A STUDY OF THE PAPER WAR
RELATING TO THE CAREER OF THE
1st DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,
1710-1712

by
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Chapter V

BOUCHAIN

It was in this somewhat lowered temperature of party controversy that Matthew Prior returned from his peace mission to Paris, accompanied by the French representative, Mesnager. The negotiations were still proceeding in secret, but Swift's condemnation of the Whig principle of "no peace without Spain" in the Examiner had made many suspect that the ministers themselves would soon discard it. A definitive statement of the case for keeping to the old ideal had immediately been issued, in the form of A Letter to a Member of the October-Club. As befitted a pamphlet of which Hare was a suspected author, its reception was respectful; yet even Boyer admitted that "many were wrought upon by contrary Arguments." The most cogent of these had been provided by the death of the Emperor in April. Since the successor was also the Allied candidate for the Spanish throne, it could now be argued that his accession to both Crowns would upset the European balance of power more seriously than if Philip of Anjou remained in possession of Spain.

Towards the end of August, hints of approaching peace began to appear in the Post Boy. These were seized upon avidly in the belief that they had a semi-official sanction, while Swift forestalled criticism with an account of Prior's journey which encouraged the hope that the highest terms were being exacted from France. As a result, Prior himself was soon being mobbed in the streets with an enthusiasm recalling the reception of Sacheverell the year before.

Marlborough, whose sources of information about the peace negotiations were limited and unreliable, had meanwhile brought the siege of Bouchain
to a triumphant conclusion in the teeth of all the opposition that could be raised by the superior French forces. Some celebration of the achievement in print was inevitable, but the controversial form it took was to make the victory one of the turning-points in Marlborough's relations with the ministry and its journalists. The first and most important of these tributes, published on 17 September, was a pamphlet entitled Bouchain: in a Dialogue between the Late Medley and Examiner. 6

On a purely practical level, the dialogue form served to enliven the narrative of the siege operations, which was otherwise very similar to that already published from day to day in the London Gazette. 7 This function readily combined with that of satire at the Examiner's expense. Incorrigibly obtuse and malicious in his attitude to Marlborough's achievements, garrulously indiscreet in his exposure of the ministry's unscrupulous designs, the "Medley's" antagonist was a particularly provocative Whig caricature of the former Tory oracle and ministerial spokesman. Mrs. Manley, retaining a proprietary interest in the reputation of the journal, indignantly rose to the bait. The pamphleteer, she complained,

makes the poor Examiner one of the silliest, dullest Rogues, that ever pretended to speak, or hear of Politicks ... he is made just as stupid, as was necessary to introduce all the fine things that are thought fit to be said of this Campaign; and is directed to ask those Questions, of which none that reads and lives in any Part of England, can be suppos'd to be ignorant of, on purpose to heighten the Glory of the General, and abuse the Capacities of the present Ministry. 8

For the Whigs, of course, this mock-Examiner's inept reversal of the functions of his famous counterpart would have been pleasantly ironical entertainment.
Since the joint cessation of hostilities between the two journals had seemed to inaugurate a more satisfactory phase in the Duke's relations with Oxford and St John, the revival of the old feud in pamphlet form also had a certain symbolic significance, and this was decisively confirmed by the substance of the dialogue.

One by one, all Marlborough's earlier grievances against the ministry are resurrected by the "Medley" in the most recriminating terms. They include the "Impudent paragraph" in the Post-Boy, of which Craggs had already complained to Oxford (pp. 16-17), the false report of victory after the passing of the lines, said to be a contrivance of "some Friends" of the Examiner (p. 33), and the measures taken to divest Marlborough "of all Interest and Authority, both at Home and in the Army," of which the Examiner's attacks had been the most obvious example. The "Cataline" reference, the letter to Crassus, and the allegory of Antony and Fulvia in the fifty-first issue are singled out for special mention. The "Examiner" then makes the offence even graver by explaining that the worst reflections on the Duke which had appeared in the journal had come to him "from other hands, that must be nameless," meaning, of course, the ministers themselves (pp. 35-36).

In the same vein of damaging revelation, he confides that Marlborough's latest success "does not very well sute the present Scheme," since to make a peace without insisting on the restitution of the entire Spanish monarchy, "while the War goes well, can't easily be justify'd." In fact, the suspension of the ministerial journal, the "Examiner" now explains, had been decided upon because his patrons had anticipated this
problem and thought it imprudent to provoke the Duke "by any further ill Usage to exert himself" (pp.36-38).

What follows marked a new phase in Whig opposition to the secret peace negotiations; for when the "Medley" points out that the Letter to a Member of the October-Club had already demonstrated the dangers of abandoning the policy of "no peace without Spain," the "Examiner" replies,

I can't say that Point is not very well argu'd; but few will enter into those Reasonings that consist of a great many Figures. The Country-Gentlemen especially are utter Strangers to what belongs to Trade, and 'tis those must be pleas'd; and therefore in my opinion, the greatest Blow to my Scheme is the last Success. For as long as we have Success, People won't part with the Views they have had so long, of a good Peace; and a Peace that the Nation won't like, no body at this time of day will be very forward to advise, however they themselves are inclin'd. (p.37)

The Letter, definitive as it was at the time of publication, had failed to rally opposition decisively to the ministry's peace schemes. The Whig journalists evidently felt confident that Marlborough's latest success had put new and more effective weapons into their hands.

The dialogue closes with a specimen of this new form of propaganda. With Bouchain in their hands, the "Medley" argues, the Allies "hardly want one Campaign more to be at Paris," and since this is "a surer way to recover Spain, than being at Madrid it self," the nation ought not to be content with a peace on lesser terms. Citing reports of Prior's journey to Paris, the "Medley" also warns that if the ministers should really be negotiating a clandestine treaty in violation of Allied engagements, "no Parliament wou'd sit many days without enquiring severely
into so dangerous a Transaction," and mentions the impeachments which had followed the earlier partition treaty (pp. 38-41). Marlborough, it is suggested, must be particularly concerned "to see the Fruits of his Victories thrown all away at once by a shameful and scandalous Peace," and the time is coming when the ministers' ill usage of him will "turn upon themselves" (p. 42).

This would have been provocative enough, even if there had been no indication of its source or of how far it accurately represented Marlborough's sentiments. But at one point, the "Medley" explains that he will give his account of the siege operations

in the very words, and to save trouble, in the Person of my Correspondent, who is upon the Spot, and transmits to me from time to time a very particular and exact Account of what passes in the Army. (p. 11)

This correspondent, he later adds, "has the Honour to know the D. of M. personally" (p. 41). No one familiar with the personalities of the pamphlet war could have failed to realize that "by this he would have us take him for Chaplain General to Her Majesty's Forces." 9 St John at once identified Hare as the author of the pamphlet and he was not alone in doing so. 10 The mention of regular news-letters must have clinched the matter for him; in the past one of his own under-secretaries had been among Hare's correspondents, and had forwarded the other letters to their destinations. 11

The question of Hare's involvement was a crucial one. He was assumed to have received "Hints and Instructions" from Marlborough in the writing of The Management of the War, and he was certainly in a better
position than any other Whig pamphleteer to be acquainted with the Duke's private opinions. If he were assumed to be the author, it would be natural to take the sentiments expressed in the pamphlet as Marlborough's own; and these were startlingly at variance with the professions of friendship and co-operation which the Duke himself had recently made to Oxford and St John. The implications of the dialogue plainly were that he had neither forgiven nor forgotten any of his grievances against them, that he had not accepted the suspension of the Examiner as a genuine act of goodwill, that he disapproved of their peace negotiations and was taking the first opportunity of encouraging his supporters to rally opposition to them. The real significance of the pamphlet, as a contemporary reader noted, lay in this public challenge to the ministry.\textsuperscript{12} The point has escaped most of the critics and historians who discuss the controversy it aroused.\textsuperscript{13}

Yet Marlborough's reaction, when the consequences of the challenge were brought home to him, clearly indicates that it had been delivered without his sanction.\textsuperscript{14} In company with the earlier items of Whig propaganda already discussed, Bouchain had been published in disregard, if not in positive sabotage, of the outwardly good relations he had striven to maintain with his ministerial colleagues.

But despite the broad hints in the text, there is some confusion about the authorship of the pamphlet. When Marlborough later attempted to convince Oxford and St John that he had had no part in it, he was also at pains to absolve his chaplain; "I verily believe ye world is
mistaken in ye Author," Watkins confirmed, "my Lord Duke has examined D'r Hare, & he utterly denies it."¹⁵ Nor is the dialogue to be found in the collected edition of Hare's pamphlets published later in the century. There is no agreement among historians and bibliographers over the attribution,¹⁶ and one contemporary assigned the pamphlet to Maynwaring, presumably on the basis of the "Medley's" share in the dialogue.¹⁷

This attribution would deserve consideration, were it not for Oldmixon's information that Maynwaring's tasks were confined to the revision and publication.¹⁸ Responsibility for the bulk of the pamphlet must therefore lie elsewhere, and Hare remains the most likely candidate. He had had access to the official bulletins of the siege operations which form the basis of the dialogue, even before these were published in the London Gazette,¹⁹ and his Thanksgiving Sermon for the successes of the campaign, soon to be published, contained an attack on the ministry's peace treating very similar to that in Bouchain.²⁰

But the most convincing evidence of Hare's authorship is the pamphlet's connection with The Management of the War, for which Maynwaring had also performed the services of revision and publication. Oldmixon's description of the dialogue as "about the Management of the War, in 1711" establishes it as a sequel to the famous four letters, and there are certainly strong similarities between its challenge to the ministry on Marlborough's behalf, and the remarkable concluding passages of the fourth letter. It was there that Hare had delivered the first manifesto of his patron's grievances and hinted at the incompatibility of further military success with the ministers' plans; and it was there also that he had warned of the Duke's opposition
to any peace involving a betrayal of the interests of the Alliance.

As the campaign progressed Hare must have become increasingly concerned at Marlborough's apparent reluctance to act publicly on this principle. The explicit statement that Bouchain had been written on the information of someone who knew the Duke personally was a notable departure from the usual reticence of party journalists on such matters, and suggests a determination to involve Marlborough publicly in the Whig opposition to the peace, with or without his active consent.

Maynwaring, who had hinted at the theme of Bouchain in the final issue of the Medley, must have been a willing accomplice. With his labours as editor scarcely behind him, he had been planning his final decisive campaign against the ministers, and writing to Sarah of two of his acquaintance (unfortunately unnamed),

that have pleased me mightily by saying they are sure it is possible to scribble these men down, & offering to take their share in it next winter, which they are both very capable of doing. 20

The Duchess, sharing this optimism, was pinning all her hopes on the downfall of the ministry. 21 Maynwaring's involvement in the final preparation of Bouchain for the press strongly suggests her knowledge and approval of it. Its appropriation of Marlborough's name and reputation as Whig assets was a natural product of her conviction that he must, in his own interests, join with those who would bring the new ministers "to Justice." If it seems strange that the Duke was not consulted about so controversial a publication, it should be remembered that earlier in the year he had himself instructed prospective apologists to apply to his wife for an imprimatur. One might
assume, as the "Medley's" account seems to suggest, that Hare's share in
the pamphlet had been limited to the private news-letters, which Maynwaring
had converted into dialogue form and published without his knowledge.
This theory would allow Hare's reported disclaimers of authorship to be
accepted; yet these are suspect in their own right, and the "Medley's"
hints may simply be a protective device of Hare's own invention. Oldmixon's
statement that Maynwaring "revis'd and publish'd a Treatise call'd Bouchain"
does suggest that the treatise was in something like its final form when it
came into his hands.

St John guessed that Marlborough was not personally responsible for
his chaplain's venture into print. To Orrery, who had commented on the
Duke's disposition to reassert his authority in military matters, the
Secretary wrote, "you must account rightly for this start, which is owing
to the people about him, who have been the occasion of his late misfortunes,
for the greatest part," and went on to cite Bouchain as an example of "how
wisely they act in little as well as in greater instances for him." This
comment suggests that Marlborough's recent disavowal of the revengeful
schemes of his Whig associates had carried some weight with St John.

Yet the fact that the Duke could not, or would not, prevent those
associates from using his name and achievements to rally opposition to the
projected peace was reason enough to treat his latest success as an obstacle
to it, and to take precautions in case he should at last allow himself to be
drawn into active opposition. It was noticed that the taking of Bouchain
and the propaganda inspired by the conquest produced a marked revival of
Whig morale. 23

St John could take these retaliatory measures with a clearer conscience
because the breaking of the truce which had followed the suspension of the
Examiner was undeniably Hare's responsibility. Since Oxford's promise to
"enquire into" the Post-Boy's isolated offence, the ministerial pamphleteers
had exercised a genuine forbearance towards Marlborough. One of the very
few lapses was a report in the Post-Boy concerning Villars' design to
surprise Douai; his motive, it was claimed, was "to revenge himself upon
Monsieur Hompesch; because it was He who struck the Blow of surprizing
the Lines." 24 This was soon to be seized upon by the Whigs as an attempt
to deprive Marlborough of credit for the action. So, in its minor way, it
probably was; but the fact that the press campaign against him had dwindled
to a single italicized pronoun in a column of minute print was significant
in itself. Protestors also omitted to add that in the same issue of the
Post-Boy there was a reprinting of the official Dutch tribute to Marlborough
for the taking of Bouchain and that its discriminating praise more than
outweighed the passing jibe.

The Post-Boy's "Spawn," the Supplement, had certainly given some
publicity to Villars' threats to relieve Bouchain, or at least to make
it cost the Allies dear; but it was equally ready to print translations
of the lampoons with which the French themselves celebrated the triumph of
of Marlborough's generalship over his opponent's boasting. In fact, the
issue immediately preceding the publication of Bouchain had freely
acknowledged Hare's point that the town was "a very sensible Loss [to the French], it being a Gate open'd for the Allies to penetrate into the Heart of the Kingdom." Altogether, then, there had been very little justification in the ministerial press for the provocative assumption that Marlborough's success did not suit the ministry's schemes.

Bouchain put a summary end to this indulgence. To William Harrison at The Hague, St John wrote,

in a letter to Harry Watkins, you will do well to observe from what I write to you, that the Examiner is silent, but that my Lord Marlborough's stupid Chaplain continues to spoil paper. They had best for their patron's sake, as well as their own, be quiet. I know how to set them in the pillory, and how to revive fellows that will write them to death.

This message, he later explained, was really intended for Marlborough. Yet even Sarah would not admit that the systematic demolition of the Duke's reputation and achievements now undertaken in the press was something other than unprovoked persecution. The ministers, she recalled seemed to repent that they had permitted him to make this Campaign, & had nothing left but to multiply their Abuses & to spread their Scandal about thicker & thicker, & to load him yet more with the vilest Reproaches, for fear his Glory should get Ground, & prove an obstacle to their Designs. 27

If the ministers did have this fear, it had been deliberately aroused in them by Marlborough's supporters, probably encouraged by Sarah herself. There had, it is true, been indications from St John, Mrs. Manley, and Swift that the ground-plan for the devastating Conduct of the Allies had been laid down as much as a year before. Yet it is likely that the decision to single Marlborough out for particular attack was finally taken in response to these Whig attempts to reinstate him as the figurehead of the
opposition to the peace. Certainly these provided both the impetus and the excuse for the onslaught. Marlborough could not now claim that the victories had placed his reputation above the party battles over the peace.

Meanwhile, without reviving the *Examiner in propria persona*, St John assigned Mrs. Manley the task of dealing with Hare's propaganda. She performed it with zeal and alacrity. "Old facts are revived, new ones told," St John noted on reading the resulting pamphlet, entitled *The D. of M----h's Vindication*, "and whereas the humour was spent, and his name either not used, or not used with [out] respect, he has been treated, in my opinion, worse than ever he was."29

Proceeding on St John's assumption that Marlborough had no reason to thank those "wretched and ungrateful Advocates, who bellow his Uneasiness and exagorate his Mortifications" (p. 16), Mrs. Manley set out not only to answer Bouchain, but to make the Duke regret that Hare had ever issued the challenge to the ministry on his behalf and to discourage his opposition for the future.

It has been pointed out that Mrs. Manley's technique owed something to Swift's famous *Examiner* of 23 November 1710.30 In replying to Hare's prime complaint that Marlborough had been "divested of all Interest and Authority, both at Home and in the Army," she pointed out, as Swift had done, that the Duke's only material grievance was the well-deserved dismissal of a few members of his family, and that he himself had been well rewarded and continued in office as before. An equally promising means of disposing of protests about his treatment was to dwell, in the manner of earlier Harleyite pamphleteers, upon the "more than ordinary Application" with which the ministers had kept the army supplied throughout the campaign.
In this respect, as Marlborough himself had repeatedly acknowledged, he could not complain of ill usage (pp. 5-6).

Nor did Mrs. Manley have any difficulty in dismissing Hare's objections to the Examiner's attacks, which he had represented as concrete evidence of the ministers' fundamental hostility to Marlborough. Her first resource was "the old Evasion" (Swift's phrase) of claiming that "he is the Satyrist, who makes the Application," and this provided her with a convenient excuse to recapitulate the main points of the letter to Crassus. She was understandably anxious, however, to disown her own insinuations in the fifty-first Examiner, which events had proved malicious; "What is There said of Anthony" was hastily dismissed as "so little, that its scarce worth any Bodies taking it to themselves" (pp. 10-11). But the most effective method of sweeping aside protests about the Examiner was that used by her own patrons a few weeks before. Hare was pointedly reminded of the provocations issuing from the Whig presses, in the shape of Medleys, Observators, and his own "monstrous Productions." And despite Marlborough's efforts to check them, these provocations had continued even after the suspension of the Examiner. In particular, Mrs. Manley drew attention to Haynwarin's "Humorous, Senseless Ballads" and a recently published satire on Oxford's elevation to the peerage, believed to be the work of Oldmixon. She added, however, with a sneer at Marlborough's sensitivity, that the ministers' heads were "too strong to be shaken by such impotent Blasts, or disorder'd by every Libellers Malice" (p. 12).

As a warning to Marlborough of the consequences of allowing himself to be drawn further into opposition, a review of all the weapons in the armoury of the Tory pamphleteers was combined with this reply to Hare.
Mrs. Manley was careful to reproduce St John's claim that the chaplain's "invective" had been directed at the Queen as well as at the ministers, and into her ironic demonstration that the Duke himself could have no sympathy with such undutiful sentiments, she contrived to work all the "old facts" of Tory detraction, ranging from Marlborough's ungrateful treatment of his first royal benefactors to his recent dispute with the Queen over the disposal of the Essex regiment and his attempts to be made Captain-General for life.

Accusations of personal disrespect to the sovereign were certainly a damning form of propaganda, but the "new" facts which St John mentioned presented some difficulty. Schooled by Tory exploitation of his earlier imprudent behaviour, Marlborough had since taken care to give his enemies no further advantage over him. The most determined distortion of evidence could provide Mrs. Manley with only one dubious and trivial incident, a visit to Blenheim on the Queen's birthday ("as if he purposely chose to omit paying his Duty and Respects upon so remarkable an Occasion"), which had actually been undertaken with the Queen's permission (p.7). But there still remained the military sphere. Marlborough had managed to evade the censure which would have followed an idle campaign or a battle fought at disadvantage. Now the achievements of the siege warfare which had been his only alternative, and with which no fault had yet been found, stood as an obstacle to the ministry's designs. There would have been less risk in issuing this challenge if the successes of campaign, as admirers represented them, had not been so liable to belittlement.
The capture of Bouchain, for example, had been repeatedly acclaimed by Hare and others as an achievement equal to, if not surpassing, the most brilliant actions of Marlborough's career. But as Sir Winston Churchill has pointed out, the justness of this tribute can be appreciated only if the technical problems which faced the Duke are taken into account. It was with this in mind that Hare had provided so detailed an account of the siege operations as a preliminary to his onslaught against the peace; and it followed that a hostile pamphleteer could reduce the achievement to insignificance by the simple expedient of minimizing or disregarding these factors. The point could then be reinforced, as Mrs Manley demonstrated, by the very comparison with earlier campaigns which Marlborough's eulogists had suggested:

Is it then such a Wonder, after all the glorious Victories the D. of M—— has obtain'd, that with the same Fortune, the same Cause, the same Army, and against the same Enemy, that his Grace has added one inferior Fortress, to his greater Conquests? Are the Senset and the Schelde, more formidable Rivers than the Danube or the Rhine? Are only passing the Lines near Bouchain, more wonderful than beating the French in their Lines near Brabant? Or have our former Campaigns been so barren of great Actions, that we need so much cry up the passing of two Rivers and one Morass, where none durst oppose them?

As a final touch (one suspects a hint from Swift), she cited a passage from Sir William Temple's Memoirs, recording an earlier capture of the town in only eight days (pp. 8-9). The claim that Marlborough's more protracted operation was one of unparalleled brilliance seemed controverted by plain historical fact.

She then turned to the more important matter of the strategic value of the conquest. Even the Supplement had been prepared to acknowledge
that it had laid the way open for an invasion to Paris, and now Hare had made the same point in order to recommend a continuation of the war until Spain was recovered. In solving this problem, Mrs. Manley made a brief reference to the change wrought in European affairs by the death of the Emperor (p. 13), but the asset which enabled her to tackle Hare on his own ground was the national war-weariness.

The suggestion that Bouchain had cost more men and money than it was worth served to introduce the main proposition that no further advantage which might accrue from a continuation of the war could compensate for this squandering of the nation's resources:

Let us consider how long we shall be able to pay such a Price for so small a Conquest! I speak only of our Money, having learnt by good Example not to value the Blood of those poor Wretches that are yearly sacrific'd in vast Numbers, in Trenches, and at the Foot of wall'd Towns. But say we were even at the Gates of Paris, nay that Paris were ours, what allay would that be to our personal Sufferings at Home? (p. 14)

This implied that the attitudes of Marlborough and his supporters to the war were rooted in a callous disregard for the hardships of their countrymen, both at home and abroad.

Hare himself had acknowledged that any propaganda on the subject of the war must aim above all to impress the "Country-Gentlemen," who would soon be gathering at Westminster for the parliamentary battle over the peace. Yet these were the very members of the population who had been hardest hit financially by the continuing campaigns, and, as Mrs. Manley realized, this would make them more susceptible to her arguments than to Hare's:
Let us remove our selves into the Country, and see the Penury of the Country—Gentlemen with small Estates, and numerous Families, that pay in such large Proportions to the War, and there let us enquire how acceptable, nay how indispensible, Peace is to their further Subsisting. (p. 14)

It was apparently from the Duchess that Marlborough first received copies of Bouchain and the Vindication. To Craggs, she had already expressed the hope that the Duke would not have forgotten his grievances against the new ministers when the opportunity came to be revenged, and she perhaps hoped that this fresh outrage from the press would at last arouse his combative spirit.

His reaction to "this damned Libel," as he termed the Vindication, was certainly as violent as she could have wished. Yet it did not escape his notice that, but for the provocation of Bouchain, it would never have been published; and this, as he wrote back to Sarah, simply confirmed him in his conviction that they should "never appear in print."136 He was also anxious that the ministers should not know of his relief at being excluded from their dubious peace treating, and that Sarah should not allude to them or their peace policies in letters sent by the public post.37

But St John's message via Harrison soon informed the Duke that Bouchain had come to the ministers' notice, and that they had assigned it to his chaplain. It would therefore be natural for Marlborough to assume that they suspected his own sympathy with its contents. The Vindication, together with St John's message, indicated that they certainly considered it ample excuse to renew the press campaign against him. It was no secret, in fact a logical deduction from internal evidence, that the
Tory pamphlet was the work of "one of the late Authors of the Examiner." 33

Marlborough, assisted by Watkins, at once set out to try to repair some of the damage Bouchain had done. The first step was to assure Oxford that neither the Duke nor his chaplain bore any responsibility for the pamphlet. Having professed himself perfectly satisfied with the financial support provided for the operations of the campaign, Marlborough then protested at the injustice of the Vindication, adding, with reference to the standard set by the suspension of the Examiner,

it is so much the more mortifying to find myself and family treated in such a manner, when I had so much reason to hope the spirit from whence it proceeds was quite suppressed.

Finally, he invited Oxford to make "a strict search" after both authors, implying that he had no more sympathy with his "unknown" supporter than with his attacker. A similar letter was dispatched to St John. 39 On the same day, Watkins wrote back to Harrison, admitting that Bouchain had provided sufficient provocation for the Vindication, but arguing that since Hare had cleared himself and, by implication, Marlborough, "'tis very hard ye Iniquity of all ye times should suffer us to be exposed continually to such poisonous darts." 40 A few days later, Marlborough wrote again to Oxford,

I cannot conceal from you the concern I am under, lest you should have taken some impressions from the writings and discourses of such as pretend, either out of friendship to me, or by my encouragement, to promote the continuance of the war. I protest to you, my lord, they do not utter my sentiments; there is nothing upon earth I wish more than an end of the war. Her majesty has not a subject who desires it more heartily than I do. 41

Those historians who have failed to understand the true significance of Bouchain, both in timing and content, quote the first of these letters
to Oxford simply as an illustration of Marlborough's excessive sensitivity to a crude and isolated libel, and of his naïveté in exposing this weakness to a political enemy. If the two letters to Oxford are taken together, however, it becomes clear, that the Duke was far more concerned with disowning Bouchain, which threatened to bring hostilities between himself and the ministers into the open once more, than with protesting about the *Vindication* in its own right. His complaint of the latter pamphlet was chiefly designed to give credibility to this disclaimer. As he pointed out, he could not logically be suspected to being the "abettor or encourager" of a publication which had provoked such a distressing personal attack upon himself.

It should also be noted that it was the timing, rather than the content, of this attack which caused Marlborough the greatest concern; and in this respect his reaction was not unrealistic. As the first sign of hostility from the ministerial press since the suspension of the *Examiner*, and a warning of what the Duke might expect in the event of further provocation, the *Vindication* was a publication of particular importance. Marlborough's letters to Oxford and St John, minimizing the offence of Bouchain and attempting to restore the status quo, were simply a logical step in his policy of disarming the latent hostility of the ministers and their propagandists for as long as possible.

Watkins' participation confirms that these letters were far from being naïve and unstudied outbursts. Throughout the campaign, Marlborough had used him as an intermediary, in order to keep his relations with the ministry on a cordial footing and, in particular, to patch up the rift created by the *Medley* and the *Examiner*. The Blenheim Palace copies of
Marlborough's letters to Oxford concerning Bouchain and the Vindication are in Watkins' handwriting. The probability is that he had drafted them for the Duke's use. Watkins' own reply to Harrison was written on the same day as the first of these letters to Oxford, and with a suspicious similarity of content, and even of phrasing.

The professions to Oxford about Bouchain were of course largely disingenuous. It is unlikely that Marlborough was as convinced of Hare's innocence as he professed to be. He would naturally be anxious to absolve a client who had such excellent opportunities of knowing his mind, and who had been threatened with the pillory by St John; but he must also have realized that Bouchain's claim to have been written on the information of someone who knew him personally was 'borne out by internal evidence. Although he admitted to Oxford that he could not complain of the financial backing he had received from the ministers, he made no mention of the other grievances paraded in the pamphlet, which certainly had represented his feelings accurately; and while giving general assurances that he preferred peace to a continuation of the war, he did not explicitly deny the disapproval of the present "shameful and scandalous" negotiations which the pamphlet had attributed to him.

A letter to Godolphin written a few days later reveals that Marlborough was actually in perfect agreement with the main doctrine of Bouchain; and it also suggests one reason why its publication at this time was a genuine embarrassment to him:

I agree with you, an Ill Peace must in a little time be the ruin of England, and that it will in particular be of great prejudice to myself in that I do a little differ, for I think not only all his actions in this whole warr, but particularly what
he has done this Summer, must let every body see that if our Ministers wou'd have had patience, a good peace must have been the reward of the many success[es] of this Warr, at the same time you may be assur'd that the desire of peace is so great, that not only in England but in Holland also, that if the Warr shou'd continue, they will this Winter have neglect'd so many things that I fear we shall not have it in our power to make a successful campagne ... 44

Marlborough was probably referring here to his important project for wintering the Allied troops on the French frontier, which he had urged on his own and the Dutch governments as their one hope of acting offensively against the French during the following campaign. 45 While Bouchain was in the process of composition, the plan was still being mooted in secret. Hare was almost certainly referring to it when he predicted that the capture of the town would soon "appear still of more Advantage than any body at present is aware of" (p.35). It was on this basis that he could promise an immediate invasion of France as a means of recovering Spain for the Allies, and so recommend a breaking off of the present negotiations.

But Bouchain was no sooner in print than Marlborough learnt of the refusal of the Dutch to co-operate fully in the execution of his project. 46 In theory he might agree with Hare that the successes of the campaign promised a better peace than was being negotiated, but in practice he could not now welcome public assurances that one more campaign would see the Allies at the gates of Paris.

Apart from this consideration, Marlborough might well feel that his position was not strong enough to permit of advance warnings of his opposition. The Dutch no longer upheld his interests as in the past, 47 and if the need to retain the ministers' co-operation for the projects of the campaign no longer existed, neither did his indispensability in a
military capacity which had been his chief protection against their hostility during the previous winter. Above all, this was not a propitious moment for him to become publicly associated with demands for a rupture of the negotiations and a continuation of the war. "Whatever was said or written to the contrary," the anonymous Whig historian wrote of this stage of the treaty,

the War had been too Expensive to have the Majority on its Side, tho' it had been also so Glorious and Advantagious. The Numbers were for having an End to it, especially when they saw it printed in a Paper of such Authority as that I last mention'd [the Post-Boy] pretends to be ... 48

Oxford and St John themselves were well aware that they were at one with "the bent of the people" in their quest for peace, and their propagandists were still tantalizing the public with promises of a treaty which would prove honourable as well as profitable. Marlborough, on the other hand, had been under suspicion for at least three years past of having prolonged the war in his own interests. His opposition to the peace at such a time would allow his enemies to revive this accusation with more plausibility than ever before.

Hare himself acknowledged this risk. Bouchain had closed with a protest at Tory attempts to brand Marlborough as a war-monger, and with the general assurance that although the Duke justly disapproved of the current negotiations, "no Subject the Queen has in England, desires an End of the War more earnestly and passionately than he does" (pp.41-42). These are almost the very words of Marlborough's second letter to Oxford about Bouchain. Fear of adding weight to the old charge of prolonging
the war was evidently one of his reasons for disowning the pamphlet.
Yet once it had been published, the danger that the war-weary public would be encouraged to draw their own conclusions from it remained. As Hare remarked bitterly in his Thanksgiving Sermon for the successes of the campaign,

> when the Multitude once begin to be weary and indifferent, how easily are they then seduc'd into false Measures! How readily do they give into Suspicions against those who would encourage them to persevere, while they are fond of others, who to serve themselves fall in with their Complaints, but at the bottom mean nothing but their own Interest! 50.

Meanwhile, Bouchain had had its imitators. One eulogy in heroic couplets was simply a versified summary of the prose pamphlet, favourably comparing the capture of the town ("this Gate that leads us to the Seine") with Marlborough's greatest achievements and making much of his disinterested virtue in labouring for the good of his country while he was being libelled at home. The threat that he would return to lead the parliamentary opposition to the peace was plainer than ever. 51 The purpose of Maynwaring's infectious jingle, *An Excellent New Song, Called Nat's Peace*, seems also to have been the presentation of Hare's arguments in the most memorable and easily disseminated form. The taking of the town was again represented as a preliminary to the recovery of Spain ("For sure the whole Nation by this time must know, / The way to Madrid is by Paris to go"), and there were further hints of the impeachments which the ministers might expect for their dishonourable peace treating.
The ballad was soon recognized as the quintessence of Whig ridicule of the secret peace negotiations. 52

Casting about for some systematic means of ensuring that this propaganda did not make converts, St John had evidently summoned the editors of the Post-Boy and the Supplement to Mrs. Manley's assistance. By this time Ridpath of the Flying-Post had the support of the Protestant Post-Boy in the task of combating Abel Roper's propaganda, 53 and the four journals now plunged into a heated debate about the significance of Marlborough's latest achievements.

It might be supposed that their style would have been hopelessly cramped by the fact that all four were news-sheets, largely given over to the printing of bulletins from foreign sources. But on Whig evidence at least, the Tory journalists found this no hindrance to their disparagement of Marlborough. At the beginning of October, the Protestant Post-Boy, reviewing the contents of the hostile journals for the previous fortnight, protested that,

the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's inveterate and ungenerous Enemies, are endeavouring to Robb him of the great Addition of immortal Glory, he has gain'd this Campaign; by Insinuating ... That the Passing of the Lines was principally owing to General Hopesch; That the Siege of Bouchain cost us 16000 Men; and, That the Taking of that Place, and that of a PIGEON-HOUSE, is the same Thing ... 54

These jibes, the last in particular, are still cited in some modern studies of the period as classic examples of the petty malice of Marlborough's Tory detractors during his last campaign; and the version given is usually that of contemporary Whig accounts, of which the one
just quoted is typical.\textsuperscript{55} An examination of the original news-sheets sets the matter in a somewhat different light.

The first thing to notice is that these were not simply gratuitous attempts to rob Marlborough of the glory of his achievements. Boyer, sharing Sarah's unwillingness to admit Whig responsibility for the hostility of the Tory press to the Duke, actually claimed that Bouchain had been written to vindicate Marlborough from these aspersions in the Post Boy and the Supplement.\textsuperscript{56} In fact, only the first and least significant, that concerning Hompesch, had preceded Hare's pamphlet; the others were published immediately afterwards and obviously as a direct result. Faced with the claim that the capture of Bouchain justified a rupture of the existing peace negotiations, the Tory news-writers had simply adopted Mrs. Manley's expedients of minimizing the importance of the conquest and emphasizing its costliness in blood and money.

The second point is that this detraction, although damaging, was less blatant than most contemporary and modern paraphrases imply. Occasionally critical accounts of Marlborough's conduct were invented and then printed as if they were authentic news bulletins. More often the technique was simply to reprint a biassed report from a hostile (usually French) source; but, as Ridpath indignantly noted, without giving "the least Intimation of its Uncertainty or Falshood."\textsuperscript{57} Sometimes the offence was no more than the publication of unpalatable truths, which would normally have been suppressed. All the criticisms of the actions of the campaign cited in the Protestant Post-Boy, and others which appeared in the two Tory journals, originally took one or another of these forms.
In the past, for example, the high desertion figures of siege warfare had been designated "not fit to appear" in the printed bulletins of the army's operations. But now Hare's propaganda had made it highly desirable for the ministerial journalists to draw public attention to such matters. The result was a paragraph in the Post-Boy, claiming that the Dutch had refused to undertake further operations after the surrender of Bouchain,

because the Confederate Army is fatigued, and the Desertion of the Foot is great to Astonishment, the Soldiers beginning to dread Sieges. Were they to fight the Enemy, they would go on, they say, with Joy; but the long and bloody Sieges that have been made within these 3 or 4 Years, do indeed dishearten them.

This report suggested that to continue the war, at least by means of further siege operations, would be not only inhuman but impracticable. It is interesting to note that a few weeks before, St John had made a comment closely resembling this printed paragraph in a private letter. Marlborough's supporters were convinced that all such articles appeared at the instigation of "Men of no small Authority."

In a paragraph concerning the taking of Bouchain, which appeared in the Supplement of the following day, public opinion at The Hague was reported as saying that "that small Place has cost immense Sums, wanted for very pressing Occasions, and an extraordinary Number of Officers, Engineers, and Soldiers." The same issue contained an excerpt from the Paris Gazette, claiming that "what with the Kill'd, Dead of Sickness, Wounded, Deserters, and Prisoners" the Allies had lost sixteen thousand men in the siege. This figure was at once refuted in the Flying-Post and the Protestant Post-Boy, the former acidly pointing out that "the
Duke of Marlborough does not owe Abel or the French Gazetteer so much service, as to send them the Muster-Rolls of the Army, since the Siege was finish'd. 62

An even more significant item of news, in view of Hare's assurances that the Allies could now proceed with an invasion of France, was the Paris article of the next Supplement:

The loss of Bouchain has little concern'd this Court; the Mareschal de Villars assuring them, That it shall be of no manner of Use to the Enemy. As soon as these are retired, he will continue his Lines from the Senest to the Scheld, and from the Head of this last at Hourdan to the Lower Scheld at Neuville. Thus the Lines will subsist as before, and cover the Country from Invasion. 63

The implication was that Marlborough's much-vaunted achievements would give the Allies no permanent strategic advantage, even if they were able to sustain the burden of another campaign. However, the most famous of the jibes at Bouchain, that as a conquest it was of no more value than a pigeon-house, was perhaps the least blameworthy. It was of French, not Tory origin, and although it was gleefully reprinted in both the Post-Boy and the Supplement, it was also included as a sample of French bravado in an issue of the Flying-Post, which must therefore bear some responsibility for the unnecessary publicity it received in the English press. 64

The Protestant Post-Boy attempted to turn the tables on its opponents at one point by printing a long letter, supposedly from a confederate officer and paying Marlborough fulsome tribute for the brilliance and importance of his achievements. 65 Yet the damage of the Tory propaganda must largely have remained. The Post-Boy, in particular, enjoyed a wider circulation than any of its rivals, and was one of the "usual entertainments"
of country gentlemen, who would have been only too ready to be disillusioned about the value of Marlborough's success. The Duke himself was understandably concerned at this multiplication of hostile propaganda. When the offending newspapers came into his hands at the end of the campaign, he reacted "with his wonted Constancy of Temper" in public, but a private letter revealed his real feelings about these almost daily "Villanous libels." 67

St John's doubts about Marlborough's personal sympathy with the first items of propaganda inspired by the taking of Bouchain were dispelled by one further publication on the subject. His warning that Hare had best "be quiet" for his patron's sake and his own, had come too late to prevent the printing of the chaplain's Thanksgiving Sermon for the successes of the campaign, which appeared on 25 September. 68 It was an exhortation to persevere with the war until such a peace as the successes of the campaign promised had been achieved, with the strong suggestion that the ministry's negotiations did not come up to this standard. Haymwarin saw the tract through the press, 69 and again it is just possible that he did so without Hare's knowledge. A prefatory note, presumably composed by the former, maintained that the author had not given his consent for publication, "but was prevail'd on to give a copy to a Friend, which has since fallen into my Hands." In the past, Hare had been in the habit of sending copies of his sermons to Francis Godolphin for his private entertainment, 70 and it may have been by this means that Haymwarin procured his version for publication.

Nevertheless, the title-page bore Hare's name and also the information
that the Sermon had originally been preached in Marlborough's presence.

Fixing on this provocative revelation, and finding the whole tract "still worse and more seditious" than Bouchain, St John could now feel quite justified in sweeping aside Marlborough's disclaimers of the earlier pamphlet and treating him as a committed opponent of the peace in his own right.\(^7\)

As a formality, Swift and Mrs. Manley were given the task of composing a reply to the Sermon, though their method, the quotation of excerpts out of context for the purpose of laborious ridicule and misrepresentation, was one which Swift had justifiably scoffed at his own "answerers" for using. The resulting pamphlet was chiefly notable for its revival of the charge that Marlborough was bent on prolonging the war, and for the ominous hint that he had been bribed to connive at the shortcomings of the Allies.\(^7\)

The Duke's involvement in Swift's massive condemnation of all potential opponents of the peace had now become inevitable.

Oxford's reaction to Hare's propaganda was less decisive. Mrs. Manley's counterblasts had apparently been commissioned by St John without his knowledge,\(^7\) and he seems actually to have passed up an offer from a client of his own to renew the press campaign against Marlborough and his family by reviving "old facts" to their discredit.

The client in question was Francis Hoffman, who had reported to him the alarming effect of the capture of Bouchain on Whig morale. A few days after Hare's first pamphlet had been published, the Lord Treasurer received
another letter from Hoffman, containing proposals for a pamphlet by which he could be revenged upon "the outed Family" for such Whig productions as the lampoon on his Earldom of Oxford and Mortimer. The plan was to accuse the Churchills of an illicit correspondence with the French and Jacobites conducted primarily through the channel of Sarah's exiled sister, the Duchess of Tyrconnel. This was a long-standing charge which Hoffman proposed to elaborate to unprecedented lengths and he submitted a facsimile of: the title-page and a detailed exposition of the contents of the intended pamphlet for Oxford's approval. The title, "An Account of Church ills and State ills with the History of an Irish Duchess," involved a pun which, Hoffman laboriously explained, would go down well "among the Vulgar," since the family "in Conjunction with their Party have made it their whole Study and endeavor; to do the Church ill."

He then explained that he needed financial assistance, in order "to make the whole Correct, and digest it as I ought, that it may be fit for the Press, (for it is a Work I would not do by halves)." There is, however, no evidence that the pamphlet was ever published in the form Hoffman proposed; though a number of verse lampoons containing punning references to "the Church ills" appeared after Marlborough's dismissal. It would seem that Oxford had declined to finance the more ambitious project, at least while Marlborough still seemed willing to disown those who used his name in their opposition to the peace. The Lord Treasurer's reply to the Duke's first letter concerning Bouchain was mildly conciliatory and concentrated on encouraging the doubts
Marlborough already had about the practicability of continuing the war. But Oxford could not overlook the fact that the recent successes were now the public property of the opponents of the peace, and when Defoe was given the task of preparing a favourable reception for the Mesnager preliminaries there seemed at first little but an enlargement of scope to distinguish his disparagement of Marlborough's achievement from that of Mrs. Manley and the Tory news-writers. The pamphlet, Reasons Why This Nation Ought to Put a Speedy End to This Expensive War, directed its criticism not only at Bouchain, but at the victory of Malplaquet in 1709 and the siege warfare of 1710. Defoe rightly foresaw that when the new preliminaries became known, and were found to fall short of those signed by Marlborough and Townshend in 1709, the Whig journalists would use the Duke's consistent military success since that time as an argument against any lessening of the pretensions of the Allies.

Defoe's strictures against the futile bloodshed of 1709 and 1710 were as bitter as any Mrs. Manley and the Tory news-writers had bestowed on the latest campaign. His own mock-depreciatory estimate for the siege of Bouchain of "not above 6000 Men Kill'd and Wounded" was certainly an improvement on the Supplement's figure of sixteen thousand. On the subject of the high desertion rate and the premature cessation of operations, however, he reproduced the Post-Boy's account exactly, and he was again following the example of Mrs. Manley and the Supplement when he stressed the exorbitant cost of a campaign which had secured only one small fortress for the Allies (pp.6-8).
So closely did Defoe's propaganda resemble that of Mrs. Manley and Abel Roper that one exasperated Whig pamphleteer unhesitatingly lumped the three of them together as the severest of Marlborough's detractors. Their combined arguments, he claimed, amounted to a demonstration that a British General must neither lie still; nor obtain Victories; nor take Towns; and let Him chuse to do which He pleaseth, He deserves to be abused, and affronted, and treated as a Publick Enemy.

The unavoidable conclusion to be drawn from this was that the general ought "to let the Enemy have the Fatigue of beating our Armies, and taking Towns." 78

But here again there was no mention of the Whig propaganda which had provoked these attacks, and the final twist of ironic absurdity was chiefly useful for distracting attention from the conclusion which this comprehensive criticism of Marlborough's strategy was really intended to enforce. The title of Defoe's pamphlet was sufficient indication that his fault-finding was not an end in itself. In fact, he maintained, it was not intended to reflect personally on "our Generals and great Officers" at all (p. 8).

This disclaimer, aimed primarily at Marlborough, was much scoffed at by the Whigs and is still regarded as disingenuous. 79 Yet there was some truth in it. On this point Defoe purposely parted company with his fellow critics. Instead of demolishing Hare's tribute to Marlborough's professional ability and integrity, as Mrs. Manley had done, he simply appropriated it as one of the mainstays of his recommendation of the Mesnager preliminaries. For if so zealous and brilliant a general could make only the slowest and costliest of progress towards the ambitious
Whig war aims, was not this the crowning proof that those aims were no longer practicable, and that it was time to come to the conference table with more reasonable ends in view? "No," Defoe continued, forestalling protests,

this does not detract from their Characters, but rather confesses that they have done all that it was possible for Men to do. That notwithstanding the Superiority of the Enemy, they have offered them Battle in the Field, have entred their Lines, which they gave out were Impenetrable; Attack'd and taken a Town in their View, after all their Efforts to prevent it; and after a Thousand Gasconades of Monsieur Villars to his Master, that it was impossible the Duke of Marlborough could invest it: But ... the main Hinge whereon all the Affair now turns, is this: What is this to ending the War? How long may the King of France keep us thus at Bay? How many Towns have we yet to take from him, before he can effectually be humbled and reduced to such Terms as we pretend to desire? ... (pp.8-9)

Replying to another pamphleteer who accused him of reflecting on Marlborough, Defoe repeated his claim that the recent campaigns had contributed little towards a peace, but reiterated that this was no dispraise to the Duke; if more could have been done, "there is no doubt he would have done it; and he (if any Body) capable."80

Defoe's ingenious adaptation of Hare's propaganda for his own purposes meant that the chaplain's sins were visited as little as possible on his patron. Hare, it is true, had tried to forestall Defoe's arguments by promising an end to the war in "hardly one Campaign more"; but Defoe was able to point out that this same promise had been made and broken many times since the beginning of the war (p.4); and since Marlborough himself doubted the accuracy of Hare's prediction, the reminder had some validity.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


2. Abel Boyer, in his pamphlet, An Account of the State and Progress of the Present Negotiation of Peace (1711), pp. 32-33, states that the author of the Letter was "the same who lately writ a Pamphlet call'd, BOUCHAIN, or a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner." This latter pamphlet, discussed in detail pp. 225-232 below, was almost certainly the work of Hare, though revised by Maynwaring. In the Political State, II (November 1711), p. 399, Boyer also states that the Letter and another pamphlet entitled Remarks upon the Present Negotiations of Peace, actually the work of Maynwaring (see Oldmixon, Maynwaring, p. 248), were "generally thought" to be by the same author. The attribution of the Letter to Hare is accepted in Morgan, Bibliography, II, p. 226, Item N269, and The Rothschild Library (Cambridge, 1954), II, p. 280, Item 1111; and there is certainly a broad similarity between the Letter and Hare's four letters "to a Tory-Member" in title, length, and solid factual content. Morgan also mentions a contemporary attribution of the Letter to the Whig economic writer, Henry Martin, in Thomas Micklewaite's list of pamphlets (P.R.O. Shaftesbury MSS 30/24/45, Pt. 4, f. 14); but since most of Micklewaite's other attributions are very unreliable (he ascribes Defoe's Reasons Why This Nation Ought to Put a Speedy End to This Expensive War to Charles Davenant, and Maynwaring's Remarks upon the Present Negotiations of Peace to William Benson), his evidence cannot be given much weight. For Boyer's comments on the reception of the Letter, see Political State, II (September 1711), p. 232.


4. George Clarke to Arthur Charlett, 2 October 1711, Bodleian Ballard MSS 20.

5. Marlborough received sketchy accounts of the secret peace negotiations from Brydges in a letter of 23. August 1711 (Blenheim MSS B2-15) and from Oxford in letters of 28 August 1711 (H.M.C. Marlborough MSS, p. 39) and 16 September 1711 (Coxe, III, p. 246).
6. The pamphlet was first advertised in the Spectator, No. 172 (17 September 1711), and the Daily Courant, No.3099 (18 September 1711). A second edition was advertised in the Observer, X, No.76 (19-22 September 1711) and a third edition ("just publish'd") in the Observer, X, No.87 (27-31 October 1711). In this chapter the forms "Medley" and "Examiner" are used to distinguish the participants in the dialogue from the actual journals Medley and Examiner; page references to the pamphlet are incorporated parenthetically in the text.

7. Cf., for example, Bouchain, p.20 with the bulletin from Marlborough's camp in the London Gazette, No.4883 (4-7 August 1711); pp.23-24 with No. 4884 (7-9 August 1711); p.26 with No.4886 (11-14 August 1711); pp.26-27 with No.4892 (25-28 August 1711); p.29 with No.4894 (30 August-1 September 1711); and pp.29-30 with No.4895 (1-4 September 1711).

8. The D. of M----h's Vindication, in Answer to a Pamphlet Lately Publish'd, Call'd "Bouchain, or a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner" (1711), pp.3-4; for details of this pamphlet, see pp.235-240 below.

9. W.H., A Modest Attempt to Prove Dr H-- Not the Author of the Bouchain Dialogue (1712), pp.16-17 (advertised Post-Boy, No.2560 (6-9 October 1711). The "attempt" is of course heavily ironical, largely a device for heaping covert personal abuse on Hare and his patron.

10. St John to William Harrison, 21 September 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, p.365; Ralph Bridges to Trumbull, 28 September 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull Add. MSS 136/1.

11. In a letter to George Tilson of 10/21 May 1709, P.R.O. S.P. (Foreign) 87/4, Hare undertakes to supply him with accounts of the actions of the campaign supplementary to the official bulletins in return for Tilson's care in forwarding letters to Hare's other correspondents. Tilson had retained his post as under-secretary when St John succeeded Boyle as Secretary of State for the North in October 1710.

12. Ralph Bridges to Trumbull, 28 September 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull Add. MSS 136/1.

13. The commonest assumption is that Bouchain attracted St John's attention simply because it was provocingly laudatory of Marlborough; see F.W. Wyon, The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne (1876), II, p.326; Churchill, II, p.868; Michael Foot, The Pen and the Sword (1957), p.274.
In Swift, Prose Works, III, p. xxxi, and Bertrand A. Goldgar, The Curse of Party; Swift’s Relations with Addison and Steele (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), p. 95, there is mention only of Bouchain’s revenge against the Examiner. Even Thomas Macknight, who comes closest to the truth, states in his Life of Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1863), p. 225, that Bouchain criticized the ministry’s peace policy only “by implication”; the message, in fact, was much plainer than that.


15. Marlborough to Oxford, 8/19 October 1711, Coxe, III, p. 261; Watkins to Harrison, 8/19 October 1711, B. M. Add. MSS 22201, f. 1.


17. Micklethwaite’s list of pamphlets, P. R. O. Shaftesbury MSS 30/24/45, Pt. 4, f. 14.


19. Several copies of the official bulletins of the army’s movements sent to the Earl of Strafford at The Hague (B. M. Add. MSS 22203, ff. 214-293) are in Hare’s handwriting; e.g. those of 6/17 August 1711 (c. f. London Gazette, No. 4885, 9-11 August 1711); 9/20 August 1711 (c. f. London Gazette, No. 4886, 11-14 August 1711); and 20/31 August 1711 (c. f. London Gazette, No. 4892, 25-28 August 1711). At the same time there are details in Bouchain, such as Marlborough’s state of health during the siege (p. 24) and the weather during one of the French attacks (p. 29), which are not in the bulletins and which suggest that the pamphlet was compiled by someone with additional eyewitness information of the events.


21. Sarah to Craggs, 17 August [1711], B. M. Stowe MSS 751, f. 11v.


25. Nos. 562 (20-22 August 1711), 563 (22-24 August 1711), 566 (27-29 August 1711), and 574 (14-17 September 1711). According to Morgan (Bibliography, III, p.320, Item V297), the Supplement was edited by George James, but the Whig journalists assumed that Abel Roper effectively controlled this paper as well as his own Post-Boy; there is, for example, a reference in the Protestant Post-Boy, No.10 (22-25 September 1711), to "ABEL'S fam'd Papers, the POST-BOY, and the Spawn of it, the SUPPLEMENT."

26. To Harrison, 21 September 1711, and to the Queen, 17 October 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, pp.365 and 413.

27. Narrative of the Duchess, sent to Lady Hardwicke, B.M. Add. MSS 35853, f.29v.

28. Apart from the hints of the developing theme of The Conduct of the Allies from St John, Swift, and Mrs. Manley in 1710 and early 1711 (see p.128, n.7 and pp.186-187 above), there was clear forewarning of an impending wholesale attack on Whig war policy in Swift's pamphlet, Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet Entitl'd "A Letter to Seven Lords", in Prose Works, III, p.203 (advertised Post-Boy, No.2538, 16-18 August 1711).

29. To Orrery, 25 September 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, p.366. The Vindication was advertised in the Post-Boy, No.2553 (20-22 September 1711). In a letter to Oxford of 2 October 1711, Mrs. Manley acknowledges authorship and makes it clear that she was under St John's patronage at this time. (H.M.C. Portland MSS, V, pp.95-96). Page references to the Vindication are given parenthetically in the text.


31. For Swift's comment on this technique, see Examiner, No.41 (17 May 1711), in Prose Works, III, p.156.

32. It has already been noticed that Maynwaring's Excellent New Song, Call'd Credit Restored (n.p., 1711) appeared after the last Examiner. The attack on Oxford was The Lives of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and Robert, Earl of Oxford (1711; advertised, Flying-Post, No.3102, 16-18 August 1711); John Toland conjecturally attributed it to Oldmixon in a letter to Oxford of [19 August 1711], H.M.C. Portland MSS, V, p.260.
33. For St John's claim, see his letter to Orrery of 25 September 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, p.366.

34. For this incident, see David Green, Queen Anne (1970), p.242.

35. Maynwaring to Coningsby, 15 August 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 57861, f.168; Cadogan to St John, 20/31 August 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Foreign) 77/60, f.267v; Hare to Naylor, 8/19 September 1711, H.M.C. Hare MSS, p.233; Churchill, II, p.872.


37. To Sarah, 11/22 October 1711, Blenheim MSS E5.

38. Political State, II (October 1711), p.278.

39. Marlborough to Oxford, 8/19 October 1711, Coxe, III, pp.260-261; in his letter to the Queen of 17 October 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, p.413, St John mentions that Marlborough had written him a similar letter on the same date.

40. Letter of 8/19 October 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 22201, f.1.


42. Wyon, History of Great Britain, II, pp.325-327; Churchill, II, pp.868-869; Foot, The Pen and the Sword, pp.274-275. It is Mr. Foot who gives the strongest and most detailed expression to this view, but his reading of the situation is distorted by maling and misreadings of the letters and pamphlets involved. His primary error is to assume (pp260-261) that both St John's letter to Harrison about Bouchain of 21 September 1711, with its warning to Marlborough via Watkins, and the letter to Orrery of 25 September 1711 about Bouchain and Mrs. Manley's Vindication refer to Hare's Thanksgiving Sermon for the successes of the campaign; though in fact the Sermon was not published until 25 September 1711 (see p.264 n.68 below) and the letter to Orrery identifies Bouchain by title. Largely as a result of these errors Mr. Foot gives Bouchain only a passing mention (p.274), failing to recognize its importance as the reputed work of Marlborough's chaplain, and as the first challenge to the Ministers in print on Marlborough's behalf about the secret peace negotiations. This in turn leads him to misunderstand the significance of Mrs. Manley's Vindication, as the first serious sign of hostility towards the Duke in the ministerial press since the suspension of the Examiner. He assumes, in fact (pp.272-273), that the
Vindication was a largely unprovoked attack on Marlborough at a later stage of the peace negotiations, which the Duke had failed to trace to its ministerial source; because of his initial misreading of St John's letters, Mr. Foot does not realize that Marlborough's letters to Oxford and St John of 8/19 October 1711 were a direct and immediate response to St John's attempt to fix responsibility for Bouchain on Hare and to revive the press campaign against his patron.

43. Watkins' copies of Marlborough's letters are at Blenheim MSS B2-7, with an endorsement by Sarah, who disapproved of their conciliatory tone, noting that they are in Watkins' handwriting. For another instance of Watkins' assisting in the drafting of a letter from Marlborough to the ministers, see Drummond to Harley, 28 November /9 December 1710, H.M.C. Portland MSS, IV, p.635. Marlborough, of course, was fully aware of Watkins' contact with Drummond, and through him with Oxford and St John, and in order to maintain good relations with the ministers, encouraged Drummond to keep up his letters to his "old corrispondant"; see letter of 2/13 August 1711, H.M.C. Drummond Moray MSS, p.141.


45. A full account of Marlborough's scheme, together with repeated assurances that it was the only means left for the Allies to pursue the war with effect, is given in a document in Cardonnel's handwriting, entitled "A Memorial concerning the ensuing Winter Quarters and the Dispositions to be made in order to take the Field before the Enemy next year," P.R.O. S.P. (Domestic) 41/4.

46. Marlborough to the Earl of Albemarle, 17/28 September 1711, Dispatches, V, p.514; Cadogan to St John, 4/15 October 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Foreign), 87/4.


50. The Charge of God to Joshua, in a Sermon Preach'd before His Grace the Duke of Marlborough ... September 9, 1711, Being the Day of Thanksgiving for Passing the Lines and Taking Bouchain (1711), pp.10-11.

51. To the Duke of Marlborough, on the Taking of Bouchain (1711), s.sh.
52. Ralph Bridges to Trumbull, 22 October 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull Add. MSS 136/1; for Maynwaring's authorship of this ballad see Oldmixon, Maynwaring, pp.327-329.

53. For St John's connection with Roper and his journalistic activities see Laurence Hanson, ... Government and the Press 1695-1763; (1936), pp.98-99. Henry Craik, in his Life of Jonathan Swift (1882), p.232 n., states that Abel Boyer was the editor of the Protestant Post-Boy; Morgan, Bibliography, III, p.312, Item V 266 favours Ridpath himself.

54. No.14 (2-4 October 1711).


56. Political State, II (October 1711), p.278.

57. Flying-Post, No.3117 (20-22 September 1711).

58. Hare to Tilson, 20 June/1 July 1709, P.R.O. S.P. (Foreign) 87/4.

59. No.2552 (18-20 September 1711).


61. No.576 (19-21 September 1711).

62. Flying-Post, No.3117 (20-22 September 1711); Protestant Post-Boy No.10 (22-25 September 1711).

63. No.577 (21-23 September 1711).

64. Supplement, No.580 (28 September - 1 October 1711); Post Boy, No.2557 (29 September - 2 October 1711); Flying-Post, No.3121 (29 September - 2 October 1711).

65. No.14 (2 - 4 October 1711).

67. [Maynwaring], Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals, p. 159; Marlborough to Godolphin, 30 October/10 November 1711, Blenheim MSS B2-9.

68. The Charge of God to Joshua was advertised in the Spectator, No. 179 (25 September 1711), and the Daily Courant, No. 3106 (26 September 1711).

69. Oldmixon, Maynwaring, p. 324; Earl Stanhope, in his History of England, Comprising the Reign of Queen Anne until the Peace of Utrecht 1701-1713 (1870), p. 553, suggests that the Sermon was preached at Sarah's instigation; she must in any case have known and approved of its publication.

70. Hare to Francis Godolphin, 27 May/7 June 1706, B.M. Add. MSS 28052, f. 114; and 29 July/9 August 1706, B.M. Add. MSS 28057, f. 309.

71. To the Queen, 17 October 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., I, p. 413.


73. In her letter to Oxford of 2 October 1711, H.M.C. Portland MSS, V, pp. 95-96, Mrs. Manley described her recent publications and complained of want of his "instructions or encouragement."


75. Hoffman's lampoons against Marlborough included:

(i) A Wonderful New Prophecy, Giving a Certain and True Account When the Church Ills Will Be Great Again (n.p., 1711), s.sh.

(ii) A New-Year's Gift for the Plunderers of the World (1712), s.sh.

(iii) The Portraiture of Oliverus Secundus, the Modern Protector in Body and Conscience (n.p., 1712), s.sh.

(iv) The White-Hall Prophecy, Lately Found under the Ruins of That Royal Chapel (n.p., 1712), s.sh.

(v) The True Copy of a Paper Stuck upon the D. of M----'s Gate at St. James's, on Saturday Last, Being the Day of Her Majesty's Accession to the Crown (1712), s.sh.

(vi) Vulpoon in the Snare (n.p., 1712); the author of this piece is given as "Fr--- H----n, Gent," and it is attributed to Hoffman by Morison
(vii) The History of the Three Goddesses and the Golden Apple of Prince Paris and Prince Avaro (n.p., 1712); this poem, also issued with the title, *The D-- of M--- Turn'd Conjuror, or the History of the Golden Apple*, makes no reference to the "Church ills" but it is similar to the White-Hall Prophecy in the charge that Marlborough had "winked at" deficiencies in Allied troop quotas. It also gives prominence to Hoffman's favourite topic of Marlborough's alleged betrayal of an attack on Dunkirk in William's reign; this is a subject dwelt on in Hoffman's letter to Oxford of September 1711, H.N.C. Portland MSS, V, p.95, and in Items (i), (iv), and (v) above. For the currency of this topic of detraction, see [Daniel Defoe], *A Short Narrative of the Life and Actions of His Grace John, D. of Marlborough* (1711), pp.8-9; and Churchill, I, p.345.


78. *The Case of a British General, Collected from Several Late Papers* (1711), p.2.

79. *A Letter to a High-Churchman, in Answer to a Pamphlet Intitled "Reasons Why This Nation Should Put a Speedy End to This Expensive War"* (1711), p.7: (the "letter" is dated 1 November 1711, the pamphlet advertised, *Spectator*, No.217, 8 November 1711); see also, James Sutherland, *Daniel Defoe: a Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p.57.

80. *Reasons Why a Party among Us, and Also among the Confederates Are Obstinately Bent against a Treaty of Peace with the French at This Time* (1711), p.47; Moore, *Checklist*, p.85, Item 217, rejects as incorrect an advertisement for this pamphlet in the Protestant Post-Boy, No.38 (27-29 November 1711), and states that it was published early in October; but this cannot be correct, since the pamphlet contains a reply to the Letter to a High-Churchman (pp.43-47), which itself was not published until the second week of November. The advertisement in the Protestant Post-Boy is probably correct; it is confirmed by another ("This Week will be publish'd") in the *Free-Thinker*, No.4 (24-27 November 1711).
Chapter VI

THE PEACE DEBATE

It has been suggested that if Marlborough could have overcome his "foolish disdain" of the press, and of the opinion it moulded, so far as to second rather than discourage his wife's patronage of the Whig journalists, much might have been done to avert the disaster which overtook his career. This is a tantalizing theory, but there are objections to it. In the first place, the Duke's messages to Sarah concerning Hare and Steele make it sufficiently clear that he did not by this time disdain the use of the press in its own right. His disapproval was reserved for the occasions when it interfered with his precarious relations with the ministers; and for one in his vulnerable position, with the responsibilities of supreme command still to discharge, this attitude was not mere foolishness. In the second place, the strictures which the Duke did pronounce had little, if any, affect on the output of his journalistic supporters. With the best of intentions, Maynwaring and Hare had disregarded his wishes in publishing Bouchain, and they continued to do so, with the knowledge and approval of the Duchess, in their further efforts to "scribble down" the ministers. If Marlborough's cause was lost, it was not for the want of such support, but in spite of it, and perhaps in some degree because of it.

Having to contend with the general desire to see an end to the war and with promises of unexceptionable peace terms, Maynwaring and Hare had hitherto had the worst of the argument. But the Mesnager preliminaries could not be kept secret indefinitely, and when they were revealed prematurely in the Daily Courant of 13 October, there was dissatisfaction even in some
Tory circles.  

Maynwaring hastened to take advantage of it, using the tactic which Defoe had endeavoured to guard against. In his first pamphlet, Remarks on the Preliminary Articles Offer'd by the French King, he drew attention to the "vast Disproportion" between the new preliminaries and those of 1709 and urged his readers to consider why the Allies, who had had consistent success under Marlborough's command since that time, and were now in a position to invade France, should agree to such a lessening of their pretensions. Even a confirmed Tory had to admit that this propaganda was unanswerable as it stood, and although he rightly suspected that there must be special advantages stipulated for Britain in secret, these could not be revealed to forestall criticism without substantiating Whig claims that the terms had been negotiated in violation of Allied engagements.

Maynwaring's next task was a collaborative answer to Defoe's Reasons Why, in which the main argument of this first pamphlet was repeated. It was also pointed out that the publication of the preliminaries had realized the worst Whig fears about the fate of the Spanish monarchy. Defoe's comments on the pointlessness and difficulty of continuing the war might have been of weight, whilst the Nation was in the dark; but since the Terms are publish'd, we find the difference between France and the Allies is not some little trifling Circumstance: we are not now disputing for a Town more or less, but for the very End, and Real Occasion of the War, for the Kingdom of Spain and the West Indies.

A further pamphlet of Maynwaring's, Remarks upon the Present Negotiations of Peace, was so outspoken that it had to be circulated privately. To Godolphin, Marlborough had already complained that the ministers' peace treating was a sacrifice, not only of the potential of the last campaign, but
of the successes of the whole war. With the ministry's attitude to Spain now more clearly defined, Maynwaring adopted this argument as one method of discrediting the new preliminaries:

What then have we been doing these twenty Years? And what is the Fruit of our ten Battles, and of our Thirty Sieges, the whole Benefit of which is to be cancell'd by the Dash of a Pen? (p.20)

The ministry, Maynwaring argued, was asking the nation to accept "such a Peace at Bouchain" as might have been had "under the walls of Nimereuen" (p.29), and this at a time

when one blow more would make them uneasy even at Paris, and when we may justly hope from a short Perseverance in War to have the Blessing of Peace attended with Safety. (p.33)

About the accuracy of this last prediction, Defoe and his colleagues, and even Marlborough himself, had expressed doubts; but since then the news of the disastrous failure of St John's Quebec expedition had reached England, and Maynwaring was able to argue that the ministers' depletion of Marlborough's troops for this fruitless enterprise, together with their disruptive secret peace treating, had been the chief cause of the general's unduly slow progress towards the necessary reduction of France (p.7).

The culmination of these Whig attacks on the Mesnager preliminaries came with the publication of the ironic Vindication of the Present Ministry from the Clamours Rais'd against Them upon Occasion of the New Preliminaries. The pamphlet was evidently cast in this form as an act of belated revenge for Mrs. Manley's "insolent and furious Libel against the Duke of Marlborough" of a similar title, responsibility for which it fixed on Swift (p.30). A foreign envoy neatly explained the adaptation of the technique to current Whig ends:
l’auteur presuppose que ces preliminaires ne sont pas veritables, et qu’on impute à tort aux ministres de les avoir approuvez, et sur cette supposition il dit tout ce qui se peut dire contre, d’une maniere si fine, si delicate et si spirituelle, que cet ouvrage est extremement recherché.

It is not surprising that the pamphlet should have had so rapturous a reception. Maynwarings’s productions had been able statements of the Whig case, but the very fact that they were statements, confined to straightforward argument and denunciation of the peace terms, made them at times heavy reading. The sustained irony of the Vindication provided this final recapitulation of Whig arguments with just the novelty and lightness of touch necessary to give them the widest appeal and damn the preliminaries irredeemably. A later Whig pamphleteer, referring to these ingredients of successful propaganda, considered that "such a whim dos more good than a Long dull Story of Spain and the West Indies, which very few will take the pains to read." The ironic presentation of the arguments also triumphantly evaded the usual restraints on critics of ministerial policy, since the proposition that the peace terms were too dishonourable to have official sanction could now be combined with an elaborate pretence at deference for the ministers themselves.

One Tory reader, who bracketed this pamphlet with The Conduct of the Allies as the best of the Whig and Tory publications respectively, attributed it unhesitatingly to Francis Hare. Maynwarings was another favoured candidate for authorship. Since Hare was back in London by the last week in October, it is possible that the pamphlet was another collaborative effort between the two. The items of internal evidence which favour this ascription include the citing of past ministerial peace propaganda to discredit the later course of the negotiations (pp.23-24), a technique
which Hare was to use to effect in his answer to *The Conduct of the Allies*;\(^{14}\) the approving reference to Maynwaring's *Remarks on the Preliminary Articles* (p. 24); the special attention paid to Mrs. Manley's *Vindication* (pp. 30-31), itself an answer to a pamphlet by Maynwaring and Hare; the reminder, closely resembling a passage in Maynwaring's *Remarks upon the Present Negotiations of Peace*, that the *Examiner* 's first hints of the surrender of Spain had antedated the death of the Emperor (p. 32);\(^{15}\) and the quotations from *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus*, Hare's *bête noire* among Tory pamphlets (p. 44).

There is also a reference to the *Vindication* in a later pamphlet, probably the work of Oldmixon, in company with other tracts known to be by Maynwaring and Hare.\(^{16}\)

No technique came more appropriately to these Whig "defenders" of the ministry than the adaptation to their own ends of what had hitherto been the greatest assets of genuine ministerial supporters. The doctrines of Bouchain and related propaganda, for example, had been overborne by a concerted Tory appeal to the war-weary elements of the nation. Now the Whig pamphleteers felt that they too could afford to draw attention to the vast expenditure of blood and money on Marlborough's campaigns, in order to persuade those who had suffered most by these hardships that they ought to reject peace terms which did not give them full value, either for the losses, or for the gains of the war:

> And is this the Peace we have been fighting for? Are these the Fruits of a successful War? this the Purchase of Fifty Millions, and of above a Hundred Thousand of our own Men? Can any Englishman be easy in this fatal Prospect? Can we think an English Ministry can be guilty of intailing so much Misery on us and our Posterity? Shall we not rather think these Articles an Imposture only, contriv'd to blacken them, than believe them true, or that the present Ministers are capable of giving into them? (p. 27)
The choice, it was argued, was not between an immediate peace and an indefinite prolongation of the war, but between an unstable settlement, which would break down into further burdensome hostilities within a few years, and the short continuation of the war necessary to secure a safe and permanent peace. (pp. 28-29).

The over-optimistic speculation about the peace terms encouraged by Swift and his colleagues, by now rather a liability than an asset to its cause, provided Whig pamphleteers with one final point of ironic vindication. The Mesnager preliminaries could not be genuine, because they fell so far short of what had been promised by the ministry and its agents:

and any Terms, but what fully answer the Ends for which we began the War, will now doubtly disappoint us, as contradicting not only our Hopes from so much Success, but the great Expectations raised of them. (p. 41)

It was St John who made sure that this potential rival to The Conduct of the Allies would never match it in circulation and influence. The very thorough suppression of the Vindication is the clearest indication of the threat it was felt to pose to the ministry's schemes. Within a few days of publication, the pamphlet had become extremely scarce, and so dangerous to circulate, even in secret, that one country reader was warned to burn his copy as soon as he had read it. If the Whigs could have imposed a similar handicap on the circulation of The Conduct of the Allies, their cause might have had a greater chance of success.

Nevertheless, it was beyond the resources of the ministers themselves to apply this rigorous treatment to all Whig propaganda. The official action taken against Maynwaring's Remarks upon the Present Negotiations
of Peace, for instance, did not seriously interfere with its "mighty run," and by this time the main points of the prose pamphlets were also being circulated in ballad form. By the end of October, Swift found the nation "half-bewitched against a Peace," and a month later Defoe admitted that Whig propaganda was largely responsible for this discontent:

Even the Mouths of the Poor and Ignorant Plough-men and Servants in the Countries most remote, are filled with such Speeches as these, which are thro' all Parts of the Nation with much Art, and no small Application spread abroad, that it is many Pities, after we have Fought so long we should give it over till we have brought the French to our Beck. That now we had spent so much Money, sure we might spend a little more to obtain a good Peace; that One Brush or Two more would do the Work, and if after all this, we let the French run away with Spain, what have we been Fighting for so long? and such as these.

Altogether, he concluded, "the Enemies and the Opposers of the Publick Treaty of Peace, gain too much ground among the People." This was in effect an admission of defeat, for in a series of pamphlets, published immediately after his Reasons Why and restating its arguments, Defoe had done all he could, single-handed, to prevent these Whig doctrines from spreading. The Whigs themselves were well aware by this time that they had little to fear from him. One of the mock-arguments advanced in the Vindication to demonstrate the spuriousness of the Messenger preliminaries was the absence of "any tolerable Defence of them," existing efforts being dismissed as "pitiful Declarations upon the Miseries of War" which any schoolboy could have produced to order, and which had not kept pace with Whig criticism of the published peace terms (pp. 27-28).

Yet with the opening of Parliament now imminent, the Whig pamphleteers could be pardoned for assuming that these "pitiful Declarations" were
the best defence of the Mesnager preliminaries which the ministry's agents could muster, and in this capacity alone they merited a serious and detailed reply. Once it had been delivered, the opposition pamphleteers could claim to have had the final and decisive word before Parliament met for its consideration of the peace terms.

The task plainly called for Hare's methodical defensive skills, and the pamphlet in which it was performed, *A Caveat to the Treaters*, can be assigned to him with virtual certainty. The passages answering Defoe's criticism of the campaigns of 1709 and 1710 are very similar, in parts almost identical, to those on the same subject in *The Management of the War*. There are several references to Hare's favourite authorities, including Charles Davenant's *Discourses on the Publick Revenues* (p. 4), cited in his answer to *The Conduct of the Allies*, the French King's letter to the Pope of 15 February 1707 (p. 33), and the States' Resolution of 1710 (pp. 40-41), both quoted at length in *The Management of the War*. The digression to criticize "that ill-contriv'd Romance," *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus* (p. 17) also recalls Hare's description of, and preoccupation with, this pamphlet in his letters "to a Tory-Member," and the Caveat's whole mode of argument, with its methodical enumeration of points to be dealt with, its air of authority, its length and solid weight, of exposition and factual detail, is very much that of the four letters.

As these resemblances to *The Management of the War* suggest, the composition of much of this pamphlet had involved Hare in nothing more effortful than a recapitulation of his earlier work. Even Defoe's criticism of the last campaign failed to rouse him to fresh efforts.
Fault-finders, he remarked complacently, had already been "so well chastiz'd by that ingenious Piece call'd, Bouchain ... that we need say no more of it" (p.20). This conveniently disguised the fact that Bouchain itself had provoked the fault-finding; but Hare was soon to discover that neither he nor his patron were to be allowed to escape so lightly.

If the Msmager preliminaries had been genuine, the Vindication had argued,

we may be assur'd the ablest Pens would have appear'd in Defence of them; we should have had something from the ingenious Writer of the Tale of the Tub, or the excellent author of the Ladle ... (p.30)

The taunt could not have been more untimely. Just as the measures for suppressing the Vindication were beginning to take effect, The Conduct of the Allies at last made its appearance, and Hare was at once plunged into a further controversy which superseded all others and had him working at high speed to publish yet again before Parliament opened.

Hare was given early warning that he would not be able to dispose of this defence of the Msmager preliminaries as effortlessly as he had just disposed of Defoe's. The Conduct of the Allies, Swift maintained in the Preface, was a setting-out of the "just Complaints of the Kingdom," which existing vindications of "the Proceedings of the Late Ministry, in the Management of the War, and of the Treaty at Gertruydenburg" had failed to satisfy. In making this claim, he was almost certainly recalling the passages in the Examiner in which he had criticized Hare's "three small Pamphlets upon the Management of the War, and the Treaty of Peace"
and promised to answer them in detail. In fact, the connection was made almost at once by one of his Whig opponents.

It is clear, therefore, that Swift did not leave the task of answering Bouchain and the Thanksgiving Sermon to Mrs. Manley because he "was not in a mood to bother much with such an antagonist as Dr. Hare." Nor was he simply settling an old score with those who had scoffed at his unfulfilled promise to answer The Management of the War. The fact was that the four letters "to a Tory-Member" still constituted the definitive and substantially unchallenged vindication of the conduct of the war and of recent peace negotiations; and as such, had to be reckoned with by any pamphleteer who embarked on extensive criticism of Marlborough's actions, either as general or plenipotentiary. By making it clear from the beginning that his pamphlet was intended to supersede Hare's, Swift not only established its status, but also ensured that, unlike Defoe's propaganda, it could not be answered by a simple recapitulation of Hare's case.

Even without this hint, Hare must quickly have realized that The Conduct of the Allies, with its wholesale condemnation of the war, was a very different proposition from anything Defoe had produced. The attack on Marlborough, though probably not the main reason for the pamphlet's existence, was massive. The general was accused of committing his country as "principal" to a war which perhaps need never have been begun, and in which at most England need have played only an "auxiliary" role; of channelling the nation's resources away from profitable naval operations into ruinous land warfare, and thus contributing towards the dangerous aggrandizement of the Allies; of accepting bribes to overlook flagrant
breaches of confederate treaty obligations; and finally of securing and extending these opportunities of wealth and power by means of a corrupt political alliance with the Whig monied men, whom the war was enriching to the ruin of the landed interest. Enlarging upon a hint given in the controversial *Examiner* of 26 April 1711, Swift now explained that the much-debated policy of "no peace without Spain" had been belatedly adopted by this faction, who were well aware that it was impracticable, as the most plausible pretext for an indefinite prolongation of the war.

Although the publication of *The Conduct of the Allies* had been delayed so long as to lull the Whig pamphleteers at last into a false sense of security, a careful reading soon convinced Hare that it must actually have been "upon the Anvil, as long as the Cause 'tis to serve has been negotiating," and this could only mean that "the blackest Arts were using to ruin the D. of M——, at the same time that we were told, some Men profess'd the greatest Friendship for him." In fact, the ministers might have levelled this charge of bad faith with equal justice not only against Marlborough, whose public opposition to the peace ever since his return was scarcely consistent with his own professions of friendship to them throughout the campaign, but against Hare himself, whose propaganda had called those professions in question even while the campaign was in progress. Despite the ministers' cordial overtures, Marlborough had known that they would not hesitate to use their "blackest Arts" to ruin him if ever the occasion should arise, and the press campaign against the peace, in which Hare had taken so notable a part, had furnished them with all the excuse they could wish for.
Swift's characteristic claim in his Preface that this Whig propaganda had contained no arguments worth his notice (p. 5) could not be taken seriously by anyone who was aware of its growing influence. Tory journalists publicly welcomed The Conduct of the Allies on the grounds that "no true Briton, who reads those surprizing Passages, will be any longer amused with the false Representations of the Whigs, in their Ballads and Pamphlets"; and a Whig antagonist pointed out that Swift had obviously read and absorbed every word of the recent attacks on the Mesnager preliminaries issued by Maynwaring and Hare. 32

To overlook this defensive function of The Conduct of the Allies is to see the pamphlet as a more wilful injustice to Marlborough than it actually was. G.M. Trevelyan, for instance, deplores the fact that St John and Swift could find no more honourable method of recommending their peace terms to the public than "a false and ungrateful reading of the past," which not only discounted but discredited Marlborough's massive contribution to the advantages they had secured. 33 But the truth was that even if they had been disposed to give him the credit which certainly was due to him in this respect, his own supporters, with their reiterated claims that the new peace terms were a sacrifice of the aims and successes of the war, would have made it impossible. Only if it were accepted that the war need never have been begun at all but for Marlborough's self-interest, and that the victories had served no end but the enrichment of him and his corrupt confederates at home and abroad, could the ministers escape the blame plausibly heaped on them in past weeks by the Whig pamphleteers. Defoe, for example, noted that one of the most popular objections to the new
preliminaries was: "if after all this, we let the French run away with Spain, what have we been Fighting for so long?" Swift's thesis provided him with an overwhelming reply:

But the common question is, If we must now surrender Spain, what have we been Fighting for all this while? The answer is ready; We have been Fighting for the Ruin of the Publick Interest, and the Advancement of a Private. We have been Fighting to raise the Wealth and Grandeur of a particular Family; to enrich Usurers and Stock-jobbers; and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a Faction, by destroying the Landed-Interest. The Nation begins to now to think these blessings are not worth Fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a Peace. (pp. 58-59)

That this propaganda of Swift's proved so acceptable, particularly in Tory circles, must have been in a great measure owing to the familiarity of its elements. During the first months of the reign and before, there had been heated debates over the question of England's entry into the war as "principal" or "auxiliary," with Marlborough and the Tory leader, Rochester, as the respective ministerial spokesmen of the opposing policies. Nor was it difficult to persuade Tory partisans that naval operations should take precedence over land warfare, or that there were "conspiracies" afoot for the ruin of the landed interest. Even the charge that Marlborough had been influenced by bribery in his attitude to the treaty obligations of the Allies was by this time of several years' standing.

In fusion, these elements made up an older and equally familiar pattern. One of the evils long associated with the "reigns" of corrupt royal favourites was the waging of ruinous wars contrary to the national interest. These conflicts would be assumed to have been begun for some legitimate and patriotic purpose,
when in truth, perhaps all this Bussle and Hazard, this Blood and Treasure consum'd, proceeds only from the Capricio's of two or three Pensionary Courtiers, that are content to hazard the Ruin of their own Master and Country to advance the Designs of some powerful Neighbour, that underhand feeds them with Gold ... 37

This might have been a summary of Swift's case against Marlborough, with its claims that the general had first used his monopoly of royal favour to commit his country to an unnecessary war, and had then been bribed to sacrifice its interests to the aggrandizement of the Allies.

In addition to these advantages, Swift had the simple but massive basic asset of any critic of long-standing policies. As Hare pointed out, Marlborough's schemes for the war, by the very fact of having been translated into practice, had had their share of "those Failures and Accidents, and Imperfections, which all human Affairs, especially those of War and Alliances, are unavoidably attended with"; and Swift, instead of making allowance for these, had used them as evidence of the basic misguidedness of the whole conduct of the war.38 On the other hand, the Tory schemes which he was suggesting as alternatives, having never had to come to terms with practical realities, had no such assailable weaknesses. On paper and in retrospect, they could easily be made to appear preferable to existing policy.

If England had entered the war only in an "auxiliary" capacity, assisting the Dutch with ten thousand men according to treaty, Swift coolly asserted, "I make no doubt but Holland would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that Assistance alone, to defend their Frontiers". (p. 17). The claim, not having been put to the test, was
impossible to disprove outright, and would seem particularly tantalizing to those who were weary of the war. Later, criticizing Marlborough's land warfare, Swift was able to paint the rosiest picture of the advantages of a maritime strategy, in order to support his claim that it "would soonest have weakened the Enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy Peace, or enabled us to go on with the War" (pp. 19-23).

In fact, as Hare argued, there was an impressive array of practical difficulties in the execution of such a policy, which Swift had ignored, but which would have been immediately apparent if it had ever been adopted on the scale he proposed. The failure of the Quebec expedition was itself a sufficient demonstration of how quickly a theoretically glittering and feasible project could lose its lustre when forced to grapple with the realities of weather, an incompetent command, and unco-operative local inhabitants. Had this enterprize succeeded, Swift would probably have used it as his trump card, the crowning practical proof of his assertions. As it was, the subject had to be dismissed hastily and lamely (p. 23).

But even so, Swift had the advantage of the Duke, whose strategies had been subjected to the stresses of ten years' confederate warfare, with their inevitable quota of difficulties arising from unequal resources and conflicting interests.

Swift used not only the failures of Marlborough's policy, but its very successes, to support his critical view of the conduct of the war. The fact that "Ten Years War, with perpetual Success" had not yet produced a peace, he argued, in the Preface, might well make a "Man of any Party" suspect that all was not as it should be (p. 6). By then presenting his
own elaborate explanation of this phenomenon, Swift was also diverting attention from the Whig claim that the ministers themselves, with their depletion of Marlborough's forces for the Quebec expedition and their clandestine peace treating, had prevented his putting an end to the war before this time.

Swift had one final asset which worked by delayed action. Among the items cited as evidence that Marlborough had been bribed by the Allies was a two and a half per cent deduction from the pay of the foreign troops hired by England, which was at the general's disposal for intelligence and other contingent expenses (p. 41). While The Conduct of the Allies was making its first impact, the Commissioners of Public Accounts had this matter under investigation, and Marlborough's alleged appropriation of this money was soon to be censured by the House of Commons. Swift's charges against the Allies received a similar parliamentary sanction. This confirmation of several important aspects of Swift's case "by the Publick Voice" would, he was confident, "incline the World to believe, that I may be right in the rest." 40

These contributions to the plausibility of Swift's case made it easier for willing believers to overlook some of its notable flaws.

It was Hare who first pointed out that since Oxford and St John had not opposed or condemned Marlborough's conduct while in office before 1708, they could not be supposed to agree with Swift's radical criticism of the war from its inception. 41 On the other hand, it was obvious that The Conduct of the Allies, with its extensive use of privileged material,
had been produced with full ministerial sanction and encouragement. The unavoidable conclusion was that the ministers had sponsored a case against Marlborough which they themselves knew to be trumped up.

The attempt to condemn Marlborough's land warfare as well as the Whig conduct of the peace negotiations led Swift into further difficulties. At one point the Duke was blamed for consistently pursuing "that Part of the War which could least answer the End we proposed by beginning of it" (pp. 15-16); but later, in order to censure the rejection of the French offers of peace in 1706, Swift had to concede that by means of the "remarkable successes" resulting from this strategy, "we were soon put into a Condition of demanding and expecting such Terms of a Peace, as we proposed to our selves when we began the War" (p. 48). In order to avoid an explicit acknowledgement of Marlborough's personal share of credit for this achievement, Swift then resorted to the pious evasion, long popular with the Duke's detractors, of attributing the victories solely to God's blessing upon "the Armies of the Allies"; though without explaining why a confederacy which he had just represented as waging an unnecessary war for corrupt ends should have received these marks of divine favour.

"There is a Mutiny in the Troops," Maynwaring wrote of the rebellious Tory Commons on the day The Conduct of the Allies was published, "& the Leader [Oxford] will have much ado to succeed in his great undertaking." Swift's propaganda would do much to remedy this situation, but for the time, the opponents of the Mesnager preliminaries had reason to be optimistic. A moderate Tory pamphlet, in which Marlborough figured
as their spokesman, predicted their success, despite "divers good Reasons of State" which made peace desirable; two other productions reflected his personal efforts to win over the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Thomas Hanmer from the Tory ranks.\textsuperscript{43} Although the benefit of the detailed answer to \textit{The Conduct of the Allies}, upon which Hare was engaged, would at best be a delayed one, the Whigs were not at a loss for an effective counterstroke. The Elector of Hanover had used his authority as heir to the throne to deliver a Memorial highly critical of the ministry's peace terms, and on 5 December it was published in the \textit{Daily Courant}. Swift might partially have discredited Marlborough as the figurehead of the opposition to the preliminaries, but, as a Whig journalist pointed out, the Elector had none of the motives of self-interest attributed to the Duke in \textit{The Conduct of the Allies}.\textsuperscript{44}

But this advantage was shortlived. By pretending to discern that the Memorial was a Whig fabrication, or at least that it had been printed without the Elector's permission, the Tory pamphleteers were able to subject it to the outspoken criticism which could not be expressed directly;\textsuperscript{45} and their disparagement of all opponents of the peace soon had the public support of the one person whose word had more weight than the Elector's. The Queen's speech of 7 December, announcing that arrangements had been made for the opening of a treaty of general peace, "notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war,"\textsuperscript{46} could leave no doubt as to where her sympathies lay. In Whig circles, this reflection on Marlborough, which might have come more aptly from "a Libeller in a Garret," was considered unworthy of her; but to the libellers themselves it was "her Majesties
Censure," to be cherished and reprinted as the highest sanction for their past and future attacks upon the Duke and his Whig associates. 47

In the debate that followed, Marlborough defended himself with dignity against the charge of prolonging the war, but declared firmly against any peace on the basis of the Mesnager preliminaries. Despite prohibitions against the unauthorized printing of parliamentary proceedings, this speech appeared for the first time in the British Mercury at the end of the month. 48

But there was also a curious broadside in circulation at this time, entitled The Duke of Marlborough's Speech to the Right Honourable the House of Lords, and dated 8 December, 1711. In it, Marlborough defends himself against the charge of prolonging the war, but is represented as mildly favourable to the Mesnager preliminaries, noting with approval that the French King

has wisely chosen the most prudent way, in sending one Minister only, with full Power and Instructions, to adjust and sign the Preliminaries; which has had so good an effect here at Home, as has already met with the approbation of the States, and I doubt not but will soon be accompany'd with the general Consent of all the Allies. 49

It is difficult to see what this form of misrepresentation was intended to achieve, but Marlborough was not the only peer to suffer in this way. Spurious versions of the Earl of Nottingham's speech against the peace were also in print at this time. 50

Hare's contemporaries had no doubt that his four-part tract, The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, was the definitive reply to The Conduct of the Allies. It drew the fire of Swift and his colleagues, and all the resources of advertisement and recommendation which the Whig press afforded were lavished on it, both before and after publication. 51
Hare's chief and indispensable asset was his command of such privileged information as the terms of unpublished treaties and the details of Allied troop quotas for the various theatres of war. As he himself pointed out, Swift and his patrons had probably assumed that the inaccessibility of this material would prevent "a solid Confutation" of the arguments based on it in *The Conduct of the Allies* (II, pp.40-41). But Hare's influential patrons and friends had seen to it that he lacked none of the information necessary for his task. His familiarity with the terms of the Barrier Treaty, for example, suggests the collaboration of Townshend, who negotiated it, and at least one set of statistics concerning troop quotas seems to have been supplied by James Craggs, who was probably acting under Marlborough's instructions.52

These advantages, together with Hare's already considerable experience in the compiling of such "solid Confutations" of Tory propaganda, enabled him to produce what is still generally acknowledged to be the most thorough and intelligent discussion of Swift's errors in *The Conduct of the Allies*.53 It is therefore natural to ask why it should have been so powerless to check its rival's triumphal progress.

Hare's basic disadvantage lay in the need to defend both the Allies and the late ministers in a single work, for this raised his old dilemma of conflicting loyalties in a more clearly defined form than ever before. Although he genuinely admired the heroic efforts of the Dutch, who, he considered, "have done this war beyond themselves," he privately felt that the performances of other members of the Alliance had left a good deal to be desired.54 It says much for his zeal as spokesman for the Whig
opposition to the peace terms, that he nevertheless took great pains to
defend each of the Allies separately and at length against Swift's
accusations, even giving this task priority over the vindication of his
patrons, which was relegated to the fourth and final part.

Yet at certain points Hare's private opinions got the better of him,
and he was prepared to concede that the Allies had not always been beyond
criticism. Because Swift had gone on to accuse Marlborough and his
colleagues of conniving at these failings, Hare had then to abandon his
defence of the Allies altogether, in order to show that it was not the
fault of the English ministers if some confederates had been backward in
making their full contribution to the war effort. Marlborough, Hare
indignantly claimed, had been so far from being bribed or "made easy" by
the Allies, that he had "had great Uneasiness to bring the Parts of so great
a Confederacy into vigorous and right Measures, during the Continuance of a
very difficult and troublesome Command" (IV, p.44).

At one point, Hare carefully summarized his priorities in compiling
this delicate and complex vindication:

The Failures they [the Allies] are charg'd with, are either not
true, or but few, and in Cases where they could not be avoided;
proceeding from their general Weakness and Inability, or from
the Difficulty or Necessity of their Affairs, at some particular
Junctures. Or if there are any Instances that can't be thus
excus'd; yet the late M[insitery have been so far from being
passive under them, that they have always us'd the most proper
Methods to make them act up to their Alliances, and exert
themselves in the most effectual Manner against the Common
Enemy. (III, p.56)

That this clash of loyalties existed at all was sufficient advantage for
Hare's opponents, who were anxious to discredit his vindication as
thoroughly as possible. "It is Pleasant to see how they would Defend
the Allies," a Tory pamphleteer noted, with particular reference to Hare's
tract, "and then fall Foul upon them in Defence of the late Ministry, and
in both quite Overthrow the poor Arguments they bring for continuing the
War." Hare had in effect admitted that "the Burthen of the War" had
chiefly lain upon England, Swift argued; "and is not this the great
Grievance of which the whole Kingdom complains?"  

Hare's old habit of belabouring an opponent with commonplace vituperation
gave his critics a further advantage over him, and one which he could easily
have avoided. The Management of the War had been justifiably criticized
for this failing, and the ridicule had continued with a catalogue of
imaginary books, which included the title,

A full Proof that the Words Villain, Infamous Libeller, Rascally
Prostitute, Notorious Liar, with several other Words never yet
made use of. By a true and modest Divine: But may be us'd by
way of confuting a difficult Argument; and are only to be found in
the Works of one Dr. Francis H-- no Doctor of Physick or Law. 58

But Hare failed to learn his lesson, and by continuing to make liberal
use of such heavy-handed expressions as "monstrous Folly and Absurdity,"
"the wicked Designs of this vile Book," "this infamous Author," etc.,
he did more damage to his own case than to Swift's. The Tory journalists
redoubled their mockery of his "vast Number of polite Epithets and loving
Appellations" and similar "Flowers of his Hair-brain'd Eloquence," and
Swift adopted this same form of disparagement to relieve himself of the
awkward task of answering Hare's really telling criticism of his pamphlet
in detail. The whole tract, he pointed out, was
Interlarded with a thousand Injurious Epithets and Appellations, which heavy Writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of Spirit and Genius they are not born to ... 59

The fact that Hare's pamphlet was approximately four times as long as its rival and close-packed with factual and statistical detail imposed a further strain on the patience of his readers. Hare himself had elsewhere admitted that "few will enter into those Reasonings that consist of a great many Figures." It was not sheer ineptitude which led him to adopt this method of defence. At one point he begged indulgence for undue prolixity on the grounds that his opponent could "crowd more false Things into one Page, then can sometimes be set right in Ten" (II, p.63). A notable example was Swift's casual mention of Marlborough's "Oppressions" in Flanders. The passing phrase created an impression of the general's guilt as a self-evident fact which it took Hare several pages to eradicate (III, pp.44-49). Some reliance on statistical evidence was similarly unavoidable, for only by this means could Swift's account of the defaulting of the Allies be convincingly called in question.

That The Conduct of the Allies could not be effectively answered without this cumbersome defensive apparatus was in itself a tribute to Swift's achievement. There was little risk of the Tory backbenchers, who had found his propaganda so congenial, being influenced by an answer which demanded such patient, unprejudiced, and concentrated attention. The comments of Oldisworth in the Examiner, newly revived for the purpose of dealing with Whig propaganda, would have been a sufficient deterrent to many a potential reader:
It cannot be expected, in such a Paper as this, that I should enter into a long dry train of Argumentation with so wordy a Writer: On the other side, I doubt the Author of the Conduct of the Allies will hardly undertake so Useless an Office. It is enough to give me, and all Men of plain Reason, a Disgust and Prejudice by seeing him Writing in so involved a manner ... 61

The timing and price of the pamphlet were additional practical handicaps related to that of length. Ontoexperience Whig pamphleteer had found that "twice the number will buy a three penny thing than would be a six penny one." 62 Hare's tract, being four times the length of The Conduct of the Allies, was correspondingly more expensive, and the latter was considered by its author dear at a shilling. 63 By the time this defect had been remedied, Swift's pamphlet was also available in a cheaper edition 64 and the damage it had done was past retrieving. In June of the following year, Thomas Burnet noted that

'tis very easie in a Sheet to contain more Plausible Falshoods than shall be Answer'd in Twenty, and whilst the Sheet comes to every ones Hands, the Answer can neither be Bought nor Read by half the People whom those Lies have Deceiv'd; The Conduct of the Allies, may serve as a plain Proof of this Matter. 65

The immediate function of Swift's pamphlet had been to influence the first parliamentary debates over the Mesnager preliminaries, and, as Hare realized, it had been issued in time enough to allow members to study it at their leisure before the session opened, but too late for anyone "to give a timely Answer to it before the Resolutions were taken, which it was designed to influence" (I, p.4). This, combined with the instant popularity of the pamphlet and the fact that it could not be answered hastily or briefly, set Hare an impossible task from the beginning. A strenuous effort enabled him to issue his first section before the vital
debates, but by then *The Conduct of the Allies* had already reached its fifth edition. The second part, containing the first batch of statistics, did not appear for nearly a fortnight, though promised within a few days. The third was kept "a good while from the Press, in expectation of further Light into some Facts" (III, p. 65), and the fourth was not published until the following March, by which time its rival was enjoying a circulation in town and country and abroad which the answer could not hope to match.66

By this time, also, the Whigs had lost the vital first round of the parliamentary battle over the peace terms, and Swift's indictment of Marlborough and the Allies had received official sanction.

The *Examiner* had predicted correctly that Swift would not think it worth his while to answer Hare's criticisms in detail, and Swift himself admitted that it was the pamphlet's practical disadvantage of timing which chiefly convinced him that he could afford to ignore it:

My Book did a World of Mischief (as he calls it) before his first Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the Kingdom, while his limped slowly after, and if it arrived at all, it was too late; for Peoples Opinions were already fixed. 67

The findings of the Commissioners of Public Accounts as they concerned Marlborough were a severe blow to the over-confidence of Sarah and her clients, who had delivered their warnings of the Duke's opposition to the ministry on the assumption that no charge of corruption could ever be sustained against him. Maynwaring, in particular, was appalled, and confessed that at first he had "thought all ruin'd" by this turn of events.68
The Commissioners' findings were first disclosed to Marlborough in November while he was still at The Hague, and he at once dispatched a formal letter of defence in which he admitted having received the sums of money in question, an annual perquisite from the army's bread contractor, Sir Solomon de Medina, but urged precedent in justification. He also mentioned the deduction of two and a half per cent from the pay of the foreign troops, which he was authorized to receive by the Queen's warrant. In further extenuation he claimed that all this money had been used to supplement the parliamentary allowance for the army's secret service, which had never been adequate. 69

Although the Commissioners declined to drop the charges forthwith, the attitude of Oxford and the Queen suggested that the matter would not be pressed unless Marlborough's opposition made it necessary. 70 Yet this was a time of great Whig optimism about the impending debates over the peace, and the first shock of revelation soon gave way to a confidence that the Duke could easily be cleared of the charges against him. Marlborough himself evidently relied on these assurances; he "never had so much Spirit, nor behaved himself so rightly," Maynwaring rejoiced. This enabled Oxford to insinuate that the Duke had joined with the Whigs in opposition to the peace, on the understanding that they would "screen him from the discoveries the Commissioners of Accounts have made." 71

The weapon had now to be put to use in good earnest as a preliminary to Marlborough's dismissal. In many respects, it would have been an
obvious step to prepare the public for the momentous event by means of the press, and there had been occasional references to the Commissioners' findings in print. But considering the importance the affair was assuming, these were remarkable chiefly for what they left unsaid.

Having barely mentioned Marlborough's appropriation of the allowance from the pay of the foreign troops among other charges of corruption in *The Conduct of the Allies*, Swift had declined to enlarge on the subject. Another allusion in a more colourful context a few days later was similarly brief. The public burning of effigies of the pope and the devil in celebration of the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession day (17 November) was a form of mob propaganda hitherto most closely associated with Shaftesbury's efforts to promote the Exclusion Bill and have the Duke of Monmouth proclaimed heir to the throne. Following information that the Whigs planned to adopt the practice as part of their campaign against the Mesnager preliminaries, the ministers took alarm. The militia was called out and the effigies confiscated, the Tory journalists claiming that these were timely precautions against a seditious revival of "the old Shaftesbury-Game." Marlborough had not at first been involved in this controversy. Having landed in England on 17 November, he had purposely deferred his arrival in London until the following morning, in order "to give no Handle for Detraction." But he reckoned without the combined ingenuity of Swift and Mrs. Manley. Their "definitive" account of the abortive demonstration extended the historical parallel to include Shaftesbury's plot to have Monmouth proclaimed King by the mob, and they accounted
for Marlborough's failure to keep his treasonable assignation by explaining that he had been informed of the suppression of the proceedings as soon as he disembarked and told that "he might now take his own Time."

Among the less spectacular activities of the Whiggish rabble, it was claimed, would have been the destruction of the offices of the Commissioners of Public Accounts in Essex Street, "from whence a late Discovery has been made of vast Sums annually received by a Great Man, for his permission to serve the Army with Bread." A week later there was a further reference in the newly revived *Examiner* to a general who "shews his Love to the Army, by getting Five thousand Pound a Year out of the poor Soldiers Bread"; but again no attempt was made to elaborate the charge.

Once parliamentary proceedings had been set in motion, even these glancing allusions ceased. When the Commissioners' Report was presented to the House of Commons on 21 December, a proposal that it be immediately printed was almost unanimously rejected on the grounds that it would amount to a condemnation of those concerned before their defence had been heard. Evidently the Tory backbenchers were determined that there should be no revival of the accusations of injustice which had greeted the publication of their Representation earlier in the year. They were still resentful of the ministry's failure to act on this document, and in no mood to accept the printed word as a substitute for action. One of the resolutions of a pamphlet entitled *The Character and Declaration of the October Club*, which contained an oblique reference to the charges against Marlborough, was that no obstruction from any quarter would prevent this
zealous body from fully investigating the corrupt practices of its opponents, and leaving them "open to Contempt, and the Publick Cognizance of the Law."79 In Marlborough's case this pledge was to be fulfilled.

The Whig pamphleteers felt themselves baulked by this conspiracy of silence of what would have been an excellent opportunity of gaining sympathy for Marlborough and discrediting his accusers. The Observator tried in vain to provoke the Examiner into enlarging upon his first passing remark, 80 but Oldisworth, probably acting under instructions, did not rise to the bait.

There was, however, one important and inevitable lapse from this rigid propriety. Although the Commissioners' Report was not published, the printed Votes of the House of Commons for 22 December recorded the presentation of Medina's deposition,

proving great Sums of Money taken by his Grace John Duke of Marlborough, Adam Cardonnell Esq; his Grace's Secretary, and others, on account of the Contracts for Supplying Bread, and Bread Waggons, to Her Majesty's Forces in the Low-Countries. 81

Since the widely circulated Votes were the basis on which those "without doors" formed their judgments of parliamentary affairs, this single paragraph, as both hostile and sympathetic observers noted, was sufficient to "leave an impression upon people's mind in the country" that Marlborough had been guilty of "notorious bribery"; 82 and since parliamentary consideration of the Report had been deferred until the third week in January and the House adjourned until that time, the impression would have nearly a month to sink in before Marlborough could present his defence. The Duke himself was only too aware of this, and shared Cardonnel's view that they had virtually been condemned unheard by this one item of publicity. 83
To remedy the situation he took a step which removed all restraints from discussion of the subject in the press. His supporters had hitherto been combating unofficial rumours of the Commissioners' findings by distributing manuscript copies of his formal letter of justification. After the publication of the Votes, this limited publicity was clearly no longer sufficient, and on 27 December the letter was printed in the Daily Courant. There is no reason to question the assumption that this action was taken by Marlborough's "Order or Connivance." When the Commissioners brought additional charges against him eighteen months later, he had no hesitation in instructing Craggs to publish his defence, "that I might not suffer by a false accusation."86

On this occasion, however, the publication did him more harm than good. That he should have been compelled to write so conciliatory and self-excusing a letter to his political enemies was taken by one foreign journal as concrete evidence of his loss of power and credit. The reception of the document in England was a foretaste of the partisanship with which the whole enquiry was to be conducted. As the only detailed discussion of the charges against him yet in print, it provoked some criticism of the Commissioners' proceedings in friendly circles. But on the Duke's enemies it made no impression whatever; "the silliest Epistle that could be penn'd," was a typical dismissive verdict. The assurance that the various sums of money had been employed in secret service was simply ignored, and the admission that he had received them at all taken as incontrovertible proof of his guilt. The decision to publish the letter while official proceedings were depending prompted one Tory
journalist to argue that Marlborough had precipitated his own dismissal by appealing "to the Mob" in defiance of Parliament, and that he had thereby confirmed the more spectacular charges of sedition arising from the projected pope-burning ritual. 91

Although the root causes of Marlborough's dismissal of course lay elsewhere, the fact that his letter had called the Commissioners' proceedings in question made it easier to reconcile the public to the event, by providing a watertight excuse for the publication of the Report itself. Within two days it was in print, prefaced by an "Advertisement" which represented the step as an act of common justice to the Commissioners. 92

Unable, after this, to claim that Marlborough had been condemned without having had an opportunity to present his defence, the Observator shifted ground slightly, protesting that it is contrary to Natural Justice, and will be allow'd by no Court in the World, to publish an Accusation depending before them against any Man, till the Matter has been fully heard and try'd; and not then neither, without their Authority, otherwise no Man's Reputation can be safe. 93

It was perfectly true that this printing of the Report was unauthorized. The fact that Marlborough's title was given throughout in the abbreviated form which had become the standard protective device of unofficial party journalists betrayed a consciousness that the proceeding was open to question. In fact, one over-zealous Tory was inclined to believe that the printer's copy had been stolen out of the House of Commons, and even to question its authenticity. Of this, however, there was no doubt. In content, this edition was the same as that later issued with official sanction. 94
Contrary to Marlborough's expectations, the Report did take some account of the points he had offered in his defence, but it did so only in order to reject them. The precedents cited in justification of his allowance from the army's bread contractor were disposed of with the objection that "the Publick, or the Troops, must necessarily suffer in Proportion to every such Perquisite," though no evidence of these sufferings was produced (p. 16). Very little attention was paid to Marlborough's further claim that the sums had been expended on secret service. The deduction from the pay of the foreign troops was a less straightforward matter, since Marlborough had the Queen's warrant authorizing him to receive it. The Commissioners could only argue that this authorization, having been "kept dormant" since the beginning of the war, was of dubious validity, and that in any case the sums were public money and must be accounted for as such (pp. 18-19).

Considered in retrospect, the Commissioners' case against Marlborough is less than impressive. At the time it was bound to be more arresting. "What can it signify for the Commissioners to pretend to lay on him the blemish of being a covetous man, all the world knows it already, and he does not disown it," Watkins grumbled. The accusations, however, were not simply cumulatory in their effect, as this suggests, but confirmatory; the first of multitudinous charges of avarice and corruption to have "the Face of Authentickness and Authority." And they not only confirmed what the hostile pamphleteers had long been claiming of Marlborough's mercenary temper, but gave them fresh material to work on, a fact of which
they were soon to take full advantage.

When Marlborough was dismissed on the last day of the year, the official pretext was the impending parliamentary examination of the Commissioners' findings, and in view of the convenient excuse provided by the Duke himself for the publication of the Report, one passage in Oxford's draft of the Queen's letter of dismissal had a particularly barbed significance:

I am sorry for your own sake the reasons are become so Public which make it necessary for me to let you know you have made it impracticable ... to continue you any longer in my Service.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


F.W. Wyon, on the other hand, argues that Marlborough should have discouraged the activities of his Whig journalistic supporters, missing the point that this was precisely what the Duke had tried to do (*The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne* [1876], II, pp. 327-328).


3. The pamphlet was advertised in the *Daily Courant*, No. 3126 (19 October 1711). The British Museum copy of the second edition bears the manuscript endorsement "By Arthur Maynwaring," and the pamphlet is indeed very similar to another of this period entitled *Three Articles of the Grand Alliance, with the Late Preliminaries of Peace in the Year 1709, and an Account of the Several Successes Gain'd by His Grace the Duke of Marlborough since That Time* (1711), which is attributed to Maynwaring in Oldmixon, *Maynwaring*, p. 248; cf., in particular, *Remarks*, p. 21 with *Three Articles*, p. 15.

4. Ralph Bridges to Trumbull, 5 November 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull Add. MSS 136/1.

5. *A Letter to a High-Churchman, in Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled "Reasons: Why This Nation Should Put a Speedy End to This Expensive War"* (1711), pp. 18-19; for Maynwaring’s share in this pamphlet, see Oldmixon, *Maynwaring*, p. 324.

6. Oldmixon, *Maynwaring*, p. 248. This pamphlet, dated 1711, must have been published after 3/14 November 1711, since it contains a reference (p. 9) to the Paris Gazette of that date, and before the end of November since it is itself mentioned in Political State, II (November 1711), p. 398-399. In the ensuing discussion page references are given parenthetically in the text.


8. The *Vindication* is dated 1711, and must have been published before 27 November, the date of the letter cited in the next note which mentions it. Boyer, in his *Political State*, II (November 1711),
p. 398, says that it was published at about the same time as Remarks upon the Present Negotiations. Page references to the Vindication in the ensuing discussion are given parenthetically in the text.


11. John Bridges to Trumbull, 30 November 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull MSS LIV.

12. Micklethwaite's list of pamphlets, P.R.O. Shaftesbury MSS 30/24/45, Pt. 4, f. 14. Mr. Foot has suggested in The Pen and the Sword, p. 272, that the Vindication be attributed to Boyer in view of his high praise of the pamphlet in Political State, II (November 1711), p. 398; but since it received equally high praise from other readers, this cannot be called conclusive evidence.

13. Hare left Marlborough's camp on 10/21 October 1711, bearing letters from Marlborough to his wife and Godolphin which the Duke could not trust to the post. He landed in England eleven days later and reached London on 23 October; see Marlborough to Sarah, 10/21 October 1711, Blenheim MSS E5; Dawkes's News-letter of 23 October 1711; and Flying-Post, No. 3130 (20-23 October 1711).

14. The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended against France and the Present Friends of France (1711-1712), Pt. IV, pp. 53-57; for a further discussion of this reply to Swift, see pp. 284-290 below.

15. Cf. Remarks upon the Present Negotiations, p. 29.

16. Remarks on a False, Scandalous, and Seditious Libel Intituled "The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry, &c" (1711), Preface; internal evidence suggests Oldmixon as a possible author of this pamphlet. Among other points, there is the comment "the Dutch Barrier is our own" (p. 5), recalling the title of Oldmixon's pamphlet, The Dutch Barrier Our's (1712); the references to Charles Davenant as "Old Double" (pp. 3 and 24), the term used in the Medley, No. 3 (16 October 1710), pp. 24 and 25; the attention drawn to a "Theft from the Medley" (p. 19); and the citing of pamphlets by Maynwaring and Hare, with whom Oldmixon was closely associated.
17. John Bridges to Trumbull, 30 November 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull MSS LIV; for the pamphlet's very thorough suppression, see St John to the Attorney-General, 27 November 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Domestic) 44/111; and L'Hermitage to the States-General, 30 November 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 1767EEE, f.379v.


19. A New Ballad to the Old Turn of "Chevy Chase" [1711], s.sh.; An Excellent New Song, to the Memorable Tune of "Lillibulero" (n.p., [1711]), s.sh.; for the popularity of these two tunes, see Claude M. Simpson, The Broadside Ballad and Its Music (New Brunswick, 1966), pp.96-101 and 449.


21. Reasons Why a Party among Us and Also among the Confederates Are Obstinately Bent against a Treaty of Peace with the French at This Time (1711), pp.6-7.

22. Among other pamphlets of this period, Defoe published The Ballance of Europe, or an Enquiry into the Respective Dangers of Giving the Spanish Monarchy to the Emperor as well as to King Philip (published on 1 November 1711), and An Essay at a Plain Exposition of That Difficult Phrase, a Good Peace (published on 8 November 1711); see Moore, Checklist, p.90, Items 219 and 221.

23. This pamphlet, dated 1711 and advertised in the Flying-Post, No.3146 (29 November-1 December 1711), was an answer to Defoe's Reasons Why This Nation Ought to Put a Speedy End to This Expensive War, as well as to the two pamphlets cited in the previous note. For an attribution to the Tory author, William Wagstaffe, belied by the pamphlet's strong attack on the ministerial peace negotiations, see Samuel Halkett and John Laing, Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (Edinburgh, 1882-1888; revised 1926-1934), I, p.306; and Morgan, Bibliography, II, p.266, Item N635.


25. Davenant's pamphlet is quoted in The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt IV, p.65; for the French King's letter, see Management of the War, pp.8-9; Hare's use of the Resolution in the Management of the War is discussed pp.125-126, n.94 above.
26. Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.5; all subsequent references to this pamphlet, published on 27 November 1711, and fully titled The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War, are to this edition; in the following discussion page references are given parenthetically in the text.


29. Apart from the evidence of the long-standing popularity of the Management of the War already noticed, the fact that a reissue of An Examination of "The Management of the War" and An Examination of the Third and Fourth Letters to a Tory Member was advertised in the Post-Boy, No.2557 (29 September - 2 October 1711), under the title, Remarks upon Dr. Hare's Four Letters to a Tory Member, is a further indication that Hare's pamphlets had retained their influence throughout the period of the secret peace negotiations.

30. Mr. Foot argues in The Pen and the Sword, p.294, that "the supreme conclusion" of The Conduct of the Allies was that "Marlborough must be destroyed"; but the title of the pamphlet alone suggests that the Allies were Swift's main target; see also Coombs, Conduct of the Dutch, p.380, for the observation that Mr. Foot does less than justice to this aspect of Swift's propaganda.


32. Post-Boy, No.2583 (29 November - 1 December 1711); [Oldmixon?], Remarks on a False, Scandalous, and Seditious Libel, Preface.


37. The Character of an Ill-Court-Favourite (1708), p.19.

38. The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt.IV, p.75.

39. The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt.IV, pp.21-23.

40. Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty between Her Majesty and the States-General (1712), in Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.96; the connection between the Conduct of the Allies and the official proceedings against Marlborough is further discussed pp.319-322 below; for the parliamentary confirmation of Swift's case against the Allies, see Prose Works, VI, p.xiv.

41. The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt.IV, pp.55-56.

42. To Coningsby, 27 November 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 57861, f.170v; see also G.S. Holmes, "The Commons' Division on 'No Peace without Spain,' 7 December 1711," B.I.H.R., XXXIII (1960), pp.229-230.


44. Daily Courant, No.3166 (5 December 1711); [David Jones], A Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1711 (1711), p.399, quoting the Preface to a broadside edition of the Memorial.

45. A Letter from a Whig Gentleman in the Country to His Friend in Town (1712), pp.3-7 (advertised, Post Boy, No.2598, 3-5 January 1711/2); Respectful Observations on a Late Print Call'd a Memorial (1712), pp.5-6 (advertised, Post Boy, No.2599, 5-8 January 1711/2). The Electoral Court did in fact deny authorizing the publication of the Memorial, and Strafford insinuated that Marlborough had advised its printing; see the Electress Sophia
to Strafford, 28 December 1711/8 January 1712, Original Papers Containing the Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover, ed. James Macpherson (1775), II, pp.346-347; and Strafford to St John, 18/29 December 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Foreign) 84/240, f.249.


47. For the critical view of the Queen's speech, voiced by Cowper, see Hamilton's Diary, 10 December 1711, Herts R.O. Panshanger MSS D/EP F207, f.33. For examples of the pamphleteers' exploitation of it, see [Daniel Defoe], No Queen or No General (1712), p.3; [Francis Hoffman], The True Copy of a Paper Stuck upon the D. M----'s Gate at St. James's on Saturday Last, Being the Day of Her Majesty's Accession to the Crown (1712), s.sh.; Post Boy, No.2638 (5-8 April 1712).


49. This publication bears the imprint of "the Survivors of Thomas Newcomb, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty."


51. There was advance notice of the publication of Hare's detailed answer to the Conduct of the Allies in Remarks upon a False, Scandalous, and Seditious Libel, p.1; and it was recommended as a definitive work on the subject in the Observator, X, No.102 (19-22 December 1711); Flying-Post, No.3156 (22-25 December 1711); Medley, No.2 (3-7 March 1712); and A Letter from a Tory Freeholder to His Representative in Parliament (1712), p.25. Volume and page references to The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended in the ensuing discussion are given parenthetically in the text.

52. The "List of the Troops in the Pay of Her Majesty and the States-General, that have been Employ'd in the Low-Countries during the Present War," printed in the second edition of The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt.II, pp.73-80 is identical to that among Craggs' papers, B.M. Stowe MSS 246, ff.21v-23v. As in the past, Hare had Maynwaring's assistance in the revision of his pamphlets for the press; see Oldmixon, Maynwaring, p.203.

54. For Hare's opinion of the Dutch, see his letter of [November? 1705], B.H. Add. MSS 9114, ff.210v-211; but there are scathing comments about the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy in letters to Naylor of 11 June 1708 and 5 June 1710, H.M.C. Hare MSS, pp.216 and 230.

55. See, The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended, Pt.II, pp.36 and 62 for Hare's qualified acknowledgement of the shortcomings of the Portuguese and the Dutch; Pt.III, pp.6 and 52 for similar comments about the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire.

56. [Charles Leslie], Natural Reflections upon the Present Debates about Peace and War (1712), pp.17-18.

57. Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, in Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.95.


59. Examiner, II, No.5 (27 December [1711] - 3 January 1711/2); [Leslie], Natural Reflections, p.66; Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, in Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.95.

60. Bouchain; in a Dialogue between the Late Medley and Examiner (1711), p.37.


63. Letter of 5 December 1711, Journal to Stella. II, p.430. The first part of The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended bears no price, but the other three cost one shilling each.

64. The ninety-five page pamphlet, A Full Answer to "The Conduct of the Allies" (1712: advertised, Post-Man, No.2110, 20-22 March 1712) is sometimes attributed to Hare (see, Morgan, Bibliography, II, p.309, Item 0309); but although it is largely a digest of
Hare's pamphlets, it seems to have been compiled independently, since on the final page the author acknowledges his debt to those who have written on the same subject before him. This pamphlet cost a shilling, but before the end of December 1711 the sixpenny fifth edition of the Conduct of the Allies had been issued and four thousand copies circulated; see Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.ix.

65. The True Character of an Honest Man, Particularly with Relation to the Public Affairs, Dedicated to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough (1712), p.19; for the authorship and publication date of this pamphlet, see Letters of Thomas Burnet, p.296.

66. The first part of The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended was advertised in the Daily Courant, No.3168 (7 December 1711); the second in the Daily Courant, No.3180 (21 December 1711); the third in the Spectator, No.296 (8 February 1712); and the fourth in the Spectator, No.318 (5 March 1712). There were three editions of the first part, two of the second, but apparently no further editions of the last two. For the circulation of the Conduct of the Allies, see Swift, Prose Works, VI, p.ix.


68. To Coningsby, 27 November 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 57861, f.170.

69. Coxe, III, pp.262-263; in a letter to Oxford of 30 October / 10 November 1711, Coxe, III, pp.263-264, Marlborough appealed to him to lay the matter fairly before the Queen.


71. Maynwaring to Coningsby, 27 November 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 57861, f.170; Thomas Bateman to Trumbull, 19 November 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull MSS LI; Oxford to Strafford, 8 December 1711, Bolingbroke Corr., II, p.49.


73. Post Boy, Nos. 2578 (17-20 November 1711), and 2579 (20-22 November 1711); Dyer's News-Letter of 17 November 1711, printed in the Flying-Post No.3149 (6-8 December 1711).
74. [Francis Hare], *The Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough during the Present War* (1712), p.309.

75. A True Relation of Several Facts and Circumstances of the Intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-Day (1711), pp. 10-12 (advertised, Post-Boy, No.2582, 27-29 November 1711); for Swift's admission that Mrs. Manley wrote this pamphlet on his instructions see the letter of 26 November 1711, Journal to Stella, I, p.421.


77. L'Hermitage to the States-General, 28 December 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 17677FFF, f.15.


79. This pamphlet is dated 1711 and was advertised in the Post Boy, No.2588 (11-13 December 1711); the quotation is from p.6.

80. X, No.102 (19-22 December 1711).


84. John Bridges to Trumbull, 30 November 1711, Berks R.O. Trumbull MSS LIV.

85. No.3184 (27 December 1711).

86. Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne Digested into Annals, X* (1712), p.300; Marlborough to Craggs, 26 April/7 May 1713, B.M. Stowe MSS 751, f.37v.


89. The Perquisite-Monger, or the Rise and Fall of Ingratitude (1712), p.23.


91. The Comparison, or Whiggish Fulsom Flattery Exemplified in His G— the D— of M— (1712), pp.3-4.

92. The Report of the Commissioners for Taking, Examining, and Stating the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom (n.p., 1711); for the publication of this document on 29 December 1711, see Political State, II, (December 1711), p.464.

93. XI, No.4 (9-12 January 1712).

94. The Well-Bread Account Fairly Stated between the Contractors and a Late Discarded General [1712], p.5. A second edition of the Report was printed in February 1712 by order of the House of Commons.

95. For Marlborough's initial anxiety that the Commissioners would frame their accusations without mentioning the points he had offered in his defence, see Cowper's letter to "a leading member of the House of Commons," 19 December 1711, printed by John, Lord Campbell, in The Lives of the Lord Chancellors (1845-1869), IV, p.332. Marlborough's letter of defence, however, was in full on pp.7-15 on the Report, and then subjected to a point-by-point examination. Page references to the Report are given parenthetically in the text in the ensuing discussion.

96. To Drummond, 3/14 December 1711, B.M. Add. MSS 33273, f.156v.

97. Political State, II (December 1711), p.480.

98. Political State, II (December 1711), pp.480-481.

Chapter VII

"THE RESULT OF FOURTEEN CURIOUS EYES"

There can be no doubt that many people were unprepared for the news of Marlborough's dismissal. Defoe found that it was received among the general populace with "an Air of Surprize," the commonest questions being, "why this upon the D— ? What has his Grace done?" The reasons for "this surprizing Removal" of the Duke, another pamphleteer noted, at once became a matter for general speculation, and even the Examiner was obliged to proceed on the assumption that most people would not be well-informed on the subject.²

Perhaps this reaction was in itself scarcely surprising, in view of the little explicit indication in recent ministerial propaganda that the dismissal was being seriously contemplated. Whig rumours, in fact, had maintained that Marlborough was to be appointed one of the plenipotentiaries for the coming peace negotiations.³ There is a temptation to see the entire Tory press campaign against the Duke of the previous months as long-term preparation for his dismissal, but it is evident that the many whom the blow took unawares had not seen it in this light. Even Boyer, who did make the connection, was showing wisdom after the event:

The Duke had, indeed, for so many Months past, been so openly attack'd, and run down in Printed Libels and Pamphlets, with all the Bitterness of Malice and Satyr, by the Scribblers of a Party; who, either were in, or endeavour'd to curry Favour with Men in Power, that His Grace's Removal could not but be resolv'd upon: But yet, the same had been so long delay'd, and was now so sudden, that it occasion'd almost as general a Surprize, as if it had been altogether unforeseen. ⁴

Marlborough had not only been stripped of his offices on the pretext
of the Commissioners' findings, but now faced parliamentary action, which, it was rumoured, would extend to impeachment and resumption of all his royal grants. His enemies could therefore evade charges and injustice and ingratitude only by persuading those who were genuinely bewildered about the reasons for the Duke's disgrace, that he deserved this summary treatment. The mere fact of his dismissal, however, gave them the initial advantage of a receptive audience. "It's merry to hear the common herd canvassing the Reasons of his Fall," a Whig pamphleteer bitterly commented, "It must be some great Crime, says one, that has lost him such a Post. There is more at the Bottom than is come to light. Wait with a little Patience, and you shall hear more of it."  

Several writers favoured the verse fable, long considered an ideal medium for the discreet and inoffensive discussion of state affairs, as a means of tackling this subject. It allowed for the convenient oversimplification of a complex issue, and its characteristic "familiar Images and Fictions" were a gentle means of introducing the startling doctrine that Marlborough deserved the most summary treatment.  

There was often very little attempt to adapt the contemporary situation completely to the idiom of the fable. In one example, Marlborough's case was embodied in that of a leopard committed for "formal Tryal" by an assembly of his fellow beasts for the receiving of illicit perquisites. In another, he figured as a bear who was spared the death sentence for his pilfering from a hen-roost, but was ordered to refund all former rewards and grants and threatened with imprisonment in the Tower. But the most popular example of this propaganda was the Fable of the Widow and Her Cat, in
the transformation from the political to the domestic situation was entertainingly complete. Marlborough's perquisite became the mouser's stolen cream, and his punishment was to be "worry'd" by the watch-dog, Towzer, not only the cat's natural chastizer, but an apt representation of the Tory Commons and their zealous guardianship of the public money. This comparison of Marlborough's alleged embezzlements with the pilfering and stealing of the common thief was, in an age of savage penalties for such offences, an obvious means of reducing the general's stature, and of inculcating the notion that he deserved a severer punishment than dismissal. The Examiner also took up the analogy:

We find Criminals at the Old Baily guilty to the Value of 10d. or 13d. and they are accordingly either whipped or hanged; whilst he who defrauds a Nation, through the greatness of the Attempt, becomes secure.

And in this and the two further issues of the Examiner published before the Commons' consideration of Marlborough's case, Oldisworth recommended that the Duke should at least be made to refund his ill-gotten wealth. Another pamphleteer, more rabidly hostile, argued that it may be Mercy, perhaps, to grant an Highway-Man his Pardon; but 'tis but Justice to deliver a Plunderer of the Public, an universal Robber of his Country, to the severest Punishment.

Such offenders must "Refund their Pillage" or be "Accountable with their Heads." At the same time, there appeared separate and detailed lists of Marlborough's legitimate sources of income. This form of propaganda, which a later biographer dismissed as having "neither Sense, Wit, nor any Thing else to recommend it," was in fact one of the trump cards of the Duke's
accusers. In the first place, as the Examiner pointed out, Marlborough's "many warrantable ways ... of getting" made his appropriation of the dubious allowances challenged by the Commissioners seem the more unjustifiable.

More important, this evidence of the massive salaries and rewards which Marlborough had received for his services enabled the pamphleteers to argue that his misdemeanours could now be punished in the same way as those of a common offender, without the imputation of ingratitude. The three fables made this point, and on the very day of the Commons' debate on the Commissioners' findings, the Post-Boy gave it the dignity of a maxim of state, arguing that

in a well-instituted State no Man's good Actions should indemnify him for doing ill; for Punishment being as due to ill Actions, as Rewards are to good, having rewarded a Man for doing well, he is satisfy'd for what he did, and the Obligation is discharg'd; so as if afterwards he commits a Crime, he is to be punish'd severely according to the Nature of his Offence ...

After such publicity, the Commons' proceedings of 24 January 1712 were something of an anticlimax. The large Tory majority voted the perquisite on the bread contract illegal and unwarrantable and the deductions from the pay of the foreign troops public money and to be accounted for, but further action was left to the Queen's discretion. There was no move towards the threatened impeachment and resumption. A number of Whig fables now appeared, suggesting that the Queen would reprieve her former favourite in consideration of his merit, and one of them, derisively entitled Where's Your Impeachment Now?, argued that the failure to proceed further against Marlborough amounted to an acquittal. Ridpath also taunted his opponents
with the non-fulfilment of their vindictive predictions and hoped that the
disappointment would "blunt the keen Malice of the Examiner and his Masters." 17
In fact it had the opposite effect, and the reasons are not difficult to
determine.

The truth was that for all the pamphleteers' assiduous preparation,
impeachment, with its open invitation to clamours of ingratitude and ill-
treatment, was still too dangerous a weapon to use against Marlborough. As
Archbishop King wrote to Swift,

no body seems to say anything against her Majesty laying aside the
Duke of M[arlborough], that being her prerogative, but if an
Impeachment had followed I know not how it would have been, I
believe it is wisdom to stop where things are as to him ... 18

To reinforce the point, the Whig pamphleteers had hit upon the device of
publishing excerpts from the repeated parliamentary tributes to Marlborough's
achievements, and the Observator argued that the existing Parliament would
not dare to proceed with an impeachment in the face of such testimonies. 19
Although the Tory journalists were prepared to argue that these tributes had
been gained by bribery and were therefore worthless, St John privately
acknowledged that parliamentary prosecution of the Duke was quite out of the
question. 20

Yet this meant that Marlborough could continue to use his still
considerable influence in opposition to the ministry's schemes, and Whig
journalists were already beginning to hint that he would survive to overthrow
his persecutors. 21 Some method of dealing with him, safer and more subtle
than official procedures, would have to be found. "They have done with my
Lord Malborough tis thought, but design to keep him quiet," an observer
commented shrewdly a few days after the debate. The press was to be a primary instrument of this policy.

The Commons' votes of censure had, as the ministers intended, rendered the Duke officially "accountable for great sums," and it was expected that the threat of being obliged to refund would now be allowed to "hang over his head to keep him in awe." It was not until April that the Attorney-General received the Queen's orders to prosecute the Duke for the recovery of the deductions from the pay of the foreign troops, and five months passed before any further action was taken. Swift confirmed the purpose of these delaying tactics. The matter, he explained, was very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's Indulgence to One whom She had formerly so much trusted; or perhaps to be revived or slackened according to the future Demeanour of the Defendant.

Meanwhile the task of the pamphleteers was to disabuse those who had assumed the absence of immediate action to be tantamount to an acquittal, and to keep the intimidating prospect of prosecution before Marlborough himself.

The most elaborate and entertaining of the resulting publications was Wagstaffe's immensely popular *Story of the St. Alban's Ghost*. A favourite Tory device for discrediting the Marlboroughs had been to represent Sarah's mother, Mrs. Jennings, as a disreputable sorceress, one of whose feats of clairvoyance had been the prediction that her famous son-in-law's avarice and ambition would eventually bring him to the block. The climax of Wagstaffe's pamphlet was a dramatic adaptation of this tradition to current Tory purposes. A conclave of the Marlboroughs and their Whig associates, represented in low-life allegory, is visited by the grotesque apparition of
of Mrs. Jennings ("Mother Haggy"), who recalls her earlier prophecies, but now reveals that the Queen will spare the Duke's life and estates; within "a few revolving Moons," however, all his ready money will have to be refunded.\(^{26}\)

An unashamedly Jacobite variation on this theme was a dialogue in which the Duke, apprehensive that "old Mother Jen[ning]gs's Prophecie" may yet be fulfilled, confesses his sins to a Jacobite priest. These include the "base Practices at Home and Abroad (which this Ridiculous H[ousl of C[ommons] are Impertinently prying into)," and as proof of his incorrigibly venal nature, he attempts to bribe the priest to give him an easy absolution. But the latter, reinforcing Tory doctrine with scriptural authority, insists that only complete restitution of the money involved can atone for the crime.\(^{27}\)

Not all hostile pamphleteers confined their hints to the impending prosecution. One of Francis Hoffman's numerous broadsides cryptically predicted that the penalties in store for the Marlboroughs and Godolphin would extend to execution, as well as the forfeiture of their corruptly acquired wealth.\(^{28}\) Even more alarming were the Examiner's threats; since they were not only seriously and directly delivered, but came from a recognized ministerial spokesman. Oldisworth was quick to realize the value of the Post Boy's maxim concerning the proper apportioning of rewards and punishments, and used it to introduce his own recommendations of the severest punishment for the Duke.\(^{29}\) The point was reinforced by the publication of a second edition of the lists of the Duke's incomes, this time with full details of the Commissioners' findings added; and so, when an order from the Queen went out to the Attorney-
General to prosecute the Duke, Oldisworth could argue that it was the Duke himself who deserved to be termed ungrateful, for cheating the nation which had so bountifully repaid his services.\textsuperscript{31} Arbuthnot, too, joined in the cry. When John Bull, having come to his senses at least, denounces the corrupt practices of his lawyer and promises "a Day of Reckoning for all that Proceeding," he first mentions the ample fees and presents which should have obliged Hocus to treat his client more fairly.\textsuperscript{32}

But the usefulness of the press as a means of keeping Marlborough quiet was not confined to the delivery of these threats. It was in itself an excellent substitute for the official action which could not be safely undertaken. If the Duke could not be silenced completely by means of impeachment, he could at least be publicly discredited as a ministerial opponent. The pamphleteers not being bound, as those conducting a parliamentary prosecution would have been, to confine their examinations to the exact contents of the Report, were free to elaborate the charges against him into a system of war-profiteering which would leave him no credit as an opponent of the peace.

Marlborough himself could be expected to find such a press campaign at least as severe a personal ordeal as further official action. The journalists would not be obliged to deliver their strictures against him with the "great deference and Encomiums" which had been considered necessary to give the Commons' proceedings an air of propriety.\textsuperscript{33} Admittedly their activities would in themselves not put his head at risk or deprive him of his personal fortune, but Steele almost certainly had Marlborough in mind
when he reminded the party satirists that there were some among their
victims who would "rather lose a considerable Sum of Mony or even Life
it self, than be set up as a Mark of Infamy and Derision."

In fact the press campaign which followed would have been sufficient
to intimidate a man less sensitive to such treatment than Marlborough. The
pamphleteers took full advantage of their freedom from official restrictions,
and the sudden increase in the volume and virulence of their propaganda
shocked even those who were case-hardened by long personal involvement in
such controversies. "Would any one have believed but some few Months ago,"
the editor of the Medley wrote incredulously in May,

[that] there could ever have come a Time when the Duke of Marlborough
should be represented as an ignorant treacherous Coward, as a Robber
of his Soldiers, as a Deserter of his Religion, and a false Traytor
both to his Queen and Country? And yet the Time is come, when not
only such things are said of him, but Men are caressed and rewarded
for no other Reason, but because they have the Impudence to spread
abroad such scandalous Reports. 35

The first item of the Report was an obvious and promising starting-
point. "Bread is so popular a Word, that the very Name of it to their
Prejudice is enough to set the Multitude against the General," a Whig
pamphleteer later commented, "and his Enemies have made the most of it
their Rage and Malice cou'd invent." 36

Whig pamphleteers were justifying Marlborough's perquisite, not
only by citing the similar practices of his immediate predecessors, but by
pointing out that the custom of allowing and receiving perquisites was
commonplace in many trades and professions. These, it was felt, were
precedents which would convince all ranks of society of the normality of
Marlborough's conduct. The Observator welcomed one such vindication, which employed an analogy from the servants' hall, because it was suited to the capacities of the common people; another pamphleteer reviewed similar customs among farmers and tradesmen, in order "to make the Country-People understand this Matter the better."\(^{37}\)

The Commissioners, however, had already disallowed precedent as a justification of Marlborough's particular allowance, on the grounds that the troops must have suffered "in Proportion to every such Perquisite," and the Tory pamphleteers were quick to take up this hint. By the simple device of ignoring the words "in Proportion," which were in effect an admission that these sufferings must have been minimal, if existent at all, they transformed a minor charge of dubious financial practice into a major accusation of greed and inhumanity, against which there could be no possible defence. The Tory press was soon replete with clamours that the Duke had "starved" or at least "half-starved" his troops in order to enrich himself.

In successive issues of the Examiner, Marlborough was condemned for converting "BREAD, defrauded from poor half famished Soldiers, into a new Name of a PERQUISITE; a Word lately invented to soften the greatest Injustice, which had never yet any Precedent, and I hope never will"; for making war "a double Curse" by adding "Famine to Slaughter" and depriving the soldiers of their very means of subsistence; and the opening of the campaign under Ormond's command was celebrated on behalf of "the poor half starved Soldiers," who would now be secure from "Fraud and Oppression."\(^{38}\) An accusation which depended so much on flat assertion
and vehement repetition was also readily adaptable to ballad and other verse forms:

From Heroes, whose honour immortal is fled:
From starving poor Soldiers, curtailing their Br[ea]d;
Which was certainly done there's no more to be said.

Libera Nos. 39

The second of the Commissioners' charges against Marlborough lent itself to a similar form of damaging modification at the hands of the Tory versifiers. The complex arguments concerning the deduction from the pay of the foreign troops were resolved into the simple accusation that the general had cheated his men of their pay. This not only gave the impression that English as well as foreign troops were involved, but disregarded the fact that the point at issue was not the legitimacy of the deduction (it was in fact continued under Ormond's command), but simply whether or not the sums concerned constituted public money.

The fact that this deduction was also the point of contact between the Report and The Conduct of the Allies provided an even more promising means of increasing the seriousness of the Commissioners' charges. The two publications were in fact mutually complementary. If the Commissioners' support of this one aspect of Swift's case against Marlborough encouraged the assumption that it was correct in other matters, Swift's citing of the deduction of two and a half per cent as one of the considerations which had induced the general to overlook the failings of the Allies immeasurably increased the scope and significance of the Report. The deduction, and indeed all the practices
censured by the Commissioners, could now be represented, not as isolated and relatively minor examples of war-profiteering, but as instances of the vast and complex network of corruption, for the maintenance of which Marlborough had consented to sacrifice his country's interests to those of the Allies.

This was certainly the view put forward by Oldisworth, and if it were accepted by his readers, it would dispose once and for all of Whig complaints that Marlborough was being called to account for "a few singular Crimes" and "trifling financial irregularities," which should never have been allowed to stand in the balance with his military merit. A sample of the bribery for which Marlborough had supposedly acquiesced in the ruin of his country could not be called trifling, nor could he claim exemption from British justice for victories, which, according to the doctrines of *The Conduct of the Allies*, had served only to enrich the Allies:

> Our G[enera]l hath ... been Victorious, but for whom? we are poorer at the end of a ten Years successful War, than we could have been by being only fairly Beaten ... What Territories, what Cities, remain to us? What Spoils do we see brought into our Treasury, in recompence for our Mony so profusely lavished? Contingencies, Perquisites and Secret Service, are sufficient Monopolies. The Allies and the Grand Alliance, are formidable Things. The Empire and Holland are in Possession of all the new Conquests; we have nothing to boast of but successful Beggary, of being Farmed, Mortgaged, Pawned, Sold, drawn down to the lowest Ebb of Misery ...

Such propaganda amounted, in the apt analogy of the *Observator*, to a form of ostracism. "When we reflect," Oldisworth continued in the same issue of the *Examiner*, "may we not well ask, Was this Man born among us?" And he later claimed that many readers of *The Conduct of the Allies* had at first refused to believe that the Allied impositions described by Swift could have been permitted while an Englishman commanded the army; "can there be any
Sentence too heavy for him, who hath been the Guardian of his Countries
Honour and Welfare, yet gives up both in exchange for Mony, which he does not
want?"  

The subtlest and most elaborate reworking of this theme was
Arbuthnot's contrasting characterization of John Bull and his corrupt lawyer,
Hocus. It needs no emphasis that John Bull, the "plain-dealing," free-
spending tradesman, courageous and apt at business, but quick-tempered
and easily imposed upon, was intended as "a personification of the English
people"; and the most outstanding qualities attributed to Marlborough
in past Tory propaganda appeared in the matching character-sketch of
Hocus, the cunning, avaricious, "smooth-tongu'd" attorney, who "seldom
lost his Temper," but was of such dubious professional ability that he
had to leave the direct handling of cases to underlings. By this time,
the insinuation that the Duke owed his reputation for generalship and
personal courage entirely to his subordinates was being made quite openly.
But these qualities were notable, not only because they identified
Marlborough closely, in Tory eyes, with his allegorical counterpart,
but because they were precisely contrary in each case to the personal
traits of John Bull, even though the latter was said to be his lawyer's
"old Friend and Relation." The point thus made is akin to that of
the Examiner: Marlborough, although an Englishman by birth, was in
character an alien among his countrymen.

As the tale of the lawsuit unfolds, it becomes apparent that
Hocus's actions are thoroughly in keeping with his character. He is not
only lining his pockets at the expense of his "old Friend and Relation,"
but is in agreement with Nicholas Frog (the Dutch) to cast the ruinous
burden of litigation upon Bull, even while using his specious eloquence
to persuade the latter that Frog is on the verge of destitution. 48

These facts established, Hocus's appeal to Bull not to put a premature
end to the lawsuit, in a speech which begins and ends with elaborate
professions of loyalty to his client ("as I hop'd to be sav'd I would do
any thing to serve you ...", "let me be Damn'd if you have a Friend in the
World that loves you better than I ..."), becomes the supreme illustration
of the lawyer's plausible duplicity. 49 The very terms in which these
professions are introduced would have been sufficient guides to their
insincerity, even without prior information of Hocus's trickery. It was a
well-known personal mannerism of the Duke to preface his most untrustworthy
protestations with vehement oaths of this kind. An acquaintance recalled
that Marlborough habitually avoided strong language, except when swearing to
"a Political lye," and then "his Oath would be God for ever confound my
Soul, if —." The French foreign minister remarked on the same characteristic
after an interview with the Duke in 1709, and Arbuthnot himself elsewhere
claimed that "immoderate Swearing" in a statesman was the invariable
accompaniment of "Lyes in Matter of Fact." 50

The speech as a whole was of course a parody of Marlborough's
contribution to the Lords' debate of 7 December 1711, 51 but it was also,
in the patent insincerity of the professions of friendship to John Bull,
a mockery of the Duke's long-standing and much-valued pretensions to be
"a good Englishman."
Perhaps the most unscrupulous aspect of the propaganda based on the Commissioners' findings was the inclusion of matters which had been under examination but, for want of evidence, never added to the official indictment.

The day after the Commons had passed their votes of censure, it was rumoured that,

yet they have not done with his Grace, and there are other things that will lye heavy upon him, particularly the loss of great numbers of men, for want of hospitals and surgeons, which being chargeable he took for himself the money which should have maintained them. 52

Yet in 1713, when the Commissioners published details of financial abuses in the care of the wounded, these were confined almost entirely to the Spanish theatre of war, and no blame was attached to Marlborough even indirectly.53 The natural inference is that no evidence had come to light to support the charge.

Nevertheless, it was a more damming topic than either of the official charges, and the rumour of the Commissioners' investigations, together with the instances they had already produced of Marlborough's "oppression" of his troops gave a kind of plausibility and sanction to the discussion of it by the party journalists, who were not bound to furnish objective proof of their accusations. The Examiner was soon giving it the same status as the contents of the Report, and in a manner which suggested that a man guilty of such practices was an alien, not only among his own countrymen, but among all humankind.

Two successive issues were concerned with a dream-vision, in which the central figure was the automaton-like "Man of Gold," motivated entirely by avarice and ingratitude and therefore indifferent to "the
Miseries of Mankind." Among his crimes was that just attributed to Marlborough:

the Field of Victory, in which other Nations us'd to rejoice, became, by his Parsimony, the greatest Cause of Misery to the Legions that had Conquered; who lay mangled and expiring together on heaps, for want of those Necessaries which should preserve their Lives. The Man of Gold did not, in a long time, allow a flying Hospital in his Camp; whence those who were wounded often chose rather to expire upon the Place of Battle, than to be thrown together in rude manner, and laid on unseasie Carts or Waggons, with their Limbs shattered, and Bodies dismember'd, to be convey'd many Leagues off, with smarting, gaping Wounds, there to seek an uncertain Cure, in distant Hospitals. 54

The graphic and detailed description suggested the writer's personal knowledge and conviction of the truth of the charge, and at the same time it was calculated to arouse such a sense of outrage against Marlborough as to make rational consideration of the matter impossible. The suggestion that his avarice had worsened the human suffering which was the inevitable accompaniment of victory was also designed to destroy any remaining admiration readers might have had for his military achievements.

The climax of the unscrupulous use of this topic came in a pretended address to the Attorney-General in April. Although Oldisworth must have been well aware that the orders to prosecute Marlborough related only to the deduction from the pay of the foreign troops, he affected to believe that "several Sums of Publick Money" were involved, and this allowed him to place the alleged appropriation of the hospital funds first on the list. Having provided further and even more terrible details of the sufferings supposedly so caused, Oldisworth could then give the actual matter of the prosecution a greater impact by representing it as the final outrage in Marlborough's
ill-treatment of his men. Those who had survived the hardships of the aftermath of battle, it was claimed, then had to submit to being "taxed in their Pay." This was simply a reversion to the misleading simplification already made familiar by the Tory versifiers.  

Another matter in which, according to Bishop Burnet, Marlborough's accusers "were confident that some discoveries would be made to his prejudice," was the practice of profit-making on the sale of his officers' commissions. But although the Duke's consistent denials of the charge were supported by the fact that no evidence against him was officially brought forward, this did not prevent the pamphleteers from treating the matter as if his guilt were already established. Those who accepted the two charges brought by the Commissioners would have little difficulty in convicting him of another, whether or not proof of it were produced. Swift's *Fable of Midas* included "Places and Commissions sold" in the same category as the "Pensions, Bribes, and three per Cent" (the last item presumably a modification of the two and a half per cent deduction to suit the verse form), with which the Report had been concerned; and in the printed lists of the Duke's incomes, the amounts received "from Officers and others for Employments" appeared along with the sums challenged by the Commissioners, among the illicit profits Marlborough was supposed to have made from his commands.  

By this time, the list of such profits was so extensive as to give rise to a general taunt that Marlborough had fought "but as others Merchandize," making "What was an Art become a Trade." It was this view
which gave a kind of logic to the insinuations of personal cowardice, by now inseparable from the charges of war-profiteering. For if avarice were the vice of the petty tradesman and inconsistent with a truly heroic nature, a general who engaged in war solely for profit-making purposes could not be supposed capable of real courage. In any case, he could only be sure of enjoying his profits if he took care not to expose himself to the normal hazards of his profession; hence the Examiner's paradox that Marlborough "loved War, though he hated Fighting." This in turn, as Oldisworth pointed out in his address to the Attorney-General, set the Duke's corrupt practices in an even more serious light, since it was to the officers and the troops whom he had defrauded and ill-used in so many ways, that he owed what professional reputation he had acquired.

A parliamentary incident soon illustrated how ready Marlborough's enemies were to accept the proposition that his interest in the war was mercenary to the exclusion of all humane considerations, and to use it to discredit his opposition to the ministry's schemes. In the Lords' debate of 28 May, Marlborough led the Whig attack against Ormond's conduct of the campaign under the notorious Restraining Orders, and so drew the fire of the ministry's supporters. Argyll's outspoken criticism of the Duke's own conduct during his last campaigns emboldened Lord Poulett to remark that although Ormond did not lack courage for necessary fighting,

he was not like a certain General, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head in a battle, or against stone walls, in order to fill his pockets, by disposing of their commissions. 60
After the debate Poulett was visited by Lord Mohun, who informed him that Marlborough expected "satisfaction" for the insult. It was later remarked that the "repeated Indignities, and Insults" which the Duke had had to suffer not only from "vile Libellers, (below his Grace's Notice)," but even from "Men of Birth and Figure," to some extent justified this reaction. When, after the panic-stricken intervention of Poulett's wife, the Duke received the Queen's orders to pursue the quarrel no further, he obeyed only under protest.

On Poulett's instructions, the episode was not referred to in the Examiner or elsewhere in print. He was probably anxious not to provoke the Whig pamphleteers to comment on an affair which did him little credit in any of its circumstances. But this did not prevent privileged circles from extracting the maximum enjoyment from it at Marlborough's expense. Cardonnel's assumption that even the Duke's enemies must "in their consciences" condemn Poulett's insult is certainly not borne out by a copy of some manuscript verses in Swift's handwriting, which were probably circulated among ministerial supporters after the debate. They begin by drawing attention to Argyll's initial criticism of Marlborough's generalship and draw the conclusion that he had challenged Poulett out of cowardice, as the less formidable opponent for single combat. This in turn serves to introduce a neat summary of all the journalistic variations on the Commissioners' charges:

... a wise General may in camps delight,
For better reasons than himself to fight.
With the poor Soldiers blood the battle's won,
Whilst he in safety claims the Victor's crown,
Whilst he ungrateful robs them of their bread,
Betrays his country, & makes War a Trade. 65
One final means of enlarging the scope of all those charges was to extend the search for dubious financial practices over Marlborough's entire career from its earliest stages. The Examiner as usual provided the first hint, concluding one issue with a reference to a certain Person I am acquainted with, who in the Infancy of his Fortune had the Command of an English Regiment in France, in King Charles the Second's time, and ran away into England with his Soldiers Pay; for which he had been hang'd in Effigie, had not his good Friend the D[uches]s of C[leveland], by means of Monsieur's Favour, prevented it. 66

The hint was sufficient. Within a few weeks there appeared a full-scale "biography" of the Duke, in the popular guise of an oriental tale. Its title, The Perquisite-Monger, proclaimed its adaptation to the topic of the moment. 67 Whereas Mrs. Manley's surveys of Marlborough's career had emphasized the incidents which had illustrated his conformity to the type of the corrupt favourite, this short narrative used the biographical form as a vehicle for a series of embezzlement charges, relating to each stage of his rise to power, and all having something in common with the Commissioners' findings.

The first was an elaboration of the episode referred to in the Examiner. It related to the period when the young Churchill ("Artemidorus") had served under Turenne in France:

There was not so much as a Baggage-Waggon but he must have a Perquisite out of, and an Ammunition-Loaf could not escape him, unless it was first Chipp'd and made Advantage of by him. The very Soldier's Straw for their Tents was bought of him; and it was a Perquisite belonging to his Place, to retail the very Things which the Sutlers of other Regiments made Sale of ... To be as brief as possible, he so manag'd Matters, and carried on his Extortions so long, that the very Soldiers Pay was at last become a Perquisite belonging to his Office, and he had certainly been Broke, or treated much worse for these sort of Practices, upon his coming home into Persia with the Regiments Mony, had
not the very Lady that had before so free of her greatest Favours to him, step'd in between him and Danger, and made up Matters for him with the Court of Armenia, to the great Obstruction of Justice, and Disappointment of the poor Soldiers. (p.9)

In the following reign he was said to have made a fortune from the sale of Court and military appointments, the profits from this practice being, he claimed, "a Perquisite belonging to his Office" (p.13); and it was next related how, after the Revolution, he had defrauded his own Soldiers, by whose Labours he grew formidable, of their Pay, under pretence, that the Ship with the Army's Cash in it, was unfortunately blown up, and so it was, but not till the Money was remov'd elsewhere, that he upon his return home, might build a stately Country House with it. (pp.17-18)

The last two accusations were not ad hoc inventions. Suspicion on these counts had clung to Marlborough for many years, and their obvious affinity with the Commissioners' findings gave both old and new charges an added plausibility. There was also the suggestion that the present proceedings were a just punishment not only for recent offences, but for others, equally serious, which were long overdue for official investigation.

Marlborough had not lacked defenders, and for the most part, reason was on their side. One of them pertinently pointed out that if there had been any real evidence of the hardships said to have been caused by his allowance from the bread contractor, his enemies would certainly have produced it. In any case, the charge itself was illogical, as a manifesto which purported to come from the troops argued:

If we had been cheated of our Allowance in Bread, how is it possible we should Conquer, stand a Battle, or Live? For if this had been wanting, the Army would have grown ungovernable ... 70
The same reply could have been made to the other unsubstantiated accusations of defrauding the officers and troops, while the imputation of personal cowardice, as the editor of the Protestant Post-Boy pointed out, had been made in defiance of the existing evidence. 71

Several of the Whig journalists also took up the Duke's claim that the sums questioned by the Commissioners had been used as a necessary supplement to the official allowance for the secret service. Maynwaring, citing a parallel from classical history, remarked that, "whoever will look back into past times, will find that all Generals have ever been oblig'd to make great expences upon various unforeseen occasions." 72 Others cited the Duke's consistent success in the field as proof that no expense had been spared to obtain advance information of the enemy's plans. 73 Of all Marlborough's detractors, only one attempted to challenge this line of defence seriously, and in doing so he unwittingly added weight to it. Having ransacked the back files of the Supplement in search of occasions when Marlborough's military intelligence could be said to have failed him, Abel Roper could produce only one possible instance in several campaigns, and that, as Ridpath proceeded to demonstrate, capable of extenuation. 74

Yet these isolated appeals to reason and common sense were little to set beside the mass of uninhibited Tory detraction. In particular, the Whig journalists were notably reluctant to undertake the task of providing a really sustained and forceful reply to the Examiner. "This is not a Controversie of Reason against Reason ... but of down-right Impudence against all the Sense and Reason of Mankind," the editor of the Protestant Post-Boy complained in February, by way of apology for not answering
Oldisworth's attacks on the Duke more thoroughly. In March, the Medley was revived on a twice-weekly basis to assist in the task, but within a few weeks the editor was also forced to admit defeat, confessing that when the Examiners consisted of "downright Nonsense" they were "altogether unanswerable." Consequently, such damaging charges as that concerning the hospital money went quite unchallenged. This lack of energy on the part of the Whig pamphleteers arose partly from a consciousness that they were addressing themselves to an unreceptive audience. "To assert only true Propositions, and such as may very plainly be supported by Reason, is in their Phrase, to write without Spirit," the Medley wrote of the Examiner's readers; and Marlborough himself, sharing this fatalistic mood, deferred publishing his detailed reply to the Report until such time as "the nation should return to its senses," and be capable of examining matters in a more impartial manner...

This was not the only discouragement under which Marlborough's apologists laboured. Their task could not be effectively performed without embarking on the hazardous procedure of criticizing the Duke's official accusers, and Boyer noted that most of the journalists defended him only "as far as they could do it with Safety." The notable exception was A Speech without Doors concerning the Two and a Half per Cent, a digest of the arguments offered in Marlborough's defence during the debate of 24 January, which included some outspoken comments on the bias and malice of the Commissioners in the compiling of their Report. But few were prepared to go to these lengths. Marlborough himself stressed that in
criticizing the contents of the Report, he intended no personal reflection on the Commissioners themselves. 81 The editor of the Protestant Post-Boy, having suffered in the past for his persistent criticism of the ministry, adopted a bitter, but protective irony, in representing the "Extremity of Justice" meted out to the Duke by the Commons as praiseworthy. 82 Others prudently decided that invective against the "noisy Tribunes" and their "unrighteous Votes" was best circulated in manuscript, 83 and Maynwaring's History of Hannibal and Hanno, with its severe criticism of Oxford, was printed for dispersal "chiefly among his own Friends." 84

Hare's safeguard was to treat the whole subject with a scrupulous impartiality. His lengthy tract, The Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough during the Present War, was largely an uncontentious journal of the army's movements, in which both sides of any unavoidable controversy were carefully stated. 85 "Such an honest Enquiry as this," Hare commented,

"cannot but be satisfactory to all Parties since his Enemies thereby will have it in their power to point out what wrong Measures he has at any Time pursued, (if any such shall appear) and his Friends will be instructed how to go on with their just Praises of him, if he has taken no Steps but what have been right." (pp. 1-2)

At one point, Hare carried this policy so far as to include some critical comments about the campaign of 1707, when Marlborough's secret service was said to have failed him badly (p. 131). Considering that Roper and his colleagues were on the look-out for such episodes, in order to discredit the Duke's defence against the peculation charges, this absolute impartiality was something of a liability to Hare's patron.

When Hare came to deal with the charges themselves, he insisted upon printing both the letter of defence and the relevant passages from the
Report, for

I should fall short in my Pretensions to Impartiality, should I set both the Accusation and Defence in as true a Light as I can, that neither the one may be injur'd by what is alleg'd against him nor the other traduced for not making good their Allegations. (p.313)

He then declined to discuss either the relative merits of the two documents or the reasons for Marlborough's dismissal, declaring himself confident that the Commons would do the Duke as much justice as "is consistent with their Countries Good, and the Services he has done it" (p.322). This carefully ambivalent comment was equally adaptable to the Whig or the Tory viewpoint.

In theory, if criticism was confined to Marlborough's unofficial accusers, it could be delivered with impunity. Thus the country squire who was the chief spokesman for the defence in one Whig pamphlet, safeguarded himself by undertaking to clear the Duke "as accused by the Examiner, and some other Papers," but "as to the Proceedings in Parliament, he says he pretends not to meddle."86 In practice, however, the distinction was extremely difficult to maintain. For all their distortions and elaborations, the Tory pamphleteers had taken care to keep some connection with the official accusations, and when the Examiner was criticized for its attacks on the Duke, Oldisworth retorted that most of his propaganda had been based firmly on the Commissioners' charges and the Commons' votes of censure.87 The country squire in the pamphlet just mentioned was duly reprimanded by a Tory curate in the course of his defence of the Duke, because his criticisms of ministerial propaganda amounted to a reflection on its patrons.88

The newly revived Medley, hailed by Maynwaring for its fearlessness,89
at first seemed ready to live up to this character, with scathing condemnation of the Tory pamphleteers and their exploitation of the Commons' votes:

Such as these are so destitute of Charity, that if a Person be condemn'd, tho' never so unjustly, 'tis impossible to convince them of his Innocence; the most Illegal Judgments pass with them for Arguments; and the Censures of any Considerable Number of Men, tho' never so thoughtless and insignificant, are thought by them to be sufficient Grounds to support the most improbable Falsehoods ...

But there was no attempt to enlarge on this in the Duke's defence, and the tirade ended on a subdued note. The editor maintained that he could easily have cleared Marlborough of all the charges against him,

but that I am forced with the Psalmist at present (for Reasons best known to myself) to keep Silence even from good Words, tho' it be Pain and Grief to me: But I hope in a very little time the Country Gentlemen will think fit to visit their long neglected Wives, and then I will speak with my Tongue. 90

It is in the pamphlets of Thomas Burnet, the youngest and most zealous of Marlborough's defenders,91 that the considerations of self-protection which influenced him and his colleagues can be most clearly traced. His first publication, Our Ancestors as Wise as We, and its sequel, The History of Ingratitude, were crowded with episodes from classical history recording the disgrace and persecution of victorious generals by their corrupt and ungrateful countrymen.92 The commonplace technique of historical parallel was on this occasion useful for challenging the notion that the mere fact of Marlborough's disgrace was proof of serious wrong-doing; and by stressing that none of the generals in question had ever received treatment as severe as the Duke's, Burnet was also intensifying his condemnation of the ministry.
The first of these pamphlets, having been sent to press without the consideration of Burnet's more experienced colleagues, was found to be so outspoken that it earned him a reprimand from Steele and George Duckett; and although no notice was taken of the offence officially, Burnet soon received private warning from St John "that if I did not hold my Tongue and Pen he woud soon make me repent." Experience of the previous year had taught the Whig pamphleteers that St John did not make such threats idly, and the sequel was duly submitted for Duckett's correction before being printed. How rigorously it was gone over for dangerous expressions appears from their subsequent dispute over the words "unaccountable Malice" in a passage describing Marlborough's treatment after his dismissal. The phrase might have been taken as a reflection on parliamentary proceedings, but Burnet, undeterred by Duckett's misgivings, maintained that "no word can be too harsh for those it's applyd to, and therefore I do intend to insert it with your Leave." 94

In another pamphlet of this period, "a Banter on the Ministry" meaningfully entitled Truth, If You Can Find It, Burnet turned these restraints to entertaining advantage. 95 It was cast in the form of a letter from a Tory backbencher, who uncritically retails the standard topics of detraction used against Marlborough and the Whig leaders, in a manner which discredits both the substance of the propaganda and the intelligence of anyone who can accept it. In the process, the Tory reiterates complacently that no one dares question the validity of the various charges openly, because they have ministerial and parliamentary sanction. Although
Burnet's ridicule of the ministry and its partisans was obvious enough, he could scarcely be called to account for a pamphlet which was verbally little more than a paraphrase of Tory propaganda.

By mid-year, Burnet seemed to have become thoroughly infected with the wary pessimism of his fellow journalists. His next publication, dedicated to Marlborough, characterized an honest writer as one who

dare tell the Truth at all times, though often he stifles it out of Prudence, when he thinks it wou'd be of no Service to the Common Cause of Honesty, and Prejudicial to his own Interest; for it were then a Crime to expose himself to the Mercy of Wicked Men, when he runs the Hazard of a severe Punishment without a probable Ground to think he may do Service by it. 96

It was not long before he was paying the penalty for this "Crime."

His last pamphlet of the year, A Certain Information of a Certain Discourse, with its comprehensive and unguarded review of the Tory charges against Marlborough, found the limit of St John's patience, and involved Burnet in a prosecution from which it took all the resources of his influential friends to extricate him. 97

There was one final discouragement to the Duke's apologists, at a time when the Tory propagandists were acknowledged to have the upper hand. Following the example of their patrons, the hostile journalists made it clear that any attempt to defend Marlborough would serve only to intensify their condemnation of him. 98 The Protestant Post-Boy's initial criticism of the parliamentary enquiry provoked a dialogue in which a Whig and a Tory argue out Marlborough's case, and the Whig is forced to agree, after a detailed recapitulation of the Commissioners' findings, that the parliamentary action was justified. 99
The most notable effect of the longest publication in Marlborough's favour, *The History of Prince Mirabel's Infancy, Rise and Disgrace*, seems to have been the retaliation it provoked. The author accepted Hare's invitation to draw on his *Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough* for details of the campaigns, and there were additional anecdotes intended to serve as indirect answers to the charges of cowardice and ill-treatment of the troops. The account of Marlborough's early life, however, so closely rivalled the *New Atalantis* in sensationalism that some commentators have been tempted to class the whole tract as satire. Even so, it was considered sufficiently sympathetic to Marlborough at the time of publication to serve as an excuse for the rival and unequivocally damning "biography," *The Perquisite-Monger*.

Oldisworth, as might be expected, was quite explicit in his threats of retaliation. In January, he warned that if Marlborough attempted "to assume too much to himself," his military reputation, "which he yet esteems as sacred," would be attacked and destroyed; and two months later he returned to the subject of the peculation charges, having apparently given it up, because he claimed to have found "half the Libels in Town stuffed every day with the Justification" of Marlborough's conduct, even though his guilt had been established beyond question.

The message was understood. Robert Walpole, on being asked to give his opinion of a vindication compiled by Sarah and dealing with the charges of corruption against herself, advised against publishing it, on the grounds that it would encourage the ministers to "Employ all their Pens
by the most Scurrilous People whom they had in Pay, to write against Her.105.

In spite of these discouragements, Marlborough finally released his detailed reply to the Report for printing early in May. The immediate occasion was probably the steps towards prosecution, for those who had read the defence in manuscript agreed that it was of sufficient weight to prevent further official action.106 In fact, despite three editions and an abstract in two successive issues of the Medley,107 it seems to have caused little stir in either hostile or friendly circles. Having been composed as a speech and printed in this original form,108 it gave the striking impression that Marlborough was appealing personally to his countrymen by means of the press; the Duke, it seemed, had at last condescended to fight Grub Street with its own weapons. The Plain Dealer's letter "from the Fraternity of Grub-street, to a Person very well known" made the most of this derogation of dignity, substituting ridicule for the serious counter-argument which the defence would otherwise have warranted. That Marlborough had ventured into print at all on his own behalf was attributed to a miserly unwillingness to retain professional apologists,

and 'tis Pity, since the World are grown so Mercenary, and you have already given us such a Specimen of your Genius, but you should proceed a little further, and describe your Self in your own Verse. Our Election for a President is drawing near, and I know not what may happen ... .

The substance of the Duke's reply to the Commissioners was then dismissed as little more than a "Flat Denial" of their charges.109 Although this did much less than justice to the closely argued tract, Marlborough
had had little more to say in his defence than his anonymous apologists had already said in vain. Moreover, according to the Examiner, the whole subject of the peculation charges had become "stale and worn out" after so many weeks of controversy. The defence was probably as doomed to failure as Hare's answer to The Conduct of the Allies, because it was circulated after "Peoples Opinions were already fixed."
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. A description of the findings of the seven Commissioners of Public Accounts, in verses addressed "To the Duke of Marlborough in Disgrace," Protestant Post-Boy, No.73 (16-19 February 1711/2).

2. No Queen or No General (1712), pp.1 and 41; Marlbro' Remov'd, or the Sudden Downfall of a Great Favourite (1712), s.sh. Examiner, II, No.6 (3-10 January 1711/2).


4. Political State, III (January 1711/2), p.11.

5. William Sacheverell to George Sitwell, 3 January 1711/2, Letters of the Sitwells and Sacheverells, ed. Sir George Sitwell (Scarborough, 1900-1901), II, p.88.


7. For contemporary comments on the fable as a medium for political controversy, see Protestant Post-Boy, No.75 (21-23 February 1711/2); and [William Pittis], Aesop at the Bell-Tavern in Westminster (1711), Preface, sig. A2.

8. The Grand Enquiry, or What's to Be Done with Him? (1712), s.sh.; 'Tis Pity They Shou'd Be Parted, or the Fable of the Bear and the Fox (1712), s.sh.


10. Examiner, Nos. 6 (3-10 January 1711/2), 7 (10-17 January 1711/2), and 8 (17-24 January 1711/2).

11. [William Wagstaffe], The Representation of the Loyal Subjects of Albinia (n.p., 1712), pp.8-9 (advertised, Post Boy, No.2597, 1-3 January 1711/2, "Tomorrow will be publish'd").

12. The Lists were entitled The D—e and D—s of M—h's Loss, Being an Estimate of Their Former Yearly Income (n.p., 1712), s.sh.; the disparaging comments were those of Thomas Lediard, The Life of John, Duke of Marlborough (1736), III, p.283.
13. II, No. 6 (3–10 January 1711/2).

14. No. 2606 (22–24 January 1711/2).


16. A Fable of the Housewife and Her Cock (1712), s. sh.; The Fable of the Shepherd and His Dog, in Answer to the "Fable of the Widow and Her Cat" (1712), s. sh.; Where's Your Impeachment Now? or the D— ['s] Safe Delivery (n. p., 1712), s. sh.; (this last publication reprinted 'Tis Pity They Shou'd Be Parted with a final verse challenging its conclusion).

17. Flying-Post, No. 3174 (31 January — 2 February 1712).


19. The Sense of the Nation, concerning the Duke of Marlborough, as It Is Express'd in Several Acts of Parliament, in the Votes and Joint-Addresses of Both Houses (1712); The Sense of the Nine in Ten, concerning the Late General and Late Ministry, as It Is Express'd in Their Loyal Addresses to Her Majesty (1712); Observator, XI, No. 5 (12–16 January 1712).


21. Truth in Disguise, or a Tale of a Lady and Her Huntsmen (1712), s. sh.; When the Cat's Away, the Mice May Play, a Fable Humbly Inscrib'd to Dr. Sw[iff]t [1712], s. sh. (advertised Daily Courant, No. 3221, 9 February 1712). The British Museum copy of this last piece is endorsed "By John Gay"; for attributions to Prior and to Maynwaring, see Firth, "Two Poems ....," Review of English Studies, I, p. 458.

22. Phillip Parker to Percival, 31 January 1711/2, B. M. Add. MSS 47026, f. 110v.

24. L'Hermitage to the States-General, 11 April and 12 August 1712, B.M. Add. MSS 17677FFF, ff. 156 and 315v; The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen, in Swift, Prose Works, VII, p. 67.


26. The Story of the St. Albans Ghost, or the Apparition of Mother Harry (1712), pp. 15-16. This pamphlet was first advertised in the Post Boy, No.2617 (16-19 February 1711/2) and ran to at least five editions. Together with the Representation of the Loyal Subjects of Albinia, the Plain Dealer, and other publications, it was included in The Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe (1726), and although there have been attempts to assign the Story of the St. Albans Ghost and the Plain Dealer to Swift or Arbuthnot, there seems as yet to be no solid grounds for rejecting the evidence of the Miscellaneous Works; on this question, see Vinton A. Dearing, "Jonathan Swift or William Wagstaffe?" Harvard Library Bulletin, VII (1953), pp. 121-130; and Arbuthnotiana, ed. Patricia Koster, Augustan Reprint Society Publication, No. 154 (Los Angeles, 1972), pp.i-iv.

27. The D. of M's Confessions to a Jacobite Priest, As It Was Taken in Short-Hand the 6th of February Last, 1711, and Now Printed for the Satisfaction of the Publick (1712), pp. 4-7.

28. The White-Hall Prophecy, Lately Found under the Ruins of That Royal Chapel (n.p., 1712), s.sh.

29. Examiner, II, Nos. 11 (7-14 February 1711/2) and 17 (20-27 March 1712).

30. The second edition of The D—e and D—s of M—h's Loss was advertised in the Post Boy, No.2611 (2-5 February 1711/2).

31. Examiner, II, No.20 (10-17 April 1712).

32. John Bull in His Senses, Being the Second Part of "Law Is a Bottomless Pit" (1712), pp. 20-22; for the publication of this pamphlet, on 18 March 1712, and the various British
editions of the John Bull pamphlets, see Lester M. Beattie, John Arbuthnot: Mathematician and Satirist (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 33 n. and 54 n. A French translation, published in Paris, also had a very warm reception; see the letter to Robert Cunningham from an unnamed correspondent, 18 February/1 March 1713, Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS Pw 2Hy 1343.


35. (Baker edn.), No. 22 (12-16 May 1712); on 3 March 1712, the Medley had been revived on a twice-weekly basis and Nos. 1-20 bore the Baldwin imprint; but as a result of a dispute between the author and the publisher the imprint was changed with No. 21 to that of John Baker. Mrs. Baldwin, however, continued to publish her own series of the journal with the same format as before and the two sheets were issued concurrently for nearly three months; for a detailed account of this matter, see M.L. Poston, "The Medleys of 1712," The Library, Fifth Series, XIII (1958), pp. 206-207.


37. The Very Case, or the Story of John the Butler (1712), s. sh., reprinted in full with approving comments in the Observator, XI, No. 11 (2-6 February 1712); J.F., A Letter from a Curate of Suffolk to a High-Church Member concerning the D. of M. and Mr. Walpole (1712), pp. 4-5.

38. Examiner, II, Nos. 8 (17-24 January 1711/2), 13 (21-28 February 1711/2), and 15 (6-13 March 1711/2).

39. The Loyal Trimmer (1712), s. sh.

40. The Truth's Come out at Last, or the Downfall of a Great Favourite (n.p., 1712), s. sh.; An Excellent New Song Call'd the Trusty and True Englishman (n.p., [1712]), s. sh.

42. D.P., The Armies Representation to Old England (n.p., [1712]), s.sh.; [Thomas Burnet], The History of Ingratitude, or a Second Part of Antient Precedents for Modern Facts (1712), p.27.

43. Observator, XI, Nos.2 (2-5 January 1712), and 4 (9-12 January 1712).

44. Examiner, II, Nos.9 (24-31 January 1711/2), and 11 (7-14 February 1711/2).


46. Law Is a Bottomless-Pit, p.11; for examples of the Tory jibes at Marlborough's cowardice and want of professional skill, see Oliver's Pocket Looking-Glass (n.p., 1711), pp.51-52; [Wagstaffe], Story of the St. Albans Ghost, p.9; Examiner, II, No.13 (21-28 February 1711/2).

47. John Bull in His Senses, p.20.

48. Law Is a Bottomless-Pit, p.20; John Bull in His Senses, pp.11-12.

49. John Bull in His Senses, pp.18-19.

50. Sir John Percival's "character" of Marlborough, B.M. Add. MSS 47128, f.50v; Memoirs of the Marquis of Torcy (1757), I, p.326; [Arbuthnot], Proposals for Printing a Very Curious Discourse ... Intitled ... a Treatise of the Art of Political Lying (1712), p.21.

51. For a detailed comparison of the two speeches, see Bower's "Critical Edition of Arbuthnot's 'History of John Bull'," p.440.


53. A Report from the Commissioners Appointed to Take, Examine, and State the Publick Accoumts of the Kingdom (n.p., 1713), pp.25-29. Although the provision for field hospitals, and indeed for every other aspect of army medical care of this period, was very inadequate by modern standards, there is no evidence that this was the result of Marlborough's personal corruption. He seems to have done his best to provide for the sick and wounded

54. Examiner, II, Nos. 12 (14-21 February 1711/2), and 13 (21-28 February 1711/2).

55. Examiner, II, No. 20 (10-17 April 1712).

56. For the unsuccessful search for evidence of Marlborough's alleged corruption in this matter, see Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, ed. M. J. Routh (Oxford, 1823), VI, p. 96; for Marlborough's denial, see Sarah to Hamilton, 28 November 1710, Blenheim MSS G1-8; Sarah to the Duke of Newcastle, 1 November 1717, B.M. Add. MSS 32679, f. 51.

57. Poems of Jonathan Swift, I, p. 157; The D- - e and D- - s of M- - h's Loss, s.sh.

58. Examiner, II, No. 11 (7-14 February 1711/2); The Land Leviathan, or Modern Hydra (1712), p. 14.

59. Examiner, II, No. 14 (28 February - 6 March 1711/2).

60. Cobbett's Parliamentary History, VI, col. 1137.


63. Poulett to Dartmouth, "Tuesday at night" [June 1712], H.M.C. Dartmouth MSS, p. 310.

64. To Watkins, 3 June 1712, B.M. Add. MSS 42176, f. 373.

65. Verses headed "To the D. of M. on his challenging the E. of P. for some words spoken in the House of Lords, and passing by what the D. of A. say'd upon him at the same time with more freedome," Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS Pw V 987.
66. II, No. 10 (31 January - 7 February 1711/2).

67. The Perquisite-Monger, or the Rise and Fall of Ingratitude (1712) was advertised in the Post-Boy, No. 2620 (23-26 February 1711/2), "on Thursday next will be publish'd." Page references in the ensuing discussion are given parenthetically in the text. See Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1908), esp. pp. 226-227, for the popularity of this genre.

68. See Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, ed. W. E. Buckley, for the Roxburghe Club (Westminster, 1890), I, p. 245; and [Daniel Defoe], A Short Narrative of the Life and Actions of His Grace John, D. of Marlborough (1711), p. 6.


70. D. P., The Armies Representation to Old England, s. s. sh.

71. No. 79 (1-4 March 1711/2); among the many eyewitness tributes to Marlborough's personal courage and inspiring leadership in battle are Percival's "character" of Marlborough, B. M. Add. MSS 47128, f. 52; and Hare's letter to Naylor of 3/14 August 1704, H. M. C. Hare MSS, p. 201.


74. Post-Boy, No. 2607 (24-26 January 1711/2); Flying-Post, No. 3172 (26-29 January 1712).

75. No. 69 (7-9 February 1711/2).

76. No. 6 (17-21 March 1712).

77. No. 12 (7-11 April 1712).

78. Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, VI, p. 97.
79. Political State, III (January 1711/2), p.15.

80. See, in particular, pp.14 - 21.

81. The Case of His Grace the D--- of M---, as Design'd to Be
   Represented by Him to the Honourable House of Commons in
   Vindication of Himself from the Charge of the Commissioners

82. No.66 (31 January - 2 February 1711/2); at one time seven issues
   of this journal, Nos.31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, and 38, had been
   under consideration for official suppression, see St John to
   the Attorney-General, 27 November 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Domestic)
   44/111.

   Panshanger MSS D/EP F33, p.35; William Somerville, "An Ode
   Humbly Inscrib'd to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, upon
   His Removal from All His Places," later printed in Occasional
   Poems, Translations, Fables, Tales, &c. (1727), pp.3-10, but
   composed and almost certainly circulated in manuscript at the
   time of Marlborough's dismissal.

84. Oldmixon, Maynwaring, p.144.

85. Advertised, Protestant Post-Boy, No.59 (15-17 January 1711/2).
   Page references in the ensuing discussion are given
   parenthetically in the text.

86. J.F., Letter from a Curate of Suffolk, p.4.

87. Examiner, II, No.21 (17-24 April 1712).

88. J.F., Letter from a Curate of Suffolk, p.43.

89. To Sarah, "Friday morning" [March-August] 1712, Private Corr.,
   II, p.78.

90. (Baker edn.), No.22 (12-16 May 1712).

91. Thomas Burnet, second son of the Marlboroughs' friend, Gilbert
   Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was only eighteen years old in
   1712.

92. Our Ancestors as Wise as We, or Ancient Precedents for Modern
   Facts (1712) was published at the end of January 1712;
   The History of Ingratitude, or a Second Part of Antient
   Precedents for Modern Facts (1712) about four months later;

93. Letters of 15 March 1712 and 8 April 1712, Letters of Thomas Burnet, pp.2 and 5.


95. The description of the pamphlet, Truth If You Can Find It, or a Character of the Present Ministry and Parliament, in a Letter to a Member of the March Club (1712), is taken from Burnet's letter of 24 May 1712; the pamphlet itself was published about the middle of May; see Letters of Thomas Burnet, p.8 and 295.

96. The True Character of an Honest Man, Particularly with Relation to the Publick Affairs, Dedicated to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough (1712), p.22.

97. A Certain Information of a Certain Discourse that Happen'd in a Certain Gentleman's House in a Certain County (1712), ran to three editions between December 1712 and February 1713 (Letters of Thomas Burnet, p.298); for the official action taken against Burnet, see document dated 24 January 1712/3, P.R.O. S.P. (Domestic) 44/77, p.139; and letter of 24 January 1713, Letters of Thomas Burnet, pp.30-31 and 251-233.

98. Marlborough's determination that his supporters should defend him against any form of parliamentary censure arising from the Commissioners' findings had meant that the Commons' proceedings against him were severer than had at first been proposed; see Bromley to Oxford, 21 January 1711/2, H.M.C. Portland MSS, V, p.139; and Swift's letter of 23 January 1712, Journal to Stella, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1948), II, p.470.

99. Protestant Post-Boy, No.52 (27 December [1711]-1 January 1711/2); The Comparison, or Whiggish Fulsom Flattery Exemplifyed in His G— the D— of M—— (1712), pp.4-8.

100. The three parts of this tract, published separately and at intervals, were advertised in the Protestant Post-Boy, Nos. 75 (21-23 February 1711/12), 95 (8-10 April 1712), and 111 (15-17 May 1712).

Mirabel's speech on the eve of the battle of Malplaquet, in which he assures his troops that "I desire no Task of you but what I shall readily do" (Pt.III, p.28) was clearly intended as a reply to charges of cowardice; while details of his care of the wounded after the battle (Pt.III, pp.31-32) were offered as "an Answer to all those Scandalous Reports ... concerning Mirabel's Avarice and Parsimony."


103. The Perquisite-Monger, it was claimed on the title-page, would "serve to clear up several Absurdities in the History of Prince Mirabel."

104. Examiner, II, Nos. 7 (10-17 January 1711/2), and 17 (20-27 March 1712).


107. (Baldwin edn.), Nos. 23 (16-19 May 1712), and 24 (19-23 May 1712).

108. Marlborough had at first intended to deliver his vindication in person before the House of Commons, but changed his mind, apparently against the advice of friends; see, [David Jones], A Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1712 (1713), p.19.

109. Plain Dealer, Nos. 6 (17 May 1712), and 8 (31 May 1712).

110. II, No. 17 (20-27 March 1712).
Chapter VIII

"PLOT UPON PLOT"¹

Yet massive as this volume of propaganda on the subject of the peculation charges was, it did not in itself provide sufficient justification for Marlborough's disgrace. Those who were at all well-informed knew that although he had been dismissed on the pretext of the Commissioners' discoveries, the real reason was his opposition to the Mesnager peace terms, and the threat this had posed to the ministry itself; and within a few days a Whig journalist was arguing that although "the popular Crime was, Embezeling the Publick Money," this charge would never have been brought if Marlborough had been prepared to fall in with Oxford's schemes.²

The Tory journalists had therefore to establish that Marlborough's opposition to ministerial peace policy by parliamentary means was in itself an offence serious enough to warrant his summary treatment. Their task was made easier by the fact that in opposing the ministry, Marlborough could also be said to have opposed "her Maje's present measures."³ The Queen herself took this view, explaining privately that the Duke had been dismissed because he had not conducted himself well towards her since his return from his last campaign; she did not mean, she added, in personal matters, "but in her business."⁴ With little effort, therefore, the peace debate, in which Marlborough had taken such a leading role, could be represented as a confrontation between a monarch and a rebellious subject. This was a revival of the propaganda accompanying the ministerial changes of 1710,
of which Swift had recently jogged memories in The Conduct of the Allies; and it was also a revival of a central "myth" of Tory propaganda which dated from the previous century, when first Cromwell, and then Monmouth had filled the role of the would-be usurper.

Mrs. Manley's account of the abortive mob propaganda of Queen Elizabeth's accession day had, of course, already drawn an explicit parallel between the plots of Monmouth and Shaftesbury, and recent Whig opposition to the peace. References to this episode were to become commonplace in the propaganda of 1712, and the first and most closely argued attempt to justify Marlborough's dismissal in terms of his treasonable practices, Defoe's No Queen or No General, employed somewhat similar analogies.

Adept, as ever, at turning his opponents' arguments to his own advantage, Defoe undertook to justify Marlborough's removal without villifying the Duke in the manner of some Tory pamphleteers. Instead, he claimed, he would convince his readers

> that even for the same Reasons for which they have honoured, valued and espoused the D. of Marl—gh, they ought to acquiesce in, and be satisfied with, his being laid aside at this Time from the Office of General, &c. (p.4)

For by Defoe's account, the Queen had been obliged to dispense with Marlborough's services because his prestige, which he owed solely to her favour, had reached such a pitch that it threatened to eclipse her own. There was also the graver suggestion that the Duke was being used, possibly against his will, as the figurehead for dangerous Whig designs of opposition; since only his reputation could give these schemes the semblance of
respectability, his dismissal had become necessary, even though no blame attached to him personally.

It seems that Defoe had had some inkling of Marlborough's reluctance, throughout the campaign of 1711, to allow Whig journalists to make his name and reputation the spearhead of their public opposition to the peace negotiations. But the case against the Duke did not end there. In fact, the promise to spare his reputation was patently misleading, as the Duke's supporters were quick to realize. White Kennett was not very wide of the mark when he described Defoe's pamphlet as

an artful Piece of Political Malice, to pretend all Respect to the Person, and Justice to the Actions of the Duke in the Field, and yet to insinuate every thing that could make a Man odious to his Queen and Countrey.... 8

This deviousness was apparent from the opening paragraphs. In explaining that he would not broach the standard topics of detraction used against Marlborough in the past, Defoe contrived to mention almost every discreditable rumour and accusation which had ever been circulated (pp.2-7). The discussion of Marlborough's motives for remaining in office after the ministerial changes of 1710 was similarly deceptive. Defoe paid lip service to the view that the Duke had made his decision out of a genuine sense of duty, and not, as had been insinuated, in order to retain sufficient influence to restore his party to power. Yet the humiliations to which he had thus exposed himself were so graphically described as to enforce the conclusion that only some long-term aim of self-interest could have induced him to make such a sacrifice of pride and dignity (pp.27-30). It was characteristic
of Defoe's technique that he should have used these "mortifications,"
originally publicized by Hare in his patron's defence, to strengthen the
case against the Duke.

By discreet use of historical analogy, Defoe was able to press
his point still further without explicit condemnation of Marlborough.
Ostensibly the situations of the Duke de Maine and Lady Jane Grey were
cited simply to illustrate the general principle that a popular and well-
intentioned leader could become the reluctant figurehead of policies which
he did not himself endorse. In reality, Defoe was using these parallels
to insinuate that Whig schemes for opposing the ministry had been treasonable,
posing a personal threat to the Queen herself. In this case, of course, it
was scarcely sufficient extenuation of Marlborough's part in them to stress
that his intentions had been good.

These slippery methods of detraction naturally infuriated the Duke's
supporters; but it was difficult for them to protest without doing Defoe's
work for him, as one Whig journalist, whose indignation got the better of
his discretion, demonstrated:

Does this Miscreant think to skreen himself under the tender Regard
he professes the Duke de Maine had for the King and his Country,
whilst he was in open Rebellion? Will he explain, whether he thinks
the Duke de Maine a Traytor or no? If he does, I presume his Analogy
is explain'd. Good God! that such daring, such impudent Invectives,
should circulate without Controul ... 9

A broadside borrowing Defoe's title, adapted his theme to appeal to
those who believed that Marlborough's downfall was largely a result of the
unduly Whiggish influence exerted on him by his Duchess. In this version
of the recent crisis, the Duke figured as Belisarius, the uxorious general
and favourite of the Emperor Justinian, who had had to be removed from his
command because he had allowed his wife to involve him in the dangerous
designs of her faction. 10

In the terminology of the traditional "myth" of Tory propaganda,
these two publications had represented Marlborough as the "dupe" of those
in rebellion, rather than as their leader and instigator; just as Monmouth
had in the past been represented as the dupe of Shaftesbury and his associates. 11
In this capacity, the Duke was perhaps more to be pitied than blamed. But
other pamphleteers were less indulgent. William King's Rufinus paralleled
Marlborough's career roughly with that of a thoroughly vicious and corrupt
royal favourite, who had relentlessly intrigued to usurp the throne and richly
deserved his downfall. 12

But more potent and widely used was the inevitable analogy with
Cromwell and the events of "forty-one." King's account of Rufinus might
be open to exception, 13 but even a Whig defender of the Duke was anxious to
disclaim all sympathy with "the Usurper Cromwell" and his "unjust Dominion"; 14
and as in the Restoration period, it was possible to "discredit any action
merely by saying that it recalled something done in the late civil war,"
since any such action might have the same horrific consequences. 15 It was
in these terms that one pamphleteer contrived to represent the events leading
up to Marlborough's dismissal, claiming that under the Whig ministry "all the
Tricks of Forty-One" had been "plaid over again," and describing the
parliamentary assault on the peace terms, with its threat to Oxford's

ministry, as a renewed prelude to civil war:

Had they brought their late Plot to bear, depriv'd Her [the Queen]
of all Her principal Officers, assum'd Her into their own possession,
helpless and as it were bound Hand and Foot, wou'd not that have
been securing the Shepherd to have it at their Pleasure to fleece or
devour the Sheep? And do they think the Loyal Part of the Nation
wou'd have brook'd their Insolence towards Her, and through Her
their Intent upon themselves? And then what a dreadful Scene wou'd
have ensu'd within the Territories of Great Brittain. 16

In a sequel to this pamphlet, entitled A Vindication of Oliver Cromwell
and the Whiggs of Forty One, the same pamphleteer developed his account of the
crimes for which Marlborough had been disgraced • still further, drawing for
the purpose upon the current Tory campaign to discredit the Barrier Treaty of
1709. This, in fact, was a matter upon which ministerial supporters were
divided, for Marlborough himself had so strongly disapproved of the Treaty
that he had refused to sign it, and his attitude was sufficiently well-known
to be used by some journalists, most notably Swift, Defoe, and Oldisworth, to
embarrass the Treaty's Whig defenders. 17 Others, however, including the
present anonymous pamphleteer, ignored this complication and assumed that
Marlborough, as senior English plenipotentiary at The Hague, must have been
primarily responsible for what was now represented as a flagrant betrayal
of his country's interests.

The Dutch guarantee of the Protestant Succession had been an important
aspect of the Treaty, and Marlborough, the Vindication argued, had bribed an
already powerful Ally with an exorbitant barrier of frontier fortresses so
that he might claim their military support for his own usurpation of the
throne, on pretence that the Protestant Succession was being endangered
by the Tory ministers. In this case, as the title of the pamphlet implies, the analogy with Cromwell was not intended simply to discredit Marlborough by association, but to suggest that when compared with the Duke, even the much-execrated Lord Protector and his supporters would appear to have some redeeming features. If the latter had enslaved their country, the pamphleteer argued, they had at least not stooped so low as to bribe a foreign power to assist them in the undertaking.\(^\text{18}\)

Having drawn the alarming parallel between the situation of the Duke and that of Lady Jane Grey, executed for complicity in treasonable designs, Defoe had hastily added, "Blessed be God the Thing we are treating of, is of no Consequence like that" (p.41). But most Tory journalists were prepared to give no such assurances, and some argued the contrary quite specifically. A fable entitled *The Reward of Ambition* recommended hanging or beheading as a suitable punishment for Marlborough, and several pamphleteers found classical sanction for this view in the fate of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, who had been executed for treason, despite his outstanding services to his country.\(^\text{19}\) A primary purpose of the pamphleteer who accused the Duke of complicity with the Dutch was also to recommend that he be severely punished, the argument being the familiar one that since Marlborough had been well rewarded for his military services he could now be held accountable for his crimes towards his prince and country.\(^\text{20}\)

These attempts to justify Marlborough's dismissal and possible punishment were particularly well designed to forestall Whig claims that he was being ungratefully treated. The very nature of the Duke's crimes, it
was argued, cancelled any claim he might have had to the gratitude of his Queen or countrymen:

Let us suppose a Subject the most Deserving that ever yet Great Britain bred; and that we therefore all of us most justly adore and love him. But for what do we adore and love him? Why, for his Services to his Prince and Country. It is for their sakes we adore and love him and therefore when they are in Danger through him, we reasonably, to preserve them, forego him. 21

And again:

An Oliver may do Wonders in War, and be constantly Victorious, yet all the brave Exploits of an Oliver cannot preserve his Name and Memory from being justly odious to us. 22

In fact, it was possible not only to forestall charges of ingratitude in this way, but to turn them against Marlborough himself, for he was accused of plotting against the monarch whose favour had raised him. The point was stressed by both Defoe and William King, 23 and the parallel with Belisarius was particularly significant in this respect, since the Whigs themselves favoured it as a means of depicting Marlborough's ungrateful treatment. 24 The Tory version, however, had maintained that the great general's disgrace was justified by his disregard of his many obligations to his royal benefactor.

The analogy with Cromwell allowed this line of argument to be developed still further; for the countrymen whose liberties Marlborough was said to have threatened had in the past joined with the Queen in rewarding him amply for his services. Therefore, one pamphleteer argued,

if he appears to have been a Traitor, under the Mask of a Benefactor it naturally and justly alters their Affection to the Height of Resentment and Fury: All the Honours and Favours conferr'd on him upon the Notion of his being a Benefactor, only aggravate his Treachery and Ingratitude, and render him more unpardonably the Object of their Hatred... 25
Thomas Burnet and others tried to discredit this method of justifying Marlborough's dismissal by arguing that the charge of treasonable ambition was inconsistent with concurrent accusations of avarice and ill-treatment of the troops. To the hostile pamphleteers, however, it was quite logical to suppose that Marlborough and his supporters would be ready to call in "Rebellion and Regicide to the Assistance of Robbery and Oppression." The avarious and corrupt practices of which the Duke had been accused were after all characteristic of the breed of ambitious royal favourites, and the pamphlets charging him with bribing the Dutch to assist him in his designs relied for their plausibility on the fact that a parliamentary majority had recently censured him for venality.

A more eloquent defence came, apparently, from Marlborough himself, in what purported to be a printed version of his letter to the Queen on the occasion of his dismissal. In fact, however, this was a spurious document, far more conciliatory and apologetic than the letter Marlborough had actually penned, and designed specifically to refute Tory charges:

There are of my Enemies which charge me with Irreverence and Disrespect to your Sacred Person, which Thought my Heart abhors, and whatever I may have err'd in, I dare humbly manifest to the World, that I have serv'd the best of Queens, the most gracious of Women, and the most indulgent Mistress the World ever produced: And that my Breast is loaded with Gratitude no Usage can ever efface.

But other attempts to defend the Duke—Steele's tract, The Englishman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, for example—were simply taken by the hostile pamphleteers as confirmation of their charges. A Whig, by current Tory definition, was "very loud at Marlbro's Name,/ But hush'd when ANNA is the Theme," and Steele had not only showered the Duke with the most
extravagant epithets of formal eulogy ("Transcendent," "Heroick," "God-like"), but claimed that "the Brightest Circumstance that can be related of the QUEEN Her Self, will be, It was SHE for whom MARLBOROUGH conquer'd." The Examiner at once pointed out that this placed the Queen in a position subordinate to the Duke, and by Defoe's account the readiness of Marlborough's admirers to raise his prestige to such an exorbitant height had been one of the causes of his dismissal. Defoe himself returned to the subject in the Review, censuring the Whig pamphleteers for "Bullying the Queen in every Coffee-House with the History of the Duke's Merit," and warning them that they were doing their hero no service.

Overt criticism of the decision to dispense with Marlborough's services was similarly double-edged, since it could so easily be represented as criticism of the Queen. There were several Whig accounts of the gratitude and joy with which the French King was supposed to have received the news of the Duke's dismissal, and one pamphleteer in particular represented the event as a prelude to a dishonourable peace; the eulogistic review of the Duke's successes which followed was at once seized upon by a Tory journalist as an attempt to "Sharpen the Resentment of the People against her Majesty and the Government"; and as for the comments about the dismissal, "What is this, but no Queen or no General? This alone is sufficient to Justify her Majesty's Conduct." As the editor of the Medley bitterly remarked, "he is a Scoundrel, a Republican, and an Atheist, an Enemy to his Country, his Queen, and his God, that defends such a Miscreant as the Duke"; even "to express a kindness for the Duke" had become "an Overt Act of High-Treason."
The threats of impeachment and execution, although even less realistic than those arising from the peculation charges, could be expected to perform the same function of intimidation; and again the press campaign itself soon became a virtual substitute for the dangerous expedient of formal punishment. For the pamphleteers took care to emphasize that dismissal had not put an end to Marlborough's sinister designs against his Queen and country:

But these Two [Marlborough and Godolphin], you'll say, are displac'd; What then? Do you think the Game is therefore dispair'd of, and by the Party given over for lost? or does the G[enera]l despond? What, when a Man has five Millions by him, and such a Party so Active, so Cunning, so Rich, so Powerful, so Numerous, so every Thing but Honest and Uppermost, Who publickly profess, that they will stand and fall by him; is it for him to despond?. Far from it. 38

That Marlborough did have supporters who made just such professions was vouched for by Wagstaffe in the Plain Dealer and Roper in the Post Boy, both of whom reported the alleged declaration of one Oliver Jones that he was ready to "take up a Sword in Defence of the D-ke of M-rlb—h, in case of a Civil War, which he hop'd would be before long." 39

On this basis, the Tory journalists issued a spate of pamphlet attacks, implicating Marlborough in every variety of rebellion and conspiracy against the Queen and ministry. Since the Duke and his supporters could not be removed from the political scene by means of impeachment proceedings, the pamphleteers' task was to deprive them of all credit and respectability as an opposition; in the words of the Observator, "to make those People odious that are against an unsafe and dishonourable Peace on such Terms as the Papists and Jacobites would have it concluded." 40 There was little defence against such tactics. As the Whig journalists found, it was easier to arouse
suspicion than to allay it:

The best Arguments would have but little Weight, since Men are not at Leisure to consider them with Attention. Plots and Conspiracies take up all their Thoughts: and 'tis impossible they can judge rightly of any thing, whilst they are under such dismal Apprehensions. 41

Even if the threats of punishment were never implemented, they could at least be used to give an added plausibility to these accusations of plotting and conspiracy, as Wagstaffe's Story of the St. Alb[alns] Ghost demonstrated. In a widely read pamphlet of the previous year, The Character and Principles of the Present Set of Whigs, Joseph Trapp had compared the "Clubs and Companies" of the party to "the Nocturnal Cabals of Witches, or the Consultations of the Devils in Milton's Pandemonium"; 42 and the motif reappeared in a set of verses, entitled The Consultation, and published after Marlborough's dismissall, which described a meeting between the Duke and Godolphin "At Dead of Night when Midnight hags prepare // To take their usual Tour thro' the Air." 43

To Wagstaffe, whose central character was Mrs. Jennings, in the familiar Tory guise of a witch, this method of conveying the atmosphere of a Whig conclave must have seemed particularly appropriate. Marlborough and his associates were accordingly represented as a disreputable and dangerous "Black Society," and the scene was set with all the portentous clichés appropriate to the occasion:

Dismal and horrid was the Night of that infernal Consultation, nothing heard but the melancholly Murmuring of the Winds, and the Croaking of Toads and Ravens; Everything seem'd Wild and Desert, and double Darkness overspread the Hemisphere; Thunder and Lightning, Storms and Tempest, and Earthquakes, seem'd to Presage something more than Ordinary, and added to the Confusion of that Memorable Night.
It soon becomes clear that the aim of the "Black Society" is to find some means of freeing Marlborough from the threat of punishment which hangs over him, and although the witch's appearance interrupts the announcement of his design to make "a Push at the very Life of--" readers could readily have supplied the name of Oxford, or even of the Queen herself.

But the Tory propagandists had no intention of allowing Marlborough to assume the grandeur and fascination of the satanic figure who was the ultimate of archetype of all aspiring royal favourites. Wagstaffe's account of the Whig conclave was cast in the form of a low-life allegory, with Marlborough in the character of "Avaro," an upstart servant who is soon seen to be more contemptible than dangerous. At the first appearance of the witch the company is thrown into confusion and panic, and Avaro, "notwithstanding his boasted Courage," slinks under the table in terror.

The visit of Prince Eugene to London immediately following Marlborough's dismissal provided the Tory journalists with further highly topical matter for plots and conspiracies involving the Duke. Since the Prince was authorized to give promises of increased military support from the Emperor, as an inducement to the ministry to continue the war until the entire Spanish monarchy was recovered, his mission was described in one Tory journal as "the only Hope now left to the Enemies of the Peace of Utrecht." After Marlborough's opposition to the peace in Parliament, few could have been convinced by the broadside dialogue between the two generals in which Marlborough advises the Prince to confide in the Queen's promises that Allied interests will be taken care of, and not to press for a continuation
of the war. In fact, the fear that Marlborough and Eugene, whose personal and professional association had been so close in the past, would now join forces officially to oppose the treaty was said to have been one of the factors which precipitated the Duke's dismissal; "there is more in these late Changes at Court than we are aware of," one pamphleteer commented cryptically, "I am told Prince Eugene says as such, but a word to the Wise is sufficient."47

But since, on his arrival, Eugene ostentatiously ignored Tory advice to see as little as possible of his disgraced colleague, suspicion still played about the two. The indiscreet utterances, real or invented, of party extremists were always a plausible means of blackening their leaders and associates, and in December 1711 there had been an episode which exactly suited Tory purposes. One Charles Collins had been prosecuted for grossly insulting the Queen and declaring that he would sacrifice "a hundred such as She for Prince Eugene."49 "We see what goes among the Party," a Tory pamphleteer commented triumphantly,50 and in one of Francis Hoffman's broadside attacks on Marlborough, The Portraiture of Oliverus Secundus, a punning reference to Collins' fine of two nobles attributed his treasonable sentiments personally to the Duke: "if ONE NOBLE Such bold Crimes may do, What Treasons may not COLLINS speak for Two?"51

Fuel was added to this controversy when it was reported that a ball in Prince Eugene's honour was to be held at Marlborough House on the Queen's birthday, a traditional occasion for festivities at Court. At once street-hawkers were dispersing papers which taxed the Duke and Duchess not
only with a breach of etiquette, but with "a design to sett up for themselves"; and there were even hints of a projected attempt on the Queen's life. The Whig pamphleteers did their best to ridicule such propaganda: "I never had good Information about the Dancing Plot," one of them later wrote, "so I shall say nothing more of it, than that I took Balls and Consorts to be as distant from Plotting, as the Masters of 'em are from Politicks." Yet by this time, even the most intelligent observers found it difficult to tell fact from fabrication; "the Ball design'd on Thursday night at the D of M. for entertainment of Pr. E. was prudently forbid," White Kennett wrote, "tho we hope no Harm was meant in it: ffears and Suspicions naturally fall upon us." It is somewhat surprising, in view of this readiness to magnify the trivial, that the episode which lent itself most readily to alarmist exploitation in the Tory press received relatively little attention. The ministers had received detailed, but highly dubious information from a Jacobite spy that Eugene, Marlborough, and the Whig leaders were encouraging the activities of gangs of street ruffians, known as Mohocks, as a means of assassinating the ministers without incurring suspicion themselves. Swift was certainly given access to these reports when compiling his History of the Four Last Years of the Queen, but as it happened, his account was to remain unpublished for decades. Otherwise, despite the rumours about the political significance of the Mohocks which were circulating by word of mouth, references to the subject in print were notably vague. Lockhart, one of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, believed that one design of the Mohocks was to break into the offices of the
Commissioners in Essex Street, "and by burning all their papers put a stop to the report against the Duke of Marlborough." This recalled Mrs. Manley's account of the pope-burning ritual of Queen Elizabeth's accession day. But although one broadside account of the Mohock's "Frolicks" described their skirmish with the watch in Essex Street, and another ballad suggested that their activities had arisen out of the official suppression of the earlier affair, there was no explicit mention in print of the rumour credited by Lockhart.

Even those accounts which emphasized the Whig basis of the Mohocks' exploits did not allude to any specific assassination plot involving Marlborough and Eugene. Francis Hoffman's comments on the subject, incorporating his favourite pun on Marlborough's name, simply transposed the destructive and subversive activities of the street gangs on to the plane of state affairs:

... if High and Low
Such Mohocks would know,
Each at the Town's End take your Stations,
Search Indemnity Bills,
The State and Church Iills,
And read the two Representations. 59

The terms "Mohock" and "Whig" were virtually synonymous in a brief History of the Mohocks from Queen Elizabeth to This Present Time, and this made way for the familiar parallel between Cromwell's followers and the supporters of Marlborough. The street gangs, it was now suggested, were the last resort of these chronic rebels against sovereign authority, who were determined by any means in their power to lead the country once more "into the Game of Forty-one." 60
But once the campaign was in progress and Eugene openly at odds with Marlborough's successor, Ormond, over the conduct of the war, there were retrospective accounts of the Prince's visit to England more bitter and specific in their accusations against both him and Marlborough than those which had appeared at the time. In one of these, Eugene was bluntly described as a "Spy" who

\begin{verbatim}
came over to cabal
With Faction, and their darling G[enera]l,
That they the better might consult of Means
To undermine good ANNA's bless'd Designs ...
\end{verbatim}

As usual, opposition to ministerial peace policy was equated with opposition to the Queen herself, and Eugene and his English confederates were said to have been bent not only on prolonging the war, but on "pulling down their Foe the T[reasure]r."\(^{61}\) The last was probably an oblique reference to the proposed assassination of Oxford by the Mohocks.

Yet such propaganda created a problem. Hitherto Eugene had been a Tory hero, chiefly because, by giving him sole credit for the campaigns he had fought with Marlborough, the journalists could plausibly detract from the Duke's achievement.\(^{62}\) Hence, when the "necessity of abusing Prince Eugene" arose, Maynwaring noted that the ministry's supporters "know not how to do it enough, because the Consequence of it must be commending the D. of M."\(^{63}\)

One versifier did ingeniously manage to maintain consistency with earlier propaganda, by explaining that Marlborough had been chosen as "the Party's Oliver" in preference to Eugene,

\begin{verbatim}
Not for thy Conduct, but Revenge and Spleen,
Which in thy warlike Soul together burn,
And qualify thee now to serve their turn.
\end{verbatim}
But had the Whigs been able to gain the mob to their side with their propaganda of Queen Elizabeth's day,

'Tis hard to judge which Gen'ral of the two,  
In such a glorious Work, would be most proud  
To wave his Truncheon to a Whiggish Croud. 64

Yet as the press campaign against Eugene reached its height after his rupture with Ormond and the subsequent defeat of the Allied troops under the Prince's command, some of the commendation which Maynwaring had foreseen was bestowed on Marlborough. Peter Wentworth admitted that "since the Blow the French have given the Allies, I have heard it said, tis a demonstration the Duke of N— is a greater General then Prince Eugene"; 65 and the publication of a pamphlet appropriately entitled Prince Eugene Not the Man You Took Him for soon signalized the complete Tory abandonment of the proposition that Eugene had been largely responsible for the military success of the Allies. In scurrilous low-life allegory, which owed something to Wagstaffe's Story of the St. Alb[al]ns Ghost, it described his early career and his later cabals with the Whigs in England, but denied that he had in any way contributed to the victory of Blenheim; the battle was now said to have been gained solely by "the Valour of the Albinians, under the Command of their General Avaro." 66 This was almost the only advantage gained by Marlborough in the press campaign which followed his dismissal.

Prince Eugene was not the only member of the Alliance with whom Marlborough and the Whigs were alleged to be in treasonable collusion at this stage of the peace negotiations. In April the Tories were infuriated by the publication in the Daily Courant of a Memorial from the States-General,
replying to Tory charges of failure to keep their treaty obligations. The document was condemned officially by the Commons as "a false, scandalous, and malicious Libel," and unofficially by the hostile journalists as yet another expedient devised by the opposition leaders to "teaze our only Happiness, the Queen." For despite its official guise, it was said to be of Whig composition, dispatched to Holland to be signed, and then "remitted with the next fair Wind" for printing in the party press. Wagstaffe, reviving a favourite Tory jibe at Marlborough's supposed illiteracy, printed what pretended to be a copy of the letter sent to Holland with the original draft of the Memorial, informing the recipients that "the Part that is so ill spelt, is Fortunatus's own Hand."

In the course of the next major parliamentary clashes over the ministry's conduct of the war and peace, this theory of a secret correspondence between the Whigs and the Dutch for the plotting of more effective methods of opposition to the ministry came to the fore once again. Boyer was later to claim that the pamphleteers had kept up their accusations of conspiracy against Marlborough, "notwithstanding the constant Precaution he used, since he was removed from the Command of the Army and other Employments, not to intermeddle in Publick Affairs." But although Marlborough had spent some time in retirement at Windsor Lodge after Eugene's departure in March, he returned to London in good time to take his part in the renewed parliamentary onslaught against the ministry at the end of May.

The Whig attack in the Lords against the Restraining Orders failed, however, when Marlborough's own strategy came under criticism from Argyll,
and when Oxford argued that the instructions sent to Ormond had been a justifiable precaution for the prevention of further unnecessary bloodshed. 73 The ministerial victory was duly celebrated in a verse account of the Whig cabal which had preceded the debate, said to have been called together by Marlborough, in outrage at Oxford's plot "to Husband the Treasure and Blood of the Nation." 74

Deprived of their parliamentary majority, Marlborough and other ministerial opponents registered a formal protest against the conduct of the campaign. Almost at once this document was printed, not only in England, but, as the next mail from the Continent revealed, in a Dutch newspaper. Strafford, who had long suspected William Arnold, the pro-Whig gazetteer of Amsterdam, of being Marlborough's "creature," now triumphantly cited this foreign publication as concrete evidence of the correspondence established between the opposition leaders and the Dutch for the purpose of discrediting and overthrowing the ministry. 75

A similar pattern followed the Lords' debate of 7 June over the Queen's speech about the plan of peace. This time the defeated Whig peers' protest against the progress of the negotiations was printed from a copy supplied by Godolphin to Maynwaring. 76 As a result of this second breach of the standing order of the House forbidding unauthorized publication of its proceedings, both Protests were expunged from the Lords' journals and a committee set up to enquire into the matter. 77 But despite the widest circulation, neither document, as Bishop Burnet admitted, had succeeded in breaking through "that insensibility which had stupified the people." 78
In fact the most notable effect of this whole episode was to renew the press campaign against Marlborough.

Defoe, who had at first been concerned at the public reaction to the Whig revelation of the Restraining Orders in the Flying-Post, set to work to divert attention from the ministry's motives by bringing counter-charges against its critics. A few weeks before, the Examiner had printed an appendix to the John Bull pamphlets, said to have been omitted from the originals "thro' Negligence or Wilfulness." In it the Dutch and the Whigs were accused of plotting Ormond's defeat as a means of discrediting the ministry and having Marlborough restored to his command. Defoe now claimed that foreknowledge of this conspiracy had been the chief reason for the ministry's decision not to allow Ormond to venture a battle, and in support of this accusation he referred to the well-known "Secret Correspondence" between the Whigs and "some Leading Men Abroad, who have it much in their Power to do either Good or Hurt in a Day of Battle."

Meanwhile, Marlborough's conspicuous involvement in this further parliamentary opposition to a policy supported by the Queen herself was, to the Tory pamphleteers, evidence that he still cherished his Cromwellian ambitions:

Oppose the Peace, push on the Curse of War,  
Thou Money-loving, Whiggish Falling-Star,  
That thy warm Votaries may play their parts,  
And plague the Throne by their Rebellious Arts,  
Ruffle the Kingdom, fear no Bench or Bar,  
Since they have faithful Friends at Westminster;  
But drive the Nail, since not employ'd abroad,  
Boldly at Home, unpunished and unaw'd,  
Till Thou art call'd to help thy Native Land,  
And head the Whigs to crown the Work in hand,  
Then shall the happy Saints in triumph sing,  
Their Lord Protector's Praise, without a King ...
And since the Duke was apparently "unaw'd" by earlier threats of punishment, these were repeated. The second of the Lords' Protests, in particular, was said to contain expressions amounting to high treason, for which those who had signed it deserved to be sent to the Tower. 83

It was easy after this to insinuate that the signatories of the document, in league with their foreign allies, would not stop at mere expressions of treason. In July there appeared a series of broadsides concerned with the alleged attempt of three heavily armed men to break into Kensington Palace while the Queen was in residence. The first of these publications claimed that the Whigs, following the example of their political ancestors, had proceeded from rebellion to king-killing, and were "attempting to bring about their "Old Game of Forty-Eight." Readers were assured, however, that

Her Majesty was not at all daunted; and blessed be God is in good Health, and fears not the Malice of Discarded G[enera]ls or Ministers, whose base Letters have been lately intercepted to their Idols the D[utch], whom they wou'd fain have Engage with 'em in both our Queen and Nations Ruine .. 84

The second paper purported to describe the arrest and questioning of the three men, who were said to have confessed "that some Great Ones were privy to their Design"; and this was quickly followed by a third, which claimed that "the Duke of Marlborough and some other Lords are taken up, as endeavouring to make their Escape to Holland." 85 That such tales would appear to be false almost as soon as they were issued did not trouble those who made their short-term profit by inventing and dispersing them.

Even after the close of the parliamentary session, when many of the political combatants had retired to the country, and the output of the
party presses was curbed by the new Stamp Tax, means were found to keep up this form of propaganda. The Post Boy was one of the survivors of the new tax and the issue of 12-14 August reported that ministerial opponents had gathered at St. Albans to be entertained under Marlborough's magnificent arras-work campaigning tent, reputedly "the same his Grace formerly made use of in the Camp, wherein were held the Councils of War before any considerable Enterprize was undertaken"; Marlborough himself was said to have left for London early the following day. The tent, it was added, with the now familiar touch of deflating ridicule, had drawn great crowds of sight-seers, "the Price being but Sixpence apiece."

Ridpath in the Flying-Post considered it worthwhile to dispute the accuracy of this account in detail. Since the previous issue of the Post-Boy had reported a further step in the prosecution proceedings for the recovery of the deduction from the pay of foreign troops, Roper had clearly intended, ridicule apart, to imply that Marlborough and his faction had been aroused by this threat of punishment to further desperate acts against the Queen and government.

Yet there was always the danger that the press campaign which followed Marlborough's dismissal would defeat its own ends, by discrediting the Duke's accusers more than the Duke himself, and raising the very cries of injustice and ingratitude which it was designed to forestall. As one historian, by no means uniformly favourable to Marlborough, has commented, "the spectacle of a man, be he bad or good, delivered over to be tormented
by a swarm of mean persecutors is always odious." Moreover, the two principal charges against the Duke, embezzlement of the public money and high treason, came well within the cognizance of the law; the ministerial pamphleteers were therefore unable to adopt the traditional justification of satire and claim that their publications were a means of punishing someone who was beyond the reach of normal legal processes. With these points in mind, Sarah, who referred to this stage of her husband's relations with the ministry as "the persicution," professed indifference to the barrage of detraction, "because tis so infamous a proceeding that I think it does my lord Mortimer more hurt than the Duke of Marlborough with all people that know what a principle is."

These considerations, in fact, did deter two of the ministry's most able supporters from taking their full part in the press campaign. Swift kept his contributions to a minimum and claimed that he tried to moderate others; not, as he frankly explained, for Marlborough's sake, "but because I thought it looked base." In the Review Defoe also censured the practice of substituting printed accusations for formal legal action, "as a Thing not only Barbarous and Inhumane, but Illegal and Scandalous." Although this did not prevent him from publishing anonymous criticism of the Duke, he did at least avoid the subject of the Commissioners' findings in print. To suppose that such propaganda had ministerial sanction, he argued, a shade too vehemently in view of the Examiner's status, "would be the greatest Satyr imaginable upon the Government, as desiring to blast that unblemish'd Character. they could not stain."
Marlborough's supporters naturally stressed the same points even more forcefully. To attack an opponent who was already in disgrace was censured as the "sign of a very base Temper"; Marlborough was said to have suffered unparalleled ill usage in first being turned out of office and then "affronted by every paultry Scribler." The engraved frontispiece of another pamphlet on this subject, reproduced in the accompanying photograph, made the same points by means of an elaborate pictorial allegory. The central figure represents Marlborough, stripped of his armour and pursued by "Envy, with her Troop of Hellish Spirits," who are triumphing at his disgrace:

[and] to express the sense and horror of Ingratitude more lively, Envy her self is tearing the Crown of Laurel taken from his Head, whilst the rest in base and infamous Canto's are insulting his Honour and Reputation. The whole Machine ... seems to shew, that where Virtue is to suffer, the most malicious and artful Calumnies become necessary to give a Colour to Injustice.

On the subject of the press campaign as a substitute for official punishment, the Medley pointed out that

the Faction could have Impeach'd him no where, but the Trophies and Spoils of the Enemy would have appear'd in Court to plead for him; so that they had no other way to Attack him but by the Slander of their Tongues and Pens ...

Since the printed word would serve the purpose of Marlborough's enemies, another pamphleteer argued, "they would never attempt the Proving Crimes ... which they knew was out of their Power." "They may depend upon it," the Observator admonished the Examiner and his patrons,

that it is positive Evidence, and not Bawling or Noise, which must lessen the Duke in the Eyes of the World; and that their railing Accusations, without daring to bring the Matter to a legal Tryal, serve only to convince Mankind, that his Grace is Innocent and his Accusers Guilty.
Much of this criticism was just; yet it did not prevent the Tory propaganda from having an overwhelming impact. Evidence of this comes from Marlborough's remaining supporters. "It's almost incredible how much these vile Libels poisons'd the Minds of the People, and prejudic'd them against him," one Whig annalist lamented. The Medley was revived in March, because the attacks on the Duke had "met with such undeserv'd Success," and the editor of the Protestant Post-Boy agreed that "the Frenzy is Universal, and it looks as if there was a Conspiracy of Mankind, to be Malicious."

Probably no single reason is sufficient to account for this phenomenon; but among the contributing factors must have been the sheer quantity of the propaganda; the concrete evidence of the Duke's dismissal, which suggested that he had deservedly incurred the Queen's displeasure; the parliamentary confirmation of two of the charges against him; and above all the fact that all of them in some way fed the mood of widespread disenchantment with the war and complemented the theme of The Conduct of the Allies, by this time at the peak of its influence. It seems also that the printed lists of Marlborough's incomes, and the conclusions drawn from them about his claims on the gratitude and indulgence of his countrymen, were particular assets to the Tory case; a Whig pamphleteer later recalled that the "Great Incomes of the Duke of Marlborough were made use of to render him Odious to the People; which had the desired Effect."

Once the public began to be convinced of Marlborough's guilt, there could be no difficulty in overriding objections to the press campaign as
such. Oldisworth retorted that he would be ready to commiserate with the Duke, only if it could be established that his disgrace was undeserved. And because the pamphleteers' initial threats of punishment had not been fulfilled, they were now able to argue that Marlborough was actually being treated with notable leniency: "I am very glad to find Britain so gentle in her Punishments, and so boundless in her Rewards," Oldisworth commented, when it became apparent that no impeachment proceedings would be set on foot, "I believe History cannot supply us with any thing that will serve for a Precedent: We have the Glory to stand alone a most singular Example both of Gratitude and Mercy." In the circumstances, the press campaign could be represented as a very mild penalty. Reputation, Swift had argued in The Conduct of the Allies, was "the smallest Sacrifice" which the nation could demand of Marlborough and his faction.

In reality, of course, it was nothing of the kind. The sheer volume and savagery of the propaganda were sufficiently punishing. For the first four months of the year, the Examiner poured out its denunciation of Marlborough in almost every issue, until even Swift began to feel that the Duke was being "used too hardly." And where the chief ministerial spokesman led, others followed. Individual publications, such as the John Bull pamphlets and The Story of the St. Alb[â]ns Ghost, ran to many editions and enjoyed the widest circulation. The controversy even extended to the pulpits of London churches; and particularly damaging, one of the Duke's supporters noted, was the quantity of cheap broadside material;

this is what the Rabble hear daily bawl'd about the Street, and greedily they suck in the Poison: These Scriptions reaching those who cannot buy above a Half pennyworth of Scandal at a Time; and as they make up the Numbers, the Mischief they do is the more pernicious.
One of these publications, if the title is to be believed, was fixed to the gate of Marlborough House while the Duke was in residence. It was impossible for Marlborough himself to escape constant personal awareness of, and contact with, a press campaign conducted on this scale.

Several Whig journalists, in an effort to establish his innocence and discourage his accusers, maintained that he was perfectly indifferent to the press attacks. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Vanbrugh for example, found the Duke so constantly galled by the bitter "persecution of pamphlets, newspapers, and stories" that he could not be approached about the routine business of his Woodstock estate; and in April 1712, Hare noticed that this "most insolent & barbarous usage, from the dayly & almost hourly scandals of grub-street Pamphletts" was beginning to undermine his patron's already precarious health. At the end of the year another journalist went so far as to predict that death would soon release Marlborough's enemies from their fears that he would ever regain his former power; "I could wish, I had no Reason for such a Surmise," the account continued,

but an advanced Age, a crazy Constitution, a Body worn out with continual Fatigues, and a Mind impair'd with uninterrupted Trouble and Ingratitude, cannot hold out very long against the Assaults of Malice and Detraction, that still pursue him in EXAMINERS, and other tolerated, if not authoriz'd, Libels.

That Marlborough, immune from direct attempts on his life by means of impeachment and execution, would succumb to this more insidious form of punishment, was not beyond the hopes of the ministers and their supporters, if one is to judge from Swift's reaction to the news of Marlborough's worsening health; in a letter to Stella he conjectured that the illness
would "soon carry him off; and then the Ministry will be something more at ease." 115

If the mere existence of the propaganda in such quantity was punishment enough, the influence it exercised immeasurably worsened the ordeal. "Men of great and gallant Spirits have Sufferings and Enjoyments peculiar to themselves," Steele remarked the following year, in an attempt to discredit the press campaign,

and the Duke of Marlborough has shewn a Sensibility and Impatience of the Ill-Will of his Countrymen, which plainly discovers, that Death it self had been more welcome than the Loss, I would say, Suspension of their Favour ... 116

There were both personal and political reasons for this reaction. As one apologist remarked,

to have the Common People possess'ed with a belief, that he has enriched himself by impoverishing his Country, by defrauding the poor Soldiers of their Bread, & letting them starve with hunger, must be something of a mortifying consideration, to one that knows he is innocent, and that has any regard for his Honour. 117

This was a mild statement of the case. Marlborough's care of his troops had been exemplary by the standard of his day, and he had always believed, and desired his countrymen to believe, that he had acted in the true interests of his Queen and country; and yet these were the very matters in which his reputation had been undermined.

An unpleasant side-effect of the influence exercised by this propaganda was that Marlborough now faced the prospect of public humiliation whether he remained in town or retired into the country. The insults he received from the London mob soon after his dismissal were reported with relish by a Jacobite observer, and on another occasion, in the autumn of 1712, he was forced to retire from a country race-meeting in order to escape the
contempt of the crowd.\textsuperscript{118}

But more serious was Marlborough's loss of credit as an opponent of a peace policy which he publicly declared to be ruinous both to England and to Protestant Europe. Once he had been publicly branded as a war-profiteer and a would-be usurper, his reputation was of no further use to those who had previously regarded him as the most potent and compelling figurehead for their cause; "'for Good it self can do no Good, while it passes for Evil,'" a Whig pamphleteer admitted, quoting from one of South's Sermons, "'and an Honest Man is in effect useless, while he is accounted a Knave. Both Things and Persons subsist by their Reputation."\textsuperscript{119}
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. The title of a ballad of 1712 concerning the accusations of conspiracy against the Whigs.

2. Protestant Post-Boy, No.54 (3-5 January 1711/2).

3. W. Wogan to Percival, 1 January 1711/2, B.M. Add. MSS 47026, f.100.


5. Swift, Prose Works, VI, pp.44-45; Swift here hints that Marlborough's ambition, if not checked by the ministerial changes, would have extended to Kingship.

6. Ronald Paulson, The Fictions of Satire (Baltimore, 1967), p.120.

7. This pamphlet was published on 10 January, 1712, with a second edition on 23 January; see Moore, Checklist, p.93, Item 227. Page references to it in the ensuing discussion are given parenthetically in the text.

8. The Wisdom of Looking Backward (1715), p.161; see also Observator, XI, No.6 (16-19 January 1712).


10. No Queen or No General, or a Story Told to Prince Eugene upon his Arrival in England (1711/2), s.sh.


12. Rufinus, or an Historical Essay on the Favourite-Ministry under Theodosius the Great and his Son, Arcadius (1712: advertised Post Boy, No.2607, 24-26 January 1711/2, "Just publish'd").

13. Charles Dive's pamphlet of 1713, The Treasurer and the General, or an Historical Enquiry into the Character of Stilicho, argues in detail that King distorted his historical allegory in order to denigrate Marlborough and eulogize Oxford.

14. J.F., A Letter from a Curate of Suffolk to a High-Church Member concerning the D. of H. and Mr. Walpole (1712), p.11.
15. Schilling, Dryden and the Conservative Myth, p. 68.


17. For Marlborough's attitude to the Barrier question, see Roderick Geikie and Isabel A. Montgomery, The Dutch Barrier 1705-1719 (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 139-143; for the pamphleteer's taunts, see the Conduct of the Allies, in Swift, Prose Works, VI, p. 29; Daniel Defoe, A Further Search into the Conduct of the Allies and the Late Ministry (1712), pp. 43-44 (advertised, Post-Boy, No. 2667, 12-14 June 1712); and Examiner, III, No. 8 (11-18 December 1712).

18. A Vindication of Oliver Cromwell and the Whiggs of Forty-One (1712), p. 11 (advertised, Post Boy, No. 2619, 21-23 February 1711/2); in No Punishment, No Government, p. 15 there is a promise of "another Treatise" to elaborate the theme of the first, and the Vindication is clearly identified on p. 11 as this promised sequel. The two pamphlets are obviously by the same author. There are somewhat similar accusations based on the Barrier Treaty, though without specific charges against Marlborough, in Swift's pamphlet of February 1712, Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty between Her Majesty and the States-General (Prose Works, VI, p. 93), and in Some Remarks on the Letters between the Lord Townshend and Mr. Secretary Boyle (1712), pp. 13-16.

19. The Reward of Ambition, Exemplified in Aesop's Fable of the Courtier (n.p., 1712), s.sh.; The Fate of M. Manlius Capitolinus (n.p., 1712; advertised, Post-Boy, No. 2600, 8-10 January 1711/2); M. Manlius Capitolinus (n.p., 1712) (advertised, Post Boy, No. 2604, 17-19 January 1711/2); Post-Boy, No. 2606 (22-24 January, 1711/2).


22. An Exhortation to the Love of our Country (1712), p. 3.

23. No Queen or No General, pp. 9-11; Rufinus, p. 5; see also, the verses sarcastically entitled, The Ungrateful World, or the Hard Case of a Great General (n.p., 1712), s.sh.

24. Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, ed. N. J. Routh (Oxford 1863), VI, p. 86; [Thomas Burnet], The History of Ingratitude,
or a Second Part of Antient Precedents for Modern Facts (1712), p.27; [John Oldmixon], The Life and History of Belisarius ... with an Account of his Disgrace, the Ingratitude of the Romans, and a Parallel between Him and a Modern Heroe (1713).

25. Exhortation to the Love of our Country, p.3.


27. Plain Dealer, No.3 (26 April 1712).


31. The Land-Leviathan, or Modern Hydra (1712), p.15 (advertised, Post-Boy, No.2611, 2-5 February 1711/2).


33. Examiner, II, No.6 (3-10 January 1711/2); Review, VIII, No.130 (22 January 1712), p.522.

34. The King of France's Letter to the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris (n.p., [1712]), s.sh.; The French King's Letter to Pope Clement XI, Anno 1712 (n.p., [1712]), s.sh.; An Excellent New Song Call'd the Full Tryal and Condemnation of John, Duke of Marlborough (n.p., [1712]), s.sh.; this last piece was also published with the title, The Flanders Ballad, or the D---e of Marlborough's Rare Show. (n.p., [1712]), s.sh., and in the Observator, XI, No.52 (25-28 June 1712).

35. M.N., Reflections upon the Present Posture of Affairs (1712), pp.4-7 (advertised, Daily Courant, No.3229, 19 February 1712).

36. [Charles Leslie], Salt for the Leach, in Reflections upon Reflections (1712), pp.5-6 (advertised, Post-Boy, No.2659, 24-27 May 1712).

37. (Baker edn.), No.22 (12-16 May 1712).

38. No Punishment, No Government, p.11.
39. Plain Dealer, No. 3 (26 April 1712), italics reversed in the quotation; Post Boy, No. 2647 (26-29 April 1712).

40. XI, No. 54 (2-5 July 1712).

41. Medley, No. 8 (24-28 March 1712).

42. Pp. 41-42; the first edition of this pamphlet was advertised in the Post-Man, No. 2001 (19-22 May 1711), and a third edition in the Post Boy, No. 2599 (5-8 January 1711/2). In a letter to Trumbull of 8 June 1711, Ralph Bridges described it as the most notable of current publications (Berks R.O. Trumbull MSS LIV).

43. The verses are printed in a single sheet dated 1712.

44. The Story of the St. Alb[a]ns Ghost, or the Apparition of Mother Haggy (1712), pp. 13-16.


46. Morgan, Bibliography, II, p. 300, Item 0229 records an English version of this publication, entitled Welcome to England, or a Dialogue between Two Great Generals relating to the Peace (1712). I have been unable to trace a copy of this and have therefore relied on a French manuscript translation, headed "Arrivee du P. d'Eugenne en Angre ou Dialogue entre deux grands Generaux a l'occ d la Paix," Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, Correspondance politique Angleterre, 234, ff. 202-203.

47. Political State, III (January 1711/2), pp. 11-12; They Are All Mad and Bewitch'd, or the Devil to Do at Westminster and at St. James's (n.p., [1712]), s. sh.

48. For Eugene's constant association with Marlborough, despite Drummond's warning on behalf of the ministers, see Political State, III (February 1711/2), pp. 142-143; Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, VI, p. 89; and John Oldmixon, The History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, King George I (1735), p. 485.

49. St John to the Attorney-General, 18 December 1711, P.R.O. S.P. (Domestic) 44/111.
50. [Charles Leslie], Natural Reflections upon the Present Debates about Peace and War (1712), p.12.

51. For the attribution of this piece to Francis Hoffman, see p.264, n.75 above.

52. Wentworth to Strafford, 12 January 1712, The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739, ed. J.J. Cartwright (1883), pp. 247-248; this letter must be dated in error, since it describes the events of the Queen's birthday, 6 February 1712.

53. Who Plot Best: the Whigs or the Tories? (1712), p.16.


56. Swift, Prose Works, VII, pp.26-27 (see also pp.xi-xviii for the delays in the publication of this work).

57. The Lockhart Papers, Containing Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715, ed. Anthony Aufrère (1817), I, pp.364-365.

58. The Town-Rakes, or the Frolicks of the Mohocks or Hawkubites (1712), s.sh.; The Mohocks' Revel: an Excellent New Song (1712), s.sh.

59. Vulpoon in the Snare (n.p., 1712), s.sh.

60. This pamphlet is undated, but was advertised in the Evening Post, No.409 (22-24 March 1712).


62. [Daniel Defoe], A Short Narrative of the Life and Actions of His Grace, John D. of Marlborough (1711), p.26; [Francis Hare], Bouchain: in a Dialogue between the Late Medley and Examiner (1711), pp.6-7.

63. To Sarah, "Friday night" [mid-1712], Blenheim MSS E27.


66. This pamphlet, dated 1712, was advertised in the *Spectator*, No. 471 (30 August 1712). The quotation about Blenheim is on p. 27.

67. **Daily Courant**, Nos. 3270 (7 April 1712), and 3271 (8 April 1712).

68. **Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England** (1806-1820), VI, col. 1124.


71. **Political State**, IV (November 1712), p. 419.

72. *Cardonnel to Watkins*, 22 April 1712, B. M. Add. MSS 42176, f. 368; see also *The Devil and the Peers, or the Princely Way of Sabbath-Breaking* (1712), s. sh.

73. **Cobbett's Parliamentary History**, VI, cols. 1136-39.

74. **A Plot or No Plot** (1712), s. sh.

75. **Cobbett's Parliamentary History**, VI, cols. 1139-41. The English version of the Protest appeared without title, date, or imprint. For the foreign publication and Strafford's comment on it, see L'Hermitage to the States-General, 13 June 1712, B. M. Add. MSS 17677FFF, ff. 244v-245. In a letter to Oxford of 25 December 1711/5 January 1712, Strafford made the connection between Marlborough and the gazetteer of Amsterdam (H. M. C. Portland MSS, IX, p. 316); and in a letter to Henry Watkins of 4/15 March 1712, William Arnold revealed that he had been in correspondence with Watkins while the latter was on Marlborough's staff, and in another of 10/21 March 1712,
rejected Watkins' advice to moderate his support of the Whig cause in print (B.M. Add. MSS 38852, ff. 142 and 144).


77. Cobbett's Parliamentary History, VI, col. 1151.

78. Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, VI, p. 124.


80. II, No. 24 (8-15 May 1712).


83. Lettres Historiques, XLII (1712), p. 221, giving an account of a Lords' debate about the Protests; cf. [William Wagstaffe], The Second Representation of the Loyal Subjects of Albiniæ (1712), pp. 4-5 and 10-12.

84. A Full and True Account of a Most Horrid Cruel Plot against the Queen at Kensington on Wednesday Night Last (1712), s. sh.

85. I know of no surviving copy of these two sheets, but their contents are described in detail in the Observator, XI, No. 54 (2-5 July 1712).

86. As a result of this tax on newspapers (a halfpenny for a half-sheet, a penny for a whole sheet) four of the publications involved in the press campaign for and against Marlborough ceased; namely the Supplement, the Plain Dealer, the Protestant Post-Boy, and the Observator. The Medley was combined with the Flying-Post, and there was a general decline in the circulation of the periodical press in the months immediately following the introduction of the tax; see Fredrick Seaton Siebert, Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776 (Urbana, 1952), p. 314; and Henry L. Snyder

87. No.2693 (12-14 August 1712).
88. No.3259 (16-19 August 1712).
89. No.2692 (9-12 August 1712).
95. Medley (Baker edn.), No.22 (12-16 May 1712).
96. [Thomas Burnet], Our Ancestors as Wise as We, or Ancient Precedents for Modern Facts (1712), p.4.
97. This engraving first appeared as the frontispiece of a pamphlet entitled: The Triumph of Envy, or the Vision of Shilock the Jew (1712: advertised, Protestant Post-Boy, No.74, 19-21 February, 1711/2). It was also reproduced in a large broadside of 1713, The Memorable History of John of Antwerp, which was "recommended to be Framed and hung up"; it is from a detailed verbal explanation of the allegory in this second publication that my quotation is taken.
98. Medley (Baldwin edn.), No.22 (12-16 May 1712).
100. XI, No.26 (26-29 May 1712).
101. [David Jones], A Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1711 (1711), p.477.
102. Medley, No.1 (3 March 1712); Protestant Post-Boy, No.58 (12-15 January 1711/2).

104. Examiner, II, No. 8 (17-24 January 1711/2).

105. Examiner, II, No. 9 (24-31 January 1711/2).


108. The most notable discourse of this kind was Joseph Trapp's Sermon Preach'd at the Parish Church of St. Martin in the Fields, Jan. the 16th 1711/2 (1712); for the controversy it provoked, see Mesech and Kedar, or Reflections upon a Scurrilous Pamphlet, Entitl'd Mr. Trapp's Sermon (1712); and [Kennett], Wisdom of Looking Backward, p. 167.


110. [Francis Hoffman], The True Copy of a Paper Stuck upon the D. of M----'s Gate at St. James's on Saturday Last, Being the Day of Her Majesty's Succession to the Crown (1712), s. sh.

111. Protestant Post-Boy, No. 54 (3-5 January 1711/2); The Thoughts of a Tory Author concerning the Press (1712), pp. 15-16; [Jones], Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1711, p. 477.


113. To Watkins, 11 April 1712, B. M. Add. MSS 33225, f. 116v.


Epilogue

IN EXILE

By August 1712, after the close of the parliamentary session, Marlborough had privately decided to leave England for the Continent. Some weeks later, when his decision had become public knowledge, it was given out that he was travelling for his health, but recent research into his real motives has shown that Tory suspicions of his complicity with the Allies, for the purpose of ousting Oxford's ministry, had not been without foundation. Marlborough, in fact, finding his parliamentary opposition to the government's schemes ineffectual, was hoping to persuade the Allies to mount an invasion of England, in order to prevent the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, overthrow the ministry, and so forestall a Jacobite restoration.

The journalists, not wholly content with the official explanation of Marlborough's going, yet ignorant of his true motives, set out to make what party capital they could of the matter. To his sympathizers there seemed little need to look beyond his long and bitter ordeal at the hands of the ministerial pamphleteers to account for his decision to leave the country. "There's no Mind so great and elated, but will be more or less shock'd with Calumny, and would gladly be out of the Reach or at least Hearing of it," a Whig annalist remarked; and Boyer agreed that "it was high time for his Grace to leave the Kingdom, when so many Arts were used to render him obnoxious, and to involve him in any thing that look'd like a Design against the Government."
To dignify Marlborough's apparent readiness to give ground to his enemies, Ridpath delved into the annals of classical and Shakespearean history to produce an impressive array of "illustrious Persons," forced into voluntary exile by "the Folly, the Vices, or the Ingratitude" of their countrymen, who had invariably been the chief sufferers thereby; and he was also able, by an examination of the Duke's particular circumstances, to bid for sympathy for the aging, infirm, isolated figure, forced (by the ill Usage he has had) to leave his Wife and Children, Relations, Friends, Dependants and Servants, to seek a little Rest and Quiet in some Foreign Climate, in his declining Years, which his own Native Country would not, after all his Services, afford him. 5

Admittedly the pathos of this account was somewhat contrived; Sarah was to follow her husband abroad in the new year, and the travelling pass with which Marlborough was supplied by the Queen made provision for a very ample retinue of servants. 6 Nevertheless, as an explanation of Marlborough's journey, it was undeniably plausible. Indeed, hostile observers were inclined to believe that his sole motive in going was "to fling an odium on the government, as who should say, that one, who has done such great services to his country, cannot live quietly in it, by reason of the malice of his enemies." 7

But although Whig journalists were ready to use Marlborough's plight to revive the cry of ingratitude against his opponents, they were also at pains to scotch the notion that his departure was a further move in the political game. Lest suspicion be aroused by his decision to seek sanctuary among the European opponents of the peace, it was given out that his ultimate
destination was his little German principality of Mindelheim, where he could live quietly and with honour among those who still appreciated his services.  

This was the message of the most well-known of the printed comments in the Duke's exile, the variously-attributed verses addressed To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, on the Report of His Going into Germany:

Go, Mighty PRINCE, and those Great Nations see,  
Which thy Victorious Arms before made Free;  
View that Fam'd Column, where thy Name engrav'd,  
Shall tell their Children who their Empire sav'd.  
Point out that Marble, where thy Worth is shown  
To every Grateful Country, but thy Own.

There was the hint, for the benefit of those Whigs who looked to Marlborough to preserve the Protestant Succession, that he would be ready to return "when his Country's Cause requir'd"; but it was also stressed that he had left England in order to avoid further involvement in the clashes of "factional Parties."  

Both friends and enemies of the Duke, it seems, were ready to take this last assurance at its face value; and Oldisworth, realizing that it had caused some resentment in Whig circles, hastened to demoralize the ministerial opposition still further, by claiming that Marlborough had "fairly Abdicated and Deserted his Friends" when their cause was at its lowest ebb and they stood in most need of his assistance.  

There was also the task of stripping the departing Duke of the pathos and dignity with which his admirers had invested him. With this in mind, the Tory pamphleteers preferred to describe Marlborough's journey not as "exile" but as "banishment," the verbal ostracism of recent propaganda translated into practice. Somewhat inconsistently, it was also represented
as a flight from justice, or at least as evidence that Marlborough had
been so intimidated by reiterated threats of punishment that he had decided
to withdraw completely from English politics. This interpretation, which
nicely combined implications of guilt and cowardice, gained plausibility
from the common Tory assumption that for years past Marlborough had been
hoarding his wealth in foreign banks, in case the discovery of his crimes
should ever compel him to flee the country. 11

If the pamphlet in which this derogatory view of Marlborough's exile
had clearest expression was more good-humoured than much recent propaganda,
the result was a corresponding loss of dignity for the central figure.
In crude verse soliloquy, the Duke himself admits the truth of his enemies' assumption that he is leaving the country because he fears the fulfilment of
"Mother Jennings Prophecy" concerning his imminent execution:

Nor were they therein much mistaken,
'Tis Policy, to save one's Bacon:
For who can tell where Things 'wou'd rest,
Where [sic I to say, and stand the Test.

Adieu then--Let an Exile tread
Where he may safely trust his Head;
For still to live 'twixt Hope and Fear,
Do's worse than Banishment appear.
To German Courts let me repair,
'Tis for my Health, the change of Air ... 12

The last line gave an amusing, ironic twist to the official explanation
of Marlborough's journey.

It was rather surprising, in view of recent Tory propaganda, that there was no attempt to accuse Marlborough of a design to rally European opposition to the ministry in person. On the other hand, it appeared
quite natural to converts of The Conduct of the Allies that he should seek refuge among those for whom he had betrayed his own country's interests:

They must caress me, or they're Clowns,
I made 'em Pennyworths of Towns;
'Gainst which I knock'd out Britain's Brains,
And spent its Coin in long Campaigns ...  13

This was also the message of the final impenitent Tory valedictory to the Duke, a crude and vicious line-by-line parody of the well-known eulogy already quoted:

Go, petty Prince, that boggy Nation see
Which is enrich'd by thy damn'd Villany,
View there the Bank, where all thy money's laid,
And tell thy Children what for y' Thou hast say'd,
Point out that Field, where most thy Treachery's known,
To every Country grateful, but thy own ...  14

On the eve of Marlborough's departure in December 1712 there was an event, which, for the Whigs, substantiated the claim that Tory propaganda was making it impossible for him to remain in England, and for the Tories, added weight to the insinuation that his journey was a flight from justice.

Although the mass of conflicting evidence concerning the duel between Lord Mohun and the Duke of Hamilton has been exhaustively reviewed several times, the existence of a Whig conspiracy, implemented by Mohun and his second, Maccartney, to assassinate the Jacobite Duke still remains problematic. But whatever the historical verdict, the allegations of foul play against Maccartney by the Duke's second, Colonel Hamilton, were accepted unquestioningly in Tory circles.  15
Marlborough's involvement in the affair, as it was represented in the many official and unofficial publications on the subject, rested on two points. The first was his association with the two Whig duellists. Maccartney had been one of the officiers cashiered in 1710 for his indiscreet expressions of support for the Duke; and it was only a few months since Mohun had carried Marlborough's challenge to Lord Poulet after the latter's insult during the debate over the Restraining Orders. Oldisworth was the first to make the connection between this incident and the later episode, claiming that Marlborough had

set the Example of Party Duels, which was only to give them a Sanction (for Care was taken that his Person should not be exposed), and deputed that infamous Messenger of his Challenge, to be the general Bully of the Faction. 16

But this was the kind of propaganda which would be acceptable only to those who enjoyed a taunt at Marlborough for its own sake, however patently ill-founded it might be; for, as Boyer indignantly pointed out, it was well-known that the Duke had challenged Poulet only under extreme provocation, and that it had been the intervention of Lady Poulett and the Queen herself which had prevented him from pressing the quarrel to its conclusion. 17

The second piece of evidence implicating Marlborough in the Mohun-Hamilton affair was apparently more serious and objective: namely the sworn testimony of Rice Williams, Mohun's footman, that on the day before the duel had taken place Mohun and Maccartney had spent some time at Marlborough House. But on this point a complication arises. According to Boyer, who is followed by Sir Winston Churchill, this "insinuation" which implicated
Marlborough had first been made at the Coroner's Inquest on the bodies of Mohun and Hamilton. But if this was so, none of the depositions taken at the Inquest, and subsequently printed, record the fact. It was not until the trial of Colonel Hamilton some weeks later, that Rice Williams' testimony contained the allusion to the visit to Marlborough House. The point of interest is that Williams' deposition at the Inquest was substantially the same as the evidence he gave at the trial, except for this one point relating to Marlborough.

It is tempting to explain this difference as a deliberate suppression of evidence by the printer in the first instance, especially as the depositions taken at the Coroner's Inquest were first published under Whig auspices with the Baldwin imprint; and, in fact, the Whigs were accused of "printing and dispersing a counterfeit and unfaithful Copy" of these testimonies. On the other hand, Williams' deposition was printed unaltered in another account of the legal proceedings which followed the duel, and this tract was so far from favouring Whigs that it included Colonel Hamilton's accusations of foul play against Maccartney. Had there been any suppression of evidence by the Whigs, one would expect it to have been corrected in this context. It is surprising that no Whig pamphleteer drew attention to a discrepancy which suggests the possibility, at least, that Williams had been suborned to incriminate Marlborough when he gave his evidence for the second time at Colonel Hamilton's trial. Maccartney's account of the events leading up to the duel made no mention of a visit to Marlborough House. It is therefore not certain whether it actually took
place, much less whether Mohun and Maccartney actually saw the Duke or discussed the possibility of assassinating Hamilton in the course of the duel.

Nevertheless, the evidence was more than sufficient to establish Marlborough's guilt in Tory eyes. The Post Boy rushed Williams' evidence into print before the official transcript of the trial could be published, and it was not long before Marlborough's direction of the whole assassination plot was being represented as matter of fact; one Tory pamphleteer maintained that he had heard "poor Duke Hamilton's Murder not only excused, but commended" by the Whigs, "and the Actor of it made the second Hero of their Toast, after his Grace who advised it." According to a defender of the Duke, "the Falsehood of such unchristian Reports" was itself sufficient reason for Marlborough to retire abroad; although the fact that Maccartney also fled to Holland soon afterwards, rather than stand his trial under Tory auspices, cast a further suspicion on Marlborough. A pamphlet entitled John the Bailiff's Letter to Robin the Steward, parodying the conciliatory relations which Marlborough maintained with Oxford for the period of his exile, ended:

I am sorry to hear it is Suggested, as if Jack Snugg the Corporal, who barbarously Stab'd one of my Lady's Courtiers, is come over to me in Lincolnshire, to conceal himself, as if I had been privy to the Design, I declare I have not seen him, and do utterly abhor so barbarous a Design.

Journalistic interest in Marlborough's activities declined considerably after his departure. Although the Duke himself complained
in April 1713 that "no retirement can protect me from the malice of the Examiner,"28 Oldisworth in fact had little enough attention to spare for one whom he now contemptuously termed the "Broken General."29 This lack of interest was most conspicuously demonstrated after the publication of a further Report from the Commissioners of Public Accounts in the spring of 1713. Amongst other things, it brought further accusations of war-profiteering against Marlborough,30 but Oldisworth, who had devoted issue after issue of his journal to discussing the contents of the first Report, seems scarcely to have noticed this further instalment.

Indeed, to many pamphleteers, there must have seemed little point in keeping up a press campaign which had apparently achieved all that could be expected of it. Printed criticism of the Duke's conduct in both civil and military spheres had facilitated the ministerial changes in 1710; journalistic pressure had helped to keep him in office for the one campaign more which had been necessary to secure a peace; the printed word had played a major part, first in discrediting his opposition to the peace, and then in justifying his removal from office: and the pamphleteers' activities, together with their threats of punishment, had, according to the Duke's own supporters, intimidated him so thoroughly as to make him abandon the English political scene altogether.

Once or twice during the period of Marlborough's exile these threats were repeated, evidently in the confidence that they were the best means of ensuring his quiescence:
If a certain great G[enera]l ... had not gone abroad to take the Air, to avoid a Storm at Home; the Lord knows but he would be call'd coram nobis next Session to Ballance his Accompts with Sir Solomon: But the Lord knows whether he'll venture to return while he sees the Wind blow so high. 31

And in fact Marlborough was so impressed by the continuing prospect of impeachment that Oxford was still able to use it as a bargaining-counter.32

Meanwhile, those who regarded Marlborough as the future champion of the Protestant Succession had not altogether abandoned their attempts to salvage his reputation. Early in 1713, Haynward's biography of the Duke was posthumously published, in many respects a reply to Tory propaganda, but drawing heavily on the writings of Hare and Boyer as source material.33

And in successive issues of the Flying-Post, Ridpath followed Marlborough's progress across Europe, noting both his honourable reception and the execrations bestowed on those who had forced him into exile.34

Sarah, in close touch with the English political scene even while abroad, was very much in favour of this propaganda, urging that "if the nation begins to see the villany of 81 [the ministers] it is good to bring out as many things as one can to load them, & consequently to clear 26 [Marlborough] to the people."35 But not all the Duke's supporters were convinced of the wisdom of this procedure. In 1715, with George I safely on the throne, the clergyman who had preached a eulogistic sermon in Marlborough's presence before his departure from Dover in December 1712 revealed that one of the Duke's friends had advised him against publishing it at the time, lest "a Panegyrick upon Cato" be construed as "a Satyr upon Caesar," and the wrath of Marlborough's ministerial opponents descend on his head.36
The reference here was to the most substantial controversy involving Marlborough while he was in exile; and this was inspired not by any political event, but by the performance at Drury Lane Theatre in April 1713 of Addison's tragedy, Cato. Goaded by the general Whig assumption that the character of Cato, exemplar of all civil, military, and domestic virtues, was a portrait of Marlborough "as near as one great, wise, and virtuous man can be compared to another," the Tory journalists hastened to print their rival interpretations. According to these, Caesar, the would-be dictator, was a more accurate representation of the Duke. There was also the opportunity for a renewed taunt at the supposedly intimidated and broken general. One pamphleteer, challenging the parallel between Marlborough and Cato in detail, pointed out that Addison had extolled his Roman hero's fortitude and resolution under misfortune, whereas the Duke had chosen "rather to fly from what should exercise his Patience, than abide the Tryal of it."

The publication in 1713 of a pamphlet entitled An Argument against Banishment, or the Meeting of Disaffected Persons Abroad Dangerous to a Government suggests that perhaps not all were convinced of Marlborough's harmlessness in exile. It turned out, however, that Allied support for his design to overthrow the ministry was unforthcoming, and his armed intervention to secure the Protestant Succession unnecessary. As one Whig who had been in the secret remarked, "God was pleased to preserve the Hanover Succession to us and in that our Religion & libertys by gentle and natural means ... rather than by rebellion & blood."
In fact, Marlborough was never again to hold that position of commanding influence in English politics which would have revived the paper war on its past scale. Early in 1714, having failed in the initial object of his self-imposed exile, he began his journey home, news of which brought a hint from one pamphleteer that impeachment proceedings might still be in order. But on 1 August, the day of Marlborough's landing in England, the Queen died, and the proclamation of the Hanoverian Succession meant that it was Oxford and Bolingbroke, and not Marlborough, who would have impeachment to fear from henceforth.

Even so, those who imagined that the Duke's detractors would vanish at his return, "As noxious Vapours fly before the Sun," were somewhat over-optimistic. Marlborough's triumphal entry into London amid public acclamations might, in Boyer's words, be "the least Atonement England could make, for her former Ingratitude to the greatest Heroe she ever bore"; it was certainly welcome evidence that the effects of past propaganda were not to be everlasting; but it also afforded old enemies matter for cavil. Condemnation in both prose and verse of this "Republican Procession" or "frantic Cavalcade" was not long in appearing.

There were also those, dissatisfied equally with the Hanoverian settlement and with Marlborough's restoration to high office and royal favour, who appeared ready to revive old controversies:

But John of Marlborough hath got
Our mighty Monarch's Ear.
Whence we conclude our Liege—is stout,
And scorns to think of Fear:
Else why shou'd he Jack Churchill trust,
Who never yet to Prince was just?
Yet Marlborough himself, in the rapidly declining health which was soon to remove him from public life altogether, could afford to ignore these persistent voices. They were no longer encouraged and protected by those in power, and he was no longer their prime target. In fact, even during the period of his exile, his attitude to his critics had undergone something of a change. Distance, or perhaps the dreary realization that they could do no worse to him than they had already done, had bred in him a certain stoicism, and he was even able to look forward to a time when his reputation would no longer be at their mercy.

Resignedly, therefore, he agreed with Craggs that the vilany and mallice of my Enemys are such that were I even at Constantinople thay wou'd indeavour to vex mee; but as I am fully satisfied that I have always acted to the best of my understanding for the true intirest of the Queen and my Country, I shall hope in some time honest people will approve of my behavior, and for the rest I do really despise them. 47
NOTES TO THE EPILOGUE

1. [David Jones], A Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1712 (1713), p. 363.


3. [Jones], Compleat History of Europe ... for the Year 1712, p. 363.


5. Flying-Post, Nos. 3299 (18-20 November 1712), and 3303 (27-29 November 1712, combined with the Medley).

6. Post Boy, No. 2728 (1-4 November 1712); Coxe, III, p. 326.


9. These verses, published early in November 1712, were attributed to Addison, and to Samuel Garth, but were probably the work of George Sewell; see Robert Parker and Comte de Mérode-Westerloo: the Marlborough Wars, ed. David Chandler (1968), pp. 114-115; and Albert Rosenberg, "The Authorship of the Verses on Marlborough's Exile," Notes and Queries, CCI (1956), pp. 429-430. For the view of some Whigs that Marlborough had gone abroad so that the ministry could not prevent his assisting the Hanoverian cause in case of need, see Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, ed. M.J. R[outh] (Oxford, 1823), VI, p. 135.

10. Examiner, III, Nos. 3 (6-13 November 1712), and 10 (22-26 December 1712); for evidence of some Whig resentment at Marlborough's departure, see Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, VI, p. 135; and The Lockhart Papers, Containing Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715, ed. Anthony Aufrere (1817), I, p. 396.

11. See, [Daniel Defoe], A Short Narrative of the Life and Actions of His Grace John, D. of Marlborough (1711), p. 7; They Are All Mad and Bewitch'd, or the Devil to Do at Westminster and at St. James's (n.p., [1712]), 8. sh.; The Whigs No Plunderers (n.p. 1711), 8. sh.

12. A Trip to Germany, or the D. of M----h's Farewell to England [1712], pp. 2-4.

13. Trip to Germany, p. 5.
14. Undated verses, Bodleian Eng. Poet. MSS e. 87, f.154; there is another copy in Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS Pw V 1151, endorsed "Answer to Dr. G[arth]'s copy of verses on the D. of M's leaving England." The manuscript circulation was probably a means of evading the Stamp Tax.


17. A True and Impartial Account of the Animosity, Quarrel and Duel between the Late Duke of Hamilton, and the Lord Mohun (1712), pp.18-19.


19. Williams' deposition was first printed in The Substance of the Denositions Taken at the Coroner's Inquest the 17th, 19th, and 21st, November on the Body of Duke Hamilton; and on the 15th, 18th, 20th, and 22d on the Body of My Lord Mohun (1712), s.sh. (advertised, Daily Courant, No. 3472, 27 November 1712); a fuller version was given on pp.13-14 of the enlarged second edition of this publication (advertised, Daily Courant, No. 3476, 2 December 1712). Williams' deposition at the trial was printed in A Particular Account of the Trial of John Hamilton Esq. ... on Friday the Twelfth of December 1712 (Published by the order of the Lord Mayor, 1712), p.2.


21. A True and Impartial Account of the Murder of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon by Mr. Mackartney (1712), p.3 (advertised, Post-Boy, No.2744, 9-11 December 1712); cf. Defoe's comment in his Strict Enquiry into the Circumstance of a Late Duel (1713), p.20, that the depositions at the inquest and the trial, "being Published by two opposite Parties, are made to differ as much as Malice can bring about."


24. No. 2745 (11-13 December 1712); for fuller details, Roper here refers readers to the official account of the evidence at the trial (that cited n. 19 above), to be published "on Monday Morning next."


27. P. 6; this piece is undated, but was probably published early in 1713; for an indication of Marlborough's relations with Oxford at this time, see Marlborough to Oxford, 4/15 December 1712, H.M.C. Bath MSS, I, p. 225.

28. To Craggs, 7/18 April 1713, B.M. Stowe MSS 751, f. 25.

29. Examiner, IV, No. 23 (31 July-3 August 1713).


31. Tit for Tat, for the Lord Knows What [1713], s.sh.


33. The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals was advertised in the Flying-Post, No. 3346 (7-10 March 1712/3); Maynwaring himself had died in November 1712. For details of his source material, see Henry L. Snyder, "Arthur Maynwaring, Richard Steele, and The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals," Studies in Bibliography, XXIV (1971), pp. 159-160.

34. Nos. 3307 (6-9 December 1712), 3308 (9-11 December 1712), and 3310 (13-16 December 1712).

35. To Craggs, 14/25 June [1713], B.M. Stowe MSS 751, f. 63v.

36. See the Preface to John Mackqueen's collection of Sermons, British: Valour Triumphing over French Courage under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough (1715), sig. a1v (italics reversed in the quotation).

37. Lady Mohun to Sarah, 24 April 1713, Private Corr., II, p. 86; see also, The Unfortunate General, or the History of the
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38. Mr. Addison Turn'd Tory, or the Scene Inverted (1713), p.4; Examiner, III, No.47 (1-4 May 1713).


41. Percival's "character" of Marlborough, B.M. Add. MSS 47128, f.51v.

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B.M. British Library, Reference Division, Department of Printed Books (at the British Museum).


C.U.L. Cambridge University Library.

U.C.L. Library of University College London.

U.L.L. University of London Library.

2. Newspapers and Periodicals.

3. Manuscripts.

(i) In National Repositories.

(ii) In County Record Offices.

(iii) In University Libraries.

(iv) In Private Collections.

4. Published Journals, Correspondence, Contemporary Histories, etc.

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3. **MANUSCRIPTS.**

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State Papers, Foreign:
- Series 77, Vols. 59, 60 (Flanders, 1710-1712).
- Series 87, Vols. 4, 7 (Military Expeditions, 1708-1712).

Shaftesbury Papers:
- P.R.O. 30/24, Vols. 21, 45 (Correspondence and papers of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, 1700-1715).

Baschet's Transcripts:

**British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts**

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Additional MSS:
- 9092-9124 (Transcripts of the Blenheim Palace MSS made for Archdeacon William Coxe).
- 17677DDD, 17677EEE, 17677FFF (Transcripts from the Archives of the United Provinces at The Hague, including news-letters concerning English affairs, 1709-1712).
- 22196 (Letters from William Cadogan to Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, with draft replies, 1703-1710).
- 22201 (Including letters from Henry Watkins to William Harrison, 1711-1712).
- 22205 (Including letters from Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Earl of Strafford to Henry St John, 1711-1712).
23903 (Political satire of the Queen Anne period).

28052, 28057 (Correspondence of the Godolphin family, including letters from Francis Hare to Francis Godolphin, 1706).

31143-31144 (Correspondence of the Wentworth family, including some of the Queen Anne period).

32679 (Including letters from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717-1740).

33225 (Letters from Francis Hare to Henry Watkins, 1705-1714).

33273 (Letters to Henry Watkins with some draft replies, 1702-1714).

34519 (Transcripts from the Blenheim Palace MSS, made for Sir James Mackintosh).

35584 (Letters to Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke, with draft replies, including some of the Queen Anne period).

35853 (Including letters and papers from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke, and Margaret, Countess of Hardwicke, 1724-1741).

38500-38501 (Letters to Horace Walpole and Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, 1709-1711).

38852 (Letters to Henry Watkins, 1702-1720).


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47128 ("Characters" and anecdotes by Sir John Percival.)

57861-57862 (Correspondence and papers of Thomas, 1st Earl Coningsby including letters from Arthur Maynwaring, 1709-1711).

Egerton MSS:

2543 (Including a copy of a vindication drawn up in 1712 by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, with the assistance of Arthur Maynwaring).
Harleian MSS:

6223 (Including a manuscript pamphlet of 1710, entitled "Four Letters to Four Ministers of State in South Britain").

Lansdowne MSS:

825 (Including verse and prose satire against John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough).

1013, 1024 (Letters and papers of White Kennett, Dean and Bishop of Peterborough, including some of the Queen Anne period).

1236 (Miscellaneous correspondence, including letters from Queen Anne and John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough).

Loan MSS:

29 (Including correspondence and papers of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford of the Queen Anne period, deposited by the Duke of Portland).

Stowe MSS:

223-224 (Hanover papers, 1707-1712).

241 (Miscellaneous papers and correspondence, 1688-1712).

246 (Letters and papers of James Craggs, 1695-1718).

751 (Letters from John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to James Craggs, 1711-1713).


(ii) In County Record Offices.

Berkshire Record Office

Trumbull MSS:

(Alphabetical Series) LI (Letters from Thomas Bateman to Sir William Trumbull, 1710-1713).

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Additional MSS 133 (Letters from Henry St John to Sir William Trumbull, 1702-1710).

Additional MSS 136 (Including letters from Ralph Bridges to Sir William Trumbull of the Queen Anne period).

Hertfordshire Record Office

Panshanger MSS:

D/EP F33 (Political satire of the Queen Anne period).


D/EP F187-D/EP F188 (Political satire of the Queen Anne period, including some printed pamphlets).

D/EP F207 (the diary of Sir David Hamilton, 1710-1714, in the handwriting of Mary, Lady Cowper.)
(iii) In University Libraries.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Additional MSS:
A. 191 (Including letters from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, 1710-1712).

Ballard MSS:
6, 20 (Including letters to Arthur Charlett of the Queen Anne period).

Eng[lish] Misc[ellaneous] MSS:
e. 180 (Letters from Henry St John to Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery, 1709-1711).

Eng[lish] Poet[ry] MSS:
e. 57 (Political verse of the Queen Anne period).

Cambridge University Library

Houghton (Cholmondeley) MSS (Including correspondence and papers of Robert Walpole of the Queen Anne period).

Library of Churchill College, Cambridge

Erle/Drax MSS (Letters to Thomas Erle with draft replies):
2/7 (from William Cadogan, 1703-1710).
2/8 (from Adam Cardonnel, 1709-1711).
2/12 (from James Craggs, 1705-1717).
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Library of King's College, Cambridge

Biographical account of Francis Hare by Anthony Allen (d. 1750) in "Skeleton Collegii Regalis, or a Catalogue of the Provosts, Fellows, and Scholars of the King's College ... in the University of Cambridge," Vol. IV, pp. 1823-1834.

University of Nottingham Library

Portland MSS:
Pw 2Hy (Letters to Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford, including some of the Queen Anne period).
Pw V (Literary MSS, including political verse of the Queen Anne period).
(iv) **In Private Collections**

**Blenheim Palace**


E25-E29 (Letters from Arthur Maynwaring to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, mostly undated, c.1708-1712).

E38 (Including letters from Francis Hare to John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 1704-1726).

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G1-15 (Including some draft pamphlets by Arthur Maynwaring).

4. **PUBLISHED JOURNALS, CORRESPONDENCE, CONTEMPORARY HISTORIES, ETC.**


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**BOLINGBROKE, Henry St John, Viscount**, Letters and Correspondence, Public and Private, of the Right Honourable Henry St John, Lord Visc. Bolingbroke, during the Time He Was Secretary of State to Queen Anne, ed. Gilbert Parke. 1798. 4 vols.


**BOYER, Abel**, The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne. 1722.


[BURNET, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury], Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, with ... Notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke and Speaker Onslow, ed. N. J. Routh. Oxford, 1823. 6 vols.


[CAMPBELL, John], comp., Memoirs of the Lives and Conduct of Those Illustrious Heroes, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and John, Duke of Marlborough ... Collected from Messieurs Dumont, Rousset, and Other Good Authorities. 1742.


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[EVELYN, John], The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. de Beer. Oxford,
1955. 6 vols.

[GOSLINGA, Sicco van], Mémoires relatifs à la Guerre de Succession de
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Appendix, Part I (1881), pp.1-60.

———, "The Manuscripts of Alfred Morrison, Esq.," in Ninth Report,
Appendix, Part II (1884), pp.406-493.

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Moray, Esquire," in Tenth Report, Appendix, Part I (1885),
pp.81-199.

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Marquis of Townshend (1887).

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Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey. Vol. II
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Note.

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