“The first wit of the age”

Essays on Swift and his Contemporaries in Honour of Hermann J. Real

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Swift and Lord Berkeley, 1699-1701: Berkeley Castle Swiftiana

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Although Berkeley Castle manuscripts are recognized in medieval and Elizabethan studies, in Swift studies they seem to have been overlooked. Berkeley Castle, in the small town of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, was the primary seat of Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, whom Swift attended as domestic chaplain when the Earl served with the Earl of Galway as one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, 1699-1701. From Dublin, Berkeley brought back several manuscript volumes which in effect contain state papers from his time in office; these papers supplement documents available in the State Papers Ireland (UK National Archives) and elsewhere. In 1892, Isaac Jeayes published his inventory of Berkeley Castle muniments, listing ten volumes which had once been in Dublin Castle (see Appendix A). Among these manuscripts, particular Swiftian interest attaches to

- SB 35G-H Petitions to the Lords Justices
- SB 35J Berkeley’s letterbook

Of even greater interest is GBB 155, a volume of ‘acquittances’ maintained by Berkeley’s house steward, recording signed receipts from servants and tradespeople for payments made by the steward on Lord Berkeley’s behalf.

Supplementing and in certain instances correcting the biographical accounts by Louis Landa and Irvin Ehrenpreis, these four manuscript volumes shed some additional light on the events of Swift’s life, 1699-1701. The new information particularly illuminates Swift’s comic strategy in “The Humble Petition of Frances Harris” as well as his disappointment over missing the deanship of Derry. The Berkeley letterbook moreover includes a previously unpublished letter by Swift.

1 Quotations from the Berkeley Castle Muniments are by kind permission of the Berkeley Will Trust.
2 Jeayes did not list this volume, and its significance was first recognized by the present Berkeley Castle Archivist, David J. H. Smith, to whom I am grateful for pointing the volume out to me and for facilitating my research in the Castle’s muniment room. I thank Daniel Cook, who generously accompanied me to Berkeley Castle and assisted me in examining the manuscripts described here.
3 Louis A. Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 25-47; Ehrenpreis, Dr Swift, pp. 2-15, 27, and 33-43. I have not systematically noted points at which I depart from their accounts.
What has previously been known about Swift’s relations with Lord Berkeley and his family may be summarized briefly. Most notable is Swift’s lifelong friendship with Berkeley’s daughter Lady Betty, which began in 1699 in Dublin. He visited Berkeley Castle in August 1702, when he wrote “A Ballad on the Game of Traffick” and “Lady B[etty] B[erkeley] Finding Some Verses Unfinished”; he likely visited the Castle en route to Dublin in 1699 and en route back to London from Dublin in 1701; and he may well have been there on other occasions. He paid visits to the Berkeleys at their Cranford estate in Middlesex, and he also visited their “Palace” Durdans, near Epsom in Surrey. He would have visited the Berkeleys at their London house, and he visited Lady Betty in London after she married Sir John Germain in 1706. In 1708, when it seemed that Lord Berkeley was about to be appointed Queen Anne’s envoy to Vienna, Swift intended to go with him as secretary to the embassy. Numerous letters from Lady Betty Germain to Swift survive from the 1730s, and she and Swift had several mutual friends, including Biddy Floyd, Martha and Theresa Blount, and Henrietta Howard (Lady Suffolk), who in 1735 took as her second husband Lady Betty’s brother, the Hon. George Berkeley. Swift knew, or knew of, Lord Berkeley’s son and successor James, third Earl of Berkeley, whom he

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4 Lady Elisabeth Berkeley (c.1684-1769), always known as Lady Betty, is described as “courtier and art collector” by Anne Pimlott Baker, “Germain, Lady Elizabeth [Betty]” (ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10565>). Lady Betty was one of seven children of the Earl and Countess of Berkeley, and the second of three daughters. For the year of her birth, see David Woolley’s calculation in Correspondence, ed. Woolley, III, 509n3, using her own estimate; he also maintains that ‘Elisabeth’ was her preferred spelling (III, 325n).

5 Journal to Stella, ed. Williams, records Swift’s declining an invitation to the Castle on 19 September 1710 (I, 23).

6 Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 252 and n; Paul V. Thompson and Dorothy Jay Thompson, The Account Books of Jonathan Swift (Newark: University of Delaware Press, and London: Scolar Press, 1984), p. 60; Paul V. Thompson, A Jonathan Swift Daybook (photocopied typescript, 1980), 22-27 January 1709; see also under 23 April 1709. A copy of the Daybook is available in the Ehrenpreis Centre library, Münster (EC 2196), and another copy is listed in OCLC (45967084).

7 Thompson, A Jonathan Swift Daybook, 5-8 November 1708; Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 214n1. The term “Palace” occurs in [John Macky], A Journey through England (London: by J. Roberts for T. Caldecott, 1714), pp. 74-75; see also p. 87.

8 Journal to Stella, ed. Williams, I, 183 (8 February 1711); 192 (15 February 1711); 217 (15 March 1711); 286-87 (6 June 1711); II, 385-86 (17 October 1711), and 417 (20 November 1711).

9 Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 213, 214n3, 227, 237, and 239.

called a “young rake” and whose 1711 marriage to the Duke of Richmond’s daughter he predicted would not last.¹¹

Swift probably wrote his “A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick” to tease Lady Betty’s mother, the Countess of Berkeley (see Appendix B). To Lady Berkeley, Swift addressed his *A Project for the Advancement of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners* (1709).¹² Swift praised the Countess’s “Piety, Truth, good Sense, and good Nature, Affability and Charity” and her “Education of those two incomparable Daughters [Lady Mary and Lady Betty], whose Conduct is so universally admired.”¹³ Upon Lord Berkeley’s death in 1710, Lady Berkeley commissioned Swift to compose a Latin epitaph for a memorial tablet in St Mary’s, Berkeley, adjacent to the Castle.¹⁴ And about 1733, in St Andrew’s Church, Dublin, Swift erected a tablet to the memory of Lady Betty’s sister Lady Penelope, who died almost immediately after the family arrived in Dublin in 1699.¹⁵

Sir Charles Berkeley, second Earl of Berkeley (1649-1710), KB, FRS, not quite important enough to have been treated in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, has been described as “one of William III’s middle-ranking politicians.”¹⁶ William characterized him to Lord Galway as “an easy Man” who would “be agreeable to” him.¹⁷ Irvin Ehrenpreis alludes to him as “a compliant Whig whose reports could be trusted.”¹⁸ A. C. Elias, Jr calls him “genial but

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¹¹ *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 192-93 (15 February 1711).
¹² *Prose Works*, II, 43.
¹³ *Prose Works*, II, 43-44.
¹⁴ *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 192 (15 February 1711). Substantially different versions of the epitaph appear in *Correspondence*, ed. Williams, V, 222-23, reproducing Swift’s draft, and in *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections, Relative to the County of Gloucester: Printed from the Original Papers of the Late Ralph Bigland, Esq.*, 2 vols (London: John Nichols, 1791-92), I, 159, transcribing the monumental inscription; see also *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 334, and *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 192nl5 (15 February 1711).
¹⁵ *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 457 and n1. The inscription, first published by Deane Swift in his 1766 editions of Swift’s letters, was quoted from one of them (or a derivative edition) by F. Elrington Ball, noting that the tablet was no longer extant: *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D. D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, 6 vols (London: Bell, 1910-14), IV, 377n1.
¹⁸ Ehrenpreis, *Dr Swift*, p. 40.
bumbling.” Swift, in his cranky marginalia to *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* (London, 1733), while not disagreeing with Macky’s characterization of Berkeley c.1700 as “a Gentleman of Learning, Parts, and a Lover of the Constitution of his Country,” recalled him as “Intolerably lazy and Indolent, and somewhat Covetous.” In Berkeley’s military career, he attained the post of Lieutenant-Colonel of the King’s Own Troop of Horse Guards. As member for Gloucester in the House of Commons, 1679-85, he was, in Basil Henning’s estimate, “moderately active.” He took his seat in the House of Lords in 1689 as Baron Berkeley; he succeeded his father as second earl in 1698.

Berkeley was a gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Cosmo of Tuscany in 1675. He launched a diplomatic career in 1689, when he was envoy to Madrid; and he was ambassador to The Hague, 1689-94. He was appointed ambassador to Constantinople in 1698, but in 1699, without having gone to Turkey, he resigned in order to take the Irish appointment. He was named Custos Rotulorum of Gloucestershire in 1689; a Privy Councillor of England in 1694; Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire in 1694; High Steward of Gloucester in 1695; a member of the East India Company committee in 1699; and Custos Rotulorum of Surrey in 1699. While he was ambassador to The Hague, Matthew Prior was embassy secretary.

When Berkeley was named one of the Lords Justices of Ireland on or about 31 May 1699, the Duke of Bolton and the Earl of Galway continued as Lords Justices, Bolton as an absentee only; Berkeley replaced Narcissus Marsh,

20 *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq: During the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I* (London, 1733), p. 97; for Swift’s marginalia, see Passmann and Vienken II, 1152. J. D. Alsop says that most of Macky’s character sketches were written “about 1700, with revisions up to 1704” (“Macky, John,” *ODNB* online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17632>).
22 Berkeley’s petition to be excused from his Constantinople appointment (April or May 1699) is cited from SP 105/155, fol. 468, in D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1932), p. 151 (wrongly identifying Charles Berkeley as George Berkeley).
Archbishop of Dublin.24 Why Marsh was replaced is unclear.25 The royal commission and the letter of instructions to the three Lords Justices do not rank them as to their authority but simply list them, presumably in order of precedence: Bolton first, as a duke, then Berkeley, as an English earl, and finally Galway, as an Irish earl.26 The Dublin Castle transmissions to London during Berkeley’s time are frequently in Galway’s hand,27 giving the impression, however, that as between the two active Justices, Galway took the lead.28

One of the clearest positive estimates of Berkeley is found in Prior’s protracted effort to serve as chief secretary at Dublin Castle once he realized that Berkeley was going to be there.29 Though supported by Berkeley and others,
Prior was energetically opposed by Lord Galway. It is undoubtedly the dispute with Galway over Prior to which Berkeley refers in his letter to Prior of 31 December 1699: "But there has been a long misunderstanding and several things taken amiss betwixt the Two Lords."

As for Swift's daily life in Dublin, or anyone else's, the Berkeley Castle Muniments, except in the receipts given by local tradespeople for purchases by Berkeley's household, give little hint, and they give little information, either, about what must have been the very impressive pomp surrounding the Lords Justices, beyond Berkeley's passing comment to Prior that "the State and Pageantry" were "disagreeable enough." John Dunton's description of this pageantry, however, offers a suggestive glimpse of the ceremonial role of the Lords Justices' chaplains like Swift. The Lords Justices have Officers belonging to the Houshold, such as Steward and Comptrouler; who on State-days carry White Rods as the Ensigns of their Office: When they go to Church, the Streets, from the Castle-gate, to the Church-door, as also the great Isle of the Church, to the foot of the Stairs by which they ascend to the Place where they sit, are lined with Soldiers; they are preceeded by the Pursivants of the Council-Chamber, two Maces, (and on State-days) by the King, and Pursivant at Arms, their Chaplains, and Gentlemen of the Houshold, with Pages and Footmen bare-headed: When they alight from their Coach, (in which commonly the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Prime Nobility sit 'em) the Sword of State is deliver'd to some Lord to carry before 'em; and in the like manner they return back to the Castle, where the several Courses at dinner are usher'd in by Kettle-


Prior, until November 1699 the secretary of the English embassy in Paris, had nominally held the office of secretary but had never come to Dublin; he maintained that Humphry May was his deputy and that he (Prior) now wished to take up the post that was rightfully his. Galway insisted that he and the Duke of Bolton had replaced Prior with May and that there was no role for Prior at Dublin Castle. William III became involved in the dispute. The story is told, without attention to Berkeley's role, in L. G. Wickham Legg, Matthew Prior: A Study of his Public Career and Correspondence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 105-14, 292; in Charles Kenneth Eves, Matthew Prior, Poet and Diplomatist (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 140-46; and in Prior Papers microfilm, Vol. V, letters 91, 92, 94, 102-3, 106-7, 109-14, and 127; and Vol. XII, 253-54, 259-60, 288-89, 295-307, 354-61, and 384; most of the letters are published in HMC Bath III, 211, 266-68, 273, 280, 283-84, 296, 299, 300, 303, 304, 310, 353-58, 366-68, 371-72, and 375-79. Prior's wish to serve in Dublin with Berkeley was not disinterested; he told Berkeley that the post of secretary was worth £700 a year and later seems to say it was worth £1400, depreciating May as one of Galway's undeserving "favorites" (letters of 11 July and 12 August 1699, Prior Papers microfilm, Vol. XII, 295, 356). On Prior's embassy service, see Horn, British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789, pp. 12, 13, and 156.

That is, the two Lords Justices. Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 65.

Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 57.
drums and Trumpets. I forgot to tell you (Madam) that in these Cavalcades the Coach in which they ride is attended by a small Squadron of Horse; after which follow a long Train of Coaches that belong to the several Lords and Gentlemen who attend ‘em.33

In the following pages, the descriptions of Berkeley’s first days in Ireland also convey something of that sense of pomp.

1. A New Swift Letter

Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J is a vellum-bound folio, inscribed on its upper board “THE | COMMISSION, | AND | INSTRUCTIONS | to the | Lords Justices. | and the | Earle of Berkeley’s | LETTERS. | 1699.” This is a blank book in which 94 pages have been numbered and used.34 The handwriting is uniform throughout and may be that of Berkeley’s secretary, Arthur Bushe.35 The first letter in the book is a previously unpublished letter from Swift to Humphrey May;36 a marginal note describes the sender as “M’ Swift my Lords Chaplain.” The letter bears out Swift’s claim, in “Family of Swift,” that “Mr. Swift acted as Secretary the whole Journy to Dublin.”37 Swift must have written numerous personal letters of his own during the month between Lord Berkeley’s departure from London and his arrival in Dublin, and no doubt in the course of Swift’s

34 See a calendar of SB 35J in Appendix C below.
35 See the note against the letter on p. 73, quoted in the calendar below, Appendix C. The hand is not that of Humphry May, chief secretary to the Lords Justices, or of Élie Bouhéreau, secretary to Lord Galway (and future Keeper of Archbishop Marsh’s Library), to judge from samples of their handwriting in Prior Papers microfilm, Vol. V. Arthur Bushe (born before 1670; d.1731), was in Ehrenpreis’s view a “schemer” who “scrambled” to get the secretary’s post for himself, though Swift had thought it was his own (Ehrenpreis, Dr Swift, p. 2). To test the possibility that Swift continued to serve informally in a secretarial capacity, I scanned all volumes of Lord Berkeley’s papers in the Berkeley Castle Muniments (see Appendix A) for Swift’s handwriting, but I found no instance of it (except in GBB 355, where he occasionally attests the signatures of those giving receipts).
36 Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, pp. 47-48. A brief summary of the letter was published in 1892; see Appendix A.
37 Prose Works, V, 195. Ehrenpreis notes that a chaplain might also function as a secretary (Dr Swift, p. 2). To test the possibility that Swift continued to serve informally in a secretarial capacity, I scanned all volumes of Lord Berkeley’s papers in the Berkeley Castle Muniments (see Appendix A) for Swift’s handwriting, but I found no instance of it (except in GBB 355, where he occasionally attests the signatures of those giving receipts).
secretarial duties for Berkeley, he wrote other letters, probably including some posted while the entourage was delayed at Milford Haven, Wales, 5-16 August 1699. But between Swift's Moor Park letter to John Winder, 13 January 1699, and his letter to Jane Waring from Dublin, 4 May 1700, only this letter to May survives. The letter is a scribal copy, in the same hand as the rest of the letterbook.

Kilkenny. 19 Aug1 1699.

To Humphry May Esqr
at Dublin Castle.

I am Comanded by his Ex:e the Earle of Berkeley to let you know that on the 17th instant He landed a [sic] Waterford about six a clock in the Evening, having been Saluted by the Guns of Duncannon Fort, and attended to the City by the Governor of the Fort & other persons of Quality, where his Ex:e was lodg'd in the Bishop's Pallace, and immediatly attended by the Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalitys. A Detachment out of S'th John Iacobs Regim', then quartered in the Town, was appointed for his Ex:e's Guard.

38 See calendar of Berkeley's movements below.
39 Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 136-43.
40 Humphry May Esqr at Dublin Castle: May (d.1722) was the secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland, having served at Dublin Castle since 1695; he represented St Johnstown, Donegal, in the Irish House of Commons: Johnston-Liik, History of the Irish Parliament, 1692-1800, V, 230; J. C. Sainty, "The Secretariat of the Chief Governors of Ireland, 1690-1800," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 77C (1977), 1-33 (pp. 13, 27).
41 Francis Place's drawing of Waterford in 1699 is reproduced in John Maher, "Francis Place in Drogheda, Kilkenny and Waterford, Etc.,” Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 7th ser., 1 (1934), 41-53 (plate XIV, facing p. 52).
42 Duncannon Fort: about nine miles upstream from the mouth of Waterford Harbour, on the eastern (County Wexford) bank. The fort "commands the Harbour of Waterford; for the Ships must pass very near it"; see W. R. Chetwood, A Tour through Ireland: In Several Entertaining Letters (Dublin: Peter Wilson, 1746), p. 167; and Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, 2 vols (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1995 [1837]), I, 569.
44 Formalitys: “robes or insignia of office” (OED online, formality, n, sense 10a).
45 S'th John Iacobs Regim': Colonel Sir John Jacob, Bt., attained command of the 13th Regiment of Foot in 1695: Charles Dalton, English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714, 6 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892-1904), IV, 6, 79.
On the 18th His Excie was invited by the Mayor to Supper. This morning at Ten His Ex. left Waterford being attended by the Mayor & Aldermen in their Formality, the Earle of Tyrone and other persons of Quality, to the Water-side. The Key was lined on both sides with Soldiers, and while his Ex. was passing the Ferry, he was Saluted with three Volleys from the whole Regim. From thence His Ex. in the Earle of Tyrone’s Coach set out For this City & was met at some miles distance by the High Sherif & a great many Gentlemen of the County. A mile out of Town His Ex. was mett by the Sherif & Common Councill of this City, and was receiv’d at the Gates by the Mayor & Aldermen in their Formalitys. Three Companys of Coll. How’s Regt were drawn up at his Ex. enterance into the Castle, where he is now Lodg’d, & designes to continue


47 Key: quay.

48 the Ferry: over the River Suir at Waterford.

49 this City ... the County: Kilkenny city, the principal town of County Kilkenny, was 29 miles north of Waterford via Knocktopher; see George Taylor and Andrew Skinner, Maps of the Roads of Ireland (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969 [1783]), p. xiii, col. 2. (Distances given here and below are expressed in English, not Irish, miles.) Francis Place’s 1699 drawings of Kilkenny City and Kilkenny Castle are reproduced in Maher, “Francis Place in Drogheda, Kilkenny and Waterford, Etc.,” plates X-XI, facing pp. 46-48; one of the drawings is also reproduced in Anne Crookshank and The Knight of Glin, Ireland’s Painters, 1600-1940 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 66.

50 Dunton mentions the mayor, Mr Mukins, the mayor-elect, Mr Philips, and the aldermen (The Dublin Scuffle, p. 376).

51 Coll. How’s Reg: Colonel Emanuel Howe began to command the 15th Regiment of Foot in 1695 (Dalton, English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714, IV, 7). Howe’s regiment had been ordered to Ireland 8 February 1698 (Vernon Letters, II, 1).

till Monday next, and then intends to sett out for Dublin, where he hopes to arrive early on Tuesday evening. I am

Sir Y: &c

Jonathan Swift.

This letter is almost certainly the “Express” reported in the Post Boy of 29 August 1699 as Dublin news of Sunday, 20 August 1699:

Last Thursday [17 August] the Earl of Berkley with his Lady, &c. Landed at Waterford, and last night [Saturday] their Excellencies received an Express, with an account of it, upon which my Lord Gallway sent one of his Gentlemen with his own Coach to wait upon him at Kilkenny, and this day [Sunday] the Earl of Gallway went as far as the Curragh to meet him. All our Cannon that were

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53 Monday next: 21 August 1699. Berkeley spent Monday night at Naas, 19 miles from Dublin, so his party may have departed from Kilkenny earlier than Swift had expected. For the mileage, see Taylor and Skinner, Maps of the Roads of Ireland, p. vii, col. 2.

54 for Dublin, where he hopes to arrive early on Tuesday evening: from Kilkenny, Dublin was a journey of 70 miles, via Castle Comer, Athy, Kilcullen Bridge, and Naas (other routes were possible) (Taylor and Skinner, Maps of the Roads of Ireland, p. vii, col. 1; see also the preceding note). Dublin news of 22 August 1699 was reported in London: “This Day [Tuesday] about Noon the Earl of Berkley, one of our Lords Justices came to this City, having lain the night before at Naaf [Naas], with his Lady, the Earl of Gallway’s Coach attending him from Kilkenny, and that of our Arch Bishop, his Lady and Daughters” (meaning presumably that Galway and Archbishop Marsh, the then Lords Justices, both sent their coaches to Kilkenny to transport Berkeley’s party to Dublin, and that Lady Berkeley and the daughters travelled in the Archbishop’s coach). “He went immediately to the Council Chamber [in Dublin Castle], where he was sworn, my Ld. Blessington and Sir John Hammore were ordered to attend him, at Chapelizod [Chapelizod]. [H]e dined at the Castle, and afterwards went to his House on College-Green, which was that of the Earl of Clincerty [Clancarty]. The Earl of Gallway came home last night [Monday] from the Curragh. All our Forces made a Lane for the Earl of Berkley, through which he passed to the Council Chamber, he is the first in the Commission” (Post Boy, 29 August 1699). The Lord Lieutenant, and therefore the Lords Justices collectively, served as commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland; the Post Boy writer, by calling Berkeley “the first in the Commission,” implies that he ranked highest among the Lords Justices and therefore deserved this salute from the soldiers under his command. I argue above, however, that there was no distinction of authority among the Lords Justices; Berkeley was being celebrated because he had just arrived.

55 In the letter as actually sent, the complimentary close would have been written out in full. Galway may have promised himself some hunting while awaiting Berkeley’s arrival. The Curragh, in County Kildare not far from Naas, was, Dunton noted in 1698, “a very large Plain, covered in most Places with Heath; it is said to be five and twenty Miles round; this is the New-Market of Ireland, where Horse-Races are run, and also Hunting Matches made, there being here great store of Hares, and more game for Hawking, all which are carefully preserved” (The Dublin Scuffle, pp. 391-92). Dunton puts this passage in quotation marks and italicizes it, but I do not know the source, if any.
planted near Rings-end, are removed and carried beyond St. James-street, where they are to be fired upon his Excellency’s arrival; all our Forces have Orders to be in Arms on Monday morning to receive him; abundance of our Nobility and Gentry are preparing to go and Congratulate his safe arrival.

“Their Excellencies” would have been the Earl of Galway and Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin (the Duke of Bolton being absent). They were the Lords Justices in the commission to be replaced, as soon as Berkeley arrived, by the new commission: Berkeley and again Galway and the absentee Bolton.

2. Berkeley’s Movements (and Swift’s)

Swift twice asserted that his constant attendance on Lord and Lady Berkeley precluded his being elsewhere. To Jane Waring, explaining why he could not meet her in Belfast, he wrote on 4 May 1700: “For coming down to Belfast, ’tis what I can’t yet think of, my attendance is so close, and so much required of me”; to Bishop William King, asking to be excused from attending his triennial visitation on behalf of Archbishop Boyle, he wrote on 16 July 1700: “my Lord and Lady continually residing at the Lodge, I am obliged to a constant Attendance there.”

Although all Berkeley’s letters are dated from Dublin Castle, other sources show that during much of his lord justiceship, the Berkeleys were not at the Castle; and it follows from the requirement of Swift’s ‘close attendance’ that if we can trace Berkeley’s movements during his lord justiceship, we will probably thereby trace Swift’s during the same period. I have found no evidence that Berkeley left Ireland while he was a Lord Justice. Such information as I have been able to gather about Berkeley’s movements is here summarized. For

57 “Nine pieces of Cannon are planted here on the side of the Liffee, near Captain Vicar’s House, to salute the Lord Berkeley upon his arrival” (Dublin news of 30 July 1699, reported in the Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 8 August 1699).
58 St James’s Street was the main thoroughfare from the centre of Dublin to the west and led to the main road southwest to Naas.
59 Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 141, 144. By “the Lodge,” Swift means the so-called King’s House in Chapelizod near Dublin, used as a country house by the Lords Lieutenants and Lords Justices. As David Woolley remarks, Swift implies that at the Lodge, unlike the Castle, there were no other chaplains such as John Bolton in attendance and that therefore he would always be needed to read prayers in the family and say grace before and after dinner (I, 144n3). For the location of the Lodge, see Appendix D.
60 Thus there appears no reason to think that “Swift was obliged to accompany his master [Berkeley] on many journeys between Dublin and London,” pace Joseph McMinn, Jonathan’s Travels: Swift and Ireland (Belfast: Appletree Press, and New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), p. 32.
61 The main sources are state papers and newspaper reports. Almost no Dublin newspapers survive from the period, but Dublin news is well reported in London newspapers. Entries
this twenty-month period, the following listing may serve as a supplement to Paul V. Thompson's *A Jonathan Swift Daybook*:

**about 31 May 1699**

London. Berkeley named one of the Lords Justices (*Vernon Letters*, II, 298, 299). He was formally appointed Lord Justice on 29 June. Between 31 May and his departure from Berkeley Castle for Ireland, he would have engaged Swift to serve as his chaplain and, Swift says, secretary ("Family of Swift," *Prose Works*, V, 195). How Swift happened to come to Berkeley's notice is unclear, though A. C. Elias, Jr, has proposed that it was through Lord Berkeley of Stratton (not to be confused with the Earl of Berkeley), who had ties both to Martha, Lady Giffard, the late Sir William Temple's sister, and to the Earl of Berkeley (*Swift at Moor Park*, p. 266n165; David Woolley considers Elias's view "plausible" [Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 140n3]; see also Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 261).

In this interval before travelling to Ireland, Swift would have continued, if not finished, his editorial work on Temple's *Letters*, 2 vols (London: J. Tonson, *et al.*, 1700). Herbert Davis notes that Swift "had probably written the Preface and left the text with the printer before leaving for Ireland," pointing out that in a passage of the Preface which Swift deleted before publication, he mentions "not knowing how soon I may cross the Seas into Ireland, where some Concerns are like suddenly to call me" (*Prose Works*, I, xix). At the end of the Preface is this note: "I beg the Readers Pardon for any Errata's which may be in the Printing, occasioned by my Absence" (I, sig. A4). On the title page, Swift identifies himself as "Domestick Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland." If he designed this title page before he left England, it is striking that it includes no reference to his having been appointed Berkeley's secretary; Elias assumes that the title-page wording was sent back to London from Dublin and thinks accordingly that Swift may not have completed his editorial work until October 1699 (*Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 239-40n9, 266n165).

**18-24 July 1699?**

Departed London for Berkeley Castle 18 July? Arrived in Berkeley a few days later? According to James Vernon, "my Lord Berkeley begins his journey to Ireland on Tuesday [18 July 1699]; he goes into Gloucestershire, and embarks at Bristol" (*Vernon Letters*, II, 320). He may have left London later,
though. Berkeley is reported as having “gone down to his Country Seat” from London (Post Man, and the Historical Account, 22 July 1699). Since Swift had been in London to solicit preferment at Court, it is at least plausible that he travelled down to Berkeley Castle with Lord Berkeley. Ehrenpreis supposes Swift’s route from London was more circuitous: “Swift meanwhile had probably taken leave of his friends at Moor Park, gone to see his mother at Leicester, and joined the new Lord Justice at an early point in the expedition. (Exactly where, is unknown; but Swift was never the man to pay his own travel expenses when he did not have to, and so he would have met the official party as soon as he could)” (Dr Swift, p. 6).

24 July-3 August 1699

Berkeley Castle. Berkeley later wrote, “You know that I was commanded away [from London to Dublin] with all expedition, so that I allowed my self but ten days in Gloustershire” (Berkeley to James Vernon, 11 April 1700, SP 63/360, fol. 239). Granting that “ten days” is likely not precise, if Berkeley departed Berkeley Castle on 4 August after being in Gloucestershire ten days, he would have arrived about 25 July.

4 August 1699

To Bristol to board a government yacht. The journey from Berkeley to Bristol was about 20 miles by road; travel to Bristol via the Severn would also have been possible, Berkeley being less than two miles from the Severn, which was navigable; see Edward Mogg, Patterson’s Roads; Being an Entirely Original and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, 18th ed. (London: Longman, et al. [1831]), pp. 412-13; and [Daniel Defoe and others], A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, 2nd ed., 3 vols (London: for J. Osborn, et al., 1738), II, 263.

5 August 1699

Sailed from Bristol. A London paper reported Bristol news of 5 August: “This day the Soysdyke [Soesdyke] Yacht sailed for Ireland, having on Board his Excellency the Earl of Berkley, one of the Lords Justices of that Kingdom” (Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 8 August 1699). That the intent was to sail directly to Dublin is clear from news reports (Post Boy, 8 July 1699, 8 August 1699, and 17 August 1699; London Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 8 August 1699). The Soesdyke was one of fifteen government yachts, with a crew of thirty-five and eight guns; see Edward Chamberlayne, Angliæ Notitia: or, The Present State of England, 20th ed. (London: by T. H. for S. Smith, et al., 1702), pp. 559-60.

5-16 August 1699

Sheltered, or becalmed, at Milford Haven, Wales? Lord Galway reported to James Vernon at Whitehall that Berkeley had been “retenu pendant quinze jours dans le pays de galles
Berkeley’s secretary Arthur Bushe asked a London correspondent to find out whether a letter Berkeley posted to Lord Chancellor Somers from Milford Haven had ever been received, noting that “several of my Lady’s Letters from thence miscarry’d” (Bushe to William Smith, 5 September 1699, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 51). Berkeley himself said that the trip had been protracted owing to “several Accidents of Wind and Weather” (Berkeley to the Earl of Jersey from Dublin Castle, 22 August 1699, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 48).

17 August 1699
From Milford Haven to Waterford? The party landed at Waterford on the evening of 17 August (Swift to May, 19 August 1699, quoted in full above).

19 August 1699
From Waterford to Kilkenny (Swift to May, 19 August 1699).

20 August 1699?
From Kilkenny en route to Naas, County Kildare? Swift’s letter to May suggests that they would depart on 21 August, but the party arrived in Dublin sooner than expected.

21 August 1699
Naas (Post Boy, 29 August 1699).

22-26 August 1699
Dublin, arriving from Naas on 22 August. The Berkeley entourage resided for several days at Clancarty House in College Green, because their lodgings in Dublin Castle were not yet ready (Post Boy, 29 August and 12 September 1699).

26-28 August 1699
Loughlinstown House, Lord Galway’s country seat (Post Boy, 5 September 1699, Dublin news of 26 August; country seat identified by Ball, “The Life of a Chief Governor of Ireland,” p. 361).

28-31 August 1699
Dublin Castle, in the Duke of Bolton’s lodgings (Post Boy, 7 September 1699, Dublin news of 31 August).

4 Sept. (or earlier) 1699
Clancarty House, Dublin, where on 4 September the Berkeleys’ daughter Lady Penelope Berkeley died (Post Boy, 12 September 1699, Dublin news of 5 September; Bushe to Smith, 5 September, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 49).65

62 Galway to Vernon, 22 August 1699, SP 63/360, fol. 163, translated in Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1937), X, 250; the Calendar is available electronically in State Papers Online and British History Online and is subsequently cited as “CSPD.”

63 Clancarty House, on the south side of College Green, was at this period in government hands and was used by the Lords Justices; see J. T. Gilbert, A History of the City of Dublin, 3 vols (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978 [1854-59]), III, 20-23.

64 Southeast of Dublin, between Dalkey and Bray, near the sea; see F. Elrington Ball, A History of the County Dublin: The People, Parishes and Antiquities from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century, 6 vols (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1979 [1902-20]), I, 87-94. Ball says that from 1698, Loughlinstown House was owned by William Domville, so I presume that Galway was his tenant (I, 92).

65 Bushe’s comments imply that Lady Penelope had been ill before leaving Berkeley but that her condition worsened markedly on the evening of 19 August, in Kilkenny; he describes her death as “suddain & unexpected” (p. 50). The account in the Flying Post:
Swift's memorial inscription, composed in 1733, said Penelope died on 3 September.

5 Sept.-11 October 1699?
Stormanstown, County Dublin, Lord Chancellor John Methuen's country house; Dublin news of 5, 7, 15, 21, and 26 September (Post Boy, 12, 19, 23, 28 September, 10 October 1699); Dublin news of 16 September (Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 23 September 1699). Berkeley perhaps continued at Stormanstown until 11 October, when it was reported that the Lords Justices and Privy Council met in Dublin Castle (Post Boy, 21 October 1699).

14-22 October 1699?
Probably at the Lodge, Chapelizod, County Dublin, perhaps since 14 October or earlier. Dublin news of 14 October 1699: “His Excellency the Earl of Berkley is expected in Town on Monday [16 October]” (Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 24 October 1699); Lord Galway to James Vernon, 21 October 1699: “my d berkeley est à campagne à deux milles d'icy, ou il est peu incomodé, cela l'a empêché de venir icy [Dublin Castle] aujourd'hui, et nous empeche de vous escrire plus exactement sur cette matière [Lord Berkeley is in the country, two miles from here. He is slightly indisposed, and could not come here to-day, so we cannot write to you in more detail]” (SP 63/360, fol. 173, translated in CSPD, X [1937], 269). In dispatches to London, the Lodge was typically described as being two miles from the Castle; Stormanstown House was at a greater distance.67

23-26 October 1699
Stormanstown. Having come in to the Castle on 23 October to attend a state event, Berkeley then went to Stormanstown. He was expected to “come to the Castle to reside with his whole Family” on the 25th (Dublin news of 24 October, Post Boy, 2 November 1699).

26 October 1699
Dublin Castle: “Last Thursday [26 October?] the Earl of Berkley, with his Family came to reside at the Castle” (Dublin news of “8” October, probably an error for 28 October, in Post Boy, 4 November 1699).

April-August 1700?
The Lodge, Chapelizod. Dublin news of 29 April 1700: “Their Excellencies the Earls of Berkeley, and Galway, our Lords Justices, are for the most part at their Country Seats” (Post Boy, 11 May 1700). They may have been mostly out of town through the summer. On 16 July 1700, Swift told Bishop King:

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66 Stormanstown House was west of Santry; see Benjamin William Adams, History and Description of Santry and Cloghran Parishes, County Dublin (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1883), pp. 25-26.

67 See Adams, History and Description of Santry and Cloghran Parishes, pp. 25-26. On the distance of the Lodge from the Castle, see Appendix D.
“my Lord and Lady continually residing at the Lodge, I am obliged to a constant Attendance there” (Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 144). In Dublin news of 8 August, the Post Boy reported (15 August 1700) that “this Morning our Lords Justices came from the Country to the Castle,” and in Dublin news of 13 August, “Their Excellencies our Lords Justices are for the most part in the Country, some times they come in the Morning to the Castle, but they return at Night to the Country” (Post Boy, 24 August 1700).

19-28 November 1700
Mellifont: “His Excellency the Earl of Berkeley is going to Mellifont, the Seat of the Earl of Drogheda, for the Recovery of his Health” (Dublin news of 19 November, Post Boy, 26 November 1700; it had previously been reported that Berkeley was suffering from gout). Dublin news of “6” (probably an error for “26”) November 1700: “The Earl of Berkeley is still at Malefant; and the Earl of Galloway at Luttrelstown” (Post Boy, 7 December 1700). Mellifont was four miles northwest of Drogheda in County Louth; see Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, II, 365-66.

29 November 1700
Dublin Castle. The Post Boy of 17 December 1700 reported Dublin news of 30 November: “Their Excellencies the Earls of Galloway and Berkeley came to our Castle last Wednesday [29 November], where they continued ever since.”

9 April 1701
Sailed from Dublin, probably to Bristol en route to Berkeley Castle. The London Flying Post: or, The Post-Master, 22 April 1701, reported Dublin news of 10 April: “Yesterday the Lord Berkley, Lord Galloway and Mr. May, who was their Secretary went for England. The Horse and Foot Guards were drawn to the Waterside, where their Lordships were saluted by 20 Piece of Cannon. Most of the Nobility and Gentry attended them in their Coaches, and expressed their sorrow for parting with such good Men.” Swift says he sailed with Berkeley (“Memoirs, Relating to that Change which Happened in the Queen’s Ministry in the Year 1710” [1714], Prose Works, VIII, 119, cited by Ehrenpreis, Dr Swift, p. 43 and n2). Presumably Swift spent a few days with the Berkeleys at Berkeley Castle.

April 1701
Swift said, “Soon after [that is, soon after sailing to England] I went to London” (Prose Works, VIII, 119). There he wrote A Discourse of the Contests and Dissentions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome and arranged to publish Temple’s Miscellanea: The Third Part (see Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 145 and n).

17 September 1701
Swift sailed to Dublin from Holyhead, arriving 18 September; the date is established by Ehrenpreis, Dr Swift, pp. 71-72.
Two of Swift’s poems during the Berkeley chaplaincy, “The Discovery” and “The Problem,” assuredly reflect the Dublin Castle milieu, and most probably “The Humble Petition of Frances Harris” was written there as well. Conceivably, however, Frances Harris lost her purse at the Lodge in Chapelizod, given Berkeley’s apparent fondness for the Lodge. Similarly, “A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick,” if that piece was composed during the Berkeley lord justiceship, need not have been written while the Berkeleys were at Dublin Castle.

3. Why Berkeley Did Not Make Swift Dean of Derry

Late in life, in his autobiographical fragment “Family of Swift,” Swift recounted his resentment that Lord Berkeley did not name him Dean of Derry when, on 31 January 1700, six months into his chaplaincy, the deanship became vacant on the death of the then dean, Coote Ormsby. Swift had believed himself ready for a major appointment; indeed, he had angled for one of the coveted prebends in Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. He had previously held the prebend of Kilroot in Connor Cathedral, had had some contact with King William III and his court, and was now much more intimately involved in the Dublin court. The Lords Justices had patronage of high offices in the Church of Ireland, and Swift could reasonably expect that Berkeley would find an occasion to appoint him to a significant living in the Church of Ireland (as he eventually did). Reporting Ormsby’s death, a London newspaper remarked, “There’s great striving for his Place, it being worth 800 l. per Annum.” William King, then Bishop of Derry, at first estimated the annual income of the deanery as £600, then raised the estimate to £700, more than the annual income of some Irish bishoprics. Among those striving, there were, in Swift’s telling of the story,

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68 See the engaging and perceptive discussion of Andrew Carpenter, *Mrs Harris, her Pocket and her Petition: Some Thoughts on Swift’s Dublin Castle Poems of 1699-1701* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2007). The three poems are in *Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 61-73. “The Humble Petition” would appear to have been written in February or March of 1701, and I have failed to develop information about Berkeley’s whereabouts in that period, aside from his journey to Mellifont 15 February 1701 – perhaps only a daytrip, or overnight – to assess Lord Drogheda’s state of health (Berkeley and Galway to Vernon, 17 February 1701, SP 63/361, fols 149-50).

69 Ehrenpreis shows that “Family of Swift” was composed c.1738-39 (*Mr Swift*, p. 30 and n5; *Dean Swift*, pp. 879 and n1, 972).

70 *Prose Works*, V, 195.


72 “The Deanery of Derry is a good competency, being £700 per annum clear all charges born, and has ever bin judged a sufficiency for one man” (King to “Sir,” unidentified, 27 February 1700, Archbishop King’s Correspondence, 1699 to 1703, Trinity College
only two worth mentioning: himself and John Bolton. Arthur Bushe, Swift says in “Family of Swift,” first supplanted him as Berkeley’s secretary and then got the deanship for Bolton:

And Mr Swift after long attendance [at the court of William III] in vain; thought it better to comply with an Invitation given him by the E. of Berkeley to attend him to Ireland as his Chaplain and private Secretary; His Lordship having been appointed one of the Lords Justices of that Kingdom. He attended his Lordship; who landed near Waterford, and Mr. Swift acted as Secretary the whole Journy to Dublin. But another Person had so far insinuated himself into the Earls favor, by telling him, that the Post of Secretary was not proper for a Clergyman, nor would be of any advantage to one who aimed only at Church-preferments, that his Lordship after a poor Apology gave that Office to the other.

In some Months, the Deanry of Derry fell vacant; and it was the Earl of Berkeley’s turn to dispose of it. Yet things were so ordered that the Secretary having received a Bribe, the Deanry was disposed of to another, and Mr Swift was put off with some other Church-livings not worth above a third part of that rich Deanry, and at this present time, not a sixth. The Excuse pretended was his being too young, although he were then 30 years old.73

Scholars have tended to regard “Family of Swift” as unreliable,74 but this portion of the document gains at least some credibility in the light of evidence from the Berkeley letterbook. The matter of the Derry deanship has been closely examined by Louis A. Landa, whose account in Swift and the Church of Ireland is for the most part followed by Irvin Ehrenpreis and later biographers. Landa concludes that “King did not intervene against Swift … and that Berkeley should be rescued from his putative role as villain in the piece.” Although Swift never claimed that William King hindered his appointment as dean of Derry,
other biographers had made that claim. Supporting his assessment that Berkeley was not the "villain," Landa judged that "Galway divided the responsibility [for filling the deanship] with Berkeley."75 Landa is most likely correct that the Lords Justices never seriously considered Swift for the Derry deanship. Landa and others have supposed that the main considerations influencing Berkeley, or Berkeley and Galway jointly, were (1) a desire to distribute patronage to their protégés; and (2) a desire to act with the approval of the Archbishop of Dublin, Narcissus Marsh, and secondarily of William King, Bishop of Derry, whose influence was the greater thanks to the extreme old age and debility of the Archbishop of Armagh, Michael Boyle.76

King, while recommending no particular candidate, wrote to Berkeley requesting "a man of temper, piety, prudence and learning" - "a man of such known worth that it may not occasion people to make reflections, as sometimes it doth, to see him at the head of such a clergy as God has blessed this diocese with."77 Such insistence on experience and gravitas is consistent with the report Swift heard that he was judged "too young" for the Derry deanship. Berkeley’s letters show, however, that there were other considerations in play as well, and they involved King.

King’s zealous efforts to defend the rights of the bishops of Derry to the so-called quarterlands of Londonderry and the Church’s related rights to the salmon fishery had brought him into a fierce legal dispute with the Irish Society, an agency of the City of London which managed and controlled the City of Londonderry on behalf of the City of London. The disagreement, which was over the extent of the Bishop of Derry’s temporalities, opened up a constitutional tangle which Berkeley foresaw he would be blamed for being unable to untangle.78 The dispute was a key element in what David Hayton has termed “an

75 Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland, pp. 29, 32.
76 See Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 144.
77 King to “Your Excellencie” [Berkeley], 29 January 1700, in King Letters transcripts, p. 117; see also King’s letter of the same date to Archbishop Marsh, pp. 114-16.
78 T. W. Moody, The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-41: The City of London and the Plantation in Ulster (Belfast: William Mullan, 1939), pp. 79, 135; the dispute, which was extensively ramified, is conveniently summarized by T. W. Moody and J. G. Simms in their edition of pertinent documents, The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish Society of London, 1602-1705, 2 vols (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1983), I, 5-10, and more succinctly at II, vii: “The litigation between the Irish Society and three successive bishops of Derry, Robert Mossom, Ezekiel Hopkins, and William King, concern[ed] fishing rights in the Foyle and Bann, and also lands within the liberties of Derry, north-west of the Foyle, known as the quarterlands of Ternonderry. The quarterlands controversy came to involve a constitutional conflict between the Irish and the English houses of lords. The Irish found for Bishop King ... but the society appealed to the English house, which decided that the proceedings before the Irish house were null and void ... Eventually both the quarterlands and the fishery
acute crisis in Anglo-Irish relations,” 1697-c.1704. The City of London persuaded the English House of Lords to obtain an order from William III that King be taken into custody and brought to London to answer the City’s objections.

By the time of Dean Ormsby’s death, therefore, Berkeley had become well aware that King was stubborn, cantankerous, resourceful, and likely to make trouble for the government. He would also have been aware of King’s adamant and public opposition to the doctrine and worship of the Presbyterian majority in his diocese. On 16 December 1699, Berkeley described King as a true Prelaticall Churchman, of Scholarship & parts in his own way[,] but of a Spirit as high as Thomas à Beckett was of old, and of a temper to put all the world in a Flame rather than loose one foot of what he has the least pretence belongs to the Church. When the house of Lords has him in England he will Petition the Commons, & suffer or do anything rather than Submit to the Lords, being couetous of the vanity to be thought a Martyr for Libertys of the Peerage and People of Ireland.

"Because of the ill consequences that may attend this business," Berkeley recommended that a confrontation be avoided by excusing King’s appearance on grounds of his poor health, adding,

I do not see by what Law the Governmt. here can take a Bishop & Peer of Ireland by Force and send him in Custody into another Kingdom; But if we have advice that it may, and orders that it must be done, it will certainly bring so great a discontent upon this nation, who already think they are unkindly us’d by England in point of Trade &c[,] that I protest my Lord I cannot tell what mighty mischiefs may ensue. It will probably make a Parliamt. here impracticable whatever necessity there may be for calling one. Your Lord cannot but know how powerfull the disputes were amicably settled, and the compromise was ratified by a private act of the English parliament in 1704.”


The Irish Society’s request of 24 March 1699 was granted by the English House of Lords on 29 March and again on 1 May 1699. See Moody and Simms, The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish Society of London, 1602-1705, II, 263-64; Earl of Jersey to Lords Justices of Ireland, 16 November 1699, SP 67/2, p. 245 (CSPD, X, 295), and a letter undated but after 24 November 1699, SP 67/2, p. 252 (CSPD, X, 310). Writing to Sir Robert Southwell, 4 February 1700, King tells the story from his point of view (King Letters transcripts, pp. 118-22). On the English Lords’ proceedings against King as well as the background of King’s dispute with the Irish Society, see Philip O’Regan, Archbishop William King of Dublin (1650-1729) and the Constitution in Church and State (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 97-124.

Scotch are in this Country; this may be a meanes to unite the British here with the Scotch of this Kingdom & of Scotland against the Interest of England.  

To Berkeley’s relief, on 11 January 1700, the English House of Lords excused King from appearing on grounds of ill health. But for all Berkeley knew, the confrontation had only been postponed.

It was against this background that he nominated the Lords Justices’ official chaplain, John Bolton, to be dean of King’s cathedral. Bolton (c.1656-1723) was a graduate of TCD (BA 1676, MA 1679, DD 1692). Ordained a priest in 1677, he held several benefices in the diocese of Meath: he was rector and vicar of Ratoath and Donaghmore (1677-1720), rector of Greenogue in 1678, rector of Agher and Laracor, 1692-99, and vicar of Rathbeggan, 1678-99. He was prebendary of Dunlavin in St Patrick’s Cathedral, 1691-99. Bolton was moreover highly regarded as a preacher, to judge from a letter that Anna Parnell (the poet Thomas Parnell’s mother) sent congratulating King on Bolton’s appointment: “If he be as good as he seems in the pulpit he cannot but be a good man.”

Not long after Bolton had been presented to the deanery on 16 February 1700, Berkeley gloated to John, Lord Somers, then Lord High Chancellor of England:

I make no doubt but if the ArchBishop of Canterbury [Thomas Tenison] has discours’d your Lordp anything about the Deanery of Londonderry, his Grace will appeare very well satisfyd with my care of the church in the choice of Doctor Bolton a person very well qualifyd for that preferment, which requires a more than ordinary prudent managemt. betwixt the high church Bp, and the numerous dissenters of that Citty, & I cannot forbeare bragging of a Letter of great thanks that I have had from a man so hard to please as the Bishop of Derry; yet I may

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82 Berkeley to the Earl of Rochester at Whitehall, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, pp. 62-63. Berkeley wrote less flamboyantly to the Earl of Montagu, 30 December 1699, again urging that the Lords accept King’s plea of ill health (p. 66).


86 The warrant presenting Bolton to the deanery is dated 16 February 1700 and appears in Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35D, fol. 17.

87 Tenison and March both corresponded with King (King Letters transcripts).

88 King to Berkeley, 20 February 1700, King Letters transcripts, p. 133. Berkeley had written King on 15 February reporting Bolton’s appointment. King had received a similar report from Galway and sent a similar message of thanks on 20 February (King Letters transcripts).
tell your Lord that my new Dean knows his Lord's character so well, that he has promised not to be governed by him, nor to join with him in his high flown measures; though he will give him no just cause of Offence, and seems resolved to leave no stone unturned to become a Mediator in the Controversy between the Bishop & the City of London, and the Doctor will if there be occasion go for England to settle the matter there. This if compass'd I take to be no small Service; for as I understand it, tho' it be at present luckily hush'd in the house of Lords, it may break out again. 89

Berkeley's letter, though self-serving, clearly implies that the decision to appoint Bolton rested with him ("my care of the church"; "my new Dean"). He makes two other important points: that the government was worried that King's zeal for the rights of the Church of Ireland would fuel the resentment of the Scotch Dissenters in Ulster and perhaps lead to a more widespread anti-English disaffection, and secondly, that he had chosen Bolton as one able to mollify the Dissenters and as having "promised not to be governed by" King. This political motive Berkeley evidently did not confide to Swift any more than to King.

The prediction that Bolton would be willing to disagree with King immediately proved accurate. King opposed Bolton's desire to hold on to his Meath Diocesan livings of Ratoath, Donaghmore, Agher, Laracor, and Rathbeggan and his prebend of Dunlavin in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; 90 and though Bolton was presented to the deanery on 20 February 1700, he was not instituted until 25 September and not installed until 16 October. 91 At length it was settled that Bolton would relinquish Agher, Laracor, and Rathbeggan, and Swift was instituted to these livings on 22 March 1700. 92 At the time Bolton was instituted to the deanery, he relinquished Dunlavin, and that was also given to

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89 29 February 1700, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, pp. 70-71.
90 King opposed Bolton's proposed pluralism in his letters to Marsh (20 February 1700) and to Mr Synnot (23 February), his letter of 27 February to "Sir" (evidently someone who assisted Archbishop Boyle or was consulted by him) concerning Bolton's petition for a "faculty," his letter of the same date to one of his fellow bishops (unnamed), and his letter to Archbishop Marsh, 29 February 1699, complaining about Bolton's petition for a faculty and reporting that he had filed his formal objection with Archbishop Boyle of Armagh. The letter of objection itself was dated 1 March. King was still harping on this subject on 5 March to "Sir" – the same person as he addressed 27 February (King Letters transcripts, pp. 135, 137, 141-43, 145, 146, 148, and 151). See also O'Regan, Archbishop William King of Dublin, pp. 127-28.
91 The 16 February date for the presentation cited above from the Berkeley Castle Muniments differs slightly from the 20 February date given in Leslie, Derry Clergy and Parishes, p. 36; Leslie's date may be for the fiant rather than for the warrant, which authorizes the fiant.
92 Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland, p. 36.
Swift.93 Once Bolton had resigned Agher, Laracor, and Rathbeggan, he evidently petitioned Archbishop Boyle for a “faculty” which would allow him to hold Ratoath and Donaghmore along with the deanery. Boyle asked King’s formal opinion, and King opposed granting the faculty. Boyle nevertheless gave Bolton the faculty, but at least as late as 20 March, King urged Bolton that in good conscience he not accept it; King believed that it was essential for the new dean to be in residence in Londonderry and thought that Bolton would find the temptation to stay in County Meath, within a tolerable journey of Dublin’s attractions, irresistible.94

Swift’s implication in “Family of Swift” that Berkeley was the one primarily responsible for giving Bolton the deanery of Derry is probably correct. Contriving to please King while lessening his political impact makes Berkeley seem less a bumbler than Elias supposed. I do not know how far Berkeley confided his motive to Archbishop Marsh, but they would appear to have exerted considerable effort to entice Bolton to accept the Derry appointment after he had at first turned it down and after Edward Synge, a future archbishop of Tuam, did the same.95 The Lords Justices seem to have pursued no other candidates.

If Berkeley considered Swift at all, however, he may well have concluded not only that Swift lacked the requisite stature but also that he would be disinclined to placate the Londonderry Dissenters or to moderate King’s all-out assertion of the Church of Ireland’s rights. In A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland (1724), Swift endorses William Molyneux’s influential The Case of Ireland’s Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated (Dublin: Ray, 1698); and in A Short View of the State of Ireland (1728), he objects strenuously to the English Woollen Act of 1699.96 If, in 1699, Swift already favoured Ireland’s right to legislate for itself (which William Molyneux had asserted in The Case of Ireland Stated, to English indignation), or if Swift already resented the English Woollen Act of 1699 (which flew in the face of Molyneux’s claims),

93 Swift was collated to Dunlavin 28 September 1700 and instituted 22 October (Hugh Jackson Lawlor, The Fasti of St. Patrick’s, Dublin [Dundalk: Tempest, 1930], p. 111).
94 Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland, p. 31; King to Bolton, 1, 8, and 20 March 1700 (King Letters transcripts, pp. 147, 157, and 158-60). In 1691, Boyle had opposed the effort of King and other bishops to restrict such faculties (Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638-1696, ed. Raymond Gillespie [Cork: Cork University Press, 2003], pp. 37-38).
95 Landa, Swift and the Church of Ireland, p. 31. On Synge, see Marie-Louise Legg, “Synge, Edward (1659-1741)” (ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26901>), and the same author’s “Synge, Edward” (Dictionary of Irish Biography <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8427>).
and if Berkeley suspected Swift held either of these positions, he would have had another reason to choose someone more compliant.97

Swift’s claim that the Bolton appointment had been influenced by a bribe given to Berkeley’s secretary Arthur Bushe remains mysterious.98 but it is possible that Berkeley assigned Bushe some responsibility in the negotiations between Bolton, Marsh, and himself over the Derry deanship. After all, Berkeley sent Arthur Bushe, whom he described as his secretary and friend and in whom he said he placed his entire confidence, to London to sound out possibilities for his (Berkeley’s) future government service.99

In any event, Swift judged correctly that when he was told, presumably by Berkeley, that he had been passed over for the deanship because he was “too young,” that was an “Excuse” but hardly an explanation.

4. Acquittances, Petitions, and “The Humble Petition of Frances Harris”

Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155 is a book of receipts or ‘acquittances’ taken from servants in the Berkeley household when they were paid their wages or were reimbursed for their out-of-pocket payments to tradespeople, September 1699 to May 1702.100 While Lord Berkeley was at Dublin Castle, the acquittances were witnessed by another member of the household. In Faulkner’s


98 It is not clear by whom, to what precise end, or at what point in the months before Bolton’s finally accepting institution to the deanery a bribe would have been offered. Swift may have held out hope during those months that if at last Bolton failed to take up the deanship, he himself might still be considered.

99 Letters to Lord Somers, 19 April 1700; to the Earl of Albemarle, 20 April 1700; and to Arthur Moore, 20 April 1700, calling Bushe his “Friend as well as Secretary.” Bushe was to deliver these letters to their recipients personally. On 14 January 1701, Berkeley recommended that his successor as Lord Justice, the Earl of Drogheda, consider employing Bushe as secretary (Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, pp. 77-80, 82-83, and 92).

100 A vellum-bound folio, this volume has been inscribed on its upper board with what appear to be the letters “A C” in large now-faded script and the word “Receipt” or “Receipts” in script of an ordinary size; there seems to be some other writing which I have failed to make out using photographic analysis, and I do not know the significance of the “A C” designation.
editions of Swift’s *Works*, the annotations to “The Humble Petition of Frances Harris” purport to identify as real people the various characters Swift mentions.\(^{101}\) This volume of acquittances confirms the identity of these named persons as members of the Dublin Castle economy and also confirms, if confirmation were needed, that Faulkner’s notes are factually grounded and therefore almost certainly grounded in information which Swift provided, even if he did not write the notes himself.\(^{102}\) The manuscript provides some information about the wages and employment dates of various personnel and occasionally about their duties.

The book was maintained by the steward (l. 32): his name was Ferris (as Swift spelled it) or Ferrers (as Lady Betty Germain spelled it\(^ {103}\)) or Farist (as some later illiterate spelled it at the end of the book: “Hear Farists acquitances end”\(^ {104}\)). In the poem, we learn not much more of Ferris than that he was formerly in the service of Lady Shrewsbury (l. 32). But in 1710, Swift told Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley,

> I met that beast Ferris, lord Berkeley’s steward formerly; I walkt with him a turn in the Park, and that scoundrel dog is as happy as an emperor, has married a wife with a considerable estate in land and houses about this town, and lives at his ease at Hammersmith.

In this reference one detects something of the social parity between the steward Ferris and the chaplain Swift in 1701.\(^ {105}\) Ferris would have been Lord Berkeley’s house steward (his land steward or receiver, Charles Weston, remained behind in Berkeley). Ferris would have been in charge of nearly all Berkeley’s servants in Dublin; he would have “ruled supreme over the household, being answerable to no one save his master.”\(^ {106}\)


\(^{102}\) Without success, I have also searched the births, marriages, and deaths in the registers of St Mary’s, Berkeley (the Berkeley Castle parish) for those mentioned in the poem; the registers are available on microfiche in the Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester.

\(^{103}\) Lady Elisabeth Germain to Swift, 23 February 1732, *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 457 and 458n3.

\(^{104}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 156. At the foot of this last page, below “Hear Farists acquitances end,” is one last receipt dated 15 January 1703.

\(^{105}\) *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 133 (21 December 1710). In the remark there is an implication that Esther Johnson has previously encountered Ferris, which might conceivably have happened while she was in London in 1708-9. She did not arrive in Dublin in 1701 until after the Berkeleys had departed (see *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 143n4, 173n3).

As for Swift’s title character, the signature “Frances Herris” appears frequently; she always gives her surname as “Herris” (compare “Herries,” the spelling Swift used in “A Ballad on the Game of Traffick”).\(^{107}\) The acquittances show that as the Countess of Berkeley’s lady’s maid, Herris was responsible for making payments to tradespeople and others from her own funds, for which she was reimbursed monthly or oftener; the amounts of these reimbursements could be substantial (£7 9s 2d on 11 March 1701), though the items purchased are only occasionally mentioned, for example, “Course Lining Cloth” and “Sweetmeats,” 20 January 1700.\(^{108}\) She drew reimbursements starting January 1700, but it would appear that her acquittances were not for wages as long as the Berkeleys were in Dublin (that is, in Dublin she would not have been paid from Ferris’s funds). She was paid wages totalling £17 10s in the year after she left Dublin.\(^{109}\)

“Mary” was evidently a servant to Frances Herris; upon Frances’s discovery of her loss, Mary put Frances to bed and hid her garters so as to remove the means of suicide (ll. 18-19). Mary Broughton, who signed by making her mark, drew wages of £2 10s at the final Dublin wage settlement of 4 April 1701 and continued to draw wages after the Berkeleys returned from Ireland, and she would seem to be the person meant.\(^{110}\)

Frances Harris, on the basis of her dream, accuses “Mrs. Dukes” of stealing her money (ll. 23, 34-47). Rebekah Duke was “a Servant” and the wife of Robert Duke, “one of the Footmen.” She received her final pay on 18 March 1701 (giving her receipt “in full for Wages and all acct’s”).\(^{111}\) Robert Duke last appears in the book of acquittances as a witness on 7 April 1701, the day the Berkeleys settled their local accounts in preparation for their departure from Dublin on 9 April, though on 4 April he received his final pay and was marked “Discharged.”\(^{112}\) It would appear that the Dukes were from Dublin and remained there. He drew wages starting July 1700 (£3 for the quarter ended Michaelmas 1700);\(^{113}\) she earned small amounts intermittently starting February 1700.

“Whittle,” who “fell a Swearing” when he heard of Frances’s dream (l. 24), is identified by Faulkner as “Earl of Berkeley’s Valet”; this would be Christopher Whittell, whose name appears frequently from January 1700 to

\(^{107}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 27, 100, 105, 118, 132, 136, 137, 141, 143, 146, 149, 150, 153, and 155; Poems, ed. Williams, I, 75.

\(^{108}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 27, 100.

\(^{109}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 132, 149.

\(^{110}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 105. One other Mary, Mary Head, was reimbursed for her “Disbursements” on 28 August 1700 (Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 66), but her name does not otherwise appear in the wage records, suggesting that she was not in the Berkeleys’ employ in early 1701 when the poem was probably written.

\(^{111}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 103.

\(^{112}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 105.

\(^{113}\) Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 75.
April 1702. He typically earned £3 per quarter, making him one of the more highly-paid servants. On 31 July 1700, he was reimbursed for “poud[,] Essence and other Disbursm’ts.”

“Dame Wadgar” (l. 25) would be Mary Watger, identified in Faulkner’s note as “The old deaf House-Keeper.” Her nearly illiterate signature appears repeatedly among the Berkeley receipts from 20 January 1700 to 11 May 1702, where typically she was acknowledging reimbursements for her payments to the “Washer woman.” On 23 February 1732, Lady Betty Germain contrives an allusion to this poem: “I wish I had my Dame Watkers or M’ Ferrers Memo­randum head, that I might know whether twas at the time of Gooseberrys.”

“Cary,” mentioned in lines 30-31 as having “never heard of such a Thing,” would be William Cary, identified in Faulkner’s note as “Clerk of the Kitchen”; one of the most frequently reimbursed servants, he appears in the Berkeley receipts from November 1699 to 28 July 1701, when he received his final wages. At least while the household were in Dublin, their signatures in the book of acquittances were witnessed, in several instances by Swift, though no payments to him are recorded. He witnessed payments for sherry (12 January 1700), wine and oranges (28 March 1700), two wainscot tables (30 March 1700), gloves “pd by my Lady” (4 July 1700), goods bought in France (2 September 1700), and goods bought in Holland (29 October 1700). Payees outside the household included Rupert Barbor, Dublin woollen draper (and husband of Swift’s poet-protégée Mary Barber), to whom £14 was paid on 7 August 1700 for “12: yd’s of black Cloth” for the use of Robert Cheatheam, and Swift’s cousin, the Lisbon merchant Willoughby Swift, to whom £5 6s 8d was transmitted by Sir John Rogerson on 30 August 1700. Other acquittances of interest include two on 24 February 1701: £10 paid “in full for Lady Bettys Picture” and £3 paid “in full for Lady Bettys Goeing to y’e play-house.”

114 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 62.
115 Correspondence, ed. Woolley, III, 457.
116 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 121.
117 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 23, 39, 40, 56, 67, and 79.
118 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 63, 67. I do not know of an earlier record for Rupert Barbor (Mary uses the same spelling in signing a legal document), and I cannot identify Cheatheam; for Barbor, see Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington, ed. A. C. Elias, Jr, 2 vols (Athens, Georgia, and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), II, 391-92. Rupert is not to be confused with the Barbors’ son Rupert Barber the portraitist. Whether the Barbors were married by 1700 I do not know. For Willoughby Swift, see Correspondence, ed. Woolley, I, 121n3, and Correspondence, ed. Ball, I, 11-12 and n1.
119 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, p. 99. Though the painting is unidentified, the artist, specified in the book of acquittances as “m’: Tho’: Bates,” is almost certainly the painter Thomas Bate, active in Ireland 1680-1710; see Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker, VII: Barbieri-Bayona (Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 1993), 448; and Crookshank and Glin, Ireland’s Painters, 1600-1940, p. 19. Bate’s known paintings include a portrait of Lord Coningsby in Roman dress, signed and
In light of Robert D. Hume's estimate that £1 in the London of 1700 was worth two or three hundred times that (perhaps more, perhaps less) in the London of 2005, other expenditures listed bear out Lord Berkeley's repeated complaint that his financial burden for underwriting the establishment at Dublin Castle was considerable. Aside from wages, the kinds of expenditure are varied and the amounts often large. They include "One Months poultry" (£6 3s 11d), "Milk & Cream" (£1 4s 6d), "severall things for the Garden in the Park" (£1 0s 4d), "shoes" (£3), "Druggett" (£1 5s), "flamboys" (an old plural of flambeau; £4 10s), "Phisick" (£1 14s), "Stockens" (£2 1s), "Smiths work" (£3), "for the poor" (£7 12s 6d), "20 Barls Charcole" (£1 10s), "Work Don at the Lodge" (£20 10s), "Strongwaters" (£1 10s), "five flitches of Bacon" (£3), "Six Groce of Bottles & Carriage" (£7 12s), "ten doz & half Bottles of Sider" (£4 14s), "a New travling Coach & a New Chariott" (£80), "bread sent to the Prison" (£2 12s), "one Tierce of Burgundy" (£13), "Livery hatts" (£1 10s), "One Hoggseed of Graves Wine" (£9 10s), "sugar bought at Bristol" (£29 11s 1d), "his Excy's allowance to the play house of Dublin" (£50), "Nine fathom of Norway wood" (£4 10s), "One Hogseed of Red Wine" (£9), "Two Hundred Sixty Nine Load of Hay" (£68 18s), "30 yds of Marble fustian" (£2), "small Beere" (£23 8s), "a black Gelding" (£17), "two Hogseeds of Portugall Wine & two Chests of Lemons" (£30 9s), "Druggett Ratteene" (£1 5s), a Japan Trunk dated [16]92 (now in the Ulster Museum, Belfast; reproduced in Crookshank and Glin, p. 19), and a panoramic view of Dublin which Crookshank and Glin date c.1699 and attribute to Bate (pp. 27, 65). See B. N., "Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions," The Burlington Magazine, 115 (1973), 190-93; and Jane Fenlon, "Garret Morphy and his Circle," Irish Arts Review Yearbook (1991-92), 135-48 (pp. 140, 141). The panorama (now in No 1 Royal Crescent, Bath, part of the Bath Preservation Trust) is reproduced in Colm Lennon, Dublin, Part II, 1610-1756, Irish Historic Towns Atlas 19 (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2008), plate 5, and has been discussed by W. G. Strickland, "Oil Picture: A View of Dublin, 1690," The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 6th ser., 16 (1926), 92-94; and more fully by Vivien Igoe and Frederick O'Dwyer, "Early Views of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham," GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook, 5 (1988-89), 78-88, dating the painting around 1695. Crookshank and Glin also attribute to Bate a view of the formal gardens at Blessington, County Wicklow c.1710, based on its similarity with the Dublin panorama (p. 65, citing Christie's Dublin catalogue, 26 May 1993; the picture's whereabouts are not known to me). Although information on Dublin theatre admission prices this early is sparse or non-existent, the typical highest price for the best seat on a benefit night was 5s British, as recorded in John C. Greene and Gladys L. H. Clark, The Dublin Stage, 1720-1745: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments, and Afterpieces (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Lehigh University Press, 1993), pp. 169, 338; Lady Betty may have attended as a patron.

Swift and Lord Berkeley, 1699-1701: Berkeley Castle Swiftiana

(£1 1s), “for making two feild cloths” (16s), “Livery Lace” (£2 14s), “two Barells of Wicklow Ale” (£1 18s), “one Hogseed of W't Wine & a nother of Claret” (£21), “Candles” and “Soo” (soap, £22 15s), “a hanger” and “Cleaning of Swords” (12s), “Six Gallons of Usquebagh[,] bottles and Cask” (£9 0s 6d), and “Six Tunn of Sea Cole w't Carriage” (£6).122

The muniments also shed light on Frances Harris’s petition itself. Following catastrophic losses caused by fires and floods, distressed persons in Ireland sometimes sought charitable relief by petitioning the Lord Lieutenant or the Lords Justices. Such petitions customarily prayed for a “brief” or letter authorizing “the Benefit of a full Collection” in Church of Ireland churches, for example, “a full Collection, in & throughout the Sev'l Cathedrale and Parish Churches in the Provinces of Leinster and Ulster (the City and Suburbs of Dublin excepted)” or “a full Collection, in and throughout the City and Suburbs of Dublin, and the Province of Munster.” Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35 G-H are volumes of scribal copies of petitions to the Lords Justices of Ireland, 1699-1701, showing how each petition was disposed of.123 To make clearer the relationship of “The Humble Petition of Frances Harris” to the petitions actually submitted to the Lords Justices, I will quote in its entirety one terse example, consisting of four documents:

[1]

To their Ex'cys the Lord Justices
The humble Pet'n. of Bridget Lyndsey Widow.

Sheweth

That her House and all her Worldly Substance was burnt by an accedentall fire by reason whereof Your Pet' and seven poor Orphans are brought to the greatest extreameity & become the greatest object of Charity

May it therefore Please Your Ex'cys to Grant her the benefit of a Breif in and throughout the City and Suburbs of Dublin and the Provinces of Leinster and Ulster

And Your Pet' will pray &c.

[2]

Dublin Castle 18th Aprill 1700.

122 Berkeley Castle Muniments GBB 155, pp. 32, 33, 39, 40, 43, 46, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 72, 76, 77, 80, 82, 84, 88, 96, 100, 103, and 104.

123 SB 35H is labelled on the upper board “Petitions | 1699.” Similar petitions to the Duke of Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant, 1703-7, are preserved as Royal Irish Academy MS 12.W.24; see the photographs in Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library, eds Bernadette Cunningham and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2009), pp. 134-36; other such volumes of Irish petition copies are British Library MSS Add. 38173 (from the same period) and 38160 (from 1711) (not seen). One such petition was published while Lord Carteret was Lord Lieutenant: To His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: The Humble Petition of Bryan Kelly (Dublin: Andrew Crooke, 1725; copy: British Library C.133.g.7/31).
We Refer this Petition to his Grace the Lord ArchBp of Dublin to Report his Opinion what is fit to be done therein

Berkely [sic]
Gallway.

[3]

May 1st, 1700
I have considered the within Petition and do beleive the Pet'r an Object of Charity, & if Your Ex'cs think fitt You may please to allow her the benefit of a full Collection in and thro' out the sev'r Cathedrall & Parish Churches in the City & Suburbs of Dublin & Province of Ulster. All which is humbly Submitted by

Your Ex'cs
Most humble & obedient Ser'
N. Dublin

[4]

Dublin Castle 9 May 1700.
Upon which Petition an Order was Granted as Usuall.124

It was normal, as in this instance, for the Lords Justices to seek the Archbishop of Dublin's recommendation (here, "N. Dublin" is Narcissus Marsh) as to whether the petition should be granted and, if so, how wide a geographical range of churches should be designated. If the Archbishop approved, the Lords Justices issued a written order that a collection take place. The order itself tends not to be recorded in the Berkeley transcripts, but an example of such an order, by Lord Carteret, is included in *The Humble Petition of Bryan Kelly* (1725):

We are pleased hereby to Recommend the Petitioner Bryan Kelly, to the Deans of the several Cathedrals, and Ministers of the several Parish-Churches in and throughout the City and Suburbs of Dublin, and the Province of Munster, to allow him the ben[efit] of a full Collection in all and every their respective Churches the next Sunday after this, (or a Printed Copy hereof made by His Majesty's Printer) shall be presented unto them for the Petitioners Relief.

When Frances Harris seeks a "Letter, / With an Order for the Chaplain afore­said; or instead of Him, a Better," she wants the "Order" not only to grant her a collection (to repair the loss of her money) but also to provide her a husband (ll. 72-73). The generally parodic character of Swift's poem, in its adherence to the conventions of petitions, has long been recognized, but the petitions for charitable relief found in SB 35 G-H make clear that in "The Humble Petition of Frances Harris," Swift is specifically burlesquing this subgenre of petitions, a subgenre amply familiar to the poem's original audience at the Dublin court.125

124 Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35H, fol. 19.
125 Though most petitions to the Crown, to Parliament, or other persons or bodies undoubtedly remained unprinted, some idea of the common kinds of petitions can be gathered from examining the ESTC records of printed petitions. A search for the title phrase "humble petition" yielded over 1600 hits in July 2012, and simply searching for the title word "petition" produced over 9800 hits.
Appendix A: Jeayes's Listing of Lord Berkeley’s Papers

Lord Berkeley's Dublin Castle papers in Berkeley Castle Muniments SB (Select Books) 35 are listed in Isaac Herbert Jeayes, Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments in the Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge, at Berkeley Castle (Bristol: Jefferies, 1892), pp. 310-11:126

A-K.  “THE AFFAIRS of Ireland, copies of Royal Orders, Letters, etc., in the reign of K. William III., when Charles, Earl of Berkeley, was one of the Lords Justices.” Ten volumes. Folio. The contents are:—


C.  “Marching Orders and Lycences,” 1699-1701.


E.  “King’s Letters and Reports,” viz., Copies of the King’s letters to the Lords Justices, with their Reports, 1699-1700. Included is an “Accompt of money laid out for Provisions, Freight, etc., for the Soldiers sent to New Yorke” in 1700, amongst the items being “200 cwt. of Tobacco at 10d. per lb.”

F.  “King’s Letters and Reports,” 1699-1700.

G, H. Petitions to the Lords Justices, 1699-1701.


Appendix B: The Composition of “A Meditation upon a Broom-Stick”

The “Meditation” was probably written for the Countess of Berkeley. The time of composition cannot be fixed, and it is possible that Lady Betty was Swift’s

126 These papers are also briefly mentioned in David Smith, “The Berkeley Castle Muniments,” Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 125 (2007), 11-28 (p. 18). SB 35A-K are available on microfilm at the Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester (MF 11-22 and 11-23).
intended victim, as George Faulkner thought.\textsuperscript{127} The latest possible date of composition would be October 1708, since on 2 November, Anthony Henley responded to Swift’s earlier refusal to give him a copy.\textsuperscript{128} The “Meditation” may have been composed while Swift and the Berkeleys were in Dublin, though Ehrenpreis and Karian conjecture that it was written during Swift’s visit to Berkeley Castle in August 1702.\textsuperscript{129} In his 1711 \textit{Miscellanies in Prose and Verse}, Swift dates it “August, 1704” (p. 231), but Herbert Davis shows that the date must be erroneous and thinks that the piece, if written in 1704, would have been written not later than May (Swift departed England on 1 June 1704).\textsuperscript{130} Faulkner in his 1735 edition of Swift’s \textit{Works} dates the piece “1703”;\textsuperscript{131} Swift was in England 13 November 1703 to 30 May 1704, so the “1703” dating is not ruled out.\textsuperscript{132} Swift’s account books place him at Cranford in May 1704, so the 1711 \textit{Miscellanies}’ “1704” dating is also not ruled out, though the month “August” does not fit.\textsuperscript{133} The 1711 \textit{Miscellanies} might easily have the right month but the wrong year, however.\textsuperscript{134}

In the Second Volume of the Swift-Pope \textit{Miscellanies}, the “Meditation” is undated.\textsuperscript{135} Faulkner in his eighteenmo revision of Swift’s \textit{Works} redated the poem “1707,” but this dating cannot be reconciled with Faulkner’s statement in the same edition that the “Meditation” was composed “when Lord Berkeley, one


\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Correspondence}, ed. Woolley, I, 211.

\textsuperscript{129} Ehrenpreis, \textit{Dr Swift}, p. 91n2; Karian, \textit{Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript}, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Prose Works}, I, xxxiii-xxxiv; Davis’s accurate report of the 1704 date in the 1711 \textit{Miscellanies} is mistakenly “corrected” to “1703” in the \textit{Prose Works} errata, XIV, 49. See also C. P. Daw’s comment in his facsimile, \textit{Jonathan Swift, Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, 1711} (Menston: Scolar, 1972), prefatory note.


\textsuperscript{132} Thompson, \textit{A Jonathan Swift Daybook}.

\textsuperscript{133} Thompson and Thompson, \textit{Account Books}, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{134} As Daw suggests in the prefatory note to his facsimile.

of the Lords Justices of Ireland, was in that Kingdom," that is, 1699-1701. Swift was in London in December 1707, but I would interpret Faulkner's "1707" as his guess, realizing that 1703 was probably not right; and the inconsistency lends no plausibility to his claim that the piece was written for Lady Betty Berkeley. Thomas Sheridan (1719-88) cites Lady Betty as his authority for saying that the "Meditation" was written for her mother, the Countess of Berkeley. A manuscript copy of the piece among the Portland literary manuscripts now at the University of Nottingham is dated "1709" by Edward Harley, but Henley's letter shows that that date cannot be the date of composition (it may be the date of transcription or acquisition).

Notwithstanding Sheridan's implication that the piece was written in London, the likely dates and places of composition are 1699-1701 in Dublin or August 1702 at Berkeley Castle, at either of which periods Swift was living under the same roof with the Berkeleys and would have had the leisure to write something entertaining. The August 1702 date gains a modicum of support from the "August, 1704" dating in the 1711 Miscellanies.

Appendix C: Berkeley's Letterbook, Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J

For the benefit of scholars interested in using Lord Berkeley's Dublin letterbook, a calendar of its contents is presented below; pages within pp. 1-94 but not mentioned are blank. Except as otherwise noted, the thirty-two letters are from the Earl of Berkeley, and the place of writing is Dublin Castle. The location of the addressee appears in nearly all cases to have been London. With minor exceptions, the order in this section is chronological. As throughout this paper, all dates treat the year as beginning on 1 January.

The letters are all clerical transcripts of out-letters. One of the letters as actually sent is preserved in Berkeley's handwriting in the (UK) National Archives, State Papers Ireland (SP 63); others may be preserved elsewhere in the State Papers or among the papers of the recipients. Copies of some letters

139 There are two pages numbered "67," designated 67¹ and 67² in this calendar. Some office-holders have been identified with the help of J. C. Sainty, Officials of the Secretaries of State, 1660-1782 (London: The Athlone Press, 1973).
were probably among papers destroyed in the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922. Comparison of the letter preserved in SP 63 with the copy in Berkeley Castle SB 35J (11 April 1700 in the list below) shows that the copy is accurate as to substantives, incorporating Berkeley's original emendations but applying a clerkly finish to the accidentals.

The letters are all letters of business, usually written in Berkeley's role as a Lord Justice of Ireland but occasionally in his role as Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Gloucestershire. None of the letters are official letters of the Lords Justices signed jointly by Berkeley and Galway (such letters are preserved in SP 63 and in Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35K). A number of the letters concern Berkeley's complaint that while the three Lords Justices (the Duke of Bolton, the Earl of Galway, and he) shared the Lord Lieutenant's salary, Bolton was an absentee and therefore did not share responsibility for the substantial expenses of the Irish regency. Berkeley therefore viewed the net remuneration of the lord justiceship as disappointing. Some letters concern Berkeley's possible future employment. He early recognized that the Galway-Berkeley collaboration was not destined to last; to Matthew Prior (31 December 1699), he intimated that relations were strained between him and Galway. He foresaw that Galway would move from the lord justiceship to other employment, and he signalled that he would be willing to continue as a Lord Justice or even as Lord Lieutenant if Bolton and his "sine-cure" could be shunted aside. Writing to Arthur Moore, 20 April 1700, Berkeley said, "If I co'ud be single, or join'd with one person that I like, I cou'd be very well contented to stay here." Berkeley was not, however, invited to continue.

### Calendar of the Berkeley Letterbook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-19</td>
<td>29 June 1699</td>
<td>William III’s commission to the Duke of Bolton, the Earl of Berkeley, and the Earl of Galway as Lords Justices of Ireland. Latin with English marginal summary. Endorsed (p. 19) as enrolled among the patent rolls in Ireland 25 August [1699].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-44</td>
<td>18 July 1699</td>
<td>Instructions by the Lords Justices of England to the Lords Justices of Ireland. As noted in the Calendar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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141 Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 65, quoted above.

142 Berkeley Castle Muniments SB 35J, p. 82.
Swift and Lord Berkeley, 1699-1701: Berkeley Castle Swiftiana

of State Papers Domestic, “The instructions are of the same tenor as those of May 5, 1695, printed in Cal. S.P. Dom. (1694-1695), pp. 445-59. By the last article, 32, they are required not to summon a parliament in Ireland ‘without particular directions from his Majesty, or in his absence from the guardians or justices of England.’ [S.P. 67. 2. pp. 199-220.]”

Letters Copy’d (all letters are from Berkeley unless otherwise noted)

47-48 19 August 1699 Jonathan Swift from Kilkenney to Humphry May at Dublin Castle

48 22 August 1699 Arthur Bushe’s memorandum of his account of Berkeley’s reception in Dublin, sent to [Robert] Yard [Under-Secretary of State under James Vernon]

48-49 22 August 1699 to the Earl of Jersey, Principal Secretary of State

49-51 5 September 1699 Arthur Bushe to William Smith from Clancarty House, Dublin

52-53 1 October 1699 to Luis de Cunza, the King of Portugal’s envoy

53 1 October 1699 to Sir Walter Young, one of the Commissioners of the Customs

54 14 October 1699 to the Earl of Romney

55-57 14 November 1699 to Arthur Moore

57-60 14 December 1699 to Matthew Prior [Under-Secretary of State under the Earl of Jersey]

60-61 14 December 1699 to the Earl of Jersey

143 CSPD, X, 240.

144 Jersey had until very recently been the English ambassador to Paris, where Matthew Prior served as embassy secretary (Stuart Handley, “Villiers, Edward, first Earl of Jersey,” ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28289> ).

145 Luis da Cunha (1662-1749) was the Portuguese ambassador to London, 1696-1712; see “Cunha (D. Luís da),” Portugal Dicionário histórico <http://www.arqnet.pt/dicionario/cunhaluis.html>.


147 The letters to Arthur Moore (c.1666-1730) take a distinctly friendly tone (the last is signed “with great affection”). At this time he sat in the English House of Commons for Great Grimsby and was, like Berkeley, a member of the East India Company committee. He is the same Arthur Moore whom Swift abused in a note to line 200 of Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift as the father of James Moore Smythe (Poems, ed. Williams, II, 561). See Edward H. Thompson, “Moore, Arthur (d.1730),” ODNB online <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19096>; Paula Watson and Perry Gauci, “Moore, Arthur (c.1666-1730), of Bloomsbury Square Mdx., and Fetcham Park, Surr.” The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715, eds Cruickshanks, Handley, and Hayton <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research/members/members-1690-1715/member/moore-arthur-1666-1730>. 
61-63 16 December 1699 to the Earl of Rochester¹⁴⁸
64-65 31 December 1699 to Matthew Prior¹⁴⁹
65-66 30 December 1699 to the Earl of Montague¹⁴⁹
67¹ 24 January 1700 to le Marquis Justiniani¹⁵⁰ à Genes [Genoa] (in French)
67²-68 13 February 1700 to Arthur Moore
68-69 15 February 1700 to the Bishop of Londonderry [William King, at Londonderry]
69-71 29 February 1700 to the Lord High Chancellor of England [Lord Somers]
72 p29 February 1700 to the Earl of Bridgewater¹⁵¹
73 undated to the Lord Chancellor of England [Lord Somers], with this note appended: “This Lr was written some time in Ian’y last but not given me to Enter till the 29th Fer y 1699/1700.”
74 28 March 1700 to Lord Chancellor [of Ireland, John] Methuen, in London
75-76 11 April 1700 to Mr. Secretary [James] Vernon [Secretary of State for the Northern Department], Whitehall (original is SP 63/360, fols 239-40)
77-78 19 April 1700 to Lord Somers, Lord High Chancellor of England
79-80 20 April 1700 to the Earl of Albemarle¹⁵²
80-81 20 April 1700 to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland [John Methuen] in London
82-83 20 April 1700 to Arthur Moore
83-84 24 April 1700 to the Earl of Jersey, Principal Secretary of State
84-85 7 May 1700 to Lord Somers

¹⁴⁸ Laurence Hyde, first Earl of Rochester in the second creation (c.1642-1711), veteran government minister and High-Church Tory courtier who was soon to be named the next Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (W. A. Speck, “Hyde, Laurence,” ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14332>).
¹⁴⁹ Ralph Montagu (1638-1709), later first Duke of Montagu, former ambassador to the court of Louis XIV, he was by this time no longer a significant presence in the House of Lords, according to Edward Charles Metzger, “Montagu, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu,” ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19030>.
¹⁵² Arnold Joost van Keppel, first Earl of Albemarle (1669/70-1718) was at this period the “closest companion” of William III (James Falkner, “Keppel, Arnold Joost van,” ODNB online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15438>).
Appendix D: The Location of the Government Lodge in Dublin

Ascertaining the location of the Lodge, or King’s House, where Swift stayed with the Berkeleys, requires piecing together several sources. In 1838, John D’Alton wrote of Chapelizod: “At the left of the high road [Chapelizod Road] that enters this place from Dublin, on a meadow slanting to the river, are still traced the remains of the ancient building called the King’s House … An ancient turret close to the river marks the direction of the gardens formerly attached.”¹⁵³ The house, not to be confused with a later Viceregal Lodge built about 1751, was destroyed by fire at some point, but a (different?) structure designated “The King’s Ho.” is shown on the “historic” 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps in approximately the same location.¹⁵⁴ As late as 1904, C. Litton Falkiner said that bits of the Lodge survived:

The house with its garden stood between the river and the Chapelizod road, a little beyond the present Roman Catholic church [the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary]. The green meadows, margined by a few decaying remnants of formerly abundant timber, which run down to the north bank of the Liffey … still reveal to a careful survey some traces of their former stateliness.

He added that a pigeon house put up by Lord Galway while he was one of the Lords Justices was extant, as was “an ornamental pond.”¹⁵⁵ Excavations undertaken in 1992 found “no trace” of the King’s House above ground, though some eighteenth- or nineteenth-century “walls, drains and dumps” were

¹⁵⁴ Ordnance Survey Ireland <http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewet/#V1,710343,734330,7,9>. The Ordnance Survey gives the date of the 25-inch maps of Ireland as “1888-1913,” but I cannot confirm that the particular sheet cited here was produced at that time (<shop.osi.ie/Shop/Products/Default.aspx#historic>); J. H. Andrews says that “the new [25-inch] scale was first used in 1864 for county Dublin” (History in the Ordnance Map: An Introduction for Irish Readers [Dublin: Ordnance Survey Office, 1974], p. 42).
uncovered. In *An Actual Survey of the County of Dublin* [1760], John Rocque mapped buildings (unidentified) in the location D’Alton and Falkiner describe. F. Elrington Ball offers some additional documentation on the history of the Lodge. Using the foregoing information, it is possible to conclude that the Lodge was southeast of the junction of Chapelizod Road with Chapelizod Main Street and approximately where Kings Hall is today, 2.6 Irish miles or 3.3 English miles from Dublin Castle.

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