POOR JOHN HARDING AND MAD TOM:
‘HARDING’S RESURRECTION’
(1724)
The Dublin printer John Harding (fl. 1718–1725) headed his ‘impartial’ newspapers with a woodcut emblem of Phaethon attempting to drive the chariot of Helios and the Ovidian tag *medio tutissimus ibis*, Helios’s warning to Phaethon: you will go safest in the middle [Illus. 1]. 1 Whether Harding viewed Phaethon’s failure to keep to the middle course as tragic, heroic, or only monitory we do not know, but his publications, so far from being impartial, were distinctly Tory, as M. Pollard observes, 2 and he frequently avoided the safe or middle way.

Indeed, our earliest information about Harding’s career dates from 1715, when he was a press corrector apprenticed to Edward Waters, a Dublin printer repeatedly in trouble for seditious printing. It was then that an Irish Privy Council committee examined young Harding about his part in producing Waters’s reprint of the seditious pamphlet *English advice, to the freeholders of England* for the bookseller John Hyde (1715). 3 Then in 1719, a partisan attack reported that Harding was in danger of arrest for ‘false and Seditious Insinuations’ in his ‘Jackish’ newspaper. 4 In 1721, both the House of Lords and the House of Commons ordered him into custody, the Lords for unauthorized printing of the lord lieutenant’s speech and the Commons for printing a ‘false, scandalous and malicious Libel’, *The last speech and dying words of the Bank of Ireland*. 5 In 1723, as consternation over Wood’s coinage was beginning to build, the lords justices ordered him prosecuted for publishing a perverse rumour that the value of gold coin would be raised. 6 It was thus with a well-established record of risk-running that, in early 1724, John Harding took on
the role of printing Swift’s *Drapier’s letters* and many of the other pamphlets and halfsheets that helped mobilize opposition to Wood’s halfpence.

In Harding’s weekly newspaper, he published a poem about this risk-taking and its consequences. The poem, ‘Harding’s Resurrection’, was in 1762 attributed to Swift by no less an authority than George Faulkner. Other Swift editors ignored Faulkner’s attribution until F. Elrington Ball rather weakly repeated it in 1929. Here I wish to examine the poem in the light of its probable occasion and to reconsider the attribution. At the same time, I hope to add some nuances to the résumé of Harding’s career presented by M. Pollard in her magisterial *Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade* and point out one or two possible directions for further bibliographical research into early Dublin printing.

Aside from the poem’s publication (without comment) in Harding’s *Weekly Impartial News Letter*, Dublin, 18 February 1723/4, the only extant eighteenth-century text of it is the one that Faulkner published in his octodecimo edition of Swift’s works in 1762 and then reprinted the next year in his duodecimo and octavo editions. The octodecimo text quite clearly reprints the newspaper text, which is therefore the only textually significant one:

Illus. 1. Three *medio tutissimus ibis* ornaments, illustrating Phaeton’s story as told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Reproduced approximately 35 percent of actual size from newspapers in the Gilbert Collection of Dublin City Library and Archive, by permission.
HARDING's RESURRECTION.

FROM

HELL upon EARTH.

FORTH from my Dark and Dismal Room
Behold to Life again I'm come;
By long Confinement poor John Harding
Has hardly left a single Farthing;
He's brought to such a wretched Pass
He'd almost take the English Brass;
Begs that his Customers will use
His Pamphlets, Elegies and News.

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 CAPITALS, as being Great,
Before the Font advance in State;
The rest are Common Soldiers all,
Obedient to their General's Call;
Italick, Roman, and Long Primer,
Diff'ring like Tory, Whig and Trimmer,
Distinguish'd by their Forms and Size,
Some Sink beneath, while others Rise;
Others to Neither Side inclin'd
In close Parenthesis confin'd;
And since for neither they've Regard,
I think indeed they might be spar'd.
Some for the Greatness of their Station,
Have got a Note of Admiration!
Others are Trencht within their Clauses,
As I for LIBELS——as the LAW says.
For Stops and Points I take to be
To Them, what is a Gaol 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 *Abroad* among Mankind, 35
Exact the *Parallel* you'll find,
By *Interest* 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*, 40
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*.

The poem is evidently written to mark Harding's release from gaol, and Faulkner seems to imply that the imprisonment was for printing the *Drapier's letters*. Indeed, the poem's prominent reference to 'the *English Brass* (6) foregrounds the Wood's halfpence controversy. But Faulkner's chronology — implicitly followed by Ball — is unfortunately wrong: not until 7 November 1724 was Harding imprisoned for publishing the *Drapier's Letter to the whole people of Ireland*. Why Harding had been in gaol until shortly before 18 February 1723/4, when he published the poem, is not so clear, then. On 14 May 1723, he had included this paragraph in *Harding's Weekly Impartial News Letter*: 'Dublin, May 14. We hear a Proclamation will speedily be issued out for Raising the Gold Coin in this Kingdom'. This report would have been a response to rumours concerning the impending import of Wood's halfpence, to which the common Irish response in 1723 was that Ireland did not need more copper coins; its problem was the shortage of silver, caused by the fact that gold was overvalued relative to silver, so that people paid their debts in silver. This condition would have rendered it counterproductive to raise the value of gold, already overvalued, so it is not surprising that the lords justices and privy council, who would have proclaimed any such change, would object. And indeed, they announced that Harding had been ordered prosecuted for falsely reporting that the proclamation would be issued; remarkably, the record survives of payments from secret service money to two printers, Elizabeth Pue and Thomas Hume, 1 June 1723, for publishing newspaper advertisements encouraging Harding's capture.
Yet Harding continued to publish his newspaper, or at any rate his newspaper continued to be published, whereas the poem tells us that during Harding's imprisonment, his 'Letters', i.e., his type, 'silent lay' (9). If newspapers published with the imprint 'printed by John Harding' were in fact printed by him, Robert Munter's inference that Harding was taken up shortly after the May announcement and remained imprisoned until February 1723/4 must not be correct.13 Either he was not taken into custody in June, or he was taken up but soon released. On 1 July 1723, Hume's *Dublin Courant* published an advertisement presumably paid for by government officials, reprimanding Harding for having published an incorrect schedule of the summer assizes, though whether this offence would have jeopardized his liberty is unclear.14 Then in November 1723, apparently, he published *A letter sent to a member of parliament*.15 We have a *Weekly Impartial News Letter* issued by Harding on 16 November 1723, so while we cannot attribute any publications to Harding during the interval between 6 August and mid-November, his 'long Confinement' (3) appears not to have lasted longer than from 16 November until shortly before 18 February 1723/4, when 'Harding's Resurrection' appeared.

As to what may have occasioned this putative confinement, we know only what the poem tells us, that it was 'for LIBELS' (28). I have identified no libel from his press in late 1723 or early 1724, though an indeterminate amount of ephemeral printing and most government records of the period have not survived; certainly many issues of newspapers cannot now be found. Nor do we know when and why he was released. Later in 1724, when Harding was imprisoned for printing one of the *Drapier's letters*, he was released when the grand jury failed to return an indictment against him by the end of the then law term, Michaelmas term. Since Hilary term ended 12 February 1723/4, something similar may have occasioned Harding's release in February 1723/4.16 If so, 'Harding's Resurrection' would have been written during the week immediately preceding its publication.

In any case, it is reasonably clear that Harding ran afoul of the government at least three times during the year before 'Harding's Resurrection'. The poem tells us that 'By long Confinement poor John Harding / Has hardly left a single Farthing' (3–4). In Dublin's Newgate Prison, where Harding may have been held, the warden extorted daily fees of the prisoners, who, when they had run out of money, were stripped naked and moved into the 'Felons Room'.17 If Harding did not lose all his money to the warden through such demands, he lost it by being unable to practice his trade: the punishment was not simply physical but also economic.

What must once have been too obvious to need comment seems not to have been recognized in modern times, namely that this poem is a song. At least it
parodies a popular song, ‘Tom of Bedlam’, that begins ‘Forth from my dark and dismal cell’ (see Appendix 2). Reading ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ as a parody, in the literal sense of new words to an old tune, clarifies its intended rhythm and makes sense of its otherwise curious shifts of person from first to third and back (2–3, 8–9).

The two pieces might seem too different in overall structure: 24 tetrameter couplets in ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ as against two irregular 26-line stanzas in ‘Tom of Bedlam’, using various tempos, meters, and keys. But the introductory eight lines of ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ could be sung to the music for the introductory eight lines of ‘Tom of Bedlam’, allowing syllable-doubling for the feminine rhymes of ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ and some melisma in the second and fourth couplets to fit the pentameters of ‘Tom of Bedlam’ [Illus. 2.]. The remaining 40 lines of ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ could be treated as five eight-line stanzas and sung to the same tune in the same way. I will not insist that ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ was written for performance as a song, though I do imagine that it was whipped up for jocular performance, whether sung or only spoken, by a friendly Harding-impersonator at some occasion celebrating Harding’s release from gaol.

‘Tom of Bedlam’ serves, in effect, as the script for a dramatic skit representing a beggar’s shtick, in which he would pretend to be insane – an inmate of London’s Bethlehem Hospital who had been let out to beg. Beggars using this technique called themselves, and were called, ‘Mad Tom’ or ‘Tom of Bedlam’.

The concept of ‘Bedlam beggars’ is still familiar from Edgar’s soliloquy in King Lear 2.3.18 In the late seventeenth century, a perhaps too credulous John Aubrey described the supposed custom:

Till the breaking out of the civill warres, Tom ô Bedlam’s did travell about the country. They had been poore distracted men that had been putt into Bedlam, where recovering to some sobernesse they were licentiated to goe a begging: e. g. they had on their left arm an armilla of tinn, printed in some workes, about four inches long; they could not gett it off. They wore about their necks a great horn of an ewe in a string or baudrie, which, when they came to an house for almes, they did wind: and they did putt the drink given them into this horn, whereto they did putt a stopple. Since the warres I doe not remember to have seen any one of them.19

Bethlehem Hospital denied that it released its patients in this fashion, but even so, Aubrey’s and other testimony shows that beggars pretended to be Bedlam patients.20 By 1720, though, it would appear that in England, the concept of Bedlam-begging was considerably better known from the ‘Tom of Bedlam’ songs
than from Bedlam-beggars themselves, and this was surely so in Ireland, where, as Swift famously pointed out, there was no hospital ‘for Fools and Mad’ and where the songs must have been recognized as imports.21

In these songs, ‘Tom’ would pathetically refer to himself in the third person, then launch into rhapsodic extravagance evidently meant to represent the mental state of a lunatic. From internal evidence and from an account by Goldsmith, we may gather that the singer was typically clothed in rags and perhaps also wore chains. He might display bare arms and legs and employ bizarre movement and gesture, like the ‘Toms of Bedlam’ or ‘Abram-men’ described in a contemporary lexicon of thieves’ cant: ‘Beggars antickly trick’d up with Ribbands, Red Tape, Foxtails, Rags, &c. pretending Madness to palliate their Thefts of Poultrey, Linnen, &c.’22

The ‘Tom of Bedlam’ singer feigned a beggar’s feigning of lunacy, and it is important to bear in mind that ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ alludes to the song, unlike King Lear, which alludes more directly to the beggars. The song, offering the listener vicarious freedom from economic realities and from the conventions of civilized behaviour, provided the emotional distance to treat as amusing, contemptible, or absurd what would ordinarily claim one’s compassion. The song was evidently popular in private performance, and at least slightly later, it was featured as an entr’acte piece in both the London and the Dublin theatres. Shadwell’s comedy Bury-fair (1689) includes a jocular reference to ‘the Thetford Musick’, a well-known group of Norfolk musicians including ‘a Fellow that Acts Tom of Bet’lem to a Miracle!’23 Shadwell and Goldsmith both implicitly assign the ‘Tom of Bedlam’ songs to the register of uncultivated entertainment, suggesting a consequent hilarity of broad appeal.

‘Harding’s Resurrection’, by evoking associations with the song ‘Tom of Bedlam’, would submerge the pathos of Harding’s imprisonment and impoverishment in a jovial farcicality, exaggerating if possible and burlesquing these dire conditions. But beneath the merriment, the serious implication is that unlike Mad Tom, Harding is not a vagabond, a drunkard, or a fraud, nor will he beg. And yet Poor John’s concluding reference to ‘Customers and Friends’ hints that customers may not suffice to ‘make Amends’ (47–48). In danger of further imprisonment, he will also need steadfast political ‘Friends’.

We cannot assume either that Swift personally selected Harding to print the Drapiers letters or that, if he did, the selection was the natural outgrowth of an already established relationship. It is true that Harding had previously printed three small pieces that we attribute to Swift: An epilogue ... in the behalf of the distressed weavers [1721], A letter to the K– at arms [1721], and The last speech and dying words of
In October 1723, however, John Hyde had issued Swift's most recent pamphlet, *Some arguments against enlarging the power of bishops*, and earlier, in March 1722/3, Harding for his part had surely displeased Swift by reprinting a scatological London publication, *Serious and cleanly meditations upon a house of office*, that included a poem falsely attributed to him: ‘The bog-house, a poem in imitation of Milton’.24

We do not know enough about how Swift came to write the *Drapier's letters*. He was away from Dublin during much of 1723, finding it convenient, once Esther Vanhomrigh died, to absent himself from the capital on a long journey through the south of Ireland. He spent time with Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, first at Charles Ford's estate at Woodpark, county Meath and then, during the Christmas vacation of 1723-1724, at Thomas Sheridan's house at Quilca, county Cavan. These absences presumably provided him at least some insulation from the growing uproar over Wood's coinage as he worked on *Gulliver's travels*: 'I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island, where I shall not stay long,' he reported.25 Notwithstanding the absence of testimony from Swift himself about how he came to add the Drapier to his repertory of personae, however, there is evidence that Archbishop King and Lord Midleton were active in enlisting Swift to write what we now know as the *Drapier's letters*; Philip O'Regan presents evidence that in early 1723, a year before the Drapier's first letter, Swift had 'ably supported' King in his opposition to the halfpence, showing that, as one might imagine, Swift's interest in the topic did not burgeon suddenly in early 1724.26

Swift returned to Dublin from Quilca on 11 January 1723/4.27 Herbert Davis has argued that by mid-February 1723/4, the Drapier's first letter had been written and perhaps even printed in a preliminary edition;28 if so, King and Midleton's persuasion would have been accomplished before that time, that is, by the time of 'Harding's Resurrection'. After Harding was arrested 7 November 1724 for publishing *A letter to the whole people of Ireland*, Lord Carteret reported to the Duke of Newcastle that Harding 'is spirited up to stand the prosecution and hitherto persists in concealing the Author'.29 It is reasonable to think that 'Harding's Resurrection' was an earlier effort to 'spirit up' Harding, who, fresh from gaol, was being enlisted to print and publish what was likely to be a dangerous campaign of propaganda against the halfpence. The poem is replete with references to conflict (armies ready for battle, wars, persons being inclined to one side or the other and being motivated either by interest or by rage), threat ('might be spar'd', 24), and confinement (being 'trencht', 'gaol' 28, 30). The relevance to Harding's possible future circumstances must have been obvious, at least to him and his 'Friends'.

Did the author of 'Harding's Resurrection' write from a personal acquaintance with Harding's shop? That is, does the poem tell us something about Harding's
shop in particular, as opposed to printing shops in general? If that author was Swift, it does seem possible that he had visited Harding's shop on occasion, although on such an occasion he would not have been present as an author visiting his printer. Swift claimed, for instance, that the Drapier had no direct contact with Mr Harding and that Harding was not in a position to identify the Drapier. So the question of whether the poem provides us with useful information about Harding's work as a printer is only a topic for speculation.

Such information would not lie in the fact that the capitals were at the top in his type cases ("The CAPITALS, as being Great, / Before the Font advance in State", 13–14), for every standard lay of the case featured that arrangement, as Philip Gaskell has shown. Rather the information, if such it is, may be in the claim that Harding printed in red and black — that 'Some' of his letters were 'cloath'd in Black, and some in Red' (31). I do not know of any Harding imprints that use coloured printing, but this reference raises the possibility that he did red-and-black work in job printing that has not survived, or that he did it as part of shared printing — perhaps the almanacs with red-and-black printing issued by Elizabeth Sadleir, who may have been his mother-in-law. Shared printing may be cautiously hypothesized from Pollard's identification of a Harding ornament in Keating's General history of Ireland, Dublin: printed by James Carson, and sold by the booksellers, 1723, or from Trinity College Dublin cataloguing showing Harding ornaments in a book printed for Patrick Dugan. An effort to identify printing by Harding in the imprints of others might profitably examine work printed for Sadleir, for Dugan, or for his apparent colleague John Chantry, who advertised frequently in Harding's newspapers, concealing his name but saying that the books were sold at Chantry's address, 'opposite the Watch House the North side of College-Green'.

Typographical analysis may someday ascertain whether these and the like instances reveal only the lending, selling, etc., of ornaments or actual shared printing, which would in turn shed new light on business alliances within the Dublin book trade.

One other point of possible printing interest in 'Harding's Resurrection' is the observation that 'Some [letters come] with, and some without a Head' and that 'Others [come] with Tails' (32–33). If this terminology is being used as Moxon uses it, tail means 'a Stroak proceeding from the Right Hand Side of the Stem, in the Foot-Line, as a d t u'. Moxon does not explicitly use the term head to denote a part of a letter that not all letters have; he says that the head of a letter is the part that 'stands ranging in [the] imagin'd head-line, that is, a line marking the x-height of the font. However, the term as 'Harding's Resurrection' uses it would fit what Moxon calls the 'beak' of a letter, 'the fine Stroak or Touch that stands on the Left Hand of the Stem' in those instances when that stroke falls 'in the Head-Line, as i, m, n, &c.' But this terminology is the author's, not necessarily Harding's.
The poem's more reliable information about Harding concerns not his typography but his income: that it was derived from 'Pamphlets, Elegies, and News' (8). It is not surprising that the newspapers were a source of income; not only did he sell the papers, but he also sold advertisements. Indeed, his colophon typically stated that at his shop 'Advertisements are taken in very resonable'. It might not have been supposed that halfsheet elegies were moneymakers like pamphlets and newspapers, but the poem tells us that these were all means of livelihood for John Harding. Being deprived of these means by 'long Confinement' presumably made Harding willing to do more than seek 'Customers' for his existing stock. During the next year, the Drapier's pamphlets issuing from his press ended the effort to put Wood's halfpence into circulation, but not before Harding himself was subjected to another, more debilitating imprisonment.

Whether Swift wrote 'Harding's Resurrection' cannot be definitively determined. George Faulkner's 1762 attribution of the poem to Swift must be accorded considerable weight. In 1723, Faulkner had been a young Dublin printer, perhaps in the last year of his apprenticeship to Thomas Hume, who published the government advertisements against Harding that year. Faulkner would have taken more than a passing interest in Harding's case, if only as a measure of some of the risks associated with the trade he was joining, and he may have been in a position to hear informed talk about the authorship of 'Harding's Resurrection'. It was an ambitious Faulkner, after all, who in 1725, after Harding died, published *Fraud detected; or, The Hibernian patriot*, the first collected edition of the *Drapier's letters*. In the 1730s, in the course of producing six volumes of *The Works of J.S., D.D., D.S.D.P.*, Faulkner became expertly trained on the question of which writings Swift wished to have included in his collected works. These six volumes have a high probability of including nothing not by Swift, but for various reasons they do not include all the work that we now reliably attribute to Swift. Over the next three decades, Faulkner continued to enlarge his edition, swelling it to twenty volumes by 1771.

In the preface to his 1762 edition, Faulkner writes that he has 'been many Years compiling these Works, and at very great Expence and Trouble', and concedes that the quality of his later additions to Swift's canon might not be uniformly high: 'some of the best Scholars and most learned Men in Europe, were against omitting one Piece, or even a single Sentence of Swift's, by saying, all his Weeds were Flowers in the best Gardens, and all the Trash the Choppings of the richest brilliant Diamonds'. Faulkner provides no information about his sources, which in fact seem to have included a variety of manuscripts and printed texts, and he makes little or no attempt to defend his attributions. Most of them have found favour with scholars, but not all: among his 1762 attributions, Harold Williams treated as doubtful 'The puppet show', 'The logicians refuted', and 'Ode on science', in
addition to 'Harding’s Resurrection'. That Faulkner was mistaken about the occasion of 'Harding’s Resurrection' might not encourage confidence in that attribution. Yet after an interval of nearly 40 years, a person’s memory could be accurate on one point (who wrote a poem) and inaccurate on another (what occasioned the poem).

Swift’s awareness of Bedlam-begging is corroborated in *A tale of a tub*, where children mock Jack as ‘Tom the Beggar’ when his clothing is shredded and he has lost his wits. Some stylistic elements in the poem point to Swift as well. Swift frequently burlesqued popular ballads, and his attention to more polite vocal music is suggested in part by his ingenious burlesque ‘Cantata’ and by his ‘Love song in the modern taste’. Some stylistic elements point to Swift as well. He used feminine rhymes to good comic effect; outrageous pairs like ‘law says/clauses’ were greatly to his liking (27–28). It would not be surprising if a poet recycled certain rhymes and turns of phrase. Swift used the ‘Harding/farthing’ rhyme (3–4) in ‘The furniture of a woman’s mind’ (1727). The ‘a little/to a tittle’ rhyme (39–40) occurs in ‘Stella’s birthday. A great bottle of wine long buried’, written for Esther Johnson’s birthday 13 March 1722/3. He used the ‘friends/make amends’ rhyme (47–48) in his poem for her birthday the next year, and he had used it earlier in ‘Dan Jackson’s reply’. That these rhyme-pairs are found in Swift’s verse so near the time of ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ adds plausibility to the case for Swift’s authorship.

The catalogue of parallel clauses beginning with ‘some’ — some do y, some do z — in lines 20–34 resembles such catalogues in Swift’s ‘Serious poem upon William Wood’ (1724), ‘Mad Mullinix and Timothy’ (1728), and ‘Strephon and Chloe’ (1731). Another piece of stylistic evidence is the reference to purchasers of printed materials as ‘customers’ who ‘use’ the printed matter (7–8). This unusual locution, not found in the *OED*, occurs in Swift’s ‘Elegy on Mr Patrige, the almanack-maker’ (1708): ‘Weep all you Customers that use / His Pills, his Almanacks, or Shoes’.

Undeniably, the poem lacks the snap and colloquial energy characteristic of Swift’s best familiar verse of the early 1720s — of, for example, ‘Apollo to the Dean,’ ‘The journal’, or ‘To Charles Ford’. In general, there is not in ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ the tendentious undercurrent of his best work, nor is there the zing of triumph in the ending. Yet the poem is stylistically comparable with Swift’s undoubtedly authentic ‘Epilogue ... in the behalf of the distressed weavers’, likewise written for a charitable occasion and making a similar effort to deploy the jargon of a trade or profession.

That the poem was written in haste, as I suggested earlier, may be indicated by the less than wholly coherent development of the dominant conceit. If the
partisanship of a letter is signified by its being roman or italic (17–18), that partisan inclination is not negated if the letter is in a parenthesis (21–22). The couplet beginning ‘Distinguish’d by their *Forms*’ (19–20) is out of place, interrupting the thought that letters, like people, are partisan (17–18, 21–24); it belongs with the earlier thought that letters, like soldiers, have a rank (13–16), though that ‘Some *Sink* beneath, while others *Rise*’, which I take to be a reference to descenders and ascenders, does not contribute to these letters’ *Forms* and *Size*. The figurative comparison of letters to people, moreover, gains little advantage from the reference to the heads and tails of letters (32–33). Such inconsistencies might signal, if not haste, then collaboration. We know that Swift collaborated on ‘An elegy on Demar’ in 1720.50

Favouring Swift’s sole authorship, however, is the fact that ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ is substantially devoted to printing. Swift had seen nine books through the press, some in multiple editions: Sir William Temple’s *Letters*, 3 vols. (London, [1699], 1703); Temple’s *Miscellanea*, part 3 (London, 1701); *A discourse of the contests and dissensions between the nobles and the commons in Athens and Rome* (London, 1701); *A tale of a tub* (London, 1704); Temple’s *Memoirs*, part 3 (London, 1709); *Miscellanies in prose and verse* (London, 1711); and *The conduct of the allies* (London, [1711]). As author of the *Examiner* (1710–1711) and as leading government pamphleteer during the last four years of Queen Anne’s reign, Swift had spent enough time around John Barber’s London printing house to acquire a more than passing acquaintance with printing.51 ‘Harding’s Resurrection’ was written by someone with such an acquaintance — not the detailed professional knowledge of a practitioner, to be sure, but an attentive amateur’s awareness of ascenders and descenders, heads and tails, roman and italic, red and black printing, and the location of the capitals in a case of type.

The preponderance of the evidence, then, favours Swift’s authorship. If Swift wrote the poem, we gain a more vivid awareness of his knowledge of printing and of popular theatrical music and a richer sense of his humane concern with Harding’s vulnerability as the chief printer in the campaign against Wood’s halfpence. If Swift did not write the poem, we need to identify another competent Dublin poet with the same view of Harding, the same stylistic habits, and the same knowledge of printing. If Swift wrote the poem in collaboration with another, we are encouraged more than ever to study the nature and extent of his collaborative writing.52
APPENDIX 1: Dictionary Addenda

Testimony taken in an Irish Privy Council committee in 1715 (see note 3, below) permits a few minor additions to M. Pollard's *Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*.

**Brooker, Broker, John**

1715 JB was an appr to Edward Waters, working as compositor and pressman; he was examined about EW's printing of *English advice to the freeholders of England* (1715).

**Cholmondley, Ignatius**

1715 IC was one of Edward Waters's three 'Servants imployed in Printing' (with John Brooker and John Harding).

**Harding, John b. 1697?**

1715–d. 1725 (1718–25) That JH was an appr in 1715 makes it plausible that he was the John Harding born to James and Elizabeth Harding 6 Aug 1697, though the name was not uncommon. See Alita Dušek, 'Baptisms in St Bride's, Dublin, 1633–1713', *Irish Genealogist*, v.7, no.2 (1987), p.220. For this information, I am indebted to M. Pollard.

1715 JH was an appr to Edward Waters, working as press corrector and pressman; he was examined about EW's printing of *English advice to the freeholders of England* (1715).

**Waters, Edward**

1715 EW was examined about his printing of the seditious *English advice to the freeholders of England* for John Hyde and was bound over for trial.

*Apprentices:* John Broker, John Harding.

APPENDIX 2: ‘Tom of Bedlam’

The song ‘Tom of Bedlam’, also entitled ‘Mad Tom’, ‘Mad Tom of Bedlam’, or sometimes ‘New Mad Tom of Bedlam’ (because it replaced an older ‘Mad Tom’ song beginning ‘From the hag and hungry goblin’), was published in a number of songbooks and song sheets in the half century before ‘Harding’s Resurrection’. There were other ‘Tom of Bedlam’ songs as well, and it is not always possible to know to which of them a contemporary reference alludes. I refer to these songs collectively as the ‘Tom of Bedlam’ songs (plural) and to the particular song that this appendix treats as the ‘Tom of Bedlam’ song (singular).

The earliest datable version of this ‘Tom of Bedlam’ tune is that published in John Playford’s *The English dancing master; or, Plaine and easie rules for the dancing of country dances, with the tune to each dance* [1650], p.103. Playford calls the tune ‘Graies Inn maske’; the music, composed by John Coprario for Beaumont’s *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn* in 1613, was a dance for a He-Fool. The fact that the tune is dance
music makes plausible its use as a stage performance piece with the words of ‘Tom of Bedlam’. Further on the tune, see Claude M. Simpson, *The British broadside ballad and its music* (New Brunswick, 1966), pp 263–266. The song was traditionally sung by a bass, who had an opportunity, particularly in the second and sixth lines, to show off his low register.

The words, perhaps by William Basse, exist in a number of versions and spin-offs, including one beginning ‘Forth from my sad and darksome [or ‘pecksome’] cell’, but obviously ‘Hard-ing’s Resurrection’ derives from the ‘dark and dismal’ version. As a ballad entitled ‘A new Mad Tom of Bedlam’, the song was listed in the Stationers Company register, London, on 1 March 1675: see Hyder E. Rollins, *An analytical index to the ballad-entries (1557–1709) in the register of the Company of Stationers of London* (1924, reprinted Hatboro 1967), items 1878 and 2656. The Basse attribution seems to originate with Sir John Hawkins.

The text below is taken from *Tom a Bedlam*, an engraved sheet, n.p., n.d., item 61 in a volume of engraved sheet music with the title-page *A collection of the choicest songs & dialogues composd by the most eminent masters of the age* (London, n.d.). Someone has added the year '1705' in manuscript on the title-page of the British Library copy (G.151.a). I have lightly normalized spelling and punctuation and divided the text into lines, capitalizing line beginnings. See also Illus. 2. on previous page.

**Tom a Bedlam**

Forth from my dark and Dismall Cell,
Or from the Dark abyss of Hell,
Mad *Tom* is come to view the World again,
To see if he can cure his distemperd brain.
Fears and cares oppress my Soul,
Hark how the angry Furies howl,
*Pluto* laughs and *Proserpine* is glad,
To see poor angry *Tom of Bedlam* Mad.

Through the world I wander Night and Day,
To find my stragling Sences.
In an angry mood I met old Time,
With his Pentateuch of Tenses.
When me he spies away he flies
For *Time* will stay for no Man.
In vain with cryes I rend the Skies,
For pity is not common.
Cold and comfortless I be,
Help, help, oh help or else I dye.
Hark I hear *Apollos* Team,
The Carman 'gins to whistle.

Chast *Diana* bends her bow,
And the Boar begins to brisle.
Come *Vulcan* with tools and with tackles,
To knock of[f] my troublesome Shackles,
Bid *Charles* make ready his Wain,
To bring me my Sences again.
Last night I heard the Dog Star bark,
*Mars* met *Venus* in the dark;
Lymping *Vulcan* heat an Iron bar,
And furiously made at the great God of Warr.
*Mars* with his weapon laid about,
Lymping *Vulcan* had got the Gout,
His broad Horns did hang so in his light,
That he cou'd not see to aim his blows aright.
*Mercury* the nimble Post of Heaven,
   Stood still to see the quarrel;
Gorrel belly'd *Bacchus* Giant like,
   Bestrid a Strong beer barrel.
To me he drank, I did him thank,
   But I could drink no Sider;
He drank whole Buts till he burst his guts,
   But mine was ne'er the wider.
Poor *Tom* is very dry:
A little drink for Charity!
Hark I hear *Actaeon's* hounds,
   The Huntsman whoops and hallows;
Ringwood, Rockwood, Jowler, Bowman,
   And all the Chace doth follow.
The Man in the Moon drinks Clarret,
Eats powder'd Beef Turnep and Carret,
But a Cup of old *Malago* Sack,
Will fire the Bush att his Back.

NOTES

1 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.137. See the newspapers *Harding's Dublin Impartial News Letter*, *Harding's Impartial News-Letter*, and *Harding's Weekly Impartial News Letter* in the microfilm series *Irish newspapers in Dublin Libraries, 1658–1759* (University Microfilms, 1950), reel 13; this series is hereafter cited as 'INDL'. Most or all of the copies filmed are from the Gilbert Library (Dublin and Irish Local Studies Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive). Some issues not in *INDL* are to be found in the British Library Newspaper Library, Colindale.

in Dublin’, Swift Studies v.14 (1999), pp 37-49. My summary of Harding’s trouble with the authorities is much indebted to Pollard.

3 State Papers Ireland, testimony of Waters and his apprentices John Brooker (or Broker) and John Harding before a committee of the Irish Privy Council, 8 March 1714/5, National Archives (UK), PRO SP 63/372/5, 7, 19. According to the testimony, at least sixteen pages were printed off, but nearly all of the impression (1400-1500 copies) was destroyed before publication; I have not located a copy. See further Appendix 1. I owe the National Archives reference to Éamonn Ó Ciardha, “The Unkinde Deserter” and “The Bright Duke”: contrasting views of the dukes of Ormonde in the Irish royalist tradition’, in The dukes of Ormonde, 1670-1745, Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon, eds (Woodbridge, 2000), p.185; revised in Ó Ciardha’s Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685–1766: a fatal attraction (Dublin, 2002), p.171. See also Trinity College Dublin, transcripts of Archbishop William King’s letters, ms 2536, pp 203, 207–209, 215; and Whalley’s News-Letter no.102, 22 June 1715, INDL reel 8. On Waters’s difficulties with the authorities, see Pollard, Dictionary, pp 589–591.

4 Whalley’s News-Letter no.692, 4 April 1719, INDL, reel 8.


8 INDL, reel 13.


10 Faulkner prints the poem as the last item in a volume of Drapier’s letters and other Irish pamphlets, with this note: ‘JOHN HARDING, Printer and Publisher of several of Dr SWIFT’s Writings, was prosecuted, fined and imprisoned for the same.’ Swift, Works, 18mo ed., Dublin: Faulkner, 1762, v.4, p.356n. Harding is not known to have been imprisoned for printing or publishing any other work of Swift’s, unless The last speech and dying words of the Bank of Ireland is his, which I doubt. See O.W. Ferguson, Jonathan Swift and Ireland (Urbana, 1962), p.75n.


12 Marsh’s Library, Account of secret service money, 11 June 1723, in ms z 3.1.1 (41). The advertisements may be seen in Hume’s Dublin Courant 20, 21, 25, 28 May and 1 June
1723 (INDL, reel 3, and British Library Newspaper Library) and in the Dublin Gazette 28 May 1723 (INDL, reel 4). See also Pollard, Dictionary, pp 275, 472.


14 Copy in the British Library Newspaper Library. Hume repeated the advertisement in his 10 July issue (INDL) and probably in other issues no longer extant.

15 A letter sent to a member of parliament setting forth the oppression the subjects of this kingdom ly under, by the exorbitant fees taken by attorneys for entering judgments, and the charges attending the same, Dublin: printed by John Harding, 1723. ESTC reports that the letter is headed 'Lisbon, Nov. 9. 1723': ESTC t792098.

16 For a clear narrative of the grand jury proceedings affecting Harding in November 1724, see Swift, Correspondence, pp 532–533, n.8, and p.536, n.6; see also The Drapier's letters, pp 267–269. For the law term dates, see John Whalley, The year of darkness; or, an almanack for the year of Christ, 1724 (Dublin [1723]), last leaf.

17 Parliamentary inquiry 'into the State of the Gaols and Prisons of this Kingdom', 24 Nov. 1729, The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, v.3, (Dublin, 1796), appendix, pp cccclxxvi–cccclxxviii. The investigation was into the 'Extortions and Cruelties' of John Hawkins, who had begun work as keeper of Newgate and other Dublin gaols in May 1721.

18 The analysis of William C. Carroll provides a useful basis for comparing King Lear's treatment of Bedlam beggars with that of the song 'Tom of Bedlam': "The base shall top th'legitimate": the Bedlam beggar and the role of Edgar in King Lear, Shakespeare Quarterly v.38 no.4 (Winter 1987), pp 426–441, especially pp 430–436.


21 However, in 1756 someone annotated Aubrey's statement quoted above ('Since the warres I do not remember to have seen any one of them', that is, any Tom of Bedlam) as follows: 'I have seen them in Worcestershire within these thirty years' (Aubrey, Natural history, p.93). The characterization of Swift offered in his 'Verses on the death of Dr Swift' says that 'He gave the little Wealth he had, / To build a House for Fools and Mad: / And shew'd by one satyrlic Touch, / No Nation wanted it so much', Poems, v.2, p.572. For a fuller account of Dublin's lack of a Bedlam hospital, see Sir William Fownes to Swift, 9 September 1732, in Swift, Correspondence, v.3, pp 535–540.

22 In the Busy body, 1759, Goldsmith describes one of these Mad Tom performances in a club of 'choice spirits': Oliver Goldsmith, Works, Arthur Friedman, ed. (Oxford, 1966), v.3, p.8. See also B. E., A new dictionary of the terms ancient and modern of the canting crew, in its several tribes, of gypsies, beggers, 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, [1699]), under 'Abram-men', which was another name for Toms of Bedlam: Wing e5.


24 Some arguments (ESTC ti831) was published 26 Oct. 1723; see Irvin Ehrenpreis, Swift: the man, his works, and the age, v.3 (London, 1983), p.18tn. Serious and cleanly meditations is ESTC ti7471. It may be significant that Harding's second newspaper advertisement of this pamphlet suppresses the attribution of the poem to 'D-n S-t'; see Harding's Weekly Impartial Newsletter 5 March 1722/3 and 12 March 1722/3, INDL reel 13.


26 Ferguson, Jonathan Swift and Ireland, p.96; Philip O'Regan, Archbishop William King of Dublin (1650–1729) and the constitution in church and state (Dublin, 2000), pp 304, 313.

27 Swift, Correspondence, v.2, p.224.


29 Carteret to Newcastle, 14 November 1724, National Archives (UK), PRO SP 63/384, quoted in The Drapier's letters, p.267.

30 In the prefatory note to Swift's Letter to the right honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth, M.B. writes to Harding, '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... For want of Intercourse between You and Me, which I will never suffer, your People are apt to make very gross Errors in the Press, which I desire you will provide against': Swift, Correspondence, v.2, pp 535, 536.


32 One would not expect to find red-and-black printing, or rubrication as it is sometimes called, in the pamphlets, newspapers, or other halfsheets of which Harding's signed output consists; at this period, red-and-black printing was most commonly used in plays and in almanacs, if ESTC cataloguing is a fair indication. In the ESTC 2 June 2004, I searched Harding imprints for NGW (notes general word) 'red', NGW 'color#', NGW 'colour#', or NGW rubrica# without result. I examined the cataloguing of Harding imprints in the Trinity College Dublin online public access catalogue. I am not aware of any substantial discussion of red-and-black printing in Dublin; J.W. Phillips makes only a passing comment in Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670–1800: a bibliographical enquiry (Dublin, 1998), pp 224–226.

33 The reason for caution is that 'ornaments appear to have travelled with great rapidity from press to press': Pollard, Dictionary, p.xlvi. The Keating item is ESTC ti21242; see


On Faulkner’s early career, see Pollard, *Dictionary*, p.198.


Swift, *A tale of a tub*, A.C. Guthkelch and D.N. Smith, eds, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1958), p.142. This point seems never to have been noted by commentators on the *Tale*.


The insertion of afterthoughts has been identified as one of Swift’s ‘compositional habits’ by John Irwin Fischer, ‘Swift writing poetry: the example of “The grand question debated”’, in *Swift: the enigmatic dean*, Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Löffler, and Wolfgang Zach, eds (Tübingen, 1998), pp 41–46.


For various kinds of assistance in the preparation of this paper, I would like to express my gratitude to A.C. Elias Jr., Nina Gilbert, Máire Kennedy, James E. May, Douglas Moore, M. Pollard, David Woolley, and Susan Overath Woolley. The paper draws on the archives of the Swift Poems Project, of which John Irwin Fischer, Stephen Karian, and I are editors.