

## Chapter 1: Theophilus Butler, his life and times.

Theophilus Butler, politician and bookcollector, was born in the year 1669 in Belturbert, Co. Cavan. Although now recognised as the owner of the Butler Collection housed in the Old Library, Trinity College little work has been done on the man himself or the collection which bears his name. Upon examination of his life, certain features do emerge. Here his childhood will be examined as the son of a politician as well as his education in Dublin and his association with one of the most recognised figures of the period, Jonathan Swift. His political career is relevant, firstly as a member of the House of Commons and of the Privy Council and later, as Baron of Newtown-Butler, as a member of the House of Lords. Context will be provided by examining the national events in Butler's lifetime, particularly from his early adulthood to his death in 1723. Butler lived in an era in which the Protestant/Catholic relationship was to fluctuate, from the toleration in the reign of James II to the emergence of the Protestant Ascendancy after the conquest of William of Orange. As a member of this ascendancy, Butler, as other Protestant politicians, was to benefit from the social, economic and political gains which it entailed. He was also a witness to its political changes. The constitutional relationship between Ireland and England was to be a constant theme, particularly after the 1690s. The undertaking and patronage systems of government were also to emerge to a greater extent in the years in which Butler was in parliament and as of a result of which he was to achieve his peerage. Butler was, then, in many ways a product of his era.

Theophilus Butler was born in 1669 in County Cavan, the first son of politician Francis Butler. Two more sons were later born, James and Brinsley and two daughters, Judith and Clover. Not only was their father a politician but he also was known as a bookcollector, a substantial landowner and is described by John Dunton as an accomplished portrait painter.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that Francis' political career began in 1692, ending with his death in 1702.<sup>2</sup> As a

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<sup>1</sup> Woolley, James, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley", and Swift's Poems' in Weinbrot, D, Karian, S and Schakel, P.J. (ed.) *Eighteenth-Century Contexts: Historical Inquiries in Honor of Phillip Harth*, (Wisconsin, forthcoming). p 17

<sup>2</sup> Only two or three Irish Protestants sat in the Jacobite Parliament of which Francis was not one. J.C. Beckett in

book-collector, Francis appears to have been of some stature. Dunton famously dedicated his *Dublin Scuffle* to him and thanks him for the 'generous Incouragement, which you were pleas'd to give to all my Auctions of Books'.<sup>3</sup> It is likely the family would have divided their time between Dublin and Cavan. At the time of writing the *Dublin Scuffle* in 1698, Dunton places the residence of his dedicatee, 'the Honourable Colonel Butler, member of House of Commons' to St. Stephen's Green.<sup>4</sup> Theophilus, himself, had a home in St. Stephen's Green in 1698 yet he was not yet a member of parliament at this time.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the possibility arises, that the house was the residence of both generations of families. Either way, it would be usual for a politician of Francis' era to split his time between the capital and the countryside. Dunton describes arriving in Dublin to find that it is 'without much of the people that are usually in it, many of them in the summer retiring to the countryside'.<sup>6</sup> At the age of ten, Theophilus inherited the title of Clerk of the Pells. Held jointly with his maternal uncle it was considered to be a profitable office. Indeed, Woolley placed the price at which the office was eventually sold at two thousand five hundred pounds.<sup>7</sup>

On 27 September 1686 both Brinsley and Theophilus Butler entered Trinity College as undergraduates. Later, in March 1718 both were awarded L.L.D.s by the university.<sup>8</sup> The Dublin which the two encountered at this time was one of relative prosperity. The population of the capital was growing at a greater rate than ever before. Petty places the number of houses in Dublin and the liberties at five thousand and the population at fifty eight thousand in 1686.<sup>9</sup> A high proportion of the population were merchants and working class and while the majority of Dublin was Protestant and Anglo-Irish, some Catholics were evident particularly amongst the merchant class.<sup>10</sup> It was at this time too, that the capital came to be seen as a rival to London in

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*The Making of Modern Ireland* (London, 1981) p 152 notes that the majority of men elected to the 1692 parliament had not previously served in the House of Commons. Francis is noted in the *Journal of the House of Commons* until his death in 1702.

<sup>3</sup> Dunton, John, *Dublin Scuffle*, (London, 1699). p 2

<sup>4</sup> Dunton, *Dublin Scuffle*, p 2

<sup>5</sup> Woolley, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley," and Swift's Poems', p27 n 27

<sup>6</sup> MacLysaght, Edward, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cork, 1980). p 385

<sup>7</sup> Woolley, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley," and Swift's Poems', p 28 n28

<sup>8</sup> *A Catalogue of Graduates who have proceeded to degrees in the University of Dublin* (Dublin, 1869). p 426

<sup>9</sup> Petty, William, *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty Vol. 1*, (Cambridge, 1899). pp 214-215

<sup>10</sup> MacLysaght, Edward, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cork, 1980). p 215

size and importance. The Phoenix Park had by now been established and St. Stephen's Green had been turned into a municipally owned square. Dunton described the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, established in 1684, as 'a noble building, and looks (more) like a palace than what it is'.<sup>11</sup> He was also impressed by Dublin Castle and noted that 'the grandeur they live in here is not much inferior to what you see in London'.<sup>12</sup> Cultural life, too, appeared to grow in the capital in this period. In theatre, Smock Alley was established in 1662 and was accustomed from its opening to playing full houses. Dunton described the actors as 'no way inferior to those in London, nor are the spectators by what I saw one degree less in vanity and foppery than those in another place'.<sup>13</sup> Coffee-houses were also numerous in the capital. Like their counterparts in London, they were used as centres of conversation and for establishing business deals.

Butler's first year in Trinity was also to coincide with the first exodus of Protestants from Ireland following the crowning of James II as king. The toleration to Catholics and Protestant dissenters which had been hinted at under Charles II was now made explicit by James II. In the early years of his reign eleven Catholics were admitted to the privy council while by 1688 ninety per cent of the army was Catholic. Catholics were also now admitted as freemen and into the judiciary. Protestant's early reaction to this was one of confusion. While some did leave the country, the majority that did so appear to be merchants fearful of the rumours that the existing navigation laws would be strengthened. In 1688 no more than five per cent had left the country, the majority of these from Dublin.<sup>14</sup> Yet, Gillespie states that even at this time many left due to the lawlessness which was sweeping the country rather than the actions of James II who many still claimed to be the rightful king.<sup>15</sup> With the calling of the Jacobite parliament, though, and the threat that their estates might be forfeited Protestants in Ireland firmly moved to the support of William of Orange. It was at this time, after 1689, and with the outbreak of full-scale war that many Protestants chose to leave the country for their own safety. It was also at this time that

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<sup>11</sup> MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p 389

<sup>12</sup> MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p 386

<sup>13</sup> MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, p 385

<sup>14</sup> Gillespie, Raymond, 'The Irish Protestants and James II, 1688-90' in *Irish Historical Studies* 28, (Antrim, 1992), p 129

<sup>15</sup> Gillespie, 'The Irish Protestants and James II, 1688-90', p 130

Brinsley and Theophilus Butler should have completed their degrees at Trinity. They did not do so. Instead, it is likely that they moved, like so many others to England.<sup>16</sup>

The political backdrop aside, Butler's years in Trinity are significant for another reason. It appears that during their time in university, Jonathan Swift forged a relationship with both Brinsley and Theophilus Butler. At the time that the Butlers entered Trinity College as undergraduates, Swift also attended as an M.A. candidate. Swift also left Ireland at the same time in 1689 to avoid the Williamite war and stayed with his mother in Leicester.<sup>17</sup> A further connection between Theophilus Butler and Swift was Emily Stopford. Her mother, Mary Ford was the daughter of Charles Ford, a friend of Jonathan Swift who also attended Trinity College. In April of 1702 Theophilus Butler married Emily. As much of Swift's correspondence which mentions the Butlers pays particular attention to Emily and to her health it is possible that Emily was closer to Swift than Theophilus was.

'I dined to-day the first time with Ophy Butler and his wife' (4 January 1710)<sup>18</sup>

'I dined today with my Mrs Butler who grows very disagreeable' (10 February 1710)<sup>19</sup>

'I went to visit some people at Kensington; Ophy Butler's wife there lies very ill of an ague which is a very common disease here and little known in Ireland'. (15 August 1711)<sup>20</sup>

Woolley argues that a friendship may have arisen between Emily and Swift's companion, Esther Johnson, by the familiar terms with which he describes her in the *Journal to Stella*.<sup>21</sup> He refers to her as 'my mistress' while Theophilus is reduced to 'Ophy', possibly a nickname from Trinity days.

'Today I dined with Lord Mountjoy of Kensington; saw my mistress, Ophy Butler's wife, who is grown a little charmless'. (10 February 1710)<sup>22</sup>

A friendship also appears to have arisen between Swift and Brinsley Butler. In a letter to

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<sup>16</sup> Woolley 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley," and Swift's Poems', p 28 n 29

<sup>17</sup> Glendinning, Victoria, *Jonathan Swift*, (London, 1999), p 22

<sup>18</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, (Oxford, 1948). p 156

<sup>19</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, p 199

<sup>20</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, p 348

<sup>21</sup> Woolley, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley", and Swift's Poems', p 9

<sup>22</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, p 12

Knightley Chetwode he refers to memories of how 'Prince Butler used to say: "By my soul there is not a drop of water in the Thames for me"'.<sup>23</sup> Brinsley's political views also appear to be closer to Swift's own than Theophilus. While, as we shall see, Theophilus was an out and out Whig, Brinsley's sentiments were Tory at least until 1714.<sup>24</sup> Though Swift's loyalties shifted according to who was in power and by what he could gain by them, his support was mainly with the Tories.

In the years following 1689 it appears Butler spent some time in England and particularly in London. In 1697 he was elected as a Steward to London's Musical Society. In the same year he also took a leading role in organising the St. Cecilia's day festival sponsored by the Society.<sup>25</sup> That Butler held such senior positions in the society adds weight to the presumption that he had spent a considerable amount of time in London and in the society itself prior to this. Butler's very interest in the society also gives an indication of the literary interest he held and which would later display itself in his collection. Throughout his life Butler appears to have spent periodic spells in the English capital. The Journal of the House of Commons states that on 13 August 1707 Butler was given leave to go to Great Britain for two months.<sup>26</sup> Swift's correspondence also notes Theophilus and Emily's time in London, in particular Kensington. Here, their time in London appears to last at least from September of 1710, when Swift first mentions 'Ophy Butler's wife' until August of the following year when her illhealth is noted.<sup>27</sup> No further proof is given of the couple's residence in London until Emily's death in 1721.<sup>28</sup>

In Ireland the years following the Williamite war were characterised by the emergence of the Protestant ascendancy. By the act of 1691 requiring members of parliament to 'subscribe a

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<sup>23</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, p 133

<sup>24</sup> William King later claims that Brinsley was never an out and out Tory. Indeed, Brinsley was later granted a pension in compensation for the accusation. McNally, Patrick, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers* (Dublin, 1997). p 74.

<sup>25</sup> Woolley, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley", and Swift's Poems', p 8

<sup>26</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons* 13 August 1707(Dublin, 1766). p 532

<sup>27</sup> Williams, Harold, Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella*, p 12, p 348

<sup>28</sup> Smith, David, *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, (Oxford, 1935). p 92. Swift mentions the death of Emily and that her body is being brought over. Presumably he meant from London from where his letter was sent to Dublin where she was to be buried.

declaration against certain distinctively Roman Catholic doctrines' both houses of parliament were now exclusively Protestant. The majority of land and wealth also lay in their hands while William's victory had further guaranteed Anglicanism as the official religion of the country. Much of parliamentary policy, then, in the early eighteenth century was aimed at maintaining this privileged position. By the Treaty of Limerick Catholics had been promised the same degree of toleration which they had enjoyed under Charles II. As the years passed, though, it became clear that this did not prohibit the passing of new legislation against them. The result from 1695 was the establishment of the penal laws. Although, at this time, there was no straight ban on the rights of Catholics to vote, by the popery bill of 1704 restrictions were placed on Catholic voters. By this no Catholic was allowed to vote unless he had first taken the oath of allegiance and an oath adjuring the Pretender. The act also prevented Catholics from purchasing land other than a lease not exceeding thirty one years and from inheriting land from Protestants. The result was that the amount of land held by Catholics was reduced to fourteen per cent and the Catholic franchise was further reduced.<sup>29</sup> Dissenters were also to suffer from Protestant insecurities. Many Anglican Protestants were still fearful of the precedent of the Presbyterian seizure of power during the Revolution and doubted dissenter loyalty to the crown and to parliament. Dissenter persecution, though, was limited by a further fear of a Catholic uprising and the need for Protestant unity. The threat posed by dissenters was only ever a small one. Only twenty per cent of the Protestant community were dissenters while there was never more than nine dissenters in parliament between 1692 and 1727 at any one time.<sup>30</sup> Despite this, acts were passed whereby dissenters were unable to send children to be taught in their own religion and dissenters were required to bury their dead according to the service of the Church of Ireland. In 1704 the sacramental test was added by the English council to the popery act. Now all office holders were required to receive communion in the established church. As was the case with Catholics, though, the dissenter franchise was not completely eliminated with the forty shilling freeholders not affected at this time.

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<sup>29</sup> McNally, Patrick, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p 35

<sup>30</sup> Hayton, D.W., 'Exclusion, Conformity and Parliamentary Representation: The Impact of the Sacramental Test on Irish Dissenting Politics' in *The Politics of Irish Dissent 1650-1800*, (Dublin, 1997). p 57

The constitutional relationship between Ireland and England was another ongoing debate after the war. Due to the financial needs of the crown the Irish Parliament was called more regularly than ever before, usually meeting every six months in every other year. With some regularity now in place in the Irish parliamentary system many M.P.s came to resent the interference of Westminster in Irish policy. In actual fact, the British parliament very rarely passed legislation that affected Ireland. Rather, it was only when English actions appeared to threaten Protestants political position that constitutional debates arose, usually centred around Poyning's Law. In the first parliament under William III, the Irish House of Commons rejected the terms of the Treaty of Limerick and demanded the sole right to frame money bills. This, as Beckett points out was surely due to a fear of William's liberal Catholic attitude and to a resentment that their actions in the war were not more generously rewarded.<sup>31</sup> By demanding the repeal of Poyning's Law Protestant M.P.s were displaying their potential for parliamentary trouble. Economic fears also underwrote constitutional debate. The threat of a restriction on the Irish woollen trade resulted in public outrage and in Molyneux's *The Case of Ireland's being bound by acts Parliament in England stated* in which Ireland's dependence on England was denied. Protestants also feared direct taxation by Westminster an action which would, in effect, limit the need for an Irish parliament. This threat, though, like that of Catholic and dissenter rebellion, rested in Protestant insecurity and proved to be mainly unfounded.

As a member of the Protestant ascendancy Butler was to benefit from their position in Ireland. By 1703 he was back in Dublin when he was elected as a representative of Co. Cavan to the Commons. This was a position he held until 1713 when he represented Belturbert until the establishment of the Whig administration the following year. Politics at this time, particularly during Queen Anne's reign, were mainly dominated by the rivalry between the opposing views of Whigs and Tories. Although their policies fluctuated, some defining characteristics are evident. The Tories main standpoints were the defence of the Church of Ireland, a dislike for Protestant dissenters and a strong regard for Queen Anne. Whigs on the other hand supported the rights of

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<sup>31</sup> Dickson, David, *New Foundations Ireland 1600 -1800*, (Dublin, 1982). p 153

the Irish parliament, anti-Catholic legislation and the glorification of William of Orange. Just as Tory Catholic sympathy was played down, so too were Whig links with Protestant dissenters.<sup>32</sup> It appears certain that Butler was Whig in his sympathies. Woolley notes how verse against Harley (appointed as Lord Lieutenant of the Tory administration in 1710) was included in his collection.<sup>33</sup> Archbishop King also noted in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland how Butler had opposed the Tory ministry 'in every vote both in Parliament and in Council'.<sup>34</sup> In 1710 Butler had obtained a position in the Privy Council. The council was, at this time, overwhelmingly Irish in its composition yet it was still considered rare for a commoner such as Butler to be appointed. His appointment, then, is perhaps evidence of his worth to the government in power. Even with Swift's pleadings to Harley to have him removed from the council for his Whig standing and because he was 'very bad and very insignificant', his position remained in place.<sup>35</sup>

In 1715, the crowning of George I resulted in the establishment of a Whig government in England and Ireland. George was unwilling to return a Tory ministry which failed to acknowledge his legitimacy. In order to guarantee support for the new government, its first step was to clear both houses of Tory membership. Thus, many Commons members with Tory leanings were deprived of offices or pensions previously granted.<sup>36</sup> Theophilus Butler's brother Brinsley was one victim of these actions. He was removed from his post as Captain of Battle-axes because of his Tory commitment.<sup>37</sup> Archbishop King wrote on his behalf to the Lord Lieutenant claiming that he 'never commissioned himself further than voting in Parliament which he was obliged to by the {Tory} government for his place'. He also praised his virtue as a 'modest sober man' and the need for his position to support his eight or nine children.<sup>38</sup> King's support, though, proved to be insufficient. In the House of Lords, though, such actions could not be as effective. Bishops, for instance, had received their positions for life and, therefore, could

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<sup>32</sup> McNally, Patrick, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p 61

<sup>33</sup> Woolley, James, 'John Barrett, "Whimsical Medley", and Swift's Poems', p 9

<sup>34</sup> King to Sunderland 7 April 1715, (T.C.D., King Correspondence, MS 750/4/2 p 42)

<sup>35</sup> Ball, Elrington (ed), *Swift's Correspondence*, (London, 1910). p 243

<sup>36</sup> McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, pp 65 -86

<sup>37</sup> McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p 74

<sup>38</sup> King to Sunderland, 29 October 1714 (T.C.D., King's correspondence, MS 750/4/2 pp10,10a, 106 -11)



not be removed. The second step to guaranteeing a Whig majority was to fill both houses with members likely to support the new regime. In the House of Commons this would be difficult. As the government had no influence over the election of M.P.s the system of patronage and undertakers was used. By this system, undertakers, or parliamentary managers, used patronage in order to buy off members of the opposition or to reward members who supported the government's money bills. In the House of Lords the situation was more straightforward as the government could simply appoint Whigs to any vacant positions or create new ones. Therefore, in 1715 eleven new peerages were created. In order to curtail competition between the various peers all new positions were baronies and of equal status. In selecting those to receive peerage it appears recommendation and the promise to support the government were the highest criteria. Theophilus Butler held both. When William Whitshed recommended Butler for a peerage he told Sunderland that Butler 'would have Charles Delafaye elected for the borough of Belturbet' in return.<sup>39</sup> Archbishop King also appears to have played a large role in gaining Butler a peerage. In a letter to Sunderland he recommends both Butler and Governor Hamilton describing them both as 'being zealous to the Protestant interest and his Majesty'.<sup>40</sup> The Lord Lieutenant agreed and on 21 October 1715 Theophilus Butler was made Lord Baron Butler of Newtown- Butler.

As a former member of the House of Commons Butler was not unusual in attending the House of Lords. Between 1692 and 1721 thirty seven of the ninety nine members were former M.P.s.<sup>41</sup> In the first session of the new parliament in 1715 the government's hope that the new peerages would support them appears to be justified. Of the eleven given baronies, ten attended. In Butler's time in the upper house from 1715 until his death in 1723 the most striking event was the movement of the constitutional question from the House of Commons to the Lords. After 1715 controversy was to arise over the appointment of Englishmen by the king to Irish bishoprics. With the Sherlock/Annesley case of 1719 the Irish lords affirmed their right to final jurisdiction in Ireland. The result was the Declaratory Act and the loss of the judicial status of the House of

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<sup>39</sup> McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p 100

<sup>40</sup> King to Addison, 31 May 1715 (T.C.D., King correspondence MS 750/4/2 p 42)

<sup>41</sup> James, Francis G., *Lords of the Ascendancy*, (Cornwall, 1995). p 127

Lords. According to the Journal of the House of Lords Butler did not take a standpoint on either issue and never signed a petition during his time in attendance. His most striking role in the journal appears to be his reporting of the finding of the various committees he chaired, mainly the Committee for Religious Privileges. Butler attended the Lords sessions regularly until the end of 1719. From then, his attendance becomes more and more infrequent, due to his growing ill health.<sup>42</sup>

In January 1721 Butler's only son, James, died at the young age of fourteen. There appears to be some dispute over the exact date of his death. While the *Complete Peerage* notes it as 10 January, Archbishop King in a letter dated 9 January remarks on the death of Butler's son.<sup>43</sup> James had previously been noted in the Journal of the House of Lords for the privilege of taking part in the procession in which the Lord Lieutenant enters the House of Lords, James 'bearing the train of his Grace's robe'.<sup>44</sup> Not long after in March of the same year, Emily, Theophilus' wife, died. Again there is some confusion over the date of her death. *The Complete Peerage* notes how Lodge states that she died on 13 March 1722 and was buried on 15 June in St. Anne's.<sup>45</sup> It is more likely, however, that she died on 13 March 1721 as Swift indicates in a letter dated 15 April 1721. 'I condole with you for the Death of Lady Newtown. They are bringing over her Body as I am told'.<sup>46</sup> Emily's burial in St. Anne's Church on Dawson Street is no coincidence. It appears likely that Theophilus contributed financially to its construction. In 1719, in a letter to Joshua Dawson, King notes Lord Newtown's offer of twenty guineas to help build the church.<sup>47</sup>

On 11 March 1723 Theophilus himself died in his house in St. Stephen's Green. It appears he had been ill for some time. In his will dated 20 February 1721 he describes himself as 'weak in

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<sup>42</sup> Two of the books in the Butler collection, *The Works of Charles Shadwell*, Dublin, 1720, are dedicated to Emily Butler. The dedication notes "it is to be lamented by all good people, when your ladyship meets with any uneasiness in Life, and therefore everyone is concern'd at your noble Parties indisposition. May Heaven prolong his Days ...". The date of the imprint implies that Theophilus Butler's health had already disintegrated to a large extent by 1720.

<sup>43</sup> King to Addison, 9 January 1721 (T.C.D. MS 750/7 pp 65 - 68)

<sup>44</sup> *Journal of the House of Lords Vol 2*, (Dublin, 1780). p 603

<sup>45</sup> Cokrayne, George Edmund, *The Complete Peerage* Vol. 9, (London, 1936). p 557

<sup>46</sup> Smith, David Nichol, *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, (Oxford, 1935). p 92

<sup>47</sup> King to Dawson 15 August 1719 (T.C.D., King correspondence, MS 750/5 pp 193 -4)

Body but perfect in Mind and Memory'.<sup>48</sup> He had all but given up attending the House of Lords by this time. His brother Brinsley, now favoured by the Whigs and compensated for the loss of his army office by a pension, inherited the title of Lord Newtown. Butler's will has achieved some fame in his request that thirteen pounds per year be distributed in bread to the poor of St. Anne's parish. The shelves, holding the loaves of bread, can still be seen in the church today along with a plaque explaining their origin.<sup>49</sup> Butler's will, though, is also noteworthy for a twenty pound life annuity he left to Ann Brent. Here was a further connection with Jonathan Swift. Ann Brent, the Butler's servant, was the daughter of Swift's housekeeper, Jane Brent. Swift later paid the annuity to Ann himself and in a begrudging compliment to Butler includes him in a description of 'three fools [who] have lately dyed and made wise wills'.<sup>50</sup> Finally, though, Butler's will mentions his book collection. He requested that it be left to his brother, James Butler. His concern that when studied, persons should place 'such books againe Regularly' gives some indication of the esteem which he himself gave them. More surprising, though, is Butler's stipulation that the collection be kept within his family, 'neither to be sold or lent to any P{er}son Whatsoever'.<sup>51</sup> It would appear, then, that the very basis on which Butler's, though admittedly limited, fame was built was one entirely against his own wishes.

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<sup>48</sup> Registry of Deeds. Memorial 25645 (Theophilus Butler's Will)

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<sup>50</sup> Smith, David Nichol, *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, (Oxford, 1935). p 108

<sup>51</sup> Registry of Deeds. Memorial 25645 (Theophilus Butler's Will)