

SWIFT IN PRINT

Published Texts in Dublin and London, 1691–1765

Presenting a fresh perspective on one of the most celebrated print canons in literary history, Valerie Rumbold explores the expressive force of print context, format, typography, ornament and paratext encountered by early readers of Jonathan Swift. By focusing on the books, pamphlets and single sheets in which the Dublin and London book trades published his work, this revealing whole-career analysis, based on a chronology of publication that often lagged years behind dates of composition, examines first editions and significant reprints throughout Swift's lifetime, and posthumous first editions and collections in the twenty years after his death. Drawing on this material evidence, Rumbold reframes Swift's publishing career as a late expression of an early modern formation in which publishing was primarily an adjunct to public service. In an age of digital reading, this timely study invites a new engagement with the printed texts of Swift.

VALERIE RUMBOLD is Professor of English Literature at the University of Birmingham. She is author of *Women's Place in Pope's World* (1989) and has edited Pope's *Dunciads* (1999, 2007) and Swift's *Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises* (2013). She is a General Editor of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift* and of the *Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope*.

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VALERIE RUMBOLD

University of Birmingham



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To Jim McLaverty
'DETUR DIGNISSIMO'

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Preface

This is a study of the printed books, pamphlets and single sheets in which, over the span of Swift's lifetime and the two following decades, the Dublin and London book trades offered his writings for sale. Suppose, for example, that in the early 1730s you had subscribed for the first four volumes of the Dublin *Works* published by George Faulkner, what would you have found when you unwrapped your purchase? What did the volumes look and feel like? Which works were included, and how were they organised and presented? How did these texts of the works compare with previous ones? How did paratexts such as prefaces and notes frame the reading experience, and how did frontispieces and ornaments interact with the verbal texts?¹ By considering, in chronological order, a generous selection of first editions and significant reprints and collections, this study attempts to trace patterns less easily discerned from the viewpoint of a single work or group of works. By analysing change over time and tracing interactions between the print trades of Ireland and England, it seeks a better understanding of the early printed forms in which the published writings reached their readers. In a vast and diverse canon now dominated by a mere handful of works, these original printings also remind us that the writings offered for sale in Swift's lifetime were much more numerous and varied than the selection commonly read now, and that they appeared in a sometimes surprising range of material texts.

Early publications were extraordinarily diverse in print quality and genre (to which their relation was often parodic), but they were remarkably consistent in their dominant formats, which clustered towards the middle and lower reaches of the market. Many pieces were issued as half sheets, or as quarto or octavo pamphlets, and the most aspirational medium for

¹ For a comparison of Faulkner's expanded *Works* as it stood in 1758 with a rival Dublin edition of that year, see Andrew Carpenter, 'Reading Swift's *Works* in Dublin in the 1750s', in Kirsten Juhas, Patrick Müller and Mascha Hansen (eds.), *The First Wit of the Age: Essays on Swift and his Contemporaries in Honour of Hermann J. Real* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 117–31.

a lifetime collection or substantial single work was a well-printed octavo, with a few copies on large paper. (Only later in Swift's life, notably in the 1735 *Dublin Works*, would the option of a duodecimo format become crucial; and an octodecimo option emerged only twenty years after his death.²) Volumes in folio, the large old-fashioned prestige format, hardly featured at all; and it was only ten years after his death, in 1755, that his works first appeared in the large quarto that had begun to displace the folio earlier in the century.³ Both the modesty of format and the range of print quality and genre were deeply characteristic of Swift in print, structuring in significant ways the interplay between the folded sheet and what was printed on it.

Swift in print, however, is not Swift; and what was good for the one was not necessarily good for the other. Indeed, Swift in print profited from experiences that were deeply unwelcome to Swift; it developed on many occasions in ways that he would not have chosen; and it carried on, without his further input, during his years of cognitive decline and into the years after his death. So this is not a book about Swift, or his writings, or even about his attitude to authorship and his publishing strategies and relations with the print trade, although all of these are vital contexts. (Nor does it focus on the intentions and decisions of print professionals, which are for the most part even more sparsely documented than Swift's.) In order to focus on the books, pamphlets and papers themselves, I have largely forgone the familiar pleasures of tracing Swift's emotions and intentions, quoting his works and private letters, and debating the various views of critics. In Swift's lifetime, direct knowledge of what he was thinking, feeling, composing and contriving was restricted to a relatively small circle (as, indeed, was knowledge of the motives, intentions and decisions of his booksellers and printers): readers without privileged access to inside knowledge might glean advance information from printed proposals and advertisements, but for most readers Swift's work effectively came into existence when it was printed and offered for sale. In the case of verse, composition was particularly likely to be separated from publication by intervals of varying duration, during which new pieces might be known through relatively restricted manuscript circulation or not at all.⁴ (Significant numbers of manuscript works did not come to press until after Swift's death.) By adopting a chronology of first publication rather than the usual chronology of composition, this study therefore prioritises

² See Chapter 7. ³ See Chapter 8.

⁴ Stephen Karian, 'Swift as a Manuscript Poet', in *JS Book*, pp. 31–50 (pp. 33–6).

the works' successive emergence into print – which was often significantly out of sequence with their writing. By focusing on the books themselves rather than on the intentions and processes of their making (and adopting a cautious approach to the attribution of individual responsibility), it brings into the foreground evidence that is plentiful, accessible – and often relatively neglected.

In general, the discussions that follow focus primarily on first publications, as distinct from the later revised and supplemented editions from which our modern texts of major works typically derive (notably in the cases of *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*).⁵ First publications and their early reprints might come from Dublin or from London; they might be cheap half sheets or pamphlets or substantial volumes; and they might or might not have been authorised by Swift. But whatever their status and credentials, they were still the first printed texts available. Swift, however, took for granted his right as author to revise for subsequent editions. This was a principle that he had learned young, while assisting his elderly patron Sir William Temple in applying his final lifetime intentions to the text of his letters and memoirs; but as time went on it tended to dignify Swift's works for posterity by distancing them both from their contexts of composition and from the printed texts in which they had first been instantiated.⁶ Changing fashions in book design also played their part, particularly after Swift's death. By emphasising the first publication of a given work, the present study prioritises the books that the first purchasers handled in print-shops or on book-stalls, the pamphlets and single sheets that they passed around in coffee houses or brought into their homes. Revised editions might later adjust, but hardly efface, the impact of these early publications.

One perhaps surprising feature of the Swift canon is the number and persistence of dubious attributions. This is in one sense a problem: some works unlikely to be Swift's continue to influence his reception because attributions remain embedded in library catalogues, older editions, secondary scholarship and popular accounts; and others are the subject of continued disagreement among scholars.⁷ Yet such disputed attributions reflect something important about Swift in print, which was nearly always issued anonymously, and often purported to be the work of a fictitious named person, or of some unnamed person from a social category to which

⁵ *CWJS Tale*, pp. 275–80; *CWJS Travels*, pp. 652–3. ⁶ See Chapters 2 and 3.

⁷ For recent progress in this regard, see the deattributed poems section of *CWJS Poems IV* (forthcoming).

Swift himself did not belong. When he became famous, particularly during the Drapier affair of the 1720s, it was tempting for contemporaries to surmise (or actively suggest) that printed work by others might be his, and it helped that some of those who published views similar to Swift's were also accomplished writers. In other cases Swift gave his friends 'hints' that they incorporated into their own publications. Unless otherwise stated, the present study focuses on works of whose attribution to Swift I am reasonably confident: the fuzzy edges of the canon figure less as puzzles to be solved than as reminders of the media phenomenon that was Swift in print.

In offering a whole-career overview of a major writer's published works, the present study also confronts a realisation that is familiar to published authors, if not always reflected in everyday talk about literature, namely that books are as they are not primarily because their authors desire them to be so, but because they are the outcomes of a collaborative process with established norms and practices. In Swift's time these norms and practices were shaped not only by hierarchical structures of apprenticeship in the print trade, but also by the different regulatory frameworks of Dublin and London print: Moxon's account in *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683) is particularly valuable for the way in which it relates print processes to a specific print community. Bertrand Bronson speaks of the book as 'the collaborative product of many minds and many hands: hands trained to habitual skills and set in traditional ways, and minds predisposed by knowledge, judgment and taste'; and attention to material texts underlines the fact that the individual book is not designed from scratch, but as a variant of what might be called 'printers' normal', a set of working templates in which some elements are easily varied and others less so.⁸ What counted as normal in the hand-press period varied with time, place, price and genre; but many basic conventions remain so deeply acculturated, even today, as to pass largely below the threshold of authorial intention. While authors may well desire a particular size or quality of book, or a particular typographical design, they are less likely to put in a specific request for the title to appear on a recto. Indeed, in *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, Hazel Wilkinson draws on recent reassessments of authorial involvement in the lifetime printings of works by Spenser, Milton and Jonson to argue that 'In the early modern period, the author was often the recipient, not the sole originator, of the authority

⁸ Bertrand H. Bronson, *Printing as an Index of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York Public Library, 1963), pp. 5–6.

constructed by print.⁹ This is also suggestive in relation to Swift. Instead of framing Swift in print in terms of an eighteenth century often associated with modernity and enlightenment, it is worth at least considering the published works as a late expression of an early modern formation – one that significantly predated the professional authorship modelled by Swift’s younger friend Alexander Pope.¹⁰

Swift in print began as a Dublin presentation of the writing of an Anglo-Irish child of the 1660s, and developed in the context of an asymmetrical relationship between the print trades of Ireland and England. Swift’s publications, usually anonymous, relatively unpretentious in format and hugely varied in material quality, did not constitute a livelihood in themselves, but were part of the professional career of a university-educated Church of Ireland clergyman. In contrast, Pope in print was an English phenomenon through and through, the long-term livelihood of a Londoner born in the 1680s who found himself debarred by Catholicism and disability from standard routes through education into the professions. As James McLaverty emphasises in his 2001 study *Pope, Print and Meaning*, Pope’s poems, taken up from the beginning by leading booksellers, were consolidated into a self-edited *Works* by the time he was thirty and were routinely marketed in prestige formats, while his exploitation of the London copyright law introduced in 1710 made him a pioneer in the authorial management of intellectual property. Later publications were in effect self-published, as he cut out the bookseller and commissioned printing as required. If such a view of Pope in print foreshadows the literary livelihoods enterprised in print and digital media by writers today, it also suggests that Swift in print, though overlapping in time, was importantly different. The present study considers some of the material evidence of that difference.

Stephen Karian begins his 2010 study *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* with an important recognition:

Swift’s dealings with the book trade are known and documented; nonetheless, no one has yet examined these relationships in a way that covers his entire career. As a result, we do not yet understand the changes and continuities that characterize Swift as a print author.¹¹

⁹ Hazel Wilkinson, *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 12.

¹⁰ James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Dustin Griffin, *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹¹ Karian, *Print and Manuscript*, p. 11.

The present book, however, though still concerned with changes and continuities across the whole career, focuses less on print-trade relationships and transmissions between manuscript and print than on the print products that resulted. This is because, while I love the work of scholarly editing that has occupied me for most of my career, it also frustrates me by revealing, in the lifetime printed texts, expressive traces of human skill, effort and difficulty that are not easy to share. The end users of an edition can certainly consult textual accounts and historical collations, and they can also now look online at images of various printed texts; but the editor's reading text still tends to dominate – in some ways functioning less as an additional text of the work than as a stand-in for the work itself. Yet the irony is that while talk of book formats and print processes often seems abstruse or irrelevant to those not directly involved, the opportunity to work directly with a press, or to handle rare books, is typically greeted with delight and a sense of illumination. All this encourages me to attempt, in deliberately straightforward terms, a career-long view of Swift in print. While it is a privilege to be able to draw on the extraordinarily detailed and subtle textual and bibliographical scholarship being produced within the Swift community, this is not a technical study. It offers instead a long-term perspective on effects which may in themselves be relatively superficial, but are nonetheless significant.

* * *

Swift in print, as introduced in Part I, 'Beginnings', was predicated on an awkward straddling of the Irish Sea: on the one side lay the world of London print, where delegated regulation by the Stationers' Company allowed the trade to expand and diversify; on the other lay the heavily restricted Dublin trade, where, nominally at least, only the King's Printer in Ireland was allowed to print at all. Implications for the formation of Swift in print are addressed in Chapter 1, 'First Impressions: Dublin and London to 1699', which focuses on the revealing oddities of Swift's first two printed works: *An Ode. To the King*, published by John Brent in Dublin, and *Ode to the Athenian Society*, published by John Dunton in London. By contextualising these early poems in the distinct but connected Irish and English print worlds of the late seventeenth century (aided by Dunton's *The Dublin Scuffle*, his account of a working visit undertaken in 1698), the chapter shows how some of the print-trade structures and individuals of

Swift's early formation would continue to exert an influence on the future development of Swift in print.

Part II, 'London', moves on to the years up to 1714, when publication was centred in England. Chapter 2, 'The Shock of the Normal: From Temple to the *Tale* (1693–1705)', begins by analysing Swift's paratexts to the posthumous editions of the works of his patron, Sir William Temple, which first presented Swift's words in high-quality print. Having chosen Benjamin Tooke the younger as his bookseller, Swift published *A Tale of a Tub* in 1704 – a notorious and expensive production, which, considered as a book, turns out, despite its modern reputation, to be surprisingly normal. Chapter 3, 'Material Voices: The Bickerstaff Effect (1705–1710)', focuses on the intensely productive years up to 1710, tracing the process by which Swift in print consolidated its techniques of anonymity, reaching a climax in the Bickerstaff hoax of 1708–9, and presenting in 1710 the elaborated but still technically anonymous fifth edition of the *Tale*. Finally, Chapter 4, 'Politics and Permanence: *Miscellanies*, Politics and a *Proposal* Declined (1710–1714)', shows how, during the hectic period of Swift's service to the Tory ministry from 1710 to 1714, print not only disseminated the day-to-day political interventions published by the ministry's official printer, John Barber, but also supported claims for longer-term significance. In 1711 Tooke published the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* that first brought together the beginnings of a canon; and in the following year he produced, to particularly expressive effect, Swift's doomed *Proposal* to found an academy, fix the language and celebrate Queen Anne and her ministers to posterity.

With the fall of the ministry and the death of the Queen in 1714, Part III, 'Dublin', returns, with Swift, to the politics and print trade of Ireland. Chapter 5, 'The Irish Patriot in Print (1720–1725)', demonstrates how, after a long silence, Swift in print achieved a new degree of public engagement, ultimately exploding with unprecedented force in the Drapier's letters against Wood's halfpence. These shabby but effective pamphlets staged print and its processes in notably self-referential terms, representing print as a means of bringing people together for the common good; and by the triumphant end of the campaign Swift in print was a dynamic brand in a growing Dublin print trade. Yet London publication still offered the apparent advantages of legally secured copyrights, high-quality printwork, effective distribution and assistance from established contacts, and Chapter 6, 'Delegating in London, Recouping in Dublin: *Travels*, *Miscellanies*, the *Intelligencer* and *A Modest Proposal* (1726–1729)', examines a brief period when

publication once more centred in London, arguably to the benefit of Swift in print, though not to the satisfaction of Swift himself. Now that Tooke was dead, Swift sold the copy of his *Travels* to his successor, Benjamin Motte the younger, and provided Pope with material for a joint set of London *Miscellanies*. Later, enraged by the selection and censorship they had exercised, Swift responded by conniving at the appearance of authorial revisions in Dublin reprints – even while entrusting Irish friends with more poems to carry to press in London. Yet the established momentum of Swift in print continued to favour the Dublin trade, and it reached its climax in George Faulkner's 1735 Dublin edition of the *Works*, whose expressive force is the focus of Chapter 7, '*The Works of J. S, D. D, D. S. P. D. (1730–1735)*'. This Dublin *Works* was the nearest thing to an authorised collected edition to appear in Swift's lifetime. While rightly regarded as a monument, and a significant step in the consolidation of Swift in print, it is clear from the proposal and the 1735 tranche of volumes that it was a radically – and expressively – compromised one.

Part IV, 'Into the Future', shows Swift and Swift in print in the process of final separation. Chapter 8, 'Ending and Going On (1736–1765)', begins with Swift's last lifetime publications, considers the new publications that followed his death in 1745, and addresses the changes brought about by the major collections of the next twenty years. First, in the short time remaining before cognitive decline prevented Swift from acting on his own behalf, important poems appeared in significantly odd forms in London, while *Polite Conversation* was published in strategically different editions there and in Dublin. *Directions to Servants*, finally sent to press unfinished, was brought out by Faulkner a few days after Swift's death in 1745. But Faulkner soon lost ground to the London copy-holders, whose new 1755 edition boasted the novelty of a fashionable large quarto. The copy-holders still began by proposing a subscription; but now the editor himself became a selling point, with his personal connection to Swift advertised as a crucial qualification. Yet when the copy-holders' reliance on 'an intimate Friend of the Author' was disappointed they turned to John Hawkesworth, a representative of a new breed of professional men of letters – and the first publication of *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* in 1758 showed that even an editor who had known Swift personally could still denounce his politics. In 1765 Swift's cousin Deane Swift, having dropped previous plans for Oxford publication, brought to press in London new material from

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family manuscripts which attracted subscribers from constituencies old and new. Exemplifying the clean, modern elegance of the Hawkesworth edition into which it was incorporated, Deane Swift's handsome quarto confirmed just how much Swift in print had changed from the modest formats and expressive typography of its author's lifetime.

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As this study emphasises, it takes much more than an author to make a book, and it is a pleasure to put on record the generosity, expertise and enthusiasm that so many people have brought to the making of this particular book. For indispensable guidance through the ‘printers’ normal’ of a digital age, I would like to thank Bethany Thomas and Bethany Johnson at Cambridge University Press and Gayathri Tamilselvan at Integra. Two anonymous readers also provided much-valued advice and encouragement, and Rose Bell was the ideal copy editor, bringing an enviable combination of rigour and finesse to the final preparation of the text. I also want to thank past and present colleagues at the University of Birmingham for their help and encouragement during planning and writing. Particular gratitude is due to Hugh Adlington, Sally Baggott, Maureen Bell, Louise Curran, Rob Doolan, Andrzej Gasiorek, Oliver Herford, John Holmes, Susan Hunston, Jo Keogh, Martin Killeen, Helen Laville, Tom Lockwood, Deborah Longworth, Rebecca Mitchell, Sebastian Mitchell, Kate Rumbold, Marcus Walsh, Emily Wingfield, Hazel Wilkinson and Gillian Wright. The conversations generated over recent years by the Centre for Literary Editing and the Materiality of the Text have made me realise afresh what a privilege it is to work with so many outstanding colleagues in the study of book and text. Further afield, many other individuals have shared their knowledge and pointed me towards crucial materials, notably John Barnard, Nicolas Bell, Giles Bergel, Carol Conlin, Sophie Evans, Moyra Haslett, Máire Kennedy, Tom Keymer, Gregory Lynall, Jason McElligot, John McTague, Anne Markey, Sandy Paul, Hermann Real, Michael Suarez and Fergus Wilde. Conferences of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society, the Bangor Conference on the Restoration and the Swift350 Conference at Trinity College Dublin have all provided congenial and stimulating contexts for sharing ideas.

Acknowledgements

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My attention was first turned to Swift by an invitation from the General Editors of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift* to edit his prose parodies. After decades of working on the poetry of Pope, this was a life-changing experience, which introduced me for the first time to the Dublin book trade and led in turn to the conception of the present book. It also introduced me to the *CWJS* editorial team, and I'd like to thank Linda Bree, Paddy Bullard, Andrew Carpenter, Daniel Cook, David Hayton, Ian McBride, James May, Claude Rawson, Adam Rounce, Marcus Walsh, Abigail Williams and David Womersley for their support and collegiality over the years. James Woolley and Stephen Karian have given me the benefit of their textual expertise right from the planning stage; and it is now a pleasure to direct readers, for up-to-date accounts of Swift's printed verse, to their forthcoming four-volume *CWJS Poems*. (Consulting this transformative edition is going to be a priority for everyone interested in Swift's poetry; any mistakes in the meantime are entirely my own.) I also owe Ian Gadd and Ian Higgins particular thanks not only for their help along the way, but also for sharing their recent work towards *CWJS English Political Writings, 1701–1711*. Finally, my long-standing debt to Jim McLaverty for his tact, wisdom and insight into Scriblerian printing is acknowledged, but in no sense repaid, by the Dedication.

Research based on examining books rather than reading them is arguably as much work for their custodians as it is for the researcher, and my requests to see so many of the different material forms in which Swift was published in his lifetime have entailed laborious and repeated rounds of book-fetching both in UK libraries and in Dublin. Heartfelt thanks are due to the staff of the Rare Books Room of Cambridge University Library, the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Armagh Robinson Library, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the London Metropolitan Archives and the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham. In Dublin, I am enormously grateful to the staff of the Trinity College Early Printed Books department, Pearse Street Library, the National Library of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy and Marsh's Library. Without permission to exceed daily allowances for book-ordering and to inspect copies not normally available to readers, writing this book would have been much less practicable. Chetham's Library, the Huntington Library, the Kroch Library of Cornell University and the National Library of Scotland also responded quickly and conclusively to enquiries at a distance. For generous assistance with illustrations I should like to record my thanks to the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the British Library and Chetham's Library.

This is also the place to acknowledge the particular contributions of three pioneering scholars of print and book history whom I did not have the privilege of meeting in person: it will be obvious from what follows how fundamental the insights of Donald McKenzie, Mary ('Paul') Pollard and Michael Treadwell have been. With the completion by Hermann Real and Dirk Passmann of David Woolley's *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, and the steady advance of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, it has also been time to say a respectful farewell to routine citation of such long-familiar scholarly editions as the *Correspondence*, *Poems* and *Journal to Stella* edited by Harold Williams, and the volumes of Herbert Davis's *Prose Works* now superseded by *CWJS* volumes. Yet we are all standing, as long as we can stand at all, on the shoulders of giants (the labours of Herman Teerink and Arthur Scouten on *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift* are an enduring example); and only from such a vantage point can we hope to see, in and through the intricate challenges posed by the material texts and their contexts, the larger patterns of Swift in print. To take on such a subject is necessarily to pay tribute to the many other kinds of book that have constituted Swift studies over the generations, and to recognise the excitement of a digital moment in which books themselves, now relieved of many of their everyday duties, are once more reminding us of their strangeness and allure.

But there is, as always, the most important person still to thank. Without Ian's support and resilience over the last forty years, not to mention the stimulus of his own very different work in editing and textual transmission, I would probably never have begun this or indeed any of my books – let alone finished them.

Note on Conventions

The scholarship and modern editions that provide the secondary material for this study are listed in the Works Cited at the end of the book; but a different method has been adopted for the early printed books, pamphlets and papers that constitute the primary material. These are instead introduced in the body of the book (and can be traced from the Index). This allows a fuller and more contextualised account of items whose titles, places of publication and relative dates are not necessarily straightforward. These first references are primarily designed to distinguish the edition under discussion from others with which it might be confused, making it as easy as possible for readers to identify available library copies and digital simulacra (for which the listings of holding libraries and digital resources in *ESTC* are particularly helpful). TS numbers, Foxon numbers and *ESTC* numbers are therefore provided as relevant, although it should be borne in mind that TS was last revised in 1963, Foxon's *English Verse, 1701–1750* dates from 1975, and *ESTC* does not include all the publications discussed in the present work. (*ECCO* images can be accessed quickly and accurately by using the *ESTC* number search facility; but some Swift publications included in *ESTC* are not included in *ECCO*.)

Titles of works by Swift are normally given in italics. (The modern convention of distinguishing between italics for works first published separately and roman in inverted commas for those first published as part of a collection sits awkwardly with the diversity of early Swift printings.) Where discussion focuses on typographical variation, titles and quotations are transcribed in roman or italic or black letter, upper case or lower case, large or small capitals as required.

All classical quotations and translations are taken from Loeb Classical Library (www.loebclassics.com).

In choosing illustrations for this book I have focused primarily on less familiar publications and on less familiar pages from better-known publications, and it has been a joy to be able to draw on the resources of the

British Library, Chetham's Library and the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Some of the images have been reproduced from items of relatively poor quality (an important aspect of early Swift in print); some, though perhaps harder to read in detail at reduced size, provide a necessary overview of the designs of page and opening that framed Swift's writings for early readers. Many other images of Swift in print are already accessible in editions of his works, in books about him, and in online resources, so the present selection aims to widen the range by prioritising images not so easily found elsewhere – even if they are not always the clearest or most elegant.

Abbreviations

Ault, <i>Pope's Own Miscellany</i>	Alexander Pope, <i>Pope's Own Miscellany</i> , ed. Norman Ault (London: Nonesuch Press, 1935)
Baines and Rogers, <i>Curll</i>	Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, <i>Edmund Curll, Bookseller</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007)
BBTI	<i>British Book Trade Index</i> (bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)
BL	British Library
Bond, <i>Tatler</i>	<i>The Tatler</i> , ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
<i>Bowyer Ledgers</i>	Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (eds.), <i>The Bowyer Ledgers</i> (London: Bibliographical Society, revised online edition, 2017: www.bibsoc.org.uk ; book and microform first published London: Bibliographical Society, and New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1991)
Carpenter, <i>Scuffle</i>	John Dunton, <i>The Dublin Scuffle</i> , ed. Andrew Carpenter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000)
<i>Corr.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.</i> , ed. David Woolley, with index by Hermann J. Real and Dirk F. Passmann, 5 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999–2014)
CWJS	<i>The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2008–): vol. I, <i>A Tale of a Tub and Other Works</i> , ed. Marcus Walsh (2010); vol. II, <i>Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises: Polite Conversation, Directions to Servants and Other Works</i> , ed. Valerie Rumbold (2013); vols. III–VI, <i>Poems I–IV</i> , ed. James Woolley and Stephen Karian (forthcoming); vol. VII, <i>English Political Writings, 1701–1711: The Examiner and Other Works</i> , ed. Ian Gadd and Ian Higgins

- (forthcoming); vol. VIII, *English Political Writings, 1711–1714: The Conduct of the Allies and Other Works*, ed. Bertrand A. Goldgar and Ian Gadd (2008); vol. IX, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710–1713*, ed. Abigail Williams (2013); vol. XII, *Writings on Religion and the Church after 1714*, ed. Ian Higgins (forthcoming); vol. XIV, *Irish Political Writings after 1725: A Modest Proposal and Other Works*, ed. David Hayton and Adam Rounce (2018); vol. XV, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. David Womersley (2012)
- Davis, *Drapier's Letters* Jonathan Swift, *The Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland against Receiving Wood's Halfpence*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935)
- ECCO *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online)
- Ehrenpreis, *Swift* Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, 3 vols. (London: Methuen, 1962–83)
- Ellis, *Discourse* Jonathan Swift, *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome*, ed. Frank H. Ellis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)
- Ellis, *Examiner* Jonathan Swift, *Swift vs. Mainwaring: The Examiner and The Medley*, ed. Frank H. Ellis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)
- ESTC *English Short Title Catalogue* (estc.bl.uk)
- Foxon David Foxon, *English Verse, 1701–1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1975)
- HLQ *Huntington Library Quarterly*
- JSA *Jonathan Swift Archive* (ota-qa.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)
- JS Book Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (eds.), *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- J. Woolley, *Intelligencer* Jonathan Swift and Thomas Sheridan, *The Intelligencer*, ed. James Woolley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

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- Karian, *Print and Manuscript*
 Lonsdale, *Lives*
 Münster (date)
 ODEP
 ODNB
 Pollard, *Dictionary*
 PW
- Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
 Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006)
Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Richard H. Rodino and Hermann J. Real (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1998);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Fourth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2003);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Hermann J. Real (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2008);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. K. Juhas, H. J. Real and S. Simon (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013);
Reading Swift: Papers from the Seventh Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift, ed. Janika Bischof, Kirsten Juhas and Hermann J. Real (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2019)
The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 3rd edition, ed. F. P. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (www.oxforddnb.com)
 Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of the Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000)
 Jonathan Swift, *The Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis and others, 16 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939–74)

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- SCEBC (date) *Stationers' Company Entry Book of Copies* (images in *Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, 1554–2007*, Adam Matthew Digital, www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk)
- Scott, *Works* Jonathan Swift, *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Walter Scott, 2nd edition, 19 vols. (Edinburgh, 1824)
- SStud *Swift Studies*
- SwJ Alexander Lindsay, 'Jonathan Swift, 1667–1745', in *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, Vol. III: 1700–1800, Part 4 (London: Mansell, 1997)
- TCD Trinity College, Dublin
- TS H. Teerink, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd edition revised and corrected by the author, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963)
- Ward, *Prince of Dublin Printers* George Faulkner, *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*, ed. Robert E. Ward (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1972)