from the time of Elizabeth concerning a widow who had died and had been eaten by her children, and how another set of mothers had been

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1987, 157. By "single combat" is meant that Hussey fought against just one rather than being part of a fight of two against two or three against three.

<sup>53</sup> On the timing of his departure refer: *PW*, xii, xvii; McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 119, 125; Probyn, 'Swift, Jonathan', *ODNB*, 23.

forced to steal and eat babies.<sup>54</sup> This surmise is in my view clearly correct. With regard to the circumstances that gave rise to the composition of *A Modest Proposal*, however, I would like to submit a hypothesis which dates back further in time and which accords with new evidence I have discussed in earlier chapters. This hypothesis begins with the death of Sarah Harding's infant son, John Draper Harding, along with the fact that the only available evidence concerning that child's cause of death suggests that it was directly or indirectly associated with starvation. As I have argued, it was this death and Swift's failure to support Sarah Harding during the period preceding it, that prompted Sheridan to insert two particularly ironic passages into the pages of *The Intelligencer* – the scripture on the title page of Number Fifteen that summoned the people to praise and honour the "Lord" whilst their children starve, and the digression concerning the events from the time of Elizabeth, as related by Fines Morisson, in Number Eighteen. The next step in this hypothesis has already been considered – that Swift read this passage about eating babies in Number Eighteen. My hypothesis broadens this by suggesting that Swift read this passage from Number Eighteen as well as the scripture in Number Fifteen and that the reality of Sheridan's innuendo and irony throughout all of the Numbers between Eleven and Eighteen (inclusive) dawned on him at the same time. Further, my hypothesis is that this realisation on Swift's part happened around the time of preparing Number Twenty in May 1729. This would explain why Swift suddenly abandoned the revival of *The Intelligencer* and instead went to Market Hill. It also follows from this that Swift went to Market Hill with a mind teeming with anger towards Sheridan and with visions of Sheridan's lines concerning mothers, widows, babies and cannibalism – conditions that were ripe for the spawning of the work that became *A Modest Proposal*. According to this hypothesis, Sheridan's passages in *The Intelligencer*, which had been passages designed to stir Swift's conscience, in this way became grist for the author's mill.

However it came to be written, Swift returned to Dublin with the manuscript in early October<sup>55</sup> (making it a much shorter stay in Market Hill than the previous year), and immediately began making arrangements for publication. Given all of the history between Swift and the Harding family, together with the efforts by Sheridan to bring Swift to support Harding's widow and the circumstances associated with the origins of the work itself, this was a manuscript that simply had to be sent to Sarah Harding, and so it was. To ensure that she

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<sup>54</sup> Refer: George Wittowsky, 'Swift's *Modest Proposal*: The Biography of an Early Georgian Pamphlet', *JHI* 4 (1943), 92 – 93; Thomas B. Gilmore, Jr., '*A Modest Proposal* and *Intelligencer* Number XVIII', *Scriblerian*, 2, (1969), 28 – 29; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, 103 – 104, 113 note 50; JW, *Intelligencer*, 25, 197.

<sup>55</sup> Refer: Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for 7 – 11 October and Dickson's *Old Dublin Intelligence* for 11 October.

was able to produce enough copies, Swift may have advised her to call on the assistance of another stationer. This is seen in the fact that, although Sarah Harding would publish it in her name only, it would also be advertised and sold by the printing house of Elizabeth Dickson (the widow of the former Whig printer, Francis Dickson), her son Richard Dickson, and her new husband, Gwyn Needham, who were then operating from a shop on Dame Street.<sup>56</sup> This association with the Dickson and Needham shop would also have helped with distribution around the kingdom and syndication in England. Prior to publication, Swift might have recommended to Sarah Harding that she obtain a legal opinion, but if he did make this recommendation, there was little for her to worry about in this regard. The only line in the pamphlet that potentially gives offence to England is where the narrator says that his proposal presents no risk of upsetting England, “For this kind of Commodity will not bear Exportation, the Flesh being of two<sup>57</sup> tender a Consistance, to admit a long continuance in Salt, *although perhaps I could name a Country, which would be glad to eat up our whole Nation without it*”.<sup>58</sup> But the humour of the tract, black and unmistakably divorced from all reality, placed it in a genre with which the law was unlikely to concern itself,<sup>59</sup> and this was a time when Sarah Harding was the least likely printer in Dublin to be prosecuted anyway. Sarah Harding set it to type in late October. Allowing that she and Hussey were at this time preparing to emigrate, it seems likely that Swift had become aware of those plans and that this pamphlet was like a gift to help them on their way.

Sarah Harding published *A Modest Proposal* sometime in the final days of October.<sup>60</sup> She did so in octavo over sixteen pages and with the title taking up most of the separate title page. Her imprint appears at the bottom of the title page, although with the words “and” and “Key” set on the wrong lines.<sup>61</sup> She used two ornaments on the first page of text – page three of the publication – and thereafter her press work is clean. There are a few type-setting errors

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<sup>56</sup> Refer: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 151 – 154.

<sup>57</sup> This should of course be “too”. It is one of Sarah’s printing errors in the pamphlet. The word “consistance” that follows soon after would appear to be a contemporary use – and spelling of – “consistency”.

<sup>58</sup> A3, 65, page 15; *PW*, xii, 117.

<sup>59</sup> Cf: Munter, who appears to have been of the view that it was potentially seditious: *HINP*, 150.

<sup>60</sup> A3, 65. On the date of publication, refer: Ball (*Correspondence*, iv, 124 n. 3), T-S 336 (item 676) and Davis (*PW*, xii, xix). Cf: David Woolley who says early November: DW Letter 834, note 4, vol. iii, 219.

<sup>61</sup> See Image 16.

although none that affect legibility,<sup>62</sup> and soon afterwards she produced another impression where most of these mistakes are corrected.<sup>63</sup> For this publication, she is likely to have acquired enough paper to maintain sales over an extended period. The Dickson and Needham business, which advertised the pamphlet in its *Old Dublin Intelligence* for 8 November,<sup>64</sup> would also have profited from it. Interestingly, when it was reprinted in London, Sarah Harding's name was included in the imprint: "*Dublin*, Printed by *S. Harding: London*, Re-printed; and sold by *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-lane*, and the Pamphlet-Shops. M.DCC, XXIX".<sup>65</sup> This was the first time the name "Harding" had been expressly acknowledged in a London reprint. It suggests that the name "Sarah Harding" was at this time known to be associated with Swift in that city.<sup>66</sup>

### The Confirmation of Faulkner

In the meantime, Faulkner was continuing to take all before him. By 1729, he had been in business for only five years, and the Dublin stationery industry had never before seen the like of him. On the one hand, he could be said to have been the most fierce competitor the industry had ever produced, whilst on the other it was as though he did as he pleased and left everyone else competing with *him*. Whereas rival stationers traded barbs and insults in their newspapers, Faulkner never so much as named another stationer, much less engaged with one. In his *Dublin Journal* for 23 – 26 August 1729, Faulkner reprinted the report from *Fog's Weekly Journal* the previous week concerning Hussey's appearance at Figg's Amphitheatre, but edited the report to remove both mentions of the name "Mr. Hussey" as well as the reference to the printer being "of Ireland", inserting instead: "We hear from London, that, Last Week a Printer from that City, acquitted himself in single Combat..." No free publicity of any kind would be granted to another stationer. On the contrary, the only publicity he ever

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<sup>62</sup> On page 5, "abont" should be "about"; on page 5, there should be no question mark at the end of the sentence ending "nor cultivate land"; on page 6, "nnder" should be "under"; on page 9, "a live" should be "alive"; on page 12, the comma after "instead of Expençe" should be a full stop; on page 15, "two" should be "too" (an error that suggests that the copy was being read to the compositor rather than the compositor setting it from his or her own eyes); on page 16, "Works" should be "Work"; and there are a few missing commas and full stops.

<sup>63</sup> I have not seen this corrected impression but a facsimile reproduction of the title page can be seen at: *PW*, xii, 108. It would seem safe to presume that most and maybe all of the other errors are also corrected. Another possibility is that the 'original' impression was in fact a trial edition for Swift's perusal, although it seems unlikely that a copy of that trial would have survived.

<sup>64</sup> T-S is mistaken in saying that this advertisement appeared in "in Harding's *Dublin Intelligence*, 8 or 18 Nov.": 336 (item 676).

<sup>65</sup> A4, 197.

<sup>66</sup> Refer also: *JW*, *Intelligencer*, 38 and note 14.



gave was to himself. Faulkner promoted himself endlessly and did so with an air that drove other stationers to distraction. This is seen in Dickson and Needham's long response to Faulkner's promotion of his *Dublin Journal* for 7 – 11 January 1729, with Dickson and Needham at pains over two paragraphs in their *Old Dublin Intelligence* for 7 January to assert that Faulkner's claim was "a Notorious and Villanous LYE". Other experienced stationers also found themselves bridling at Faulkner throughout this time. Waters started his *Edward Waters The Dublin Journal* in May 1729, although it was short-lived.<sup>67</sup> Probably the best approach with regard to Faulkner was in fact that which Sarah Harding and Hussey adopted during the first half of 1729. For the most part, they made no effort to directly compete with him at all. They did revive Harding's old *Dublin post-boy*, which was in competition with Faulkner's new newspaper of the same name, but the fact that only one Number of the Hussey version survives suggests they did not persist with it for long. They resisted the temptation to produce a *Dublin Journal* despite the fact that if any stationers had a right to produce one, it was them. They also did not produce a collected edition of the *Letters* of the Drapier, which they might have been able to claim they had the right to publish.

Faulkner and Swift were made for each other. They complemented each other with their imperious natures. Swift was a writer who presumed that matters of monarchy and divinity were his to manipulate, whilst Faulkner was a stationer who assumed that the market for newspapers, pamphlets and literature in Ireland was his to monopolise. During the five years they had known each other, their mutual respect had only grown and it had continued to be reflected on occasion in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* throughout 1729.<sup>68</sup> Nothing could have suited them better than what appear to have been the plans of Sarah Harding to leave Ireland. The moral impediment to their union would at last be removed.

Sometime during this period, Swift summoned Faulkner to the deanery for a meeting. The story of what happened on this occasion was passed down orally for a few decades before being put in print in 1775. As for precisely when this meeting happened, little notice is to be taken of the opening comment that it took place "On the death of Mr. Harding". This meeting in fact occurred around five years after Harding's death, sometime after January 1729. This is seen in the fact that the story refers to Faulkner's shop being on Skinner Row opposite the Tholsel. Faulkner is thought to have moved to that address from Christ Church Yard in

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<sup>67</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 21 (item 114).

<sup>68</sup> Refer the Numbers for 18 – 22 February, 31 May – 3 June, 9 September, and 7 – 11 October.

January 1729.<sup>69</sup> It can be considered reasonably certain that this meeting at the deanery would only have taken place after Swift had become aware of Sarah Harding's plans. The story tells of how Swift sent a message to the Faulkner shop asking for the printer of the *Dublin Journal* to attend upon him, but with Faulkner at that time away or otherwise occupied, Faulkner's partner, Hoey, answered the call himself:

On the death of Mr. Harding, the dean's former printer, he sent for the printer of 'The Dublin Journal', and was waited on by Mr. James Hoey, whom the dean asked 'if he was a printer?' Mr. Hoey answered, 'he was an *apology* for one;' the dean, piqued at the freedom of this answer, asked further, 'where he lived?' he replied, '*facing* the Tholsel;' the dean then turned from Mr. Hoey and bid him send his partner. Mr Faulkner accordingly waited on the dean, and being asked the same questions, answered 'he was;' also, 'that he lived opposite to the Tholsel;' 'then', said the dean, 'you are the man I want', and from that time commenced his friend."<sup>70</sup>

Hoey's statement to Swift that he was "an *apology*" for a printer in my view constitutes clear evidence of his having been demeaned by Faulkner in their shop over a long period of time. Soon after this incident in 1729, Hoey would indeed finally split from Faulkner. This is thought to have happened in about April 1730,<sup>71</sup> and it might have been the ramifications of his taking it upon himself to attend at the deanery that brought the decision on. Hoey immediately started up his own *Dublin Journal*, and he continued with the Numbering as it was when he left, with his first *Dublin Journal* being Number 475.<sup>72</sup> Clearly in his mind the newspaper had been more his than Faulkner's.

### Swift's Gold Box

A brief episode from early 1730 bears testimony to Sheridan's irony in *Intelligencer* Numbers Fifteen and Eighteen that Swift's yearning for rewards and honours could not be satiated. It also testifies to the comment of Thomas Amory, who knew Swift through this time, that "The Dean was proud beyond all other mortals that I have seen".<sup>73</sup> The episode concerned the preparations being made by the Corporation of the City of Dublin to honour Swift with a gold box. Nearly five years earlier, in the summer of 1725, the Corporation had

<sup>69</sup> Tierney, 'Faulkner, George', ODNB, 2004-6; op. cit.; 1; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198.

<sup>70</sup> 'Authentic Memoirs of the Late George Faulkner, Esq.', *The Hibernian Magazine*, September 1775, 503 – 505, October 1775, 57 – 71 (October 1775, 571). The story is also discussed in Madden, ii, 34 – 35; Slepian, 'When Swift First Employed George Faulkner', op. cit, 354; and Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 12.

<sup>71</sup> Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198; James Woolley, 'Arbuckle's Panegyric', op. cit., note 12.

<sup>72</sup> Munter, *Hand-List*, 21(item 117); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 292.

<sup>73</sup> A4, 212, page xxix.

given Swift the Freedom of the City,<sup>74</sup> but from not long after that time Swift had been soliciting for the ceremony that sometimes accompanied the conferral of the Freedom of the City – the public presentation of a gold box with a suitable inscription. Because this ceremony was normally reserved for Lord Lieutenants or others in high stations, some in the House of Lords were averse to the notion of it being conferred upon Swift. In January 1730, though, the aldermen of the Corporation voted in favour of it, only for Swift to then prescribe to the Corporation the wording of the inscription that should go on the box. The inscription he composed was transcribed for him by Delany and then sent to the Corporation. It read as follows:

Dublin, January 17, 1729 [1730]: This day the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons presented the freedom of the city in this box to Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, whom for his great zeal, unequalled abilities and distinguished munificence in asserting the rights, defending the liberties, and encouraging the manufactures of the kingdom, they justly esteemed the most eminent patriot and greatest ornament of this his native city and country.<sup>75</sup>

The word chosen by some aldermen to describe this proposed inscription from Swift was “arrogant”.<sup>76</sup> Lord Allen condemned the Corporation for even contemplating giving such an honour “to a man who neither feared God nor honour'd the King, who had wrote a libell on King Queen and Government”,<sup>77</sup> let alone with an inscription such as this. The presentation of the gold box was deferred for a few months, but when it was eventually made on 27 May, the box bore no inscription at all, and Swift expressed his disappointment in this in his public acceptance speech.<sup>78</sup> This was also a speech in which Swift recounted the achievements for which this box was recognition, referring to his *Universal Use* of 1720 and the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier in October 1724. In the course of this speech, Swift did refer to the printers who

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<sup>74</sup> Efforts to have this award bestowed upon Swift began in late 1724. Refer: 1 November 1724, Tickell to Delafaye: PRONI 580/1, 230 – 232.

<sup>75</sup> This transcription was given by Coghill in a letter to Southwell dated 21 February 1730. It is also reproduced in part in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 651 – 652; and Williams, *Poems*, ii, 494 – 495, note. For other commentary related to these events: Oakleaf, 173; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 57 note 2; Ferguson, 186 with references at note 20; and McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 102.

<sup>76</sup> This is the word Coghill used to describe it, and he was seemingly reflecting the views of the aldermen: 21 February 1730, Coghill to Southwell: reproduced in part in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 651 – 652; and Williams, *Poems*, ii, 494 – 495, note.

<sup>77</sup> Lord Allen's words here are as relayed by Coghill in his letter to Southwell of 21 February 1730. This portion of the letter is reproduced in: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 494–495, note.

<sup>78</sup> That night or soon after, Swift composed a summary of what he said on this occasion. Written in the third person, this summary is entitled “The Substance of What was said by the Dean on receiving his Freedom.” *PW*, xii, 143 – 148.

had run the risk of publishing these pamphlets. It was not to mention how they had suffered or how one had paid the highest price. It was to draw people's attention to "how much he [Swift] had suffered in his purse"<sup>79</sup> on their account.

### What Became of Sarah Harding?

After *A Modest Proposal*, Sarah Harding appears to have printed a tract entitled *An Answe[r] [sic] to the Christmass-Box. In Defence of Doctor D-n-y*. This seems to have been written in November or December 1729, and although the imprint is anonymous, the publication can be attributed to Sarah Harding's shop on account of its ornaments.<sup>80</sup> Around the same time, Sarah Harding might also have printed Swift's *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*. Like Swift's four tracts from earlier in 1729, this is another for which there is no surviving copy, but it appears to have been written in November and could have been printed by Sarah Harding in one of her small print runs.<sup>81</sup> Then there are two publications under the Hussey imprint. One is possibly from early 1730.<sup>82</sup> The other is entitled *Sermon Preach'd before the Rt. Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Friday, January 30, 1729 [1730]*, and as this is dated "1729-30", it could have been printed by Hussey as late as 25 March 1730.<sup>83</sup> After this, there is no further evidence of any printing activities by either Sarah Harding or Nicholas Hussey.

<sup>79</sup> *PW*, xii, 147. Swift's meanness with money would only accentuate with age. In 1736, for instance, he would lend Sheridan money, although charge him interest (refer: 15 September 1736, Sheridan to Swift: *DW Letter* 1293, vol. iv, 347; Lane-Poole, 'Dr. Sheridan', *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 25, 1882, 170–171). Then, when Sheridan died in 1738, Swift wrote a 'Character of Sheridan', which was printed by Faulkner in his *Dublin Journal* for 14 October 1738 in the form of an obituary (a softened version of the text is reproduced at: *PW*, v, 216 – 218; refer also *JW*, 'Thomas Sheridan and Jonathan Swift', 110 note 12). For one thing, this Character is clinical and cold-hearted (for commentary on this see: Walter Scott (ix, 509); and Dolan, 'Tom the Punman: Dr. Thomas Sheridan, the Friend of Swift', op. cit., 27), but then Swift ends the Character by calling on Sheridan's former students to erect a monument over Sheridan's body, in this way shifting the expense of such a monument away from himself. Also on this incident: 'B', 'A Pilgrimage to Quilca', *Dublin University Magazine*, 1852, vol. 40, 509 – 526, at 522.

<sup>80</sup> A3, 66. See also James Woolley, 'Arbuckle's Panegyric', op. cit., 191 – 206, 203. Pollard says this tract might have been published in 1730 (*Dictionary*, 304) but it is more likely to have been late 1729.

<sup>81</sup> *PW*, xii, 119 – 127. On its dating, refer Ferguson, 156. Another tract of Swift that is also in this category of 'no surviving copy' is *Maxims Controlled in Ireland* (*PW*, xii, 129 – 137), which appears to have been written after *A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures*. If it was written in early 1730 it, too, might have been printed by Sarah Harding. On the dating of this tract and discussion of it generally: Davis: *PW*, xii, xxiii and note 1, 124; Ferguson, 148 note 29; and Rossi and Hone, 274 (who are mistaken in saying it was printed in 1724).

<sup>82</sup> A4, 202.

<sup>83</sup> A4, 200.

On the question of what happened to Sarah Harding from this time, it has been thought that she must have died soon afterwards. Plomer in 1922 suggested that she might have died “in 1728”.<sup>84</sup> Clearly the year is wrong, for Sarah Harding is known to have printed works in 1729, but the hypothesis that she died originated with this comment from Plomer. It was then followed in 1962 by Barry Slepian, the scholar of the relationship of Faulkner and Swift. Slepian, whose comments seem to suggest that he thought Sarah Harding was an older woman rather than one of about thirty, conjectures that she died “shortly” after *A Modest Proposal*, “sometime between October 1729 and April 1730”, and that this paved the way for Swift’s move to Faulkner.<sup>85</sup> To support this argument, Slepian refers to the opening comment in the printed anecdote of 1775 concerning Swift calling Faulkner to meet with him at the deanery. That opening comment reads: “On the death of Mr. Harding”. Because this meeting in fact occurred five years after Harding’s death, Slepian contends that this line is in error and that it should read, “On the death of Mrs. Harding”,<sup>86</sup> from which it would follow that Sarah Harding died within the period mentioned by Slepian. But in my view it is unlikely that an error was made in the printing of this opening line of this anecdote. The fact that the writer of this anecdote says “On the death of Mr. Harding”, when in fact that event was five years in the past, can be explained by the fact that no one ever gave any detailed thought to matters associated with the Hardings. Also, the author of this anecdote is writing some two generations after the event. But regardless, the flaw in the theory advanced by Plomer and Slepian that Sarah Harding died soon after *A Modest Proposal* is that Nicholas Hussey disappeared from the scene at exactly the same time. Neither Plomer nor Slepian considered this.

My own research raises a few different possibilities as to what happened to Sarah Harding. There is a burial record for a “Serah Hussey” dated 26 May 1732 and the parish of burial is St. Paul’s.<sup>87</sup> This is potentially her. She might have died a few years after her last known printing activity and have been buried there in her family parish. If this was the case, she is likely to have been buried with John Harding and John Draper Harding. Supporting the

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<sup>84</sup> Plomer et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland From 1726 to 1775*, Oxford, 1932, 388.

<sup>85</sup> *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., 17, 35. Refer also Slepian’s shorter paper, ‘When Swift First Employed George Faulkner’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 56, (1962), 354 – 356.

<sup>86</sup> ‘When Swift First Employed George Faulkner’, op. cit., 354 – 356.

<sup>87</sup> *St. Paul’s, Dublin, Parish Registry Book*, RCBL, Burials May 1732: “26. Bur. Serah Hussey”. [sic.] This record is accessible online at: [www.irishgenealogy.ie](http://www.irishgenealogy.ie) The Record Identity Number is: DU-CI-BU-228685.

possibility that this “Serah Hussey” is her, is that there appear to have been no others with the surname Hussey buried at this Parish previously, indicating that this “Serah Hussey” was not a member of *another* Hussey family burial plot in this cemetery. On the other hand, this was a relatively new parish, and as Hussey was not an uncommon name, this could have been one of several “Serah Husseys” in Dublin at the time. Also relevant is that this possibility of Sarah Harding dying in Dublin in May 1732 does not account for the absence of evidence of both her and Nicholas Hussey from early 1730 to this time.

A separate possibility as to what happened to her can be drawn from the *Directory of Dublin* that was compiled in 1738. This Directory has a listing for a “Hussey (widow), Smithfield”.<sup>88</sup> If this is Sarah Harding, she is at this time thirty-eight years old and again a widow, having lost Nicholas Hussey. She is also living in Smithfield, which was within the parish of St. Paul’s. Again, though, for the same reasons just mentioned, it is unlikely that this is her.

The most reasonable conclusion would appear to be that Sarah Harding and Nicholas Hussey emigrated.<sup>89</sup> As Sheridan had mentioned in *Intelligencer* Seventeen and as Swift had discussed in more detail in *Intelligencer* Nineteen, “some thousand Families are gone, or going, or preparing to go, from hence, and settle themselves in *America*”,<sup>90</sup> and although most of these families were from Ulster, at least some were from other parts, including Dublin.<sup>91</sup> It also represents a move that is perfectly understandable given her circumstances – the time was right to leave the sorrows of Dublin behind and take a chance on the New World with her new husband. Also potentially relevant is the fact that copies of Sarah Harding’s original editions of *The Intelligencer* surfaced in New York in the 1730s.<sup>92</sup> There are of course many

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<sup>88</sup> Dublin Corporation Public Libraries, *A Directory of Dublin for the Year 1738: Compiled from the most authentic sources*, Dublin 2000, 49.

<sup>89</sup> James Woolley suggests that her disappearance from the printing scene was due simply to her remarriage: JW, *Intelligencer*, 39; Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 169 – 170. But he does not elaborate. Given that both Sarah Harding and Nicholas Hussey were printers, there would surely be evidence of their activities if they had remained in Ireland.

<sup>90</sup> A3, 51, page 11; JW, *Intelligencer*, 211.

<sup>91</sup> Refer: Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America: 1718 – 1775*, London, 1966, 4. Sheridan’s mention in *Intelligencer* Numb. XVII of people leaving for America is also in a context that suggests the emigration could have been from Dublin. For a discussion of some of the contemporary correspondence on the issue of emigration to America, including other secondary references: JW, *Intelligencer*, 204 – 207. Wall, too, reports that large numbers of Protestants went to America in the eighteenth century: Maureen Wall, (O’Brien, Gerard, ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall*, Dublin, 1989, 5.

<sup>92</sup> A pamphlet published in New York in 1733 refers to the existence of the original Sarah Harding editions in that city. The pamphlet is: “To the Author of those *Intelligencers* printed at *Dublin*, to which is pre-fix’d the

possible explanations for these copies having reached New York. Anyone in Ireland could have sent them. Or any one of so many emigrant families could have taken them with them.<sup>93</sup> But this does not preclude the possibility that it was Sarah Harding. Whilst there is no record of anyone by the name of Harding or Hussey having started up as printers in America around this time, Sarah Harding could nonetheless have taken a supply of her *Intelligencers* as a source of starting capital. It is known that as of February 1729 she had surplus stock of all nineteen published to that point, for in her imprint on *The Journal of a Dublin Lady* she said they could all be bought from her.<sup>94</sup>

Maybe this is what happened to Sarah Harding. In the early months of 1730 – around the very time Swift was being presented with a gold box – she might have sold what she could of her printing equipment, said goodbye to the grave of her son and her first husband, and with her first-born child and Nicholas Hussey stepped on board a ship on the Liffey. The profits from *A Modest Proposal* would have helped pay the fares.

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following Motto, *Omne uaservitium ridenti Flaccus mico Tangit, & admi ll us circum pr ae cordial ludit. Pefius*. Being a Defence of the Plantations against the virulent Aspersions of that Writer, and such as copy after him', NEW-YORK, Printed and Sold by J. Peter Zenger. 1733. And the relevant line in this pamphlet concerning *The Intelligencer* is: "... and as your Papers at first came hither in single Pieces to be scatter'd and retail'd as best serv'd a Faction, I should have found it the other Day a very hard Task, to convince an honest plain Neighbour, who brought your Number 6 in his Pocket to my House, of the Falshood of your Remarks upon *Ireland*, and the malignant Design of them, if from Number 19 of the stitch'd Volume, and from his Knowledge". Refer also: JW, *Intelligencer*, 279.

<sup>93</sup> Whoever took them might have done so privately and possibly surreptitiously, for it was illegal to export from Ireland to North America: Colm Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 86.

<sup>94</sup> A3, 57.





## Conclusion

It was through the work of Swift that the 1720's came to be a decade of accelerated advancement in the development of Irish thinking with respect to England. The events related to Wood's halfpence between 1723 and 1725, in particular, represent a time-honoured cabinet in the corridor of Irish history, and Swift's Irish career generally has been written about in a manner commensurate with the scale of its achievement. By approaching the period from the perspective of the printers, this thesis does not offer any material alteration. It is almost platitudinous to say now, nearly three hundred years later, that the great events in Ireland in the 1720's were wholly owing to Swift – his genius as a political writer, his energy and his force of will. All of this is etched squarely on the face of the record, and in a contemporaneous sense it consists in the euphoria he brought to the streets, the songs written and sung in his honour, the signs of the Drapier hung outside shops all around the kingdom, and the reverence and love given to him for the rest of his life. But entwined with this history is its mythology and romance. These are elements that are part of the history itself as they have their origins in those songs sung during the very time of the events, and since that time those elements have also become a gloss that has been applied over and over by an accumulation of biographers and historians. The printers' perspective is beneficial to our knowledge of the period because it precedes that mythology and romance. Theirs was the raw view of those involved in the daily grind of maintaining a printing business. They were the agents of the *creation* of that mythology and romance. In terms of the publishing process, in terms of social class, and in terms of the timeline, their perspective is one that comes from the other side, and it offers a whole new view. Through it is seen the extent of the investments made by the printers themselves. Through it, too, Swift is seen from the working person's perspective, which is one that is less affected by his reputation.

A study of the printers also serves to simply give the printers themselves their historical due. The three printers of the 1720's have throughout history been obscured by the shadow cast by the one who immediately succeeded them. Faulkner was a great stationer who had the vision and the corresponding ability to undertake publishing ventures on a scale not before seen. In doing so, he collected and preserved many works of Swift that would otherwise have been lost. Swift, moreover, liked him a good deal. For Swift, Faulkner was the "Prince of Dublin Printers",<sup>1</sup> and Swift was indebted to him for bringing unity to his career at

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<sup>1</sup> 16 February 1734, Swift to the Earl of Oxford: DW Letter 1080, vol. iii, 721.

a time when it was drawing towards a close. It is for these reasons that whenever the subject of Swift's Dublin printers has been considered, commentators' eyes have defaulted in that direction, leading to comments, for example, that "George Faulkner, more than anyone else, deserves to be called Swift's printer".<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of this, Waters, Harding, and Sarah Harding have been neglected. For each, the record has been one of misrepresentation and omission.

With Waters, the prosecution from June 1720 through to August 1721 was one of the most significant events in Ireland in the decade, yet it has never been examined, and the financial and seemingly also the physical cost paid by the printer has gone unappreciated. This is seen for instance in Munter's comment that Waters never attained any great success in his career "notwithstanding his... position as Swift's printer".<sup>3</sup> It would be fairer to say that Waters' lack of success was *because of* having been Swift's printer. Waters was controversial within the industry in his early years, but like his colleagues from that period, Lloyd and Carter, he was a path-finding Tory, and his decision to publish and bear the risk of *Universal Use* paved the way for what followed later in the decade. Swift's Irish career could not have begun without him.

Then there is Harding. No printer has fared more poorly in history than this man. Despite the colossal success of the works he published for Ireland, upon his death a few months after the publication of the fifth *Letter*, he and his achievements made a clean exit from the national memory. Worse still, with the giant figure of Faulkner imposing itself so soon afterwards with *Fraud Detected* and a few years later with the collected *Works*, the public came to associate everything of Swift's with that later printer, and the memory of Harding came to be subsumed into the memory of Faulkner. When Faulkner's last descendant, Miss Anna Faulkner, died in London in 1862, an obituary appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* for 1 October that year, as follows:

September 25, in Fitzgibbon Street, Miss Anna Faulkner, aged 83 years, the last lineal descendant of George T. Faulkner, the esteemed and faithful printer of 'the Drapier's Letters', and other writings of Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, op. cit., xx.

<sup>3</sup> *HINP*, 112.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Madden, ii, 46 – 47 (without any reference to Harding).

Harding may as well never have set foot on the earth. There are occasional references amongst commentators to the effect of his having been the “forgotten martyr”,<sup>5</sup> but the memory of him also appears to have suffered on account of the circumstances of his death and their potential to reflect unfavourably on Swift. Seemingly as a consequence of this, commentators have steered clear of him, or have dismissed him as an “insignificant man”.<sup>6</sup> On that cabinet in the corridor of Irish history, Harding has been like the fleck of dust that people have either not noticed or thought it best not to mention. Nor has Harding received any favour in more recent decades. On the contrary, in his *History of the Irish Newspaper* of 1967, Munter offers an assessment of Harding that is a professional and personal condemnation.<sup>7</sup> It is an assessment that is unfair in that it is premised on the comments of Harding’s rivals in the industry.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, Munter is hard on Swift’s printers generally – both Waters and Harding. It is as if, knowing that they acquired a degree of fame simply on account of their association with Swift, he endeavours to bring them back to the field so that they can be assessed fairly alongside their contemporaries. In doing so, though, he overcompensates, and at Harding’s expense in particular. Since the time of Harding’s death, the balance of the commentary suggests that history’s assessment of him still stands in the negative. Certainly he was only a printer, and a lawless one at that, but this negative finding is nonetheless a singular thing considering the circumstances of his career and life. Suffice to say, he had the courage to publish the pamphlets that would become seminal documents in the Irish struggle.

Finally, there is Sarah Harding. There appears to have been a presumption that the works Swift sent her in 1728 and 1729, and in particular *A Modest Proposal*, made everything right.<sup>9</sup> Again, it is a presumption that has been drawn perfunctorily. There are matters such as her shock in being forgotten by Swift and by Ireland, Faulkner’s assuming so much of her business property to himself, her treatment at the hands of the Lords when they were trying to bring Swift before them, her sadness in the loss of life in her family, and Sheridan’s efforts to bring Swift to support her – none of which have before been looked into. It is a pity that the

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<sup>5</sup> See for example: Starratt, ‘The Streets of Dublin’, *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1852, 1 – 40, 23; Madden, i, 301; Gwynn, *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift*, London, 1933, 234; McCue, ‘A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift’s *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*’, op. cit., 363 note 7; Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, A Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography*, Oxford, 1985, 296; and JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom.

<sup>6</sup> Ballantyne, *Lord Carteret: a political biography, 1690-1763*, London, 1887, 123.

<sup>7</sup> HINP, 133 – 134.

<sup>8</sup> This is also observed by James Woolley: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift’s Printer, 174, note 10.

<sup>9</sup> See for example: Slepian, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, 17, note 1.

evidence as to what happened to her from early 1730 is open-ended. Maybe future research will uncover something new on this. In the meantime, there can be hope in the possibility that she started a new life elsewhere.

Lastly, a study from the printers' perspective augments the larger historical record. That record has been governed by the writings of Swift yet, essential though these are, they are written by a person who had a direct interest in the events and they are liable to misrepresentation. Further, any such misrepresentations have never been challenged. This is because the aura of Swift was such that, even from his own time, he could not be questioned, which is a sentiment that has generally been adhered to by commentators and historians ever since. However, a blind faith in every aspect of Swift and his writing obscures or distorts the attitudes and actions of other contributors to the events of the time, whether those contributors were judges, members of the House of Lords, Archbishops, friends of Swift's, other writers, or trades people in the stationery industry. It is through the perspective of this stationery industry that all of these other matters are one way or another drawn into view. The careers and lives of the printers can be seen as the thread tying many otherwise disparate events together. Or they can be likened to a subplot that informs several important aspects of the main drama. It is submitted, therefore, that this thesis supplements the historical record of the period.

In any study of Swift's Irish career, the final word would ordinarily belong to Swift himself. Maybe the line from the fourth *Letter* of the Drapier, "By the Laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in *England*",<sup>10</sup> would be appropriate. Or given that Swift's pamphlets are synonymous with Irish colonial nationalism generally,<sup>11</sup> it could be given to Henry Grattan when, on 16 April 1782, after the passage of the declaration of independence from England, he ended his speech on the floor of the Irish Parliament with: "Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! Your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation!"<sup>12</sup> This is one thesis,

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<sup>10</sup> A2, 57, p. 16; *PW*, x, 63.

<sup>11</sup> Rossi and Hone describe Swift as "the founder of the modern Ireland of controversy" and the writer who anticipated, "if not the creed, at least the method, of Sinn Féin (in its original acceptance), by almost two centuries": 252, 260. But the contribution of Molyneux to the development of Irish colonial nationalism was at least as significant as Swift's. As Simms explains, his *The Case of Ireland Stated* of 1698 was the guiding text for patriots both in Ireland and America later in the century: Simms, *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux's The Case of Ireland... Stated*, Cork, 1976, pages 9, 10, 48 – 71.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in each of: Starratt, 'The Streets of Dublin', *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. i, 25 – 26; Ferguson, 186; and Simms, J.G., *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux's The Case of Ireland... Stated*, op. cit., 77.

however, where the final word can go to a printer. John Harding had a keen sense of irony and for much of his career – from 6 January 1719 through to 7 July 1724 – the banner on his *Dublin Impartial News Letter* consisted of a woodcut of a scene from Ovid, where Phaethon is attempting to drive the chariot of Helios. The words on the woodcut are those of Helios' suggestion to Phaethon: "Medio Tutissimus Ibis" [you will go safest in the middle].<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Image 17. This motto is commented on by James Woolley and the translation offered is taken from him: Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 102 – 103. The line is from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii, 137 (see Anderson, ed., *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses*, Leipzig, 1977). Elsewhere the line is translated as: "the safest course lies in between": see Melville, trans., *Ovid, Metamorphoses*, Oxford, 1986, 28.



## Images

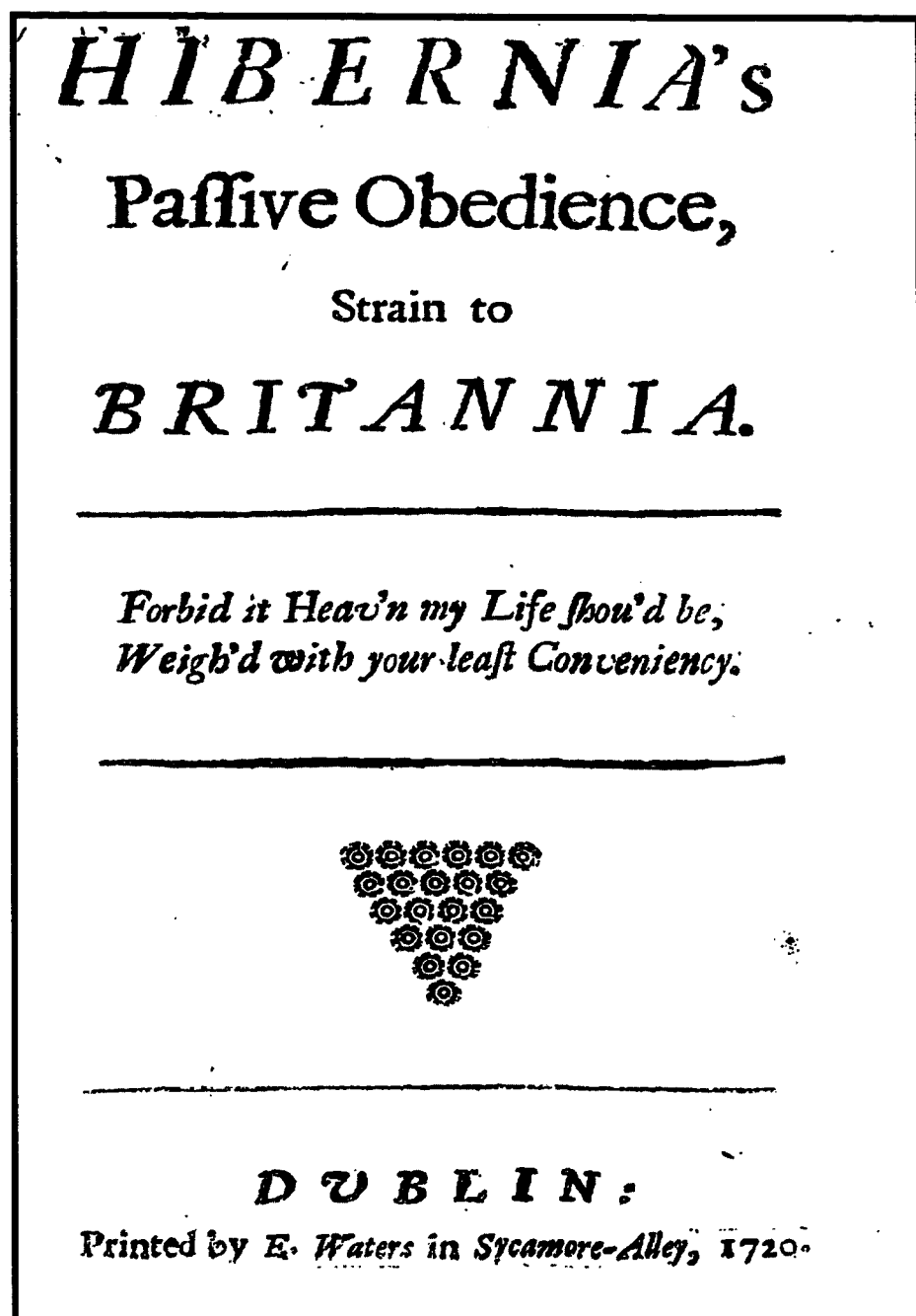


Image 1: Title page of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience, Strain to Britannia*. Printed by Edward Waters. 1720. (A1, 155).

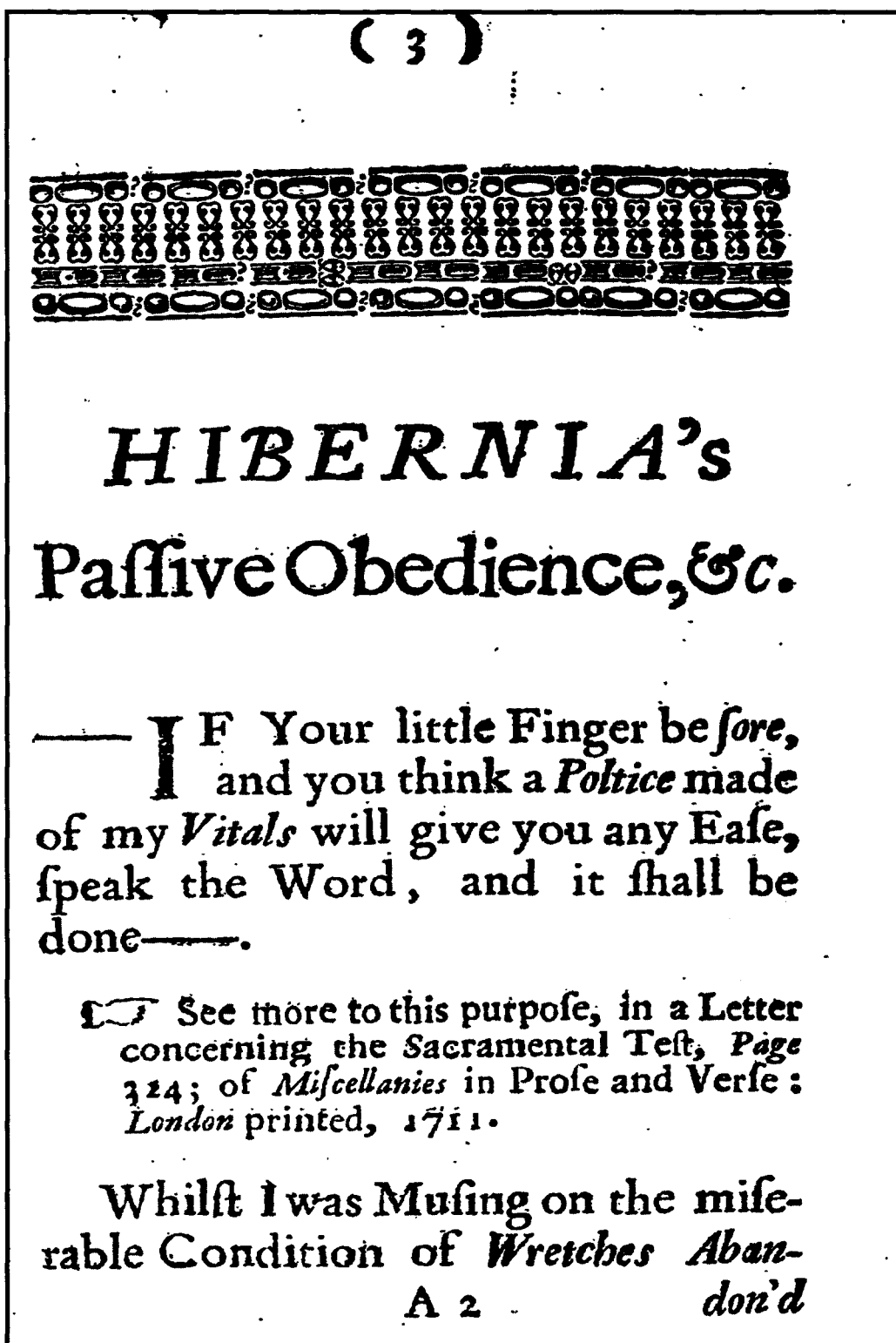


Image 2: Page 3 of *Hibernia's Passive Obedience, Strain to Britannia*. Printed by Edward Waters.  
1720. (A1, 155).



( 10 )

*dred Pounds a Year, so much net Loss to POOR England. That the People of Ireland presume to dig for Coals in their own Grounds; and the Farmers in the County of Wicklow send their Turf to the very Market of Dublin, to the great Discouragement of the Coal Trade at Mostyn and White-haven That the Revenues of the Post-Office here, so righteously belonging to the English Treasury, as arising chiefly from our own Commerce with each other, shou'd be remitted to London, clogg'd with that grievous Burthen of Exchange, and the Pensions pay'd out of the Irish Revenues to English Favourites, shou'd lye under the same Disadvantage, to the great Loss of the Grantees. When a Divine is sent over to a Bishoprick here, with the hopes of five and twenty hundred Pounds a Year; upon his Arrival, he finds, alas! a dreadful Discount of ten or twelve per Cent. A Judge or a Commissioner of the Revenue has the same Cause of Complaint. Lastly, The Ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish Manufacture; and yet is allow'd to be Sung in our open Streets, under the very Nose of the Government. These are a few among the many Hardships we put upon that POOR Kingdom of England; for which I am confident every honest Man wishes a Remedy: And I hear there is a Project on Foot for Transporting*

Image 3: Page 10 of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, Printed by Edward Waters. 1720. (A1, 156).

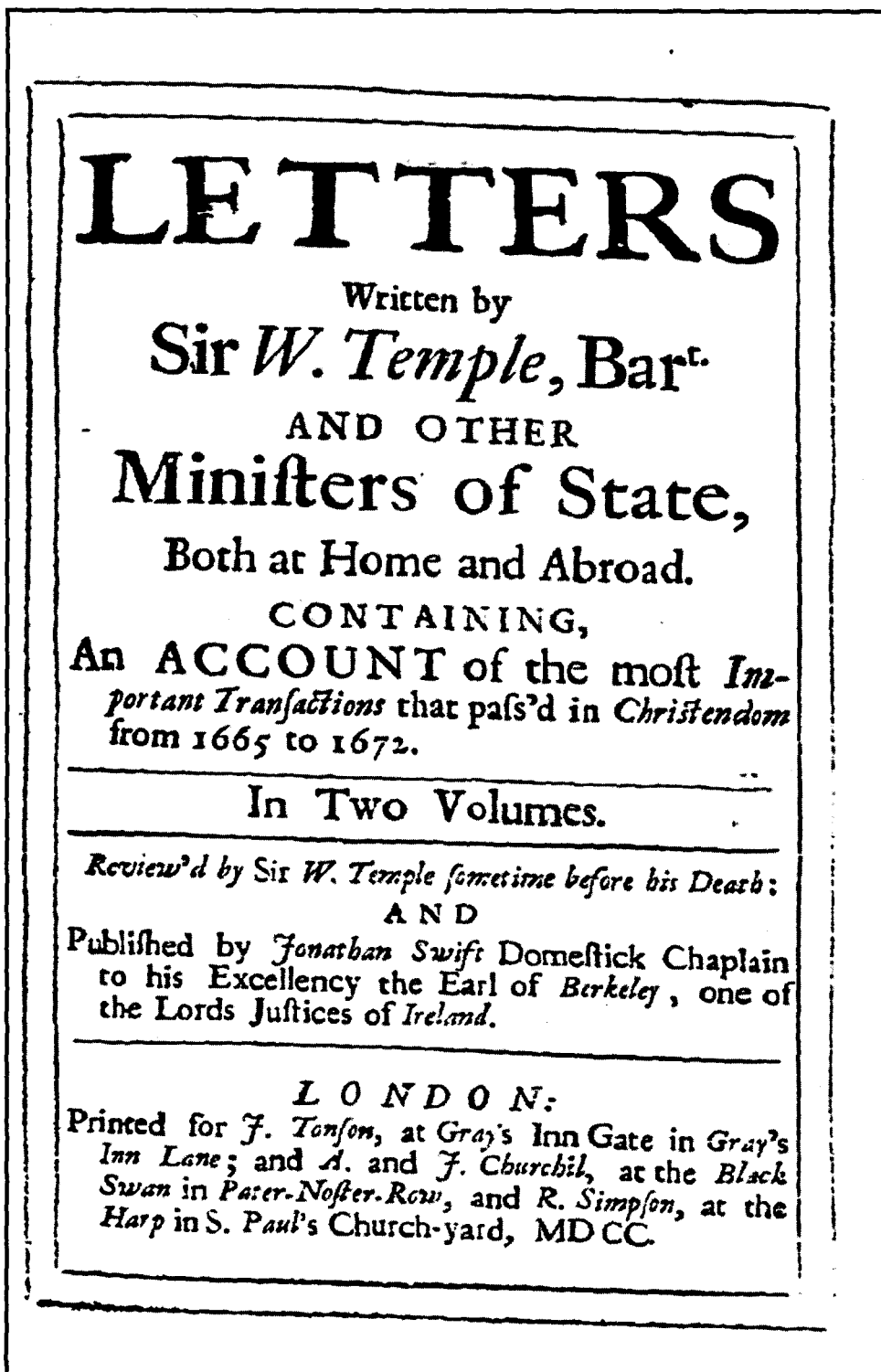


Image 4: Title page of *Letters Written by Sr. William Temple... Published by Jonathan Swift... In Two Volumes*, 1700. (A4, 8).

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48      A LETTER to

would be amply sufficient to answer the End. Or if any such Persons were above Money, (as every great *Genius* certainly is, with very moderate Conveniencies of Life) a Medal, or some Mark of Distinction, would do full as well.

BUT I forget my Province, and find my self turning Projector before I am aware; although it be one of the last Characters under which I should desire to appear before Your LORDSHIP, especially when I have the Ambition of aspiring to that of being, with the greatest Respect and Truth,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

*most Obedient, most Obliged,*

*and most Humble Servant;*

London,  
Feb. 22.  
1711, 12.



J. SWIFT.

Image 5: Final page of *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, 1712. (A4, 37).

June.

Thomas Hume.

No. 422.

# The Dublin CONTAINING Both Foreign



# Courant. NEWS 58 and Domestick.

Saturday, June 4 1720.

Com. Court, Dublin.

King's Bench, the 25th of May, 1720.  
**W**HEREAS an insolent, and seditious Pamphlet, (heretofore annexed, entitled, *A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufacture in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. utterly rejecting and reviving every Thing contrary that comes from England*;) hath been lately printed, and published in the County of the City of Dublin, wherein are contained several false, groundless, and scandalous Paragraphs, highly reflecting on His Majesty's Government, and the Wisdom of our Parliament, most injuriously misrepresenting the Trade of the Nation, and tending to create Jealousies and Misunderstandings between His Majesty's Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

AND WHEREAS there is good Ground to believe that the said Pamphlet hath been wrote, and contrived by Persons disaffected to His Majesty's Person and Government, and Enemies to our present happy Establishment; with no other View, than by inflaming the Minds of the People, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and foment Divisions among His Majesty's Subjects of these Nations. We the grand Jury of the said County of the City of Dublin, being highly sensible of the great Happiness and Prosperity this Kingdom doth enjoy, under His Majesty's most auspicious Reign, and the evil Effects and dangerous Consequence of such vile and seditious Libels, and having a just Abhorrence of such wicked and pernicious Practices, from the Duty we owe to His Majesty, and in Justice to our Country, do present the said Pamphlet, to be false, scandalous, and seditious; and it appearing to Us by Examination upon Oath, that *Edward Waters* in *Exonshire*, at the Corner of *Spearmark Alley*, is the Printer and Publisher thereof. We present the said *Edward Waters* to be the Printer and Publisher of the said Libel, and desire he may be prosecuted for the said Offence according to Law.

Com. Dublin.

King's Bench, the 25th of May, 1720.

**W**HEREAS an insolent, and seditious Pamphlet, (heretofore annexed, entitled, *A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufacture in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. utterly rejecting and reviving every Thing contrary that comes from England*;) hath been lately published, in the County of Dublin, wherein are contained several false, groundless, and scandalous Paragraphs, highly reflecting on His Majesty's Government, and the Wisdom of our Parliament, most injuriously misrepresenting the Trade of the Nation, and tending to create Jealousies and Misunderstandings between His Majesty's Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

AND WHEREAS there is good Ground to believe that the said Pamphlet hath been wrote, and contrived by Persons disaffected to His Majesty's Person and Government, and Enemies to our present happy Establishment; with no other View, than by inflaming the Minds of the People, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and foment Divisions among His Majesty's Subjects of these Nations. We the grand Jury of the said County, being highly sensible of the great Happiness and Prosperity this Kingdom doth enjoy, under His Majesty's most auspicious Reign, and of the

evil Effects and dangerous Consequences of such vile and seditious Libels, and having a just Abhorrence of such wicked and pernicious Practices, from the Duty we owe to His Majesty, and in Justice to our Country, do present the said Pamphlet, to be false, scandalous, and seditious.

On Wednesday last arrived one British Packet, and this Morning another, the former brought one Holland, and the latter one French, and one Holland Mail, viz.

From on board the *Berleur*, in the Bay of Mont-delle, May 9.

Yesterday a Convention for the Evacuation of Sardinia, was concluded and signed by Admiral Byrg, Count Mercy, and the Marquess de Lede; and the latter has dispatched Officers to the Captain General of the Island, to make the necessary Dispositions for evacuating it. The Castle, Male, and City of Palermo are to be put into the Hands of the Imperialists to-morrow.

Copenhagen, May 22. The King of Denmark seeing that the Interposition of several Protestant Princes of the Court of Palatine, and elsewhere, have not been able to procure the restoring of the Protestants, has resolved to use Repressals upon the Roman Catholics, and at the same time has ordered that such Lutherans who have married Papists, shall bring up their Children in the Profession of the Evangelical Religion; and all the Officers of the Danish Troops are to give an exact List of the Popish Soldiers under their respective Commands; from whence it is concluded, that they are to be dismissed. The Chappell of the late Imperial Resident, M. Schmid, in which Mass has been said since his Death, has been shut up by his Danish Majesty's Orders.

Copenhagen, May 28. It is not doubted the first Letters from Stockholm will bring an Account of Sir John Norris being arrived, with the British Fleet under his Command, on the Swedish Coast. He had the Wind very fair for four or five Days after his Departure from hence.

Hamburg, May 28. Last Tuesday Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, Governor of Brack, arrived here, with the Hessian General Rank, and having received a Pass from the Danish Court, set out this Day for Copenhagen, from whence he will proceed to Stockholm, to see the King his Brother.

There is Advice from Lubeck, that the British and Swedish Fleets have joined near Buchholm. Some Advices from Sweden tell us, that the King designs to set offensively against the Muscovites, and they continue to talk of imberking a great Army, to be transported to Livonia, and that they are to be imberked to Livonia; and that they are to be joined by 10000 Hessians, and another great Body of Auxiliary Troops.

Vienna, May 22. The Aga of the Janizaries who attended the Turkish Ambassador here, who 'twas thought had been drowned, appears again, having concealed himself in a Monastery till that Ambassador was gone, with whom he did not care to return to Constantinople, and Yesterday Mustafa Aga, the said

Image 6: The Presentments of Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (A1, 156) in *The Dublin Courant* for 4 June 1720.

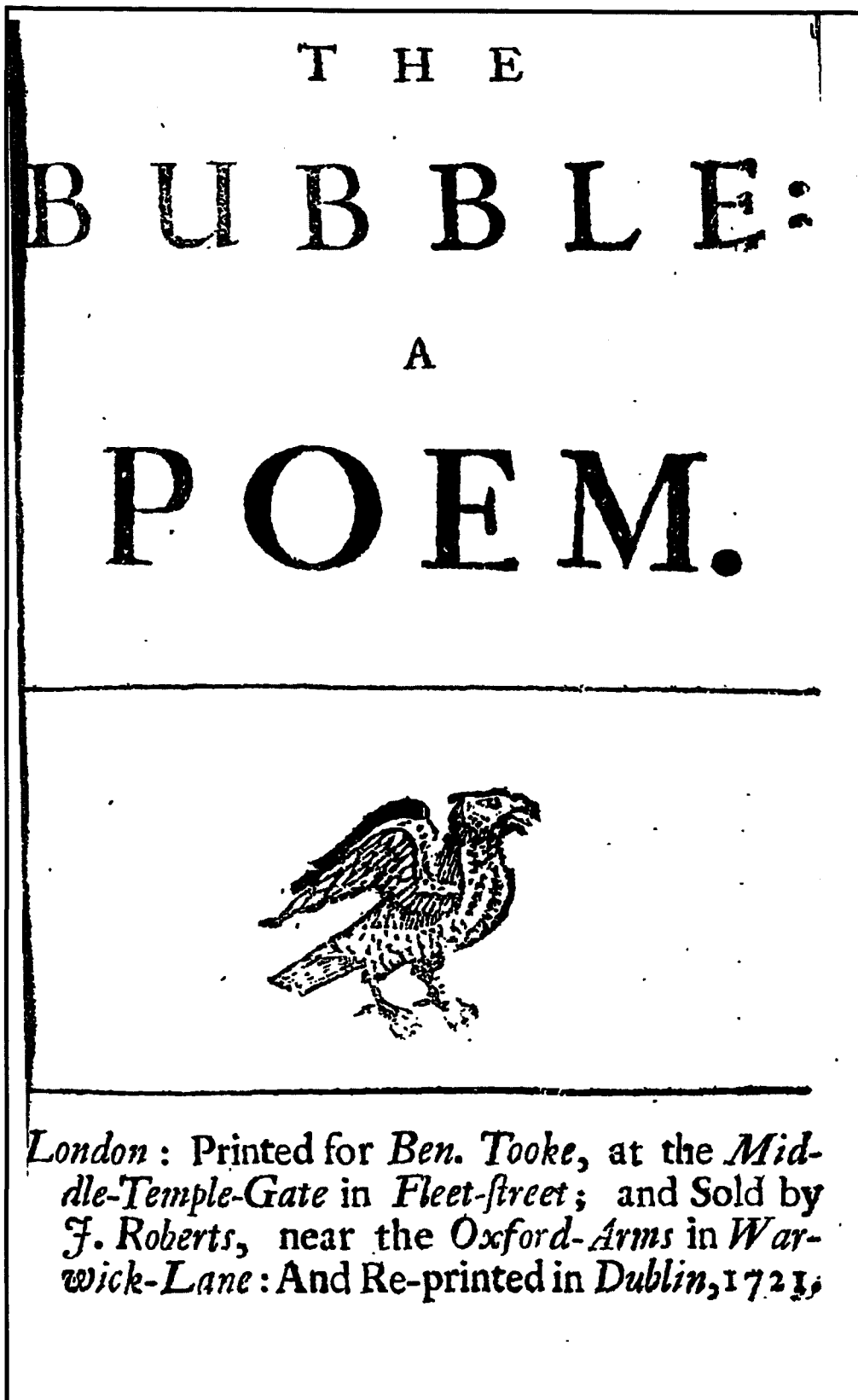


Image 7: Title page of *The Bubble: A Poem*. Printed by Edward Waters. (A1, 169).

# Advertisement.

**T**HE Subject of the following  
P O E M, is the *South-Sea* :  
It is ascribed to a great Name, but  
whether truly or no, I shall not pre-  
sume to determine, nor add any thing  
more; then, that the Work is Univer-  
sally approved of.

Image 8: Recto of *The Bubble: A Poem*. Printed by Edward Waters. (A1, 169).

Some People are so obdurate as still to be of opinion, That the Renunciation of Philip the Fifth done with a View of Succeeding to the Crown of Spain, in Case of the Demise of his Most Christian Majesty who they observe has not yet had the Small-Pox, and that Distemper has been ever fatal to the Family. Yesterday the Commons in a Grand Committee on Supply, Resolved that 70000. l be Granted for Red Officers of the Land-Forces and Marines; and 25. l. for Defraying several extraordinary Expences several Incurred, and not provided for by Parliament; and that out of the Moneys arising from the Sale of the Forfeited Estates; his Majesty be Enabled to pay the Honourable Catherine Collingwood, Widow, the Sum of 6000. l for the Payment of her Debts, and for the Maintenance of her self and Children; which Resolutions were this Day Reported and Agreed to; and the Land-Tax Bill was Ordered to be Engross'd. (8.) Yesterday in a Committee, on Ways and Means, 'twas Resolv'd, That the Sum of 11420. l. remaining in the Receipt of Exchequer on Arrears of former Land-Taxes, apply'd toward Raising the Supply for the ensuing Year. A Resolution being propos'd for continuing the Duties on Malt, &c. Mr Hungerford and Mr. Brodrick complain'd, That little or nothing had been paid by North-Britain, and observ'd, that there was not one County in England but paid more Taxes than all Scotland; and Argued for obliging them to pay, or to give some Equivalent. But no Resolution was taken. The Duke of Wharton continues in great Esteem with several of our chief Citizens; and 'tis Conjectur'd, his taking up the Livery and Freedom of the Wax-handlers Company, That he designs hereafter (as occasion shall offer) to make Speeches, and give his vote in Election. The Count de Berghes of Brabant, is Chosen Bishop of Leige.

## HARDING'S RESURRECTION.

FROM  
HELL upon EARTH:

**F**ORTH from my Dark and Dismal Room  
Behold to Life again I'm come;  
By long Confinement poor *John Harding*  
Has hardly left a single Wretching;  
He's brought to such a wretched Pass  
He'd almost take the English Brass;  
Begg that his Customers will use  
His Pamphlets, *Eligist* and *Newt*.  
My Letters all, that silent lay,  
Are glad again to see the Day;  
See from their Cases how they Rattle!  
Like Armies drawn in Ranks for Battle!  
The CAPTAINS, as biting Grebe,  
Before the *Font* advance to State;  
The rest are *Common Soldiers* all;  
Obedient to their General's Call;  
Italic, Roman, and Long Primer,  
Distinguish'd by their Form and Size,  
Some *Silk* beneath, while others Rise  
Others to *Rein* Side, in *Rein*  
In close *Parties* confid'd.

And since for neither they've Regard,  
I think indeed they might be spar'd.  
Some for the Greatness of their Stations  
Have got a Note of Admiration!  
Others are *Trenches* within their Clauses,  
At it for LIBELS — as the LAW says.  
For *stap* and *Point* I take to be  
To *Them*, what is a *Goal* to *Me*.  
Some cloath'd in *Black*, and some in *Red*,  
Some with, and some without a *Head*;  
Others with *Tails* advance among  
The rest, but we supply the Tongue.  
Now look *Ahead* among Mankind,  
Exact the *Parallel* you'll find,  
By *Interst* guided, or by *Rage*;  
In *Peace* they join, in *Wars* engage:  
Some *High*, some *Low*, some *Great*, some *Little*,  
The *Letters* fit us to a *Tittle*;  
And when we've met our *Final Doom*,  
Don't they pursue us to our *Tomb*?  
Upon the *Whole*, sure *Man* had better;  
Ne'er known *Himself*, or known a *Letter*;  
This I experienc'd to my *cost*,  
For *ALL* I Got by *Them* I *Lost*;  
And *Nothing* now can make *Amends*;  
But my *Old Customers* and *Friends*.

### ADVERTISEMENTS.

BOOKS newly Publish'd.

Price	o	s	d
<b>L</b> IFE of General Monk,	o	3	6
Lives of the Compilers of the Common Prayer.	o	1	6
Life of Dr. Radcliffe	o	1	6
Virgil Travestie, a Burlesque Poem.	o	1	0
Ovid's Epistles Burlesqued,	o	1	0
Dr. Keating's History of Ireland,	o	13	0
Killing no Murder with other Tracts	o	3	3
Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion of Ireland.	o	2	8
Mrs. Manly's diverting Novels.	o	2	2
Elkon Basilike, or King's Book.	o	2	2
Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer.	o	1	8
Works of the Author of the Duty of Man,	o	18	0
Dr. South's Sermons, 2 Vol. Fo.	1	4	0
Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion 1641. 3. Vol. Fol.	1	16	0
Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politic Fol.	o	16	0
By Cumberland de Leg. Natura	o	6	5
Mrs. Shadwell's Plays.	o	5	5

Sold opposite the Watch House the North side of College-Green.

**S**ILK Stockings Footed with new Silk, at next as when New, also Scour'd, Dy'd and Mended by Jerry Woodyer, Stocking-Weaver at the Red-Leg on the Blind-Key facing the Water, near the Effigy of his Majesty King George.

M. B. He Dyes Silk Stockings Black every Week, and Stockings that are to be scour'd and mended may be done in a Day's Time.

Mr. Robert Dykes, Felt-maker, Living at the Corner of New-Bridge, near Temple-Street, sells all sorts of Superfine London Bawls, Drunk-Brewers and Others. He also makes and sells all sorts of Bonnets, Beavers, Carolinas, Hats for keeping out Rain, with *Admiral's* and all other sorts of Hats and coats, by Wholesale or Retail, at reasonable Rates.

DUBLIN: Printed by John Harding in Moleworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street, where advertisements are taken in at reasonable Rates.

Image 9: 'Harding's Resurrection. From Hell Upon Earth', in the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter* for 18 February 1724. (A2, 37).

in he advises him to make his Submission to the Czar, and upon that Condition promises him his Protection. We are assur'd the Czar has presented our Grand Vizier with 100000 Rubles.

From the London Prints and Manuscripts  
Dated, June 25, 27, 30.

London, &c. They Report that the Winchester Man of War was lost in the Gulf of Florida.

Last Wednesday the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company order'd Twelve Ships to be built for the Greenland Fishery.

Our Merchants have the bad News that the Princess, Capt. Richardson from Amsterdam for London, found'd Nine Leagues this side the Text, but the Men got safe a Shoar.

Yesterday the Society of Free Masons held their Annual Feast at Merchant Taylors Hall and they chose the Duke of Richmond Grand Master.

Letters from Denmark say, that they work Night and Day upon their Fleet of Twelve Men of War and Seven Frigates, by Reason the Czar's Fleet is in Motion.

From Paris, that in few Days the Peace at Cambray would be either finish'd, or else the Plenipotentiaries, of several Princes would be dismiss'd.

The Duke of Argyle has made Mr. Scott Harbinger to the King, in Room of Mr. Brough Deces'd.

This Day (25th) the French Ambassador went to Kensington to hire Lodgings near the Royal Palace. He is often at Court, but says that he does not know whether he will make a Publick Entry till he receives Advice from Paris, that Mr. Walpole will make his Entry there.

Advices from Germany say, that the Elector Palatine was resolv'd with his whole Court to return to Heidelburgh his Protestant City, and that he had order'd his Officers not to trouble the Protestants any more in his Dominions.

We have a Report that the King will go in a short Time to Divert himself with Hunting in Windsor Forest.

Letters from Hamburgh say, that the Czar has order'd his Fleet not to Sail till he comes to Petersburg.

This Day (27th) was held a Court of Admiralty, where Captain Yokely was Try'd upon an Indictment for wilfully Sinking his Ship call'd the John and Thomas, the 24th February last, off the Island of Portland, after Runing all the Goods a Shear at Gosport, with Design to defraud the Insurers. Col. Spriggs was also Indict'd on the same Account, having Insured 400l. upon the Ship, and 500l. on the Goods, who was alledg'd to have no Interest therein, had Insured 150l. upon it. It appeared by the Evidence for the King, that they had shipped certain Quantities of Goods for the West In-

dies, which while the Ship lay at Portsmouth, were privately convey'd a Shoar, and Fourteen Tuns of Ballast taken in. After a long Tryal they were both acquitt'd.

From Russia 'tis wrote, That the Czar intended in a few Days to come to Petersburg to send out his Fleet, and that the Commerce between Russia and France is settled.

From Spain; That 'tis certain Commissions are given out for Augmenting their Army with Twelve thousand Men. And that Four New Men of War are order'd to their Fleet, Viz. One of Eighty Guns, Two of Sixty, and One of Fifty; and that the King had given a Thousand Pistoles to the Scotch Jesuits at Madrid, to begin to build a Colledge there against that Nation.

From Paris, That the King was gone to Chantilly for a Month, and Order'd that none of the Foreign Ambassadors come to him there, designing to pursue his Diversions.

From the Hague, That their East India Fleet is come Home with all Manner of Spices and Druggs to a great Value.

This Day there was a Committee of Council at the Lord Townshend's Office, in Order to settle Matters for a General Council, and the Honourable Mr. Walpole, Lord Townshend, Lord Carteret, Duke of Newcastle, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, &c. were present.

The Lords of the Admiralty have order'd a List to be laid before them of the Men of War which are abroad, 'tis expected that those which have been longest out will soon be reliev'd.

Advices from Hamburgh say, That the Czar designs to set up at Lubeck or its Neighbourhood a Staple for certain East India Goods, in order to Vend them in Germany or other European Countries, to the great Prejudice of other Trading Nations.

#### ADVERTISEMENT S

**S**ILK Stockings Footed with new Silk as neat as when New, also Scour'd, Dy'd and Mended by JEREMY WOODYER Stocking-Weaver at the Red-Leg on the Blind-Key facing the Water, near the Effigy of his Majesty King George.

N. B. He Dyes Silk Stockings Black every Week, and Stockings that are to be Scour'd and Mended may be done in a Day's Time.

45. Robert Dykes, Felt-maker, Living at the Corner of Essex-Street, near Castle-Street, sell all sorts of Superfine and soft Bawers, Demi-Bawers, and Castors. He also makes and sells all sorts of Buckrams, Beavers, Carolinas, Hattings keeping out Rain, with Adeline Felts and all other sorts fine and coarse, by Wholesale or Retail, at reasonable Rates.

41. THIS is to give Notice, That there is a Young Milk's Ash Poled about Nine Days ago, to be sold in Enquire at Mr. Magrath's House in Mincing Lane.

DUBLIN. Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street, where  
Advertisements are taken in at Reasonable Rates.

Image 10: The ornamental border in the *Dublin Impartial News-Letter* for 7 July 1724.



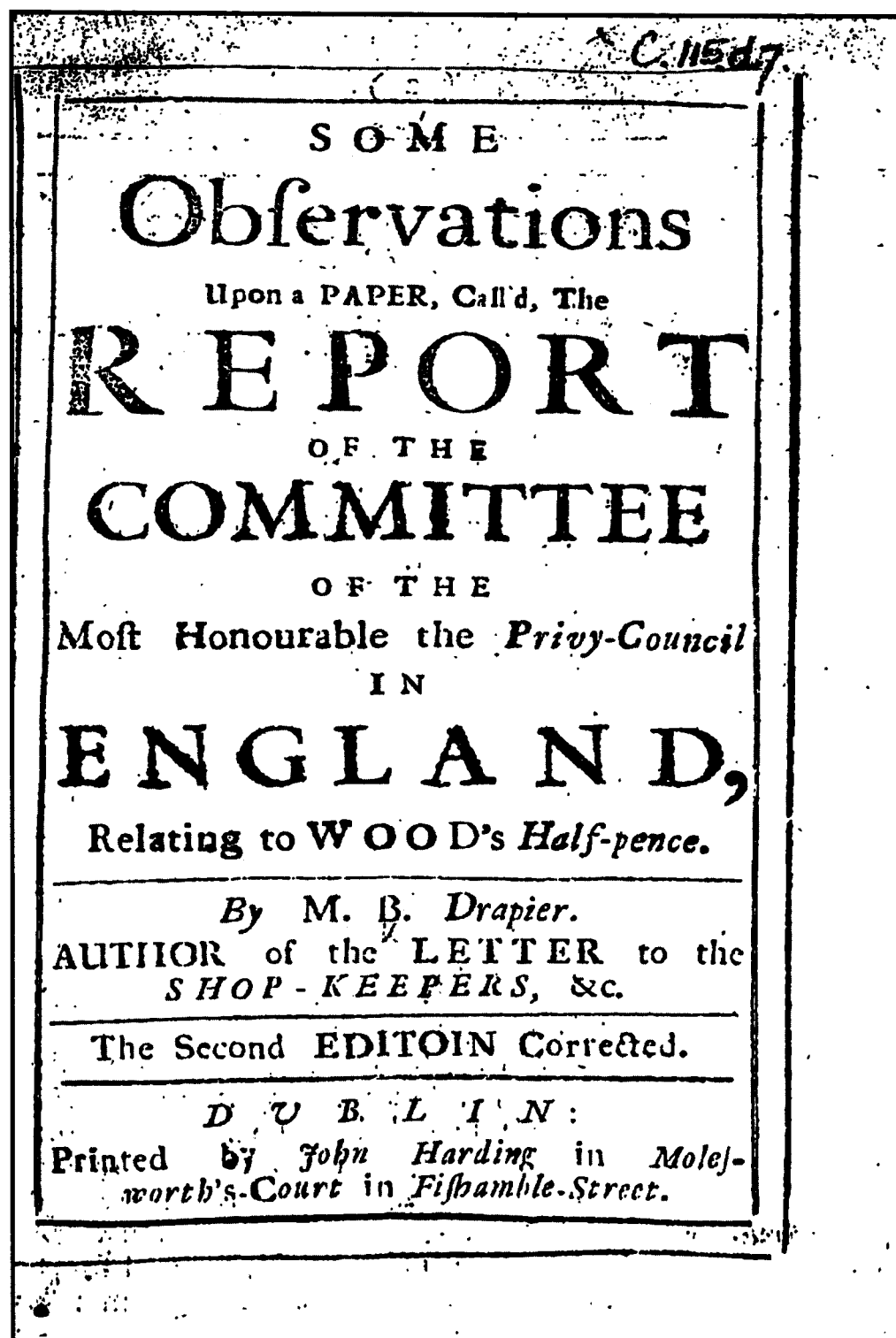


Image 11: Title page the second edition of *Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, Relating to Woods's Half-pence*. By M.B. Drapier. Printed by John Harding. (A2, 50).

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11

# E L E G Y

O N

The Much-Lamented Death of *John Harding* Printer, who  
departed this Transitory Life, this present Monday being  
the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Instant April 1725.

**W**H E N Heav'n corrects, shall Man Complain,  
Or in Sad Murmurs Sigh in vain,  
Shall feeble Mortals low Estate,  
E'er Question just unerring Fate,  
Or Heaven's Decree, Injustice call,  
Or mourn poor Jack's untimely Fall;  
Shall Men such Impious Thoughts engage,  
And not provoke Heav'n's sharpest Rage?  
Yet sure the Muse in mournful Lays  
May sighing murmur Harding's Praise;  
Shall lesser Deaths her Pinnions try,  
And Harding unlamented Die,  
And shall one Pass, so Good and Great,  
Urbeed like a Vulgar Fate,  
Friendship it self the Muse inspires,  
And with a double Ardour fires,  
And what such just Commands can break,  
When M. B. pleads for Harding's Sake,  
This Charms the Muse as this she Flies,  
Again her shining Pinions rise  
Again her Voice in lofty Strains,  
Remurm'ring Echo's through the Plains;  
This Theme again inspires her Praise,  
Again demands her mournful Lays:  
Harding again the Muse has shewn,  
Not good to all, excell'd by some.  
Till Mounting up with Vig'rous Flight;  
She Points a Shining stream of Light,  
Which brightly Glitt'ring from a far,  
Again contracts, and shines a Star;  
Another Light now Decks the Skyes,  
And in a Star Brave Harding Dies.

## Epitaph.

**H**E R E Lies an Honest Man inter'd,  
By Merit and by Chance prefer'd.  
No Friend to Woods, as wise as brave,  
Tho' now he's Level with the Grave,  
The Drapier's Printer was he stil'd  
While stout Snarlers he beguil'd.

Image 12: Elegy on The Much-Lamented Death of John Harding Printer, who departed this Transitory Life, this present Monday being the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Instant April 1725. (A4, 139).

A FUNERAL

# E L E G Y

On the much Lamented DEATH of *ROBERT* Lord Viscount *MOLESWORTH*. Who Departed this Life, on *Sunday* the 23d of *May*, 1725. At his House in *Brackden-Town*, near *Swords*.

*Infandum Regina Jubes Removere dolorem  
—Lycque, ipse Misericordia vult  
et Quorum pars magna fui*

**C**ALM and Serene be each propitious blast  
Concording Winds shew *Molesworth* near his last.  
Let every Accent and Subfiding breath,  
Be silent when you Yield your's up to Death;  
The World's so full of thy illustrious Name,  
That to attempt thy Character's Profane,  
But still the Mourning Muse, in blackest Hue,  
Can't that Refuse which to thy worth is Due,  
The *Boys*, the Scene where Glorious *William's* Sword,  
Op'd the disputed Passage, shew'd the Ford;  
Had not without the Troops you Early Rose,  
Withdrawn without more *Blind* or weightier blows,  
*Desert* long While, a Gilt un-noted lay,  
Till your bright Pen had put her in full Day,  
Her frozen Ice, and formidable Fleet,  
No more requir'd *Sweden's* Squadron's to meet.  
But once Inform'd by you, our Southern Clime,  
Was caught what Manners cou'd the *Baltick* Time!  
The Troops from thence you sent came to our Aid,  
And chang'd the Gun and Spear to Plow and Spade;  
Oh! happy Peace and Revolution blest'd!  
By every Soul but *Brittain's* Foes confest'd,  
How can it be suppos'd you shou'd depart,  
And *IRELAND* Mourn without a bleeding Heart?  
States Men may Strive, and strong oppression  
A weighty Load of Guilt on hope that lay,  
But sure none E'er in publick Business Bred,  
Belov'd so much a Live, and more when Dead.  
Gan on the Carpet of our Sundry Ills,  
Challenge what long was yours, your Monarchs Smiles.  
Fix'd and unmov'd as the Magnetic Stone,  
Point at the Pole, and says that Points his own.  
So ever *Molesworth* was thy Early Care,  
Rous'd when our Church, or Liberty in fear,  
Early you're Virtues, put you in the Throng,  
And *Addison* to Day like you, survives in Song.

He Sung the greatest Genious of the Age,  
*Molesworth* the Bold, interpid Brave and Sage.  
But Oh! far short of thy illustrious Deeds,  
For which *Hibernia* Poor, Severely Bleeds,  
Each House has heard, your bold perswasive Sense,  
Charm'd with your Tongue and feeling Eloquence,  
Our *British* Neighbours, Envy'd us the Trueth,  
That *IRELAND* shou'd have ONE so brave and Just.  
Stupendous here, that *Molesworth's* Wife and Great,  
Dies when the Tower's her *Clash* dreads Fate.  
Propitious Blast and rising Canvas blest,  
*John's* with'd Return, and his *THIRIN* address.  
Welcome be any thing that wears his Name,  
Be Welcome as departed *Molesworth's* Fame.  
*Swords* then shall be the Town, that blith and gay,  
For her Returning Lord Keeps Holiday;  
*Fingal* and all her Myths with a new Tune,  
Will Pride to see him home in Mid of June.

## E P I T A P H

Setting Suns denote with Light,  
And nothing leave but gloomy Night.  
As *Molesworth* going to you I save,  
What Riches is behind you Leave,  
The World is full of what you cou'd not know,  
Slavery, Oppression, all that's here below,  
For you, and them, are full of Weight and Woe.

FINIS.

Dublin, Printed by the Widow Harding 1725.

Image 13: *A Funeral Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of Robert Lord Viscount Molesworth. Who departed This Life, on Sunday the 23d of May, 1725.* Dublin, printed by the Widow Harding, 1725. (A3, 5).

# P O E M

## To the whole People of IRELAND, Relating to M. B. DRAPIER!

By A. R. Hofier.

Loving Countrymen,  
The following Lines, I humbly Dedicate to all the well-wishers of poor Loyal IRELAND, hoping you'll consider the Dier's poor Widow, hereafter mention'd, who, by the Death of her Husband, is reduc'd to a helpless Condition; but might, by a small assistance, from each well-wisher of Ireland, be enabled to Dye again for her Country's Service, if it shou'd ever be in Need.

Once on a Time, when the Ague was brief,  
And the People were quaking, for fear they should die,  
The DRAPIER (God bless him) gave speedy Relief,  
For he heard with Compassion, the poor Peoples cry.

To Cure their Disease, a quick method he took,  
Which wanted success, tho', but for a short Season;  
For tho' it Cur'd many, as many more shook,  
Who knew not his Cure, or their sickness's Reason.

The first Pill he gave them, the Season being Cold,  
Was, a Piece of good Cloath, well work'd together,  
To wrap all around them, when the first was grown Cold,  
And to keep them in Heat, in the Coldest of Weather.

This Cloath it was made of such delicate stuff,  
No Lord in the Nation thought shame for to wear it,  
He gave to each Landlord, for his Tenants enuff,  
And order'd him freely, among them to share it.

The Sickness abating, and the Air growing warm,  
The Cloath was thrown off, which had eas'd their pain;  
But soon it return'd with a mighty Alarm,  
Which made 'em all cry to the DRAPIER again.

He heard and took pity, when the Nation lay groaning,  
Then made them a piece of most delicate Goods; (ing,  
Which cur'd them when they their sad Case were bemoan-  
By turning their Disease on a *Knave* of the WOODS.

He made a third Piece, by the greatest Men wore;  
And a fourth, much esteem'd, by all, except few,  
Who fair for P——t, *Brass*-mindedly bore  
A spight to the DRAPIER, but for't since did rue.

There was a poor Dyer, who Dy'd all his Gods,  
Both trusty and true as cou'd be in his Station,  
Who, but for the DRAPIER, wou'd been left in the Suds,  
Who, but for the DRAPIER, he groan'd for his Nation.

To hearten him, the DRAPIER sent to him in Jail,  
To tell him, he'd quickly get home to his Wife;  
But, scarce cou'd he find one, to stand for his Bail,  
Which struck to his Heart, and depriv'd him of Life.

He left with his Widow, two Children behind,  
And little, God help her, to keep them from Starving;  
But hoped for the DRAPIER's Sake friends she wou'd find,  
Or, for his own merit, they'd think her deserving.

But, alas, she's forgot! there's not one among all,  
That ever thinks on her, or, her Childrens Cafe,  
Tho' her Husband helped to hinder their Fall,  
And she suffer'd by it much shame, and Disgrace:

God prosper the DRAPIER! when we were in Fears,  
He cur'd all the Sickness, that lay at our Hearts;  
Yet some, with most impudent Faces, declare,  
R——n he aim'd at, by using those Arts.

But let those consider, how firmly united,  
Were *Whigs, Tories, Trimmers*, and the H——ns;  
And with what Delight he all others invited,  
Even *Quakers, Conformists*, and the *Presbyterians*.

To their shame be it spoke:

But, now for the Widow; If some Good Man wou'd Preach,  
In her Favour, a Sermon, scarce one in the Town;  
But freely (in order to help her) wou'd reach,  
Some Six-pence, a Shilling, and some half a Crown.

So, to End here this mournful Tale, it is best,  
Pray God bless King GEORGE and his *Parliament* good,  
And send them long Liv'd, Honour, Riches and Rest,  
For keeping firm in Ireland that *Brass* Canker'd WOOD.

Amen.

Printed on the *Blind-Key*, by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1726.

Image 14: A POEM to the Whole People of IRELAND, Relating to M. B. DRAPIER. Printed on the Blind-Key, by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1726. (A4, 158).

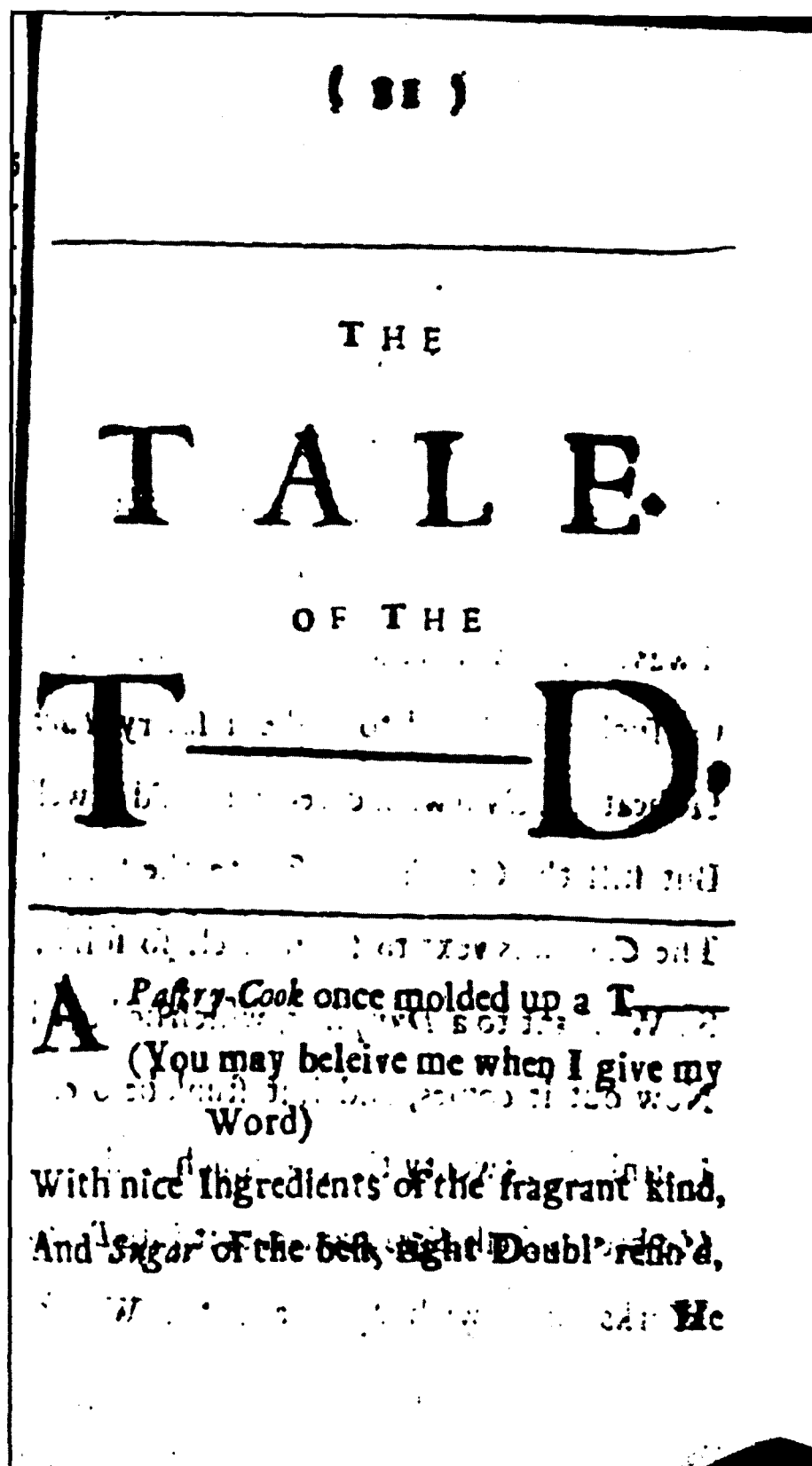


Image 15: Page 11 of *The Intelligencer* Numb. XIV (A3, 45) – “The Tale of the T—d”.

A MODEST  
**PROPOSAL**  
 For preventing the  
**CHILDREN**  
 OF  
**POOR PEOPLE**  
 From being a  
**Burthen to their Parents,**  
 OR THE  
**COUNTRY,**  
 AND  
 For making them Beneficial to the  
**PUBLICK.**

DUBLIN:

Printed by *S. Harding*, opposite the *Hand  
 Pen* near *Fishamble-Street* on the *Blind* and  
**MDCCXIX.**

*Key.*

Image 16: Title page of *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of poor people in Ireland, from being a Burthen to their parents or country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick*. Printed by Sarah Harding. (A3, 65).

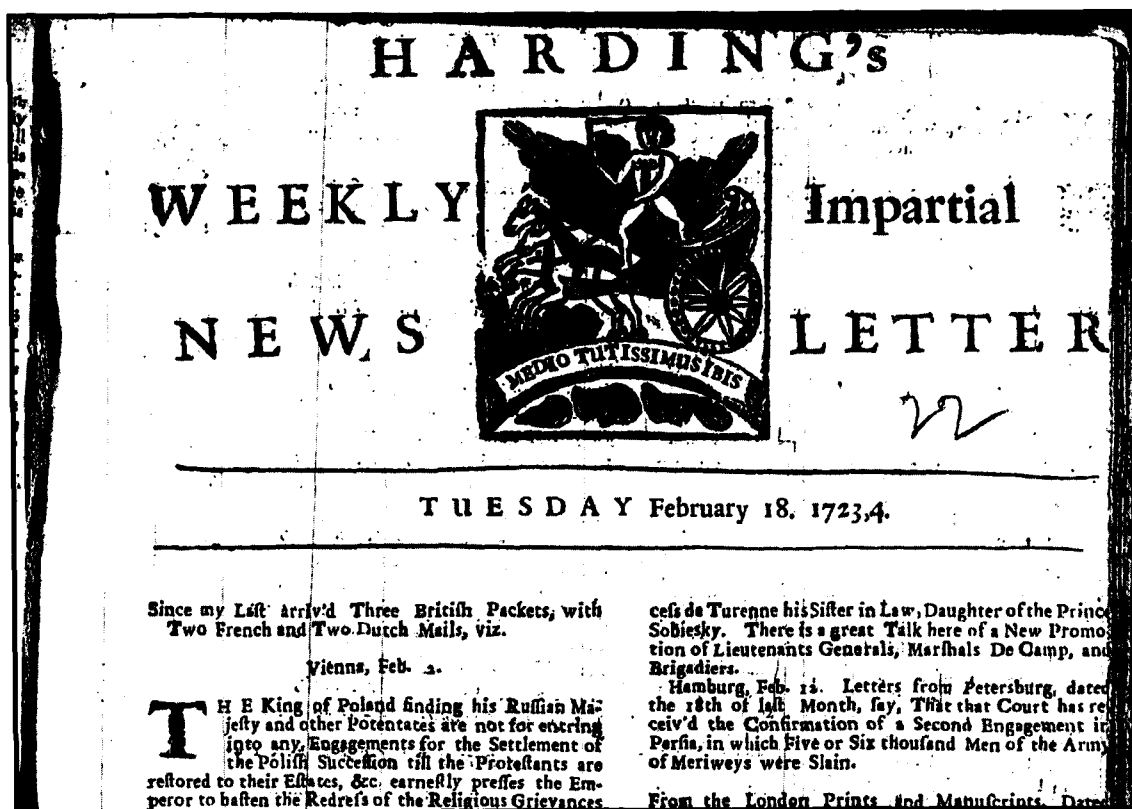


Image 17: First page of the *Weekly Impartial News-Letter* for 18 February 1724 – with “Medio Tutissimus Ibis”.





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Hall, Major H. Glenn, 'An Examination of a Certain Anonymous Pamphlet Attributed to Swift', *Unpublished Seminar Paper*, Columbia University, 1968.

Slepian, Barry, *Jonathan Swift and George Faulkner*, Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962.

Sun, Phillip S.Y., *Swift's Eighteenth Century Biographies*, Yale University, 1963.





## Notes on the Appendices

The four appendices that follow are: ‘Appendix 1: Publications – Edward Waters’; ‘Appendix 2: Publications – John Harding’; ‘Appendix 3: Publications – Sarah Harding’ and ‘Appendix 4: ‘Other Publications’’. The first three appendices list all publications printed by that printer throughout his or her career. The publications included in these three appendices also include publications for which the printer’s name is not in the imprint but for which there is separate evidence to suggest that the publication was, or might have been, produced by that particular printer. The lists for each of these printers also include publications for which there is no surviving copy but for which there is separate evidence, such as a reference to the existence of the publication in another work or item of correspondence, to confirm that it had been published. Excluded from these three appendices are works which, despite internal textual evidence suggesting that the work was intended for publication, there is no surviving contemporaneously published copy and no external evidence of it having been published. Appendix 4 is self-explanatory; it lists all other publications cited throughout the thesis.

In all four of the appendices, publications are listed in chronological order, and those for which there is a known year of publication but not a known month within that year are listed at the end of the list for that particular year. Each entry includes some or all of the following fields of information as relevant to the circumstances of each publication and what is known about it: Date of Publication (‘DOP’); Pseudonym of Author (‘Pseudonym’); Author; Possible Author; Other Author Speculated; Contributing Author; Title; Imprint; Printer; Possible Printer; Evidence for Printing; Publisher; and References (‘Refs’). Where a copy text has been used, this is the last field listed.

### Appendix 1: Publications – Edward Waters

**No. 1** (DOP: December 1707). Edward English, *The last speech and dying words of Edward English, butcher. Who was executed at St. Stephen’s-Green,... 5th of December, 1707* (Printed by E. Waters in School-House Lane). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209125.

**No. 2** (DOP: December 1707). Edward Caffery, *Last speeches and dying words of Edward and Hugh Caffrey. Who was executed at St. Stephen’s-Green,... 5th of December 1707, for robbing of Mr. Casey, at Cabbra* (Dublin: Printed by E. Waters in School-House Lane). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209124.

**No. 3** (DOP: 1707). Irish Commons, *The humble representation of the Commons of Ireland, against the proceedings of the late trustees for the forfeited estates in that kingdom* (London, printed: and re-printed by E. Waters, Dublin, 1707). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T190975.

**No. 4** (DOP: January-February 1708). English Lords, *The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled; with several papers contain’d and refer’d to therein; presented to Her Majesty. On Monday the first day of March 1707. With Her Majesty’s most gracious answer* (Dublin: printed: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, 1708). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N6712.

**No. 5** (DOP: November 1708; date from: Dickson's *DI*, 20 November 1708). *Catholic Manual of Devout Prayers*. Printer: Edward Waters; Publishers: Peter Lawrence; James Malone; Luke Dowling; Patrick Murtagh; Mr Bermingham. Refs: (no copy survives); Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii, 32; Dickson's *DI*, 20 November 1708; Gilbert, i, 179 – 180; Madden, i, 188, 209; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92; *The Supplement*, 11 – 14 Feb 1709 [London newspaper].

**No. 6** (DOP: 1708). John Freind, *An account of the Earl of Peterborow's conduct in Spain; chiefly since the raising the siege of Barcelona, 1706. To which is added the campagne of Valencia. With original papers. The second edition* (London printed: and, re-printed by E. Waters, for M.G., 1708). Printer: Edward Waters; Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: T164003.

**No. 7** (DOP: 1708). Robert Ormsbye, *Carmen heroicum, compositum in memorabilem confæderatorum principum, contra Gallos & Barvaros libertatis Europæ, causâ conflictum apud Blenheim, secundo die Augusti, anno restitutæ salutis, mellesimo septingentesimo quarto, stylo veteri. Per Robertum Ormsbye, Arm. Unum e Conciliis ad Legem Serenissimæ Dominae, Annae Dei Gratia, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Reginae, Fidei Defensoris, &c. in Regno suo Hiberniæ* (Tipis per Edvardo Waters, in vico vilgo vocato School House-Lane, prope High-Street, Dublin, 1708). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T186554/N43644. Copy text: ECCO: CW3316999125.

**No. 8** (DOP: 1708). Robert Speed, *The counter-scuffle: whereunto is added, A duel, between two doctors. With An elege on the Ld. Ch. Bar. Hen's Connaught pig* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, for M. Gunne, 1708). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N5559.

**No. 9** (DOP: 1708). Parliament of England, *French-men and foreigners no voters for Members of Parliament. An act for naturalizing of all Protestant strangers in this kingdom* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1708). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N47450.

**No. 10** (DOP: 1708). John Ray, *Nomenclator classicus, sive dictionariolum trilingue... A classical nomenclator with the gender and declensions of each word, and the quantities of the syllables. By John Ray,... To which is added paradigmata of all the declensions, as well Greek as Latin;... The fourth edition, carefully revised and corrected* (London: printed by Benj. Motte, and re-printed by E. Waters, 1708). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Benjamin Motte. Refs: ESTC: T176535.

**No. 11** (DOP: 1709). The Recorder, *The Recorder's speech to the Lord Wharton*. (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, and publish'd by Edward Lloyd, 1709). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T232103.

**No. 12** (DOP: 1709). English Commons, *An act for the relief of the Earl of Clannrickard, lately called Lord Bolphin, of... Ireland, in relation to his estate; and for the more effectual selling or setting the estate of the said Earl to protestants; with several material general clauses relating to all popish purchasers in Ireland*. (Dublin: printed by E. Waters for M. Gunne, 1709). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N55942.

**No. 13** (DOP: 1709). Possible author: Daniel Defoe, *A brief history of the poor Palatine refugees, lately arrived in England. Containing I. A full answer to all objections made against receiving them;... II. A relation of their deplorable condition;... III. A description of the country from whence they came. IV. An account of their numbers... In a letter to a friend in the country* (London printed: and re-printed by E. Waters, for M. Gunne, Dublin, 1709). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N15456.

**No. 14** (DOP: 1709). William Williams, *A poem on the piety and prosperity of her most sacred and serene Majesty Anne,... By William Williams*. (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, for the author, 1709). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: William Williams. Refs: ESTC: T194231; Foxon W515.

**No. 15** (DOP: March 1710). J.H.M.A, *A sermon preach'd, on the sad occasion of the much lamented death of Mr. John Edwards, late pastor of a church of Christ in Dublin; who departed this life the sixth day of March, 1710.* By J.H.M.A (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T216140.

**No. 16** (DOP: 17 May 1710; date from: Title). Tom Tatler, *The Dublin spy.* By Tom Tatler. Vol. I. Numb. I *Saturday, May the 17th, 1710* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters next door to the Theatre-Royal in Smoke-Alley, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: P6163.

**No. 17** (DOP: 22 August 1710), *Just now arrived one British packet, which brought one Holland mail with the following good news* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T221104.

**No. 18** (DOP: 1710). Possible author: Daniel Defoe, *A brief history of the poor Palatine refugees, lately arrived in England. Containing I. A full answer to all objections made against receiving them;... II. A relation of their deplorable condition;... III. A description of the country from whence they came. IV. An account of their numbers... In a letter to a friend in the country* (London printed: and re-printed by E. Waters, for M. Gunne, Dublin, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: T166939.

**No. 19** (DOP: 1710; date from: ESTC). *The Church of England martyr. A poem. Inscrib'd to all loyal church-men* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, [1710?]). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T86029. Copy text: ECCO: CW3322435149.

**No. 20** (DOP: 1710; date from: ESTC). Benjamin Hoadley, *The fears and sentiments of all true Britains; with respect to national credit, interest and religion* (London, printed: and, re-printed by E. Waters, Dublin). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N9752.

**No. 21** (DOP: 1710). *The honest citizens wish* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T210878.

**No. 22** (DOP: 1710). William Lily, *Lily's rules construed: whereunto is added, Tho. Robinson's Heteroclites, the Latin syntaxis, and Qui mihi* (Dublin: printed by E. Daters [sic], and sold by R. Caddell, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: R. Caddell. Refs: ESTC: T205793.

**No. 23** (DOP: 1710). Edward Holdsworth, *The mouse-trap. A new poem, translated from the Latin original. Call'd Muscipula; sive Cambro-muo-machia* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters; and are to be sold by J. Henly, 1710). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Henly. Refs: ESTC: T214507.

**No. 24** (DOP: August 1711). Possible author: Swift, *The r-----r's s-----ch explain'd* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters; and publish'd by Edward Lloyd). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T5210/T220443; Walter Scott, x, 438; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1089-90. Copy text: ECCO: CW3315871864.

**No. 25** (DOP: October 1711). Francis Higgins, *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant-General, and general governour of Ireland. The humble address of the high-sheriff, justices of the peace, grand-jury, and other gentlemen of the County of Cavan, at a general quarter-sessions of the peace, held for the said county at Cavan, October 5th. 1711* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209270.

**No. 26** (DOP: December 1711; date from: London edition published 18 December (Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 471, note 2)). Swift, *Some Remarks Upon a Pamphlet, Entitl'd, [A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, Appointed to Examine Gregg.] By the Author of the Examiner* (Dublin: reprinted by E. Waters, in Essex Street, for J. Hyde, Bookseller on College Green). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: *ESTC*: N22908; T-S 280 (item 535); *PW*, iii, 185 – 285 xxiii & later; *PW*, xiv, 51. Copy text: ECCO: (London edition only).

**No. 27** (DOP: 18 December 1711). Swift, *The Conduct of the Allies, And Of The Late Ministry, In Beginning and Carrying on The Present War* (Dublin, Re-printed for John Hyde Bookseller in Dames-street. 1712). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: *ESTC*: T162401; *PW*, vi, 3 – 65; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 15 and note 7 (209 – 210); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 1 – 9, 45 – 106, 333, 348 – 350, 353, 368. Copy text: ECCO: CB129446793.

**No. 28** (DOP: 1711). Joseph Trapp, *The character and principles of the present set of Whigs* (London printed: and re-printed by E.W. and publish'd by E. Lloyd, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: *ESTC*: T163985.

**No. 29** (DOP: 1711; date from: Foxon T446). Joseph Trapp, *The church and monarchy secur'd, by the return of His Grace the Duke of Ormonde, and the change of the late ministry* (Dublin: printed, and sold by Edward Waters at the New Post-Office-Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: N26673; Foxon, T446. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307674017.

**No. 30** (DOP: 1711). W. Irwin, *A discourse concerning publick prayer; shewing, that a set-form or liturgy of prayers is expedient in the publick worship of God. By W. Irwin* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters at the New Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T124699. Copy text: ECCO: CW3320842936.

**No. 31** (DOP: 1711). English Commons, *The humble representation of the House of Commons to the Queen. With Her Majesty's most gracious answer thereunto* (Dublin: London printed for Samuel Keble and Henry Clements; and, re-printed by Edward Waters, Dublin, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Samuel Keble & Henry Clements. Refs: *ESTC*: T75796.

**No. 32** (DOP: 1711). *A letter to the French refugees concerning their behaviour to the government* (London printed: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, at the Publishing-Office, at the New Post-Office-Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, Dublin, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T108341. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304715130.

**No. 33** (DOP: 1711). John Richardson, *A proposal for the conversion of the Popish natives of Ireland, to the establish'd religion; With the Reasons upon which it is Grounded: And an Answer to the Objections made to it. And where all or the most part of the People are Irish, they (viz. The Church-Wardens) shall provide also the said Books, (viz. Two Books of Common-Prayer, and the Bible) in the Irish Tongue, so soon as they may be had. The charge of these Irish books, to be born also, wholly by the Parish, Canon 94th of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, at the New Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, MDCXI). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T18076. Copy text: ECCO: CW3317559783.

**No. 34** (DOP: 1711). Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Convocation, *A representation of the present state of religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, & profaneness: unanimously agreed upon by a joint committee of both Houses of Convocation, of the province of Canterbury, and afterwards rejected by the Upper House, but Passed in the Lower House. Members of the Committee The Bps. Of Peterborough Landaff Bangor St. Asaph St Davids. Dr. Atterbury, Prol. Dr. Stanhope Dr. Godolphin Dr. Willis Dr. Gastrell Dr. Ashton Dr. Smalidge Dr. Altham Dr Sydel Archd. Brideock.* (London printed: and, re-printed and sold by Edward Waters, Dublin, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T145807. Copy text: ECCO: CW3319120589.

**No. 35** (DOP: 1711). Church of England. Province of Canterbury. Convocation. Upper House, *A representation of the present state of religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, & profaneness: drawn up by the Upper House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury, and transmitted to the Lower House for their approbation.* (London printed: and re-printed and sold by Edward Waters, Dublin, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T176331.

**No. 36** (DOP: 1711). Francis Higgins, *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde, lord lieutenant-general, and general governour of Ireland,... The answer of Francis Higgins, clerk; to a presentment made by the grand-jury of the county of Dublin,...* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N13656. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307658159.

**No. 37** (DOP: 1711). Church of Ireland. Convocation. Lower House, *Whereas the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins a member of this House, has lately, in a paper printed and published, been represented and charged with having behaved himself formerly in a manner... unbecoming the character of... a clergyman;... we the Lower House of Convocation, think our selves oblig'd... to declare, that the said Mr. Higgins has ever-since his being a member of this house, behav'd himself... and... shewn himself to be... a good Christian, and a loyal subject* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1711). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N40301.

**No. 38** (DOP: January – February 1712). Swift, *The Conduct of the Allies, And Of The Late Ministry, In Begining [sic] and Carrying on The Present War. The fourth edition, corrected.* (London: Printed by John Morphew: And Re-printed by Edward Waters in Essex Street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N14815; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 1 – 9, 45 – 106, 333, 348 – 350, 353, 368. Copy text: ECCO: CW3324787601.

**No. 39** (DOP: February 1712). Swift, *The Conduct of the Allies, And Of The Late Ministry, In Beginning and Carrying on The Present War. The fifth edition, corrected.* (London: printed for John Morphew: and re printed by Edward Waters in Essex-street at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley. Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N14817; T-S 283 (item 541); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 1 – 9, 45 – 106, 333, 348 – 350, 353, 368.

**No. 40** (DOP: February – March 1712), *A panegyrick on Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, upon occasion of solemnizing her birth-day, Feb. 6th 1712. Being the Examiner for that day* (Dublin: printed at the expence of several loyal gentlemen, to be distributed gratis, 1712). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: ESTC. Refs: ESTC: T204472.

**No. 41** (DOP: 26 February 1712). British House of Lords, *Resolutions of the British House of Lords.* Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589; *Irish Book Lover*, 17, (1929), 33 – 35. Refs: not on ESTC.

**No. 42** (DOP: March 1712). United Provinces of the Netherlands. Staten General, *The representation of the States General, to the Court of Great Britain. February the 19th. 1712* (London printed: and re-printed by F. Waters. [sic] Dublin, 1172 [sic]). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T177584.

**No. 43** (DOP: March 1712). Swift, *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, Between Her Majesty And the States-General. By the Author of The Conduct of the Allies. To which are added, The said Barrier-Treaty, with the Two Separate Articles; Part of the Counter-Project; The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf, upon the said Treaty; And a representation of the English Merchants at Bruges* (Reprinted for John Hyde Bookseller in Dames Street). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T160282; T-S 291 (item 560); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 13 – 15, 121–153, 333, 338, 393 – 396. Copy text: CW104950227.

**No. 44** (DOP: March 1712). Swift, *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, Between Her Majesty And the States-General. By the Author of The Conduct of the Allies. To which are added, The said Barrier-Treaty, with the Two Separate Articles; Part of the Counter-Project; The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf, upon the said Treaty; And a representation of the English Merchants at Bruges* (London, Printed for J. Morphew; And Re-printed and Sold by E. Waters in Essex street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T160280; T-S 291-2 (item 561); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 13 – 15, 121– 153, 333, 338, 393 – 396.

**No. 45** (DOP: March 1712). Swift, *Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, Between Her Majesty And the States-General. By the Author of The Conduct of the Allies. To which are added, The said Barrier-Treaty, with the Two Separate Articles; Part of the Counter-Project; The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf, upon the said Treaty; And a representation of the English Merchants at Bruges* (Dublin: Re-printed by E. Waters at the New Post Office Printing House in Essex-street, at the corner of Sycamore-Alley). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T207973; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 13– 15, 121–153, 333, 338, 393 – 396. Copy text: CB129499724.

**No. 46** (DOP: April or later 1712). Doctor Anthony (unknown), *The second part of the remarks on the Barrier Treaty, being Some remarks on the letters between the L—d T-----nd, and Mr, Se-----tary B-----le. In a letter to the author of the Remarks on the Barrier-Treaty* (London: printed for John Morphew: and re-printed by Edward Waters, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T207541.

**No. 47** (DOP: June – July 1712). Queen Anne, *Her Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Friday the sixth day of June. 1712* (Dublin: London: printed, and re-printed by E. Waters, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T229497.

**No. 48** (DOP: June – July 1712). Queen Anne, *Her Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Saturday the one and twentieth of June, 1712* (Dublin: re-printed by Edward Waters at the New Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N7189. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304164274.

**No. 49** (DOP: August 1712). Unknown, *Pride will have a fall: or, the d---h whipt into good manners. With their humble address to Her Majesty, upon the defeat of their troops at Denain, July 13, 1712* (Re-printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T179049.

**No. 50** (DOP: November 1712; date from: Title). Sir Samuel Garth, *The prologue that was spoke at the Queen's Theatre in Dublin, on Tuesday the 4th of November, 1712. Being the anniversary of the late King William* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T44591.

**No. 51** (DOP: November 1712). Unknown, *The Whiggs glorious memory*. Dublin, Nov. 17 (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N35732.

**No. 52** (DOP: 1712). John Arbuthnot, *An appendix to John Bull still in his senses: or, law is a bottomless pit. Printed from a manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth: and publish'd, (as well as the three former parts) by the author of the New Atlantis* (London: printed by John Morphew; and reprinted by Edward Waters Dublin, [1712]). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N30305. Copy text: ECCO: (Edinburgh edition only).

**No. 53** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *Beware of the Pretender, or, a great hurricane at court. For they are all fallen out at last* (London: printed by A. Hinde in Fleet-street, and re-printed by E. Waters in Essex-street at the corner of Sycamore-Alley, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: A. Hinde. Refs: ESTC: T189922. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307954731.

**No. 54** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *The humble address of the geese of North-Britain to their reverend brethren, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, and sold by the booksellers thereof, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T191024.

**No. 55** (DOP: 1712). English Commons. Possible author: Thomas Hanmer. Contributing author: Swift, *The humble representation of the House of Commons to the Queen. With Her Majesty's most gracious answer thereunto* (London printed: and reprinted and sold by E. Waters, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T75796. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304237055.

**No. 56** (DOP: 1712). John Arbuthnot. Other Author Speculated: Swift, *Lewis Baboon turn'd honest, and John Bull politician. Being the fourth part of Law is a Bottomless pit. Printed from the manuscript found in the cabinet of the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth; and publish'd, (as well as the three former parts and appendix) by the author of the New Atlantis* (London: printed for John Morphew; and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N33433. Copy text: ECCO: (Edinburgh edition only).

**No. 57** (DOP: 1712). Rev. John Campbell of Antrim, *Mr. Campbell remarks upon a book lately set out by Mr. Thomas Gowan,... intituled The power of presbyters in ordination and church-government, without a superior;... Being a defence of Mr. Campbell's Letter to a parishioner* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, and by R. Gunne, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Richard Gunne. Refs: ESTC: T170590.

**No. 58** (DOP: 1712). C. D. L. Unknown, *The miserable case of poor old England, fairly stated; in a letter to a member of the Honourable House of Commons. Or, the most powerful and convincing reasons, why the E-r, the D-b, the rest of the A-s, the late ministry, and the Low-Church, are against making a general peace with France;...* (Dublin: re-printed by Edward Waters, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T172677. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304996657.

**No. 59** (DOP: 1712). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Defoe, *No Queen: or, no general. An argument, proving the necessity Her Majesty was in,... to displace the D----- of M---borough* (London printed: and re-printed, and sold by E. Waters in Essex-street at the corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T70645. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304363761.

**No. 60** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *The presbyterian's Jacobites. Being a full and true relation of a late meeting of 3000 Jacobite Presbyterians, under the command of a Presbyterian minister and his deputy ...* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T221467.

- No. 61** (DOP: 1712). Swift & Arbuthnot, *Proposals for Printing A Very Curious Discourse in Two Volumes in Quarto, Intituled, Pseudologia politike; or, A Treatise of the Art of Political Lying. With an Abstract of the First Volume of the Said Treatise* (London, John Morphew, Re-printed Edward Waters, Dublin, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T81995; T-S 394 (item 875); Treadwell, 17. Copy text: ECCO: CW3305287275.
- No. 62** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *The Queen's Peace; or, A New War* (Dublin: Printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209139; Munter, *Dictionary*, 283. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326881448.
- No. 63** (DOP: 1712). William Wagstaffe. Other authors speculated: Swift, Defoe, *The representation of the loyal subjects of Albinia* (London printed: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters in Essex-Street at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N13142; T-S 392 (item 865). Copy text: ECCO: CW3304993545.
- No. 64** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *Some arguments for war dissected and laid open. Or, a caveat against all those who delight in blood and confusion* (Dublin: Printed by Edward Waters at the New Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N480904.
- No. 65** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *A vindication of Oliver Cromwell and the Whiggs of Forty One, to our modern Low Churchmen, with some reflections upon the Bar-----r Treaty* (Dublin: reprinted, and sold by E. Waters in Essex-Street at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T135446. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304780923.
- No. 66** (DOP: 1712). Unknown, *The vision of King Charles IId. in the royal oak: a loyal poem* (Dublin: Printed by E. Waters, 1712). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T179108; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589.
- No. 67** (DOP: January 1713). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1713... By John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, and are to be sold by M. Gunne, R. Gunne, and T. Shepherd, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: M. Gunne, R. Gunne, & T. Shepherd. Refs: ESTC: N60799.
- No. 68** (DOP: April 1713; date from: Title). Richard Hartley, *The case of Richard Hartley, A.B. Trin. Col. Dublin. Drawn up by himself this 10th of April, 1713* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N43621.
- No. 69** (DOP: April-May 1713). Henry Sacheverel, D.D., *The Christian triumph; or, the duty of praying for our enemies illustrated and enforc'd from our blessed Saviour's example on the cross. In a sermon preach'd at S. Saviour's in Southwark. On Palm-Sunday, 1713. By Henry Sacheverel, D.D.* (London: printed, and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N52415.
- No. 70** (DOP: May 1713). Delariviere Manley; possible author: Swift, *The blessings of peace. Being the Examiner, upon occasion of Her Majesty's most gracious speech to Her Parliament, April the 9th, 1713* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters in Essex street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N15227; T-S 277 (item 1577).



**No. 71** (DOP: July 1713). George Hooper, *A sermon preach'd before both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday, July 7th, 1713. being the day appointed... for a general thanksgiving for the peace.* By the Right Reverend Father in God George lord Bishop of Bath an Wells. Publish'd by Her Majesty's special Command (London: printed for R. K. and re-printed and sold by E. Waters in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, Dublin, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters; Publisher: R.K. Refs: ESTC: T14032.

**No. 72** (DOP: June-July 1713). Henry Sacheverel, D.D., *False notions of liberty in religion and government, destructive of both. A sermon preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons, at St. Margaret's Westminster, on Friday, May 29. 1713.* By Henry Sacheverell, D. D. Rector of St. Andrew's Holborn (London: printed for Henry Clements; and re-printed and sold by Edward Waters in Essex-Street, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Henry Clements. Refs: ESTC: T177790.

**No. 73** (DOP: July-August 1713). Unknown, *A prologue to peace-triumphant, for the sixteenth of June, 1713. Being the day appointed of thanksgiving for Her Majesty's most glorious peace.* Spoke by Mr. Griffith, ... (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N62808.

**No. 74** (DOP: November 1713). Peter Browne, *On drinking to the memory of the dead. Being the substance of a discourse deliver'd to the clergy of the diocese of Cork, on the fourth of November, 1713, by the bishop of that diocese. And published at their unanimous request* (Dublin: reprinted and sold by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T185657.

**No. 75** (DOP: November-December 1713; date from: ESTC). Unknown, *A letter to the author of The speaker. A poem* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, [1713?]). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N2266.

**No. 76** (DOP: 1713; date from: ESTC). Sir William Fownes, *Advertisement. Whereas a sham letter was privately dispersed last night late; the original of which is said to be directed to Sir William Fownes* (Unknown). Printer: Unknown. Possible printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for printing: ESTC. Refs: ESTC: N49246.

**No. 77** (DOP: 1713; date from: ESTC). Sir William Fownes, *Advertisement. Sir William Fownes, and Ephraim Dawson, Esq; were jointly concerned in paying the troops of Woolesly's regiment of Inniskillin Horse* (Unknown). Printer: Unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: ESTC. Refs: ESTC: N49247.

**No. 78** (DOP: 1713). Recorder of Ephesus, *Advice from the Recorder of Ephesus, to the R-----r of D----* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T7648.

**No. 79** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *Advice to the electors for the ensuing parliament in Ireland, 1713* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T214455.

**No. 80** (DOP: 1713). Mr. R---r. (unknown), *All the Tory pamphlets, answer'd at once by Mr. R-----r. In a further explication of the Answer to D. Clayton's letter* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T208386.

**No. 81** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *An answer to the Tholsel account: or, a more true account of the Friday's proceedings in relation to the poll* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T7679.

**No. 82** (DOP: 1713). Sir William Fownes, *Case of Sir William Fownes, Kt. And Martin Tucker, Esq; with relation to the late election of Members of Parliament for the City of Dublin*. (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N20138.

**No. 83** (DOP: 1713). John Clayton, *Dean Clayton's letter, to one of the common-council of the city of Dublin; relating to the means of reconciling the present difficulties of the said city* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T204624.

**No. 84** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *The Dreamer's Dream* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N60851. Copy text: ECCO: CW3316247189.

**No. 85** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *Eighteen queries, for the seventeen ald----n and the R----r* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N48512. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307778083.

**No. 86** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *An elegy on eighteen aldermen; who were prevented by death, from assisting at the ceremonies of proclaiming the peace between Her Majesty, and the catholick king of Spain* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T32512; Foxon E111.

**No. 87** (DOP: 1713). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Defoe, *Extracts from several Mercators; being considerations on the state of the British trade* (Dublin: printed and sold by Edward Waters at the New Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore-Ally). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T65935. Copy text: ECCO: CW3303781667.

**No. 88** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *The impartial man's opinion, who shou'd be speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, 1713* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N16743.

**No. 89** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *A letter to the freeholders of Ireland* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T169702.

**No. 90** (DOP: 1713). Gilbert Burnet, *The new Preface to the third edition of the Pastoral care. By the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord-Bishop of Sarum. Publish'd singly, for the use of those who have the former editions* (London: printed; and, re-printed by E. Waters for M. Gunne in Essex-street, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: T186583.

**No. 91** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *Observations on the paper publish'd by the sheriffs of the city of Dublin, relating to the time, place and manner, of polling in the ensuing election* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T185904.

**No. 92** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *The pack of bear-dogs* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T170292; Foxon O123.

**No. 93** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *The Queen, the present ministry, Lewis XIV. and Philip V. unanswerably vindicated, with respect to his Catholick Majesty's possession of Spain and the Indies confirm'd to him in the treaty of peace now on foot. In a letter to a noble lord, concerning a scandalous libel, entitled, The groans of Europe, &c* (Dublin: re-printed by Edward Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N14629.

**No. 94** (DOP: 1713; date from: ESTC). Unknown, *A reply to the aspersions cast on Sir William Fownes and Martin Tucker, Esq; in a paper intituled, An answer to D. Clayton's letter, &c* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N26365.

**No. 95** (DOP: 1713). William Tisdall, *A seasonable enquiry into that most dangerous political principle of the Kirk in power, viz. that the right of dominion in the prince, and the duty of allegiance in his Presbyterian subjects, are founded upon the prince's being a subject of what they call, Christ's kingdom of presbytery: or, upon his professing and maintaining the Presbyterian religion.* By William Tisdall, D.D. (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street; And are to be Sold by most of the Booksellers therein, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N21493.

**No. 96** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *The seasonable warning of the kirk, a fair warning to the church, to take care of her self. With some remarks upon the seasonable warning, by the present Commission of the Church of Scotland, concerning the dangers of popery* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N21646.

**No. 97** (DOP: 1713). J.B.C. Unknown, *A short answer to the many groundless suggestions, belch'd-out in two several pamphlets; the one, call'd, A dissuasive against Jacobitisme. The other, Some new proofs, by which it appears, that the Pretender is truly James the III. Together, with a letter writ to an Italian lord, by a noble Venetian... Faithfully translated out of Italian in English; and publish'd by a sincere lover to peace and truth* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N24694.

**No. 98** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *A vindication of the seventeen alderman of the city of Dublin* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1713). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T210629.

**No. 99** (DOP: 1713). Unknown, *Warning: once warning. A poem* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, [1713?]). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N25128; Foxon W237.

**No. 100** (DOP: January 1714). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1714... Done at Cork, by John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, and are to be sold by M. Gunne, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N60798.

**No. 101** (DOP: January 1714). Church of Ireland, Convocation, Lower House, *A true... list of the members of the Lower House of Convocation, which met the 20th of November, 1713. in the Chapter-House at St. Patrick's, Dublin, and were prorogu'd to the 25th of the same month, and then adjourn'd to St. Mary's Chappel in Christ-Church, Dublin* (Dublin: printed for Edward Waters, for John Gill, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Gill. Refs: ESTC: T190606.

**No. 102** (DOP: January-February 1714). Unknown, *Some Pious Resolutions of the Whiggs in the Irish House of Commons* (Unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T49333; Munter, HINP, 124-5.

**No. 103** (DOP: March-April 1714). English Lords, *The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. Die mercuri 3. Martii, 1713* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N7194.

**No. 104** (DOP: April-May 1714). English Lords, *The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. Die Jovis 8 Aprilis, 1714* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N7213.

**No. 105** (DOP: June 1714). John Winder, *The mischief of schism and faction to Church and state. In a sermon preach'd at St. Mary's Church, Dublin, May the 30th, 1714... By John Winder* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T173323.

**No. 106** (DOP: June 1714). Unknown, *England's Eye, A Poem* (Unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: Not on ESTC; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 589; Rees, 'Waters, Edward (d. 1751)', ODNB.

**No. 107** (DOP: July 1714). English Lords, *The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, presented to Her Majesty, on Friday the 25th day of June, 1714. With Her Majesty's most gracious answer* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N7213.

**No. 108** (DOP: Aug 1714). Laurence Eusden, *The royal family! A letter to Mr. Addison, on the King's accession to the throne. By Mr. Eusden* (London: printed for J. Tonson: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters in Essex-street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: J. Tonson. Refs: ESTC: T45278; Foxon E493.

**No. 109** (DOP: September 1714). George Vesey, *A perswasive to peace and unanimity. In a sermon preach'd at Christ's-Church in Dublin, Before Their Excellencies The Ld. Primate and Ld. Chanc. Phipps, Lords Justices of Ireland. On Sunday the fifth of September, 1714. Being the first Sunday of the governments coming to that church, since the death of Her late Majesty, of Blessed Memory; And Published by Their Special Command. By George Vesey, A.M. and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Tuam* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters at the New-Post-Office Printing-House in Essex-Street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T197522.

**No. 110** (DOP: September-October 1714). C.B. Unknown, *The management of the four last years vindicated: in which Her late Majesty, and her ministry, are fully cleared from the false aspersions cast on them in a late pamphlet, entitled; An enquiry into the miscarriages of the four last years, &c* (London: printed for J. Morphew; and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, Dublin). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N4070.

**No. 111** (DOP: November 1714). William Talbot, *A sermon preach'd at the coronation of King George, in the abbey-church of Westminster, October the 20th, 1714. By the Right Reverend Father in God William, Lord Bishop of Oxford. Publish'd by His Majesty's special command* (London: printed for J. Churchill; and, reprinted and sold by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N37336.

**No. 112** (DOP: 1714). N/A, *An abstract of the schism act* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N52829.

**No. 113** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *A conversation between a gentlewoman of the city, and Mr. French's translating pupil; occasion'd by Mr. French's speech before his Grace of Shrewsbury* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T204553.

**No. 114** (DOP: 1714). Francis Atterbury, *English Advice, to the Freeholders of England* (Unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: N6376; Munter, HINP, 129. Copy text: CW104253917.

**No. 115** (DOP: 1714). William Wagstaffe; possible author: Swift, *A letter from the facetious Doctor Andrew Tripe, at Bath, to the venerable Nestor Ironside. With an account of the reception Mr. Ironside's late present of a Guardian, met with... To which is added, a prescription from the Doctor* (London printed: and re-printed by E. Waters, Dublin, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N19734. Copy text: CW11645735.

**No. 116** (DOP: 1714). Delariviere Manley, *Lord Chancellor Phipps vindicated. The Examiner* (London: printed for John Morphew: and, reprinted and sold by E. Waters in Essex-Street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: N19439. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307970742.

**No. 117** (DOP: 1714). Delariviere Manley, *A modest enquiry into the reasons of the joy expressed by a certain sett of people, upon the spreading of a report of Her Majesty's death* (London: printed for John Morphew; and, reprinted and sold by E. Waters, Dublin, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T170237. Copy text: CW106049409.

**No. 118** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *The Monitor: or, a vindication of the present ministry* (London printed: and re-printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T7736.

**No. 119** (DOP: 1714). Richard Steele, *Mr. Steel's speech upon the proposal of Sir Thomas Hanmer for Speaker of the House of Commons* (London printed: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, Dublin, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T170658.

**No. 120** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *The old snugg Presbyterian charter of conscience: or, a recital of their solemn league and covenant. With the decent equipage of a preface and a postscript* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T73947. Copy text: CW119601402.

**No. 121** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *Polyphemus's farewell: or, a long adieu to Ireland's eye. A poem* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T44030; Foxon P721; Munter, HINP, 129; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590.

**No. 122** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *Reasons for the law, now depending in Parliament, to prevent the further growth of schism. Shewing that the indulgence granted to the dissenters is dangerous both to church and state* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T170117. Copy text: CB127348439.

**No. 123** (DOP: 1714). Daniel Defoe, *The secret history of the White-Staff, being an account of affairs under the conduct of some late ministers; and of what might probably have happened, if Her Majesty had not died* (London printed; and, re-printed and sold (with the answers thereto) by E. Waters in Essex-street, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N22390.

**No. 124** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *A short character of the Honourable Sir Thomas Hanmer, Baronet. Speaker of the House of Commons* (London printed: and reprinted by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T48136.

**No. 125** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *Tit for tat: or, an answer to the Dublin ballad* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N14180. Copy text: CW111597345.

**No. 126** (DOP: 1714). Lord Sawpit, *A true character, of the forty-one spawn: or the R---s legacy to the city of D---n. Drawn up by the Ld. Sawpit, at the request of old friends, Dathan and Abiram, the first two whigs recorded in story* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1714). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T214457.

**No. 127** (DOP: 1714). Unknown, *The Whigs title to be sole favourites, examin'd* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street, MDCCXIV). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T28286. Copy text: CW105695652.

**No. 128** (DOP: January-March 1715). Unknown, *Advocates for murther and rebellion, the pest of government: being an answer to two treasonable libels, lately publish'd; one, in defence of the murther of K. Charles I. And the other, reasons for abrogating the fast of that day* (London, printed for J. Morphew: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, Dublin, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T208274. Copy text: CB130475127.

**No. 129** (DOP: July 1715). Clergy of the Diocese of Clogher, *To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble address of the clergy of the diocese of Clogher, at their triennial visitation held at Monaghan, on Friday the 3d of June, 1715* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T219166.

**No. 130** (DOP: 1715). English Parliament, *The articles of impeachment of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer* (London: printed, and reprinted by E. Waters, Dublin, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N16329. Copy text: CW106216229.

**No. 131** (DOP: 1715). Delariviere Manley, *The conduct of His Grace the D. of Ormonde, in the Campaign of 1712* (London: printed for J. Morphew: and re-printed and sold by E. Waters in Dublin, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Morphew. Refs: ESTC: T162253.

**No. 132** (DOP: 1715). J.C. (unknown), *A letter from a gentleman in the country to his friend in Dublin, about several great stones that were seen swimming at Killigordan, on the River Fin, within 10 miles of Derry. Together with the affidavits of persons who beheld the same* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T230214.

**No. 133** (DOP: 1715). Thomas Rogers, *A short and easy method, to acquire the French and Italian languages, by grammatical rules. To which is added, an abridgement of geography... For the use of my scholars. By Thomas Rogers* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, and sold at the Anne's Coffee-House, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N36696.

**No. 134** (DOP: 1715). English Commons, *To the King... Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty their unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne. It is with inexpressible joy* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1715). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T215056. Copy text: CB130175132.

**No. 135** (DOP: January 1716). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1716... Done at Cork, by John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, and are to be sold by M. Gunne). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N60778.

**No. 136** (DOP: April 1716; date from: Title). Peter Browne, Bishop of Cork, *A sermon, preach'd at the parish church of St. Andrew's Dublin, on Sunday the 15th of April, 1716. For the Benefit of the Charity-School for Boys in that Parish. By Peter Lord Bishop of Cork and Rosse* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters; and are to be sold by J. Hyde. For the benefit of the Charity-School). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T129542; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590. Copy text: CW120270408.

**No. 137** (DOP: May 1716; date from: Title). Johann Sigismund Kusser, *A serenata teatrale, to be represented on the birth-day of his most serene Majesty George,... at the castle of Dublin the 28th. of May, 1716.... Set by Mr. John Sigismond Cousser* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1716). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T179750. Copy text: CW114083622.

**No. 138** (DOP: 1716). Pseudonym: R.S. Possible author: Robert Speed, *The counter-scuffle. Written by R. S. Whereunto is added, The Irish entertainment. Written by W. and G* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters in Essex-Street, the Corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1716). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T141369. Copy text: CW111759500.

**No. 139** (DOP: 1716). Manuel Alvares, *Emmanuelis Alvari Prosodia: sive, institutionum. Lingua latinae. Liber quartus. In usum studiosorum* (Dublinii: typis Edvardo Waters, 1716). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N68441.

**No. 140** (DOP: 1716). Earl William Cowper, *The speech of the Lord High-Steward, upon proceeding to judgment against James Earl of Derwentwater, William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithisdale, Robert Earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, [1716]). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N24901. Copy text: CW107658181.

**No. 141** (DOP: 1717). Samuel Broome, *A declaration made by the clergy of the dioceses of Corke and Rosse, against a clause in a paper of Doctor Rowland Davies, Dean of Corke... With some remarks on a letter of the said Dean's,...* By Samuel Broome, M.A (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1717). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N28940.

**No. 142** (DOP: 1717). Francis Fox, *The duty of publick worship proved: to which are added, directions for a devout behavior therein;... and an account of the method of the common prayer. By way of question and answer. By Francis Fox,...* The fourth edition corrected (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, and sold by J. Hyde, 1717). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T185680.

**No. 143** (DOP: 1717). Carl Grefve Gyllenborg and others, *Letters which passed between Count Gyllenborg, the Barons Gortz, Sparre, and others; relating to the design of raising a rebellion in His Majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden* (Dublin: re-printed and sold by E. Waters, 1717). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T74023.

**No. 144** (DOP: 1717). Rowland Davies, *The Reverend Dean Davies's accusation of Mr Samuel Broome, and Mr. William Ellis: with the Lord Bishop of Corke's proceeding thereupon. Taken from the registry of the diocese* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1717). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N13294. Copy text: CW123414426.

**No. 145** (DOP: January 1718). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1718... Done at Cork, by John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, and are to be sold by M. Gunne, and R. Gunne, 1718). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew & Richard Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N60779.

**No. 146** (DOP: 1718). Edward Wettenhall, *Græce grammaticæ institutio compendiaria. In usum scholarum. Authore Edv. Wettenhall, D.D* (Dublinii: typis Edvardo Waters, 1718). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T145457. Copy text: ECCO: CW3313989751.

**No. 147** (DOP: 1719). Osborne Peregrine, Duke of Leeds, *The Duke of Leed's [sic] reasons for protesting against a vote made in the House of Lords in England, which declared a certain trial before the House of Lords in Ireland to be coram non judice* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1719). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T197956.

**No. 148** (DOP: 1719). Richard Steele, *A letter to the Earl of O----d, concerning the bill of peerage. By Sir Richard Steele* (London printed, and reprinted and sold by E. Waters, in Dublin, 1719). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T2075.

**No. 149** (DOP: 1719). Church of Scotland. General Assembly, *The representation of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, presented on the first day of June, 1703. to the Duke of Queensberry, ... to prevent the passing of the act of toleration of the Episcopal Protestants in Scotland* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1719). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T213309.

**No. 150** (DOP: 1719; date from: ESTC). John Trenchard, *The thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in relation to a project for restraining and limiting the power of the crown in the future creation of Peers. Writ by Mr. Trenchard, the Truslee. The fifth edition* (London printed, and re-printed by E. Waters, and sold by J. Leathley, in Dames-street). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T119699. Copy text: ECCO: CW105346581.

**No. 151** (DOP: 1719). John Trenchard, *The thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in relation to a project for restraining and limiting the power of the crown in the future creation of Peers. Writ by Mr. Trenchard, The fifth edition* (London printed, and re printed by E. Waters, in Dublin, 1719). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T2076.

**No. 152** (DOP: January 1720; date from Title). N/A, *A catalogue of a choice collection of books being what remain'd unsold in a late auction... Also, Part of a library of a late learned divine,... Which will begin to be sold by auction... Thursday the 28th of January, 1719, 20. at Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner-row... Luke Dowling, bookseller* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Luke Dowling. Refs: ESTC: T161496; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 164.

**No. 153** (DOP: Probably before May 1720). Unknown, *A letter from a Member of the House of Commons of Ireland to a gentleman of the Long Robe in Great-Britain: containing an answer to some objections made against the judicatory power of the Parliament of Ireland. To which is added, The late Duke of Leeds's Reasons for Protesting against a Vote made in the House of Lords in England, which declared a certain Tryal before the House of Lords in Ireland to be coram non Judice* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T84820. Copy text: ECCO: CW105371481.

**No. 154** (DOP: Probably before May 1720). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Hester Sherlock, *A Second letter to a gentleman of the long robe in Great-Britain: wherein some of the late illegal proceedings of the barons of the Exchequer, in the Kingdom of Ireland, are plainly and impartially set forth* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T56419. Copy text: ECCO: CW104165909.

**No. 155** (DOP: Probably before May 1720; date from: Ferguson, 53; Oakleaf, 159). Swift and others, *Hibernia's Passive Obedience, Strain to Britannia* (Dublin: printed by Waters, in Sycamore-Alley, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N32884; Ferguson, 53; Oakleaf, 159. Copy text: ECCO: CW107971127.

**No. 156** (DOP: 27 May 1720: Armer, 27 note 3). Swift, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. Utterly Rejecting and renouncing Every Thing wearable that comes from England* (Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters, in Essex-street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T125407; T-S 305 (item 612). Copy text: ECCO: CB626398530.

**No. 157** (DOP: 27 May 1720; ref on date: Armer, 27 note 3). Swift, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. Uterly Rejecting and renouncing Every Thing wearable that comes from England* (Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters, in Essex-street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: not on ESTC.; T-S 305 (item 612). Copy text: TCD: Early Printed Books: RR.pp. 57 no.4.



**No. 158** (DOP: July 1720; ref's on date: DW Letter 526, note 4; T-S 304 (item 619); Armer, 38, note 31; Fauske, *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland: 1710 – 1724*, Dublin, 2002, 64). Pseudonym: A.B. Author: Swift, *A Letter From A Lay-Patron to a Gentleman Designing for Holy Orders* (Printed by E. Waters in Sycamore Alley, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N470938; T-S 304 (item 619); Orrery, *Remarks*, 102 – 103; Delany, *Observations*, 104 (also Donald M. Berwick, *The Reputation of Jonathan Swift, 1781 – 1882*, New York, 1965, 9); Ewald, *The Masks of Jonathan Swift*, Oxford, 1954, 88; PW, ix, xxii–iii, 61 – 81; Walsh, Hunting, *Jonathan Swift*, Boston, 1989, 80; 'Swift and religion', in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge, 2003, 161, 174; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 20, 211 note 16.

**No. 159** (DOP: July 1720). Swift, Sheridan, Stella & Rebecca Dingley, *An Elegy on the much lamented death of Mr. Demar, the Famous Rich Man, who died the 6<sup>th</sup> of this Instant, July 1720* (None). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: TCD catalogue. Refs: ESTC: T398; T-S 307 (items 611 and 1662); Foxon S836; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 96 – 98; Williams, *Poems*, i, 232–5; Rogers, 214–, 699; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, 211 note 16. Copy text: ECCO: CW3310395542.

**No. 160** (DOP: November–December 1720). Swift, *The Run Upon the Bankers* (Imprint: none). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T171972; Foxon 6900; Browning, W.E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 193 – 195; T-S 307 (item 611A); Foxon S900; Williams, *Poems*, i, 238–241. Copy text: Huntington Library, Call Number: 352767.

**No. 161** (DOP: December 1720; ref for date: Armer, 68, note 78). Swift, *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders. Being An Accurate Description of the Birth, Education, Manner of Living, Religion, Politicks, Learning &c. of Mine A-----e*. (Unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T13562; not in T-S (T-S has London reprints only); PW, ix, xviii; Ferguson, 68, 72, n.60, n.80; Armer, 68 and note 80. Oakleaf, 164. Copy text: PW, ix, 281 – 284.

**No. 162** (DOP: December 1720; date from: the work). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet* (Printed for J. Hyde in Dames street, 1721). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T1821; T-S 395 (item 621); Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 135 – 136; PW, ix, xxiv–xxvii, 323–345. Copy text: ECCO: CW113137697.

**No. 163** (DOP: 1720). Author: unknown, *A discovery of the philosopher's stone. Lately projected by certain dealers in the South-Sea* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street, the corner of Sycamore-Alley, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N70528.

**No. 164** (DOP: 1720). Jonathan Smedley, *A familiar epistle to His Excellency Charles Earl of Sunderland, one of the Lords Justices of England* (London, printed for J. Roberts, and re-printed by E. Waters, in Essex-street, MDCCXX). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: J. Roberts. Refs: ESTC: N1475; Foxon S502.

**No. 165** (DOP: 1720). Cornelius Nary, *A new history of the world, containing an historical and chronological account of the times and transactions, from the creation to the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, According to the Computation of the Septuagint; Which the Author manifestly shews to be that of the Ancient Hebrew Copy of the Bible. Together with Chronological Tables at the End of each Age, in which the Lives of the Patriarchs after the Deluge, the Reigns of the Rulers and Kings of the Children of Israel and Juda, are parallel'd (and agree exactly) with those of the Assirian, Babylonian, Persian, Grecian Kings and Roman Emperors: By means whereof all the Objections and Cavills of our Modern Libertins, Deists, Atheists and Pre-Adamites, Who grounding their Arguments and Reasonings upon the Computation of the present Hebrew Text, make the Furst Kings of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian Monarchies to have Reign'd some Hundreds of Years before the Deluge, are clearly Consulted.* By Cornelius Nary, C. F. P. Dr (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, for Luke Dowling Bookseller in High-Street, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Luke Dowling. Refs: ESTC: T109207; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590; O'Connor, 'Religious Change, 1550 – 1800', in *HOIB*, 186.

**No. 166** (D.O.P.: 1720). Richard Allestree, *The whole duty of man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all,... With private devotions for several occasions* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1720). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T180343.

**No. 167** (DOP: January 1721). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1721... At Cork, by John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, and sold by M. Gunne and R. Gunne, 1721). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Matthew & Richard Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N60791.

**No. 168** (DOP: January-February 1721). Sir William Fownes, *A Proposal for the Universal Encouragement of the Trade and Manufactures of the Poor Weavers, and other trades men of the kingdom of Ireland... By Sir William Fownes, knight* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1720-21). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T213991; Madden, i, 253.

**No. 169** (DOP: January-February 1721; ref for date: T-S 308 (item 624); DW Letter 526, note 4). Swift, *The Bubble: A Poem* (London: Printed for Ben. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-street; and Sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane: And Re-printed in Dublin, 1721). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T167029; Browning, W.E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 120 – 127; Williams, *Correspondence*, ii, 365 note 1; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 104; Ehenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 154 – 155; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 160 – 161; Williams, *Poems*, i, 248 – 249; Rogers, 207 – 214, 695; Treadwell, 17. Copy text: ECCO: CW3317143818.

**No. 170** (DOP: February-March 1721; ref for date: Armer, 163; *PW*, ix, xviii). Swift, *The Wonder of All Wonders, That Ever the world wondered at. Written in the Year 1721* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: not on ESTC; *PW*, ix, xvii & n.1; Ferguson, 72, 73 note 60; Oakleaf, 164; Teerink 1937, 327 (item 908); Armer, 161. Copy text: *PW*, ix, 285-7.

**No. 171** (DOP: December 1721; date from: content of work). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *An Account of the Short Life, Sudden Death, and Pompous Funeral of Michy Windybank, &c* (Printed in the Year 1721). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: Armer, 176 & n. 19. Refs: ESTC: T110719; *PW*, ix, 308-10, 378; Wagner 13 (item 27); Ryder, 563, note 39; Armer, 175-9. Copy text: ECCO: CW102710848.

**No. 172** (DOP: 1721). Unknown, *A letter from a gentleman in the country to a Member of Parliament in England* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1721). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T61275. Copy text: CW103785895.

**No. 173** (DOP: 1721). Author: unknown, *A letter from a residing member of the Society in Dublin, for promoting charity-schools in Ireland, to a corresponding member in the country* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, for John Hyde, 1721). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T214534.

**No. 174** (DOP: 26 October 1723; date from: Nicolson to Wake: “this day published” (quoted in Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 181, n.1); Ferguson, 81, n.80). Swift, *Some Arguments Against Enlarging the Power of Bishops, In letting of Leases. With Remarks on some Queries Lately published.* (DUBLIN: Printed for J. Hyde, 1723). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T1831; T-S 313 (item 633); Ferguson 81 n. 80; Landa, *Swift and the Church of Ireland*, London, 1954, 97 – 110. Copy text: ECCO: CW3318820807.

**No. 175** (DOP: 1723). Author: N/A. *Hiberniae notitia: or a list of the present officers in church and state, and of all payments to be made for civil and military affairs for the kingdom of Ireland. Upon the establishment, which commenc'd on the 24th day of August, 1717* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, for Thomas Thornton, and William Smith, 1723). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Thomas Thornton & William Smith. Refs: ESTC: T183794.

**No. 176** (DOP: 1723). Author: unknown, *The life of the late victorious and illustrious prince, John Duke of Marlborough, and Pr. Of Mindelheim. Containing an account of all his battles, sieges, and publick negotiations; as also of the accusations brought against him... By an impartial hand* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, for Thomas Thornton, and William Smith, 1723). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: Thomas Thornton & William Smith. Refs: ESTC: T169125.

**No. 177** (DOP: 1723). Charles Coffey, *Temple-oagg: or, the Spaw-Well. A new poem, in three canto's* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Essex-Street, at the Corner of Sycamore Alley, 1723). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T49941; Foxon C278; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590.

**No. 178** (DOP: January 1724). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1724... Done at Cork, by John Coats student in astrology* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, M. Gunne, R. Gunne and T. Gunne, 1724). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: M, R & T Gunne. Refs: ESTC: T192945/N64008; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 264; Madden, i, 251.

**No. 179** (DOP: 1724; date from: ESTC). Unknown, *[D]etractation refuted, being a vindication of Gerald Burke, Esq; from divers calumnies spread about by his enemies* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters in Dames's Street, opposite Fowne-Street, whet all manner of printing works is done reasonably). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T165975.

**No. 180** (DOP: 1724). Charles Coffey, *Poems and songs upon several occasions, with love letters, and a novel, named Loviso. To which is added a diverting farce, call'd Wife and no wife;... All intirely new. By Charles Coffey* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1724). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T197240; Foxon P130.

**No. 181** (DOP: January 1725). John Coats, *Vox stellarum: or, an almanac for the year of our Lord, 1725... Done at Cork, by John Coats, student in astrology* (Dublin: printed by and for E. Waters, and sold by T. Gunne). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: T. Gunne. Refs: ESTC: N60781.

**No. 182** (DOP: 1726). Swift, *A History of Poetry, In a Letter to a Friend. By the Revd. D — S—t* (Dublin. Printed by E. Waters, in the Year, 1726). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T202780; *PW*, iv, xxxvi, 273-5; 10 May 1726, Thomas Tickell to Swift: DW Letter 693, note 2, vol. ii, 647; T-S 400 (item 927). Copy text: ECCO: CB126877817.

**No. 183** (DOP: 1727). Robert Speed, *The counter-scuffle. Whereunto is added, the Irish entertainment. With an elegy on the Connaught-pig* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, MDCCXXVII). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N71533.

**No. 184** (DOP: 1727). Miles Aston, *Hibernia out of mourning. A congratulatory poem on the happy arrival of His Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Humbly inscrib'd by that antient and necessary branch of the clothing-trade, call'd scriblers, alias spinstrers. Written by Miles Aston* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1727). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T232211.

**No. 185** (DOP: 1727). Author: unknown, *Grubstreet Cavalcade* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: not on ESTC; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590.

**No. 186** (DOP: 1727). Miles Aston, [*Peace and Plenty*:] *An Historical Poem on the useful Art of Baking, which was practised and taught by the greatest Kings and Queens. By Miles Aston* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1727). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T232218; Pollard, "Who's for Prison? Publishing Swift in Dublin", *Swift Studies*, 14 (1999), 37-49, 48.

**No. 187** (DOP: 1727; the imprint reads "MDCCXXVII" and as such ESTC ascribes "1774" but as Waters was then dead the imprint was probably a misprint for "MDCXXVII"). Pseudonym: T.T. Author: unknown, *The trickster tricked: a merry song, the tune is, Let us away to the bridal, &c* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters in the Year, MDCCXXVII). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209395.

**No. 188** (DOP: 1727). Matthew Prior, *The turtle and the sparrow. A poem. By the late Matthew Prior, Esq; The fifth edition* (London: printed; and re-printed and sold by E. Waters, 1727). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N46922.

**No. 189** (DOP: 1728). Author: unknown, *Black upon blue: or, A purging-potion for Father Ch—pp—n* (Dublin: Printed by E. Waters, in the Year, MDCCXXVIII). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N472206; Foxon B236.

**No. 190** (DOP: 1728). Author: unknown, *Crumbs of comfort or, hymns of consolation; recommended by the Synod, to all pious families under their present afflictions* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T225284; Foxon C531.

**No. 191** (DOP: 1728). Miles Aston, *An heroic poem, on the powerful and commanding art of brewing... By M. Aston. Mathemat* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T4979; Foxon A356.

**No. 192** (DOP: 1728). James Maculla, *The lamentable cry of the people of Ireland to Parliament. A coinage, or mint, proposed. The Parliament of Ireland's address, and the King's answer thereunto, relating to the coining copper half-pence and farthings for this nation. With Several Reasons and Observations. Shewing the great Necessity there is for such a Coin; and a Scheme laid Down, demonstrating that the Nation will have an Increase in Cash, as well Gold and Silver, as Copper-Money, of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, sterl. By means thereof: And that the said Summ may be deemed all Profit to the Kingdom. By James Maculla of the City of Dublin, Artificer in Divers Metals, Viz. Pewter, Bra, and Copper, &c* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T97077; Wagner, item 29.

**No. 193** (DOP: 1728). Author: unknown, *The last speech to the election: or, The fanaticks, now-or-never. Being a burlesque on a second advertisement. By the author of the first* (Dublin: Printed by Edward Waters, MDCCXXVIII). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N472199; Foxon L60.

**No. 194** (DOP: 1728). Author: unknown, *On state affairs. Four fables. The pigeons. Fable the 1st. The ravens and crows. Fab. IId. The farmer and hare. Fab. IIId. The apple and horse-turd. Fable Ivth* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, on the back of the Blind-Key, near Essex-Bridge, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T499; Foxon O190.

**No. 195** (DOP: 1728). N/A, *The summons, warrant, and duplicate, now used by debtors, in this kingdom of Ireland, for this present goal delivery. To which is added, the Act for insolvent debtors;... Also a thanksgiving poem to His most gracious Majesty King George* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T192752.

**No. 196** (DOP: 1728). William Dunkin, *Technethyrambeia or, a poem upon Paddy Murphy, porter of Trin. Coll. Dublin. Translated from the original in Latin* (Dublin: printed and sold by Edward Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T174645.

**No. 197** (DOP: 1728). William Dunkin, *Technethyrambeia. Sive poema in Patricium Murpauem, S. S. & ind. Trin. Collegi, Dublinii. Subjanitorem* (Dublinii: typis Edvardi Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T174646; Foxon D527.

**No. 198** (DOP: 1728). Charles Coffey, *Temple-oagg. A poem in three canto's*. [Sixth edition] (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1728). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T178007.

**No. 199** (DOP: May 1729; date from title). J. D., M.A., formerly of Trin. Col. Dub (unknown), *A funeral sermon, preach'd at Ardmagh, on the Most Reverend father in God, William, Ld. Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland. Deceas'd May the viiith. 1729. aged 80 years. By J. D. M.A. formerly of Trin. Col. Dub* (Dublin: re-printed by E. Waters on the Blind. Key, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T75488. Copy text: ECCO: CW3319566755.

**No. 200** (DOP: 1730). Parliament of Ireland, *An abstract of the new act of grace, containing, 1st. The relief of prisoners... 2d. A clause inviting over all tradesmen artificers and mariners... to come and take benefit of this act... 3d. A clause for the relief of poor debtors,... being in for a sum not exceeding 25l.... Note, this act holds for 2 years, viz. From the 25th of Decem. 1729, to 25th of March, 1732* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1730). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N57076.

**No. 201** (DOP: 1729). A well-wisher of the Society (unknown), *Dublin scuffle; or, The hungry poets petition, humbly dedicated to a certain great man. By a well-wisher of the Society* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T184900; Foxon G306; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590.

**No. 202** (DOP: 1729). Miles Aston, *An elegy on the much lamented death of John Mullen, doctor of physic, deceas'd July 11th, 1729. By Miles Aston*. (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T3213689; Foxon A355.

**No. 203** (DOP: 1729). Author: unknown, *A hue and cry after the letter to the Lord-Mayor of the city of Dublin* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T5318.

**No. 204** (DOP: 1729). James Maculla, *A Letteer [sic] to the people of Ireland, relating to the copper half-pence, coining in Dublin. Shewing, that this nation will gain a hundred thousand pounds sterl. cash by the same. Twenty thousand pounds thereof is now a manufacturing* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, on the back of the Blind-Key, near Essex-Bridge, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N70546; Wagner, item 38; Madden, i, 298.

**No. 205** (DOP: 1729). Isaac Newton, *The present state of Ireland. Being Sir Isaac Newton's representation about the gold and silver coins, to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1729). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T18659. Copy text: ECCO: CW3305419106.

**No. 206** (DOP: 1733; date from: ESTC). Author: unknown, *The Blessings of the Wooll-Trade: Or, The Irish Manufacturer's Plea, In A Letter from a Gentleman of the County, To A Merchant of the City of Cork.* (Dublin: Printed and Sold by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: 6266271; Wagner, item 44.

**No. 207** (DOP: 1733). Author: unknown, *The conquest of beauty. A poem, humbly inscrib'd to one of the ladies of St. Mary's parish.* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1733). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: 6258662.

**No. 208** (DOP: 1733). Swift, *The Life And Genuine Character of the Rev. Dr. S---t, Written [sic] by Himself* (London: Printed, And Re-printed and Sold by Edward Waters, on the Blind Quay, Dublin, 1733). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: not on ESTC; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590; T-S 357 (item 729); Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 756 – 757; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 541 – 550.

**No. 209** (DOP: 1733). Swift, *The Life And Genuine Character of the Rev. Dr. S---t, Written by Himself* (London: Printed, And Re-printed and Sold by Edward Waters, on the Blind Quay, Dublin, 1733). Printer: Edward Waters. Publisher: J. Roberts. Refs: ESTC: T450; Foxon S886; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 756-7; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 541 – 550; T-S 357 (item 729); Rogers, 478 – 485, 844 – 846. Copy text: ECCO: CB127904996.

**No. 210** (DOP: 1733). Author: unknown, *The visit. Or, the lady in the lobster: a poem.* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1733). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T215819; Foxon V108.

**No. 211** (DOP: May-June 1735; date from: Title). Court proceedings, *The whole trial and examination of Mr. Robert Martin, who was try'd at the Kings Bench-Barr, on Friday the 2d of May, 1735, for the murder of Lieutenant Henry Jolly* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1735). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T215610.

**No. 212** (DOP: 1735; date from: ESTC). Robert Speed, *The counter-scuffle. To which is added a Dutchman's proverb: and other new additions* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T166018; Foxon S644.

**No. 213** (DOP: 1735). Author: unknown, *A new song, on the battle of Ballybast* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1735). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T205040.

**No. 214** (DOP: 1736). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Proposals for the erecting a Protestant nunnery, in the City of Dublin. Utterly rejecting and renouncing the new game of quadrille, by the ladies* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1736). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T142944.

**No. 215** (DOP: April 1736). Author: Bishop Hort. Contributing Author: Swift, *New Proposal for the Better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille* (No Imprint). Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence of Printing: JHCI vol. IV, 214. Refs: not on ESTC; T-S 402 (item 978); Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 291 – 292; 23 February 1736, Bishop Hort to Swift: DW Letter 1243 and notes, vol. iv, 264 – 265; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 822 – 823. Copy text: PW, xiii, 205 – 206.

**No. 216** (DOP: April 1736). Swift, *Reasons why we should lower the coins now current in this Kingdom. Occasioned by a paper intituled, Remarks on the coins current in this Kingdom. To which is added, the Rev. Dean Swift's Opinion, Delivered by him, in an Assembly of above One hundred and Fifty eminent Merchants who met at the Guild on Saturday the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1736, in order to draw up their Petition, and Present it to his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant against lowering said Coin* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters in Dame-street). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T46482; T-S 365 (item 754); *Pue's Occurrences*, 24-27 April 1736; Ferguson, 184 & n. 11; *PW*, xiii, xxxvi-xxxvii, 117 – 120, 223; Williams, *Correspondence*, iv, 480, n.2; Kelly, 'Swift on money and economics', op. cit., 128 – 145, 129 & note 4; Fabricant, 266 – 267. Copy text: ECCO: CW105649812.

**No. 217** (DOP: 1736). Clerk of the Parish, *Devil upon two sticks. Or, a hue and cry after the Drapier's Club. Written by the Clerk of the Parish* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1736). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T164945; Foxon D251. Copy text: ECCO: CB3327201885.

**No. 218** (DOP: 1736). Author: unknown, *A letter to the author of the Catholick answer, to the seeker. Shewing who are the first foxes he ought to hunt* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters in Dame-street, opposite Fownes's-street, where printing work is done reasonably, 1736). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T169578; Rees, 'Waters, Edward (d. 1751)', *ODNB*, 2. Copy text: ECCO: CB3331681900.

**No. 219** (DOP: 1736). Author: unknown, *A rapsody on the army* (Dublin: printed in the year, 1736). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: Foxon, R187. Refs: *ESTC*: T168235.

**No. 220** (DOP: 1736). Rev. Doctor William Jackson, *The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance. Maxims for the conduct of life, by the Reverend Doctor William Jackson,... writ during his illness* (Dublin: printed and sold by E. Waters, 1736). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T169203.

**No. 221** (DOP: 1737). James Maculla, *Woods upon Woods; Or A Brazen Trap Newly Laid, To Ensnare the People of Ireland. For Brass-Money Is Now Hibernia's Portion Instead of Her Sterling Treasure* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1737). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T215850; Wagner, item 49.

**No. 222** (DOP: 1738). James Maculla, *Advertisement. As nothing can appear so deplorable to a true Christian soul* (Unknown). Printer: Edward Waters. Evidence for Printing: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590. Refs: not on *ESTC*.

**No. 223** (DOP: 1738). Mark Akenside, *The voice of liberty; or, a British philippic: poem, in Miltonick verse. Occasion'd by the insults of the Spaniards, and the preparations for war. By a free-born Briton* (London printed; and, Dublin reprinted and sold by Edward Waters, 1738). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: N60858; Foxon A135.

**No. 224** (DOP: 1739). Edward Lonergan, *The dean and the country parson. An imitation of the first eclogue of Virgil. By Edward Lonergan* (Dublin: printed by E. Waters, 1739). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T202967.

**No. 225** (DOP: 1739). Author: unknown, *The resurrection of the potatoes; being an answer to the elegy on their death* (Dublin: Printed by Edward Waters in Dames'-Street, opposite Fownes'-Street, 1739). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: N472193.

**No. 226** (DOP: 1740). Samuel Wesley, *Battle of the sexes: a poem* (Dublin: printed by Edward Waters, 1740). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: *ESTC*: T215691; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 590.

**No. 227** (DOP: 1740). Unknown, *Peace and no peace; or an enquiry whether the late convention with Spain, will be more advantageous to Great Britain than the treaty of Seville... With a postscript upon the King of Spain's protest* (London printed: and, Dublin re-printed and sold by Edward Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T43806.

**No. 228** (DOP: 14 April 1742; date from: ESTC). Member of Parliament, *Some observations on the Hanover neutrality, in a letter from a member of the last Parliament, to a new member of the present* (London: printed: re-printed and sold by E. Waters). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N64448.

**No. 229** (DOP: After April 1742; date from: ESTC). Member of Parliament, *A second letter from a member of the last Parliament, to a new member of the present. Concerning the conduct of the war with Spain* (London printed: and, re-printed and sold by E. Waters in Dames'-street opposite Pownes'-street). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T209955.

**No. 230** (DOP: 1745). Author: unknown, *The devout Christian. Being a collection of prayers for morning and evening: with prayers and select hymns, fitted for most of the concerns of human life... The whole being carefully collected from the most eminent divines of the Church of England* (Dublin: Printed and sold by E. Waters, 1745). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: N60985.

**No. 231** (DOP: June 1746; date from: ESTC). Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *A letter from the earl of C-----d, to Mr. P-----r in Dublin* (Printed by Edward Waters in Nicholas Street, 1746). Printer: Edward Waters. Refs: ESTC: T228504.



## Appendix 2: Publications – John Harding

**No. 1** (DOP: 1718; cf: *ESTC*, “1715” – too early). Author: unknown, *The character of Her late Majesty Queen Anne, and His present Majesty King George. Taken from the London Journal* (London printed and Dublin re-printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T165257.

**No. 2** (DOP: 1719). Edward Welchman, *A dialogue betwixt a Protestant minister and a Romish-priest: wherein is shew'd, that the Church of Rome is not the only true church;... by the author of The husbandman's manual. The third edition* (London: printed, and re-printed for John Hyde, bookseller in Dame-Street, 1719). Printer: John Harding. Publisher: John Hyde. Evidence for Printing: *ESTC*. Refs: *ESTC*: T166129. Copy text: TCD: 36.hh.66. no.4.

**No. 3** (DOP: January-February 1721). Patrick Delany, *News from Parnassus* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in the Middle of Dirty-Lane, 1721). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N42017; Foxon D202; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 102-4; Williams, *Poems*, i, 260, 266-9. Copy text: ECCO: CB132875326.

**No. 4** (DOP: February 1721). Swift, *Apollo's Edict* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Evidence for Printing: T-S 309-10 (item 904). Refs: *ESTC*: T189605; Foxon B75; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 105-7; Williams, *Poems*, i, 260, 269-72. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326902752.

**No. 5** (DOP: 4 March 1721; date from *WINL* for 4 March 1721). Richard Boulton, *An essay on the plague. Containing a discourse of the Reasons of it, and what may be proper to prevent it. By Richard Boulton, sometime of Brazen-Nose-Colledge in Oxford* (Dublin: printed by John Harding; and sold by the booksellers [sic], 1721). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T60401; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307092725.

**No. 6** (DOP: March 1721; date from title). Author: unknown, *An elegy on the very much lamented death, of Sir Toby Buttler, Knight Barrister at Law, how [sic] departed this life this 11<sup>th</sup> of March 1720-21. In the 78 year of his age* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: John Harding. Evidence for printing: *ESTC* & ECCO. Refs: *ESTC*: T397; Foxon E72. Copy text: ECCO: CW3310395543.

**No. 7** (DOP: 1 April 1721; cf: *ESTC*, “1720” – too early). Swift, *An Epilogue to be Spoke at the Theatre-Royal This present Saturday being April the 1<sup>st</sup>. In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers* (Dublin Printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T32797; T-S 310 – 311 (item 626); Foxon S839; Browning, W.E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 133 – 134; Ferguson, 63 & note 17; Rogers, 228 – 229, 709 – 710. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 273 – 276.

**No. 8** (DOP: April 1721). Swift, *The Puppet Show, A Poem* (Dublin: by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N25364; Foxon P1169; 15 April 1721, Swift to Charles Ford, DW Letter 533 and note 7, vol. ii, 371 – 372; Browning, W.E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 169 – 171; Browning, W.E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 159 – 162; JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom', 111 and note 40; *Faulkner 1763*, xi, 354 – 356; Williams *Correspondence*, ii, 381, note 2. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1102 – 1105.

**No. 9** (DOP: April 1721). Author: unknown, *Merchant's vindication of calicoes. Or, a modest answer to a late prologue and epilogue* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1721). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N48851.

**No. 10** (DOP: 20 May 1721; date from WINL for 20 May 1721). Ellis, *The Sense of the People of Great-Britain concerning the present state of affairs. With Remarks upon some passages of our own and the Roman history. In a letter to a Member of Parliament* (London: printed for J. Peele. And re-printed in Dublin, by John Harding in Dirty-Lane, 1721). Printer: John Harding. Publisher: J. Peele. Refs: ESTC: T829. Copy text: ECCO: CW330438105.

**No. 11** (DOP: After July 1721; date from Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1102; ESTC). Lawrence Whyte, *The Broken Mug: A Poem* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5238; Foxon W447; T-S 133 (item 24); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1102.

**No. 12** (DOP: 18 November 1721). Pseudonym: A.B. Esquire. Possible Author: Sheridan or Swift, *A Letter to the King at Arms. From a Reputed Esquire, One of the Subscribers to the Bank* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T169754; T-S 396 (item 631); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274; PW, ix, xx; Ferguson 71-2; Armer, 148 – 150; Degategno and Stubblefield, 216. Copy text: PW, ix, 291–293.

**No. 13** (DOP: November 1721). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Strange Collection of May-Be's Fully Answered and Cleared Up. By a Subscriber and Well-Wisher to the Bank* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1721). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T180053; Wagner 8 (item 18); Armer, 101 – 106. Copy text: ECCO: CW3306533516.

**No. 14** (DOP: November 1721). Pseudonym: A.B. Possible Author: Sheridan or Swift, *A Letter to a Certain Lord, Shewing the Unreasonableness of Establishing a Bank in the Kingdom of Ireland* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T170941; Armer, 106 – 108. Copy text: UCD: 39.w.17/9.

**No. 15** (DOP: November 1721). Swift, *Subscribers to the Bank Plac'd according to Their Order and Quality with Notes and Queries* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T48773; T-S 396 (item 909); PW, ix, xx; Ferguson 71 note 51; Ryder, 572. Copy text: PW, ix, 288 – 290.

**No. 16** (DOP: November 1721–February 1722). Swift, *The Journal* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: 5288; T-S 312 (item 627); Foxon S861; Williams, *Poems*, i, 276–83. Copy text: Beinecke: 1972 + 11.

**No. 17** (DOP: 9 December 1721; date from WINL for 9 Dec 1721). Swift, *Letter from a Lady in Town to her Friend in the Country, Concerning the Bank. Or, The List of the subscribers farther Explain'd* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T180961; T-S 397 -8 (item 910); PW, ix, xx, 299 – 305; Ferguson 70 & n.47; Ryder, 570, 74, 80. Copy text: ECCO: CB130526218.

**No. 18** (DOP: December 1721). Swift, *The Bank Thrown Down. To an Excellent New Tune* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5230; T-S 311 (item 630); Foxon B60; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 164–5, 323–5; Williams, *Poems*, i, 286 – 288; Ferguson, 75 note 64; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 162 – 163; Armer, 164 – 168; Rogers, 239 – 241, 717. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 286 – 288.

**No. 19** (DOP: 10 December 1721). Author unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Last Speech and Dying Words of the Bank of Ireland Which was Executed at College-Green, on Saturday the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth Court in Fishamble Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T231076; T-S 398 (item 910A); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274; JW, 'Poor John Harding', note 10; Ferguson, 75 n. 64; *PW*, ix, xxi, 306-7; Armer, 170 – 171. Copy text: ECCO: CB130128679.

**No. 20** (DOP: December 1721). Author: unknown. Title: unknown [Harding's counterfeit of Whalley's almanac] (Imprint: unknown). Printer: John Harding. Evidence for Printing: *Whalley's News Letter*, 22 December 1721. Refs: not on ESTC.

**No. 21** (DOP: 30 April 1722; cf: ESTC, "1720"—too early). Author: unknown, *The Last Farewell of Ebenezer Elliston To this Transitory World* (Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fish-shamble Street for Elizabeth Sadlier in School-House Lane near High Street). Printer: John Harding. Publisher: Elizabeth Sadlier. Refs: ESTC: T192946; T-S 312 (item 629); *PW*, ix, 363; Ferguson, 76. Copy text: ECCO: CB130986605.

**No. 22** (DOP: 30 April 1722; date from INL, 28 April 1722; Ferguson, 76 n. 68). Swift, *The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston, who is to be Executed this second day of May, 1722. Publish'd at his desire for the common good* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fish-shamble Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N10951; T-S 312 (item 629); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274; McCue, Jr., 'A Newly Discovered Broadsheet of Swift's Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIII, (1959), 362 – 368; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 2*, 199 – 210, 680 – 682; Paul Baines, 'Swift's Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 78 – 95. Copy text: ECCO: CW3302760570.

**No. 23** (DOP: April 1722; date from title). Author: unknown, *An elegy on the much lamented death of Charles Earl of Sunderland, who died April, 1722* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T000402; Foxon E251. Copy text: ECCO: CW3310395547.

**No. 24** (DOP: 3 August 1722). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Upon the Fringes, Commonly so call'd by the Vulgar* (Dublin: Printed in Molesworth's Court, Aug. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1722). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John or Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5197.

**No. 25** (DOP: August 1722; date from INL, 14 July 1722). William Duncan, *A history of the lives and reigns of the Kings of Scotland From Fergus the First King, continued to the Commencement of the Union of the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England in the Year of the Reign of our Late Sovereign Queen Anne, Anno Domini, 1707. To which is added, an account of the rebellion in the Year, 1715. As also, a description of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the Isles thereunto belonging; with te Nanmes, Sir-Names and Titles of the Peers, with the Dates of their Creation; the Names of the Clans and families of Distinction, and their Chiefs; and the Laws and Government in Church and State By an impartial hand* (Dublin: printed by John Harding for the author, 1722). Printer: John Harding. Publisher: William Duncan. Refs: ESTC: T79534; Munter, *Dictionary*, 127. Copy text: ECCO: CW3300955404.

**No. 26** (DOP: 1722). Pseudonym: M.P. Author: unknown, *The Robin-red-breast, or the shepherd's tale. A poem. By M.P* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1722). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T214536; Foxon R237; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 274.

**No. 27** (DOP: 1722; date from: ESTC). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Via ad episcopatum* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T144156.

**No. 28** (DOP: 5 March 1723; date from *DINL*, 5 March 1723). Pseudonym: Cato. Author: unknown), *SERIOUS and Cleanly Meditations on a House of Office; by CATO for the good of his Country, Dedicated to the Goldfinders of Great Britain. To which is added, The Bog-house, a Poem, in Imitation of Milton.* (London printed, and re-printed by John Harding, 1723). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T177471.

**No. 29** (DOP: 1 April 1723). Author: unknown. Possible author: Swift, *The First of April: A Poem. Inscrib'd to Mrs. E.C* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T194545; Foxon S856; T-S 313 (item 917); Williams, *Poems*, i, 320 – 322. Copy text: Huntington: 143204.

**No. 30** (DOP: 14 May 1723; date from *INL*, 14 May 1723; *ESTC* speculates wrongly “1725”). John Smyth, *The Safety of inoculating the small-pox, or: a successful performance of that operation* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T201040.

**No. 31** (DOP: 16 November 1723). Author: unknown, *A Letter sent to a Member of Parliament setting forth the oppression the subjects of this kingdom lye under, by the exorbitant fees taken by attornies for entring judgments, and the charges attending the same, Dublin, 1723* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1723). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH in prison). Refs: *ESTC*: T193098; JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom, 106 & note 15.

**No. 32** (DOP: 1723; date from: *ESTC*). Author: unknown, *The Bishop of Rochester's case; or an hymn to the Tower* (Dublin: London printed, and re-printed in Dubling [sic] by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T5199; Foxon B227.

**No. 33** (DOP: 1723). Author: unknown, *The state of the Roman Catholics of Ireland: or, reasons why they may be allowed to purchase, take mortgages for their money, fee-farm and other leases, most humbly offer'd to both houses of parliament* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1723). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T87130.

**No. 34** (DOP: January 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A fyngaull pakete jist noo came to toone* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T220812; Hanson, 3243. Copy text: Nat. Lib. Scotland: Crawford misc. broadsides 1232.

**No. 35** (DOP: January–March 1724). Swift, *His Grace's Answer to Jonathan* (Dublin: Printed in [sic] Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N48850; T-S 323 (item 634); Williams, *Poems*, ii, 357–62. Copy text: Huntington: 143212.

**No. 36** (DOP: January–25 March 1724). Pseudonym: “Monsieur Knockondoor”. Author: unknown, *The art of rapping, by Monsieur Knockondoor: lately arrived from Paris* (Dudlin [sic]: printed by John Harding, 1723/4). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N30124.

**No. 37** (DOP: 18 February 1724; date from *WINL*, 18 Feb 1723/4). Swift, *Harding's Resurrection from Hell upon Earth* (Imprint: N/A – printed within *WINL*, 18 Feb 1723/4). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N/A; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 192–3, 338–9; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 417; iii, 1109; 14 December 1724, Swift to John Harding: DW Letter 632 bis, note 2; vol. ii, 536; *Faulkner 1763*, vol. xi, 281–2; JW, Poor John Harding and Mad Tom. Copy text: *WINL*, 18 Feb 1723/4.

**No. 38** (DOP: February–March 1724; date from title). Author: N/A, *Tryal of David Coben Herricks, jun. a Jew, who was try'd at the Tholsel Court, on Monday the 18th of February, 1723. for getting Elizabeth Applebee, wife to Richard Applebee a Christian, with child* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T214915. Copy text: ECCO: CB126936005.

**No. 39** (DOP: February–April 1724; date from DL, xxvi, xxix). James Abercorn, *The True State of the Case Between The Kingdom of Ireland on the One Part, and Mr. William Wood Of the Other Part. By a Protestant of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, in Fishamble-Street, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T177210; DL, 355; Wagner, 16 (item 39); Baltes, 130.

**No. 40** (DOP: February or later 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author, Swift, *An excellent new ballad upon the new half-pence. To the tune of, Which no body can deny* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N28176; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 209 – 211; Foxon E570; Baltes, 146. Copy text: TCD: Press A.7.6a. no.11.

**No. 41** (DOP: March 1724). Pseudonym: M.B. Drapier. Author: Swift, *A Letter to the Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common-People of Ireland, Concerning the Brass Half-Pence Coined by Mr. Woods. With a Design to have them Pass in this Kingdom* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: Folio: N470916/ N71072; Quarto: T71495/ N10950/N62474; T-S 314 (item 635); Octavo: T71495; T-S 314 – 315 (item 636); Small octavo: T-S 315 (item 637 & 637A); Wagner 17 – 18 (item 41). Copy text: Octavo: ECCO: CW104947055.

**No. 42** (DOP: March–April 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Ireland's Warning, Being an Excellent New Song, upon Wood's Base Half-pence. To the Tune of Packington's Pound* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T1580; Foxon I66; DL, 374; T-S 136 (item 24); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1109–10. Copy text: TCD; or, under the title 'A New Song on Wood's Half-pence', in *A Supplement To Dr. Swift's Works...* London, Printed for W. Bowyer and J. Nichols; and sold by N. Conant, Successor to Mr. Whiston, in Fleet-street. — MDCCLXXVI, pp. 544 – 545 (ECCO: CW3315445850).

**No. 43** (DOP: 6 August 1724). Pseudonym: M.B. Drapier. Author: Swift, *A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of a Paragraph in his News-Paper of Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>. Relating to Mr. Woods's Half-Pence. By M.B. Drapier. Author of the Letter to the shop-keepers, &c* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T38169; T-S 316 (item 638 & 639). Copy text: ECCO: CW104363644.

**No. 44** (DOP: 18 August 1724; date from DG, 19 August 1724). The Brewers, *The brewers declaration, we the several brewers of the city of Dublin, being informed that several designing persons,... have purchased great quantities of William Wood's brass half-pence and farthings at a cheap rate,... do hereby give notice to our several customers that we neither will receive or pay, any of the said Wood's half-pence or farthings* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N62547.

**No. 45** (DOP: 20 August 1724; date from ESTC). Pseudonym: a Well-Wisher to his Country. Author: unknown. *A Word or Two to the People of Ireland, Concerning the Brass Money that is, and shall be Coin'd by Mr Woods, and which he is endeavouring to Impose upon us. By a Well-wisher to his Country* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T210813; DL, 358. Copy text: ECCO: CB127823114.

**No. 46** (DOP: 20–21 August 1724; date from the work). Author: 'Grand Jury & Inhabitants of the Liberty of St. Patrick's'. Other Author Speculated: Swift, *This day the Grand-jury and the rest of the inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, attended the Dean of St. Patrick's with the following declaration, which they read to him, and desir'd that he would give orders to have it publish'd. The declaration of the Grand jury, and the rest of the inhabitants of the liberty of the dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N483382.

**No. 47** (DOP: 22-26 August 1724; date from the work). Pseudonym: Hibernia. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer, Occasionally Writ upon the General Out-Cry against Wood's Halfpence* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1723 [sic]). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N60847; DL, xxxiv-v, 359; Teerink 1937, 354-5 (item 1113); Baltes, 186 & n.196; Larschan 136-9. Copy text: TCD: Gall. AA. 11. 24.no.4; Matheson Library Microfilm 5154 Reel 15734, No.49.

**No. 48** (DOP: 26 August 1724). Pseudonym: Hibernia. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer, Occasionally Writ upon the General Out-Cry against Wood's Halfpence*. (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T71493. Copy text: ECCO: CB130427824.

**No. 49** (DOP: August 1724; cf. ESTC: "1725" – too late). Pseudonym: Misoxulos. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift or Sheridan, *Another Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of the Report of the Committee Of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, in Relation to Mr. Wood's Half Pence and Farthings, &c. lately Publish'd* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T87748; T-S 317 (item 640A); PW, x, 155-6; DL, xxxiii, 247-8; Monck Mason, 342, n. i; Wagner, 18 (item 43). Copy text: PW, x, 155-6.

**No. 50** (DOP: 5 September 1724). Pseudonym: M.B. Drapier. Author: Swift, *Some Observations Upon a Paper, Call'd, The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable Privy Council in England, Relating to Wood's Half-pence* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: 1st ed: T155571; T-S 317 (item 641); 2nd ed: T124777; 3rd ed: T194735; 4th ed: T155572; T-S 318. Copy text: 1st ed: ECCO: CW3304950263; 2nd ed: ECCO: CW3305664673; 3rd ed: ECCO: CW3329544529; 4th ed: ECCO: CW3304950295.

**No. 51** (DOP: 15 September 1724). Pseudonym: Aminadab Firebrass. Author: George Rooke, *A Letter From a Quaker-Merch't. to Will. Wood, Hard-Ware-Man* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth-Court in Fishamble-Street, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N2560; Ball, *Correspondence*, iii, 220; Teerink 1937, 355 – 356 (item 1124); DL, xlv, 362 – 363; Baltes, 197; Larschan, 197 – 199. Copy text: ECCO: CW: 3310974007.

**No. 52** (DOP: 17 September 1724). Swift, *A Serious Poem Upon William Wood, Brasier, Tinker, Hardware-man, Coiner, Counterfeiter, Founder and Esquire* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N25395; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 211 – 214; T-S 318 (item 643B); Williams, *Poems*, i, 333 – 338; Baltes, 190. Copy text: ECCO: CW117155473.

**No. 53** (DOP: September 1724). Unknown, *The last speech and dying words of William Wood, who was executed at St. Stephen's Green, &c* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N33937.

**No. 54** (DOP: September 1724). Pseudonym: Abraham Woodhater. Author: George Rooke, *A Letter To William Wood, From a Member of that Society of Men, who in Derision are call'd, Quakers* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: N60660; DL, 365; Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1129); Hanson, 3356; Baltes, 201 note 236. Copy text: Walter Scott, vii, 78.

**No. 55** (DOP: September 1724; date from Larschan, 177 n. 106; cf: Wagner 24 (item 68); DL, 356-7; and Baltes, 197 n. 226). Author: unknown, *The Drapier Demolished And Set out in his own Proper Colours; being a full Confutation of all his Arguments against Mr. Wood's Halfpence*. By William Wood, Esq (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T34948; Teerink 1937, 354 (item 1106); Wagner 24 (item 68); Baltes, 197 n. 226; Larschan, 140 – 141, 177. Copy text: ECCO: CW104363636.

**No. 56** (DOP: September 1724: see title). Author: unknown, *A letter from the grand mistress of the female free-masons to Mr. Harding the printer* (Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1724). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: T214539. Copy text: RIA: H.T.Box 171 no.12.

**No. 57** (D.O.P.: 20 October 1724; date from Ferguson, 114-5 & n. 111). Pseudonym: M.B. Drapier. Author: Swift, *A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*. By M.B. Drapier. Author of the Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: ESTC: 1st ed: N10952; T-S 319 (item 644); 2nd ed: T124767; Ferguson, 114 – 115 and note 111. Copy text: 1st ed: ECCO: CW3304947071.

**No. 58** (DOP: October–November 1724). Collins, *The last speech and dying words of Captain Collins who was executed at Kingston in Surry, the 4th, of October inst* (Dublin: re-printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: T204414/T204413.

**No. 59** (DOP: 21-28 November 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *An Excellent New Song Upon the Late Grand-Jury* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: T5258; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 288 – 289.

**No. 60** (DOP: November 1724). Swift, *An Excellent New Song Upon his Grace Our good Lord Archbishop of Dublin*. By honest Jo. One of His Grace's Farmers in Fingal: To the Tune of... (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court, 1724). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: T5265; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 289 - 291; T-S 320 (item 1153); Foxon S846; Williams, *Poems*, i, 340-3. Copy text: ECCO: CB132803478.

**No. 61** (DOP: November 1724). Swift, *To his Grace The Arch-Bishop of Dublin, a poem* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: T51121; Foxon T334; T-S 319 (item 1152); Baltes, note 290; Foxon T334; T-S 319 (item 1152). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 339 – 340.

**No. 62** (DOP: November 1724; date from DL, 378). Pseudonym: Aminadab Firebrass. Author: George Rooke, *A Letter from Aminadab Firebrass Quaker Merchant, To M. B. Drapier* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: T221518; Foxon L124; DL, 378; Teerink 1937, 359 Item 1167; Baltes 252 & n345; Larschan, 255-6. Copy text: ECCO: CB126857438.

**No. 63** (DOP: November 1724; date from: Baltes, 252 & 346). Author: unknown, *An excellent new ballad against Wood's half-pence, &c. To the tune of, Lillibolero, &c* (Dublin: printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, 1724). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: ESTC: N70315; Baltes, 252 & 346.

**No. 64** (DOP: November 1724; date from *DL*, 376). Swift, *Prometheus, A Poem* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John or Sarah Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T5264; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 201 – 203; T-S 320 (item 1154); Williams, *Poems*, i, 343 – 347; iii, 1111. Copy text: Huntington: 143206.

**No. 65** (DOP: 31 December 1724). Pseudonym: M. B. Drapier. Author: Swift, *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth. By M.B. Drapier, author of the letter to the shop-keepers, &c* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street). Printer: unknown as this is almost certainly not from the Harding press. Possible Printer: someone on Harding's behalf, maybe Rider and Harbin. Refs: *ESTC*: T38422; T-S 321 (item 647); 14 December 1724, Swift to John Harding: DW Letter 632 bis, end notes, vol. ii, 536. Copy text: ECCO: CB126283130.

**No. 66** (DOP: December 1724; note that Foxon says "Winter 1723/4" but the line, "For 'gainst the BRASS we 'us'd no Power", suggests later). Sheridan, *Punch's Petition to the Ladies* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: *ESTC*: N20487/N20486; *DL*, 374; Teerink 1937, 358 (item 1146); Foxon P1168; Walter Scott, x, 587; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 294 – 296; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1108 – 1109. Copy text: ECCO: CW117144180/ ECCO: CW111154312.

**No. 67** (DOP: 1724). Author: unknown, *A Hue and Cry After the Eclipse: or How the Sun Scorn'd To be Jet Black* (Dublin: printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: T226205; Foxon H356. Copy text: ECCO: CW116091401.

**No. 68** (DOP: 1724). Sheridan, *Letter from a Dissenting Teacher to Jet Black* (Printed in Dublin 1724). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N19478; JW, Thomas Sheridan and Swift, note 14. Copy text: ECCO: CW123414415.

**No. 69** (DOP: 1724). Author: unknown, *Damon's Case and resolution, A Poem* (DUBLIN: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble Street). Printer: John Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N265; Foxon D21. Copy text: ECCO: CW3311154313.

**No. 70** (DOP: January 1725). Sheridan, *The Drapier's Ballad. To the Tune of the London Prentice* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, 1724-5). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: *ESTC*: T34949; *DL*, 381 – 382; Foxon S406; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1175); Baltes, 278–279, 296; Larschan 256. Copy text: TCD: Press A.7.6a.no.4.

**No. 71** (DOP: 1725). Pseudonym: Aristarchus. Author: unknown), *Cato's letter explained. Aristarchus the illustrious, to the great Cato, sendeth greeting* (Dublin: re-printed by John Harding). Printer: John Harding (or Sarah Harding if JH unfit to work). Refs: *ESTC*: T162979. Copy text: ECCO: CB126881446.



### Appendix 3: Publications – Sarah Harding

**No. 1** (DOP: September 1721). Swift, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland In a letter from a gentleman in Dublin to his friend in London* (London Printed: And Re-Printed in Dublin by Sarah Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble Street, 1721). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: N20957; T-S 310 (item 1583); Ferguson, 61; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 275. Copy text: National Library of Scotland, Shelf-mark: Crawford M.B. 1214.

**No. 2** (DOP: January 1725). Pseudonym: Misoxulos. Author: unknown. Possible author: Sheridan, *A Letter To M. B. Drapier. Author of a Letter to the Ld Molesworth, &c* (Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: N33838; Wagner, 25; DL, 370; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1139); Baltes, 296 & n. 367; Larschan 266, 300. Copy text: ECCO: CB127840417.

**No. 3** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan or Mollineux, *Tom Punsibi's Dream* (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year 1724-5). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T87763; DL, 371; Walter Scott, vii, 190; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1141); Baltes, 265 – 266; Larschan 268 – 269. Copy text: ECCO: CB13118203.

**No. 4** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Blue-skin's Ballad. To the Tune of Packington's Pound* (Printed in the Year 1724-5). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T64051; DL, 378-9; Teerink 1937, 359 (item 1168); Baltes, 269; Baines, 'Swift's Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 92 note 39. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1111 – 1115.

**No. 5** (DOP: May 1725; date from title). Author: unknown, *A Funeral Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of Robert Lord Viscount Molesworth. Who departed This Life, on Sunday the 23d of May, 1725.* (Dublin, printed by the Widow Harding, 1725). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T40335. Copy text: British Library: 1881.c.6.(61.)

**No. 6** (DOP: June 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Poem Upon R—r a Lady's Spaniel* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T42569; T-S 400 (item 652). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1124 – 1126.

**No. 7** (DOP: 30 September 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate* (DUBLIN: Printed by Sarah Harding on the Blind-Key). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5236; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 275; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1172); Foxon O230; DL, 380; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1117-8; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 315, n. 1; PW, x, xxviii-xxx; Davis, ed., *Swift: Poetical Works* [Oxford Standard Authors series], London, 1967, xiv; Rogers, 291, 751-2; JW, *Intelligencer*, 36. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1118.

**No. 8** (DOP: September 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *To the Honourable Mr. D. T. Great Pattern of Piety, Charity, Learning, Humanity, Good Nature, Wisdom, Good Breeding, Affability, and one Most Eminently Distinguished for his Conjugal Affection* (DUBLIN: Printed by S. Harding on the Blind-Key, 1725). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T005244; Foxon T373; Monck Mason, 377 – 378 and note n; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171; JW, *Intelligencer*, 101 – 102; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1126 – 1127. Copy text: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, Appendix XVII.

**No. 9** (DOP: September 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *Numb. II. The Following Fable Is Most Humbly Inscribed to the Honourable Mr. D. T. A Most Extraordinary Personage... The Sick Lyon and the Ass* (DUBLIN: Printed by Sarah Harding, 1725). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5245; Foxon T374; Monck Mason, 377 – 378 and note n; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1126 – 1127; JW, *Intelligencer*, 101 – 102. Copy text: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, Appendix XVII.

**No. 10** (DOP: 1725). Swift, *A Letter From D. S—t. To D. S—y* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T4935; T-S 323 (item 651). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 369 – 373.

**No. 11** (D.O.P.: 1725). Unknown, *Wit upon Crutches, or, the Biter Bitten, Most Humbly Dedicated to the Ingenious Mr. Arbuckle Author of the Dublin Weekly Journal* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: not on ESTC. Evidence for Printing: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1127 – 1128.

**No. 12** (DOP: 1725). Mary Barber, *To His Excellency the Lord Carteret, Occasion'd by seeing a Poem Intitul'd, The Birth of Manly Virtue* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, 1725). Printer: Sarah Harding (with Rider & Harbin). Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 170 – 171. Refs: ESTC: T5242; T-S 324 (item 1200); Foxon B78; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 382.

**No. 13** (DOP: 1725). Author: unknown, *The Virtuous and Pious Life of his Holiness Peter Francis Ursini, the Present Pope* (Dublin, Printed by Sarah Harding on the Blind-Key). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T232223; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171. Copy text: ECCO: CB132012870.

**No. 14** (DOP: 1726). Delany & Swift, *A Riddle By the Revd. Doctor D-----y, inscrib'd to the Lady C-----t. [And] 'Answered by the Reverend Dean S----t* (Printed in the year, 1726). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T202771; Foxon D205; T-S 328 (item 656); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 937 – 939. Copy text: ECCO: CB131320778.

**No. 15** (DOP: 1726). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Delany or Swift, Title: [Unnamed Riddle]. (No Imprint: an anonymous broadside). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: not on ESTC; Williams, *Poems*, i, *Introduction*, iii, 935 – 937. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 935 – 937.

**No. 16** (DOP: March 1727). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift or Sheridan, *Elegy Upon Tiger; her dear Lady's Joy and Comfort, Who departed this Life, The last day of March 1727* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T210094; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 227, 360 – 361; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1130. Copy text: ECCO: CB3330484595.

**No. 17** (DOP: May 1727; date from DW Letter 763 note 1). Author: unknown, *A Short History of the Eight Philosophers of the Island Cos* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172. Refs: ESTC: N65488; 24 June 1727, Swift to the Rev. Thomas Sheridan: DW Letter 763 note 1; vol. iii, 101. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.2/114.

**No. 18** (DOP: October 1727). Author: unknown, *An answer to the Case of the City of Dublin; In the behalf of the Alderman, &c c* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T232212; DL, 328. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326899698.

**No. 19** (DOP: October 1727). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan and Swift, *To the Gentlemen Freeholders, and Freemen of the City: A Few Words Concerning the Alderman and Squire* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171 – 172; DL, 328 – 331. Refs: ESTC: T169748. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326899696.

**No. 20** (DOP: Late October 1727; date from: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171 – 172). Swift, *A Letter to the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, Who Are Protestants of the Church of Ireland as by Law Established* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171 – 172; DL, 328 – 331. Refs: ESTC: T169748; T-S 329 (item 934). Copy text: DL, 336 – 338.

**No. 21** (DOP: October 1727; date from: ESTC speculates wrongly "1747"). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Advice to the Electors of the City of Dublin* (No Imprint – unless cut off). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171 – 172; DL, 328 – 331. Refs: ESTC: T217201; T-S 329 (item 935); Foxon T374; Copy text: DL, 339 – 343.

**No. 22** (DOP: December 1727). Peter La Boissiere, *The Starry Interpreter: or, A Most Useful and Compleat Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1728* (Dublin: printed by Sarah Harding, for the author, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Publisher: Peter La Boissiere. Refs: ESTC: T160401; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 171. Copy text: TCD: Gall.PP.30.86.

**No. 23** (DOP: 1727). Sheridan, *To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Mont-Cassel: This Fable is Most Humbly Dedicated by a Person Who Had Some Share in His Education* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, MDCCXXVII). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T128290; Foxon S417; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172; JW, *Intelligencer*, 26 & note 105. Copy text: ECCO: CW3324551305.

**No. 24** (DOP: 1727). Sheridan, *Tom Punsibi's Letter to Dean Swift* (Printed in the year, 1727). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T5214; Foxon S418. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1045 – 1048.

**No. 25** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1728). Author: unknown, *An humble remonstrance in the name of the lads in all the schools of Ireland, Where Latin and Greek are taught: and of the young students now in the University of Dublin, together with a protests of all senior fellows in Trinity College, Dublin, (except one) against the Provost* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1727/8). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T190885; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172. Copy text: ECCO: CW3307955912.

**No. 26** (DOP: 19 March 1728; evidence of date: *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 30 March; PW, xii, x, ESTC; T-S 329 (item 663). Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1727-8). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T1868; Madden, ii, 298 note; Kelly, 'Swift on money and economics', 138; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 164; 18 March 1729, William Flower to Swift: DW Letter 834 note 4, vol. iii, 219; JW, *Intelligencer*, 170 – 173; Ferguson, 144 – 149, Coleborne, *Jonathan Swift and the Dunces of Dublin*, op. cit., 111 – 118; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 572 – 574. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304165940.

**No. 27** (DOP: March 1728; date from the work; Ferguson 152 n. 42). Swift, *An Answer to a Paper, Called a Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T21996; T-S 330 (item 665); Ferguson, 149, 151-2 & n. 42; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172; Madden, i, 297 – 300; JW, *Intelligencer*, 171. Copy text: ECCO: CW106702845.

**No. 28** (DOP: April 1728). Author: unknown. Possible Author: James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn, *The Speech of a Noble Peer: Made in the House of Lords in Ireland, When the Privilege-Bill Was in Debate There* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T1989; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172; JW, *Intelligencer*, 115. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304002022.

**No. 29** (DOP: April 1728; date from title). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Spuddy's Lamentation For the Loss of her Collar, Who was deprived of it the 12th of April, 1728. Bou Wou Wou* (None). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T49782; Foxon S666; Teerink (1937), 936; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 239, Appendix XXI, Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1131. Copy text: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, Appendix XXI.

**No. 30** (DOP: 11 May 1728; date from title page). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb. I. Saturday May 11. *To be Continued Weekly* (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330-1 (item 666); Temple Scott, ix, 313 – 315; PW, xii, 27 – 31, 325; JW, *Intelligencer*, 47 – 50, 299 – 301. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 31** (DOP: 18 – 21 May 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 51). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb II (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 51 – 56, 301 – 302; Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 32** (DOP: 25 – 28 May 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 57). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb III (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330-1 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; Temple Scott, ix, 316 – 322; PW, xii, 32 – 37, 325 – 326; JW, *Intelligencer*, 57 – 69, 302 – 305; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 559, 581. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 33** (DOP: 1 – 4 June 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 70). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb IV (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); JW, *Intelligencer*, 70–77, 305–307. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106; Baines, 'Swift's Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 78 – 95, at 95. Baines, 'Swift's Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 78 – 95, at 95.

**No. 34** (DOP: 8 – 11 June 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 78). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb V (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; PW, xii, 38 – 45, 326 – 327; JW, *Intelligencer*, 78 – 83, 307 – 309; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 581 – 582. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 35** (DOP: June 1728; date from title). John Audouin, *The Last Speech Confession and Dying Words of Surgeon John Odwin, Who Is to Be Executed near St. Stephen's-Green: on Wednesday Being the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, 1728. For the Murder of His Servant Maid Margaret Kees* (Dublin: printed by S. Hardding [sic], 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T205303; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172; Baines, 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston*: Reading the Ephemeral Text', *Swift Studies*, (2013), 78 – 95, at 94 – 95. Copy text: ECCO: CB130285888.

**No. 36** (DOP: 18 June 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 84; Coghill to Southwell, 18 June 1728). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb VI (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 84–94, 309–311; Davis, 'The Conciseness of Swift', in Sutherland and Wilson, eds., *Essays on the Eighteenth Century Presented to David Nichol Smith*, Oxford, 1945, 24 – 26. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 37** (DOP: 22 – 27 June 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 93). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb VII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; PW, xii, 38 – 45, 326 – 327; JW, *Intelligencer*, 95 – 100, 311 – 312; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 581 – 582. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 38** (DOP: 29 June – 4 July 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 101). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb VIII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 101 – 114, 312 – 316; JW, Skinnibonia, 330. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 39** (DOP: 6 – 9 July 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 115). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb IX (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; PW, xii, 46 – 53, 327 – 328; JW, *Intelligencer*, 115 – 129, 316 – 318; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 582; JW, Skinnibonia, 330. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 40** (DOP: 13 – 16 July 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 130). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb X (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 130 – 134, 319; JW, Skinnibonia, 330; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 457, 782 – 783; Rogers, 343 – 344, 778 – 779. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 41** (DOP: September 1728). Sheridan, *Ballyspellin* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: not on ESTC (no copy survives); Foxon S405; Walter Scott, xv, 131; Horrell, Joseph, ed., *Collected Poems of Jonathan Swift*, London, 2 vols., 1958, i, 327 – 330; Hogan, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Sheridan*, Newark, 1994, 171 – 173, 348 – 350; 28 September 1728, Swift to the Rev. John Worrall: DW Letter 823 and note 7, vol. iii, 198 – 201. Evidence for Printing: 28 September 1728, Swift to the Rev. John Worrall, DW Letter 823, vol. iii, 200 (“He [Sheridan] sent us in print a Ballad...”). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 437 – 440.

**No. 42** (DOP: 8 – 12 October 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32, 135). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XI (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 135 – 146, 319 – 321. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 43** (DOP: 15 – 19 October 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 32-3, 147). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); JW, *Intelligencer*, 147 – 155, 321 – 322. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 44** (DOP: 22 – 26 October 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 157). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XIII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 156 – 163, 322 – 325. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 45** (DOP: 29 October–2 November 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 164). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XIV (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); JW, *Intelligencer*, 164 – 169, 325 – 326. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 46** (DOP: 5 – 9 November 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 170). Swift with Sheridan's Introduction, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XV (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 376 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 170 – 186, 326 – 330; Ferguson 158 n. 70. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 47** (DOP: 12 – 16 November 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 187). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XVI (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note n; JW, *Intelligencer*, 187 – 192, 330 – 331. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 48** (DOP: 16 – 30 November 1728; date from: JW, *Intelligencer*, 251). Unknown, *A Letter to the Intelligencer. Written by a Young Gentleman, of Fourteen Years Old* (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: Not on ESTC; JW, *Intelligencer*, 251–253, 337; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172. Copy text: JW, *Intelligencer*, 251 – 253.

**No. 49** (DOP: 19 – 23 November 1728; date from: JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 193). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XVII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 193 – 196, 331 – 332. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 50** (DOP: 26 – 30 November 1728; date from: JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 197). Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XVIII (DUBLIN: Printed by S. HARDING, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); Monck Mason, 377 note m; JW, *Intelligencer*, 197 – 203, 332. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 51** (DOP: 3 – 7 December 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 204). Swift, *The Intelligencer*, Numb XIX (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year, MDCCXXIX). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 377 note m; Temple Scott, ix, 323 – 331; PW, xii, 54 – 61, 328 – 329; JW, *Intelligencer*, 204 – 216, 332 – 335; JW, Skinnibonia, 333; Ferguson, 149; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 583 – 586; McMinn, *Jonathan's Travels*, 123 – 124; Madden, i, 299. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 52** (DOP: December 1728). Isaac Butler, *Advice from the Stars: or, An Almanack and Ephemeris for the Year of our Lord, 1729. By Doctor John Whalley's successor, Isaac Butler* (Dublin: Printed by S. Harding for Mary Whalley, and sold by John Pennel, and by the booksellers, 1729). Printer: Sarah Harding. Publisher: Mary Whalley. Refs: ESTC: N60760; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172. Copy text: Gilbert: 914.15.

**No. 53** (DOP: 1728). Richard Savage, *The Bastard. A Poem. Inscribed with All Due Reverence to Mrs. Bret, Once Countess of Macclesfield. By Richard Savage, Son of the late Earl Rivers* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T021391; Foxon S95; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 172. Copy text: ECCO: CW3324763001.

**No. 54** (DOP: 1728). Pseudonym: Dermott Mac-Poverty. Author: unknown, *Letter from Dermott Mac-Poverty; to the author of the Intelligencer* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding, 1728). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: N63477. Copy text: ECCO: CB130265881.

**No. 55** (DOP: 1728). Swift, *On Paddy's Character of the Intelligencer* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for printing: cf: JW, *Intelligencer*, 248. Refs: ESTC: T5324; Foxon S887; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 312 – 313; T-S 332 (item 683); JW, *Intelligencer*, 244–248. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 457 – 458.

**No. 56** (DOP: January 1729; date from title). McDaniel and A-Thoush, *The Last and True Speech Confession and Dying Words of Alexander Mac-Daniell, and Philip A-Thoush (alias Malone), Who Is to Be Executed near St. Stephen's-Green, This Present Saturday Being the 24<sup>th</sup> Day of January, 1728-9* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T213941; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173; Baines, 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text*', *Swift Studies*, 28 (2013), 78 – 95, at 95. Copy text: ECCO: CB130983965.

**No. 57** (DOP: January-February 1729). Swift, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady; In a Letter to a Person of Quality* (Dublin: Printed by S. Harding, next Door to the Crown in Copper-Alley, where Gentlemen may be furnished with the *Intelligencer*, from No. 1, to No. 19). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T124769; T-S 333 (item 669); Foxon S863; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 172-9; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 443 – 444; Rogers, 365 – 372, 788 – 789; 13 January 1729, Swift to the Rev. John Worrall: DW Letter 828 and note 3, vol. iii, 205 – 206; JW, Skinnibonia, 333. Copy text: ECCO: CW3317120601.

**No. 58** (DOP: January-April 1729). Author: unknown, *The answer to the letter writ to the Lord-Mayor of the city of Dublin* (Unknown). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: not on ESTC (no copy survives). Evidence for Printing: *A Hue and Cry after the letter to the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin*, 1729 [printed by Waters]: A1, 203.

**No. 59** (DOP: February 1729; date from title). Ross Daniel, *The Last and True Speech Confession and Dying Words of Daniel Ross, Who Is to Be Executed near St. Stephen's-Green, This Present Saturday, Being the 15<sup>th</sup> of this Instant February 1728-9* (Dublin: printed by S. Harding). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T212316; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173; Baines, 'Swift's *Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston: Reading the Ephemeral Text*', *Swift Studies*, 28 (2013), 78 – 95, at 95. Copy text: ECCO: CB3330983965.

**No. 60** (DOP: February 1729; date from title). Sheridan, *An Ode, to Be Performed at the Castle of Dublin, March the 1<sup>st</sup>, 1728-9. Being the Birth-Day of Her Most Serene Majesty Queen Caroline... The Musick Compos'd by Matthew Dubourg* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding or Nicholas Hussey. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173. Refs: (not on ESTC); Foxon S411.

**No. 61** (DOP: 10 May 1729; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 33, 217; cf: Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 308, note 1 (who says 7 May)). Swift, *The Intelligencer, Numb XX* (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year, MDCCXXIX). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: P2223 (one ESTC entry representing all Numbers of the periodical); T-S 330 – 331 (item 666); Monck Mason, 377 – 378 and note o; JW, *Intelligencer*, 217 – 223, 335 – 337; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 454 – 456. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 62** (DOP: August 1729; date from title). Author: unknown, *A Satyr on the Taylors Procession, July the 28<sup>th</sup>, 1729* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173. Refs: ESTC: T213698; Foxon S66. Copy text: ECCO: CB126877835.

**No. 63** (DOP: September 1729). Pseudonym: The Drapier. Possible Author: Swift, *The Drapier's advice to the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, urging them to choose Sir William Fownes to serve in Parliament* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: ESTC: T229696; DL, 347. Copy text: ECCO: CB130480172.



**No. 64** (DOP: 11 October 1729; date from title). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *To the Worthy Freemen and Freeholders of this City* (No Imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding or George Faulkner. Refs: *ESTC*: T229752; *DL*, 3450. Copy text: ECCO: CB3330480179.

**No. 65** (DOP: 30 – 31 October 1729; date from: Ball, *Correspondence*, iv, 124 n. 3; *PW*, xii, xix; T-S 336 (item 676); 18 March 1729, William Flower to Swift, DW Letter 834, note 4, vol. iii, 219. Swift, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of poor people in Ireland, from being a Burthen to their parents or country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick* (DUBLIN: Printed by S. Harding, opposite the Hand and Pen near Fishamble-Street, on the Blind-Key. MDCCXXIX). Printer: Sarah Harding. Refs: *ESTC*: N5335; *DI*, 8 November 1729; T-S 336 (item 676); *PW*, xii, 107-118; JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173; Ball, *Correspondence*, iv, 124 n. 3; *PW*, xii, xix; Ferguson 171 n. 12. Copy text: ECCO: CW: 3303992719.

**No. 66** (DOP: December 1729). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Rupert Barber, *An Answere [sic] to the Christmass-Box. In Defence of Doctor D-n-y. By R-t B-r* (Dublin: printed in the year, 1729). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding or Nicholas Hussey. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173. Refs: *ESTC*: N4305; Foxon A246; James Woolley, 'Arbuckle's Panegyric', in *Contemporary Studies of Swift's Poetry*, John Irwin Fischer & Donald C. Mell Jr., eds., Delaware, 1981, 191 – 206, 203; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 304. Copy text: ECCO: CW103992357.

**No. 67** (DOP: 1729; date from *A hue and cry after the letter to the Lord-Mayor of the city of Dublin*. Printed by Edward Waters (A1, 203)). Unknown, *A Letter from a Country Gentleman, the the Honourable Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding. Evidence for Printing: *A hue and cry after the letter to the Lord-Mayor of the city of Dublin*. Printed by Edward Waters (A1, 203). Refs: not on *ESTC*.

## Appendix 4: Other Publications

**No. 1** (DOP: 1617). Fines Morrison, *An Itinerary... Containing His Ten Yeeres Travel through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmake, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: Beale, 1617). Printer: Unknown. Refs: *Intelligencer*, Numb XVIII (A3, 50); JW, *Intelligencer*, 201. Copy text: Early English Books Online (Proquest).

**No. 2** (DOP: 1691). Swift, *Ode. To the King. On His Irish Expedition, And the Success of his Arms in general* (Dublin, Printed by Jo. Brent, and are to be Sold at the Printing-house over against the Sign of the Cock in Capel-street, near Essex-Bridge. 1691). Printer: John Brent. Refs: ESTC: R181173; JW, Swift's First Published Poem: Ode. To the King; Williams, *Poems*, i, 4 – 10; Rogers, 43 – 46, 601 – 603; Andrew Carpenter, 'A Tale of a Tub as an Irish Text', *Swift Studies*, 20, (2005), 30 – 40, at 38. Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 3. Copy text: The facsimile reproduction in JW, Swift's First Published Poem: Ode. To the King (the only known copy of the original is in the Derry and Raphoe Diocesan Library, University of Ulster, Magee Campus, Londonderry, Northern Ireland: G.II.14 (8)).

**No. 3** (DOP: 1694). William King, *A Discourse Concerning the Intentions of Men in the Worship of God. By William Lord Bishop of Derry*. (DUBLIN: Printed for the Author, by Andrew Crook, Printer to Their Most Sacred Majesties, MDCXCIV. Printer: Andrew Crooke. Refs: ESTC: R179268.

**No. 4** (DOP: circa 1696). Richard Holt, *Seasonable proposals for a perpetual fund or bank in Dublin. For the Improvement both of lands and traffick, suitable to the trade, money and business of Ireland, both in relation to England and other foreign parts; maturely calculated, both for the present juncture, and for the general good of the said city and kingdom, and particular advantage of all the subscribers; who now, if they please may securely make above 20 per cent. per ann. clear profit of their money. The intended methods are drawn and improved, both from a true experience, and by the best examples of all the banks in Europe: it is therefore humbly proposed by Richard Holt, of London, merchant, and others, to proceed as followeth, viz.* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: R233581; Kelly, 'Political Publishing, 1550 – 1700', in *HOIB*, 212 and note 85.

**No. 5** (DOP: 8 February 1698). William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated. By William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq;* (Dublin: printed by and for J.R. And are to be sold by Rob. Clavel, and A. and J. Churchil, Booksellers in London, 1698). Printer: Joseph Ray. Publisher: Joseph Ray. Refs: ESTC: R32102; Simms, J.G., *Colonial Nationalism, 1698 – 1776: Molyneux's The Case of Ireland... Stated*, Cork, 1976. Copy text: Matheson Library Microfilm 4094 Seg. 1 Item No. 3547.

**No. 6** (DOP: 1699). Pseudonym: B.E.. Author: unknown, *A new dictionary of the terms ancient and modern of the canting crew in its several tribes of Gypsies, beggars, thieves, cheats, &c.: with an addition of some proverbs, phrases, figurative speeches, &c. useful for all sorts of people, (especially foreigners) to secure their money and preserve their lives, besides very diverting and entertaining being wholly new* (London: Printed for W. Hawes at the Rose in Ludgate Street, P. Gilbourne at the corner of Chancery-lane in Fleet-Street, and and W. Davis at the Black Bull in Cornhill, 1699). Printer: unknown. Publisher: W. Hawes, P. Gilbourne and W. Davis. Refs: ESTC: R171889. Copy text: Early English Books Online (Proquest).

**No. 7** (DOP: 1699). Samuel D'Assigny, *A short relation of the brave exploits of the Vaudois, and of God's miraculous providence in their preservation in the late war against the French in Piedmont. Taken from, and attested by some of their chief commanders now in these kingdoms. Unto which is added some few cautions to the Protestants of Ireland. Written for our encouragement against popery.* By Samuel D'Assigny, a lover of his king and country (Dublin: printed by John Brent, at the Back of Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner-Row, near the Tholsell, 1699). Printer: John Brent. Refs: ESTC: R22711.

**No. 8** (DOP: 1700). Author: William Temple, *Letters Written by Sir W. Temple, Bar<sup>t</sup> and other Ministers of State, Both at Home and Abroad, Containing, An Account of the most Important Transactions that pass'd in Christendom from 1665 to 1672. In Two Volumes.* Review'd by Sir W. Temple sometime before his Death and Published by Jonathan Swift Domestick Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. (London: Printed for J. Tonson, at Gray's Inn Gate in Gray's Inn Lane; and A. and J. Churchil, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, and R. Simpson, at the Harp in S. Paul's Church-yard MDCC). Printer: unknown. Publisher: J. Tonson, A and J. Churchil, R. Simpson. Refs: ESTC: R14603. Copy text: Early English Books Online (Proquest).

**No. 9** (DOP: December 1704). Swift, *A Tale of a Tub: Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. Diu multumque desideratum. To which is added, An Account of a Battle Between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library.* Basima eacabasa eanaa irraurista, diarba da caeo- taba fobor camelanthi. Iren. Lib. I. C. 18. Juvateque novos decerpere flores, Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam, unde prius nulli velarnut tempora Musae. Lucret. *The Fourth Edition Corrected* (Dublin, Re-Printed; and are to be Sold only at Dick's and Lloyd's Coffee-Houses, and at the Printing-Press in Fishamble-street, 1705). Printers: Richard Pue & Cornelius Carter. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T1866; T-S 166 (item 221); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 367. Copy text: ECCO: CW3314974301.

**No. 10** (DOP: July 1707). Charles Leslie, *A POSTSCRIPT to Mr. Higgins's Sermon, very Necessary for the better Understanding it* (Dublin, Reprinted for Edward Lloyd, and Sold by him at his Coffee-house in Church-street, and at the Parliament-house, 1707). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T107949. Copy text: ECCO: CW332005389.

**No. 11** (DOP: January 1708; date from Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, ii, 199-200 note 6). Pseudonym: Isaac Bickerstaff. Author: Swift, *Predictions for the Year 1708. Giving an Account of all the Remarkable Events that shall happen in Europe this Year; as Battles, Sieges, &c. The Month, Day and Hour of the Death of John Partridge, astrologer, Cardinal Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, the Dauphine, young Prince of Asturias, the Pope, French King and other Princes, Also the untimely and Natural Ends of Persons in London, Accidents to some Generals, and the Death of others in Battle, with the Confutation of common Almanack-Makers in General.* By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq (London Printed: and Reprinted and Sold at the Union Coffee-House on Cork Hill). Printer: Unknown. Possible Printer: Francis Dickson. Evidence for Printing: Dickson was the proprietor of the Union Coffee-House at this time. Refs: ESTC: T179431; T-S 259 (item 489); *PW*, ii, 139 – 150. Copy text: ECCO: CB126741203.

**No. 12** (DOP: March 1709; date from the work). Swift, *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England concerning the Sacramental Test* (Re-printed in Dublin and sold by the Booksellers). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T1867; T-S 263 (item 512); *PW*, ii, 109 – 125; *PW*, ix, ix, Ferguson, 34 – 37; Burns, 109. Copy text: ECCO: CW105061479.

**No. 13** (DOP: 1709). William King, *Divine Predestination and Fore-knowledge, Consistent with the Freedom of Man's Will. In a Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin:...* By His Grace, William Lord Arch-Bishop of DUBLIN, May the 15<sup>th</sup>, 1709. (Dublin: Printed by Andrew Crook, printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty on the Bling-Key, 1709. Refs: *ESTC*: T183544. Copy text: ECCO: CB126749036.

**No. 14** (DOP: 24 May 1710). Swift, *The Tatler*, No. 10, by Isaac Bickerstaff (Dublin: Re-Printed by Edwin Sandys in Essex-street, 1710). Printer: Ann Sandys. Refs: *ESTC*: P483109; T-S 268 (item 515); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 508. Copy text: TCD: P.hh.3.7.

**No. 15** (DOP: 1710). Swift, *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* (London Printed, and Re-Printed in Dublin, 1710). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: N48848; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 133 – 136; T-S 278 (item 524); Foxon S937; Rogers, 109 – 112, 637. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 131 – 135.

**No. 16** (DOP: 1710). Swift, *A Mediation upon a broom-stick, and somewhat beside, of the same author's*. (London Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet; and sold by J. Harding, at the Post-Office at St. Martin's-Lane, 1710). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Edmund Curll. Refs: *ESTC*: T97419; T-S 129 (item 1A).

**No. 17** (DOP: 1710–1712). Swift, *The Examiner* (Reprinted in Channel-Row, for D. Tompson). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Cornelius Carter. Publisher: Daniel Tompson. Evidence for Printing: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 92 – 93. Refs: not on *ESTC*; T-S 275 (item 526A). Copy text: TCD.

**No. 18** (DOP: April – May 1711). Delariviere Manley. Contributing Author: Swift, *A True Narrative Of what pass'd at the Examination Of the Marquis De Guiscard, At The Cock-Pit, The 8th of March, 1710/11, &c* (London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, and re-printed in Dublin, by C. Carter at the Old Post Office in Fish-Shamble Street, 1711). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: T17215; *PW*, iii, xxvii–xxx; Rivington, Charles A, 'Tyrant:' *The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989, 32; Treadwell, 24. Copy text: ECCO: CW3305374277.

**No. 19** (DOP: October–November 1711). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *The Whiggs Lamentation: A Soar of their own Scratching* (Unknown). Printer: unknown. Evidence for Printing: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1090 – 1096. Refs: not on *ESTC*; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 115-1 & App. III. Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1090 – 1096.

**No. 20** (DOP: 1711). Swift, *The Examiner* (Reprinted by C. Carter at the Old Post-Office in Fishamble street). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: P1384; T-S 274 – 275 (item 525). Copy text: NLI.

**No. 21** (DOP: 1711). Swift, *The Examiner* (Printed at the Old Post-Office in Fish-shamble Street). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: not on *ESTC*: P1384; T-S 275 (item 526). Copy text: TCD.

**No. 22** (DOP: 1711: Cf. *ESTC*). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *A Fable of the widow and her Cat* (London, printed and re-printed in Dublin, 1711). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: N67307; Horrell, Joseph, ed., *Collected Poems of Jonathan Swift*, London, 2 vols., 1958, i, 431-2; Davis, Herbert, ed., *Swift: Poetical Works* [Oxford Standard Authors series], London, 1967, 98 – 100; T-S 393 (item 862). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 151 – 155.

**No. 23** (DOP: 1711). Several authors, *A Memorial of the Church of England: with an Impartial Account of what pass'd most remarkable at the Tryal of Dr. Sacheverall. To which is added, The Defence of the Church & Doctor, Made by his Excellency Sir Constantine Phipps* (Dublin: Printed in the Flourishing Year of the CHURCH, for E. Lloyd, 1711). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T176086; Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, London, 1936, 37 – 38, 42 – 43; Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', *The Library*, 5th ser., 32 (1977), 315 – 332, at 316. Copy text: ECCO: CB126372322.

**No. 24** (DOP: 1711). Swift, *An Excellent New Song, Being the Intended Speech of a famous Orator against Peace*. (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Morphew or Andrew Hind. Evidence for Printing: Rivington, Charles A, 'Tyrant: The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift', York, 1989, 34 – 35. Refs: ESTC: T33729; T-S 289 (item 554); Foxon S844; Williams, *Poems*, i, 141 – 145.

**No. 25** (DOP: 1711). Swift, *The Windsor Prophecy*, (Printed in the Year, 1711). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: John Morphew or Andrew Hind. Evidence for Printing: Rivington, Charles A, 'Tyrant: The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift', York, 1989, 35. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: T52292; T-S 289 – 290 (item 555); Foxon S939.

**No. 26** (DOP: 22 January 1712). Swift, *Some Advice Humbly Offer'd to the Members of the October Club. In A Letter from A Person of Honour*. (London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1712). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: T49240; T-S 290 (item 557); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 380 – 382.

**No. 27** (DOP: 31 May 1712). Swift, *Some Reasons to Prove, That no Person is obliged by his Principles, as a Whig, To Oppose Her Majesty Or Her Present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig-Lord*. (London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1712). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: T49355; T-S 294 (item 578); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 410-11.

**No. 28** (DOP: 10 July 1712). Swift, *It's Out at Last: Or, French Correspondence Clear as the Sun*, (London, Printed in the Year MDCCXII). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: N17200; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 415. Copy text: CW103688812.

**No. 29** (DOP: 10 July 1712). Swift, *A Dialogue Upon Dunkirk: Between A Whig and a Tory, on Sunday morning the 6<sup>th</sup> instant*. (London, Printed in the Year, 1712). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: N49709; David Woolley, 'A Dialogue Upon Dunkirk (1712) and Swift's "7 penny Papers"', in Hermann J. Real and Richard H. Rodino, eds., *Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munich, 1993, 215 – 223; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 418.

**No. 30** (DOP: 17 July 1712). Swift, *A Hue and cry after Dismal; Being a full and true Account, how a Whig L—d was taken at Dunkirk, in the Habit of a Chimney-sweeper, and carried before General Hill*. (London, Printed in the Year, 1712). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: ESTC: N16900; T-S 295 (item 582); David Woolley, 'A Dialogue Upon Dunkirk (1712) and Swift's "7 penny Papers"', in Hermann J. Real and Richard H. Rodino, eds., *Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munich, 1993, 215 – 223; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 420 – 421.

**No. 31** (DOP: 19 July 1712). Swift, *A Letter from the Pretender, To a Whig-Lord*. (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Publisher: unknown. Possible publisher: John Barber. Refs: *ESTC*: T228339; T-S 296 (item 585); Rivington, *"Tyrant": The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989, 248; David Woolley, 'A Dialogue Upon Dunkirk (1712) and Swift's "7 penny Papers"', in Hermann J. Real and Richard H. Rodino, eds., *Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Munster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Munich, 1993, 215 – 223, at 216; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 425.

**No. 32** (DOP: July 1712). Swift, *Some Reasons to Prove That No Person is obliged by his Principles as a Whig to Oppose Her Majesty or Her Present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig-Lord* (London, Printed; And Re-Printed in Dublin by C. Carter in Fish-shamble street. 1712). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: T155575; T-S 294 (item 579); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 17, 163 – 179, 333, 410, 412 – 413. Copy text: ECCO: CB127149258.

**No. 33** (DOP: 1712). Francis Sanders, *An Abridgment of the Life of James II. King of Great Britain* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Evidence for Printing: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 368. Refs: *ESTC*: (London edition only). Copy text: ECCO: (London edition) CW100765157.

**No. 34** (DOP: 1712). Author: unknown, *Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George: with some Private Passages of the Life of the late King James II. Never before publish'd* (London: Printed in the Year M DCC CII). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: N61382. Copy text: ECCO: CW103090365.

**No. 35** (DOP: 1712). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *The new way of selling places at Court. In a letter from a small courtier to a great stock-jobber* (London: printed for John Morphew, and re-printed in Dublin, by C. Carter, 1712). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: N10691; David Woolley, 'The Canon of Swift's Pamphleteering', *Swift Studies*, 3, (1988); *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 16, 155 – 162, 442. Copy text: ECCO: CW3306691899.

**No. 36** (DOP: 1712). Thomas Everard, *Stereometry, or, the art of gauging made sense, by the help of a sliding-rule... The seventh edition carefully corrected* (London: printed for J. Nicholson and Mary Hussey, R. Wilkin and B. Tooke, 1712). Printer: unknown. Publishers: (include) Mary Hussey. Refs: *ESTC*: T149497.

**No. 37** (DOP: 1712). Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue; in a Letter to the Most Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain*. (London: printed for Benj. Tooke, at the Middle-Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet 1712). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Behamin Tooke. Refs: *ESTC*: T42805. Copy text: ECCO: CB126395537.

**No. 38** (DOP: 2 November 1713). Swift, *The Importance of the Guardian Considered, in a Second Letter To the Bailiff of Stockbridge. By a Friend of Mr. St---le*. ((London, Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1713). Printer: unknown. Publisher: John Barber. Refs: *ESTC*: T17780; T-S 298 (item 591); *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 442 – 443.

**No. 39** (DOP: November-December 1713). Swift, *The Seventh Epistle Of the first Book of Horace Imitated. And Address'd to a Noble Lord* (Dublin: Reprinted for John Henly Bookseller in Castle-street [sic], 1713). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Daniel Tompson. Publisher: John Henly. Refs: *ESTC*: T47982; T-S 297–298 (item 590); Foxon S894; *PW*, i, 278 – 279; Browning, ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 159 – 162; Williams, *Poems*, i, 170 – 175; Rogers, 153 – 156, 663; Woolley, David, 'The Canon of Swift's Prose Pamphleteering, 1710 – 1714, and *The New Way of Selling Places at Court*', *Swift Studies*, 3, (1988), 96–117, at 97 note 5 and his illustrations 3a and 3b; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 210. Copy text: ECCO: CW110476421.

**No. 40** (DOP: 1713). Swift, *Some Advice Humbly Offer'd to the Members Of The October Club, In A Letter From A Person of Honour* (London Printed, and Re-printed in Dublin by C. Carter. 1713). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: N43969; T-S 290 (item 557); *PW*, vi, 69 – 80; Rivington, Charles A, 'Tyrant:' *The Story of John Barber, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989, 35; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 107 – 119, 380 – 386. Copy text: ECCO: CB3327823090.

**No. 41** (DOP: 1713). Steele, *Two Letters Concerning the Author of The Examiner* (London: Printed, and Sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXIII). Printer: A. Baldwin. Refs: *ESTC*: T052089; T-S 277 (item 1075); *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 35. Copy text: ECCO: CB132768273.

**No. 42** (DOP: Early 1714; date estimated from date of London edition). Swift, *A Preface to the B——p of S——r——m's Introduction* (Printed by D. Tompson for John Henly at the BlackMoor's Head in Castle Street). Printer: Daniel Tompson. Publisher: John Henly. Refs: *ESTC*: T119945; T-S 298 (item 593); *PW*, iv, 53 – 84; Sun, *Swift's Eighteenth Century Biographies*, op. cit., 138 point 5. Copy text: ECCO: CW3319222215.

**No. 43** (DOP: January 1714). Steele, *The Crisis: or, a Discourse Representing, For the most Authentick Records, the Just Causes of the Late Happy Revolution...* By Richard Steele, Esq; (London: Printed by Sam. Buckley, and sold by Ferd. Burleigh, in Amen Corner, 1713. Printer: Samuel Buckley. Refs: *ESTC*: T034401; Rivington, 'Tyrant': *The Story of John Barber, 1675 to 1741: Jacobite Lord Mayor of London, and printer and friend to Dr. Swift*, York, 1989; Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 42; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 243 – 247. Copy text: ECCO: CW103982020.

**No. 44** (DOP: March 1714). Swift, *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author Of the Crisis: with Some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candor, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise. The Third Edition* (Printed for J. Henly, Bookseller in Castle street). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Daniel Tompson. Refs: *ESTC*: T1863; T-S 300-1 (item 599); Hanson, *Government and the Press: 1695 – 1763*, London, 1936, 44; *PW*, xiii, Introduction; *Cambridge Swift Vol 8*, 37 – 39, 241 – 84, 333, 458 – 459, 467 – 468.

**No. 45** (DOP: 1714). Cornelius Carter, *Advice from the stars. In a letter to the pretending doctor, Whaley* (Dublin, printed by C. Carter, 1714). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: T208056; Foxon A72; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 603. Copy text: ECCO: CB129652678.

**No. 46** (DOP: 1714). John Whalley, *A decree of the stars for Cornelius Carter* (Dublin, printed by John Whalley in Aurendel-Coart, just without St. Nicholas). Printer: John Whalley. Refs: *ESTC*: T201306. Copy text: ECCO: CW116029551.

**No. 47** (DOP: 1714). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *The First Ode of the second Book of Horace Paraphras'd* (Reprinted for John Henly, Bookseller in Castle Street). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Daniel Tompson. Publisher: John Henly. Refs: *ESTC*: N8897; T-S 299 (item 595); Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 171 – 174; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 140; Horrell, Joseph, ed., *Collected Poems of Jonathan Swift*, London, 2 vols., 1958, ii, 695 – 658; Williams, *Poems*, i, 179 – 184; Davis, ed., *Swift: Poetical Works* [Oxford Standard Authors series], London, 1967, 139 – 142; *PW*, viii, xv-xvi; Rogers, 156 – 159, 665 – 667; Woolley, David, 'The Canon of Swift's Prose Pamphleteering, 1710 – 1714, and *The New Way of Selling Places at Court*', *Swift Studies*, 3 (1988), 96 – 117, at 97 note 5 and his illustrations 3a and 3b; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 35. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326091253.

**No. 48** (DOP: 1714). Cornelius Carter, *On John Whalley, the quack astrologer* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: Cornelius Carter. Evidence for Printing: *A decree of the stars for Cornelius Carter*, 1714 (A4, 46). Refs: not on *ESTC*.

**No. 49** (DOP: 1714). Swift, *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs: Set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author Of the Crisis: with Some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candor, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise. The Fourth Edition* (Dublin: Printed in the Year 1714). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T206601; T-S 301 (item 600); *Cambridge Swift Vol. 8*, 37 – 39, 241 – 284, 333, 458 – 459, 467 – 468. Copy text: ECCO: CB127903929.

**No. 50** (DOP: 1714). Pope, *The Rape of the Lock. An Heroi-Comical Poem. In Five Cantos. Written by Mr. Pope*. (London: Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys in Fleet-street. 1714. Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T005726. Copy text: ECCO: CW111212958.

**No. 51** (DOP: 1714). Jonathan Smedley, *An Hue and Cry After Dr. S—T; Occasion'd by a True and Exact Copy of Part of his own Diary, found in his Pocket-Book, wherein is set down a faithful Account of himself, and of all that happen'd to him for the last Week of his Life. The Second Edition*. (London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1714. Printer: unknown. Publisher: J. Roberts. Refs: *ESTC*: 7223. Copy text: ECCO: CW103075674.

**No. 52** (DOP: 1714–1720). Vanessa and Swift, *A Rebus Written by a Lady, On The Rev. D—n S—t. With His Answer*. (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: not on *ESTC*; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, ii, 24 – 25; T-S 302 – 303 (item 632). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, ii, 715 – 717.

**No. 53** (DOP: 1714–1720; date from T-S 302-3 (item 632); Williams, *Poems*, ii, 715). Vanessa and Swift, *A Rebus Written by a Lady, On The Rev. D—n S—t. With His Answer* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: N21485; T-S 302-3 (item 632); Foxon R144; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 715 – 717. Copy text: ECCO: CW111154316.

**No. 54** (DOP: April 1716). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *The Speech of the P[rovo]st of T[rinity] C[ollege] to his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales* (Printed in the Year, 1716). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: N24873; Walter Scott, x, 451-7; Wilde, *The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life*, Dublin, 1849, 2nd edition, 165-9; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1099; Quintana, *Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, op. cit., 259. Copy text: ECCO: CW104260492.



**No. 55** (DOP: September-October 1718), *The whole trial and examination of Richard Barnwell, Patrick Burk, Patrick Brien, Thomas M'loghlen, John Bridges, Felim and Margaret M'anally, John Levin, Henry Chinton, Jacob Connor, Patrick Burn and Bryen Swiney, all which were tried at a commission of oyer and terminer, at the Tholsel of the city of Dublin on the 9th and 11th days of August 1718. before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, Lord Mayor, Recorder, and the rest of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of the City of Dublin* (Dublin: printed, 1718). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T219007. Copy text: ECCO: CW124001581.

**No. 56** (DOP: 1719). Author: Sheridan. Contributing Author: Swift, *Ars Punica, sive Flos Linguarum: the Art of Punning; or the Flower of Languages; In Seventy Nine Rules: For the Farther Improvement of Conversation, And help of Memory. By the Labour and Industry of Tom Pun-Sibi. &c* (Dublin: Printed by and for James Carson,... 1719). Printer: James Carson. Refs: ESTC: T213806; T-S 394 (item 895); Williams' Bibliographical Summary: *Poems*, i, liii; iii, 1101.

**No. 57** (DOP: 1719), *The whole examination of Daniel Casey, who was just now examined before my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, for being accessory to the murder of Col Luttrell* (Printed by T. Toulmin, on College-Green). Printer: T. Toulmin. Refs: ESTC: T218999; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 572. Copy text: ECCO: CW124001576.

**No. 58** (DOP: July 1720; date from: Armer, 39-40). Swift, *Swearers Bank or, Parliamentary Security for a New Bank* (Dublin: Printed by Thomas Hume, next Door to the Walsh's-Head, in Smock-Alley). Printer: Thomas Hume. Refs: not on ESTC; T-S 396 – 397 (items 631A, 615, 616, 617); *PW*, ix, xix, 294 – 298; Ferguson, 70; Ryder, 574; Armer, 36 – 58; Kelly, 'Swift on money and economics', op. cit., 134 – 135. Copy text: *PW*, ix, 294 – 298.

**No. 59** (DOP: July-August 1720). Unknown, *A Defence of English Commodities. Being an Answer to the Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture... To which is Annexed, An Elegy upon the much lamented Death of Mr. Demar* (Unknown). Printer: unknown. Evidence for Printing: *PW*, ix, 265 – 277. Refs: not on ESTC; T-S: 306 (item 614); Armer, 34 – 35. Copy text: *PW*, ix, 265 – 277.

**No. 60** (DOP: August 1720). Swift, *The First Part of The Swearers Bank; or, Parliamentary Security for a New Bank* (Dublin: Printed by Thomas Hume, next Door to the Walsh's-Head, in Smock-Alley, 1721). Printer: Thomas Hume. Refs: ESTC: N60958; T-S 396 (item 615); Armer: 39.

**No. 61** (DOP: August-September 1720). Unknown, *The Second part of the swearers bank, With new reasons to encourage that project* (Dublin: Printed by Thomas Hume, next door to the Walsh's Head in Smock-Alley, 1720). Printer: Thomas Hume. Refs: ESTC: T172964. Copy text: ECCO: CB126339138.

**No. 62** (DOP: December 1720). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *The blunderful blunder of blunders; being an answer to the wonderful wonder of wonders* (Unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T13573 (possible Dublin copy); Teerink (1937), 327 (item 907).

**No. 63** (DOP: 1720). Several authors, *Several speeches in the House of Commons in England, For and against the bill for the better securing the dependency Kingdom of Ireland, on the crown of Gr. Britain. A letter from a gentleman there to his friend here* (Dublin: Printed by C. Carter, 1720). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: ESTC: T197531. Copy text: ECCO: CB132489636.

**No. 64** (DOP: April 1721; cf, ESTC: "1720" – too early). Swift, *An Epilogue to be Spoke at the Theatre-Royal This present Saturday being April the 1<sup>st</sup>. In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers* (Dublin Printed by J.W). Printer: unknown. Possible printer: John Whalley. Refs: ESTC: T5204; T-S 310 – 311 (item 625).

- No. 65** (DOP: November 1721). Henry Maxwell, *Reasons offer'd for erecting a bank in Ireland; in a letter to Hercules Rowley, Esq; by Henry Maxwell, Esq* (Dublin: printed by Aaron Rhames, and are to be sold by the booksellers, 1721). Printer: Aaron Rhames. Refs: *ESTC*: T91116. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW103790515.
- No. 66** (DOP: November 1721). Author: Hercules Rowley. Contributing Author: Swift, *An Answer to a Book, Intitl'd, Reasons Offer'd for erecting a Bank in Ireland. In a letter to Henry Maxwell, Esq; By Hercules Rowley, Esq* (Dublin: Printed by and for Geo. Grierson, at the Two Bibles, in Essex-Street, MDCCXXI). Printer: George Grierson. Refs: *ESTC*: N5324; Ferguson, 69; Armer, 119-20; Ryder, 571, 576 – 577. Copy text: *ECCO*: CB126895060.
- No. 67** (DOP: November 1721). Unknown, *The Bank of Ireland's Answer to the Author of the Notes and Queries about Subscribers to the same. By way of Queries upon Queries* (Dublin: printed by C. Carter, 1721). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: N63793. Copy text: *PW*, ix, 317 – 318.
- No. 68** (DOP: November 1721). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Dr Francis Hutchinson, Bishop of Downe, *A Letter to the Gentlemen of the Landed Interest in Ireland, related to a bank* (Dublin: printed by and for Aaron Rhames, and sold by the booksellers, 1721). Printer: Aaron Rhames. Refs: *ESTC*: T106721. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW103968515.
- No. 69** (DOP: November 1721). Unknown, *Objections Against the General Bank in Ireland as It Stands Now Circumstanciaded, Whether It Do's or Do's Not Receive a Parliamentary Sanction, in Answer to a Letter Sent from a Gentleman in the City to his Friend in the Country* (Dublin: printed by C.C., 1721). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: T176737. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW106533566.
- No. 70** (DOP: December 1721). Unknown, *Dr. Whealy's Prophecy* (Unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Elizabeth Sadlier. Evidence of Printing: *Whalley's News Letter*, 22 December 1721. Refs: not on *ESTC* (no copy survives);
- No. 71** (DOP: 1721). Swift, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. The Fourth Edition, with the following Additions. Viz. The Seventh Epistle of the first Book of Horace Imitated, and Address'd to a Noble Lord. A Letter from a Lay-Patron to a Gentleman designing for Holy Orders. These said to be done by the same Author. The Battel of the Pygmies and Cranes. The Puppet-Show. These by Mr. Addison. A Friendly Conference between a Preacher and a Family of his Flock, upon the 30th of January. By Mr. S. B—r.* (Dublin: Printed by S. Fairbrother, Book-Seller, and are to be Sold at his Shop in Skinner-Row, over against the Tholsel, 2721). Printer: Samuel Fairbrother. Refs: *ESTC*: T39456; T-S 21 (item 33 (1a)); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 195; Munter, *Dictionary*, 94; *PW*, i, xxxiii-iv ii, xxxvii-xl. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW124712549.
- No. 72** (DOP: 1721). Matthew Dutton, *The Office and Authority of Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Deputies, County-Clerks and Coroners in Ireland*, Dublin, 1721 (Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, for George Risk Bookseller, at the Corner of Castle-Lane in Dames-Street, 1721). Printer: Samuel Powell. Publisher: George Risk. Refs: *ESTC*: T179479. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW12426377.
- No. 73** (DOP: 1721). Swift, *The Run Upon the Bankers, and, The South-Sea Detected* (Cork: Printed by Samuel Terry... 1721). Printer: Samuel Terry. Refs: *ESTC*: T171972; Foxon 6900; T-S 307 (item 611B). Copy text: Williams, *Poems*, i, 238-41.
- No. 74** (DOP: 1721). Thomas Everard, *Stereometry, or, the art of gauging made sense, by the help of a sliding-rule... The eighth edition carefully corrected* (London: printed for J. Nicholson and Mary Hussey in Little-Britain, B. Tooke at the Temple Gate, R. Wilkin, D. Midwinter, B. Cowse and G. Mortlock, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1721). Printer: unknown. Publishers: (include) Mary Hussey. Refs: *ESTC*: T110168. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW108512334.

**No. 75** (DOP: 1721). Swift, *The Wonderful Wonder of Wonders. Being An Accurate Description of the Birth, Education, Manner of Living, Religion, Politicks, Learning &c. of Mine A-----e. By Dr. Sw-ft. With a Preface, and some Notes, Explaining the most difficult Passages ----- The Second Edition.* (London: Printed from the Original Copy from Dublin, and Sold by T. Bickerton, at the Crown in Pater-Noster-Row. 1721. Printer: unknown. Publisher: T. Bickerton. ESTC: T106319; T-S 398 (item 906); *PW*, ix, xviii; Ferguson, 68, 72, n.60, n.80; Oakleaf, 164. Copy text: ECCO: CW110712433.

**No. 76** (DOP: Before 22nd August 1723). James Maculla, *Ireland's Consternation in the loosing of Two Hundred Thousand Pound of their Gold and Silver for Brass Money. Set forth by an Artificer in Metals and a Citizen of Dublin Shewing the fatal Consequence of Coining in another Kingdom Three Hundred Tun Weight of Copper Half-pence, amounting to the Damage of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterl. To this Nation, and the Continuance of the same for Fourteen Years* (No imprint). Printer: Unknown. Refs: ESTC: T167002; *DL*, xviii-xx, 352 – 353; Teerink 1937, 353 (item 1097); Wagner 15 – 16 (item 38); Baltes, 115; Larschan, 38. Copy text: ECCO: CB127083803.

**No. 77** (DOP: August 1723). James Maculla, *Ireland's Case Humbly presented to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, by an Artificer in Metals and a Citizen of Dublin, shewing why Two Hundred Thousand Pounds of light Copper Half-pence should not pass in this Kingdom for the Gold and Silver of the Nation* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N49129; *DL*, 353-4; Teerink 1937, 353 (item 1098); Baltes, 116. Copy text: Reprinted within *Pattentee's Computation* (A4, 78: ECCO: CW107775590).

**No. 78** (DOP: December 1723–January 1724; date from: Wagner, 17 (item 40)). Pseudonyms: A.B & C.D (unknown). Possible author: James Maculla, *The Pattentee's Computation of Ireland: In a Letter from the author of the Whitehall Evening-Post concerning the Making of Copper-Coin: as also the Case and Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, together with His Majesty's Most Gracious Answer to the House of Lords Address* (Dublin: Printed by John Whalley in Arundel-Court just without St. Nicholas Gate 1723). Printer: John Whalley. Refs: ESTC: N038451; *DL*, 354; Teerink 1937, 353 (item 1101); Baltes, 123-5. Copy text: ECCO: CW107775590.

**No. 79** (DOP: December 1723–January 1724). Unknown, *A Creed for An Irish Commoner* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N48985; Monck Mason, 339 note c; *DL*, xxi, 354–355; Teerink 1937, 353 (item 1102); Baltes, 125 – 127; Larschan, 61 – 66. Copy text: Cambridge University Trinity College: Rothschild 2349; Monck Mason quotes a part: 339 note c.

**No. 80** (DOP: February 1723). Pseudonym: Cato. (Author: unknown), *SERIOUS and Cleanly Meditations on a House of Office; by CATO for the good of his Country, Dedicated to the Goldfinders of Great Britain. To which is added, The Bog-house, a Poem, in Imitation of Milton.* (London: printed for A. Moor near St. Paul's, MDCCXXIII. Printer: 'A. Moor.' Refs: ESTC: N21215. Copy text: ECCO: CW117134594.

**No. 81** (DOP: 1723). Unknown, *The History of the Popish clergy: or, the Case of the Laity. With some Queries* (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year, 1723). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T123997. Copy text: ECCO: CW117532269.

**No. 82** (DOP: 1723). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *Jove's Ramble: A tale Shewing how the Moon was made of a Green Cheese* (DUBLIN: Printed in Big Ship-street. 1723). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T188413; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 171-2; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1102. Copy text: ECCO: CB126386776.

**No. 83** (DOP: 1723). Author: Viscount Robert Molesworth, *Some Considerations for the promoting of agriculture, and employing the poor* (DUBLIN: Printed by George Grierson, at the Two Bibles in Essex-Street, MDCCXXIII). Printer: George Grierson. Refs: ESTC: T125289. Copy text: ECCO: CW107252384.

**No. 84** (DOP: January 1724; date from title). Unknown, *An elegy on Dr. John Whalley, who departed the 17<sup>th</sup> of this inst. Jan. 1724* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N72427/N48968; T-S 262 (item 1647); Foxon S834.

**No. 85** (DOP: April 1724). Pseudonym: Hibernicus (unknown), *A Letter to William Woods, Esq; From his Only friend in Ireland. To William Woods, Esq; — At his Copper-Works at Bristol, or elsewhere (Signed) Your real Friend, and Humble Servant, Hibernicus* (Printed by J. Carson in Coghill's Court in Dame's-Street 1724). Printer: James Carson. Refs: ESTC: N60659; Teerink 1937, 354 (item 1105); Hanson, 3357; DL, 356; Baltes, 144; Larschan, 144 – 147, 178. Copy text: Walter Scott, vii, 73.

**No. 86** (DOP: April–May 1724; date from the work). E. Southwell, *A Letter from Dublin, to William Wood, Esquire* (Printed in the Year 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T206718; DL, 355; Teerink 1937, 354 (item 1104); Wagner. Copy text: ECCO: CW106557253.

**No. 87** (DOP: April–October 1724). Unknown, *Advice To The Roman Catholicks of Ireland. Concerning Wood's Halfpence* (Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXIV). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T167835; Wagner 22 (item 58); DL, 366; Baltes 186 & n.197. Copy text: ECCO: CB127232217.

**No. 88** (DOP: April–October 1724). Pseudonym: Cato Ultonensis. Author: unknown, *A Word of Advice: Or, A Friendly Caution To the Collectors of Ireland, In Relation to Wood's Brass-Money* (Dublin: Printed by William Wilmot, on the Blind-Key, 1724). Printer: William Wilmot. Refs: ESTC: T194730; Wagner 22-3 (item 60); DL, 357; Teerink 1937, 354 (item 1107); Baltes, 156; Larschan, 151 – 152. Copy text: ECCO: CB129544514.

**No. 89** (DOP: April–October 1724). Unknown, *The Soldier's Plea: against Receiving Mr. Wood's Brass-Money* (Dublin: Printed by W. Wilmot. M.DCC.XXIV). Printer: William Wilmot. Refs: ESTC: T209697; Wagner 23 (item 61); DL, 357 – 358; Teerink 1937, 354 (item 1108); Hanson, 3369; Baltes, 158; Larschan, 132 – 135. Copy text: ECCO: CB127335950.

**No. 90** (DOP: April–October 1724). Unknown, *An Excellent New Song Made by a Lover of his Country against Wood's Brass Halfpence. To the Tune of, We have Catcht you in the Nick* (Dublin, 1724). Printer: Unknown. Refs: ESTC: Not on ESTC; Baltes, 184 & n.190.

**No. 91** (DOP: Late July 1724). The Committee of the Privy Council of England, *The Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, in Relation to Mr. Wood's Halfpence, &c* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T131706; PW, x, 191 – 203. Copy text: ECCO: CW105687447.

**No. 92** (DOP: May–August 1724). Sir Michael Creagh, *Remarks Upon Mr. Wood's Coyne and Proceedings. Salus Populi, Suprema lex est. By Sir Michael Creagh* (Dublin: Printed by William Wilmot on the Blind-Key, 1724). Printer: William Wilmot. Refs: ESTC: T169027; DL, 360; Wagner, 22 (item 59). Copy text: ECCO: CB130266149.

**No. 93** (DOP: 15 August 1724). Swift, *An Answer To Mr. Wood's Proposal, Relating to his Copper half Pence: In Which the Pernicious, and Ruinous Consequence, of their being Received, and Passing, in this Kingdom, is clearly Stated. In a Letter to Mr Harding.* (Limerick: Printed and sold by S. Terry... Where may be had the said Author's Letter to the Shop-keepers). Printer: S. Terry. Refs: ESTC: T191522; T-S 317 (item 640). Copy text: ECCO: CB127283060.

**No. 94** (DOP: August–September 1724; date from DL, 367). Unknown, *A True Character Of The Wooden Monster Arch Enemy to Ireland. By no Friend to William Wood* (Dublin: Printed by R. Dickson opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, 1724). Printer: Richard Dickson. Refs: ESTC: N478199; Baltes, 192 & n.219. Copy text: Forster.

**No. 95** (DOP: August–September 1724; date from DL, 378). Samuel Owens, *Remarks Upon the Report of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, in Relation to Wood's Halfpence.* By Samuel Owens, *Lock-smith* (Printed in the Year, MDCCXXIV). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T198633; Foxon O260; Teerink 1937, 359 (item 1165); Baltes, 180; Larschan, 147 – 148. Copy text: Cambridge University Library: Hib.3.730.1/39.

**No. 96** (DOP: August–September 1724; date from: Wagner, DL, 364-5). Author: unknown. Possible Authors: Daniel Defoe or Barnham Goode, *Some farther Account Of The Original Disputes in Ireland About Farthings and Halfpence. In a Discourse With A Quaker of Dublin* (Printed in the Year 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T56979; Hanson, 3371; Wagner, 21 (item 54); Moore, 467; DL, 364 – 365; Baltes, 203 and note 239; Ryder, "Defoe, Goode and Wood's Halfpence", *Notes & Queries* n.s., 30 (1983), 22 – 23. Copy text: ECCO: CW102157550.

**No. 97** (DOP: September 1724; date from DL, 361). Unknown, *An Apology for Mr. Wood, &c. Address'd to all true Lovers of their Country* (Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: ESTC: N478214; Baltes, 194 – 195. Copy text: Yale.

**No. 98** (DOP: September 1724; date from DL, 375). Unknown, *An excellent New Song Upon the Declarations of the several Corporations of the City of Dublin against Wood's Halfpence. To the Tune of London is a fine Town &c* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N48143; Foxon E593; Teerink, 1937, 358 (item 1149); Baltes, 189. Copy text: Walter Scott, x, 486.

**No. 99** (DOP: September 1724; date from DL, 360-1). Captain Fleming, *An Express from Elisium to the once Revd. Dr. M-gee, Couple-Beggar: Shewing the Only Way for W. Wood to Gain the Hearts of the Unjustly Irritated Hibernians, and Make them Receive, without Reluctancy: the Brass-Coin. With Advice how to Manage (and some Observations on) M.B. Drapier. Written by the late Famous Captain Fleming* (Dublin: printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T87128; Wagner 24 (item 71); Teerink, 1937, 355 (item 1120); Baltes, 189 – 190. Copy text: BL: C.133.g.7(11).

**No. 100** (DOP: September 1724). Unknown, *The Funeral of Wood's Halfpence. A Sermon Preach'd against Coining of Base Money. By a Divine of the Church of England* (Dublin: Printed by J. Carson, in Cog-hill's Court, Dames-Street, 1724). Printer: James Carson. Refs: not on ESTC; Wagner 24 (item 69); DL, 366; Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1130); DL, 366, Baltes, 202. Copy text: UCD: Hib.8.724 (7).

**No. 101** (DOP: September 1724; date from the work). Member of the Irish Parliament (unknown). Possible Author: Thomas Brodrick, *A Letter To The Lord C-----t, In Answer to some Arguments lately advanced in Favour of Mr Wood's Copper Money. By a Member of the Irish Parliament* (Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, for George Ewin, Bookseller, at the Sign of the Angel and Bible in Dames-Street, over against the Castle-Market, 1724). Printer: Samuel Powell. Publisher: George Ewin. Refs: *ESTC*: T195210; Wagner 21 (item 56); *DL*, 359-60; Teerink 1937, 355 (item 1114); Baltes, 168; Larschan 161, 195 – 196. Copy text: ECCO: CB126814817.

**No. 102** (DOP: September 1724; cf: *DL*, 373). Unknown, *A New Dialogue Between Two Beggars Upon the Passing of Wood's Coin. By M.B* (Dublin: Printed, by G.N. in Crane-Lane, 1724). Printer: Gwyn Needham. Refs: *ESTC*: T206015; Wagner 20 (item52); Baltes 128 (& n. 79) and 129. Copy text: ECCO: CB126339001.

**No. 103** (DOP: September 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *The Present State of Ireland Consider'd: In a Letter to The Revd Dean Swift. By a True Patriot* (Printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T217018; *DC*, 17 October 1724; Hanson, 3359; Wagner 25 (item 73); *DL*, 363; Baltes, 208 & n.250; Larschan, 199 – 200, 210, 230 – 231; Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, iii, 250 n. 2; Munter, *HINP*, 148–149; 14 December 1724, Swift to John Harding: DW Letter 632 bis, note 2, vol. ii, 536. Copy text: ECCO: CB127823106.

**No. 104** (DOP: September 1724). David Bindon, *Some Considerations on the Attempts Made to Pass Mr Wood's Brass-Money in Ireland. By a Lover of his Country* (Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: *ESTC*: T155344; Wagner 20 (item 49); Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1126); *DL*, 364; Baltes 171 – 172. Copy text: TCD: Press A.7.6a, no. 21.

**No. 105** (DOP: September 1724). Unknown, *Wood's Confession to the Mob of the City of Dublin* (Dublin: Printed by C.G. 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: not on *ESTC*; *DL*, 362; Teerink 1937, 355 (item 1123); Baltes, 188. Copy text: Walter Scott, vii, 301.

**No. 106** (DOP: September 1724). Unknown, *Wood's Plot Discover'd by a Member of His society; With His Apology to his Country-Men* (Dublin: Printed by G.N. opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, MDCCXXIV). Printer: Gwyn Needham. Refs: *ESTC*: T71494.

**No. 107** (DOP: October 1724; date from *DL*, 375). Unknown, *Epigram on Wood's Brass-Money* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: not on *ESTC*; Teerink 1937, 358 (item 1150); Baltes, note 267.

**No. 108** (DOP: October 1724; date from *DL*, 367). Unknown, *A Short Defence of the People of Ireland, Occasion'd by the View of a Letter from Mr Wood, To one of the Managers of his Copper Halfpence in Bristol* (Bristol: Printed, and Re-printed in Dublin by Pressick Rider, and Thomas Harbin, in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: *ESTC*: T175295; *A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*, 1724 (A2, 57); *DL*, 367; Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1133); Wagner 22 (item 57); Baltes, 206-8. Copy text: ECCO: CB130266250.

**No. 109** (DOP: October 1724; date from: *DG*, 30 September 1724). David Bindon, *Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for Continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage. By the Author of the Considerations* (Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXIV). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Evidence for Printing: Needhams' *Postman* for 30 September 1724. Refs: *ESTC*: T69228; Wagner 20 (item 50); Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1127); *DL*, 364.

**No. 110** (DOP: October 1724). Pseudonym: M.B. Author: unknown, *To The Citizens* (DUBLIN, Printed by G. Needham, 1724). Printer: Gwyn Needham. Refs: not on ESTC; DL, 375; Teerink 1937, 358 (item 1145); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1110; Baltes, 229 & n.295; Larschan, 256.

**No. 111** (DOP: 21-28 November. 1724; date from DL, 379). Unknown, *A New Poem Ascrib'd to the Honourable the Gentlemen of the Late Grand-Jury* (Printed by G. Needham in Crane-Lane). Printer: Gwyn Needham. Refs: ESTC: T5239; Teerink 1937, 359 (item 1169); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1110-1; Baltes, 248; Larschan 255, 298. Copy text: TCD: Press A.7.6a. no.16.

**No. 112** (DOP: 23 November 1724). Author: N/A, *An Extract out of a Book, Entituled, an exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons held at Westminster, October 21. 1680. Pag.150* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T214755; DL, lxxxvii; 27 November 1724, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 630 note 8; vol. ii, 532-3; PW, x, 73. Copy text: ECCO: CB126902874.

**No. 113** (DOP: Late November 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift, *An Excellent New Song Upon the Late Grand Jury* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T5258; DL, 376. Copy text: Walter Scott, i, 581.

**No. 114** (DOP: November 1724; date from subtitle). Unknown, *An Express from Parnassus: To the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N8469; Baltes, 280. Copy text: ECCO: CW111154314.

**No. 115** (DOP: November. 1724). Swift, *Seasonable Advice. Since a Bill is preparing for the Grand-Jury, to find against the Printer of the Drapier's last Letter, there are several things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before whom this Bill is to come, before they determine upon it.* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N21446. Copy text: ECCO: CW104723886.

**No. 116** (DOP: November–December 1724; date from DL, 367-8, Baltes, 232). Unknown, *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland, In their Unanimous Refusal of Mr Wood's Copper-Money. Wherein all the Arguments advanced in Favour of it, are particularly considered* (Dublin: Printed for George Ewing, at the Angel and Bible in Dames-Street, MDCCXXIV). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: George Faulkner. Evidence for Printing: Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198. Publisher: George Ewing. Refs: ESTC: T18215; Teerink 1937, 356 (item 1134); Wagner: 20 (item 51). Copy text: CW104488385.

**No. 117** (DOP: November–December 1724; date from DL, 378). Pseudonym: Hibernicus. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *The Fifth and Last Letter to the People of Ireland In Reference to Wood and his Brass* (Printed in the Year Mdcclxxiv). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T71492; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1135); Baltes, 230 – 231. Copy text: ECCO: CB130427796.

**No. 118** (DOP: November–December 1724; the date on the imprint is 1727 but Davis is right in saying it should be 1724 as it concerns Wood's coin (DL, 380). Unknown, *Mr. Woods to all the People of Ireland* (Printed in the Year, 1727). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N4452. Copy text: DL, 380 – 381.

**No. 119** (DOP: 1 December 1724). Swift, *The Presentment of the Grand-Jury of the County of the City of Dublin* (DUBLIN: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post Office Printing House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: ESTC: T178552; Hanson, 3360; T-S 321 (item 650); 27 November 1724, Swift to Charles Ford: DW Letter 630, note 8, vol. ii, 532 – 533. Copy text: ECCO: CB126400917.

**No. 120** (DOP: 1-7 December 1724; date from Baltes, 249). Unknown, *An Excellent New Ballad Upon the Present Grnd Jury* [sic] (Dublin: printed, in the year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N70317; Teerink 1937, 358 (item 1156); Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1110. Copy text: Cambridge University Trinity College: Rothschild 2345.

**No. 121** (DOP: 1-7 December 1724). Pseudonym: N.N. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Robert Lindsay or St. John Brodrick, *A Letter from a Friend To the Right Honourable —* (Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: ESTC: T160450; T-S 321 (item 1137); DL, 368 – 369; 30 January 1725, Swift to Knightley Chetwode: DW Letter 638 notes 2 and 3; vol. ii, 544; Williams, *Correspondence*, iii, 50, n.1; Larschan 297. Copy text: ECCO: CB126400914; PW, x, 157 – 162.

**No. 122** (DOP: December 1724). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Mr. Witheral, *The Drapier Anatomiz'd: A Song. A new Song Sung at the Club at Mr Taplin's, The Sign of the Drapier's Head in Truck-Street. To the Tune of the Apprentices Song in Massonary.* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, M DCCXXIV). Printer: unknown.. Refs: ESTC: T5262; Foxon D428; DL, 382; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1176); Baltes, 278; Larschan 256. Copy text: TCD.

**No. 123** (DOP: December 1724). Pseudonym: O.O. Author: unknown. *A Letter From the Right Hon. — To the Reverend N.N* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: ESTC: T195442; DL, 369; Baltes, n.329; Larschan, 297. Copy text: ECCO: CB130829874.

**No. 124** (DOP: December 1724). Unknown, *A Letter from a Young Lady to the Rev D—n S—t* (Printed in the Year 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N19701; Baltes, 253 & n.348; Foxon L123; T-S 408 (item 1626). Copy text: RIA: Haliday Pamph.60. no.2.

**No. 125** (DOP: December 1724; date from DL, 368). Pseudonym: Your Well Wisher. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *The Sixth Letter To The Whole People of Ireland. By an Ancient Patriot* (Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T1988; Wagner 24 (item 67); Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1136); Baltes, 231 & n.299, 264. Copy text: ECCO: CB130427832.

**No. 126** (DOP: 1724). George Farquhar, *The beaux stratagem. A Comedy. The Tenth Edition. By Mr. George Farquhar* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Refs: ESTC: T186212. Copy text: ECCO: CW116035140.

**No. 127** (DOP: 1724). William Tisdall, *Tom Pun-sibi Metamorphosed: or, The Giber Gibb'd* (Dublin: printed in the year, 1724). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T106223. JW, *Intelligencer*, 244. Copy text: as reprinted under the title 'The True Character of the Intelligencer' (A4, 162): JW, *Intelligencer*, 245-7.

**No. 128** (DOP: 1724 or 1725). Unknown, *An Excellent New Song Call'd the Irish-Man's Joy, for the Downfall of Woods and his Brass Half-pence and Farthings. To the Tune of Randel & Barnaby, &c* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N70318; Baltes, 276. Copy text: Yale.

**No. 129** (DOP: January 1725). Pseudonym: M.M. Author: unknown, *Seasonable Advice to M.B. Drapier. Occasioned by his Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T87754; Temple Scott, vi, 168; DL, 293 – 294, 371; Wagner 24; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1140); Baltes n.366; Larschan 266 – 267. Copy text: TCD: Press A.7.6a. no.15.



**No. 130** (DOP: January 1725; date from the work). Pseudonym: N.N. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Robert Lindsay or St. John Brodrick. Contributing Author: Swift (last 16 paras), *A second letter from a friend to the Right Honourable* ----- (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Evidence for Printing: TCD Catalogue speculates John Harding and this is followed by *ESTC* & *ECCO* but more likely Rider & Harbin. Refs: *ESTC*: T47299; T-S 321-2 (item 1137A); *DL*, 369; 30 January 1725, Swift to Knightley Chetowde: DW Letter 638 notes 2 and 3, vol. ii, 544. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW104789895.

**No. 131** (DOP: January–February 1725; date from title and imprint). Davis Burches, M.A., *The case of obedience to humane laws stated: In a sermon preached at the cathedral and metropolitan Church of St. Patrick's, Armagh. On Saturday August, 1st, 1724. Being the anniversary day of... King George's happy accession to the throne...* By David Burches, M.A (Dublin: printed by George Faulkner, for Thomas Thornton, 1725). Printer: George Faulkner. Publisher: Thomas Thornton. Refs: *ESTC*: T186409. Copy text: *ECCO*: CB131681576.

**No. 132** (DOP: January–February 1725). Pseudonym: N.N. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Robert Lindsay or St. John Brodrick, *A Third Letter From --- To the ---* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Evidence for Printing: *ESTC* & *ECCO* speculate Faulkner but more likely Rider & Harbin on strength of Faulkner's barb in the Preface to *Fraud Detected* (A4, 142). Refs: *ESTC*: T50077; *DL*, 369. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW104789899.

**No. 133** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725). Unknown, *The Donore Ballad. Inscib'd to the Praise of the worthy M. B. Drapier. Written on the occasion of putting up his Head in Truck-street* (Dublin: Printed by C. Carter, 1724-5). Printer: Cornelius Carter. Refs: *ESTC*: T34840; *DL*, 383; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1180); Foxon D403; Baltes 278 & n.407. Copy text: Brit Lib: C.121.g.8(38).

**No. 134** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725; date from *DL*, 370). Unknown, *A Letter ascrib'd to the Rt. Honble the Ld C—f J—st—e W—* (Printed in the Year 1724-5). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T87764; *DL*, 370; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1138); Baltes, 244 & n.326. Copy text: BL: C.133.g.7(15).

**No. 135** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725). Swift, *Sphinx: A Poem, Ascribed to Certain Anonymous Authors. By the Rev'd. Dean S—t* (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year 1724-5). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T93715; T-S 254 (item 468); Foxon S910. Copy text: *ECCO*: CW3311383044.

**No. 136** (DOP: 1 January–25 March 1725). Unknown, *Woods Reviv'd, Or A Short Defence Of His Proceedings in Bristol, London &c. In Reference to The Kingdom of Ireland* (Printed in the Year 172-5 [sic]). Printer: unknown. Refs: *ESTC*: T71471; *DL*, 371; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1142); Baltes 268; Larschan 267-8. Copy text: *ECCO*: CB130427782.

**No. 137** (DOP: February 1725). Pseudonym: N.N. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Robert Lindsay or St. John Brodrick, *Fourth Letter To the Right Honourable ---* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Evidence for Printing: *ESTC* & *ECCO* speculate Faulkner but more likely Rider & Harbin on strength of Faulkner's barb in the Preface to *Fraud Detected* (A4, 142). Refs: *ESTC*: T40122; *DL*, 369 – 370; Baltes, n.330; Larschan 299; *ECCO* has an error –it has put up the 2nd *Letter* under the title of the fourth. Copy text: Matheson Library Microfilm: 5154 reel 5513, no.12.

**No. 138** (DOP: February 1725). Pseudonym: M.S., L.L.D (unknown), *Seasonable Advice; or, an Infallible Guide to Grand and Petty Juries. Setting forth the antiquity of their original, ... Collected from the common-law, statutes, &c. The fourth edition, newly revis'd, corrected, and amended with additions.* By M.S., L.L.D (Dublin: printed and sold by Richard Dickson, 1725). Printer: Richard Dickson. Refs: ESTC: T214492. Copy text: RIA: Haliday 67, no. 4.

**No. 139** (DOP: 21-24 April 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan or Swift, *Elegy on The Much-Lamented Death of John Harding Printer, who departed this Transitory Life, this present Monday being the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Instant April 1725* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T403; Foxon E143; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 417; iii, 1109. Copy text: ECCO: CW3310395553.

**No. 140** (DOP: April–October 1725). William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* (Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, for Pat. Dugan, Bookseller, on Cork Hill, 1725). Printer: Pressick Rider & Thomas Harbin. Publisher: Pat. Dugan. Refs: ESTC: T97127. Copy text: ECCO: CW123698496.

**No. 141** (DOP: September 1725; date from Teerink (1937), 360 (item 1173)). Unknown, *The Death and Burial of the New-Coin'd Half-Pence* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N483380. Copy text: Cambridge University Trinity College.

**No. 142** (DOP: 1-2 October 1725). Swift, *Fraud Detected: Or, The Hibernian Patriot. Containing all the Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland, on Wood's Coinage, &c. Interspers'd with the following Particulars, viz. I. The Addresses of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, against Wood's Coin. II. His Majesty's Answer to the said Addresses. III. The Report of his Majesty's most honourable privy Council. IV. Seasonable advice to the Grand Jury. V. Extract of the Votes of the House of Commons of England, upon breaking a Grand Jury. VI. Considerations on the Attempts, made to pass Wood's Coin. VII. Reasons, shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, to refuse Wood's Coinage. To which are added, Prometheus. A Poem. Also a new Poem to the Drapier: and the Songs Sung at the Drapier's Club in Truck Street, Dublin, never before printed. With a Preface, explaining the Usefulness of the Whole* (Dublin: Re-printed and Sold by George Faulkner in Pembroke-Court, Castle-street, 1725). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T1864; T-S 322 (item 21); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 198. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304002096.

**No. 143** (DOP: October 1725). Author: "A Member of the [Drapier's] Club" (unknown), *A Congratulatory Poem on Dean Swift's Return to Town. By a Member of the Club, held at Mr. Taplin's in Truck-Street, Oct. 7th 1725* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1725). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: George Faulkner. Evidence for Printing: DL, 383. Refs: ESTC: T5267. Copy text: B.M.

**No. 144** (DOP: October 1725). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *The Last Speech of Wisdom's Defeat, &c: A Scandalous Libel, Burnt this Second Day of October, 1725 by the Common Hangman* (Printed by W.P. in Skinnerrow, 1725). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T37578; Foxon L59; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1117; Baltes, 275 note 396. Copy text: BL. 1890.e.5(199).

**No. 145** (DOP: October 1725 (possibly whilst Sarah Harding in prison)). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Swift or Sheridan, *To Richard Helsingham, M. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: printed on the Blind-Key, 1725). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Elizabeth Sadlier. Evidence for Printing: ESTC attributes it to Elizabeth Sadlier. Refs: ESTC: T210990.

**No. 146** (DOP: 1725). Swift & Delany, *The Birth of Manly Virtue from Callimachus* (Dublin: Printed by and for George Grierson, at the Two Bibles in Essex-Street. M,DCC,XXV). Printer: George Grierson. Publisher: George Grierson. Evidence for Printing: Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 194-5. Refs: ESTC: T115466; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 308 – 312; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 381 – 388; Rogers, 23; T-S 323 – 324 (items 653A and 653). Copy text: ECCO: CW115469056.

**No. 147** (DOP: 1725). John Browne, *The Case of John Browne Esq* (London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXV). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T216787; Wagner 26 – 27 (item 79); DL, 372. Copy text: RIA: Haliday Pamph. 64, no.3.

**No. 148** (DOP: 1725). John Browne, *The Case of John Browne Esq; in answer to a libel, intituled, Observations upon the report of the Committee of Council in England, relating to Wood's half-pence*. By M.B. Drapier (London: printed for L. Lawler, at the Hat and Feather in St. Martin's Lane, near the Church, 1725). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N71075; DL, 372 – 373; Hanson, 3485; Teerink 1937, 357 (item 1144). Copy text: ECCO: CB127948987.

**No. 149** (DOP: 1725). Unknown, *The case of prisoners for debt considered* (Dublin: printed and sold by George Faulkner, in Pembroke-Court, Castle-Street, 1725). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T186406; Hanson, 3538. Copy text: ECCO: CB127330938.

**No. 150** (DOP: 1725). Unknown, *Enquiries into the principal causes of the general poverty of the common people of Ireland. With remedies propos'd for removing of them* (Dublin: printed and sold by George Faulkner, 1725). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T154419. Copy text: ECCO: CB126401084.

**No. 151** (DOP: 1725). Unknown, *A Second song, Sung at the Club at Mr. Taplin's The sign of the Drapier's-Head in Truck-Street* (Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXV). Printer: unknown. Refs: not on ESTC; *Fraud Detected* (A4, 142), 218 – 219; DL, 382; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1177); Baltes 278.

**No. 152** (DOP: 1725). Mr Shippen, *Tyburn's Courteous Invitation to William Wood, Esq; Written by Mr. Shippen. Wood's Melancholy Complaint Written by Sir R—d S—le* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T5284; DL, 379 – 380; Teerink 1937, 360 (item 1171). Copy text: BL: C.121.g.8(120).

**No. 153** (DOP: March–May 1726). Swift, *Cadenus and Vanessa. A Poem* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 2726 [sic]). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Samuel Fairbrother. Refs: ESTC: T138376; T-S 324 (item 657); Williams, *Poems*, i, xvi, xxii; ii, 683 – 714; Rogers, 130 – 153, 658 – 663. Copy text: ECCO: CW112364190.

**No. 154** (DOP: March–May 1726). Swift, *Cadenus and Vanessa. A Poem. The Second Edition* (Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1726). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Samuel Fairbrother. Refs: ESTC: T1819; T-S 325 (item 657); Williams, *Poems*, i, xvi, xxii; ii, 683 – 714; Rogers, 130 – 153, 658 – 663. Copy text: ECCO: CW115908360.

**No. 155** (DOP: August 1726; date from DJ, 28 July 1726). Unknown, *The most Wonderful Wonder that ever appear'd to the Wonder of the British Nation. Being an Account of the Travels of Myrnbeer Veteranus. thro, the Woods of germany: And an Account of his taking a most Monstrous She Bear, who had Nurs'd up the Wild-Boy: Their Landing at the Tower; Their Reception at Court; The Daily Visits they receive from Multi[...] of all banks and Orders of both Sexes. With a Dialogue between the Old she Bear and her Foster-Son. To which is Added, Firi Humani Salfi, & Faceri GULIELMI SUTHERLANDI, Maliarum Artium & Scientiarum, Doctoris Doctissimus, Diploma Written by the Reverend Dean Swift* (Dublin: Re-printed by George Faulkner in Pembroke Court Castlestreet). Printer: George Faulkner (James Hoey). Refs: ESTC: N483364; Faulkner's *Dublin Post-Boy*, 28 July 1726; 10 May 1726, Thomas Tickell to Swift: DW Letter 693 note 2, vol. ii, 647. Copy text: Cambridge University Library.

**No. 156** (DOP: 1-3 December 1726; date from: *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 26 November 1726). Swift, *Travels Into several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver. First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships* (Printed for G. Risk, G. Ewing and W. Smith in Dame-street, MDCCXXVII). Printer: unknown. Publishers: George Risk, George Ewing and William. Smith Refs: ESTC: T1862; T-S 204 – 206 (items 298 & 299). Copy text: ECCO: CW109105570.

**No. 157** (DOP: December 1726). Swift, *Travels Into several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver. First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships* (Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Book-seller in Dames's Street, 1726). Printer: John Hyde. Publisher: John Hyde. Refs: ESTC: T176643; T-S 204 (item 297); Pollard, *Dictionary*, 305; David Woolley, 'Swift's Copy of Gulliver's Travels: The Armagh Gulliver, Hyde's Edition, and Swift's Earliest Corrections', in *The Art of Jonathan Swift*, Clive T. Probyn, ed., London, 1978; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 22; *Cambridge Swift Vol. 16*, lxxxiv, 640 – 641, 727 – 729. Copy text: ECCO: CW3316394246.

**No. 158** (DOP: 1726). Pseudonym: A.R. Hosier. Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sarah Harding, *A POEM to the Whole People of IRELAND, Relating to M. B. DRAPIER* (Printed on the Blind-Key, by Elizabeth Sadlier, 1726). Printer: Elizabeth Sadlier. Refs: ESTC: T202777. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326899681.

**No. 159** (DOP: 1726). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Sheridan, *True and Faithful Inventory: A letter sir there having been some editions of Dean Swift's Cadenus and Vanessa publish'd before the following little copy was added to it; you are desired to give it the publick in a single paper,... A true and faithful inventory of the goods belonging to D. Sw-t, Vicar of Lara Cor; upon lending his house to the Bishop of M-, till his own was built* (None). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Fairborthor or Faulkner. Evidence for Printing: ESTC speculates Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T202833; Foxon S419; T-S 326 (item 931). Copy text: *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 2 July 1726.

**No. 160** (DOP: 1726). Swift, *A Tale of A Tub* (7<sup>th</sup> ed.) (Printed by A. Rhames for W. Smith at the Hercules in Dame street). Printer: Aaron Rhames. Publisher: W. Smith. Refs: ESTC: N13653; T-S 169 – 170 (item 232). Copy text: ECCO: CW116085099.

**No. 161** (DOP: 1726). Unknown, *A young Lady's Complaint for the Stay of Dean Swift in England* (Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Pembroke-Court Castle-street. 1726). Printer: George Faulkner (James Hoey). Refs: ESTC: T232129; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 245 – 246; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1128; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 228; T-S 410 (item 655). Copy text: ECCO: CB3330484594.

**No. 162** (DOP: January 1727). Marquis of Pozzo Bueno, *Memorial of the Marquis of Pozzo Bueno, addressed to the principal Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, dated December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1726* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T214914; Madden, i, 262. Copy text: ECCO: CB130484540.

**No. 163** (DOP: May 1727). Tulley Slevin, John Dempsy, Patrick Murphy, *Last speeches and dying words of Tulley Slevin, John Dempsy, and Patrick Murphy, who is to be hanged drawn and quartered at St. Stephens Green for coining gold this present Wednesday being 3d of May 1727* (Dublin: Printed by E. Sadleir on the Blind Key, 1727). Printer: Elizabeth Sadlier. Refs: ESTC: T232240; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 506. Copy text: ECCO: CB131320782.

**No. 164** (DOP: August–September 1727). Unknown, *Elegy on the much lamented death of the right honourable William Whitshead, Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of common-pleas, who departed this life at his country seat of Stormonstown, on Saturday the 26th of the instant August 1727* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T232210; Foxon E278. Copy text: ECCO: CB126899702.

**No. 165** (DOP: September–October 1727: seemingly the first pamphlet on the election). Pseudonym: F.J. Author: unknown), *The Case of the City of Dublin stated, and Humbly presented to the consideration of all Freeholders, and lovers of their country* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: not on ESTC; DL, 328. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.4/217.

**No. 166** (DOP: October 1727; cf. ESTC: "1714"—too early). Pseudonym: Publicola. Author: unknown, *An Appeal to the Citizens of Dublin in behalf of His Majesty, Several of our Chiefs, and One of our Worthy Candidates, Against the Scandalous Insinuations contained in an abusive LIBEL upon them, Intituled Advice to the Electors, &c. &c. In a Letter from an Eminent Gentleman to a Friend* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T191227; DL, 343. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.4/175.

**No. 167** (DOP: October 1727). Pseudonym: R.V. Author: unknown. Possible Author: William Howard, *A Commendatory POEM to the Honourable City of DUBLIN, in the behalf of William Howard; Anno 1727. By R.V.* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T232199; DL, 331–2. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326899707.

**No. 168** (DOP: October 1727). Society of Weavers, *A Congratulatory SPEECH. Of the Loyal and Charitable Society of Woollen Broad-Cloath-Waervers, in Honour to the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, upon his safe Arrival in this Kingdom, Spoken to his Reverence by William Beed, Clerk of the Said Society, the Fourth Day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-Seven* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T202790; T-S 410 (item 1278); DL, 323–324. Copy text: ECCO: CB126899704.

**No. 169** (DOP: October 1727). Pseudonym: M.B. Author: unknown, ... *CRISIS. Being the State of the city at this present Juncture. In a Letter from a Gentleman, to his Friend in the Country* (None). Printer: Unknown. Refs: ESTC: Not on ESTC; DL, 343–344; (In the only surviving copy the top has been cut in a way that omits the word or words in the title preceding "CRISIS").

**No. 170** (DOP: October 1727; cf. ESTC: "1730"—incorrect). Pseudonym: M [cut off - probably intended to be M.B.] Author: unknown,... *CRISIS OR THE LAST STAKE: Being Impartial ADVICE to the Citizens of Dublin, on the Election &c* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T200331. Copy text: ECCO: CB330986611 (the top has been cut in a way that omits the word or words in the title preceding "CRISIS").

**No. 171** (DOP: October 1727). Unknown, *THE DRAPIER DISSECTED. An Address to the Protestant Freeholders, Freemen &c. of the Church of Ireland, Containing, A brief defence of the Dissenters of Dublin from the Opprobrious Calumnies thrown on them by the author of A late Letter Address'd to the Freeholders and Freemen of the City, concerning the Present Election &c. &c.* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T202767; DL, 338-9. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.4/176.

**No. 172** (DOP: October 1727). Unknown, *Guliver's [sic] Letter to the Tholsel concerning the present Election* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T232215; DL, 332. Copy text: ECCO: CB126899695.

**No. 173** (DOP: October 1727). Unknown, *Seasonable Reflections Address'd to the Citizens of Dublin, by Capt. Gulliver* (London: printed, and Dublin re-printed by George Faulkner, 1727). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T224535; T-S 246 (item 1231); DL, 332 – 336. Copy text: ECCO: CB130986636.

**No. 174** (DOP: November 1727). Unknown, *The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Election of the City of Dublin, Ended November the 1st. 1727* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T232192; DL, 326 – 327. Copy text: ECCO: CB330986637.

**No. 175** (DOP: 1727). Thomas Everard, *Stereometry, or, the art of gauging made sense, by the help of a sliding-rule... The ninth edition carefully corrected* (London: printed for Mary Hussey in Little-Britain, R. Wilkin, D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth, B. Motte, and J. Lacy, MDCCXXVII). Printer: unknown. Publisher: Mary Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T109354. Copy text: ECCO: CW108353906.

**No. 176** (DOP: 1-10 January 1728 (before by-election held on 11 January 1728)). Unknown, *Seasonable Queries propos'd to the Consideration of the Citizens of D——n, relating to the Approaching Election* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T172649; DL, 346-7. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.4. no. 174.

**No. 177** (DOP: January 1728 (following the death of Howard on 30 December 1727)). Unknown, *The Black Procession, or a description C———r H———d's funeral* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T212238; DL, 346. Copy text: ECCO: CB130484584.

**No. 178** (DOP: January 1728 (following the death of Howard on 30 December 1727)). Unknown, *Elegy and Epitaph in Verse* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: not on ESTC; DL, 346. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.4 no. 231.

**No. 179** (DOP: March 1728). Author: unknown. Possible Author: John Browne, *To the R——d Dr. J——n S——t, The Memorial Of the Poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by Thomas Walsh in Skinner Row). Printer: Thomas Walsh. Refs: ESTC: Y1996; T-S 330 (item 665). Copy text: ECCO: CB3326401870.

**No. 180** (DOP: March 1728; date from Ferguson, 146, 189). John Browne, *Seasonable Remarks on Trade. With some Reflections on the advantages that might accrue to Great Britain, by a proper regulation of the trade of Ireland. Wrote in London, but now first publish'd in Dublin, as a Preface to other Essays on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, for George Ewing, at the Angel and Bible in Dame's-Street, MDCCXXVIII). Printer: Samuel Powell. Publisher: George Ewing. Refs: ESTC: T67118. Copy text: ECCO: CW106382828.

**No. 181** (DOP: March–April 1728). Author: unknown. Possible Author: John Browne, *A Letter to the Author of the Short View Of the State of Ireland. By the author of Seasonable Remarks* (Dublin: printed and sold by S. Powell, in Copper Alley, near Cork-Hill, 1728). Printer: Samuel Powell. Refs: ESTC: T1995; T-S: 330 (item 1283); Wagner, 30. Copy text: RIA: Haliday. 81 no. 6.

**No. 182** (DOP: April 1728). Author: unknown. Possible Author: John Browne, *To the R—d Dr. J—n S—t. A reply, to the answer given to the memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed by Thomas Walsh in Skinner Row). Printer: Thomas Walsh. Refs: ESTC: T195782. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326816938.

**No. 183** (DOP: April 1728). Unknown, *W———it's Ghost Appears to the R——d D——n S——t* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T221519; JW, *Intelligencer*, 171; Baltes, “‘The Grandson of that Ass Quin.’ Swift and Chief Justice Whitshed”, *Swift Studies*, 23, (2008), 126–146, 145. Copy text: TCD Press A.7.6 no. 6.

**No. 184** (DOP: July 1728; date from JW, *Intelligencer*, 244). Author: unknown. Possible Author: Delany or William Tisdall, *The True Character of the Intelligencer. Written by Pady Drogheda* (Printed in the year, 1728). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: N48966; T-S 332 (item 1295); Foxon T319. Copy text: JW, *Intelligencer*, 245 – 247.

**No. 185** (DOP: August 1728). Swift & Pope, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse. In Two Volumes. By Jonathan Swift, D.D. And Alexander Pope, Esq; To which is added, A Poem written on the North-Window of the deanery House of St. Patrick's, Dublin. The Second Edition.* (London Printed, and Re-printed in Dublin, By and for Sam. Fairbrother, Bookseller in Skinner-Row, opposite the Tholsel, 1728). Printer: Samuel Fairbrother. Publisher: Samuel Fairbrother. Refs: ESTC: T194050; T-S 21 (item 33). Copy text: ECCO: CW11614996/ CW116150376.

**No. 186** (DOP: October 1728; date from 28 September 1728, Swift to the Rev. John Worrall: DW Letter 823 note 7, vol. iii, 200). Swift, *An Answer to the Balhyspellin Ballad* (Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner in Christ-Church-Yard, 1728). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T14971; Foxon S797; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 204; Williams, *Poems*, ii, 440 – 443; Rogers, 356 – 358, 783 – 785; JW, *Intelligencer*, 136, 217; Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge, 2010, 22; JW, *Skinnibonia*, 331. Copy text: ECCO: CB127345094.

**No. 187** (DOP: November 1728). Jonathan Smedley, *Gulliveriana: Or, A Fourth Volume Of Miscellanies. Being A Sequel of the Three Volumes, published by Pope and Swift. To which is added, Alexanderiana; or, A Comparison between the Ecclesiastical and Poetical Pope. And many Things, in Verse and Prose, relating to the latter. With an ample Preface; and a Critique on the Third Volume of Miscellanies lately publish'd by those two facetious Writers. Sequitur pede, poena, claudio. Hor.* (London: Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. M.DCC.XXVIII). Printer: unknown. Publisher: J. Roberts. Refs: ESTC: T53830; T-S 12-13 (item 32). Copy text: ECCO: CW3312563479.

**No. 188** (DOP: December 1728). Unknown, *The Intelligencer*, Numb. XX (DUBLIN: Printed for the Author. 1728). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Christopher Goulding. Evidence for Printing: Needham and Dickson's *DI*, 31 December 1728. 14 January 1728/9. Refs: ESTC: P2223; Munter, *Hand-List*, 20 (item 109); JW, *Intelligencer*, 261-6. Copy text: University Microfilm, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106, Microfilm 4357, Reel 867.

**No. 189** (DOP: February 1729). Swift, *The Journal of a Dublin Lady. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. The second edition carefully corrected and amended* (Dublin: re-printed by Nicholas Hussey on the Blind-Key, 1729). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T199979; Foxon S864; Browning, W. E., ed., *The Poems of Jonathan Swift D. D.*, London, 2 vols., 1910, i, 172-9; T-S 333 (item 669A). Copy text: ECCO: CB127856062.

**No. 190** (DOP: February–March 1728/9). Unknown, *The Journal of a Dublin Beau. Written by a young lady* (Dublin: printed by Nicholas Hussey, Opposite the Hand and Pen on the Blind-key, 1728-9). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T215115; T-S 336 (item 674); Foxon J102. Copy text: RIA: Haliday 78 no. 4; or 181 no. 10.

- No. 191** (DOP: March 1729). Sheridan & Swift, *The Intelligencer* (Printed at DUBLIN. LONDON Reprinted, and sold by A. Moor in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXIX). Printer: Bowyer & Davis. Refs: ESTC: T135902; T-S 332 (item 34); JW, *Intelligencer*, 289. Copy text: ECCO: CW3313735131.
- No. 192** (DOP: May 1729). Unknown, *Ireland in mourning; or, a funeral elegy on the much lamented death of the Reverend Father in God William King, Lord Archbishop of Dublin,... May, 1729* (Dublin: printed by N. Hussey). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T211638; Foxon 156; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 304. Copy text: ECCO: C132012879.
- No. 193** (DOP: August 1729). Henry Nelson, *A poem in praise of the loyal and charitable Society of Journeymen Taylors, who are to dine at the King's-Inn's this present Monday being the 28th of July, 1729. Written by Henry Nelson* (Dublin: printed by Nicholas Hussey). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T42519; Foxon N29. Copy text: TCD. Press A.7.5 no. 117.
- No. 194** (DOP: August 1729; date from title). Unknown, *A Satyr on the Taylors Procession, July the 28<sup>th</sup>, 1729* (Imprint: unknown). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Harding or Nicholas Hussey. Evidence for Printing: JW, Sarah Harding as Swift's Printer, 173. Refs: ESTC: T213698; Foxon S66. Copy text: ECCO: CB126877835.
- No. 195** (DOP: September 1729; date from title). Alexander Graham & Michael Kearone, *The last speech confession and dying words, of Alexander Graham, and Michael Kearone, who is [sic] to be executed near St. Stephen's Green, this present Saturday, being the 6th of this inst. Sept. 1729, for several robberies committed by them* (Dublin: printed by Nicholas Hussey, 1729). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T213789. Copy text: ECCO: CB130983970.
- No. 196** (DOP: September 1729; cf: ESTC, "1724"). Pseudonym: Brutus. Author: unknown, *The Truth is Out at Last: Recommended to all Freeman and Freeholders* (No imprint). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Aaron Rhames. Refs: ESTC: T177294; DL, 348-9. Copy text: ECCO: CB3327083869.
- No. 197** (DOP: November 1729). Swift, *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of poor people in Ireland, from being a Burden to their parents or country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick* (Dublin, Printed by S. Harding. London, Re-printed; and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-lane, and the Pamphlet-Shops. M.DCC, XXIX). Printer: J. Roberts. Refs: ESTC: T70428; T-S 337 (item 677); JW, *Intelligencer*, 38 & n.14. Copy text: ECCO: CB127709269.
- No. 198** (DOP: 1729; date from: ESTC). Unknown, *God sends meat and the devil sends cooks, or, the scum run over* (London printed, and Dublin re-printed by Nicholas Hussey). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T163034. Copy text: UCD: 5656.
- No. 199** (DOP: 1729). Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary: Containing, the Interpretation and Definition of Words and Terms Used in the Law; and also the Whole Law, and the Practice thereof, Under all the Heads and Titles of the Same* (In the SAVOY: Printed by E. and R. Nutt, and R. Gosling (assigns of E. Sayer, Esq;) for J. and J. Knapton, J. Darby, A. Bettsworth, F. Fayram, W. Mears, J. Pemberton, J. Osborn and T. Longman, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, and A. Ward, MDCCXXIX). Printer: Numerous (as per imprint). Refs: ESTC: T137460. Copy text: ECCO: CW3324389901.
- No. 200** (DOP: February 1730). Joseph Trapp, *Sermon Preach'd before the Rt. Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Friday, January 30, 1729... By Joseph Trapp* (London: printed, and re-printed, by N. Hussey, 1729-30). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T118244; JW, *Intelligencer*, 39 note 15. Copy text: ECCO: CW3321914617.



**No. 201** (DOP: July 1730). Sheridan & Swift, *The Intelligencer*. By the author of *A Tale of a Tub* (London: Printed for Francis Cogan, at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet Street. MDCCXXX). Printer: Bowyer & Davis. Refs: ESTC: T130870; T-S 332 – 333 (item 35); JW, *Intelligencer*, 292-3. Copy text: ECCO: CW113441334.

**No. 202** (DOP: 1730; date from: ESTC). Nicholas Amhurst, *A second Craftsman extraordinary, in a letter, to Caleb D'Anvers* (London printed, and Dublin re-printed by Nicholas Hussey). Printer: Nicholas Hussey. Refs: ESTC: T172756. Copy text: Cambridge University Library, Shelfmark: Hib.8.730.7.

**No. 203** (DOP: 1731). John Creighton and Swift, *Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton*. Written by himself. (Printed in the year, 1731). Printer: unknown. Possible Printer: Sarah Hyde. Evidence of Printing: JW, *Skinnibonia*, 335 and note 71; Refs: ESTC: T113807; T-S 347 (item 707).

**No. 204** (DOP: 1732). Edward Lloyd, *A Description of the City of Dublin in Ireland* (London, printed and sold by the Author, 1732). Printer: Edward Lloyd. Publisher: Edward Lloyd. Refs: ESTC: T81157. Copy text: ECCO: CB3330268826.

**No. 205** (DOP: 1733). John Davis and Thomas Sheridan, *A Poem on the immortality of the soul*. By Sir John Davis. To which is prefixed an essay upon the same subject, by Dr. Thomas Sheridan. Together with historical relations concerning Ireland. By Sir John Davis. (Dublin: Printed by and for S. Hyde and J. Dobson, Booksellers, M,DCC, XXXIII). Printers: Sarah Hyde and Jane Dobson. Publishers: Sarah Hyde and Jane Dobson. Refs: ESTC: T134677; JW, *Skinnibonia*, 335 and note 71.

**No. 206** (DOP: May 1735). Swift, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland In a letter from a gentleman in Dublin, to his friend S.R.W. in London. Wherein is briefly stated, the causes and heads of all our woes*. (Dublin: Printed in the year 1735). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T179270; T-S 310 (item 1583). Copy text: CB130263269.

**No. 207** (DOP: February 1736). Author: Bishop Hort. Contributing Author: Swift, *New Proposal for the Better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille* (Dublin: printed by George Faulkner, 1736). Printer: George Faulkner. Refs: ESTC: T39924; JHCI vol. IV, 211-16; Ball, *Swift's Verse*, 291 – 292; 23 February 1736, Bishop Hort to Swift: DW Letter 1243 and notes, vol. iv, 264 – 265; Walter Scott, vii, 565 – 569; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 822 – 823. Copy text: PW, xiii, 205 – 206.

**No. 208** (DOP: April–May 1736). William Dunkin, *A Curry-Comb of Truth for A Certain Dean: or, The Grub-Street Tribunal* (Dublin: printed by Ebenezer Rider, 1736). Printer: Ebenezer Rider. Refs: ESTC: N1101; Williams, *Poems*, iii, 1137. Copy text: ECCO: CW3305397574.

**No. 209** (DOP: 1737). P. Skelton, *A Dissertation on the Constitution and Effects of a Petty Jury* (DUBLIN: Printed in the Year M, DCC, XXXVII). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T53786. Copy text: ECCO: CW3304165175.

**No. 210** (DOP: 1738). Thomas Everard, *Stereometry, or, the art of gauging made sense, by the help of a sliding-rule... The tenth edition carefully corrected* (London: printed for Mary Hussey, J. Walthoe, R. Wilkin, D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, [and 7 others in London], 1738). Printer: unknown. Publishers: (include) Mary Hussey. Refs: ESTC: N24184.

**No. 211** (DOP: 1745). Unknown, *The Draper's Apparition to G----e F-----r, a new Poem* (Dublin: Printed in the year M.DCCC.XLV). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T202254. Copy text: ECCO: CB3326338948.

**No. 212** (DOP: 1755). Thomas Amory, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain. Interspersed with literary reflexions, and accounts of antiquities and curious things, in several letters.* (London: printed for John Noon, at the White-Hart, near the Poultry, Cheapside, M. DCC. LV). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T074615. Copy text: ECCO: CW102022289.

**No. 213** (DOP: 1756). Free Citizen', *The Office and Power of a Judge in Ireland: and the Respective Effects of that Power, in the Hands of good or bad Men, considered and explained* (Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCLVI). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T83391. Copy text: ECCO: CW104167862.

**No. 214** (DOP: 1761). Gorges Edmond Howard, *Queries Relative to some Defects and Grievances in the current Laws of this Kingdom* (Dublin: printed by Oli. Nelson, at Milton's-Head in Skinner-Row, M,DCC,LXI). Printer: Oliver Nelson. Refs: ESTC: T87717. Copy text: ECCO: CW105929540.

**No. 215** (DOP: 1770). Unknown, *The Snake in a Bosom; A Fable from Phaedrus. Lib. IV. Fab. XVII* (Dublin: Printed in the Year 1770). Printer: unknown. Refs: ESTC: T217529; DL, 201-2. Copy text: RIA: Haliday 356 no. 1.