Among the mass of papers from the collection of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi acquired by the John Rylands Library in January 1931 there was a small packet of manuscripts having to do with Jonathan Swift and his friends. The outside cover carried the somewhat misleading comment in the handwriting of Mrs. Piozzi, "Original Letters from Dean Swift & Lord Orrery". Another note was made long afterwards in pencil, now almost obliterated. It is headed, "21 Sep. 1880", and was presumably written by the Rev. Augustus Salusbury, the son of Mrs. Piozzi's heir, Sir John Salusbury: "Nothing of the Kind | now there is 1 Letter from | Lady Orrery none from Lord | the rest are unsigned | there is no proof that they | are in the Dean's hand | writing—besides they are | not letters only scraps."  

As will be shown later, the packet did originally contain at least two letters from Lord Orrery, though there is no evidence of any sent by Swift. The collection is actually a mélange—a few letters addressed to Mrs. Martha Whiteway, the Dean's...
cousin and last housekeeper; some miscellaneous pieces having no obvious connection with him; and, lastly, several manuscript fragments wholly or partly in Swift's handwriting. These fragments include word games, notes and drafts for poems and essays, memoranda made apparently for a conversation with the Earl of Oxford, and a letter to Thomas Sheridan in Swift's artificial language "Latino-Anglica". They are similar to materials which may be found in the Forster Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Huntington Library.

It is not known how the little collection came into the possession of Mrs. Piozzi, but since two of the items have on them short endorsements in the handwriting of Dr. Johnson, the chances are that the whole lot passed through his hands. The earlier provenance remains a mystery. Nevertheless, we can make a few speculations. Because some of the correspondence of Mrs. Whiteway is included, it seems likely that she was the original collector. Swift entrusted many of his papers to her, and these went for the most part to her son-in-law, Deane Swift—biographer of Jonathan and editor of his works. Johnson may have secured the items in English MS. 659 directly from the family of Deane Swift, or perhaps from John Hawkesworth, another biographer of Swift, who had worked with Deane Swift and was intimate with Johnson. When Hawkesworth prepared his book on the Dean, he got help from Johnson, who continued on friendly terms with his widow. There is also a slim chance that Johnson or Hawkesworth received the papers from Dr. John Lyon, one of Swift's guardians and executors, either directly or through an intermediary, perhaps Lyon's nephew, Thomas Steele. By whatever means, the papers probably came to Johnson while he was writing the Lives of the Poets, though they could have supplied nothing of importance to the biographer.

1 This spelling, used by Swift himself in No. 17 of the manuscripts studied here, seems preferable to "Latino-Anglicus", which is found only in a printed source; see The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. F. Elrington Ball (London, 1910-14), v. 240 (cited below as Ball).

2 There is a possibility, of course, that the two leaves endorsed by Johnson were not a part of the original packet but were inserted by later owners.
Some of the Swift manuscripts in the packet have recently been discussed by Dr. George Mayhew and others, but there has never been a detailed description of the entire bundle. We shall therefore list all the pieces known to have been in it, and give transcripts of those by Swift and the Orrerys which have not already been printed. In the following list, the numbering of the manuscripts is that applied arbitrarily when they were first catalogued; at that time no chronology was intended.

1. The cover leaf, $9 \times 18$ cm., endorsed as already indicated.

2. Two leaves $23 \times 18$ cm. On the first recto are some verses which have been published and discussed in Sir Harold Williams’ edition of Swift’s *Poems* (Oxford, 1937), ii. 662-4. The second verso is addressed, in an unknown hand, “To the Rev’d Dr. Swift | Dean of St. Patrick’s | Dublin”. Above the address is an endorsement in Swift’s hand, “On the Hermitage”.

3. The outer leaf of a letter $22.2 \times 18$ cm. It is addressed “To M’ Harrison” and bears a red seal. It contains a poem by Lord Orrery, in a scribe’s hand, headed, “To The Rev’d Dr Swift Dean of S’t Patrick’s, | sending him a Present of a Paper Book finely bound. | Dublin November 30th 1732.” The first fourteen lines of the poem are on the recto, the last fourteen on the verso. It is signed “Orrery”, in the author’s hand. Written sideways at the bottom of the verso, in a third, unidentified hand, is an endorsement, “Lord Orrery | To Dean Swift”. The poem, except for insignificant details, is identical with that published and discussed in the *Poems*, ii. 609-10.

4. A letter on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves $23.7 \times 18.5$ cm. It is from Dr. William King to Mrs.
Whiteway, and has been published by Sir Harold Williams in *The Library*, 4th ser., xvi. 69-70.1

5. A letter on a leaf 22.5 × 19 cm. It is to Mrs. Whiteway from Lady Orrery and apparently in her hand. The verso, endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway’s hand, “Lady Orrery”, is franked with the name of “Boyle”, postmarked DE, and addressed, “To | Mrs Whiteway | in Capell-Street | Dublin | Ireland”. The message is on the recto: 2

Marston Decbr 29th 1742

Dear Madam

Tho’ my Eyes are still a little weak, yet I must | thank you for all your good wishes to me and my Son Edmund. | He is a fine strong Child, and I have not from the moment | of his birth had the least complaint. I recovered very soon, | even tho’ the day Edmund was a Fortnight old he was taken | extremely ill, with disorders occasioned by Wind; Mr Cleland | who attended him said, as Milk was a Windy Food, the Child | must not suck, I have consented, and he is to be brought up by | Hand, he feeds very well, and will not want my Breast. I may | therefore go and suckle her Grace of Marlborough, who lives | entirely upon Breast Milk, without Mrs Swift 3 (to whom | my best Respects) wants a Nurse.

We have fixed our residence at this Place for | the Winter, the Gayeties of Life I have long been tired of, and | if it pleas God Almighty my little Boy lives, this part of | the World, which is in all | other respects the most Solitary | I ever knew, will want nothing but now and then the sight of | so good a Friend as Mrs Whiteways, to whom I am more than | my paper will permit me to say, but in one word Yours

M Orrery

6. A letter on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 22.2 × 18.5 cm. It is dated from London, 26 January 1747-8, addressed to Mrs. Whiteway, signed by Caroline Fred. Scott (a man), but apparently written in a scribe’s hand. The second verso, endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway’s hand, “Co” Scott”, is postmarked IA and is directed, “To | Mrs Whiteway att Her House | in Linnen Hall Street. | Dublin”. The message occupies the first recto and verso, and ends at the top of the second recto. It concerns her son, Ffolliott, who was then in

1 It is also discussed by Williams in Swift’s *Prose Writings*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1938 etc.), vii, p. xiv (cited below as Davis).
2 See footnote 2, p. 368.
3 Mrs. Whiteway’s daughter, married to Deane Swift, her third cousin.
the army but eventually became an attorney. Scott was later Chief Engineer of the army in India and died at Calcutta in 1756; he was not made a lieutenant-colonel until 5 January 1749.  

7. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves $15 \times 9.8$ cm. and then folded in half again, in the same direction, for filing. The inner verso and recto were originally used as a cover for a letter, addressed, “To | the Dean”. The second verso is endorsed in Swift’s hand:

| Guinea |
| Greek |
| Letters |

The first recto has a list of puns, in Swift’s hand, on the letters of the Greek alphabet. This exercise was published by Dr. George Mayhew in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxvi, no. 2 (March 1954), 413-15.

8. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves $16.5 \times 10$ cm. Originally, Swift seems to have begun a letter to his mother on it: for the second recto has the following heading and salutation written sideways by him near the right-hand edge, so that they would have been near the top of the page when it was held with that edge up:

Moor Park—August the 5$^{th}$ 1698

Dear Mother.

On the first recto are notes by Swift, most of them about the North American Indians:

North America

The northern Americans are content ye should baptise them 6 times | a day for a glass of Aqua vita; or a Pipe of Tobacco.

They think when the dye, that their Souls shall hunt the Bulls | Souls, and smoak th soul of their Tobacco, & use the Souls of all | their Utensils, &c.

The prodigious fall of Niagara in the lake Erie, R. of S$^{t}$ Laurence

---

1 Charles Dalton, George the First’s Army 1714-1727 (London, 1912), ii. 207-8.
A ceremony of crying for the Bulls that shall be killd, before they go to hunt them. and crying over those 'Enem Captives the would murder.

They change wives, & argue well for th reasonableness of it.

There Superstition, seems mixt with Judaism, frō whom the | Author thinks they descended.

The consult, fight, hunt, & do all matters of Importance as their | dreams direct them: & will murder their friend if advised by a dream.

These Savages have a complaisant humor, of complying to any | Opinion you deliver, and to avoyd Contradiction, wth they think the | height of ill breeding; and this is esteemd a great hindrance to | their Conversion: because their complyance is a business of form, and | they never heed or value any Opinion at all, but expect yr Complyance | as y had theirs.

Hermaphrodites plenty among them.

These jottings are based on the works of Louis Hennepin, whose three books about America went through many editions and were reprinted in many forms and languages. Swift's facts come from the second and third of the books, the Nouvelle Découverte and the Nouveau Voyage, which he may have read either in French or in the popular English translation of 1698, which contained them both (separately paginated) in one volume, *A New Discovery . . . with a Continuation*. His language is not close enough to the English or the French for us to be sure which he used, especially since the *New Discovery* is a rather literal version. There are two points, both in the first sentence, where he varies from the English in such a way as to indicate that he was translating from the French: "6 times" and "Aqua vita". Here the *Nouveau Voyage* reads "dix fois" and "eau de vie"; but the *Continuation* reads "ten times" and "Brandy". A misreading of "six" for "dix" would explain Swift's numeral, and "Aqua vita" seems more likely as a translation of "eau de vie" than as a memory of "Brandy". But there are other facts which argue for the English. First, the odd heading which Swift uses could be based on the running head of the *Continuation*: "A Voyage into North America". Secondly, Swift did not make his notes systematically as he went right through the books, but skipped about between the two. This practice suggests that he had them in some such compact
form as the one-volume English format—though separate French
volumes could easily have been bound together.¹

The rest of this page is taken up with Latin lines, in Swift’s
hand, from Aristophanes’ *Wasps* (lines 815-17, 1253-5) and
*Birds* (lines 375, 605, 901-2):

```
Aristophanis Vespae
Philos. Sed cur tulistis hanc cristatum altum?
Bd. ut dormientem dum reus defendit
Si forte ab alto te canens exsuscitat.

Potasse valde noxium est, vinum fecit pultare janum | et fores
confingere, et pendere aera post solutam crapulem

Aves¹
Aves
Ab inimicis certe multa discunt sapientes
Homo male agens nemo sanus est
Haec sacrificia nil aliud sunt praeter barba&m#q3 [γεβειόβ] ² et cornua
```

The first verso has a note by Swift on the *Memoirs* of Philippe
de Comines, Book V, Chapter 19, the opening paragraphs
(Swift’s “18” is evidently a mistake):

```
Comines
L. 5 'C. 18' Praise of Engl. Governmt. Tyranny to raise money without
consent | of those who are to pay it. K'8 of France least reason to do it
of | all others &c
```

On the second verso, inverted near the bottom of the page
as it now stands, is a list in Swift’s hand, of terms for measuring
area. The writing is particularly careful and distinct:

```
A Knights fee. is 4 hide. or 640 Acres
A Hide is 4 Yard
A Yard is 4 Farrundells
A Farrundell is ten Acres.
An Acre.
```

¹ Possible sources for Swift’s notes (numbered 1 to 9 to correspond with his
divisions in the manuscript) will be found in the following editions of Hennepin’s
works; the list is not exhaustive but illustrative: *Nouvelle Découverte*, Utrecht,
Broe delet, 1697 (copy in Columbia U.L.): ch. vii (3); ch. xv (8); ch. xxxiii,
p. 219 (9); ch. xlv, pp. 316-17 (4); ch. xlviii, xlix, l (4); ch. lxx (3). *Nouveau
Voyage*, Utrecht, Schouten, 1698 (copy in N.Y.P.L.): ch. xi, pp. 121-2 (2);
pp. 123-4 (6); ch. xii, p. 133 (1); ch. xiii, p. 138 (7); ch. xiv, p. 145 (5); pp.
145-6 (8); ch. xix, p. 224 (4); ch. xxviii, p. 245 (6); ch. xxix, p. 250 (2); ch.
xxx (8); ch. xxxii, p. 277 (8). *New Discovery*, London, Bentley, etc. 1698
(copy in Columbia U.L.): p. 24 (3); p. 106 (9); p. 151 (4). *Continuation*
(same copy): p. 57 (2); p. 58 (6); p. 63 (1); p. 66 (7); pp. 69-70 (5); p.
108 (4); p. 118 (6); p. 120 (2); p. 123 (8); pp. 132-3 (8).

² Swift’s brackets.
Just under this list, to the right, is an unintelligible but clearly written cipher, probably in Swift's hand, which looks like "8er". Its position is significant: for filing, the manuscript was folded vertically a second time, this page (like the rest) being divided into halves; and the cipher is in roughly the centre of the right-hand half. But when the page is turned around and held right side up, another cipher is situated at the top of what now becomes the right hand half. It too seems to be in Swift's hand; the letters look like "ME", and are similar to the cipher for Esther Johnson in Swift's account books. (Possibly he made the list for her benefit.) The manuscript was no doubt kept with first one and then the other half of this page uppermost, and the ciphers as endorsements.

It is difficult to date these notes. They may have been made at widely divergent times. Some clues associate them with the period around 1698: the heading of the letter, the date of publication of Hennepin in English, the fact that Swift was very studious at that time. Other clues suggest the period around 1724. The Niagara's cataract is mentioned in *Gulliver*, II. viii. Comines (the chapter just before that from which Swift took his note) is quoted in a pamphlet, dated January 1724-5, which Swift may have helped to write.\(^1\) The theme of the *Wasps*—demagogic abuses of the Athenian judicial system—was in Swift's mind during his fight with the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 1720-5. But none of the evidence has much weight, except the heading of the unwritten letter.

9. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 14.8 × 9.2 cm. For filing, the manuscript was folded again, in the same direction, so that each page is divided into halves. The right half of the second verso was probably kept outermost, since there is at the top of this an endorsement in Swift's hand:

```
Hints
Educ\(^\text{tn}\) de dames
pour une Intelligencer
```

Beginning at the top of the first recto and ending at the top of the first verso are notes in Swift's hand, on the education of women. At first, these were simply headed, "Hints", in the

centre. Later, "Education of Ldys" was added immediately to the right. Though Swift evidently planned to work these ideas into a number of The Intelligencer, the periodical which he produced with Thomas Sheridan, he never published such an essay himself. But a fragment "Of the Education of Ladies" was included by Deane Swift in the volume which he compiled for Hawkesworth's edition of Jonathan Swift's works (vol. viii in 4to, 1765, pt. i, pp. 265-8). These hints were almost certainly meant to be used here; and one, the argument about "ballast", is worked out (p. 266). The complaint that so few women can read, is made in A Letter to a Young Lady on Her Marriage perhaps by coincidence, for it is one of Swift's characteristic notions.1 Swift was occupied with The Intelligencer, 1728-9, and the notes may have been written then or earlier: 2

No great matter for the bulk of women, since the Men | are as foolish & ignorant.

Begin. A person of Quality a little absolute, a man of | tast and letters who well knew how to support his opinions, which | were generally right, fell into one, which I thought he held in a | sense not sufficiently limited., although he had many old proverbs and | maxims on his side. which carry the authority of ages with him | that women shoud only regard their Children & family &c.

My practice of advising Ldys to read, and what ; and my way of | instructing young Misses.

I used to stay a month or two. the Country desolate. the | Neighbourhood scarce and not very inviting.

A Companion for life to a man of Sense especially without | Employm't, and violent lover of the Country. should have a | reasonable companion., who could distinguish a man of Sense &c, | and relish good conversation without being talkative, positive | or assuming

It would make the women love home better, and able to teach | their Daughters.

The Lady was a considerable heiress used too fondly, live in Town | had that kind of Education which is called the best. learning | Italian, French, Musick and Singing, all wch she forgot &c. | fell into play, visits, assemblies &c.

No French Romances., and few plays. for young Ladyes

1 Davis, ix. 91.
2 They were privately printed in a very small edition by Dr. Herbert Davis, Oxford, 1954.
How hard for a woman to live solitary and not read;

A generall inspection into family affairs right: but not to be a Housekeeper &c. any more than an Architect should have his hand: in mortar.

I have often thanked God that custom has made it detestable otherwise. otherwise they have a good plea to keep a Gallant rather than marry, I mean a great heiress, who when she is married can call nothing her own, & may want common necessaries, by the churlishness of a husband &c. therefore I was never against what they call pin-money. nor see the reason why people should not part when all agree^t is desperate 11

Women I own do often want batl balast &c. but it is often through ignorance or half knowledge.

A shame that not one woman in a million can properly be said to read or write, or understand.

The second recto has Swift's first drafts of some lines from his "To Mr. Gay on his being Steward to the Duke of Queensberry". These have been published by Dr. George Mayhew in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxvii, no. 1 (September 1954), 257-62.

10. A single leaf 15 x 9-2 cm., folded vertically down the centre. On the verso is an endorsement in Swift's hand, at the top of the righthand half: "Intelligener——". The recto is all in his hand:

Intelligener

Beau's dresses

Clergy preaching. bad Engl—&c

Universal Knavery of all handicrafts & Shopkeepers, and in th Country of all farmers | Cottagers, &c. Scotch worse than Irish, but worst when partake of both nations

Building, and praise of Pearce

Improvements, penal clause, as to time &c | for improvent. & preservation of trees, & | their kinds—abuse Squires on this head

Knavery the effect of poverty and oppression: they steal or cheat, as the quickest way to live, when industry is not encouraged. therefore they do not stand on credit | or y^t buying another time. Sacrifice your custom for cheating you half a Crown.

That great rogue Badgers ?

Stuff gownns what I did, and how the weavers acted.

Peter Walters—
Apparently, these were all possible subjects for papers in The Intelligencer, but that periodical had probably expired before Swift could use any of the hints. Except for the first item, beaux' dresses, and the seventh, a rogue named Badgers [?], Swift does mention the subjects in other places. The clergy's preaching and use of bad English are discussed in the Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately Enter'd into Holy Orders.¹ The knavery of Irish artisans and merchants comes out in Observations, Occasioned by Reading a Paper Entitled, “The Case of the Woollen Manufacturers of Dublin”.² Sir Edward Pearce, architect of the new Parliament House begun in Dublin, 1729, is mentioned by Delany in “The Pheasant and the Lark”; in 1730 Pearce gave Swift a copy of Valerius Maximus which is now in the National Library, Dublin.³ Swift considers the improvement of land and trees in his Answer to Several Letters from Unknown Persons and his Answer to Several Letters Sent Me from Unknown Hands.⁴ He explains the cause of Irish knavery also in the Answer to . . . Letters . . . from Unknown Hands.⁵ His advice concerning stuff (i.e. woollen) gowns and weavers is given in the Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers and in Observations, Occasioned by Reading a Paper.⁶ Peter Walter, a notorious English solicitor and estate agent who made a fortune by managing other people's affairs to his own advantage, is named several times in Swift's works and letters, including a poem of ca. 1730.⁷ Since most of these references centre on 1729-30, that is probably the date of the notes.

¹ Davis, ix. 65.  
³ Poems, ii. 508.  
⁴ Temple Scott, vii. 122, 132.  
⁵ Ibid. pp. 132-3.  
⁷ Poems, ii. 534 and n. See also Ball, iii. 423 and iv. 417.
Irish affairs. Those on the first recto seem mainly to deal with the population problem and absenteeism:

Not 'get th' redress their grievances before they pass their money bills. 'Should?' We cannot pretend to that &c

'Leasers way of buying'
'horses'
Not so among us till we can sell them as the Africans do.

Nations encourage marriage

The Engl contempt for absenteees.

I speak not this from any regard to their persons.

If they had stayd, an assembly of great revenues might have prevented some fatal events. I know their contempt well, these 30 years past &c

Encouraging marriage, as all wise nations did, is an appendix [?] to th Maxim of people the riches of a Nation; we ought to discourage it. The wretches we see with children

The allusions to selling people as Africans do and to encouraging marriage are very close to Swift's remarks on these subjects in Maxims Controlled in Ireland; here too is some consideration of absenteees, but worded rather differently from the note. All three topics are again briefly touched upon in The Present Miserable State of Ireland. The other hints were apparently not used in any composition which has been preserved. The manuscript probably dates from around 1728, the approximate year when Maxims Controlled was written.

The second recto contains, mainly, headings and hints for Maxims Controlled. Those which have a cross mark after them are developed in the finished essay, but others, not so marked, are used as well. In fact, only the Latin proverb, the two complaints about Parliamentary indifference, and the topic of accidental impediments are not to be found in the piece as published.

Maxims examnd.

'Dearness of things' necessary for Life. X
Lowness of Interest X
High purchase of Land. X
Buildings added to the Metropolis X

1 Temple Scott, vii. 69-71.
2 Ibid. p. 163.
People the Riches of a Nation. 
Tax upon Luxury.

Res nolunt diu male administrari
Parlmt not minding any thing printed; tis but a Pamphlet
Folly of those who argue\(^1\) from Engl\(d\), Holl\(d\), &c

Whoever would write on\(^1\) Bedlam, that Society is a good \(1\) thing: Tis otherwise there, they would\(^1\) burn th house

Accidental and unprecedented administrari
So if a Legisla\(^{\text{ere}}\) should form a Scheam for the \(1\) Governm\(\text{t}\) of Bedlam,\(^{1}\) and upon th Principle tht Man being \(1\) a Sociable Creatur,\(^{1}\) they ought to go into Councils &c
Parl\(\text{m}\)\(^1\) not minding Pamphlets, made me write this when all was over, that they may judge from effects

"Things refuse to be mismanaged long"—the Latin saying—is probably a Renaissance version of a remark by Aristotle,\(^1\) and Swift repeats it on at least three other occasions (two of them, as here, to contradict it).\(^2\) The latest use occurs in a letter of April 1729. The note at the bottom of the page may indicate that Swift had meant to publish this essay during the Irish Parliamentary session of 1729-30 but did not complete it until the end of the session, and perhaps put it aside for that reason, since it did not appear until long after his death.

The second verso has more notes on Irish problems, and may be a continuation of the preceding page. The first idea, that the Irish should wear home-grown wool, is among Swift's most common recommendations, and is urged in his writings from the Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, 1720, to the Modest Proposal of 1729. Probably, he meant to develop the present note at length in A Proposal that All the Ladies and Women of Ireland Should Appear Constantly in Irish Manufactures, which is an apparently incomplete essay dated 1729, but not published until 1765;\(^3\) here too can be found

1 *Metaphysics*, xii. 10. 6 (1076a 3-4).
2 Davis, viii. 180; Ball, ii. 239, and iv. 76.
3 In the volume of Hawkesworth's edition which was compiled by Deane Swift (vol. viii in 4to, 1765, pt. i, pp. 170-6).
expressions of the second, fourth, and last of the hints as marked off below:

Nothing will do but wearing our own growth &c

I have talked & writt a little on this Subject before

Nevr love our Country

I write this on purpose when it is too late | Because there is no arguing with them

Who would live in Irel'd, without a great balance | The can live saving in Engld yet honorable, nor | need invite as here, & have many dishes

August Assembly

Lost all Idea of Liberty

Of those vermin writers too low to answer, yet lye | so horridly of more Clergy in Je. [?] London from Irl'd | and that if Linnen Scarves hurt Engd we should not wear them, sure they are not heard[?]. | like Rats in a house[?].

These Singularityes of Govm't have turned the very | heads of th people, made them think themselves not | upon th foot with others of their own Species, & | a Spirit of Servitude

I own that in Scotld & some Towns in Italy, Interest | is low, & land dear. | but want trade[?].

Bad Seasons a trifle, where are they not? ¹

12. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 16 × 10.5 cm. For filing, the manuscript was folded again, in the same direction, each page being divided into halves; it was probably kept with the right half of the second verso outermost, for at the top of that is an endorsement, "Scotch", in Swift's hand. Sideways, along the left-hand edge of the same page, he has written and scratched out a sentence in his Latino-Anglica: "Prae fora Pierio Theba au mona livedo."

On the first recto, in his hand, are several phrases of "Quilca lingua", i.e. an artificial language for use at Quilca, Thomas Sheridan's residence. These have been published by Dr. Mayhew,² but his analysis does not include the possibility that

¹ This last point is mentioned in a letter of 11 August 1729 from Swift to Pope (Ball, iv. 89-90).
² Mayhew, BJRL, xxxvi. 423. The interpretation we give of "By Power anger" was supplied by Dr. Mayhew in a recent letter.
they are a kind of charade, the code words being puns on homonyms of the real words. "By Power anger" is "by might wroth", or "by my troth". "The Devils Daughter" may be "Dis' miss", or "dismiss". "Shall I Devils House & Seat in Church" is "Shall I Hell pew", or "——help you". "I am Knot upon Scarlet" may be "I am tie red" or "——tired". "Mr Hughes's Daughter" may be "Hugh's lass", or "useless". "God of hell and th Island where Jup' was born" is "Dis Crete", or "discreet". "A frighten Town" is "a scare city", or "scarcity". "Beast with long Ears and A in French" may be "a spaniel", since Swift himself explains it as "little dog"; but the connection is obscure.¹

On the first verso and second recto are Scottish expressions in Swift's hand, already treated by Dr. Mayhew.²

13. A leaf 23 × 18·5 cm. This is the most important document in the group, because it contains notes by Swift on English politics in the autumn of 1713, a decisive period in his life. The criticisms which he lists are not recorded elsewhere.

After going in April to Ireland and being installed as Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift had returned, arriving in London 9 September 1713, during the elections for Parliament. In the security and prestige of his new office, he could disengage himself from the glamour of high intrigue. "The familiarity of great Ministers . . . as soon as it ceased to be a vanity . . . began to be a vexation of Spirit."³ He got little pleasure from his main occupation—trying to prevent Bolingbroke and Oxford from destroying one another.

In April of 1713 the Commissioners of Public Accounts had presented to the Commons a report censuring the management and disposal of the public revenue, including the finances of her majesty's Great Wardrobe. At the end of June, the Commons had debated the expenses and debts of her Civil List. In July, Parliament had addressed the queen, urging that she press all governments "in amity" with her majesty, to refuse to receive the Pretender; and she had agreed to do so. On 15 September

¹ Cf. Poems, iii. 940 and n. 11. ² Mayhew, BJRL, xxxvi. 418-22. ³ Ball, ii. 78.
three new Commissioners had been named to the Board of Trade.\(^1\) Around the same time the Earl of Mar was made third Secretary of State, in charge of Scottish affairs; Oxford, the Lord Treasurer, arranged this appointment mainly to take Scottish business out of the hands of his rival, Bolingbroke. Harcourt, the Lord Chancellor, sided with Bolingbroke. Sir George Byng, though distasteful to the Tories (who were still in power), stayed on as Admiral, and was only removed early the next year. The new Parliament did not meet for real business until 2 March 1714.

From Swift’s allusions to these circumstances, one presumes that he wrote the manuscript in the autumn of 1713. Its purpose may be guessed from the tone of hostility toward policies for which Oxford was held responsible and from the use of the third person pronoun—“affronting him”, “Touch his Hon’”, etc. Swift evidently planned to initiate a conversation with Oxford and present Bolingbroke’s grievances, and this paper was either his aide-mémoire or a draft of a memorial to be left with the Treasurer.

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Speedy & pressing Instances

Two Addresses from H. Co last Session. 1\(^{st}\) to desire that all Princes in amity | with Qu. not to suff\(^e\) Pret\(^{dr}\) to be in their Dominions. 2\(^{d}\) to give particu\(^{lar}\) Ord\(^{ers}\) to prevent Exp\(^{or\^{t}}\) of Wooll. Answ\(^{r}\) to 1\(^{st}\) that it should be don. to 2\(^{d}\) that Her | Maj\(^{st\^{y}}\) had given Orders alredy. Yet neithr yet done—Dang\(^{e}\) of th 1\(^{st}\) it will make us | be cald Jacobites; it must be known, in all Gazettes; so it will be known it has not been | yet done: 2\(^{d}\) by Proclamation so all will know it. The Sc\(^{t\^{y}}\) do it unmistakably, yet to | be done in Council & he to direct Sc\(^{t\^{y}}\) how to be done—

The great Exceedings in every Article of the publjck Expence, for want of timely | Orders to break th Forces both by Sea & Land

The want of concerting matters last Parlm\(^{t}\), occasioned th sitting of it longer, had like to | have broken all in pieces &c. the same apprehended for next Year

No estimate made of Qu—s expence, nor Receits, to proportion one to toth\(^{r}\).

No Orders of any kind whatsoever, given till the last Extremity, w\(^{e}\)h puts us under th | necessity of passing many great Seals by immed\(^{t\^{e}}\) Warr\(^{t}\), w\(^{e}\)h shou\(^{d}\) not be &c——

\(^1\) Journal of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, 1709-15, p. 469.
The Commission for 3 Commissrs of Trade pass't after 2 Commissrs were elected; & the 3d saved it only by one day.

Not communication in things absolutely necessary to th Service.

Appointing Ld Mar Sec'y of Scot without agreeing with him or Sec'y of Scot on what foot it was to be the like with th Chanc' of Scot without consulting Ld Chan'lr, both supposed to be agst Law, as le'I making th Union less an Union. Mar upon th Foot of an English Sec'y ye yet not to decide... this will cause Dissention between th Sec'y. This will raise th Scotch Demands—

No Oeconomy th Sec'y! Secret of our Governr! no Oeconomy &c

Insolence of a Commissr of Hackny-Coaches, affronting him to his Face.

The Fleets th Admiralty thó Toryes governd by Bing: besides sev'r things thy cannot do without yo[?]

Touch his Honr & Ambition as concernd &c

The implication of these memoranda is that though Swift inclined toward Bolingbroke's analysis of the situation, he none-theless remained loyal to Oxford. If the arguments were presented to the Treasurer, they had a negligible effect. "I am heartily weary of Courts and Ministers, and politics, for several reasons impossible to tell you", Swift wrote to a friend; the main reason was that the breach between his two leaders had gone too far to be closed.¹

14. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 15.5 x 9.8 cm. A crease down the centre of each page shows that the manuscript was folded again for filing. At the top of the right-hand column thus formed on the second verso is an endorsement, scratched out but rewritten, in Swift's hand:

¹Eng Bulls!
Engl. Bulls
²fyl ψ. 15

The contents seem thus described as English bulls, to counter the traditional jokes about Irish bulls. The first recto and verso have indeed a number of bulls made by Englishmen, and all except the last are in Swift's hand. These notes have been published by Dr. Mayhew.²

¹ Ball, ii. 69.
² Mayhew, BJRL, xxxvi. 424-32.
15. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 9.8 × 6.6 cm. The second recto and verso are blank. The first recto and verso contain Latin notes, in Swift’s tiniest handwriting, upon the *Annales, Historia, Germania,* and *Agricola* of Tacitus, with colloquial English equivalents for some of the Latin expressions. Since Swift supplies page numbers for a few subjects, it is possible to identify the copy he used. In the sale catalogue of his library it is number 46, a starred item—that is, one which he annotated: *C. Cornelius Tacitus iuxta correctius exemplar editus,* Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1649, 12°.1

In the following transcription, where Swift has omitted or mistaken the book and chapter numbers, we have added them between square brackets.

Tac. l. 1.


L. 2 [VI. i] Tiberij libidines erga pueros., Tunc | primum ignota ante vocabula reperta sunt | sellariorum et spintriarum, ex foeditate | loci ac multiplici patientia.

Lib. 6. [xxii] egregie de praedestinatione. P. 221 [xxvii]—Fabula de ave Phoence. P. 224 [xxix]—Condemnati majestatis &c, qus11 vim sibi infierl | intulerint, sepulchrū iis et Testamentii | permissum, sina carnifice interfeci utrumq5 | prohibebatur [xlvi]—Tiberius solitus eludere mediorum artes, | atq5 eos qui post 30 annos alieni consilij | indigenter ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia | vel noxia.

l. 13 [xv]


Arbor Ruminalis 'per' 840 annos arescente trunco | prodigij loco habitum, donec, revixit &c.

L. 15


De mor. Germ.

[xix] Nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et | corrumpi. saeculum vocatur. &c. plusq5 ibi | boni mores valent, quam alibi bonae leges.

Vita Agricolae

[xli] Pessimum inimicorum genus, Laudantes

1 Sir Harold Williams, *Dean Swift’s Library* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 2 of the sale catalogue.

2 A game.

3 P. 311; Swift was wrong.
16. Two sheets of writing paper folded to make four leaves 11.3 x 6.6 cm. The third recto and verso and the fourth recto are blank; the other pages have Latin and English notes and comments on Suetonius in Swift's hand. We have added, between square brackets, the book number, the emperor's name (where necessary), and the chapter number.

E Suetonio.

Tiberius

[III. xxxv] Jurisjurandi gratiam facere. to dispense with it.

[xxxvii] Romae castra constituit, quibus Cohortes ante per hospitium continerentur. Barracks

[lix] Oderint dum probent (Sc. Vulgus)

[lxviii. 1-2] He was left-handed, could break a boy's forehead with a Fillip, could see for a while in the dark.

[lxix] Oderint dum probent (Sc. Vulgus)

[IV. i. 3] Caligula, per quietem, pelagi Speciem secum colloquientem videre visus est

[V. ii-iii] Claudius fere stultus aliquando sapiens

[xxix] Governed by his Wives & favorites Liberti. did all things by them without knowing any thing &c

[xxxii] Meditavit edictum quo venia datam flamam crepitare ventris in convivio emittendi; cum periclitam quemdam prae pudore reperisset

[xxxiii. 2] De arte ludendi librō emisset

[xxxiv] Crudelis natura &c

Omnes fere Imperatoris historias aut poemata scripsissent.

[xli. 3] Claudius tres litteras addidit, quae in plerisque literis extulerint: (nunc credo perditas)

[VI. xxxii. 2] Nero cantare publice amavit. cantante eo ne necessaria causa excedere theatrum licebat. igitur multe aded audiendi muris desiliebant, aut morte simulata funere elati:

[Galba] Pangere to plant

Loca Italiae saepissime de Caelo tacta


95 imperi die. [xii. 1] Vitellius. Scambus erat. munditarũ muliebrī | paene. a Nice Beau., yet died bravely, &c Vitellius.
A favorite Libertus very frequent among Emprs & Great Persons.

Vitellius ii. 4) Vitellij pater amore Libertinae infamis, cujus salivis melle commixtis quotidie arteries & fauces pro remedio fovebat


Vespasianus: Post Neronem Imperatores a militibus electi—[VIII. (Vespasian) iii] Caenidem quanda habuit paene justae uxoris loco. | [iv] A preferment of th greatest men, sacerdotia | accept: & it was onely pro tempore


[vii. 2-3] Inspuendo oculos caecum restituit alterum | delil: crure alterum, calce contingendo curavit; (ie) | and a blind man by spitting in his face, and | a lame man by vouchsafing him a kick. |


[? Tacitus Ann. XV. xlv] Pervigilium. a Vigil. Posca. a Potion of Vineg & water | or of small wine. | Publicum Quadragesimae—a Revenue of fourtieth Parts.

1 Swift's brackets.
On the fourth verso is an estimate of Suetonius written by Swift in Latin:

Judiciú
Authr hie superstitioni datus ; vere biographus | Actiones minime describit,
qua autem ad mores | et personarú notitiam pertinent minute nec | infacete
intellectu difficilius, ob innumera | de legibus et consuetudinibus
Romanis quae leviter | percurrit ac velut intelligentibus narrat, sed | quae
nunc vere explicanda credo, non dico de | omnibus sed parte [?] majore
[?]. Draws all things | to Superstition : as Signs of men living longer | & of
their Deaths, nugae—

17. A letter in Swift's hand on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 18.2 × 14.8 cm. It is in Latino-Anglica—answering one of 16 July 1735 from Thomas Sheridan—and it has been published by Dr. Mayhew.¹

The other manuscripts in English MS. 659 have no apparent connection with Jonathan Swift, and the handwriting of none of them has been identified. For completeness, however, they will be briefly described.

18. Two leaves 19.5 × 15.3 cm. Covering the four pages is a prose piece entitled, “A Digression or whimsical Dedication to Florella”, beginning, “Of all Men that ever attempted to please the Fair sure none is less fit for that Office than the whimsical Orondates!”. It is signed at the end “Orondates”, followed by “D S”, which has been crossed out.

19. A sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 18.5 × 11.3 cm. On the first recto is a poem in rhymed couplets, beginning, “Arise, O George, why stoopst Thou, O Awake”, and ending, “Take Heart & like thy Ministry resign”. There is an unintelligible note inverted at the bottom of the first verso; the other pages are blank.

20. One leaf 18.5 × 12 cm. Filling both sides is a poem in rhyming couplets, headed, “Epilogue | Designed to be spoken by Mrs W : n in ye Character | of a Voluntier”. After the stage direction, “Enter reading a Gazette”, it begins, “Plague on all Cowards, say I—Why bless my Eyes!” The last line is,

¹ Mayhew, BJRL, xxxvi. 432-48; for variants of verses in it, see Mayhew, HLQ, pp. 148-52.
"And British Rights be saved by British Beauty". References to the Forty-five show that the lines were written in 1745, perhaps for Peg Woffington, though there is no sign that they were ever used. The authorship is unknown. At the bottom of the verso, upside down, Samuel Johnson has written, "Epilogue to Cato".

21. One leaf 18.7 x 11.5 cm. On the recto is a poem in quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter rhyming abab. The first line is, "How can You think ye Fair will change"; the last line, "And every grace inspire". On the verso, inverted, are a few casual letters and some figures added up.

22. Two leaves 18.3 x 15 cm. On the first and second rectos is a fragment of a tale the title of which is written on the first verso, "Amanda & Celia". Among the characters named are Damon, Merope, Colin, Flora, Comus, Pallas. At the bottom of the second verso is an incomplete poem in octosyllabic couplets, beginning, "Haste, My Dear Colin, come away". The last complete line is, "We'll Laugh & Sing & Sport & Play".

23. One leaf 18.7 x 17 cm. On the recto is an unidentified poem in heroic couplets, headed, "On a Young Lady's Removal from ye Circle of her Acquaintance | in ye City to ye Court end of ye Town". It begins, "Soon as ye Sun withdraws his genial Ray" and ends, "Engage our friendship & adorn her Youth". At the top of the verso Samuel Johnson has written, "Verses Engl."

24. Two leaves (a folded sheet) 15.2 x 9.3. On each recto are three quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter, rhyming abab. On the first recto the opening words of the title are illegible; the remaining words are, "to Dr. Cheney by R Winter". The first line is illegible; the last is, "Thy patients then may Live". At the bottom of the page is an endorsement, "Three famous Physicians". The second recto is headed, "Dr. Cheney's Answer". The first line is, "My System's all my own", and the last, "That You yoself may live". The versos are blank.
25. Two leaves 17.3 × 13.4 cm. On all four pages are notes on the Jewish sabbath. The first recto is headed, "The Jews manner of observing their Sabbath".

Originally, the loosely-tied packet must have included other items besides the twenty-five listed here. Three at least may be identified. Among some Thrale-Piozzi manuscripts found at Bachygraig, Flintshire, in 1935, were letters which complement No. 5 printed above and were apparently once bundled with it. Two are from Lord Orrery, one to Swift and one to Mrs. Whiteway; the other is from Lady Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway.¹

The letter from Orrery to Swift is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves 20 × 15.8 cm. The heading has been cut out of the first leaf and the signature of the second; but the letter was probably written from Caledon, the Earl's country estate in Ireland. The second verso, otherwise blank, is endorsed in Mrs. Whiteway's hand, "Lord Orrery | May 39". Some of the allusions are not obvious. The word play upon "Orange" refers to William III, to whose "glorious" memory the Whigs customarily drank toasts. Swift jokingly called his housekeeper "Sir Robert Walpole". "Your Mistress" is probably an allusion to Lady Orrery.

Alass dear Sir! I have been an Age racking my | Brain for a Theme to write to you upon: at last | a most loyal Thesis is come into my Head. I | write from my Orangerie, and I write about an | Orange. Certainly the best Oranges (I mean pre-| serv'd ones for the true Orange is rotten in Westm | Abbey) are the produce of your Table. such | is your desert, and so thoroughly do I taste it. Send me the Receipt then to imitate You in eating, not | drinking, glorious Oranges: whose memory You see | is "as" sacred | with¹ to me, as to any of the Hanover Club. || I appeal to Mrs Whiteway (to whom I beg my | Orangelical Service) if you did not promise me | this Favour: and I hope by the means of Sir R. | Walpole to obtain it. Lady Orrery joins her | Entreaties to mine, that you 'would' be so good to send | us the Receipt as soon as you can: Had my | Grandmother liv'd I don't doubt but I should | have been able to preserve as well as eat | Oranges, but as the Case stands I am only vers'd | in the latter Art: and your Mistress must supply | the rest. She is still in Love with You, tho' You | have turn'd her of to me, who can only talk of | You, not like You—You know the old End of | a letter, the Post is just going, which really hap- | pens at present to be true: Heaven preserve | You in Health, & may you always remember your

¹ The two former are now in the possession of Mr. James L. Clifford; the last was owned by the late Mrs. Herbert Evans of Brynbella, St. Asaph, North Wales.
Lady Orrery’s letter to Mrs. Whiteway is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves $22.3 \times 18.5$ cm. The second recto and verso are blank.

Caledon, March 17$^{th}$ 1739/40

Dear Madam

The Remembering two of your Freinds Buried in | the Country, is the same kind of charity as thinking | of those already in their Graves: We are at Caledon | almost as quiet as if we were under the great | Monument in St' Patricks Church. And except the | Dean yourself & a few more, desire to be as little | thought, or spoakn of as those who lye there. | It is very true I told the Dean, that after Christmass | we should pay our Duties to him at Dublin. But | I can give you a far better, & juster reason | than that you assign, which is the improvement | of this Place, neglected for above Twenty Years, || and tho' it be our own, I must say wants for no | Natural Beauties. Besides neither my Lord or | I were ever fond of City diversions, & we are so | unpolite as to find in this retirement, domestick | amusements enough even to make the long Winter | Evenings, far from tedious. |

I should have begun this Letter with thanks | to you & 'to' the Dean, for 'the' Receipt to preserve | Oranges, but that as well as my Complyments to Mr$^8$ | Swift,$^1$ will 'I hope' be accepted of in this Place. |

I am Madam

Your
most Obedient
most humble Servant
Margaret Orrery.

The letter from Lord Orrery to Mrs. Whiteway is on a sheet of writing paper folded to make two leaves. Along the bottom edge of the second verso is an endorsement, upside down, in Mrs. Whiteway’s hand: “Lord Orrery”. The Earl alludes ironically to events in the War of the Austrian Succession and to the affairs of the royal family. We must suppose (without determining his success) that he meant to tease Swift, who paraded an indifference to political events and royal scandal. The comic postscripts, the italicized bad grammar, and the puns look also like hopeful appeals to Swift’s sensibility.

Caledon: May 12$^{th}$ 1740:

Madam,

Lady Orrery desires me to enquire how You and | Your Family are in Health, but as I am in great | haste You will forgive me for not adding one | word more than that I am, Madam,

Your most obedient humble Servant.
Orrery.

$^1$ See n. 3, page 371.
P.S. I am much obliged to you, Madam, for the Receipt of the Oranges and the Directions to make them so good.
P.S. I hope that you have had some Rain at Dublin, and when you have done with it that you will send it to Us.
P.S. Pray, Madam turn over the Leaf.
P.S. I wish you Joy upon the taking of Porto Bello, & upon the Iron Cannon being flung into the Sea.
P.S. I had almost forgot to wish You Joy of the Princess Mary's Marriage with the Prince of Hesse.
P.S. I hope the Hessian Troops are to come over with his Highness.
P.S. They shall make a fine Review: I am sorry I will not be there.
P.S. I hope my old Nurse is well: I have got a better and a younger now, but I am never sick: so she has not once had the honours which I allowed my former Nurse.
P.S. I condole with You on the Princess Amelia's remaining still an unmarried Princess, whilst her younger Sister flies from the Nunnery at St James's to the Palace of Hesse.
P.S. I hope for to see a fine Summer.
P.S. having sent you all my hopes will I send you some of my fears?
P.S. My fine Peacock is kill'd, whether I will be able to find out who kill'd him, or not, is uncertain I fear.
P.S. One of our Hogs I fear will dye for want of Rain to make Mire and Filth.
P.S. Good news amidst all my Apprehensions, They say 'tis! She is better having lain upon the Cook-maids Muckingder all Night.
P.S. I fear You will be angry at my writing so short a Letter, therefore I must add a word or two more by way of Postscript.
P.S. The Frogs croak for want of Rain louder than ever they croaked for want of a King.
P.S. Shall Bishop Trevor come over soon, or hold his Bishoprick in Commendam?
P.S. Our Curate is the greatest Punster in the North.
P.S. When the [?] Duck 'Hen' brought our seven chickens, he said Pyes take them, for I love Chicken Pye.
P.S. I am called away to the Death of a Snail, who eats all my Hesperian Fruit: so Madam You will forgive this hasty Scrap of a Scrawl.