

**The Secret History of Delarivier Manley
and the *New Atalantis*:
her network and connections – who ‘bid’ her write?**

by

Pamela Kelly

*Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of*

Doctor of Philosophy
College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences

June 2020

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Pamela Kelly, June 2020

ABSTRACT

In 1709 Delarivier Manley published her political satire *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean* [sic]. It was a sensation. The second volume sent her to gaol. Her arrest and the confiscation of all copies agitated readers anxiously awaiting its appearance. Published anonymously it attacked Britain's most powerful politicians and Queen Anne's closest confidantes and favourites. They had lately become troublesome to the queen as they attempted to take control. They had forced the removal of Anne's Secretary of State and attempted to remove her new 'favourite' lady of the bedchamber; the two people she had come to rely on. When Manley began writing *New Atalantis* in 1708 she would have known the danger it posed. Outside court circles, however, she could not be sure that if pushed by her barrage of ridicule, old loyalties would not prevail. *New Atalantis* helped to undermine the Whig government's hold on power. It is credited with influencing the outcome of the 1710 election to a Tory victory. As a little-known writer, of gentlewoman birth, with a dubious reputation, Manley risked gaol and the pillory. What could have brought her to take this dangerous step? Why would a penniless, powerless female author with a compromised reputation write a scandalous secret history that ridiculed those who held the greatest power in the nation and influence over its Queen? The improbability of Manley's decision and the danger it posed suggests that powerful others could have been behind her decision. Or did she write entirely alone, as she claimed at her trial, to earn a few pounds writing Tory propaganda and show her usefulness in the intensifying partisan debate. From her marginalised position Manley amassed associates and friends as powerful as those she ridiculed. I have set out to answer the question Manley posed, rhetorically, provocatively and laced with irony: who 'bid her write?' There is no single 'smoking gun' answer, but rather a rich web of agency and influence with Delarivier Manley at its centre.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am a recipient of RTP support and am grateful for the contribution of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship to assist my candidature.

Foremost, I wish to thank my principal supervisor Professor Robert Phiddian for his invaluable guidance, wisdom, patient support and encouragement, including periodic comments on avoiding rabbit holes, without which my thesis would not have reached adequate completion, if not completion at all. My thanks and gratitude also go to my Adjunct Supervisor, Dr Eric Parisot for his helpful lead in restructuring my rambling thesis to follow the main path of argument. Some investigations down side paths and rabbit holes however did uncover a few worthy new finds that added to current knowledge and interpretation of Manley scholarship. I also thank my Associate Supervisor, Emeritus Professor Graham Tulloch for his astute observations and encouragement in the early days of my candidature. Collectively, your support has helped inform my project, assisted its completion and is greatly appreciated.

I also wish to thank:

All staff, academic and administrative, in the English and Creative Writing department at Flinders University, within the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences and its earlier School of English entity who have assisted and encouraged my RHD journey. In particular, Dean of Graduate Research, Professor Tara Brabazon for her assistance and encouragement, especially her weekly Vlogs on all manner of issues to assist graduates on their postgrad journey. Thanks also to the HDR Progressions Team who have assisted me administratively in my candidature and submission process. In particular thanks to Ashleigh, Rebecca, Natalie, Dani, Lisa and Nicole, along with many others who have assisted throughout my longer than anticipated postgrad journey;

Staff at Flinders University of South Australia Library for their friendly helpful support during my candidature. In particular Veronica Ghee, Aliese Millington and Gillian Dooley but also all the helpful desk staff. Your encouraging assistance over the years has been helpful, sustaining and appreciated. Special thanks also to the Flinders University library for agreeing to purchase original 1709 editions of the *New Atalantis* and *Memoirs of Europe* to assist my study. It was a privilege to hold and read an original text;

Richard Overall and staff at Special Collections Reading Rooms at Monash University in Victoria, also staff at the National Library of Australia in Canberra, the Mitchell Library at State Library of New South Wales and the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide in South Australia;

Staff who assisted at libraries in the United Kingdom during my research trip: Reading Rooms at the British Library in London, the National Archives in Kew, the Bodleian library at Oxford University and the libraries at Cambridge and Nottingham Universities for their friendly obliging assistance. Special thanks to Dr Martin Kauffman, Head of Early and Rare Collections and Tolkien Curator of Medieval Manuscripts at Bodleian Libraries for enabling me to consult the original Autograph of William Congreve's 'Faded Delia Mo[v]es Compassion'. Thanks also to Rob Wilkes, Oxford Theses (Humanities) and now Rare Books at the Bodleian, for his assistance and encouragement;

Elaine Milsom, Archivist at Badminton Estate for her generous permission and assistance in allowing me to consult a family document relating to Manley in the Muniments Room at Beaufort House;

Emily Le Feuvre at Jersey Heritage archives, Jersey Island, accessed through The National Archives, U.K. website, for her assistance in searching parish records of this period for a birth record for Delarivier Manley and other siblings born on the island.

I express my most humble thanks to my very neglected family and friends for their patience and understanding:

I thank my partner Chris especially for his constant support and encouragement, also his patience in filling in my slack with household chores, keeping house clean and us fed, on top of maintaining our extensive garden to which I kept adding creative ideas but little practical help. Without Chris's tireless practical support and emotional encouragement my thesis would not have reached completion, or our home and hearth be maintained in such good order. I also thank and acknowledge my appreciation for the practical support my mother-in-law Dene (now deceased) gave with the many meals she supplied in the early years of my candidature;

To our daughter Karen and her partner David and our delightful clever grandsons, Joel and Nathaniel. I thank them for their support, encouragement and the joy they add to our lives, but also for their patient, gracious acceptance of the reduced hands-on support and involvement in their lives they have received from me in return;

I thank our son Brendon for his support and encouragement, and our equally delightful and clever grandsons Ryan and Lachlan, who have extra 'special needs' challenges but give extra special delights to our family. They necessarily received far more support from us both after the death of their mother, our daughter-in-law, Catherine, in the first year of my candidature. This required more involvement from myself and Chris who also took the lion's share of school pick-ups and taking the boys to medical appointments when needed. My involvement was less than the circumstances required but more than my study allowed. Now, in the fulness of time my thesis has taken, my thanks are due also to his new partner Sarah and her girls Chloe and Bonnie who have added new joys and further complexity to our lives, but also support and encouragement to my postgrad journey;

I also thank my sister and her family, further extended family and patient friends near and far for their constant encouragement, and for being so understanding (with little choice) of my absence in their lives. Which leads me to a final important thank you to one particular distant friend in South Africa. Rev. Dr. Wesley Madonda Mabuza, whose unwavering belief and constant encouragement has sustained my belief to complete.

I acknowledge that I have not used a professional editor in the final editing of this thesis.

CONTENTS

	Page
Notes on Text	6
Abbreviations	8
Preface	10
Introduction	11
Section I Essential contexts	
Chapter 1 Manley's political and family connections before the <i>New Atalantis</i>	24
Chapter 2 Manley's arrest: a Tory propagandist in the making	39
Chapter 3 Secret history: forming the <i>New Atalantis</i>	59
Chapter 4 Writing toward the <i>New Atalantis</i>	77
Section II The <i>New Atalantis</i>: a political satirist emerges	
Chapter 5 <i>New Atalantis</i> , part one: Manley's contextual framing	108
Chapter 6 <i>New Atalantis</i> , part two: the age of party	135
Chapter 7 <i>New Atalantis</i> , <i>Astrea</i> and <i>Virtue</i> : a speculative interpretation	155
Chapter 8 Writing beyond the <i>New Atalantis</i>	175
Section III Manley's network and connections	
Chapter 9 With a little help from friends	191
Chapter 10 Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort	205
Chapter 11 Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer	228
Chapter 12 Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke	259
Chapter 13 Abigail Masham	280
Conclusion Who bid her write?	300
Postscript	315
Bibliography	316

NOTES ON TEXT

Throughout my thesis, I have preserved original punctuation, capitalisation and spelling in quotations from primary documents, other than the archaic ‘long s’. I have also used the font style Garamond for quotes from eighteenth-century texts so the reader can easily differentiate these from secondary texts, but also add an element of authenticity. Garamond was closest to the typeface used in the period, developed by Adobe in 1989 ‘based upon the typefaces first created by the famed French printer Claude Garamond in the sixteenth century’, accessed at <https://www.fonts.com/font/adobe/adobe-garamond/story>.

Dates in my project’s period precede Britain’s passing of the ‘Calendar (New Style) Act’ by Parliament in 1750 to adopt the Gregorian calendar and align with Western Europe. Until this change commenced in Britain on 1 January 1752 documents were dated by the Old Style, (O.S.) Julian calendar; which, in the early eighteenth century was also ten days behind the Gregorian calendar. By 1752 the difference was eleven days. A further difference was that New Year’s Day remained on 25 March, or ‘Lady Day’, the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Documents published between 1 January to March 24 were dated as per the preceding months. This creates some confusion of chronology in secondary research when determining effects of events in those months. To ensure topicality in Europe, British publications between those dates carried the two years; for example, 1709/10.

In the period the roles of publisher and printer are seemingly reversed to those of today, although many did fulfil both functions as publishers do today. Title pages state, ‘Printed for’ (name and shop address), in Manley’s case, printed for Morpew ‘near Stationers Hall’ and Woodward ‘in Threadneedle Street’, both in London and where the book could be purchased. John Barber was Manley’s printer. In business today, he would be her publisher and is usually referred to as such in secondary texts. In *Rivella* Manley refers to her ‘Printer’ singular (i.e. Barber) and ‘Publishers’ plural (Morpew and Woodward). I have attempted to make these distinctions in my discussion.

References cited from *New Atalantis* have been drawn from digitised copies made available online by Gale Cengage Learning at Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO). I have also consulted some original books. Largely, I will quote from the third printings, described as ‘The First Volume,’ and ‘The Second Volume’ (1709), as these were the first printed with a frontispiece and epigraph. The first two printings of volume 1, the second titled ‘The Second Edition,’ did not carry a reference to being volume I and did not include this artwork. Sales of the first volume to a second edition may have justified this additional artistic flourish along with the reprint of the first volume when the second volume was ready for publication. ‘Keys’ of characters were published separately, as was the convention for works of secret history. A ‘Key’ of characters was included with the second volume, but not with ‘The First Volume’, nor with the earlier publications.

In 1710 Manley published two sequel volumes of secret history under the title, *Memoirs of Europe, Towards the Close of the Eighth Century*, volumes I and II. Keys of characters were printed in each volume. These volumes were later republished posthumously, titled *New Atalantis*, volumes III and IV. My project will concentrate on the first two volumes of *New Atalantis* but also both volumes of *Memoirs of Europe*, when these are pertinent to discussion.

References cited from *The Adventures of Rivella* are drawn from the 1715 printing as a digitised copy of the first publication in 1714 is not available online.

I acknowledge that birth and death dates have been drawn from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *The History of Parliament online* (Boydell and Brewer) and various secondary sources.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>1688: First Revolution</i>	<i>1688: The First Modern Revolution</i> , Steve Pincus, 2009.
<i>Beaufort</i>	<i>Beaufort: The Duke and his Duchess 1657-1715</i> , Molly McClain, 2001.
<i>Business</i>	<i>The Business of a Woman</i> , Ruth Herman, 2003.
<i>Corr. Elizabeth Stuart</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia</i> , Vol. II, Nadine Akkerman, ed., 2011.
<i>Corr. Swift</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.</i> , in 4 Vols., David Woolley, ed., 2014.
<i>DM: NA</i>	<i>Delarivier Manley: New Atalantis</i> , Ros Ballaster, 1992.
‘Fictions of Law’	‘Manley's "Feigned Scene": The Fictions of Law at Westminster Hall’, Kathryn Temple, 2010.
<i>Glorious Revolution</i>	<i>The Glorious Revolution: 1688 – Britain’s Fight for Liberty</i> , Edward Vallance, 2006.
<i>Harley</i>	<i>Robert Harley: Speaker, Secretary of State and Premier Minister</i> , Brian W. Hill, 1988.
<i>Harley and the Press</i>	<i>Robert Harley and the Press</i> , J. A. Downie, 1979.
<i>Historical Literatures</i>	<i>Historical Literatures, Writing About the Past in England, 1660-1740</i> , Noelle Gallagher, 2012.
<i>Impartial History</i>	<i>An Impartial History of the Life, Character, Amours, Travels, and Transactions of Mr. John Barber, City-Printer, Common-Councilman, Alderman, and Lord Mayor of London. Written by Several Hands</i> , [Title page with printers’ details missing], [Edmund Curll, ed.], London, 1741.
<i>Journal</i>	<i>Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713</i> , Jonathan Swift, Abigail Williams, ed., 2013.
‘Law of Seditious Libel’	‘The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press’, Philip Hamburger, 1985.
<i>Letterbooks</i>	<i>Letterbooks of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol, 1651-1740</i> , (3 Vols.), 1894.
<i>Life of Barber: Cooper</i>	Anonymous, <i>Life and Character of John Barber</i> , [printed for T. Cooper], 1741.
Luttrell	<i>A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs</i> , Vol 6, Narcissus Luttrell, (1706-1714).
<i>Master of Fictions</i>	<i>Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions</i> , Maximillian E. Novak, 2001.
‘Materials’	<i>Materials Toward a Biography of Mary Delariviere Manley</i> , Dolores Diane Clarke Duff, unpublished thesis, 1965.

<i>ME</i> (I or II)	<i>Memoirs of Europe Towards the Close of the Eighth Century</i> , Delarivier Manley, 1710.
'Mistress Manley's Biography'	'Mistress Delariviere Manley's Biography', Paul Bunyan Anderson, 1936.
<i>NA</i> (I or II)	<i>Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean [sic]</i> , Delarivier Manley, 1709.
<i>New Perspectives</i>	<i>New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature</i> , Aleksondra Hultquist, and Elizabeth J. Mathews, eds., 2017.
<i>Nobody's Story</i>	<i>Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Market Place, 1670-1820</i> , Catherine Gallagher, 1994.
<i>Ormonde</i>	<i>The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745</i> , Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon, 2000.
<i>Patroness of Arts</i>	<i>Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts</i> , James Anderson Winn, 2014.
<i>Political Biography</i>	<i>A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley</i> , Rachel Carnell, 2008.
<i>Politics of Disclosure</i>	<i>The Politics of Disclosure, 1674-175: Secret History Narratives</i> , Rebecca Bullard, 2009.
<i>Politics of Passion</i>	<i>Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion</i> , Anne Somerset, 2012.
<i>Priv. Corr. Sarah</i>	<i>Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough</i> , 1838.
'Prose Fiction'	'Delariviere Manley's Prose Fiction,' Paul Bunyan Anderson, 1934.
<i>Reading Gossip</i>	<i>Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England</i> , Nicola Parsons, 2009.
<i>Rebellion</i>	<i>Rebellion: The History of England From James I to the Glorious Revolution</i> , Peter Ackroyd, 2014.
<i>Rivella</i>	<i>The Adventures of Rivella</i> , Anonymous [Manley], 1715.
<i>Satire and Secrecy</i>	<i>Satire and Secrecy In English Literature From 1650-1750</i> , Melinda Alliker Rabb, 2007.
<i>Seductive Forms</i>	<i>Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740</i> , Ros Ballaster, 1992.
<i>Selected Works</i>	<i>Selected Works of Delarivier Manley</i> , (5 Vols.), Rachel Carnell and Ruth Herman, eds., 2005.
<i>Swift's Politics</i>	<i>Swift's Politics: A study in disaffection</i> , Ian Higgins, 1994.
<i>Tyrant</i>	<i>Tyrant: The Story of John Barber, 1675-1741</i> , Charles A Rivington, 1989.

PREFACE

*Oh Sacred Truth inspire and rule my Page.
So may reforming Satir mend a vicious Age:
Whilst thy enlightening rays adorn and guard ye place.
Astrea's glorious form Survey's the Race –
And Virtue wears the bright Ormonda's Face.¹*

Although more than three hundred years have passed since Delarivier Manley wrote her epigraph to the *New Atalantis*, her words continue to resonate today as our world endures yet another vicious age. Again, satire seems an effective tool to fight against this tyranny, to diminish its perpetrators with ridicule – the form proposed by Juvenal – to show the absurdity of their argument that convinces them they have the divine right to be vicious men.

¹ Anonymous [Delarivier Manley], *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean [sic]*, 'The First Volume' and 'The Second Volume', Printed for John Morphew and J[ames] Woodward London, 1709, epigraph.

INTRODUCTION

Who bid her write? What good did she do? Could not she sit quiet as well as her Neighbours, and not meddle her self about what did not concern her?¹

The subject of my project is the eighteenth-century political satirist Delarivier Manley (c.1670–1724) and her most famous and successful work: *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean [sic]* (1709), hereafter referred to as the *New Atalantis*. She wrote in the form of secret history that was popular in the period and used by both Whigs and Tories as partisan propaganda.² She targeted the Whig administration in power at the time. Her narrative, written as gossip, as Nicola Parsons suggests, ‘uncovered a series of pretended scandals – sexual, financial and diplomatic – that embroiled members of the administration and motivated their public decisions.’³ My research that I will discuss in coming chapters will show that these scandals were not all ‘pretended’. Noelle Gallagher asserts that:

secret histories frequently revealed information that could only have been obtained from the testimony of a traitorous insider, they often implicated their writer as both the source and the narrator of the shocking details his or her account exposed.⁴

Manley used *roman à clef* pseudonyms to obscure the identities of those she targeted and their victims, but also to shield herself from reprisal. It did not work. From its first appearance *New Atalantis* was a sensation. It is credited with assisting a Tory electoral

¹ [Manley], *The Adventures of Rivella: History of the Author of the Four Volumes of the New Atalantis*, Second Edition, [Edmund Curl] printer, London, 1715 p 111; Ruth Herman, *The Business of a Woman: The Political Writings of Delarivier Manley*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 2003, p 11.

² Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674-175: Secret History Narratives*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2009, pp 1-12 *passim*; cf. Melinda Alliker Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy In English Literature From 1650-1750*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York and Basingstoke, 2007, *passim*; Nicola Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, palgrave and macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009, pp 38-91; Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, The Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1999, *passim*; Eve Tavor Bannet, ‘“Secret History”: Or, Talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie’, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2005; 68, 1/2, also collected in *The Uses of History*, Paulina Kewes, Ed., Huntington Library, San Marino, 2006.

³ Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, p 38.

⁴ Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures, Writing About the Past in England, 1660-1740*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2012, p 73.

victory in 1710.⁵ Its effect also sent her to gaol on the charge of libel soon after the second volume appeared. My project is an exploration of her motivations and influences in writing it. Why did she risk her liberty and even her life to ridicule the most powerful politicians at the time and in particular those who were Queen Anne's (1665–1714) closest and most influential. My discussion will embrace the events that shaped Manley's life and influenced her writing the *New Atalantis*; the secret and not so secret history behind its development; its place and hers within England's small political and literary pond. Primarily, I seek to answer Manley's own question, posed rhetorically, laced with irony, articulated from the view of hindsight, through the voice of her male protagonist, *Rivella's* admirer, *Lovemore* in her quasi autobiography *The Adventures of Rivella*, and perhaps directed towards those who thought they knew the answer: who 'bid' her write?⁶

That Manley could have worked with others when writing *New Atalantis* can only be speculated. Current scholarship however provides leads to the possibility.⁷ Rachel Carnell suggests that Manley wrote the first volume alone but may have had 'an inside source of court information for the second.'⁸ She also suggests, as did Ruth Herman previously, that Manley could have met St John much earlier.⁹ Carole Fungaroli Sargent questions whether indeed it could have been before the first.¹⁰ Clues can be discerned when reading between the lines of Manley's narrative, but there is no truly reliable evidence from which to argue.

⁵ Rachel Carnell, *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2008, p 1; George M. Trevelyan O.M., 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession', Vol. 3, *England Under Queen Anne*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, reprint 1948, p 38.

⁶ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 111.

⁷ Gwendolyn B. Needham, 'Mary De La Riviere, Tory Defender', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1949, pp 267-68; J. A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, pp 115-116; Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1710-1713*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München, 1997, pp 44, 88; Paula McDowell, *Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730*, Clarendon Paperbacks, Oxford, 1998, pp 20, 221, 241-44; Weil, *Political Passions*, pp 177; Herman, *Business*, pp 20, 26, 28, 30-31; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 161, 164-65, 195.

⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 161.

⁹ Herman, *Business*, p 20, Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 164,195.

¹⁰ Carole Fungaroli Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict in Delarivier Manley's *The New Atalantis*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 44, no. 4, 2011, p 529.

When looking at the basic facts however, it seems too incredible that Manley, a penniless, powerless author with a dubious reputation, would decide one day that she should earn her living by mocking the most powerful people in England. As my research progressed a question kept niggling. Were there others behind her decision to write *New Atalantis*? Was she encouraged to write propaganda to assist a Tory return to power? Did she write entirely alone as she asserted in *Rivella* when relating her interrogation, motivated solely by her life experiences? Or is it some mixture of these choices and influences?

My investigation explores the impulses behind Manley writing her politically pivotal *New Atalantis*. Her poverty was a strong motivator but also her political writer instincts. This necessarily focuses my study to the years 1708 to 1709, but the years before and after also have an impact. That Manley associated with Tory politicians after she wrote *New Atalantis* is well established. Within a year of the second volume's publication and within months of her acquittal on the charge of libel she was writing Tory propaganda for Henry St John (1678–1751) and Robert Harley (1661–1724) and by the following year in collaboration with Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). There is no explicit evidence that she was writing for them before the autumn of 1710. I will, however, explore the connections between Manley and her patrons, supporters and friends, to discern whether any may have been the impetus for her to write *New Atalantis*. Ultimately, I seek to discern whether Manley wrote it alone or, as I will argue is more probable, within a cohort of like-minded politicians who needed writers for their partisan agenda. I do not, however, suggest that she was merely their scribe.

Manley was a 'gentlewoman' by birth, from a family of 'ancient' heritage but not quite members of the titled gentry in England's social hierarchy. She nonetheless attacked influential politicians who were at the top; her 'persons of quality' whom she described and portrayed as 'vicious men'. She was not intimidated by those elevated by birth, but during her career she also gathered friends, supporters and patrons from this same elite

class who operated at the centre of power. So she wrote from her society's edge, precluded by her gender from playing any formal political role. Moreover, her reputation had been diminished by a bigamous marriage that she claimed to have been duped into by her cousin-guardian. Only she, the woman, carried the blame. Manley attempted to survive through writing, though before *New Atalantis* her epistolary prose, her poems and three plays, had gained little success or financial reward. It has been argued recently, however, that these earliest works also show a connecting political theme.¹¹

There are three further elements that help map the broad context of networks and connections. One was her coterie of Tory patrons and associates amassed by the middle years of her career and pushing her towards writing Tory propaganda. The second was a sense of place and connection, focused especially on the West Country, where she also had connections. The third was this coterie's political connections to monarch and party, so that ideological adherence clashed with religious belief and turned to its opposite, betrayal of oaths. Parallel to these social threads are the many intertextual references and allusions she draws from to enhance her message. These weave through all four volumes of her *New Atalantis*, the last two initially titled *Memoirs of Europe, Towards the Close of the Eighth Century*. Drawn from classical mythology, early and contemporary English and French texts, all provide multiple layers of meaning to her narrative. Many have been identified by scholars, but I will add more that emerge in the backstories of her tales. Considering the allegorical nature of these literary references and of the pseudonyms she chose for her characters, these will at times merge together in my discussion. This addition to scholarship will enhance the developing re-assessment of Manley's skill, from salacious gossip to brilliant wit.

¹¹ Chris Mounsey, 'A Manifesto for a Woman Writer: *Letters Written [sic] as Varronian Satire*', Aleksandra Hultquist and Elizabeth J. Mathews, eds., *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Power, Sex and Text*, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017, pp 171-175, 183-184.

Recent monographs published by Rachel Carnell and Ruth Herman provide the most comprehensive scholarship on Manley and her work.¹² They are also general editors of a five-volume set, in which they examine most texts in Manley's oeuvre.¹³ Together they have provided the most detailed account of Manley's writing, her social context, political engagement and the literary milieu within which she worked. Their research expanded the invaluable work of earlier researches, Ros Ballaster in particular, to reveal the identities of Manley's characters in *New Atalantis* and building on those initially disclosed in the Keys published alongside each volume.¹⁴ Writing in 1994, Catherine Gallagher suggests, as is accepted in scholarship generally, that Manley's Keys 'were obviously authorized', but that perhaps she 'did not produce them'. They were issued by the publishers of the works themselves.¹⁵ Nicola Parsons observed more recently that:

keys identifying real life individuals indicated by the novel's characters ... do not simply unlock the information the novel contains. Rather, the narrative of the *New Atalantis* enacts a complicated double movement between secrecy and openness.¹⁶

This 'double movement between secrecy and openness', her characters barely disguised by *roman à clef* pseudonyms with keys alongside that revealed their identity, is a signature of Manley's political satire. Her use of 'literary techniques' such as 'allegories and other stylistic disguises', Gallagher considers, 'were supposedly mere technicalities to avoid arrest'.¹⁷ That it did not work is cited by Andrew Bricker, and will be discussed further in Chapter 2, when arguing more recently that the eighteenth-century satirists' use of disguising techniques such as gutted names, 'served no real legal function.'¹⁸

¹² Herman, *The Business of a Woman*, 2003; Carnell, *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*, 2008.

¹³ Rachel Carnell and Ruth Herman, Gen. Eds., *The Selected Works of Delarivier Manley*, Vol. 1, The Pickering Masters, W. R. Owens, Consulting. Ed., Pickering and Chatto, London, 2005.

¹⁴ [Anonymous], 'The Key to Atalantis', Parts I and II; Ros Ballaster, ed., *Delarivier Manley: New Atalantis*, Penguin Books, London, 1992; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', 2005.

¹⁵ Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994, p 125.

¹⁶ Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, pp 38-68.

¹⁷ Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, p 97.

¹⁸ Andrew Bricker, 'Libel and Satire: The Problem with naming', *ELH*, 81 (3), 2014', pp 895, 899, 901.

Catherine Gallagher makes the point that ‘it was all but impossible for a writer to stay out of politics during the period from 1695 ... for political controversy was virtually the only road to making either a name or a living for a writer.’¹⁹ To do this safely, Manley attempted to conceal her name and wrote in the ‘secret history’ mode. Noelle Gallagher observes that ‘[d]uring the early eighteenth century, as now, secret history was a broad category into which many texts, only some of them formally titled as “secret memoirs” or “secret histories”, could fit.’²⁰ Writing about the ‘literal nobodies’ of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catherine Gallagher’s intent was not to lament ‘the unjust absence of women from the eighteenth-century literary canon’, but noted instead that ‘the appearance of ... “female authorship” in [this period] coincided with the appearance of a literary marketplace.’²¹ In this period, she observed, ‘patronage was moving away from the crown or individual aristocrats and towards partisan political channels’.²² Indeed, the progression of patronage evident in Manley’s works bore this out. Ballaster points out that ‘the growth of print culture’ in the period ‘alongside the continuation of a thriving culture of social authorship in manuscript[,] was one significant development for our thinking about the changing literary scene for women in this period. ... Print gives women and lower-class men new opportunities[.]’²³ This was Manley’s world, and above are just a few of the increasing number of scholars exploring her place in it, studying her work, and the literary techniques she used to reflect it. She was not of the lower class but similarly battled against the limitations her society placed on her to gain her place in London’s literati and with its readers. She achieved both. Alongside writers such as Swift and Alexander Pope (1688–1744), however, scholarship on Manley is still a small field. As will be evident in following chapters, a recently published resource edited by Aleksandra

¹⁹ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, p 890.

²⁰ Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures*, p 66.

²¹ Gallagher, *Nobody’s Story*, Introduction, p xiii.

²² Gallagher, *Nobody’s Story*, p 94.

²³ Ros Ballaster, ed., ‘Introduction’, *The History of British Women’s Writing, 1690-1750*, Vol. 4, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, 2013, p 6.

Hultquist and Elizabeth J. Mathews offering *New Perspectives* on Manley's works has been particularly useful to aspects of my argument.²⁴

In my discussion on the political events of the period, I am writing as a literary researcher, not a historian. I do not attempt a comprehensive cover of the political and historical actions of the period that relate to her story. Rather, these events will enter my discussion as they are relevant and relate to Manley's text, or give background to her motivations. My search has required an extensive exploration into the political, literary and social frameworks that shaped Manley's early eighteenth-century world. This includes the back-stories of the many political and literary personalities, which requires a much wider exploration than only the people she targeted. For background research on those less prominent on the political stage and less central to my study, I have drawn substantially from the databases: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the British parliament's *History of Parliament Online*. These databases provide the essential facts on the many people Manley draws into her text and sufficient biographical information for my study into the real lives of her 'fictional' characters.

In the first section of the thesis I will discuss some relevant 'Essential Contexts' to reveal the background to personal and political events in Manley's life that shaped who she was and influenced what she wrote. This will introduce the people most important to her story and to my argument. I will explore the political and social milieu in which she lived, along with the people and events that shaped her environment. Her oeuvre in this early stage of her career is now being considered more seriously as her preparation ground for the *New Atalantis* itself.²⁵ Together these will reveal the connections she made with people of influence who became her friends and associates, but most importantly, her patrons. In Section II I will examine Manley's *New Atalantis* in more depth, although by no means

²⁴ Hultquist and Mathews, eds., *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, 2017.

²⁵ Mounsey, 'A Manifesto for a Woman Writer: *Letters Written [sic]* as Varronian Satire', *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., 2017.

comprehensively. It is not possible in this project to do a thorough close reading of the two volumes. Instead, I will unpack some key elements to illustrate her skill of writing and her astute grasp and apparent inside knowledge of the political machinations within the ministry that a woman like her ‘should not have known.’²⁶ The 1688 Revolution is a recurring theme throughout her narrative, and its underlying message of betrayal of oaths also provided a vivid analogy to her own personal experiences of betrayal. I will unpack a few of her anecdotes to illustrate the level of truth behind her ‘fictional’ account of embellished facts and salacious gossip. In most cases these had an element of truth, but also gained a sting in their tail from her pen.

Central to her framing of *New Atalantis* is her two allegorical protagonists, *Astrea* and *Virtue*, and I will argue these also have a human dimension. In this she elides her network and her characters, but also shows her skill in merging intertextual layers of present and past with fact and fiction. Portrayed as divine goddesses, their allegorical presence in the narrative provides a framing device to connect Manley’s disparate anecdotes of immorality with moral instruction, often couched in irony: [*Astrea*] ‘But pray my Lady *Intelligence* proceed, ... tis better passing a Night in your Conversation, than otherwise; ... I see the World without going into it, and hear so much, that I do not desire to see it.’²⁷ This didactic dialogue provides Manley with a vehicle in which to warn women of the dangers that the duplicitous mores of their society posed. Discussed within the context of their multifaceted allegorical symbolism of mythological, political and literary allusions, I will argue that Manley’s goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue* are fashioned on the two people she admired most: her patron’s wife, Rachel Somerset, second Duchess of Beaufort (d.1709), and his aunt, Mary Butler, second Duchess of Ormonde (1664/5–1733). This adds an entirely new understanding to the background of Manley’s metaphoric framing of *New Atalantis*.

²⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 161; [Manley], *Rivella*, p 113.

²⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 203.

Finally, I will discuss her remaining work writing as a Tory propagandist and beyond, following the Oxford ministry's demise, including her self-justifying memoirs *Rivella*.

In Section III I will explore more deeply those identified in the first section as her most significant patrons and associates to discern who has the best claim to have 'bid her write' political satire against the ministry in power at the time.²⁸ I will discuss her connection to Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort (1684–1714) and his patronage; the propaganda produced by Harley in parallel to her writing *New Atalantis* that shows how closely her theme aligned with his scheme; her early connection with St John that suggests an association prior to 1710; and similarly her connection with Abigail Masham (c. 1670–1734) whose patronage of Manley could have been the information she passed on.

To safely target people of her time Manley wrote 'history', setting her present in the past. It was a satirical version, written in the obfuscating secret history form with pseudonyms which described character traits that were often easily discerned. Many of the people targeted were still alive, or had descendants, who could dispute her claims. To voice complaint, however, they would need to acknowledge that her 'fictions' were indeed about them and their political betrayals. While she shows little admiration in her portrayal of James II (1633–1701) or for the Jacobite cause, references to the Revolution's defining events weave through her narrative, often giving a double-edged thrust to her tales and a flavour of Jacobite adherence. She instead portrays her theme of betrayal – so personal for her – through tales of private infidelities, depicted in heightened, salacious detail: adultery, sexual exploitation, seduction, rape, incest and even a case of murder, all embellished with dramatic irony. Several were factual events, perpetrated during Anne's reign or earlier, as revealed in secondary research. Some of her tales could have been fiction, merely designed to make a didactic point. Others, however, had a degree of truth behind them. Manley uses

²⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 109.

‘the genre of romance as a tool for satire’, as Carnell puts it, and writes ‘anecdotes about disloyalty in love to suggest political unreality.’²⁹

The literati of London in the period was a small, close but mostly partisan group. Female writers were an even smaller percentage and, of her literary sisters, few, other than Eliza Haywood (c.1693–1756) who came a little later, also wrote political satire. Male satirists then writing against the political establishment enter her story as she matched her skill with theirs. Swift’s pivotal years in London were also her most successful. Some biographical details on Manley are supplied by Swift in his letters to friends and associates. These are all first-hand accounts from one person who could know but, through his sharp parodic wit and teasingly inscrutable politics, Swift is more prone than most to be an unreliable narrator. As Robert Phiddian asserts, ‘the reception of Swiftian satire is one of disputed interpretations.’³⁰ There is some parallel in this and the fundamental misjudgements by earlier Manley critics and even some still currently who misinterpret her irony as ill-written and salacious gossip. Others however, both her contemporaries and more recent scholars, also identify her genius.³¹

There is, perhaps, deliberate irony in the fact that Manley, a woman held to be without virtue, wrote so vehemently about its lack in others. She used the overt to both hide and, ironically, also to reveal the covert meaning of her tale. Her ironic import is still at times misread.³² Her narratives are filled with hidden agendas and layers of intertextual meaning. Metaphor, innuendo, allusion and unreliable narrators, are woven into plots with subplots, all framed in gossip to create a highly sophisticated mix of satiric construction. With little

²⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 70-71.

³⁰ Robert Phiddian, *Swift’s Parody*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p 1.

³¹ [Gildon, Charles], *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv’d and continued down to this Time by a Careful Hand,’ Printed for William Turner, London, 1699, p 90; [Giles, Jacob], *The Poetical Register: or, the lives and characters of the English dramatick poets*, With an account of their writings, printed for E. Curll, London, 1719, p 169; Toni Bowers, *Force or Fraud: British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p 163; Ros Ballaster, ‘A Genius for Love’: Sex as Politics in Delarivier Manley’s Scandal Fiction’, *Seductive Forms: Women’s Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, pp 114-152.

³² One example, the death of Sarah Stout, see discussed in Chapter 5.

on the public record apart from her autobiographical writings, her own self-justifying claims are mined extensively by modern critics to the extent that it is difficult even in scholarship to separate fact from fiction on aspects of her life. As Melinda Rabb argues, secrecy is inherent in satire. Manley the satirist sets the scene for her readers to discern its secret meaning. ‘Like her narrators’, Rabb explains, ‘Manley “knew ... the hidden springs and defects of humankind” and engaged in practices of secrecy.’³³

In pursuing these leads, I have searched a wide range of sources, primary and secondary, original and digitised. I am grateful to Flinders University for its support in providing a research scholarship grant to cover my travel to England to access original documents at the British Library, the National Archives, the Bodleian Library at Oxford University and Cambridge University Library. Considering the distance at which I am working from the epicentre of Manley’s eighteenth-century London world, this was a valuable experience that enhanced my research. Little remains of the streets and buildings so familiar to her, but it was a unique opportunity to visit one survivor that has direct connection to Manley: The Guild Church of St Benet’s, Metropolitan Welsh Church, at Paul’s Wharf, not far from her home with her printer John Barber (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741) at Lambeth Hill. It was her chosen church of worship and, as she had requested in her will, where her ledger stone remains embedded in the floor of its centre aisle.³⁴

In this project, I have set out to reveal the influences that prompted Manley to write the *New Atalantis* to show what motivated her brave stance in risking publication with ‘more courage’ than any other. She was ‘throwing the first stone [to] give a Hint to other Persons of more capacity to examine the defects and vices of some men.’³⁵ This then led to her ongoing career as a political satirist. Was it entirely her own decision to throw this first

³³ Melinda Alliker Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy In English Literature From 1650-1750*, p 149: citing Ros Ballaster, ed., *Delarivier Manley: New Atalantis*, p 105.

³⁴ Delarivier Manley’s Last Will and Testament, National Archive, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/599, 194–5.

³⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 168: citing [Manley], *Rivella*, p 109.

stone? What could have led to her taking this perilous step? She could have continued writing in the safer genres of epistolary prose, poetry and plays; although, as will be argued in the following chapters, even in her early work political effects can be detected. My project is as much about revealing the hidden gems in her life story and behind her *New Atalantis*. Section I covers background on her life and writing. Section II looks into the *New Atalantis* but then beyond. Section III reveals her network of collaborators. I have drawn from a broad field of both primary and secondary sources that encompass the wider political, literary and social aspects and influences on her life and work. Manley lived and worked in a period of political and cultural dispute,³⁶ an innovative age that reshaped politics, society and the church. Through my research I have attempted to join the dots of detail drawn from evidence, both real and circumstantial, of her political and social milieu, to find the clues to her motivations and collaborations. While the destination of my research is to discern what or who might have been the impetus to her writing political satire at this juncture of her life, my focus is as much about the journey of discovery about her life and writing along the way that led to her writing *New Atalantis*. My thesis then is largely interpretation of historical detail and secondary discourse with some speculation added. From both primary and secondary sources, I have drawn a fresh perspective and new argument to suggest plausible new conclusions on whether or how Manley worked with others to write *New Atalantis*. There is no solid evidence, but I will argue that she could have been influenced or persuaded by another, not merely hired, to write *New Atalantis*. I will address these questions to give a nuanced answer to Manley's ironically simple but provocative rejoinder at the suggestion that a mere woman like her must be assumed to be the puppet of some man or men. My exploration provides a new interpretation of existing evidence to discern who 'bid her write'.

³⁶ Phiddian, *Swift's Parody*, p 3.

SECTION I

ESSENTIAL CONTEXTS

I have not known any of the Moderns in that Point come up to your famous Author of the *Atalantis*. She has carried the Passion farther than could be readily conceiv'd: Her *Germanicus* on the Embroider'd Bugle Bed, naked out of the Bath:- Her Young and innocent *Charlot*, transported with the powerful Emotion of a just kindling Flame, sinking with Delight and Shame upon the Bosom of her Lover in the Gallery of Books: *Chevalier Tomaso* dying at the Feet of *Madam de Bedamore*, and afterwards possessing Her in that Sylvan Scene of Pleasure the Garden; are such Representatives of Nature, that must warm the coldest Reader: ... After perusing her Inchanting Descriptions, which of us have not gone in Search of Raptures which she every where tells us, as happy Mortals, we are capable of tasting. But have we found them, *Chevalier*, answer'd his Friend? For my Part, I believe they are to be met with no where else but in her own Embraces. ... as has *Rivella*, by her Writings¹

¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 4-6 *passim*.

Chapter 1

Manley's political and family connections before the *New Atalantis*

Rivella is certainly much indebted, continu'd Lovemore, to a Liberal Education, and those early precepts of Vertue taught her and practised in her Father's House. There was then such a Foundation laid, that tho' Youth, Misfortunes, and Love, for several Years have interrupted so fair a Building, yet some Time since, she is returned with the greatest Application to repair that Loss and Defect; if not with relation to this World (where Women have found it impossible to be reinstated yet of the next, which has mercifully told us, *Mankind can commit no Crimes but what upon Conversion may be forgiven*.¹

In May 1709 Delarivier Manley blazed into London's dynamic but volatile literary and political world – albeit anonymously – with the first volume of her provocatively partisan political satire, *New Atalantis*. A second volume soon followed, published on 20 October,² also with no author or printer identified. Her attempt at anonymity did not last. She and her printers were arrested, all charged with libel, within days of its appearance,³ as I shall recount in the next chapter. This chapter focuses on her life and connections leading up to that point.

Manley was proud that she came from an 'ancient' family that traced back in Cheshire to the Thirteenth Century.⁴ The Manleys of Denbighshire in north Wales, like many gentry families in the seventeenth-eighteenth century period, had fractured along ideological lines. Much of their land and wealth had been lost during the see-sawing events of civil war, republican interregnum and restoration of monarchy. By Manley's account, her 'Grandfather's Possessions' had been left 'in its Ruins', but:

afterwards ... a Calm succeeded, and the Royal Line was restor'd, unhappy Counsels prevail'd. Those that had been sufferers were the least regarded, through a dangerous wise Maxim of the then Minister, who told the young unthinking Monarch, He must encourage and employ his

¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 12.

² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 162.

³ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, Vol 6 (1706-1714), University Press, Oxford, 1857, p 505; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 161-62.

⁴ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 14; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 7; John. P. Ferris, MANLEY, John (c.1622-99), of Bryn y Ffynnon, Wrexham, Denb. and the Old Artillery Ground, London. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/manley-john-1622-99>.

Enemies, to try to make them his Friends: For as to those that were so out of Principle, they wou'd be his Friends still, without other Incouragement.⁵

Manley's grandfather was either Sir Richard Manley, a royalist who had been 'comptroller of the household of Prince Henry',⁶ or the nonconformist Cornelius Manley (*d.*1623) of Erbistock, also in Denbighshire.⁷ Her father, Sir Roger Manley (*d.*1687) and his elder brother Francis (*d.*1684), 'later chief justice of the Carmarthen circuit', remained Royalists throughout. Roger Manley fled into exile having left university to support Charles I (1600-1649). Their brother, John Manley (*c.*1622-99), a 'vigorous nonconformist', had instead fought for Cromwell and later supported William III (1650-1702).⁸ His son, John Manley (1655-1713) rode alongside him to support William III, but later would become Tory.⁹

In an autobiographical anecdote Manley related that, 'My Father had, indeed, a Military Employment, which, tho' not of half the Value of that Paternal Estate which was lavish'd in the Royal Service; yet, upon his Decease, we were sensible of the Loss of it.'¹⁰ This was possibly due to family connections. His younger brother John was son-in-law of the 'distinguished republican apologist and diplomat' Isaac Dorislaus' (1595-1649), who had made 'legal history by drafting the charges against' Charles I.¹¹ Isaac Dorislaus the elder, was 'an eminent Dutch academic', once 'professor of ancient history at Cambridge before falling foul of royalist interests and being sacked for lecturing on Tacitus and the

⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 182.

⁶ Delores Diane Clarke Duff, 'Materials Toward a Biography of Mary Delariviere Manley, Indiana University, Ph.D., Indiana, 1965, Unpublished Thesis, pp 9-10; cf. Katherine Zelinsky, ed., *The Adventures of Rivella, Delarivier Manley*, Broadview Literary Texts, Toronto, 1999, p 50.

⁷ C. E. A. Cheesman, 'Manley, Sir Roger,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/17940>, accessed 26 March 2017 4 April 2013]; Ferris, MANLEY, John (*c.*1622-99), of Bryn y Ffynnon, Wrexham, Denb., *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning.

⁸ Cheesman, 'Manley, Sir Roger,' *ODNB*; Robin Clifton, 'Manley, John (*c.*1622-1699)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/67369>, accessed 28 Sept 2016 4 April 2013].

⁹ Eveline Cruickshanks / Stuart Handley, MANLEY, John (1655-1713), of Truro, Cornw., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/manley-john-1655-1713>.

¹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 182.

¹¹ Cheesman, 'Manley, Sir Roger,' *ODNB*; Don Jordan and Michael Walsh, *The King's Revenge: Charles II and the Greatest Manhunt in British History*, Little, Brown, 2012, p 36.

difference between legal and tyrannical monarchy.’¹² He was assassinated at the Hague in May 1649 by supporters of Prince Charles.¹³ The Manleys’ republican connection may have contributed to Charles II (1630–1685) not adequately recompensing Roger Manley for his loyalty.¹⁴ Manley wrote that ‘[t]hus the suffering Loyalty of our Family, like Virtue, met little else but it self for a Reward.’¹⁵ Roger Manley had been ‘capture[d] at Powis Castle in October 1644’, but made ‘a daring solitary escape’. After the defeat of Chester in 1646 he fled into exile in the Netherlands, only returning once Charles II was restored.¹⁶

With no surety that England would return to monarchist rule, Roger Manley’s survival during twenty years’ exile in Holland, with poverty an ever-present spectre, would have depended on retaining family support from both sides. Correspondence held in the Thurloe State Papers shows that he was ‘sending reports’ to his republican relation, ‘Isaac Dorislaus the younger [*d.* 1688], and others in England’ using ‘various pseudonyms.’¹⁷ Roger Manley was in Holland during the first Anglo-Dutch war, 1652-1654. He returned at the start of the second. Just who were allies and opponents between England, France, Spain and the Netherlands was in periodic unpredictable change. The house of Orange had familial Stuart links through marriage: Charles I’s daughter and granddaughter each married the Protestant father and son stadtholder Williams respectively, further blurring the lines between loyalty and betrayal. To survive this volatile, mutable period required a pragmatic approach. Roger Manley served in both English and Dutch regiments, but when required to swear allegiance to the States General, he was ‘among the officers who refused.’¹⁸ He returned to England from Holland in late 1665, having by then married to Marie-Catherine (*c.* 1643–1675), ‘a noblewoman from the Spanish Netherlands’, and subsequently promoted to Captain.¹⁹

¹² Jordan and Walsh, *The King’s Revenge*, p 36.

¹³ Jordan and Walsh, *The King’s Revenge*, pp 76-78.

¹⁴ cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 26-34.

¹⁵ [Manley] *NA*, II, p 182.

¹⁶ Cheesman, ‘Manley, Sir Roger’, *ODNB*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1667, Roger Manley was appointed lieutenant governor of the British military fort at Mont Orgueil Castle on the island of Jersey, arriving with his wife and at least one daughter, Mary.²⁰ This cannot be the Mary Manley born in 1663 that caused early modern scholars to attribute this first name and birthdate to Delarivier that added confusion to later scholarship with these details added to their titles and discussions.²¹ This eldest daughter Mary was born in either the Netherlands or France, perhaps after Roger and Marie-Catherine's marriage but before their return to England. Delarivier was born after her parents arrived in Jersey on his first military appointment following their return. There is no record in Jersey archives, only one for a son, Roger, baptised just before the family left Jersey 'in the autumn of 1672' and who possibly died in childhood.²² Delarivier claimed to have been born at sea.²³ Anderson suggests this was on the family's return journey to England, but his reference cites the opportunist printer Edmund Curll (*d.*1747).²⁴ This would date her birth sometime during September to November 1672. Gildon recorded that 'This lady was born in the Isle of Jersey, her Father, Sir Roger Manley, then being Governor of it.'²⁵ This then would date her birth in 1670–71.

Sir Roger Manley listed five children in his will: 'Mary Elizabeth, Francis, De la Riviere, Cornelia, and Edward'.²⁶ Marie-Catherine died in childbirth with Edward, 'in November 1675 just four months after her husband was knighted by Charles II.'²⁷ Carnell suggests that Delarivier was then 'about five', on her estimation of Manley's birth in 1670 or 1671. This fits with Manley's claim that she was infatuated with a 'subaltern' soldier, James Carlisle (*d.*1691), in 1684–85 while her father was governor of Landguard Fort on

²⁰ Cheesman, 'Manley, Sir Roger', *ODNB*; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 52-53.

²¹ Duff, 'Materials'; Needham, *Tory Defender*, 1949; Patricia Köster, ed., *The Novels of Many Delariviere Manley*, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, Gainesville, 197; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 51-52.

²² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 52-53; Jersey Heritage parish records, Jersey Island, accessed through The National Archives, U.K.: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?_q=Jersey+Heritage+parish+records.

²³ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 14; in Manley's era, the Channel Islands were bounded in the county of Hampshire.

²⁴ Duff, 'Materials', pp 14n44; Paul Bunyan Anderson, 'Mistress Delariviere Manley's Biography', *Modern Philology*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (February), 1936, pp 264-65.

²⁵ [Gildon], *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, p 90.

²⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 52-53.

²⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 55: see also p 244n15.

England's east coast (1680–1687).²⁸ She would then have been about thirteen to fifteen, with a young girl's emotions in bloom. Even so, she claims in *Rivella*, with typical disregard for accuracy when to tweak the facts tells a better story, that she was fourteen when her father died in 1687.²⁹ She could have been sixteen or seventeen.

Sir Roger Manley also wrote military history, as Manley described 'a Scholar in the Midst of a Camp.'³⁰ She also wrote history, but with a satirical flair. She had also learned the lesson from her father's experience that pragmatism was necessary at times for survival. It was clear in her political writing which side of the partisan divide by then she stood. Her father had been a Royalist, and she was Tory. In her early career, however, her patrons were mostly Whigs. Manley also tweaked history when she claimed her father had died of despair following James's abdication. This could hint at Jacobite support. Sir Roger's death 'in late February 1687,'³¹ was a year and a half before William of Orange landed at Torbay on 5 November 1688 and James's subsequent flight into exile:

... the Abdication immediately came on, the Queen was gone to France, and Rivella thereby disappointed of going to Court. Her Father was what he term'd himself, truly loyal; he laid down his Command and retired with his Family, to a private Life, and a small Country-House, where the Misfortunes of his royal Master sunk so deep into his Thoughts, that he dy'd soon after, in mortal Apprehension of what would befall his unhappy Country.³²

Manley was often vague on detail and chronology. She tripped lightly through events, eliding details as it suited to enhance a political or didactic point. In this instance, considering her father's own experience of exile during the civil war, her point instead could be that he had perceived the inevitable outcome of James II's religious and political dividing game and, as a loyal royalist, this had caused him acute emotional pain. She may have altered the time of her father's death to make one an analogy of the other.

²⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 18-25; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 10, 56-57.

²⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 184.

³⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 15.

³¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 29; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 65.

³² [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 28-29.

Taking a lead from the work of John Dryden (1631–1700) in alluding to contemporary politics while setting poems in the past, Manley also draws from classical texts to frame the *New Atalantis* into past eras. Her storyline shows she had read widely, probably starting from her father’s library and his own published works.³³ Carnell suggests that Sir Roger Manley’s history, *The Russian Imposter*, ‘is the closest in style and approach to his daughter’s subsequent political secret histories.’³⁴ His collection of classics and historical accounts must have assisted her early education, but also provided her with source material for her writing. Her mother’s absence, her father’s preoccupation in his work and writing, but also the limitations placed on her gender, would have all influenced her development. Sir Roger Manley did ensure his daughters received some education along with his sons. He employed a governess for this and his children’s care.³⁵ It seems fair to assume that the absence of her mother in her childhood would have had an adverse effect on Manley’s life.

Through the third-person male narrator in *Rivella* she describes their governess as ‘severe’, ‘worse than any Duenna’; no adequate replacement for a mother’s love.³⁶ As mentioned above, Manley claimed in an autobiographical account in the second volume of *New Atalantis* that, following her father’s death, she and her younger sister Cornelia were sent ‘into the Country,’ to live with an ‘old out-of-fashion Aunt, full of Heroic Stiffness of her own Times.’³⁷ This aunt would:

read Books of Chivalry and Romances with her Spectacles. This sort of Conversation infected me, and made me fancy every Stranger that I saw, in what Habit so ever, some disguis’d Prince or Lover. It was not long before my Aunt dy’d, and left us at large, without any control.³⁸

³³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 10, 44-50, 62-63, 241nn3,13,14: Manley names ‘his Latin Commentaries of the *Civil Wars of England*’ and the first volume of ‘the *Turkish Spy*.’ She claims that the latter was completed and published posthumously by others without acknowledging her father’s authorship of the first volume. Carnell lists Roger Manley’s works as: a translation from the Dutch, *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* (1663); *A History of the Late Warres of Denmark* (1670); *The Russian Imposter: or, The History of Muskovie, under the Usurpation of Boris and the Imposture of Demetrious, Late Emperors of Muskovy* (1674); *The History of the Turkish Empire continued from 1676 to 1686* (published as a final section of Paul Rycaut’s *History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677* (1687)) and *Commentariorum de Rebellione Anglicana*, published posthumously as *The History of the Rebellions in England, Scotland and Ireland* (1686).

³⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 45.

³⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 53, 55-56, 59, 60-63.

³⁶ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 17, 56.

³⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 183.

³⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 183; cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 63, 65, 67, 69.

Her aunt was probably Lady Dorothea Manley (*née* Eyton, *d.* 1686), wife of Sir Roger's brother Francis who lived in Wrexham, Denbighshire in Wales and died ten months after Roger's death.³⁹ This visit could have been the Manley sisters' first meeting of their Welsh family. Under Manley's pen, nothing is ever as it seems, but the timeline does fit with her description of these defining events that altered the course of her life.

Manley claimed that she had been offered a place as a maid of honour to Mary of Modena but was 'disappointed of going to Court' by James's flight into exile.⁴⁰ Such a position, although menial and poorly paid, could provide the chance of a good marriage. 'The great of the nation frequented the court. A pretty girl in so public a setting would be likelier to make an ambitious marriage than if she remained within her family circle.'⁴¹ That is, if the young girl could avoid the traps of seduction laid by the 'persons of quality' rakes who frequented the royal court. The courts of Charles II and his brother James Duke of York were hedonistic and licentious:

... a Maid of Fortune, that was sent to Court, and plac'd among the Rank of those who general owe their Establishment to the Beauty from whence the young unthinking Men of Quality and Estates, choose themselves Wives of Fancy; 'tis well enough for those, whose Affairs will permit them to Marry for Inclination, though it survives not the Hymenial Moon ...⁴²

The spirited young Manley might have survived her time at court and even married well, as had many ladies of the court. Many did not, however, falling instead into the seductive trap of becoming mistress to a 'great of the nation'. Instead, Manley and her sister Cornelia were sent to live with an aged aunt they may not yet have met. For two young girls plunged into this cavernous generation gap, their perhaps infirm aunt's outmoded views probably offered few opportunities for chaperoned outings to explore their surroundings or meet others their age; especially not young men. They were uprooted from the only home environment they

³⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 66-67, 69, 253n75; Carnell, *Selected Works*, II, 'New Atalantis,' p 384.

⁴⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 27, 28.

⁴¹ Frances Harris, 'The Honourable Sisterhood': Queen Anne's Maids of Honour, no journal source provided, 1993, p 183, © of British Library Journal, property of British Library Board 96, accessed at: www.bl.uk/ebl/1993articles/.pdf/article13.pdf.

⁴² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 27.

had known, living in the confines of a military fort surrounded by dashing young men, with understandable limits imposed by a caring but no doubt preoccupied father and an anxious governess given the onerous responsibility for their safety and well-being.

Manley's 'unwary' marriage

As Manley relates in *Rivella*, she spent the long days voraciously reading her aunt's library filled with books of French romance. Her head and heart were filled with romantic tales of dashing beaux whisking her away from her aged aunt's home in rural Wales.⁴³ With only a small inheritance left to each daughter by their father and bearing the scars of small pox suffered as a child, she may have felt she had poor marriage prospects. Then in rode her dashing older cousin John Manley, 'in deep Mourning', claiming that his wife had died and vowing his love.⁴⁴ Lawyer and Tory M.P. John Manley was fifteen or perhaps seventeen years her senior. She claims to have been 'wanting of Fourteen' and that he was 'about two or three and twenty Years older[.]'⁴⁵ She was probably nearer seventeen, but to claim the younger age made his actions appear more odious. Her father, who 'took care to give [him] the Education of a Gentleman, and endeavour'd to tincture him with true Principles', had trusted him to be co-guardian of his daughters.⁴⁶ He betrayed that trust, and hers, as she claims, by duping her into a bigamous marriage that forever diminished her chances in life. Disguising John Manley with the pseudonym, *Don Marcus*, she relates:

My Cousin Guardian immediately declared himself my Lover, with such an Eagerness, that none can guess at who are not acquainted with the Violence of his Temper. I was no otherwise pleas'd with it, than as he answer'd something to the Character I had found in those Books, that had poison'd and deluded my dawning Reason. However, I had the *Honour* and *Cruelty* of a true *Heroin*, ... I promis'd to marry him. 'Twas fatally for me perform'd in the Presence of my Sister, one Maid-Servant, and a Gentleman who had married a Relation of ours. ... To sum it all in a little, I was marry'd, possess'd and ruin'd.⁴⁷

⁴³ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 183.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 184, 85.

⁴⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 183; Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John (1655-1713),' *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁴⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 184-85.

Duff suggests that she may have been more complicit in accepting her relations' view of concubinage.⁴⁸ Perhaps, but she was young. She explained later as a much wiser woman:

Don *Marcus's* Crime, whether he were Married or no, is to be detested: Her Frailty [Manley's], (were she Guilty) could be no excuse to his Villany, in corrupting a young Creature under his Care, so near a Relation, the Daughter of a Father to whom he had a thousand Obligations,⁴⁹

From then on, however, he was her conduit to the West Country and perhaps thence to the political centre. It was this connection – and the breaking of oaths, a trope so persistent for her – that framed her narrative in *New Atalantis*. In her first volume John Manley was 'the old Stallion in the Senate House,' in the second, 'a distinguishing nosy Tool.'⁵⁰ Both depictions allude to his ministerial work in parliament for the Tories, but principally for Harley, behind-the-scenes as an undisclosed modern-day 'whip'. John Manley's political and legal work and later Delarivier's writing connected them into the same political and literary orbit: Harley's.⁵¹

In the first volume, she mocks him as a hapless charmer, 'one of those that intend ever to be young tho' in despite of Time, let his Looks contradict his Tongue never so much'.⁵²

In the second volume, she has her revenge and reveals him as her betrayer:

He brought me to *Angela* [London], fix'd me in a remote quarter of it, forbid me to stir out of Doors, or to receive the Visits of my dearest Sister, any other Relation, Friends or Acquaintance. ... You know him *Vain, Talkative, Opinionated*, mixing a thousand *Absurdities* with every *Grain* of Sence; than so perfect a *Libertine*, that he never deny'd himself the Gratifications of any of his Passions, every way a *Debauchee*.⁵³

Their son, John, was 'born on 24 June 1691 and baptized on 13 July 1691, at the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, as the son of 'John and Dela Manley.'⁵⁴ In all his dealings, both private and in business, John Manley is portrayed as devious and ruthless.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Duff, 'Materials', pp 63-65.

⁴⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 193-94.

⁵⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 194; [Manley], *NA*, II, p 184.

⁵¹ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John (1655-1713),' *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁵² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 194.

⁵³ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 184-85.

⁵⁴ Ros Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2009

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/17939>, accessed 22 Aug 2017].

⁵⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 75.

‘Speaking’ as *Rivella*, Manley describes him as, ‘Vain, Talkative, Opinionated, mixing a thousand Absurdities with every Grain of Sence’.⁵⁶ She claims he had denied her social contact. She describes her despair when she discovered her marriage was a sham, but also in the realisation that the stigma would be hers alone to bear:

My wretched Son, whenever I cast my Eyes upon him, was a mortal Wound to my Repose; the Errors of his Birth glared full upon my Imagination. I saw the future upbraiding him with his Father’s Treachery, and his Mother’s Misfortunes. Thus forsaking, and forsaken of all the World, in my Morn of Life, whilst all things should have been Gay and Promising, I wore away three wretched Years, without either one Companion or Acquaintance.⁵⁷

Melancholy permeates her words; as she realises lost opportunities, lost dreams. Writing this eighteen years later, her memory remains acute. Her description is figurative, although almost alludes to her son, the progeny of first cousins, being born with a visible congenital birth defect that will forever remind her of his ‘Errors of birth’.

John and Delarivier Manley had probably separated by late 1693, but certainly by January 1694.⁵⁸ She discovered the lie of her ‘marriage’ soon after the birth of her son, then she demanded the right to have her sister stay and also to engage in London life. She may have first lived with her neighbour Anne Ryder, through whom she met Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland (*bap.* 1640–1709).⁵⁹ Manley claims to have lived with Cleveland for six months. The Duchess thought she brought her good luck at her gaming tables.⁶⁰ She then evicted her, accusing Manley of attempting to seduce her eldest son, Charles Fitzroy (1662-1730), first Duke of Southampton. Through her male protagonist *Lovemore*, Manley describes that ‘*Rivella* had now reign’d six Months in *Hilaria*’s Favour, an Age to one of her inconstant Temper; when that Lady found out a new Face to whom the old must give Place[.]’⁶¹

⁵⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 185.

⁵⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 189.

⁵⁸ Ballaster, ‘Manley, Delarivier’, *ODNB*; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 77.

⁵⁹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 33; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 75-76.

⁶⁰ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA,’ p 4; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 37-39.

⁶¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 33.

Considering her unlikely prospects to marry well the accusation is plausible, although if anything took place it could have been the reverse. *Rivella* claims to have been falsely accused by the Duchess's then lover, the actor, Cardell Goodman (b.1653), 'of having made Advances to him ... to ruin Rivella for fear she should ruin him', fearing she would inform Cleveland of 'another mistress he was keeping'.⁶² Manley was probably again alluding to political betrayal. Goodman was a Jacobite, but to save himself had testified against his co-conspirators in the Fenwick plot. John Manley had taken 'a prominent part in the proceedings on Sir John Fenwick's (c.1644–1697) attainder' (1696–97).⁶³ Goodman 'fled to France' to avoid giving evidence. Cleveland died in October 1709,⁶⁴ the month before this second volume was published. She could have read Manley's portrayal of her in the first volume, 'her Temper was a perfect Contradiction, Unboundedly [*sic*] lavish and sordidly covetous.'⁶⁵ She was not alive to relish Manley's arrest after her second volume appeared, nor indeed to read Manley's later scathing ridicule of her in *Rivella*.⁶⁶

Soon after her eviction, in late 1694 Manley travelled to Exeter and stayed about eighteen months.⁶⁷ The West Country was her place of connection but also became her place of retreat. She may have visited John Manley, by then legal advisor to the powerful John Granville, Earl of Bath. He was elected unopposed to Bossiney in Cornwall in 1695 on the Earl's recommendation.⁶⁸ She returned to London by 1696 or, Carnell also suggests, by mid to late 1695.⁶⁹ The absence of her son in her autobiographical accounts after this suggests that she returned without him. Ballaster speculates that:

⁶² [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 30-40, 35-39; see also Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 2, 71, 79-80.

⁶³ Milling, J. "Goodman, Cardell (b. 1653), actor." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography., September 23, 2004. Oxford University Press, Date of access 16 Feb. 2019, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10974>.

⁶⁴ S. M. Wynne, 'Palmer, Barbara, countess of Castlemaine and suo jure duchess of Cleveland (*bp.* 1640, *d.* 1709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/28285>, accessed 14 Jan 2017].

⁶⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 43.

⁶⁶ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John' (1655-1713), *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁶⁷ Mrs Manley, *Letters Written by Mrs Manley*, Printed for R. B. and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1696, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 82, 83, 86-87, 94.

a son, Francis, baptized on 9 August 1694 at the church of St Mary, Truro, as the child of Anne and John Manley, and buried in December 1694, may have been Dela's also, given the fourteen-year gap between this and the birth of his last child by his first wife.⁷⁰

Considering their strained relationship, it seems improbable that Delarivier and John would have had a second child. She claimed in *Rivella* that her husband had promised to support her and their son financially. He was hoping to gain the necessary funds 'from a lawsuit [he] was to handle in 1698-9', the Bath–Albemarle lawsuit, in which John Manley embroiled her and her new partner, John Tilly, with the promise of reward.⁷¹ Manley claimed in *Rivella* that:

Her Kinsman [John Manley] ... told her ... *Cleander* [John Tilly] was the Person that could do Miracles in Point of Accommodation between Lord *Crafty* [Ralph Montagu, Duke of Montagu] and Baron *Meanwell* [John Granville, Earl of Bath]: ... when it was accomplish'd they should have between them Eight Thousand Pounds paid down upon the Nail; ... [*Oswald*/John Manley], ... brought her the pultry Sum of Three Pound, ... this was all the Money ever tender'd her from the *Baron* in that Affair, tho' she reasonably presum'd his Lordship, according to his own Proposal, had trusted larger Sums for her Use into the Hands of his Treasurer *Oswald*.⁷²

Her depiction of their purported involvement was as convoluting and drawn-out as the trial's protracted events.⁷³ Only John Manley gained out of their efforts and expense in setting up the ruse. Her ongoing lack of funds and periodic need to leave London ahead of bailiffs shows that she never received his promised support.

~ ~ ~

Manley may have received periodic support from the Manley family's long-time friend and benefactor, John Hervey (1665–1751), Baron of Ickworth from 1703, created Earl of Bristol in 1714.⁷⁴ Hervey's family were Tory but on his marriage in 1695 to Elizabeth

⁷⁰ Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier', *ODNB*: citing Duff, 'Materials', p 47.

⁷¹ Duff, 'Materials', p 72; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 115-20; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 56-101; Herman, *Business*, pp 22-23; cf. Duchess of Albemarle versus the Earl of Bath, Lords Commissioners, May 23, 24, in Easter Vacation, Anno 1692, sourced through *State Trials* database, *Justis, Chancery Division*, English Reports; Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John' (1655-1713), *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*; Edward Charles Metzger, 'Montagu, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu (*bap.* 1638, *d.* 1709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/19030>, accessed 6 Aug 2017].

⁷² [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 72, 75, 79, 85-86.

⁷³ Duchess of Albemarle versus the Earl of Bath, Lords Commissioners, May 23, 24, 1692.

⁷⁴ Philip Carter, 'Hervey, John, first earl of Bristol', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13117>, accessed 19 Aug 2016]; Duff, 'Materials', p 39n107.

Felton (1676-1741) he aligned with his Whig father-in-law Thomas Felton (1649-1709).⁷⁵ Duff suggests that Manley may have first met Hervey at her aunt's funeral.⁷⁶ She also notes that Elizabeth Hervey, *née* Felton, was distantly related to the wealthy widow, Margaret Smith, *née* Reresby, who John Tilly married in 1702 to settle his debts after his first wife died.⁷⁷ He and Manley had lived together for five years (1697–1702), but she had hoped for many more. Manley was again betrayed and left to survive on her own. She suffered a severe illness following the separation that precipitated another retreat to the West Country, staying in Bristol, during which, it is suggested, she may have been supported by either John Manley or John Hervey.⁷⁸ Duff suggests that John Manley may have convinced her not to write about her affair with Tilly in *New Atalantis* in deference to the Herveys.⁷⁹ She did discuss their relationship in *Rivella*, although not of its intimacy, writing in the year after John Manley died. By 1710 John Manley was George Granville's (1666–1735) legal advisor, following the death of John Granville (1628–1701), Earl of Bath, in 1707. Both also held positions in Harley's Tory ministry: Granville appointed Secretary at War, John Manley as Surveyor General. Each supported the other in their Cornish county elections.⁸⁰ St John was also George Granville's and John Manley's political ally.

It is significant that in most cases when Manley needed to reduce her living costs she would journey to the West Country. Her abrupt flights to avoid visits from the bailiffs are documented by her in various works, in a pattern established early in her career and which persisted even after the publication and notoriety of *New Atalantis*; acknowledging of course, that all her works are unreliable for drawing autobiographical details. The first was

⁷⁵ D. W. Hayton, FELTON, Thomas (1649-1709), of Whitehall, Westminster and Playford, Suff., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/felton-thomas-1649-1709>.

⁷⁶ Duff, 'Materials', p 46n122.

⁷⁷ Duff, 'Materials', pp 47-48; Carnell *Political Biography*, p 115; Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁸ Duff, 'Materials', pp 48-49; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 127-29.

⁷⁹ Duff, 'Materials', p 48.

⁸⁰ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John', *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

in 1694 to Exeter, returning to London in 1696,⁸¹ then twice between 1702 and 1705,⁸² again in late 1706,⁸³ in 1711 and 1714.⁸⁴ In 1702, she left after the demise of her five-year relationship with John Tilly. This could have been facilitated by either ‘Lieut. Gen.’ John Tidcomb (1642-1713) who she had met in her youth at Landguard Fort and on whom she modelled her character *Lovemore*,⁸⁵ or by John Hervey.⁸⁶ Both were Whigs. In this early period of her career she was not so stridently Tory when accepting help from friends, although at the time, ‘there was considerable Tory hostility’ directed towards Hervey.⁸⁷ In 1706 the writer of the Preface for her unsuccessful third play *Almyna* states that ‘the Author [is] at a great distance from the House at the time of Representation.’⁸⁸ She had left before opening night, again to avoid the bailiffs, but also audience reaction to the play. In July 1711 she again left London, having completed her last *Examiner*, Number 52; the last number of the Tory newspaper’s first volume. She was ‘out of Town’ in 1714 when John Barber delivered fifty pounds paid to her by Robert Harley as the Oxford ministry came to an end.⁸⁹

With John Manley’s departure he was no longer an influence on her work, nor on her political view. She would, however, declare herself more firmly Tory, and continued to associate with him as circumstances required. Until his death in 1713 he would be the

⁸¹ Mrs. Manley, *Letters Written*, 1996; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 86-87, cf. also pp 82-83.

⁸² Duff, ‘Materials’, pp 48-49; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 123, 127-29.

⁸³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 123, 128.

⁸⁴ [Manley}, *The Examiner*, No. 52, July 19 – 26, 1711, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1711; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 199, 205: in 1711 she may have stayed in outer London or with her sister in Finchley. Letters, Manley to Earl of Oxford, 14 June 1714, BL., Add. MSS, 70032 (unfoliated) and 30 August 1714, BL., Add. MSS, 70033 (unfoliated), Herman, *Business*, pp 259, 260.

⁸⁵ [Manley] *Rivella*, key; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 13-14, 63, 128; John Childs, ‘Tidcomb, John (1642–1713)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/27433>, accessed 4 April 2016].

⁸⁶ cf. Duff, ‘Materials’, pp 43-49; cf. Herman, *Business*, pp 32-33; cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 128, 225, 226-27.

⁸⁷ D. W. Hayton, HERVEY, John (1665-1751), of Aswarby, Lincs.; St. James’s Square, Westminster; and Ickworth, Suff., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer <http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13117/version/0>.

⁸⁸ [Manley], *Almyna, Or, The Arabian Vow. A Tragedy*, Printed for William Turner, London, 1707 ed., Preface.

⁸⁹ Letters, Manley to Earl of Oxford, 14 June 1714, BL., Add. MSS, 70032 (unfoliated), Herman, *Business*, pp 259.

Tories' man in Cornwall. From her politically divided family in Wales and her unwise marriage to him, her connections were integrally West Country. This is clearly evident in her works leading up to writing *New Atalantis* and in her publications that followed, as will be shown in coming chapters. Manley was not one to take hardship meekly, nor would she submit quietly to socially driven gender limitations. Neither was she a writer for hire. Her circumstances and contacts would draw her into a network of West Country peers, in the main her associates were Tory, even Jacobite, and whose involvement in the *New Atalantis* can be detected. This connection will be explored in proper depth in Section III.

Chapter 2

Manley's arrest: a Tory propagandist in the making

Rivella remain'd immovable in a Point which she thought her Duty, and accordingly surrender'd her self, and was examin'd in the Secretary's Office: They us'd several Arguments to make her discover [reveal] who were the Persons concern'd with her in writing her Books; or at last from whom she had receiv'd Information of some special Facts, which they thought were above her own Intelligence: Her Defence was with much Humility and Sorrow, for having offended, at the same Time denying that any Persons were concern'd with her, or that she had a farther Design than writing for her own Amusement and Diversion in the Country; without intending particular Reflections or Characters: When this was not believ'd, and the contrary urg'd very home to her by several Circumstances and Likenesses; she said then it must be inspiration because knowing her own Innocence she could account for it no other Way: The Secretary reply'd upon her, that Inspiration us'd to be upon a good Account, and her Writings were stark naught; she told him, with an Air full of Penitence, that might be true, but it was as true, that there were evil Angels as well as good; so that nevertheless what she had wrote might still be by Inspiration.¹

Manley's arrest for libel was an event of high drama and crucial in her trajectory to becoming a Tory propagandist. A discussion of it takes us right into the middle of the controversy surrounding *New Atalantis*. The first arrest Warrant issued by then principal Secretary of State, Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1675–1722), signed and dated 'at Whitehall the Eight and Twentieth Day of October 1709', orders the arrest of her printers, John Morphew and James Woodward:

These are in Her Majesty's Name to authorize and require you (taking a Constable to your assistance forthwith to make strict and diligent search in such places as you shall have notice, for John Morphew and John [*sic*] Woodward being accused before me of having printed and publish divers Books and Pamphlets, wherein are contained many false, malicious [*sic*] and scandalous Reflections upon Several of the Queen's Liege Subjects and highly leading to the Disturbance of the publick Peace and Quiet of Her Majesty's Government, particularly two Books Intitled (Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality of both Sexes from the New Atalantis an Island in the Mediterranean) part the first and the second; And them or either of them having found, you are to apprehend and secure together with such Books as are in their possession, and to bring them before me to be examined concerning the same, and to be further dealt with according to Law.²

¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 113.

² Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland, 'Warrant Book, Secretaries of State,' State Papers Domestic Anne, PRO SP 34/11/45 and 44/78, Folio 69, pp 64-5: Entry Books, Criminal: Correspondence and Warrants, accessed at the National Archives of the UK Memoranda relating to the apprehending of certain persons for printing and publishing libels on the government, 11 Nov 1709, accessed at The National Archives (UK) These papers clarify the order of Manley's and her printer's and publishers' arrests that have been discussed in scholarship with conflicting chronological details.

A second warrant was issued, undated but probably on the same day as it immediately follows the first, orders the arrest of ‘Manly [*sic*] and Barber’:

Another Warrant directed to yr same three Messengers as above to make strict and Diligent Search in such places as they shall have notice for [blank space first name] Manly & John Barber, Printer, being accused &c. (in the same words of that above³

When relating the proceedings in her quasi-autobiography, *The Adventures of Rivella*, written five years later, Manley disingenuously claimed that she gave herself up to the authorities to enable her printers to be released.⁴ This is another example of her self-promoting finessing of events. Through witty lampoon and irony, she also signifies her awareness that she was their real target.

She stated under interrogation that *New Atalantis* was entirely her own work.⁵ In a real sense, she answered truthfully; even though, with a twist of ironic humour, she had claimed from its title and dedication that it was a mere translation: ‘Written originally in Italian ... a Speech Corrupted ... Transported’ into France, with an ‘Air and Habit ... Naturalize[d] it’, met with by a ‘Friend of mine’ in ‘Bruxels’ who ‘thus, a la Francois, put it into my Hands, with a desire it might Visit the Court, and Great Britain.’⁶ She continued this subterfuge of translation, a ubiquitous trope of the secret history form, through all four volumes. Also inherent in this form is its political satire context and the use of *roman à clef* pseudonyms.⁷ Manley’s prose was distinctive in its lightly humorous style and mix of political intrigue with titillating romance, showing that she wrote self-consciously with creative ingenuity. She could honestly claim that she was its sole writer and that her narrative, although much of it ‘old Stories that all the World had long since reported,’⁸ was

³ Catalogue details as above: For a comprehensive examination of Sunderland’s Warrant Book pages comparing the documents discussed by Herman and Carnell, see John McTague, ‘The New Atalantis Arrests: A Reassessment,’ *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 15 / 4 439-446, 2014.

⁴ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 109-111.

⁵ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 113.

⁶ [Manley], *NA*, I, Title and Dedication, pp ii-iii.

⁷ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, pp 65, 72-76.

⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 110.

contrived entirely from her own imagination. This, however, still does not preclude the possibility of influence from another on the matter she is writing about.

The tales she spun into a chronicle of scandal were embroidered with ‘an Air and Habit’ of romantic prose in a gossipy style, but with serious satirical intent. Throughout all her blending of fact and fiction, her creatively embellished reframing was clearly her own imagining. Her anecdotes were indeed well-known gossip or reported transgressions, many of which are now available on the public record.⁹ Some she drew from personal experience, a few were possibly fictitious. One lengthy tale that Carnell suggests is the latter, could be a mix of fiction embellished with elements of truth:

O Heavens! What do I see? The *Beautiful*, the *Innocent Elenora*, at this Midnight Hour in such a *Solitude* as this, with a *Man* whose *Rank* and his *Circumstance* of being *married*, makes any private Conversation highly *Scandalous*. You *shriek'd!* you call'd for *help!* how comes it that you were so *reduc'd?* How did you agree to so criminal an *Assignation?* It has the Appearance of being *voluntary!*¹⁰

This could be a fictional account, however, as the incident unfolds, some aspects nonetheless bear some allusion to Manley's own experience; or more so, her imaginings of what could have been. In this way, she could add elements of her life story, expanding details for dramatic effect as a didactic tool to illustrate how easily a young and naïve, virtuous woman can be led unwittingly down a reputation-destroying path of no return. The dominant message repeats the advice to young ladies inherent in all conduct literature of the time.¹¹ She showed through the artifice of gossip how easily reputations could be lost, even though the irony questioned but nonetheless reinforced the patriarchal standards of virtue expected of women. She also shows how far short some males of the elite ‘polite’ class had fallen in meeting those same patriarchal standards of manners in themselves.

⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 138.

¹⁰ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA,’ p 371, [Manley] *NA*, II, p 60.

¹¹ In particular, Mary Astell, see Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1986.

New Atalantis was read and discussed across London and beyond, from the royal court to coffee houses and by the leisured gentry in their country retreats.¹² The young Lady Mary Pierrepont (*bap.* 1689–1762), who would later marry Edward Wortley Montagu (1678–1761), is depicted by Fidelis Morgan ‘at her country home’ awaiting delivery of Manley’s second volume of *New Atalantis* and ‘getting restless’ that it had not-arrived.¹³ She was feeling annoyed that her friend Mrs Frances Hewet had not sent the promised copy. She was to learn that Manley had been arrested and all unsold copies confiscated. On both the political and personal level, it was essential that Manley’s authorship remained anonymous, but her identity had been revealed soon after the second volume appeared.

Barber, Morphew and Woodward were released within a few days, she remained a few more.¹⁴ Her inquisitors believed there was information in *New Atalantis* that was ‘above her own Intelligence.’¹⁵ They were sure that a woman like her, outside court circles, should not have known the details she had related. There had to be someone within the court, they argued, passing on ‘Information of some special Facts.’¹⁶ They could not prove who but had their suspicions: Anne’s new bedchamber woman, Abigail Masham, first cousin to Sarah Churchill (1660-1744), Duchess of Marlborough but also second cousin to Harley, the other person they suspected. He had been dismissed by Anne as Secretary of State in February 1708.¹⁷ Although Manley used pseudonyms to hide the identities of her ‘fictional’ characters, her Whig inquisitors were sure that they were the targets of her satire. They were not wrong. She was clearly working to a Tory propagandist agenda.

¹² Letter from Maynwaring to Duchess of Marlborough, Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Illustrative of the Court and Times of Queen Anne*: Vol. I, Henry Colburn, London, 1838, p 227-231; Parsons, *Reading Gossip*, p 8; Fidelis Morgan, *A Woman of No Character: An Autobiography of Mrs Manley*, Faber and Faber, London, 1966, p 144.

¹³ Morgan, *Woman of No Character*, p 144; Lord Wharncliffe, ed., *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Third edition, with additions and corrections derived from the original manuscripts, illustrative notes and a new memoir, by W. Moy Thomas, in two volumes, Vol. I, AMS Press, New York, 1970 (reprinted from the 1861 edition), London, p 145, citing a letter written to her friend Mrs Hewet, October 1709.

¹⁴ Narcissus Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1706-1714), p 506, 546.

¹⁵ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 113.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980, pp 111, 257-61; Herman, *Business*, p 74: citing Letter from Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 236.

In *Rivella* Manley described her incarceration, claiming to have been:

most tyrannically and barbarously insulted by the Fellow and his Wife who had her in keeping, tho' doubtless without the knowledge of their Superiors: for when Rivella was examin'd, they ask'd her if she was civilly us'd? She thought it below her to complain of such little People, who when they stretch'd Authority a little too far, thought perhaps that they serv'd the Intention and Resentments, tho' not the Commands of their Masters; and accordingly chose to be inhuman, rather than just and civil.¹⁸

Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732) recorded on Tuesday, 1 November 1709: 'This day the printer and publisher of the *New Atlantis* [*sic*] were examined touching [revealing] the author, Mrs. Manley; they were discharged, but she remains in custody.'¹⁹ Three days before her release Manley had written to Sunderland's undersecretary Sir John Hopkins to plead her case, 'I have begged Mr Steels interest that I may be brought to a speedy Examination; there is nothing I more earnestly desire; next to the power of Aton[e]ment for the offence I have unwarily given.'²⁰

That she was released within days of sending this letter could indicate that Richard Steele (*bap.*1672, *d.*1729), then government gazetteer and working in Sunderland's office, did assist.²¹ For Manley to have sought Steele's assistance, however, would be surprising. Steele had refused to assist her with the cost of a coach fare to the West Country when her relationship with Tilly ended in 1702. She had helped him in his need many times, perhaps paying for a midwife for his mistress and warning him against his involvement in an alchemy scheme.²² She ridiculed Steele in *New Atalantis* with the telling pseudonym

Monsieur Le Ingrate:

He shapes his Manners to his Name, and is exquisitely so in all he does; has an inexhaustible Fund of Dissimulation, and does not bely the Country he was born in, which is fam'd for Falshood and Insincerity. ... His Morals were loose; his Principles nothing but pretence ...²³

¹⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 114.

¹⁹ Fidelis Morgan, *The Female Wits: Women Playwrights of the Restoration*, Virago Press, London, 1981, p 40; Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 6, p 506.

²⁰ Manley, letter to Mr Secretary, [undersecretary of state, Sir John] Hopkins, 2 Nov. 1709, Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 4695; see Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, Letter No. 1, p 252.

²¹ See letter from Steele to Swift, signed at 'Lord Sunderland's Office, Oct. 8th 1709': Rae Blanchard, ed., *Richard Steele's Periodical Journalism, 1714-16*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959, pp 33, 35.

²² Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 120-25; [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 188-193.

²³ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 187, 189-90; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 13, 118.

Theirs was a very public argument fought over a very private matter. When Tilly left her to marry a rich heiress, Steele also abandoned her to marry a woman of wealth, having expressed amorous affection in correspondence that promised far more. Steele was a Whig and an influential member of their Kit-Kat Club. He had established *The Tatler* with Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Swift in April 1709, writing this alongside *The London Gazette* until dismissed as government Gazetteer in October 1710.²⁴ Three months after her release, Manley dedicated the first volume of *Memoirs of Europe* to Steele but mocked him savagely. By playing his own *Tatler* game, addressing her invectives to his eidolon Isaac Bickerstaff, she refers to their ‘reconciled Friendship (promis’d after my Application to [Steele] when under State-Confinement).’²⁵ This does suggest, however, that he had assisted her release. Through carefully crafted encomium praise for the fictitious Bickerstaff, but vitriolic censure for the very real Steele, there is little evidence of their warmed reconciliation. His reply in the May 1710 *Tatler* as Bickerstaff, the ‘Censor of Great Britain’, was that at the time she asked for help he had no funds to spare.²⁶ This was indeed possible, as Steele and money were never together long.²⁷

A more probable source of her release could be Barber, with whom she may have been living when she began writing *New Atalantis* and had been released a few days earlier.²⁸ This will be argued further in Chapter 12, but if correct, it is plausible to suggest that he would have paid her bail. The earliest documented evidence that she had contacted Harley

²⁴ Rae Blanchard, *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1941, reprint 1968, pp 22, 28-29, 35, 37.

²⁵ Anonymous [Delarivier Manley], *Memoirs of Europe Towards the Close of the Eighth Century, Written by Eginardus, Secretary and Favourite to Charlemagne, and done into English by the Translator or the New Atalantis*, Vols. 1 and 2, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1710, I, Dedication to Isaac Bickerstaff, (unpaginated).

²⁶ Isaac Bickerstaff [Richard Steele] *The Tatler*, No. 63, 3 September 1709 and No. 92, 10th November 1709, various Printers, London, 1709, 1710: for Steele’s reaction to Manley’s ironic dedication see *The Tatler* No. 177, 27 May 1710; see Letter 30 and notes, Steele to Mrs De La Riviere Manley, September 6, 1709, Blanchard, ed., *Corr. Steele*, pp 29, 30-31n1.

²⁷ For examples of Steele’s constant financial problems, see Blanchard, *Corr. Steele*: Letter 31, Oct 6, 1709, p 31; Letter 60, Aug 16, 1712, pp 59-60; Letter 62, Oct 4, 1712, p 61; Letter 119, March 1716?, pp 113-14n3.

²⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 161, 164-66; Anonymous, *The Life and Character of John Barber Esq; Late Lord Mayor of London, Deceased*, Printed for T. Cooper, London, 1741, p 13.

is her letter to him dated only ‘Sunday 16’ that Herman discerned was either April or July, 1710.²⁹ Her next letter, more clearly dated May 1710, which may or may not have preceded the first, indicates by her opening lines more clearly that they had not met:

My Respect only prevents from waiting upon you in person (to beg your acceptance of this Book [*Memoirs of Europe*, volume one]) least I be thought to have the honor of your acquaintance which I can only covet never hope.³⁰

I will discuss these letters further in Chapter 11. Even if he had some involvement in her writing *New Atalantis*, however, in 1709 Harley was out of favour with the Whigs and of little help to her. Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough (c.1658–1735) possibly also could not help, despite her encomium to him in the second volume.³¹ Although a Whig he was in no more favour with them as Harley, having been censured in parliament in 1708 over his actions in Spain.³²

Other writers and printers were charged with libel in the period, but unlike Daniel Defoe (c.1660–1731) and others, she was not pilloried or further persecuted.³³ Perhaps her quick release, with her printers before her, indicates that Sunderland knew his case against them would not succeed. The allusion and innuendo was sufficiently vague and opaque, an aspect of her secret history form that Andrew Bricker argues was a ploy used by writers in the belief that this made it difficult for charges of libel to succeed.³⁴ Luttrell recorded on 5 November 1709 that ‘Mrs. Manley, author of the New Atlantis [*sic*], is admitted to bayl.’³⁵ This day was significant, not only as the anniversary of William III’s invasion in 1688, but also of the foiled ‘gun-powder plot’ in 1605. Her release was also on the day firebrand Anglican preacher, Henry Sacheverell (*bap.* 1674, *d.* 1724), delivered his

²⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 159-60; citing Manley’s letter to Harley dated ‘Sunday 16’, Herman, *Business*, pp 253, 267n96: through research Herman narrowed its date to either April or July, 1710.

³⁰ Herman, *Business*, p 254: Letter, Manley to Harley, BL., Add. MSS, 70026 (unfoliated), 12 May 1710.

³¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 270.

³² Winn, James Anderson, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014, p 450, 461, 723n40.

³³ Maximillian E. Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p 194; McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, pp 64n2, 75, 77-78, 81-82; Matthews was tried and hung for his junior role in printing the Jacobite pamphlet, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*; Bricker ‘Libel and Satire’, pp 895.

³⁴ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, pp 895-904.

³⁵ Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1706-1714), 1857, p 508.

inflammatory sermon at St Paul's Church in London, *The perils of false brethren, both in church, and state*, that so angered London's Lord Mayor and aldermen assembled, but the Whig Junto even more. Their decision to impeach him was the incendiary spark that ultimately brought the Whig government down.³⁶ It is significant then that the Whig historian, George Trevelyan, while defaming Manley as 'a woman of no character' and *New Atalantis* as 'a book of the lowest order', nonetheless gave her a share of the credit by saying that she had done 'the most harm' in effecting this change of government in 1710.³⁷

Sunderland's arrest warrant charges Manley and her printers with libel only, without the heightened weight of sedition. However, this added distinction does apply, as has been argued comprehensively by Philip Hamburger and Andrew Bricker.³⁸ It is also how the charge against Manley is mostly described by present-day commentators. Kathryn Temple argues that the law of 'seditious libel was ... experiencing radical reinvention at the time of Manley's arrest.'³⁹ During the seventeenth-century, standard laws of libel, sedition or treason reduced markedly when parliament allowed the Licensing Act to lapse in 1695 and replaced it in 1696 with the enactment of the Treason Trials Statute.⁴⁰ By the eighteenth century, the legal constraints wrought by this 'gradual erosion' from the late sixteenth, 'of the government's policies toward the press ... eventually made necessary a new policy based on the law of libel.'⁴¹ Manley mocked her interrogators by *Rivella's* ironic question whether she was not convicted because England's 'laws were defective'.⁴²

³⁶ Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, Eyre Methuen, London, 1973, pp 3, 53-54; Henry Sacheverell D.D., *The Perils of false brethren, both in church and state*. Set forth in a sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, on the 5th of November 1709. By Henry Sacheverell, D.D. fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon, and chaplain of St. Saviour's Southwark, Printed for H. King, London, 1709.

³⁷ Trevelyan O.M., 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession', Vol. 3, *England Under Queen Anne*, p 38.

³⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 180-81; Philip Hamburger 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review* 37 (February 1985); Bricker 'Libel and Satire', *passim*, for discussion on the laws of libel and defamation and the use of gutted names to provide satirists in the period legal protection.

³⁹ Kathryn Temple, 'Manley's "Feigned Scene": The Fictions of Law at Westminster Hall', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*: Vol. 22: Issue 4, Article 1, 2010, p 580, available at: <http://digitalcommons.mcmaster.ca/ecf/vol22/iss4/1>.

⁴⁰ cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 1, 3, 24, 27, 149-161; Hamburger, 'Law of Seditious Libel', p 722.

⁴¹ Hamburger, 'Law of Seditious Libel', Introduction, p 662.

⁴² [Manley], *Rivella*, p 114; Temple, 'Fictions of Law', p 575.

There was a growing awareness by Whig and Tory politicians alike of the need to both control and influence public opinion. Bricker shows that ‘eighteenth-century satirists, hoping to confound actions and prosecutions for defamation,’ attempted to avoid ‘explicitly naming their victims’ by using gutted names or blanks,⁴³ or by Manley, *roman à clef* pseudonyms. As Bricker puts it, ‘[a]llegory in particular proved a rub’:

In such cases, innuendoes were mostly useless in establishing that the plaintiff or the victim was the one written about or spoken of. This was the very problem that the Secretary of State, Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland ran into in 1709 in his attempted prosecution of Manley for her *roman à clef* *The New Atalantis*.⁴⁴

By adding the phrase, ‘Disturbing the publick peace and quiet of Her Majesty’s Government’ in his warrant, Carnell asserts, strengthened Sunderland’s charge to sedition.⁴⁵ To suppress the work, he also ordered his men to bring ‘such books as are in their possession.’⁴⁶ Ongoing sales and further reprints show that he did not succeed. In one of her tirades by correspondence Sarah railed at the queen that the Tories were circulating ‘such simple books as they can get written and published’, but conceded that ‘notwithstanding [Manley’s] prosecution’, she ‘supposed’ her book was ‘sold at every shop.’⁴⁷ Lady Mary Pierrepoint also showed that sales were unhindered when she expressed delight to her friend Mrs Hewet that she had managed to obtain a copy of the keenly sought after second volume only a week after Manley was released on bail.⁴⁸

By her arrest her interrogators had only achieved what they had set out to avoid. In raising her notoriety, they had only increased the sales of the books they had tried to suppress.⁴⁹ Sunderland may have soon regretted his hasty action. Manley was tried at the Queen’s Bench on 13 February 1710, although she claims her interrogation took place in

⁴³ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, pp 889.

⁴⁴ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, p 895.

⁴⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 180-81: drawing on Hamburger, ‘Law of Seditious Libel’, p 701.

⁴⁶ Sunderland’s, Warrant Book, SP 44/78 ff 64-65, 28 October 1709, ‘Secretaries of State: State Papers: Entry Books, Criminal: Correspondence and Warrants, accessed at the National Archives of the UK.

⁴⁷ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, *Priv. Corr.* Sarah., 1709, Vol. 1, p 237; cf. Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, pp 901.

⁴⁸ Robert Halsband, ed., *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, p 18: Letter dated 12 November 1709.

⁴⁹ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, pp 895, 901, 904, 913.

Sunderland's office. At 'some very great expense to the Defendants,'⁵⁰ she and her co-accused were fined, but discharged without conviction. Luttrell recorded on 14 February 1710 that, 'yesterday Mrs. Manley, under prosecution for being author of a book entitled, the *New Atlantis* [*sic*], appeared at the Queen's bench court, and was discharged.'⁵¹

Luttrell's diary entry is fortuitous, as Herman notes that 'the records of the Queen's Bench proceedings for this period are no longer extant.'⁵²

Manley may have drawn her argument from an earlier plea used successfully by Elizabeth Cellier (*fl.* 1668–1688) in 1680, also against a charge of libel:

If I was a foolish vain Woman, and did seem to speak some vain words ... which I did not understand the Consequences of, I hope a word vainly spoke by me, shall not be brought against me to convict me of a Crime.⁵³

She was found guilty, however, on a second trial.⁵⁴ Manley's argument during her interrogation was equally successful, as she mockingly claims in *Rivella*, that *New Atalantis* was a fiction that came entirely from her imagination. Asked 'who were the Persons concern'd with her in writing her Books,' she replied that she was

writing for her own Amusement and Diversion in the Country; without intending particular Reflections or Characters. When this was not believ'd, and the contrary urg'd very home to her by several Circumstances and Likenesses; she said, then it must be inspiration, for she could account for it no other way.⁵⁵

For Sunderland to challenge her claim would have only proved, as readers perhaps believed, that therein lay truth. To define the enthusiastic reception *New Atalantis* received as 'disturbing the peace' seems a stretch, but although this wording has a legal function, it clearly indicates the book's popularity was a concern. Notwithstanding the absence of

⁵⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 115.

⁵¹ Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1706-1714), p 546.

⁵² Herman, *Business*, p 274n24.

⁵³ Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1996, pp 289, 487n11: citing Anonymous, *The Tryal and Sentence of Elizabeth Cellier; for Writing, Printing and Publishing a Scandalous Libel, called Malice Defeated &c., At the Sessions in the Old-Bailey held Saturday, 11th and Monday 13th September 1680*, Printed for Thomas Collins, London, 1680, p 16.

⁵⁴ Helen King, 'Cellier, Elizabeth (*fl.* 1668–1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4990>, accessed 2 Sept 2016].

⁵⁵ Manley, *Rivella*, p 113; Herman, *Business*, p 73.

‘seditious,’ when Manley and her printers were arrested they would have known the charges against them were that serious. Sunderland was alarmed at her continued attack on the Whig ministry, in particular its Junto of five powerful leaders, but also of his parents-in-law John Churchill (1650–1722) and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Lord Treasurer Sidney Godolphin (1645–1712), first Earl Godolphin. Sunderland met its appearance with the brute-force of law.⁵⁶ To add fuel to his ire, had he acquired a copy of the Keys that revealed the identities of characters, he would have known that his father was also a target of Manley’s vituperative pen. Characterised as the ‘Head of the Atalantick State, who tho’ long since dead, his Crimes can never die[,]’⁵⁷ Sir Robert Spencer (1641–1702), second Earl of Sunderland, influential advisor to three successive kings, had died only months into Anne’s reign.⁵⁸ Manley’s ridicule was biting:

... An immortal Villain! ... His Vices should be recorded on Monumental Marble, or ever Enduring Brass! That no time, no Age, may be able to deface the horrible Remembrance! Who submitted an infinite, natural Capacity, and vast strength of Parts, to the inglorious, villainous Practice, of first seducing his Prince, and then betraying and punishing him for it. ... A Villain! For the sake of Villainy! False! And Foolish in his Falseness! a private Pensioner to three Monarchs of different Interests, at the same time betraying them to each other⁵⁹

Her scathing attack could have only enraged the son, but she had perhaps intended it as an oblique attack on Sunderland himself, suggesting that like father, so too is the son.

Sunderland is not identified in the Key to the second volume, but his wife is. Lady Anne Spencer (1683–1716) was Marlborough’s favourite daughter. Manley portrays her seeking the private services of a midwife, while her ‘Lord [Sunderland] is amusing himself with the Politeness of the Turin Court[.]’⁶⁰ She was careful to not name Sunderland while he was still in power,⁶¹ but not so his deceased father. She alludes to Sir Robert Spencer’s

⁵⁶ Herman, *Business*, p 74; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 173; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, ‘Introduction’, p xv.

⁵⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 262.

⁵⁸ W. A. Speck, ‘Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641–1702)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan 2008

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/26135>, accessed 1 Sept 2016].

⁵⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 262-263.

⁶⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 17; cf. Henry L. Snyder, ‘Spencer, Charles, third earl of Sunderland (1675–1722)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/26117>, accessed 27 June 2017.

⁶¹ cf. Herman, *Business*, p 17.

shrewd self-seeking instinct and shifting allegiance, just as she had also mocked John Churchill in her first volume. Sunderland senior had gained the trust in turn of Charles II, James II and William III, but betrayed each one as it suited his need.⁶² Marlborough too had betrayed James II who had trusted him most. He also betrayed William III. Manley accuses him of betraying Anne. If Sunderland the younger had obtained the Key, there is little wonder that Manley soon found herself escorted to a stone-cold cell. Her interrogation left lasting effects on her health; as she claimed two years later in letters to Harley.⁶³ She was more circumspect later again in *Rivella*, wittily making light of her ordeal.⁶⁴ Harley was on his way out. She knew she would again be vulnerable to a Whig government's attentions.

New Atalantis was, as Herman describes, 'the most notorious exposé of alleged Whig misdemeanours of its day.'⁶⁵ The second volume disturbed the Junto's 'peace and quiet' even more with Manley's prediction that 'their rule would end and the queen would eventually be free of them.'⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, Sunderland viewed its contents as subversive and dangerous. He also suspected that she 'enjoyed Tory patronage[.]'⁶⁷ Not heeding the advice of Sarah's secretary, Arthur Maynwaring (1668–1712) to ignore it, for this 'would only make it spread more[.]'⁶⁸ he had ordered the arrests of Manley and her printers, and the confiscation of all copies remaining 'in their possession'. He then wrote to reassure his mother-in-law, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough:

I believe Mr Manwaring [*sic*] has given you an account of the Lady, I have in Custody for the New Atlantis [*sic*] & of the noble worthy Persons, she corresponds with, I shall spoil their writing, at least for some time for I promise them, I will push it as far as I can by law.⁶⁹

⁶² Speck, 'Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641–1702)', *ODNB*.

⁶³ Manley, Letters to Earl of Oxford, Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated), 19 July 1711 and 2 Oct 1711; Herman, *Business*, Letters No. 4 and 5, pp 255, 256.

⁶⁴ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 113-115.

⁶⁵ Herman, *Business*, p 13.

⁶⁶ Herman, *Business*, p 13; [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 153-156.

⁶⁷ Herman, *Business*, p 74.

⁶⁸ Herman, *Business*, p 75: Letter from Mainwaring to Duchess of Marlborough, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 228.

⁶⁹ Herman, *Business*, pp 74, 275n33: citing letter from Sunderland to the Duchess of Marlborough, BL., Add. MSS 61443, f.35, 4 November 1709.

He was convinced that Manley had not worked alone. Others must have passed on ‘intelligence’ of court and ministry business, for how otherwise could a woman not closely connected to either have known?⁷⁰ Manley alludes to it herself, wryly, through her personified allegory, *Lady Intelligence*, a journalist and gatherer of information working for ‘Princess Fame’, an allegory for public opinion.⁷¹ This also provides a useful plot-framing device. In her first volume Manley had exposed the moral corruptions of noble Persons within fantastical allegories in the style of romance. It was one more verbal assault in a plethora of Tory publications denouncing Whigs that had been entertaining the populace for some years.⁷² In this second volume, in which she predicts their downfall, Manley had gone too far. This time she could not be ignored.

Amid disparate anecdotes of romantic tales juxtaposed with didactic moralising, all fashioned, like the first volume, within an entertaining romp of scandalous gossip and salacious intrigue, Manley ingeniously insinuates that the Whig ministry’s hold on office would soon come to an end. She imagines the deaths of both Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough, along with Sarah’s diminishing influence over the queen, which was already evident by her frequent harangues and infrequent attendance at court. Godolphin’s dismissal was then not foreseen. Most galling was her suggestion that the queen, ‘on her deathbed,’ would restore Harley to power and appoint Abigail Masham in Sarah’s place:

The Princess [*Olympia*: Queen Anne] had just Breath enough remaining to appoint her Husband, [Prince George, who had recently died] and *Don Geronimo de Haro* [Harley, who had been forced to resign], Regents, intrusting the Care of her Education wholly to the Conduct of the Finish’d *Hilaria* [Masham]; by this means for ever excluding the *Marchioness* [Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough] of whose ill Principles she had receiv’d so deep a Tincture from *Don Haro’s* Discovery, that by her Silence, she too plainly betray’d the Opinion had of her, who had once so eminently possess’d her Favour. Much about this time the courageous *Marquis* [Marlborough] fought a decisive Battle with the Enemy, which it was not only his Misfortune to lose, but to perish himself, cover’d with Honour and Wounds! ... This was a finishing Stroke to *Count Biron’s* [Godolphin’s] interest in the Cabinet ... where under the Power of the Regents, he appear’d but as a shadow of himself; the Ghost of his own departed Genius! ... He withdrew himself from *Utopia*, before he was made to withdraw; which every Day he grew apprehensive of. ... It did not happen so well with poor *Madam de Caria* [Sarah], formerly the Heroin of our Story ... since she had

⁷⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 161.

⁷¹ Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, p 145; cf. McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, p 221.

⁷² Hamburger, ‘Law of Seditious Libel’, p 748.

escaped the fury of the Rabble, [who wished] that she might immediately die of the Plague, who had been so long and great a Plague to others. ... since there was now, neither a *Princess Olympia* in the Throne! A *Marquis* at the Head of Armies, nor a *Count* at the end of the Board to protect and screen her from the Indignation and contempt of the *Worthy*, ...

Virtue:] My Lady Intelligence for this time, we shall not see *Count Biron* any other wise than in your Relation of him, his dying Tapers are long since expired.⁷³

Manley certainly knew more than she should. History shows that she was prophetic, if not chronologically exact on all counts. The queen was constantly ill and did indeed die five years later. Marlborough suffered a stroke in 1716, having been dismissed in 1711 following the publication of Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*. He died in 1722.⁷⁴ Sarah's prolonged hostility towards Anne was already the talk of town, certainly of the royal court, but was also discussed in the pamphlet press.⁷⁵

Godolphin's dismissal was a scheme Harley had been actively working on, with Masham's help, since his own removal had been accomplished by Godolphin, the Marlboroughs and the Junto in 1708. He succeeded his aim when Anne dismissed her Lord Treasurer in August 1710, coldly sending a note and directing him to break his staff in his own chamber, not offering a meeting with her. She promised him a pension but never paid it. Godolphin died in 1715 a broken man.⁷⁶ Sunderland had been dismissed in the previous June, although with slightly more consideration.⁷⁷ Although Anne did not appoint Abigail Masham to all the roles previously held by Sarah, she came to rely on her as much.⁷⁸ She and Harley had arranged for Abigail Hill to marry Samuel Masham (1678/9–1758) in June 1707. Under pressure from Harley and ignoring Sarah's consternation Anne agreed to ennoble him Baron Masham of Otes on 1 January 1712; elevating the commoner Abigail to

⁷³ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 153, 154, 155, 156, 159.

⁷⁴ John B. Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2014 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5401>, accessed 4 Aug 2017].

⁷⁵ Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion*, Harper Press, London, 2012, pp 377, 380-392; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 107.

⁷⁶ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 355-357, 376-80, 420-21; Hill, Brian W., *Robert Harley: Speaker, Secretary of State and Premier Minister*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988, pp 117-129.

⁷⁷ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 352-353, 413-14, 420-21; Hill, *Harley*, p 127.

⁷⁸ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 437, 465.

Baroness Masham.⁷⁹ All this, however, was still in the future. In 1709, although libel laws were rarely and not easily applied, Sunderland would make Manley the exception. She had mocked Queen Anne's most powerful ministers, including his own family, more savagely than in her first volume, and had even dared to involve the queen.

When the second volume of *New Atalantis* appeared, Sarah asked Maynwaring 'to give her a written account of it.'⁸⁰ In the letter dated only 1709, that references in it indicate it was written at either the end of October or early November, he assured her 'not to trouble and concern' herself, 'of what is said' about her, Godolphin and Lord Shrewsbury, Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718). It was all 'old and incredible stuff of extortion and affairs ... which not a soul living believes a word of.'⁸¹ In a subsequent letter he notes that the 'favourite characters are Abigail, Mr. Harley and Lord Peterborough' (Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough). Having described it a 'vile' book, he continued his attempt to allay the Duchess's fears, that Manley was writing about her, assuring her disingenuously that 'there is not a word in it relating to [her] but very old, false, and incredible scandal.'⁸² He lamented however that those greater wretches, the nobles that encourage it, deserve the punishment which Augustus gave the author of a libel; in which, as the history says the reputation of several excellent persons of both sexes were prejudiced.⁸³

⁷⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 464-65; Mark Knights, MASHAM, Samuel (c.1679-1758), of Otes, High Laver, Essex, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/masham-samuel-1679-1758>; Ruth Paley and Paul Seaward, *Honour, Interest and Power, An Illustrated History of the House of Lords, 1660-1715*, The History of Parliament Trust, Boydell Press, Suffolk, 2010, p 338: Letters of patent creating ten new peers were issued on 31 December 1711 and 1 January 1712. This clarifies the two years appearing in scholarship for this event.

⁸⁰ Herman, *Business*, pp 74, 275n34: letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Maynwaring, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, [October or November] 1709, Vol. I, p 236.

⁸¹ Herman, *Business*, pp 74, 275n37: citing letter from Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, dated '1709', p 227.

⁸² Letter from Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, dated '1709', p 228.

⁸³ Letter from Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, dated 'Saturday, past one o'clock, 1709', pp 228, 229: one dated only 1709, the other dated 'Saturday, past one o'clock 1709', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 227, 228-230: These letters would have been written after second volume was published on 20 October but possibly before Manley's arrest on the 29 October.

He adds finally that he hopes ‘some proper way can be found to restrain it this winter,’ but concludes that:

Yet I am afraid it will be very difficult to cure the mischief; for so long as people will buy such books, there will always be vile printers ready to publish them; and low indigent writers will never be wanting for such work.⁸⁴

Maynwarding’s knowledge of the true identities of Manley’s feigned names suggests that the Key to this second volume had appeared very soon after its release. Or, as Bricker argues, he could just have been guessing.⁸⁵

It would not have been hard to intuit who Manley was writing about. In a subsequent letter to Queen Anne dated only ‘1709’, its contents indicating it was written after Manley’s arrest, Sarah shares her concerns about the *New Atalantis*: ‘the subject is ridiculous and the book not well written, but that looks so much the worse, for it shews that the notion is extensively spread amongst all sorts of people.’⁸⁶ Not convinced by Maynwarding’s attempt to minimise its effects, she tells Anne – who may have known from Sunderland’s daily reports: ‘[t]he woman that has been put upon writing it, and the printer, have been in custody and are now under prosecution.’⁸⁷ She grumbles that, ‘I, Lord Marlborough, and almost everybody I know are abused, except for’ the three ‘favourites’ whom she names, as Maynwarding had suggested: Masham, Harley and Peterborough. Sarah alleges that its author ‘kept correspondence with two of the favourite persons in the book, Lord Peterborough and Mr. Harley’ and suspects its author, now in custody, ‘may have had some dealing with Mrs. Masham.’⁸⁸ If so, this correspondence would have started in 1708. By then, however, Anne was inured to Sarah’s constant bullying harangues that bordered on paranoia about her lady of the bedchamber, Abigail Masham.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Letter from Maynwarding to the Duchess of Marlborough, ‘Saturday, past one o’clock 1709’, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. 1, p 230.

⁸⁵ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, p 903-904.

⁸⁶ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, [Oct. or Nov.] 1709, Vol. 1, p 235.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 235-36.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 354-413, *passim*.

Paradoxically, not only did Sunderland's aggressive reaction in arresting Manley show that the content of her books was unsettling the Whig ministry, it also increased her works' popularity. It was the talk of town, read and discussed, as an early commentator put it, by grandees attending the royal court to 'the veriest country bumpkin visiting London.'⁹⁰ Readers were eager for this next instalment of her salacious tales that exposed the corruption of the ruling elite.⁹¹ In his discussion on 'guttled names', used with the same intent as Manley's pseudonyms but with identities partly obscured by removing all letters between the first and last, Bricker states that these 'were part of a riddle-like game that forced readers to identify a satiric victim while decoding the half-veiled scandal itself.'⁹² He argues however that the modern literary historians' acceptance that by the use of such methods to disguise identities would protect the satirist is erroneous. Instead, '[t]he legal record usually provided satirists with little or, in most instances, no legal protection throughout the Restoration and eighteenth century.'⁹³ Nonetheless, there were few prosecutions for libel in the period, as the libelled would lose face by moving to prosecute.

Manley's arrest did not gain for Sunderland what he had hoped. She did not admit to others assisting her in its writing. The second volume of *New Atalantis* did not remain suppressed for long. Neither was she cowed by her experience. Reprints soon appeared, with Keys appearing separately that revealed the identities of characters portrayed but not author or printer, a 'standard precaution to avoid prosecution for libel'.⁹⁴ For Manley, this clearly did not work. From the first volume readers were eager to obtain a copy of the Keys and also to pass on to friends.⁹⁵ Lady Mary Pierrepont had offered her friend Mrs Hewet a copy of the Key if she would to send her the second volume.⁹⁶ Manley published her third

⁹⁰ Anderson, 'Mistress Manley's Biography', p 273.

⁹¹ Morgan, *Woman of No Character*, p 144; Halsband, ed., *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, pp 17, 18.

⁹² Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 906.

⁹³ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 890.

⁹⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 173.

⁹⁵ Herman, *Business*, p 74; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, 'Introduction', p xv.

⁹⁶ Halsband, ed., *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, pp 18-20; Letters dated Oct 1709 and 12 Nov 1709.

secret history satire, *Memoirs of Europe*, three months after her release from gaol. In this she savaged the Whigs and Sunderland even more:

Cetbegus! The Executioner of the *Junto*, scarce cou'd he defer the Stroke, 'till he heard the Sentence, or receiv'd the Command! All that Fire and Fury cou'd inspire animated his Frame! He was an Engine not to work with, but destroy! Not fit for Consultation, but Destruction!⁹⁷

She had censured his father as bitterly in volume two.⁹⁸ It may not have been only for her satirical assault on his parents-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough that Sunderland had reacted so aggressively when the second volume appeared. The most Sunderland achieved by arresting her was to prove Maynwaring's cautionary advice correct by increasing its sales. Sunderland's suspicion that others assisted Manley was not far wrong. Apart from her letters, she provides clues through the patrons she openly thanks or solicits from in her Dedications or, in the case of Abigail Masham whom she dared not name but instead, like her characters, veiled under the cover of a pseudonym.⁹⁹ It was largely Masham, but also Harley, who Sunderland, Maynwaring and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough all suspected were the source of Manley's 'information'.

In her self-promoting memoir *Rivella*, with its unreliable narration in third person and all names changed including her own, Manley claims that she had worked alone. Referring to the Whigs as 'a *Faction* who was busy [trying] to enslave their Sovereign and overturn the Constitution', she was:

proud of having more Courage than any of her Sex, and of throwing the first stone which might give a Hint for other Persons of more Capacity to examine the Defects, and Vices of some Men, who took a Delight to impose upon the World, by the pretence of publick Good, whilst their true Design was only to gratify and advance themselves.¹⁰⁰

Notwithstanding her protestations of complete autonomy, there are clues that suggest otherwise. Bullard contended in her examination of the secret history form that Manley's intent was 'to encourage a sense of party identity and cohesion among the disparate,

⁹⁷ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 218.

⁹⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 263.

⁹⁹ [Manley] *ME*, II, Dedicated to 'Louisa of Savoy, Countess of Angoulesm'.

¹⁰⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 109.

factional Tories in the lead-up to the critical electoral year of 1710'.¹⁰¹ This perhaps glosses her effort with more strategic planning than was the case, but this also undermines her claim that she was writing independently. As I will discuss in Chapter 11, Manley sought financial assistance from Harley in payment for 'exposing the enemies of our Constitution.'¹⁰² Considering these together with Carnell's assertion that *New Atalantis* 'probably helped bring down the Whig government in 1710', drawing from Trevelyan's earlier comment that it 'did the most harm to the ministry that year[,]'¹⁰³ raises a plausible argument that one or two, or even a group of powerful Tories set out with a deliberate agenda to seek her talents to bring about this change in Tory cohesion in time for the crucial 1710 election. It also seems reasonable to suggest that this person or group would choose a writer from outside their circle, still unknown as a political writer but who held Tory principles and had an established literary profile with the reading public.

At this point in her career – and with her Tory credentials – Manley was an ideal choice, albeit surprising, considering her gender and tarnished reputation. In his early twentieth-century male-centric era with its prurient view of Manley as a 'scandal-monger' writer still dominating, this claim by Trevelyan is a surprising admission of significance. His tempered Whig-biased salute to Manley acknowledges the influential role *New Atalantis* played in the politics of her day and assisted her ongoing presence in scholarship. Manley's arrest had only helped to increase *New Atalantis*'s notoriety and sales; intensifying its 'effects', as Parsons explains, supplying 'readers with an incontrovertible sign that the *Atalantis* did indeed contain incendiary political material.'¹⁰⁴ Patriarchal society tolerated a woman's pursuit in writing but scorned those who published, and male Tory writers aplenty were available. It was a dangerous task that did lead to her arrest. Her

¹⁰¹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 81.

¹⁰² Letter from Manley to Robert Harley, 'Sunday 16', British Library, Add. MSS, 70290, Folio 1: Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, 'Letter 2', dated 'Sunday 16', [April/July 1710?], p 253.

¹⁰³ Trevelyan, 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession', Vol. 3, *England Under Queen Anne*, p 38.

¹⁰⁴ Parsons, *Reading Gossip*, p 8.

attempt at anonymity, using secret history form, with *roman à clef* pseudonyms to disguise the guilty and protect the innocent, in particular herself but also her printer and publishers, clearly did not work.

The question Manley posed in 1714, rhetorically, in mocking tone through *Lovemore* in *Rivella* and framed in the context of her real distress caused by the Tories' lack of financial support for her efforts, was laced with bitter irony: 'Who bid her write?' It is the question Sunderland also wanted answered. With her keen sense of 'performance' and flair for the dramatic, she might have been goading her Whig interrogators at her trial, who in 1714 were, safely for her, out of office. Her portrayal also could be a fabrication of the event, to hedge her bets. Like all her writing, she is narrating more for effect and performance than adhering to absolute truth. In 1714 she would have been aware that the Tory government was nearing its end. Her question still has not been fully answered today. Who asked Manley – if anyone did – to write a political satire against the Whigs, then the party in power? When posed in 1714, still secure in the Tory's majority in the ministry although their hold on power was growing increasingly tenuous, she plays with her audience: did she write *New Atalantis* entirely from her own 'inspiration' as she had claimed at her trial.

Chapter 3

Secret history: forming the *New Atalantis*

The following adventures first spoke their own mix't Italian, a Speech Corrupted, and now much in use thro' all the Islands of the Mediterranean; from whence some Industrious Frenchman soon Transported it into his own Country; and by giving it an Air and Habit wherein the Foreigner was almost lost, seemed to Naturalise it: A friend of mine, that made the Campaign, met with it last year at Brussels; and thus, a la Francois, put it into my hands, with a desire it might Visit the Court of Great Britain.¹

New Atalantis was not the first secret history published, nor was it the last; but in 1709/10 it did make a huge literary splash in England's small political pond. Regarded in Manley's lifetime as her consummate work, it remains her most famous. She claimed it was translated from Italian, 'a language corrupted', into French then finally into English. The subterfuge pretends that a friend then acquired it in Brussels and gave it to the 'translator'. It was, in fact, entirely her own work, only ever in English, but inspired by secret history texts popular at the time as forms of political activism. These had their origins in Byzantine archaic Greek, the first found in the vaults of the Vatican, translated into Latin and then into French.² Bullard describes secret history's form as 'historiography designed to oppose arbitrary government.' It responds to the importance of secrecy in the theory and practice of absolute rule.³ *New Atalantis* was a literary sensation that generated a furore of keen but controversial interest in the reading public but infuriated those who received the sharpest barbs. Until recent decades most scholars regarded it simply as 'scandal fiction' of salacious gossip. Yet it was structured with far more literary design. Parsons argues that secret history is 'one of the most complex of the eighteenth-century literary forms.'⁴

Bullard states that the secret history genre became popular as a propagandist political tool from the late seventeenth century to mid-way through the eighteenth which was, by its

¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, title and Dedication pp ii-iii.

² Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 1-5.

³ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 6.

⁴ Parsons, *Reading Gossip*, p 40.

very nature, satirical.⁵ She cites an ‘early Latin commentator on the secret history form’ who, in 1626 classified secret history as ‘common satire rather than the prestigious genre of history’ and that ‘the information it contains is more accurately described as gossip than as secrets.’⁶ Ninety years later, the Whig writer John Oldmixon (c.1672–1742), ‘observed that the “Objection ... generally made to all *Anecdotes*” is that their intelligence is “either False or Common”.’⁷ Oldmixon was one of many writers who sought to gain from Manley’s success when he published *The Court of Atalantis, by several hands*, in 1714.⁸ That he used *Atalantis*, not *Atlantis*, shows clearly whose work he was referencing.

Secret history functions as political satire while deploying anonymity and false names to protect author and printers from charges of libel. Bricker argues that a purpose of disguising identities was also to protect the victims. He contends that modern literary historians have acknowledged the first function, to protect author and printers, but have rarely discussed the second. The victim in Manley’s satire has two facets: the victims of her ridicule but also the victims of their abuse. Bricker makes the point that:

Again and again during this period, we hear the same refrain. We have absolutely no right, critics routinely argued and satirists begrudgingly admitted, to attack another. As John Dryden put it, “Lampoon ... is a dangerous sort of Weapon, and for the most part Unlawful. We have no Moral right to the Reputation of other Men. ’Tis taking from them, what we cannot restore to them”.⁹

Bricker also cites seventeenth-century Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), whose view was that ‘defamation “robs a Man of his good Name, which ought to be more precious to him than his Life”.’¹⁰ It is ironic then, as well as a prime example of her secret history style, that Manley mocked Coke’s son Edward (1676–1707) (*Octavio/Monsieur St. l’Amant*). He ‘loved lazy pleasures’ and ‘dy’d memorable for nothing’, never troubling

⁵ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 1.

⁶ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 1, 8.

⁷ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 8: citing T Ryves, *Imperatoris, Justiniani defensio aduersus Allemannum* (1626) pp 9-10; J. Oldmixon, *Arcana Gallica: or, the Secret History of France for the last century* (1714), p i.

⁸ Anonymous, *The Court of Atalantis, containing, A Four Years History of that Famous Island, Political and Gallant; Intermixt with Fables and Epistles in Verse and Prose, By Several Hands*, Printed and Sold by J. Roberts, London, 1714.

⁹ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, p 910.

¹⁰ Bricker, ‘Libel and Satire’, p 911.

himself to enter public life, as had his father to a position of distinction.¹¹ It is worth noting that considering Manley's loss of reputation through the deceit of her cousin, the concern expressed by Dryden and Coke was only to protect the reputations of men.

Bricker contends that '[w]riters like Addison and Swift ... wrongly believed,' as did 'many readers, and numerous satiric victims,' that 'such naming practices protected satirists.'¹² In the main it worked however, '[i]f the allusion were obscure and readers uncertain, then a victim had little to gain in dragging some scribbler to court only to prove that he was the satire's prize boob.'¹³ Bricker also argues that '[t]he offense,' of revealing identities, 'was ethical, not legal', but that readers also exacerbated the writers' ethical dilemma.¹⁴ He points to the conundrum that while readers wanted 'some form of ... ethical undergirding for scandal-mongering poems and pamphlets ... they nonetheless gleefully consumed with an almost insatiable appetite.'¹⁵ As was argued by Catherine Gallagher, 'a half-hidden name does more to hint at scandal than to hide it'.¹⁶

The line between public and private spheres was secret history's pervasive theme. Bannet contends that 'secret histories gave readers "intelligence" about the sorts of things that transpired off stage behind the "spectacular politics" of ceremony and pageant, the dignity of office, and the clipped infomercials of the London Gazette.'¹⁷ Secret history brought into the public sphere the immorality and corruption being perpetrated in the private domain. Bannet also points out that 'like other historical writings at this time, English secret history had, or gave itself, respectable classic precedents.'¹⁸ Referring in particular to the 'supposedly novelistic features that literary critics have identified in the

¹¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 106; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 324n182, 326n210.

¹² Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 9.

¹³ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 904.

¹⁴ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 915.

¹⁵ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 913.

¹⁶ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 904, citing Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, p 100.

¹⁷ Bannet, "'Secret History": Or, Talebearing', p 377: citing Paula Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England*, (Baltimore, 1993); Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 1-2, 30.

¹⁸ Bannet, "'Secret History": Or, Talebearing', p 378.

best-selling secret histories of an Aphra Behn (c. 1640–1689) or a Delarivier Manley, such as their focus on amatory and political intrigue,’ Bannet suggests and Bullard expands the argument further that these ‘were characteristic of all the secret histories,’ and that these were all ‘modelled on the Byzantine historian, Procopius.’¹⁹

Its first publication in England in 1674 and its historical subject would have been of interest to Manley’s orthodox historian father, as much as it was to herself. Other than *The Russian Imposter*, discussed in Chapter 1, further pertinent historical works by her father Sir Roger Manley are *Commentariorum de Rebellione Anglicana*, published as *The History of the Rebellions in England, Scotland and Ireland* in 1686, the year before his death, also a final section of Paul Rycaut’s *The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677* continued from 1676 to 1686, published in 1687 posthumously, for which Manley claims her father received no credit.²⁰ A further intriguing connection is the title of Procopius’s *History of the Warres of the Emperor Justinian*, in eight books, translated by H. Holcroft in 1653. This was Procopius’s ‘more respectable orthodox history of Justinian’s reign’ published by Procopius (c.550). It has an echo in the title of Sir Roger Manley’s orthodox history, *A History of the Late Warres of Denmark* that he published in 1670.²¹

A significant aspect of Procopius’s *Anekdotia* is the journey of translation conceit that Manley parallels in *New Atalantis*, an artifice used to obscure its contemporary origin and author. Procopius of Caesarea in the sixth century had not dared circulate *Anekdotia*, which satirically chronicle details of Justinian’s debauched private life that could not be revealed in his orthodox history. It remained hidden in the Vatican archives for a thousand years, until discovered by German scholar Nicolaus Alemannus (1583–1626) who published his Latin translation alongside its original Greek in 1623.²² Even then, it was still considered

¹⁹ Bannet ‘“Secret History”: Or, Talebearing’, p.378 and *The Uses of History*, p. 370, citing John Richetti, *Popular Fictions before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739*, (Oxford, 1969) and William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684-1750*, (Berkeley, 1998).

²⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 10, 45-48, 241nn3,13,14; [Manley] *Rivella*, p 15.

²¹ cf. Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 34.

²² Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 1, 29-38.

too dangerous to include his name. French writer Leonor de Mauger put his name to his translated but sanitised version of Procopius's *Anekdotia* in 1669.²³ An English translation, with most of the offending sections de Mauger had removed reinstated, was finally published in 1674, also anonymous, as *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian*.²⁴ It was the first secret history to be published in English and its 'revelations about the debauched and tyrannical behaviour of the Emperor Justinian were interpreted by many at the time, as was intended, to be reflections upon Charles II.'²⁵

Anekdotia's actual journey of translation across borders and languages is echoed in Manley's feigned journey of her *New Atalantis*. On her title page Manley claims that it was 'Written Originally in Italian, Translated from the Third Edition of the French.' Unpacking this ruse further, Manley describes in her dedication to Beaufort cited at the head of this chapter that it 'first spoke ... mix't Italian, a Speech Corrupted, and now much in use thro' all the Islands of the Mediterranean': Procopius's Latin. An 'Industrious Frenchman soon Transported it into his own Country; and by giving it an Air and Habit wherein the Foreigner was almost lost, seemed to Naturalise it.' She seems to have known that de Mauger's translation, 'naturalized with an Air and Habit' into French', while much was 'lost' when he sanitised its unsavoury details. 'A Friend' then 'met with it last year at Brussels; and thus, a la Francois, put it into my hands, with a desire it might Visit the Court of Great Britain.'²⁶ Manley plays with this journey of translation further in her ruse: 'from the Third Edition.' In this way, Procopius's *Anekdotia* in its translated form, the *Secret*

²³ Bannet, "'Secret History': Or, Talebearing", p 377 and *The Uses of History*, p 369, citing Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or An Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, London, 1728; Bullard, pp 1-2, 30.

²⁴ *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian*, Written by Procopius of Cesarea; Faithfully rendred [sic] into English, Printed for John Barksdale Bookbinder, London, 1674; *The Debaucht Court. Or the Lives of the Emperor Justinian, and his Empress Theodora, The Comedian*, Faithfully Translated into English, Printed for R. Baldwyn, London, 1682: both are subtitled *The Secret History of Procopius*.

²⁵ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 30-31, 34-36; Bannet, "'Secret History': Or, Talebearing", p 376 and *The Uses of History*, p 368: citing scholarship on Procopius's *Anekdotia* taken from Annabel Patterson's 'Foul, his wife, the mayor and Foul's mare: the Power of Anecdote in Tudor Historiography', *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain, History, Rhetoric and Fiction, 1500-1800*, Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sachs, eds., 1997.

²⁶ [Manley], *NA*, I, Dedication p iii.

History of ... Justinian, and Manley's *New Atalantis* align. Both, 'thus,' by three border crossings and translations were similarly, by publication, brought into Great Britain. In this last allusion, Manley shows her hand, revealing that the true location of *Atalantis*, is indeed, England, not the island of *Atalantis* in the Mediterranean.

Manley then repeats the secret history conceit of journey and translation in her next two volume set, *Memoirs of Europe*. She again alludes to Procopius and his *Anekdotia*. First continuing her ruse that it was 'done into English by the Translator of the New *Atalantis*,' she states in her Preface:

These following Memoirs were found by me in my Father's Library, and much valu'd by him for the Merit of the Author, and the Scarcity of the Book: He had met with it somewhere abroad, in his Exile for the Royal Cause, having been oblig'd by his Articles at the Rendition of Colchester, to depart the Kingdom. The French is so obsolete, that I have bestow'd much Pains and Application in the Work. The Preface tells us, 'Twas wrote originally in Latin by Eginardus, Secretary and Favourite to Charles the Great, King of the Franks, who wrote that Emperor's Life and the History of those Times, from whence he was call'd by Valafrid Strabo, Eginard the Great. ... deposited a Copy of it in the University, which he had founded at Pavia, whence Francis the First (equally an Admirer and Incourage of Learning) brought it again into France, in the Year 1535, order'd it to be done in their own Language, Printed and Dedicated, with much Applause, to himself.²⁷

Elements of *Anekdotia*'s creation and historical journey are cleverly woven together with another history she chose for the context of this secret history set, the Tory historian Laurence Echard's (c.1670–1730) third volume of *Histories* published in 1705: *The Roman History From the Removal of the Imperial Seat By Constantine the Great, ... To [the] Restitution by Charlemagne*.²⁸ I will discuss this further in Chapter 13, but this shows again Manley's clever intertextual weaving of historical sources. She not only elides the contextual forms of Procopius's *Anekdotia* with Echard's third volume of *Roman History*, but also alludes to specifics of the powerful French Savoy family of the 1500s, then uses all as the basis of and to give background to her allusions to people and events in her own time.

²⁷ [Manley], *ME*, I, unpaginated, first and second pages of the Preface.

²⁸ Mr. Echard, *The Roman History From the Removal of the Imperial Seat By Constantine the Great, To the Taking of Rome By Odoacer K[ing] of the Heruli And The Ruin of the Empire in the West: And from the Ruin of the Western Empire, To its Restitution by Charlemagne*. Containing in all the Space of 474 Years, Vol. III, Being a Continuation of Mr. Echard's History, London, 1705; cf. Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 103-04.

Bullard describes secret history as re-plotting ‘received accounts of recent political history along partisan lines.’²⁹ She unpacks its English roots that was first used by Whigs as a political device, ‘as a defender of British political liberties at the vanguard of [their] battle against French-style absolute rule.’³⁰ They saw *Anekdotia*’s appeal in that ‘the character of the Emperor Justinian, as portrayed by Procopius’ mirrored ‘contemporary Whig perceptions of Charles II and his Court’.³¹ That its ‘revelation of salacious secrets of state, designed both to attack the personal dignity of the Empire’s rulers and also to undermine the idea that the absolute ruler’s secrets are inviolable.’³² As Bullard puts it, sounding an echo to Manley’s secret histories, ‘[i]n spite of the protestations of early modern commentators against Procopius’s sexual anecdotes and prurient style, there is a kind of decorum in Procopius’s gossipy history, in which glimpses into Justinian’s bedchamber take the place of political analysis.’³³ As the early Eighteenth Century progressed into Anne’s Age of Party: writers from across the political spectrum – Tories and Jacobites, Court Whigs and Old Whigs – exploit[ed] both secret history’s early association with the Whig opposition to arbitrary government and its self-reflexive literary characteristics as they rework its conventions to serve a variety of political causes.³⁴

The secret history form became the preferred method of protest against the actions, public and private, of both sides of the partisan political divide; initially by those of a Whig political paradigm against the ruling monarch and his courtiers. But from the early 1700s royalist Tories appropriated the form and reshaped it to mount a counter-attack against the Whig members of Queen Anne’s ministry elite.³⁵ For much of her reign the Whig Junto of five powerful peers attempted to create a hegemony that, except for the years 1708-1710, she managed to resist.³⁶

²⁹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 1, 3.

³⁰ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 1, 38-43.

³¹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 38.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 39.

³⁴ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 21-22.

³⁵ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 22, See also Chapter 2, pp 45-62 and Chapter 3, pp 63-80.

³⁶ Stuart Handley, ‘Whig junto (act. c.1694–c.1716)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/theme/92792>, accessed 25 May 2017].

During this turbulent period of England's political transformation from almost absolute rule by monarch to a sharing of government with a parliament that became increasingly partisan, the secret historians' focus shifted: from monarch to ministers and court officials; from sexual intrigue to political scheming; and from a Whig response to arbitrary rule to a Tory critique on ministerial corruption and immorality. Tories 'appropriated and adapted' secret history's 'generic conventions' by deflecting the focus from the monarch – by then Queen Anne – and squarely onto their adversaries: the ministerial Whigs. In this Manley's secret histories had their primary effect. Anne's reign was supported by all but Tory Jacobites and of those only a small cohort of remaining Nonjurors held out. The covert Jacobite, Henry, second Duke of Beaufort, who had not taken his seat in the House of Lords, famously told Anne in 1710 after she had removed Sunderland and Godolphin from her ministry that he was 'finally satisfied that "our Queen is now mistress of herself and her subjects," he could now call her Queen.'³⁷

Although Anne appeared in Manley's satire, she was not the one Manley set out to offend. As Winn points out, she treated Anne 'with respect and discretion'.³⁸ If Anne had read Manley's secret histories however, she might have been a little piqued at the way she was portrayed. In particular in *Memoirs of Europe* in which she is characterised as the male *Emperor Constantine* (272–337), who was subordinated to the *Empress Irene*: the domineering Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, until recently, Anne's closest friend. Sarah had certainly dominated Anne, but by the time Manley began writing, their relationship was fracturing to a point beyond repair.

Winn describes *New Atalantis* unflatteringly as a 'loosely strung-together collection of sexual and political tales from the 1690s and earlier,' from which 'the curious and prurient

³⁷ Molly McClain, *Beaufort: The Duke and His Duchess, 1657-1715*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2001, 361; Philip Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26010>, accessed 2 Sept 2012]; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 416.

³⁸ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 503.

... got a potent dose of Tory propaganda along with the sexual gossip they were seeking.³⁹

Toni Bowers however detects far more. Manley's 'loosely strung-together ... tales' instead:

built powerful satire from a series of scandalous *ad hominem* exposés of recognizable Whig targets – politicians, aristocrats, military heroes, and partisan operatives among them. Politics is a feverishly sexual business in the *New Atalantis*, sexual encounters are always a form of partisan contest, and every insult is meant to be taken personally.⁴⁰

Manley did not mince her allusions or her insults in her bid to undermine the Whig

ministry. Neither did Tories avoid her sardonic pen when she believed it to be deserved.

Nevertheless, her secret history was intentionally framed to a Tory agenda. Its unique

literary form provided her with the most effective means of exposing private deceits of the

powerful elite to fashion allusions to their dishonesty in public office. Bullard argues that:

such a logical relationship between the political aims and stylistic characteristics of secret history only takes us some of the way towards appreciating the rhetorical strategies of this sophisticated form of historiography. If we look closely at secret histories written during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we often find in them a self-conscious approach towards the central motif of revelation that is more hermeneutically demanding than recent scholarly accounts of this genre have acknowledged.⁴¹

New Atalantis is a good example of Bullard's point, in its 'self-conscious approach' that conformed to secret history's rules of form and function.

In *Anekdotia Heterouikiaka* Antoine Varilas first saw the need to establish 'rules for "the Art of writing secret history" which,' he then claimed, 'was "still unknown, almost in its whole extent"'.⁴² Varilas advised his readers that he would 'impose Laws on [him]self, according to which [he] would 'pretend to be try'd by an equitable Reader, on Condition I neither borrow them from my Reason nor Caprice, but only from the examples of Procopius, whom I will ever have in ken, seeing I cannot find any other Guide.'⁴³ In her discussion of Varilas, Bullard explains that 'the orthodox historian "considers almost ever [*sic*] Men in Publick," whereas the secret historian "only examines 'em in private"'.⁴⁴

³⁹ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 504, 506.

⁴⁰ Toni Bowers, 'Erotic Love', Ros Ballaster, ed., *The History of British Women's Writing*, Vol. 4, p 202.

⁴¹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 8.

⁴² Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 1.

Th' one thinks he has perform'd his duty, when he draws them such as they were in the Army, or in the tumult of Cities, and th'other endeavours by all means to get open their Closet-door; th'one sees them in Ceremony, and th'other in Conversation; th'one fixes principally upon their Actions, and th'other wou'd be a Witness of their inward Life, and assist at the most private hours of their Leisure: In a word the one has barely Command and Authority for Object, and the other makes his Main of what occurs in Secret and Solitude.⁴⁵

The intent of secret history's initial function, Bullard explains, is to encourage 'its readers to believe that their rulers are in league against them' and to be suspicious 'of Courts in general, arguing that monarchs and ministers operate within a secret sphere of clandestine political activity.'⁴⁶ Bullard describes Manley's *New Atalantis* as 'arguably the most notorious exposé of corruption in high places to be published during the early decades of the eighteenth century', certainly 'expos[ing] the seamy side of public life.'⁴⁷ She nevertheless points to 'significant differences' between Manley's rendering of the form and its 'early tradition': that she is writing from a Tory perspective.⁴⁸ Indeed, *New Atalantis* became the Tories' most effective weapon in their arsenal of propaganda.

Bullard also sees a coterie at play as the 'appropriation of this concept is ... in keeping with the practice of other Tory propagandists during the middle years of Queen Anne's reign.'⁴⁹ She points to Manley's distinct interpretation of the secret history form: 'the relationship that [she] constructs between the implied author and reader of her text.'⁵⁰ She does this in a number of ways: through the characters themselves, the abused, the seduced, the raped; and their implied appeals to have their stories told, the offences against them revealed. She also connects author and reader through the didactic moralising from her pure idealistic celestial visitors, her goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue*, of these crimes perpetrated by the powerful against the powerless and vulnerable. The author engages directly with the reader in voicing her moralising reflections on the double standards of their social mores:

⁴⁵ Antoine Varilas, *Anekdotia Heterouikiaka. Or, The Secret History of the House of Medicis*, trans. F. Spence (1686), sig. a4^v-a5^r, from Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 1, 16, 36, 189n1.

⁴⁶ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 4.

⁴⁷ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 1.

⁴⁸ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 85, 86.

⁴⁹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 86.

⁵⁰ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 86.

Intell]: Methinks it should not be the least Inducement for Ladies to preserve their Honour, that let them be never so ill-used by the Person that robs them of it, by any Art or Pretence whatsoever, tho' the World may condemn and call him a Villain, yet they never pity her. ... Men may regain their Reputations, tho' after a Complication of Vices, *Cowardice, Robbery, Adultery, Bribery* and *Murder*, but a Woman once departed from the Road of Virtue, is made incapable of a return: Sorrow and Scorn overtake her, and, as I said before, the World suffers her to perish loath'd and unlamented.⁵¹

This passage is just one illustration of Manley's constructed 'relationship between author and reader', so different in her secret histories to those that preceded.⁵²

Also on this topic of the author reader relationship, Bricker points out that '[m]uch of the period's most energetic satire is simply prodded along by a relentless and almost giddy contempt for the suffering of others.'⁵³ Those 'moralizing readers', he asserts, who would disingenuously declare that 'direct satiric naming was a gross violation of an ethical standard' to protect a man's reputation, 'would be the same people who less than squeamishly purchased pamphlet after pamphlet and poem after poem of materials purporting to reveal the amours of'⁵⁴ those disguised by gutted names. Edmund Curll was the most prominent 'down-market printer' notorious for producing Keys that disclosed those behind the names, 'some of which':

he simply scrawled out and posted in the windows of his printshop for the benefit of confused readers and curious passersby. Some writers, with spleen to vent, happily joined in, outing their fellow scribblers in vengefully printed catalogues of satiric wrongdoing. At the same time, the obliqueness of an attack could benefit the victim of a satire, offering him a degree of half-wished-for deniability.⁵⁵

The Keys to Manley's *New Atalantis* could not be relied on. As Bricker explains, 'misidentifications were stock-in-trade in the world of eighteenth-century personal satire.'⁵⁶ 'Such mistakes were in part obviated, sometimes corrected or even exacerbated by the keys everywhere to be found. Pseudonyms chosen by Manley often reflected character traits but were changed to not only suit the context of her text, but also to

⁵¹ [Manley] *NA*, I, pp 83-84.

⁵² Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 86.

⁵³ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 912.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', pp 903-04.

⁵⁶ Bricker, 'Libel and Satire', p 903.

represent their altered roles, actions or allegiance. Sarah Churchill is portrayed variously throughout the four *New Atalantis* volumes as *Jeanatin/e*, *The Favourite* and *the Favourite Countess*, *Marchioness of Caria/Madame de Caria*, *Empress Irene* and *Duchess of Beaujou*. John Churchill is *Count Fortunatus*;⁵⁷ an ironic multi-layered reference to his family's motto and the Renaissance play by Thomas Dekker (c.1572–1632) published in 1600, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*,⁵⁸ whose eponymous character has parallels with Marlborough in greed.⁵⁹ He had gained handsomely from his loyalty to James II who he then betrayed, then also from Anne who created him a Duke and her Captain General of England's and the Allies' forces in the War of Spanish Succession. He was accused with Godolphin of continuing the war unnecessarily for his/their own personal gain.⁶⁰ Richard Steele's name, *Monsieur l'Ingrate*, underscored her accusation against him for being unwilling to help her when she needed although she had earlier helped him. The Duchess of Cleveland is the *Dutchess De L'inconstant* for her fickle temper.

Manley's *New Atalantis* is one of three works of secret history that Bullard discusses, along with 'the polite periodical, *The Spectator* (1711-1714) and Daniel Defoe's dark, late novel, *Roxanna* (1724),' to show a diverse range of texts that illustrate how writers of the period would 'manipulate in a variety of different ways secret history's central claim to disclose previously undiscovered intelligence.'⁶¹ The shift in partisan target through the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries is evident in another small sample of secret histories published before *New Atalantis*. The first three show their Whig obsession against the Stuart monarchs: *Secret History of the Reigns of K Charles II and K James II* (1690),

⁵⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 21.

⁵⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 174; Ernest Rhys, ed., *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Dekker*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1894.

⁵⁹ Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus, As it was plaied before the Queenes Majestie this Christmas, by the Right Honourable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord high Admirall of England his Servants*, Printed by S. S[tafford], for William Aspley, St. Paul's Churchyard, London, 1600.

⁶⁰ Abigail Williams, ed., 'Jonathan Swift: Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK and New York, 2013, p 156 and n35; [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 21-28; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 12.

⁶¹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 3.

published anonymously but attributed to the ‘politically flexible ... hack writer’ John Phillips (1631–c.1706), ‘chiefly remembered for being the nephew of [John] Milton’ (1608–1674),⁶² *The Secret History, of the Four last Monarchs of Great Britain: viz. James I, Charles I, Charles II, James II. To which is added, An Appendix, Containing the Later Reign of James the Second*, written by ‘R.B.’ (1691); and *The Secret History of White-Hall, from the Restoration of Charles II down to the Abdication of the Late K. James* (1697), by the Welsh ‘spy and historian’ and ‘corrector of the press,’ David Jones (fl.1675–1720) English spy at the French court.⁶³

A Tory bias then came into the secret history propaganda message during Queen Anne’s reign. One published anonymously in 1705 is *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*.⁶⁴ From 1711 into our century, this was attributed to Manley, the allusion initiated in a reprint through the nebulous claim: ‘By Way of Appendix to the New *Atlantis*’, probably added to gain from Manley’s fame and success. It was nonetheless ambiguous, with *Atlantis* hinting to Francis Bacon’s (1561–1626) title and so fudging its reference to Manley.⁶⁵ She neither owned nor denied that she was the author. Edmund Curll, her printer for *Rivella*, attributed *Queen Zarah* to her in 1741.⁶⁶ Curll’s assertion was accepted as fact by scholars until contested by J. A. Downie in 2004 who argued plausibly that it was more likely written by the charlatan Tory quack and polemicist, Joseph Browne

⁶² Anonymous, [John Phillips], *Secret History of the Reigns of K Charles II and K James II*, [no printer], 1690: attributed to John Phillips by Early English Books Online (EEBO).

⁶³ David Jones, *Secret History of White-Hall, from the Restoration of Charles II down to the Abdication of the Late K. James*, London, 1697; Alexander Du Toit, ‘Jones, David (fl. 1675–1720)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/14988>, accessed 3 July 2017].

⁶⁴ [Anonymous], *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians, Being a Looking Glass for _____ In the Kingdom of Albigion*, [London], 1705.

⁶⁵ [Anonymous], *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians, Containing The True Reasons of the Necessity of the Revolution that lately happen’d in the Kingdom of Albigion*. By Way of Appendix to the New *Atlantis*. In Two Parts. *Albigion*, Printed in the Year 1711; Francis Bacon, The Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, *New Atlantis*, First published 1626; Markku Peltonen, ‘Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/990>, accessed 2 June 2014].

⁶⁶ [Edmund Curll, ed. and publisher], *An Impartial History of the Life, Character, Amours, Travels, and Transactions of Mr. John Barber, City-Printer, Common-Councilman, Alderman, and Lord Mayor of London. Written by Several Hands*, [printers details page missing] London, 1741, p 46.

(*bap.* 1673–*c.* 1721).⁶⁷ Downie had observed that Harley ‘adapted the methods used by the Whigs in 1701 to embarrass the duumvirate and the Junto.’⁶⁸ This will be part of a larger discussion on Harley’s role in propaganda in Chapter 11.

Two pamphlets published after *New Atalantis*, written from a moderate Tory view were both by Daniel Defoe, while in Harley’s employ as propagandist and spy. Each discuss the evolution and actions, rise and fall of the ‘parties’: *The Secret History of the October Club*, in two parts (1711), in which Defoe ‘enunciated’ to this High-Tory pressure group ‘the Harleian principle “That the Government should be of no Party”’.⁶⁹ The second is *The Secret History of the White Staff* (1714), which details the rise and fall of the Whigs and the wise management of Lord Treasurer Harley, identified by his ‘white staff’ of office.⁷⁰ This also refers to Harley’s position as ‘Prime Minister, for the first time’ a title not applied to the role officially until the appointment of Robert Walpole. This small sample illustrates the development of the secret history form as a mode. It was established by writers of the Restoration and used initially and predominately, but not entirely, by Whig or Williamite English writers to satirise Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York and their dissolute Stuart court. This popular mode ended with pamphlets by Tories, or at least the moderate ‘Old Whigs’ who, like Harley and Swift coloured their politics Tory, against their antagonists, the court Whigs.

The secret history form also draws on elements of Menippean satire, in the form of Varro, as Manley describes in her dedication to the second volume, in which a compilation of disparate anecdotes is a significant element. In defining Menippean satire, Howard Weinbrot could be describing *New Atalantis*, although it is not included in his discussion,

⁶⁷ J.A. Downie, ‘What if Delarivier Manley did *Not* write *The Secret History of Queen Zarah?*’, *The Library*, 2004, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp 247-264; Carnell, p 4.

⁶⁸ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 112.

⁶⁹ Novak, *Master of Fictions*, p 390; Pat Rogers, ‘October Club (*act.* 1711–1714)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/theme/95203>, accessed 14 Aug 2014].

⁷⁰ Novak, *Master of Fictions*, pp 390, 465; cf. Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 69.

when he states that ‘often carnivalesque in tone, it can swing from comic to tragic, and characters at times float between earthly and angelic realms.’⁷¹ While continuing the ploy that the *New Atalantis* is a translated text thrice removed from its original source, Manley states in her dedication that ‘the *New Atalantis seems, my Lord to be written like* Var[r]onian *Satyrs, on different subjects, tales, stories and characters of invention after the manner of Lucian, who copied from Varro.*’⁷² Citing John Dryden, Manley then establishes the framework of her satire:

What is most essential and the very Soul of Satire, is scourging of Vice and Exhortation of Virtue. Satire is of the nature of Moral Philosophy. He therefore who instructs most usefully will carry the Palm. And again, ’Tis an Action of Virtue to make Examples of vicious Men. They may and ought to be upbraided with their Crimes and Follies: Both for their own Amendment, if they are not yet incorrigible; and for the Terror of others, to hinder them from falling into those Enormities, which they see are so severely punish’d in the Persons of others. The first Reason was only an excuse for Revenge. But this second is absolutely of the Poet’s Office to perform.⁷³

This shows Manley’s serious intent and skill in her task. She is not just writing salacious gossip for its own sake; even though that is the way she presents it. She is fulfilling the conventions established and followed by her contemporaries to write her secret history.

Defending her text in her dedication, Manley calls on the ‘great-Forefathers of our Satire, who not only flew against the general reigning Vices, but pointed at individual Persons, as may be seen in Ennius, Varro, Juvenal, Horace and Persius etc.’⁷⁴ Through the lens of theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, Howard Weinbrot discusses the elements of Varronian satire as it was used in the eighteenth century. These are easily discerned in Manley’s text: the blend of styles and genres, prose and verse; the serious and the mirthful; numerous characters, actions and attitudes to be satirized; the use of anecdotes for didactic purposes. The nature of Manley’s text aligns with Varro in the insistence ‘on the domestic virtues’ and traditional alliances.⁷⁵ Manley’s reference to Dryden’s *Juvenal* connects the role of

⁷¹ Howard D. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered, From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2005, pp 12, 34-38; see also Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, pp 117-18.

⁷² [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered*, pp 34, 35.

New Atalantis to ‘Roman formal verse satire.’ Weinbrot asserts that to the eighteenth-century audience, Varro scourges vice and exhorts virtue. It ‘satirizes the new city that no longer is Rome’ in which its new tenants ‘demonstrate “*impietas, perfidia, inpudicitia*” [wickedness, treachery, debauchery].’ It is ‘[t]hanks to Dryden, Varro and exhortation to virtue,’ Weinbrot suggests, that ‘Varro and the Roman formal verse satirists, seem to be part of Manley’s satiric patrimony.’⁷⁶ Even so, Weinbrot regards Bakhtin’s theory as flawed, stating that eighteenth-century readers and writers hardly read Varro or regarded him as relevant. Both Manley and Dryden, by drawing on Varro, would seem to disagree.

Aligning Manley’s work in a collective with Swift and Alexander Pope, Melinda Rabb asserts that Manley’s choice of Varro ‘affiliates her with a paradigm of indirectness and absence.’⁷⁷ For Rabb, ‘a woman’s alliance with satirists who are not there ironically reflects a cultural construction of presence as masculine and absence as feminine.’⁷⁸ She asserts that satire has traditionally been characterised as a masculine genre. Early theorist Northrop Frye, she asserts, working in an era that had not yet appreciated the equal value of female satirists, helped to perpetuate this male characterisation, ‘[d]espite feminist possibilities,’ when he categorised satire, as ‘militant irony.’⁷⁹ Of the feminist possibilities Rabb refers to, Manley’s could be construed the most militant. Rabb links the feminist message of Manley’s *New Atalantis*, to Francois Poullain de La Barré’s *The Woman as Good as the Man* (1677), in which Poullain asks with irritation, ‘[i]s it a thing so difficult, that a *woman* could not perform it, to instruct her-self of the strength and weakness of a State ... to entertain amongst strangers, secret Intelligence for the discover[y] of their Designes ...?’⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered*, pp 38-39.

⁷⁷ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy* p 118.

⁷⁸ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 119.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 120.

Manley also posed this question in various ways in *New Atalantis*, conveyed didactically but with irony through her invisible guide, *Lady Intelligence* and goddesses, *Astrea and Virtue*:

Intell]: ... He [*the Duke*, William Bentinck] wisely and early forewarn'd her [*Charlot*, Stuarta Howard] for what seem'd too natural to her, a desire of being applauded for her Wit. She had a brightness of Genius, that would often break out in dangerous Sparkles, he shew'd her that true Wit consisted not in much speaking, but in speaking much in a few Words; that whatever carried her beyond the knowledge of her Duty, carried her too far; all other embellishments of the Mind were more dangerous than useful, and to be avoided as her Ruin.⁸¹

Later in volume one, she introduces a poem by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (1660–1720), who had 'devote[d] her self to the Muses and has writ a great many pretty things: These Verses of the *Progress of Life*, have met with abundance of Applause. *Astrea* reflects in praise but with irony against their society's censure of a woman who writes:

The Lady speaks very feelingly; we need look no further than this, to know she's her self past that agreeable Age she so much regrets. ... I presume she's one of the happy few that write out of Pleasure, and not Necessity: By that means it's her own fault, if she publish anything but what's good; for its next to impossible to write much, and write well.⁸²

Manley hints to the themes of rural retreat, regret and the unequal 'fault' that women carried that were regular refrains in Finch's work:

Alas! A woman that attempts the pen,
Such an intruder on the rights of men,
Such a presumptuous Creature, is esteem'd,
The fault, can by no virtue be redeem'd. (ll 9-12)⁸³

In *Rivella*, giving her words to *Lovemore*, Manley also makes the point:

Her Vertues are her own, her Vices occasion'd by her Misfortunes; and yet as I have often heard her say, *If she had been a Man, she had been without Fault*: But the Charter of that Sex being much more confin'd than ours, what is not a Crime in Men is scandalous and unpardonable in Woman.⁸⁴

Rabb identifies Manley's *Lady Intelligence* as perhaps embodying an answer to Poullain's question, in that *Intelligence* 'abjures the rhetoric of war for *sotto voce* conversations about desire.'⁸⁵ Through her gossipy anecdotes however, presented in her distinctive wittily

⁸¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 53-54.

⁸² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 171.

⁸³ Anne Finch, 'The Introduction,' from Myra Reynolds, Ed., *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1903, New York, 1974, p 5.

⁸⁴ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 7-8.

⁸⁵ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 40.

acerbic style, Manley achieves this camouflage brilliantly. Rabb argues that ‘while sex as politics was not a new metaphor (many poems on affairs of state represent a lewd ‘body politic’), women satirists transform the imagery of crass misogynistic lampoon into a vehicle for complex irony.’⁸⁶ To illustrate her point, Rabb cites Pat Rogers who argues that ‘the “great stroke of the Augustan satirists was to make the world of low literature serve as subject and setting of their works”.’⁸⁷ Rabb thus shows how the book questioned society’s acceptance of unequal gender behaviour and responsibility, while putting a particular spin on a major topic of the era, the making and breaking of oaths: ‘the Whig Junto’s “Betrayal” of loyalty to Queen Anne, or Tory and Jacobite fealty to the Pretender, or on the queen’s shifting promises of toleration to dissenters, or of power to her favourites.’⁸⁸

Thus Manley’s themes align with the propagandist writers of the time. As Bullard suggests, ‘The fact that [Manley’s] secret history conceals at the same time as it discloses, gives it the potential to act as a cohesive force, uniting the disparate factions of the Tory Party.’⁸⁹ In the next chapter I will discuss whether her first three works also carried secret history elements and were intentionally political texts. The *New Atalantis* is clearly a Tory text written within a collective Tory agenda. Perhaps it also could be argued that she began to show her credentials as a Tory writer from the beginning of her oeuvre. This could have established her credentials that revealed to others she was a promising political propagandist.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, pp 11, 13: citing Pat Rogers, *Grub Street Studies in a Subculture*, Methuen, London, 1973, p 3.

⁸⁸ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 72.

⁸⁹ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 101.

Chapter 4

Writing toward the *New Atalantis*

To the Incomparably Excellent Mrs. Delarivier Manley,
Madam, Fond of the Vanity of having your Ladyship's Friendship I cannot rest easie with the vast Blessing, unless the World know me favour'd by a Person so extraordinary: And whilst the Town is big to see what a Genius so proportionate can produce, whilst Sir Thomas Skipwith and Mr. Betterton are eagerly contending, who shall first bring you upon the Stage, and which shall be most applauded, your Tragick or Comick Strain, I cou'd not refuse the Vanity (my Soul whisper'd to me) of stealing you from the expecting Rivals, and dexterously throw you first into the World, as one that honour'd me with your Friendship before you thought of theirs.

Your Formost Admirer, and Most Devoted, Humble And Obedient Servant, J. H.¹

London in Queen Anne's first decade was a small world riven by politics but also a dynamic literary space. Partisan ideals and divisions shaped new forms of artistic expression. The Restoration themes of bawdy excess staged by seventeenth-century playwrights was losing its audience to a more nuanced but nonetheless exaggerated characterisation of human foibles.² Charles II's circle of libertine court wits were a 'small group' of 'liberated courtiers and theatre people', as Janet Todd suggests, 'who came to represent the Restoration for later ages. The group both scandalised its own times and sexually and politically haunted the next two centuries with its excess.'³ Gilli Bush-Bailey makes the point that:

The events of the 1680s reveal something of the social anxiety surrounding shifts in political power in both country and playhouse. This was a decade of political change in British society, signalling a departure from the triumphant libertine monarchism of the Restoration to the constitutional reforms introduced by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688/9.⁴

Bush-Bailey asserts further that 'Many of the events surrounding these political upheavals were represented in plays of the time as the playhouses struggled to maintain commercial

¹ Mrs. Manley, *Letters Writen, To which is Added A Letter from a supposed Nun in Portugal, to a Gentleman in France in Imitation of the Nun's Five Letter in Print, by Colonel Pack*, Printed for R.B. and Sold by the Book-Sellers of London and Westminster, 1696, Preface.

² Gilli Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and playwrights on the Late-Stuart stage*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2006, pp 51, 55, 61, 76-79.

³ Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, Fentum Press, London, 2017, p xxv; cf. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, p 149.

⁴ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 51.

viability in the face of moments of extreme political and social instability.’⁵ Political change outside the theatre also brought change inside; not least, creating ‘new opportunities and new pressures to bear on the company of women ...’.⁶

Aphra Behn, a direct model for Manley, was ‘closely identified’ with this changing political and theatrical scene that brought ‘new opportunities to women.’⁷ She ‘was associated with libertinism and freethinking’ and her plays were ‘attacked ... as bawdy and inappropriate for a woman’s pen.’⁸ A successful playwright, poet and novelist of the Restoration period, she was an unwavering Royalist. Her work was overtly political and contributed to the changing dynamics of the times. As a woman, Behn could not be one of Charles II’s circle of court wits but she worked covertly for him as a spy, agent 160, and her code name *Astrea* became her pen-name.⁹ Behn’s career from the early 1670s to the late 1680s started at the theatre. Like Manley, Behn had worked on themes of loyalty to the legitimate sovereign and oath-breaking betrayal against him. In 1682, with a glance at the Duke of Monmouth (1649–1685), in her prologue and epilogue for the anonymous *Romulus and Hersilia*, Behn declared that rebelling against a king and father was unforgivable.¹⁰ This had displeased Charles and he had ordered her briefly arrested. She nonetheless ‘became Charles’s propagandist’ as she was also for James and ‘for the emerging tory faction.’¹¹ Behn remained loyal to James II and dedicated to him some of her work. She died five days after William and Mary’s coronation, perhaps grieving over James’s ungracious flight that denied him the support she was sure he would have received.¹²

⁵ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 71n1.

⁶ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 46: Bush-Bailey’s discussion at this point focusses on Aphra Behn.

⁷ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 46.

⁸ Janet Todd, ‘Behn, Aphra (1640?–1689)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/1961, accessed 10 Feb 2014].

⁹ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, (2017), pp xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, 29-30, 428.

¹⁰ Todd, ‘Behn, Aphra’, *ODNB*, 2004.

¹¹ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, p 296.

¹² Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, pp 436-41.

By the 1690s the Restoration playwrights had made way for new talents, among them William Congreve (1670–1729), Charles Gildon (c.1665–1724) and George Granville. As the ‘the first professional writer in England,’ Behn had ‘made a public space’ for more female dramatist and writers to follow.¹³ Chief among them, Todd lists, were Manley, Mary Pix (1666–1709), Catharine Cockburn *née* Trotter (c.1674–1749) and Suzanne Centlivre (*bap.* 1669–1723). The poet, Sarah, *née* Fyge, Egerton (1670–1723) is another. Egerton was Centlivre’s patron,¹⁴ but also had ‘an intense but short-lived friendship’ with Manley.¹⁵ All were associated with Manley, either as playwrights in 1696 or when contributing poems for *The Nine Muses* in 1700 that Manley compiled as tribute to the Restoration Poet Laureate John Dryden following his death.

Behn and Manley were each on the cusp of this changing style of theatre and audience appreciation;¹⁶ Behn at the end of the old, Manley at the beginning of the new. The era of bawdy libertine excess adapted to audience growing preference for characters with manners and virtue. A point made by Todd with regard to Behn’s latter period of her literary career could also be applied to Manley:

to succeed “in an Age when Faction rages, and differing Parties disagree in all things, Behn would have to be cruder and more explicit. Audiences were so rowdy that plays were nearly drowned out; in the pit Whigs sat “with a pious design to Hisse and Rail”, while the “Loyal Hands ever out-do their venom’d Hisse”.¹⁷

A further point Todd makes of Behn could also be said of Manley, that ‘[s]exual politics was certainly her subject, but so was sexy politics and political sex – as it was for many in her circle who saw the entanglement of sex and power[,]’¹⁸ On so many levels of allusion:

¹³ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, (2017), pp xxv, xxvi.

¹⁴ J. Milling, ‘Centlivre, Susanna (*bap.* 1669?, *d.* 1723)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4994>, accessed 12 June 2017].

¹⁵ [no author name supplied], “Egerton [*née* Fyge; other married name Field], Sarah (1670–1723), poet.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. September 23, 2004. Oxford University Press, Date of access 15 Feb. 2019, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e 37390>; cf. Ballaster, ‘Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 76.

¹⁷ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, pp 283-84: citing the ‘Dedication to [Behn’s] *The Roundheads* (1682), *Works*, Vol. 6, pp 361-3 (*The Complete Works of Aphra Behn*, 7 Vols., Pickering and Chatto, London, 1992-6).

¹⁸ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, p xxvii.

political, feminist, sexual ambiguity and innuendo, as well as a desire for a return to loyalty to King and the ‘ancient constitution’, Behn was the harbinger for Manley and prepared the way for her and other female playwrights to follow. Manley exalted Behn as *Sapho the younger*, ‘who tho’ when living, was Owner of a Soul as amorous as the elder’, although she acknowledged that ‘hers is but a faint Imitation’.¹⁹ She did not emulate Behn entirely but was instead her own literary woman with her own satirical style. Catharine Trotter and Mary Pix joined Manley in a triumvirate of new emerging writers, their individual life journeys by chance bringing each to writing and staging their plays in 1696. Behn was the connection between these two literary epochs, opening stage doors and turning pages for these and other female talents to ply their trade as playwrights, poets and polemicists.²⁰

With this slight warming of social acceptance that enabled women to present their work on stage, by the 1690s, Sarah Prescott states, ‘the main commercial literary activity for women was drama.’²¹ This triumvirate of dramatist friends dipped their pens to their Restoration matriarch and commended each other in their early plays. Trotter adapted for the stage Behn’s translation of the French short story, *Agnes de Castro*, and Manley wrote an encomium ‘To The Author’ in verse.²² Like Manley, Pix interspersed echoes of Behn through her writing. For her efforts Pix was later admonished by fellow Whig, Richard Steele, in *The Spectator* in 1711, who described her as ‘unlearned and skilled only “in the luscious Way”’.²³ By this, Ballaster surmises, he is comparing her to Behn who was, ‘always invoked as the model for lasciviousness and female playwriting.’²⁴

Within a few years the three dramatists were no longer friends. They had followed different political paths, but their rift had a more personal context in betrayal than in

¹⁹ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 289.

²⁰ Todd, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, p xxvi.

²¹ Sarah Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture, 1690-1740*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK, 2003, p 18.

²² A Young Lady, [Catharine Trotter], *Agnes de Castro, a Tragedy*, Printed for H Rhodes, London, 1696.

²³ Ballaster, *History of British Women’s Writing*, p 237, 249n5; see *Spectator* No. 51, dated 28 April 1711.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

political disagreement.²⁵ Both Trotter and Pix had contributed encomia to Manley's second play, *The Royal Mischief*.²⁶ Their associates at the theatre were mostly Whig, but by the time she wrote *New Atalantis*, Manley had aligned with the Tories. She satirised Pix as the 'lazy poet', accusing her of 'defrauding the poor Labourer for h[er] hire', for not paying her the promised fee to write elegies for the deceased, Cary and Edward Coke.²⁷ This couple appeared in the first volume of *New Atalantis*, in a lengthy tale replete with an ironic poem, perhaps the elegies she had written for Pix.²⁸ Trotter introduced Manley to her friend John Tilly in late 1696 or early 1697.²⁹ By 1698 they were living together. For Manley at least, this was her most significant relationship and provided her with a measure of financial security; until they parted in 1702. She did not publish any work during the years they lived together. Instead, they became involved in duplicitous money-making schemes, most including John Manley. Tilly was a lawyer and prison warden but was nonetheless charged with fraud and was ever just one step ahead of the law.³⁰ In her 'To The Author' encomium in *Agnes de Castro*, Trotter had 'fill[ed] the Vacant throne' left by the literary greats 'Orinda' (Katherine Philips, 1632–1664) and 'Astrea' (Aphra Behn).³¹ Within a few years Manley ridiculed Trotter for being a hypocrite and a 'literary fraud'.³²

Before discussing this early period of her career however, it is useful to explore her life in London a little more in the years 1691 to 1694 that possibly led to it. By following the threads of research Carnell in particular has provided, it could be argued that Manley had attended the theatre during these years and that she may have met William Congreve

²⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 172.

²⁶ Mrs Manley, *The Royal Mischief. A Tragedy.*, Printed for R. Bentley, F. Saunders, and J. Knapton, London, 1696, 'To Mrs. Manley, By the Author of Agnes de Castro' and 'To Mrs. Manley, upon her Tragedy call'd the Royal Mischief' [by] M. Pix; Morgan, *The Female Wits*, pp 390-391.

²⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 90; Herman, *Business*, p 80.

²⁸ cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 172-73.

²⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 113-115.

³⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 64-67; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 115, 260nn1,11; Duff, 'Materials,' pp 85-88.

³¹ Manley, 'To the Author' for *Agnes de Castro, A Tragedy*, Written by a Young Lady, [Trotter], 1696.

³² Beutner, 'Delarivier Manley Understands the Ladies Better Than You: *The Female Wits*, Genre, and Feminocentric Satire', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews eds., pp 114, 116.

during this time.³³ She could well have attended his play *The Old Bachelor* that was ‘produced to great acclaim’ in 1693.³⁴ It has been suggested that she could have met George Granville while staying in the West Country and that on her return there is a hint to her receiving patronage from William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire (1641–1707).³⁵ This will be discussed more in coming pages. Manley staged her first play, *The Lost Lover*, at Drury Lane Theatre in 1696 not long after her return, and Carnell points out that to have accomplished this so soon she could possibly have established useful connections at the playhouse before she left.³⁶ She also suggests that Manley may have returned from Exeter ‘relatively early in 1695, perhaps in time to see Congreve’s *Love to Love* in April.’³⁷ This would have allowed her more time to publish *Letters Writen*, if indeed this was with her permission, and stage two plays.

Manley had discovered that her marriage was a sham soon after her son’s birth in 1691. By her account her bigamist husband-cousin, also her guardian, had ‘kept [her] a Prisoner’, denying: ‘Visits of my dearest Sister, any other Relation, Friends or Acquaintance, but my Husband’s Fondness and Jealousy was the Pretence.’³⁸ After learning of his deceit, she demanded that her sister Cornelia be allowed to visit and she began to venture out into London life. This may, in fact, have been before they had separated, either by late 1693 or January 1694.³⁹ He returned to the West Country where he had ‘a legal practice in Truro.’ He had been ‘made legal advisor to the Earl of Bath in 1685, and so probably travelled regularly back and forth between Cornwall and London.’⁴⁰ In about 1694 he was appointed ‘Steward of the Manor’ for Lord Bath’s landholdings in

³³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 75-76, 78, 86-87, 94; [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 186-189; [Manley], *Rivella*, p 40.

³⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 94.

³⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 88-89, 91-92.

³⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 83, 94.

³⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 86-87, cf. also pp 82-83.

³⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 185, 186; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 75, 254n115.

³⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 77.

⁴⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 78.

Cornwall.⁴¹ He was also elected unopposed to Bossiney in Cornwall in 1695 on Bath's recommendation.⁴² His career was taking off. She was left with a son but no financial support and her reputation in ruin.

In *Rivella*, Manley claims that she had then lived for six months with Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland and possibly briefly before that with a neighbour, Anne Ryder.⁴³ Ryder is portrayed unflatteringly in *New Atalantis*, mocked for her 'malicious tongue', but not in relation to Manley's predicament.⁴⁴ From the date of Manley's letters in *Letters Writen*, if they were written on her journey to Exeter, she left London in June 1694, soon after she was evicted by the fiery-tempered Duchess.⁴⁵ Carnell also details Congreve's connections with the playwright who would become Manley's friend, Catharine Trotter, whom he mentored.⁴⁶ In her second letter in *Letters Writen* Manley included a reference to 'Lady-Sister', that appeared in Congreve's 1693 play *The Double Dealer*. Carnell suggests there is 'some resemblance to the plot' in Manley's first play *The Lost Lover* (1696) and Congreve's earlier play *Love for Love* (1694).⁴⁷

Manley and Congreve

This is pertinent in attempting to resolve the context of a poem written by Congreve in 1693 or 1694, discovered recently in a private archive: 'Faded Delia mo[v]es Compassion'. To establish that Manley and Congreve may have met during 1693 into 1694 could help to identify Manley as a possible subject of this poem, and also show that Congreve may have encouraged her to the stage. The poem was only catalogued in 1996, and not collected by editors of his oeuvre until 2011. Its subject or context has not been identified, but Carnell's comments give tantalising clues for exploration. This unpublished Autograph of four

⁴¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 78.

⁴² Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John', *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁴³ [Manley] *Rivella*, p 33.

⁴⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 184 (*Laurentia's Mother*); [Manley] *Rivella*, p 33.

⁴⁵ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 36-40; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 75-76; Manley, *Letters Writen*, p 1.

⁴⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 85, 86, 94; Morgan, *Female Wits*, pp 25, 27-28.

⁴⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 86.

untitled and undated hand-written quatrains by Congreve is held in the Bodleian Libraries',
Special Collections, its date catalogued as c.1693-4:

Faded Delia moves Compassion
but no longer can subdue;
now her face is out of fashion
she must take her turn and sue.

All her airs so long affected
might in blooming youth be born,
but in age if not corrected
move our pity or our scorn.

Wealth nor titles can support ye
wretched Delia in decay
'tis allowed to Nymphs past forty
to look on, but not to play.

If your itch be past reclaiming
so receive your due delight,
As old Bubbles broke by gaming
still take pleasure in the sight.⁴⁸

Congreve's 'Delia' could be merely the fictitious conventional poetic name and his poem more a test of styles in form and theme. It might, however, refer to Manley herself. She signed her letters and dedications 'Dela' but used 'Delia' for her pseudonym in autobiographical anecdotes in *New Atalantis*.⁴⁹ *Delia* is also one persona among other poetic allusions: *Astrea*, *Melissa*, and *Aminta*, in her elegy to Edward and Cary Coke (*Octavio and Sacharissa St Amant*), This 'Delia' is clearly a poetic allusion to Manley:

Delia began to sing the Hero dead;
Delia, had in Apollo's Court been bred.
Nor Afra, nor Orinda knew so well:
Scarce Grecian Saphio, Delia to excel.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Poem by William Congreve, 'Faded Delia Moves Compassion', c1693-94, MS. Don. d. 197 = Arch. F. d. 44, accessed with grateful thanks at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, 6 June 2016. Catalogue details: Four untitled quatrains. First published in D. F. McKenzie, 'A New Congreve Literary Autograph', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15/4 (April 1996), 292-9. McKenzie, *Works*, II, 466. *CgW 3.5. Autograph MS, with revisions in line 11, on one side of a single quarto leaf, once folded as a letter or packet. c.1693-4. Once owned by James Baker. Sotheby's, 26 May 1855, lot 16, to Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-85), first Baron Houghton, author and politician. Christie's, 29 June 1995, lot 327. Edited from this MS and discussed in McKenzie. Facsimile in his article 'Another Congreve Autograph Poem for the Bodleian', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16/5 (April 1999), 399-410 (p. 402).

⁴⁹ See 'Dela' used in *Letters Written by Mrs Manley*, (1696) and Manley's 'To The Author' in Catharine Trotter's *Agnes de Castro* (1696); cf. Herman, *Business*, pp 252-256. For 'Delia' see *NA*, II, pp 181-191.

⁵⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 96.

In the second volume another autobiographical ‘Delia’ relates Manley’s life story to *The Grand Druid*, Beaufort’s chaplain Thomas Yalden (1670-1736), hoping he will speak on her behalf to ‘the two shining princesses of *Adario* and *Beaumont*,’⁵¹ Mary, second Duchess of Ormonde and Rachel, second Duchess of Beaufort.

Congreve’s poem is discussed by D. F. McKenzie, late editor of *The Works of William Congreve* (3 vols.), published in 2011.⁵² ‘A New Congreve Literary Autograph’, had been reviewed earlier in *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats* in Spring 2000, a year after McKenzie’s death. The Scriblerian reviewer documents this as one of two holographs now held at the Bodleian. ‘[T]ranscribed by Mr. McKenzie, this poem

has not even been known to Congreve’s editors. Dating from about 1693-94, this verse, ‘Faded Delia moves compassion,’ is unlikely ‘to enhance [Congreve’s] reputation as a lyric poet,’ Mr McKenzie gamely does what he can with it ...and the slight clue it gives to Congreve’s method of composition.⁵³

In accepting Carnell’s speculation that Manley could have attended the theatre in 1693, it is also possible that she would have met Congreve. By that year’s end she had left John Manley, with a baby crying for her care and her only financial support his empty promises.⁵⁴ It is tempting to see her represented in the ‘Delia’ of Congreve’s poem, in the sentiments expressed. In 1693 Manley was aged about twenty-three, not ‘past forty’, but she is not the ‘Nymphs’ to whom Congreve refers. The poet’s sentiments can be interpreted as an ironic allusion to her melancholy ageing her before her years. If she is Congreve’s ‘Delia’, he could be teasing her for her sense of hopelessness and inability to see a bright future. Carnell describes Manley’s mood in modern terms, suggesting that ‘[n]ot surprisingly, she seems to have fallen into a long post-partum melancholy.’⁵⁵

⁵¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 191.

⁵² D. F. McKenzie, ed., *The Works of William Congreve*, (3 Vols.), Vol. II., Prepared for Publication by C.Y. Ferdinand, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, pp 466, 683; also see David Hopkins, *Notes and Queries*, ‘D. F. McKenzie (ed.), Works of William Congreve,’ 2011, pp 619-622, Downloaded from <https://academic.oup.com/nq/article-abstract/58/4/619/1186772> by Serials Central Library user, 22 January 2018.

⁵³ [reviewer name not supplied, Gerard Blake, ed.,] ‘D. F. McKenzie, “A New Congreve Literary Autograph,” *BLR*, 13 (April 1996) pp 292-299, *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats*, Spring 2000, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, pp 301-02.

⁵⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 76-77.

⁵⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 75.

With these initial comments as the framework, the poem can be unpacked further:

Faded Delia moues Compassion
but no longer can subdue;
now her face is out of fashion
she must take her turn and sue.

The poet identifies that Manley's melancholy has overwhelmed her. She battled against her grief but has now succumbed. Smallpox suffered as a child had marked her beauty, but now sadness ages her face. She has discovered the unfairness of life, and must fight to turn her life around.

All her airs so long affected
might in blooming youth be born,
but in age if not corrected
move our pity or our scorn.

She is still young but has lost her fresh exuberance of innocent youth. The poet assures her that there is hope, but warns that if she cannot let it go, she will grow bitter; and society's pity will turn to scorn.

Wealth nor titles can support ye
wretched Delia in decay
'tis allowed to Nymphs past forty
to look on, but not to play.

Her chance at a suitable marriage is lost. 'Wretched Delia' is left to wear the full burden of guilt and shame. An older woman who has provided her husband with children is 'allowed' her dalliances, but not a young woman hoping for marriage.

If your itch be past reclaiming
so receive your due delight,
As old Bubbles broke by gaming
still take pleasure in the sight.⁵⁶

The poet suggests that she accept her lot and find her 'delights' where she can. Even an old gambler down on his luck continues to hope the next roll of the dice will turn his fortune. If Congreve could be asked, he might just smile and say he was only playing with words. His intent if he is writing about Manley is more likely to be out of compassion, not biting

⁵⁶ Poem by William Congreve, 'Faded Delia Mo[v]es Compassion', c1693-94, MS. Don. d. 197 = Arch. F. d. 44, accessed with grateful thanks at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, 6 June 2016.

ridicule, as so easily later dripped lightly off her pen. Congreve did not make enemies, as she did within a few years. Placing her at the theatre with Congreve is the key to strengthening this interpretation.

Manley and Congreve were near in age. He was born in 1670 in Ireland, perhaps the year of her own birth in Jersey. He moved to London in 1692 and staged his first two plays, *The Old Bachelor* and *The Double Dealer* at the Theatre Royal on Drury Lane in 1693. Her first play would stage there in 1696. Congreve's third play, *Love for Love*, written in 1694 was the first play staged at the new Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre opened by Thomas Betterton (*bap.* 1635–1710) in April 1695 and 'played to enthusiastic audiences'.⁵⁷ She staged her second play, *The Royal Mischief*, there in 1696. George Granville had staged his first play, *The She Gallants* there earlier that year.⁵⁸ Manley journeyed to the West Country in June 1694 and returned by 'late 1695', or 'in the spring of 1696' (N.S.).⁵⁹

Congreve wrote to Catharine Trotter in 1697, in response to some

verses she sent him on his tragedy *The Mourning Bride*. He replied to her in genuine gratitude, it is but this moment, that I received your verses; and had scarce been transported with the reading them, when they brought me the play from the press printed off.⁶⁰

Manley and Trotter were still friends in 1696, but this had ended soon after she introduced Manley to Tilly in 1697.⁶¹

Congreve and Manley clearly moved in the same circles. Perhaps he also encouraged her onto the stage. Manley would later write genially of him in her first volume of *Memoirs of Europe* (1710). His health and blindness were inhibiting his work, '... tho' they can't give an account why he gives 'em Pleasure, but as his Silence gives 'em pain, yet think it

⁵⁷ C. Y. Ferdinand and D. F. McKenzie, 'Congreve, William (1670–1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/6069>, accessed 27 June 2015]; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 86, 94.

⁵⁸ George Granville, *The She Gallants: a Comedy*, As it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincoln-Inn-Fields, Printed for Henry Playford, and Benj. Tooke, London, 1696.

⁵⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 82, 83, 86-87: date taken from the date of the last letter in her first published work, *Letters Writen*, 'March 15 1695' (O.S), therefore 1696 (N.S.).

⁶⁰ Morgan, *Female Wits*, p 25: citing *William Congreve: Letters and Documents*, ed., John C. Hodge (1964).

⁶¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 113.

hard that so excellent a Muse as *Corvina's* [Congreve], shou'd upon any terms, disappear.'⁶² As early as 1692 Congreve's eyesight was failing and he was suffering gout. By 1709 'Swift wrote to Stella that Congreve "is almost blind with cataracts ... and besides he is never rid of the gout, yet he looks young and fresh, and is as cheerful as ever".'⁶³ He wrote again in 1711 that 'Congreve had written *The Tatler*, no. 292 "as blind as he is, for little Harrison".'⁶⁴ None of this proves the poem has any link to Manley, but her sentiment does show the possibility they had met. It was an emotionally fraught period of Manley's life and it is not hard to see her represented in Congreve's sentiments in this early poem.

~ ~ ~

Manley's move into London's dynamic political and literary milieu began in 1696 with her epistolary prose work that bore her name, *Letters Writen [sic] By Mrs. Manley*. Manley's *Letters*, purportedly written to a friend in London are witty observations of her experiences while journeying on a coach to Exeter in June 1694.⁶⁵ The *Letters Writen* 'Epistle Dedicatory', was addressed to the 'Incomparably Excellent Mrs. Delarivier Manley'.⁶⁶ It was signed by the mysterious, 'J. H.' whose identity is still a matter of discussion in scholarship: the writer John Hughes (c.1678–1720), James Hargreaves known only 'of the middle temple', John Hervey, patron and friend of the Manley family. John Manley is also suggested, but does not fit the initials and is least plausible.⁶⁷ In the Preface 'J. H.' refers to her two plays soon to be performed, stating that 'Sir Thomas Skipwith and Mr. Betterton', manager and leading actor at the Theatre Royal in Drury

⁶² [Manley], *ME*, II, p 286.

⁶³ Ferdinand and McKenzie, 'Congreve, William', *ODNB*: cites Harold Williams, Swift, *Journal*, October 1710 but no page number, see instead Abigail Williams, ed., *Journal*, p 48.

⁶⁴ Ferdinand and McKenzie, 'Congreve, William', *ODNB*: cites [Harold] Williams, Swift, *Journal*, 13 Feb 1711; see Abigail Williams, *Journal*, p 142.

⁶⁵ Manley, *Letters Writen*, p 1: First letter dated June 24, 1694. This was republished posthumously in 1725 under the title *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter, In Eight Letters to a Friend, by Mrs. Manley*, Printed for J. Roberts, [E. Curl], London.

⁶⁶ Manley, *Letters Writen*, Epistle Dedicatory.

⁶⁷ Herman, *Business*, p 19; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 88n17, 105; Morgan, *Woman of No Character*, p 70; Mounsey, 'A Manifesto for a Woman Writer: *Letters Writen [sic]* as Varronian Satire', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews eds., p 175; Duff, 'Materials', p 283.

Lane, 'are eagerly contending, who shall first bring [her] upon the Stage'. She is her father's 'extraordinary Daughter' and 'J. H.' would 'tell the World, how [she is] separate from all the Weakness of [her] Sex'. The writer knows that her life has not been easy: 'And now let us descant a little upon the Injustice of Fortune, that has not (with Nature) made you her choicest Favourite.'⁶⁸ J. H. claims to have been a friend and admirer of her father's and indicates that he has known her from childhood. The writer could be Manley herself. The tone of the sentiments expressed suggest a flattering self-portrayal. She had suffered smallpox in her youth. She knew she was no beauty. The bigamy her cousin had tricked her into had reduced her marriageable prospects. But she was still young enough to hope that a new life would come. 'J. H.' then asks her 'Pardon for venturing to make any thing of [hers] publick, without her Leave.'⁶⁹

'Letter 1' is dated 'June 24 1694', fitting with the timeline her journey probably took place soon after her eviction by the Duchess of Cleveland. It is addressed from 'Egham,' a village that lies in the direction of Exeter, now about an hour's distance from London by car, but then could have been a day's coach ride. She writes:

I am got (as they tell me) sixteen Miles from you and *London*; but I can't help fancying 'tis so many Degrees. Tho' Midsummer to all besides, in my Breast there's nothing but frozen Imaginations. The Resolutions I have taken of quitting *London* (which is as much as to say, the World).⁷⁰

She alludes to her melancholy. She describes that she 'took Coach with Mr. Granvill's Words in [her] Mouth,' then includes six lines from a poem by George Granville then unpublished, 'An Imitation of the Second Chorus in the Second Act of Seneca's Thyestes':

Place me, ye Gods, in some obscure Retreat
 Oh: keep me innocent: Make others Great:
 In quiet Shades, content with Rural Sports,
 Give me a Life, remote from guilty Court:
 Where free from Hopes and Fears at humble Ease,
 Unheard of, I may live and die in Peace.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Manley, *Letters Writen*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory'.

⁶⁹ Manley, *Letters Writen*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory'.

⁷⁰ Manley, *Letters Writen*, p 1.

⁷¹ Manley, *Letters Writen*, p 3; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 110.

Manley and Granville

Her inclusion of Granville's poem implies that she knew him even before she left London and therefore before their association at the theatre on her return and the staging of her second play. Manley could have instead inserted his stanza once she returned after meeting him.⁷² Herman identifies Granville as one of Manley's 'most important sponsors.'⁷³ In choosing these particular lines, in which Granville writes about his 'political exile after 1688,' Carnell suggests Manley is framing her own journey within the trope of political exile as a reference to her father's narratives of exile.⁷⁴ Both then would be writing to the exile of James II. Chris Mounsey points out further that her inclusion of Granville's poem shows she began referring to the 1688 Revolution from this, her earliest literary work.⁷⁵ Manley's journey to the West Country was more an economic exile, the political impetus would come later. The insertion of Granville's stanza was a meeting of minds, and of friends who, both were Tories, though Granville was more of a Jacobite.

Manley could have met Granville through John Manley in the West Country and she added his poem later to this first letter written on her journey. It is also possible that just as she might have met Congreve in London in 1693 before her journey, she could also have met Granville there before she left. Another early poem by Granville offers further potential speculation of early collaboration: 'Thyrsis and Delia. Song in Dialogue'. The collection was published, he claimed with conventional dissembling: 'without his consent', they were 'composed for the most part in the earliest time of [his] appearance in the World' during an

⁷² Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, I, pp 4, 59, 270.

⁷³ Herman, *Business*, p 18.

⁷⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 82, 84-85; see Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, I, p 270 for details of its later publication: 'drawn from the second to last stanza of Granville's 'An Imitation of the Second Chorus in the Second Act of Seneca's Thyestes'. ... Its first publication seems to be in 1736, *The Genuine Works in Verse and Prose of the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdowne Poems upon Several Occasions*, (London, J. Osborn, 1736). There is no change between these two publications, in Manley's first line (line 47 in the full poem), 'God's is altered to 'Pow'rs', *Genuine Works*, p 17.

⁷⁵ Mounsey, 'Manifesto for a Woman Writer', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., pp 171-172.

‘Indulgence to ... youthful Follies.’⁷⁶ This shows at least that this poem could have been written at this early stage of these writers’ friendship:

Thyrsis
Delia, how long must I despair,
And tax you with Disdain;
Still to my tender Love severe,
Untouch’d when I complain?

Delia
When Men of equal Merit love us,
And do with equal ardour sue,
Thyrsis, you know but one must move us,
Can I be yours and Strephon’s too.

...
Thyrsis
Mysterious Guide of Inclination,
Tell me, Tyrant, why am I
With equal Merit, equal Passion
Thus the Victim chosen to die?
Why am I
The Victim chosen to die?

Delia
On Fate alone depends Success,
And Fancy, Reason over-rules,
Or why should Virtue ever miss
Reward, so often giv’n to Fools?
...⁷⁷

‘Thyrsis’ and ‘Delia’, are classical poetic personas drawn on by many poets in this so-called ‘Augustan’ period. It could be imagined in these words, however, that these two fledgling poets were writing to each other as a humorous exercise of friendship in verse.

~ ~ ~

Carnell suggests that Granville might have been the link between Manley and Sir Thomas Skipwith (c.1652–1710), who staged her first play and may at the time have been her lover.⁷⁸ Carnell also intimated that on her return to London, Manley may have been ‘under the protection or patronage of some unknown person[,]’⁷⁹ suggesting, as has Chris Mounsey subsequently, that this ‘may have been the Whig Duke of Devonshire’, to whom

⁷⁶ George Granville, *The Genuine Works in Verse and Prose*, (Vol. 1 of 3 Vols.) Printed for J. and R. Tonson, London, 1736, Preface.

⁷⁷ Granville, ‘Thyrsis and Delia, Song in Dialogue’, *Genuine Works in Verse and Prose*, pp 129-130, ll 1-8, 13-22.

⁷⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 89.

⁷⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 87.

she dedicated her second play, *The Royal Mischief*.⁸⁰ There are references to *Devonshire* in the letters from her journey in *Letters Writen*.⁸¹ It would seem she was connecting with a powerfully influential grandee. This however did not help her first play. In her Preface to *The Lost Lover* published after it was staged, Manley gives her view on its poor reception:

This Comedy by the little success it met with in the Acting, has not at all deceived my Expectations; ... The better half was cut; They say, that suffered by it, tho' they told me, 'twas possible to have too much of a good thing, but I think never too little of an ill. ... I am now convinc'd Writing for the Stage is no way proper for a Woman, to whom all Advantages but meer Nature, are refused; If we happen to have a Genius to Poetry, it presently shoots to a fond desire of Imitation. ... Give me leave to thank the Well-natur'd Town for Damning me so suddenly;⁸²

Melancholy and anger, expressed sardonically, strengthen her resolve. Her first attempts at a writing career received mixed reviews. *The Lost Lover* met with damning criticism.

Stated in the Preface to *Letters Writen*, *The Royal Mischief* was already under production.⁸³

She moved it to Betterton's new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields opened the year before.

There it enjoyed a little more success, this time under the 'sunshine' of William, Duke of Devonshire's patronage:

Your Graces Name appearing in the Front, will with undoubted Sunshine, disperse what ever storm can be threatened; and when I shall have gratify'd my highest Vanity, in telling the Town, that this Piece, had, in some sort, the honour of your Graces Approbation, before it came upon the Stage, 'twill be security for me, that none of sense will pretend to condemn, what you seem'd to approve.⁸⁴

She would also use the 'Sunshine' analogy in her dedication to Beaufort for the *New Atalantis*. She is keen to not endure a repeat dose of audience vitriol that *The Lost Lover* had received. In one year however, with two plays staged and her *Letters* published she was becoming known.

Herman describes *The Lost Lover* as 'a lightweight attempt at playwriting' but discerns some political references.⁸⁵ Victoria Joule gives it far more credit, but within the

⁸⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 84; Mounsey, 'Manifesto', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 173.

⁸¹ Manley, *Letters Writen*, pp 24, 33: 'Letters 2 and 4', in Letter 2 'Lady-Sister' is 'marry'd to *Devonshire*'. In Letter 4, it is the county: 'for Beaux designed to set up to get a Fortune in Devonshire'.

⁸² Mrs. Manley, *The Lost Lover; or, the Jealous Husband. A Comedy*, As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal by His Majesty's Servants, Printed for R. Bently, F. Saunders, J. Knapton and R. Willington, London, 1696, Preface.

⁸³ Mrs. Manley, *The Royal Mischief. A Tragedy*, 1696.

⁸⁴ Mrs. Manley, *The Royal Mischief. A Tragedy*: dedicated to his Grace William Duke of Devonshire, &c.,

⁸⁵ Herman, *Business*, pp 12, 182-86.

plot style of a ‘sentimental comedy’ she points to its ‘intertheatrical references’, in particular as a ‘reworking of Behn’s *The Rover; or, The Banish’d Cavaliers* (1677)’.⁸⁶ Manley claimed self-deprecatingly that it was the product of ‘the Follies of seven days’, echoing Granville’s claim when publishing ‘Thyrsis and Delia’, that he put down to an ‘Indulgence to ... youthful Follies.’⁸⁷ She claims that she would not have staged or published *The Lost Lover* but for:

The flattery of my Friends (and them, one wou’d imagine, Men of too much Sense to be so grossly mistaken and without whose perswasion I never designed publishing of it) wou’d in the least have held me in suspence of its good or evil Fortune:⁸⁸

Political references are few. Intriguingly however, in popular culture, Paul Kléber Monod claims that the ‘lost lover’ became a Jacobite reference to James II, the banished monarch, but was used even more for his ‘enigmatic’ son, James Francis, the Pretender, or James III (1688–1766).⁸⁹ Herman sees more references to James and the 1688 Revolution in the plot of *The Royal Mischief*: it is more complex and intentionally political.⁹⁰ Bernadette Andrea discusses it through its more overt and no less valid colonial empirical lens.⁹¹

Taking his lead from Carnell and Herman, Mounsey also suggests that although Manley’s first three works: her epistolary prose, *Letters Writen* and plays, *The Lost Lover* and *The Royal Mischief*, make ‘strange and uncomfortable bedfellows’ and that ‘there was a political strategy that worked across all three of Manley’s 1696 publications ...’.⁹² All published in the same year, Mounsey contends that *Letters Writen* is also ‘a disguised Varronian satire’, the form of satire she would use later in *New Atalantis*, as she described in its dedication.⁹³ He shows that her use of Tully’s definition of Varronian satire denoted to

⁸⁶ Victoria Joule, ‘Manley’s “Sentimental” Deserted Mistress, Women Writers in Literary History, and *The Lost Lover*,’ *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., pp 137-38, 140.

⁸⁷ Granville, *Genuine Works in Verse and Prose*, Vol. 1, Preface.

⁸⁸ Mrs. Manley, *The Lost Lover*, Preface.

⁸⁹ Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 62-63.

⁹⁰ Herman, *Business*, pp 12, 187-92.

⁹¹ Bernadette Andrea, ‘A Geocentric Approach to Delarivier Manley’s *The Royal Mischief* (1696),’ *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., pp 57-71 *passim*.

⁹² Mounsey, ‘Manifesto’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., pp 171, 172.

⁹³ Mounsey, ‘Manifesto’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 174.

readers that it was a Tory text. It is ‘the “doubleness” of its style’, he asserts, that would ‘indicate to readers that Manley’s future productions will be more of the same political scandals’.⁹⁴ This was borne out by her secret histories. Mounsey argues that it allowed ‘Whig readers’ to find ‘things for themselves in her texts’ but also Manley ‘the fun of disguising a Tory message in Texts that mocked her Whig sponsors’.⁹⁵ He contends that ‘the key to the conundrum of Manley’s politics’, lies in her first three works but her ‘experiment in Varronian satire’ is most evident in *Letters Writen* (1696). If Skipwith, Devonshire, Betterton and others discovered they ‘had all been made fools of might just account for the hiatus in Manley’s writing career’, between 1696 and her third play *Almyna* (1706).⁹⁶

This hiatus, coincided with her five-year relationship, from 1697 to 1702, with John Tilly, during which she became involved in dubious schemes that she hoped would provide better financial reward. Other than her poetic tribute to John Dryden, *The Nine Muses* (1700) in which she contributed two poems,⁹⁷ she did not produce or publish another work until her play *Almyna* in 1706. Sir Thomas Skipwith, co-partner at Drury Lane, was the first to bring Manley to the stage. Skipwith was viewed as ‘short on ability’ and more interested in financial gain than the arts.⁹⁸ Manley later characterised him in *Rivella* as *Sir Peter Vainlove*: ‘detestably vain, and loved to be thought in the favour of the fair, which was indeed his only fault, for he had a great deal of wit and good nature’.⁹⁹ Milhous contends that Skipwith and his partner Christopher Rich (bap. 1647–1714) imposed stringent cost-cutting measures that left little financial return for actors or playwrights.¹⁰⁰ This may be the

⁹⁴ Mounsey, ‘Manifesto’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 174.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ *The Nine Muses, or Poems written by Nine Several Ladies Upon the Death of the Late Famous John Dryden*, Printed for Richard Basset, London, 1700.

⁹⁸ Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, ‘Introduction’, p xi; Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 78; Milhous, Judith. “Betterton, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1710), actor and theatre manager.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 Feb. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2311>.

⁹⁹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 46; cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 84-86.

¹⁰⁰ Milhous, “Betterton, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1710), ODNB.

reason Manley moved her second play, *The Royal Mischief. A Tragedy*, to Betterton's theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields where it gained a little more success than had her first.

By the end of 1696 Manley and her sister playwrights, Catharine Trotter and Mary Pix were mocked in the play *The Female Wits*; Trotter and Pix 'not so personally or pointedly' as was Manley.¹⁰¹ *The Female Wits* was staged at Drury Lane after she had taken her second play to Lincoln's Inn Fields. Misogynist attitudes towards female playwrights prevailed but acrimony between the two theatre companies perhaps also precipitated the lampoon.¹⁰² Unsurprisingly, Pix and Trotter also moved their next plays to the new Lincoln's Inn Field Theatre: Pix's comedy, *The Innocent Mistress* in 1697 and Trotter's tragedy, *Fatal Friendship* in 1698. Taking their lead from an earlier scholar, Lucyle Hook, Carnell and Katharine Beutner have each proposed that *The Female Wits* was 'probably written by a group of actors and actor-writers', spearheaded by the comedian, satirist and occasional playwright Joseph Haynes, who all 'clearly knew the personalities of their theatrical contemporaries.'¹⁰³ It was possibly Haynes who had played a small role in Manley's *The Lost Lover*,¹⁰⁴ and this offers another possible identity for 'J. H.'. His 'friend and patron' was William Mann; probably the 'W. M.' who published *The Female Wits* in 1704. Manley's character *Marsilia* is portrayed referring to 'my Lord Duke' and 'Sir Thomas', probably alluding to the Whigs, William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire and Sir Thomas Skipwith.¹⁰⁵ If Manley's later intimations in *Rivella* are accurate, she enjoyed a 'flirtatious correspondence' and 'romantic relationship' with Skipwith and that 'it was probably through [his] interest that [she] managed to have her first play produced at

¹⁰¹ W.M. *The Female Wits: or, the Triumvirate of Poets at Rehearsal. A Comedy*, As it was Acted several Days successively with great Applause at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane By Her Majesty's Servants, Printed for William Turner, Bernard Lintott and Tho[mas] Brown, London, 1704: W. M. is possibly William Mann; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 111.

¹⁰² Milhous, "Betterton, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1710), *ODNB*.

¹⁰³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 83-84, 256n5; Beutner, 'Manley Understands the Ladies,' *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 153, 166n2; citing Lucyle Hook, 'Introduction', *The Female Wits: Or, the Triumvirate of Poets at Rehearsal. A Comedy*. (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library Augustan Reprint Society Publications no. 124, University of California, 1967), p xii.

¹⁰⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 84.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

Drury Lane.¹⁰⁶ Skipwith had died in 1710,¹⁰⁷ making him a conveniently absent candidate for Manley to portray as *Vainlove* in *Rivella*.

In suggesting that she ‘might’ have had a ‘brief liaison with William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire’ on her return to London in 1696, Carnell points to his theatre patronage, long-term liaison with the actress Anne Campion and to Manley’s dedication to him of her second play.¹⁰⁸ Cavendish married Mary Butler (1646–1710), second daughter of James Butler, first Duke of Ormond (1610–1688) on 26 October 1662.¹⁰⁹ Another ‘long-term mistress’ of Devonshire’s was the actress Mrs Heneage who appears, unnamed, in Manley’s second volume of *New Atalantis*, referred to as ‘A certain intriguing Lady [who] had dishonour’d her Family’.¹¹⁰ Their daughter Henrietta also receives attention in *New Atalantis*, who ‘fell into the Acquaintance of the Count’s Son...’.¹¹¹ Carnell describes that *The Female Wits* ‘satirise[d] the exaggerated heroics of Manley’s *The Royal Mischief*, following the model of Buckingham’s *The Rehearsal* in its mockery of heroic drama.’¹¹² Manley’s character *Marsilia*, is ‘unbearably arrogant, overly fond of flattery, a terrible snob’ and ‘impatient for her first glass of sherry in the morning.’¹¹³ Beutner encapsulates this portrayal of her as ‘a self-absorbed hypocrite filled with grandiose theatrical ambitions who mistreats her female friends.’¹¹⁴ She contends that ‘[t]he play’s comic action relies, on the premise that women writers must be conniving, hypocritical and cruel to one another.’¹¹⁵ Hook had argued in 1967 that ‘*The Female Wits* was merely the distillation of masculine critical opinion regarding Manley and other contemporary women playwrights.’¹¹⁶ Beutner

¹⁰⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 88-89; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 47-51.

¹⁰⁷ Milhous, "Betterton, Thomas (bap. 1635, d. 1710), *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 84, 88-89, 91-92.

¹⁰⁹ David Hosford, ‘Cavendish, William, first duke of Devonshire (1641–1707)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/4948>, accessed 27 June 2015].

¹¹⁰ Hosford, ‘Cavendish, William, first duke of Devonshire (1641–1707)’, *ODNB*; [Manley], *NA*, II, p 215.

¹¹¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 215.

¹¹² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 84.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Beutner, ‘Manley Understands the Ladies’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 154.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Beutner, ‘Manley Understands the Ladies’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., pp 160-61, 166n2.

acknowledges that '[t]his backlash against female authors was not limited to the stage, nor was it unusual for a powerful woman ... or women playwrights' such as Manley 'to be satirised as jealous and conniving ...'.¹¹⁷ Throughout her discussion, however, Beutner rejects the current warmer climate of objective critique Manley is 'enjoying' as being valid. Referring to Manley's literary assaults on female writers such as Trotter and Pix, Beutner critiques Manley through the 'distillation' of its masculine writers' critical view as portrayed in *The Female Wits*.¹¹⁸

Manley could never have been a compliant female, but the overblown characterisation of *The Female Wits* would have been the inevitable public rebuke for refusing to be cowed into playing the submissive role expected of women. A later staging of *The Female Wits*, in 'the autumn of 1704' that Carnell explains had 'greatly pleased "the Taste of the Town in General"', was closed prematurely, by "some particular Persons", who could have been 'some of the patrons of Manley, Pix and Trotter – perhaps Devonshire.'¹¹⁹ As Trotter's mentor, Congreve also could have applied some pressure in the play's closure. Its reappearance while Manley was recovering from the breakdown of her relationship with Tilly, perhaps explains why she did not return to the stage for another two years. The play could also have led to tension between her, Trotter and Pix, with whom she soon fell out. From these early years of turbulent struggle and small gain Manley was gathering lasting friends in influential positions of political power who, importantly, had useful networks. Through all these pursuits, those who became her cohort of supporters, although spread disparately and loosely formed, were connected through family ties, party allegiance, electoral interests and shared literary pursuits. At this early stage of her career, in looking largely towards Whigs for patronage her primary concern would have been financial security. The need for pragmatism in penniless times was a lesson learned from her father.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p 161.

¹¹⁸ Beutner, 'Manley Understands the Ladies', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., *passim*.

¹¹⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 111.

One branch of her family were Whigs and in this earlier period partisan identifications were still not so distinct. Manley could not afford to be ideologically selective about the company of potential patrons she should keep. That she later discarded them for the Tories adds a deeper note of bitter irony to her later claim in *Rivella* that Whigs were better at honouring their promises of patronage to their writers than were the Tories.¹²⁰

During the five years Manley lived with John Tilly, from late 1697 to late 1702, her only literary pursuit was *The Nine Muses*, the anthology tribute to Charles II's Poet Laureate, John Dryden following his death in 1700.¹²¹ She had agreed to the task when asked by Lady Sarah Piers who was unable to complete it. Carnell cites a letter from Lady Piers to Trotter asking her to 'give my thanks to mistress Man[ley] for her discharge of the late trouble I gave her.'¹²² Manley contributed two poems, Trotter and Pix, Sarah Fyge Egerton and Lady Sarah Piers each contributed a poem. The remaining writers were identified only as Mrs. J. E., Mrs. L. D., and Mrs. D. E. Although the initials do not match the latter is identified by Carnell as Susanna Centlivre in her ODNB entry.¹²³ From the end of Manley's relationship with Tilly in 1702, her second experience of betrayal, it is not known where she lived or how she supported herself.¹²⁴ In December 1705 she is recorded in Fleet Debtors' prison. It is also not known how long she was there but probably not months. It is also not known whether someone paid her debts to enable her release.¹²⁵

In 1706, as referred to earlier, she returned to the theatre with her third play *Almyna: or, the Arabian Vow, A Tragedy*.¹²⁶ Staged in December 1706 and published in 1707,¹²⁷ it

¹²⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 110-111.

¹²¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 125; Joule, 'Manley's "Sentimental" Deserted Mistress, Women Writers in Literary History, and The Lost Lover', p 138; and Beutner, 'Manley Understands the Ladies Better': both in *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 154.

¹²² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 262n49: Carnell refers to Centlivre's ODNB, see Milling, 'Centlivre, Susanna (bap. 1669?, d. 1723)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2007.

¹²³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 125-26.

¹²⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 115-16.

¹²⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 145.

¹²⁶ [Manley], *Almyna: or, The Arabian Vow. A Tragedy*, 1707.

¹²⁷ Krueger, 'Vengeance, Vows, and "Heroick Vertue": Reforming the Revenger in Delarivier Manley's *Almyna: or, The Arabian Vow*', *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 43.

was ‘Humbly Inscribe’d to the Right Honourable the Countess of Sandwich’: Elizabeth Montagu (1674–1757), wife of the Whig Edward Montagu, third Earl of Sandwich (1670–1729), cousin to both Charles Montagu, Duke of Manchester (c.1662–1722) and Ralph Montagu, first Duke of Montagu (bap.1638–1709).¹²⁸ She still was not explicitly partisan when seeking patronage and, in the main, Whigs continued to assist her. She was too constrained by poverty to be ideologically precious. Like her first play, it did not turn a profit. ‘Ill-fated’ from the beginning, it was staged ‘at so ill-fated a Time, viz: The Immediate Week before *Christmas Devotion* and *Camilla*.’ It ran for only three nights with its leading lady, Anne Bracegirdle (bap.1671–1748), quitting ‘the *House*, three days before it was to have been play’d again’.¹²⁹ Manley did not see it staged, having retreated once again to the country due to her financial constraints. Carnell states that Manley had written to Ralph Montagu asking for financial help, ‘to prevent the seizure of “all her goods”’.¹³⁰ Manley, Tilly and John Manley, however, had attempted to gain financially from Montagu’s long running Bath-Albermarle trial against John Granville, Earl of Bath, with Tilly representing Montagu, portrayed as *Lord Crafty* in *Rivella* and John Manley representing Bath, his employer, portrayed as *Baron Meanwell* in her protracted and embellished account of this episode in *Rivella*. She did not receive the hundred-guineas fee she was promised, nor her share of £8,000 they had hoped to earn for their efforts.¹³¹

Like all her works, *Almyna* has diverse layers of allusions. It reworks a story in *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* that was first published in English in 1706.¹³² It is also, she claims, ‘drawn (tho’ faintly) from that excellent Pen of Mr. Dennis, who, in his *Essay upon Opera’s*, [gave her the] View of what Heroick Vertue ought to attempt’.¹³³ Into this

¹²⁸ Metzger, ‘Montagu, Ralph, first duke of Montagu (bap. 1638, d. 1709)’, *ODNB*.

¹²⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 146, 266n37; [Manley], *Almyna*, Preface.

¹³⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 147n44, 261n29.

¹³¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 118-20; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 72-91, 95; cf. Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 154.

¹³² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 147n45.

¹³³ [Manley], *Almyna*: citing [John] Dennis, ‘Preface’, *An Essay on the Opera’s After the Italian Manner, Which are about to be Establish’d on the English Stage ...*, Printed for John Nutt, London, 1706.

oriental context, she also weaves feminist and political themes. It features ‘revenge tales, heroic virtue and civic duty.’¹³⁴ Revenge is juxtaposed with virtue, while oath-taking and breaking is also a theme. Her final lines are an unmistakable reference to the events of the glorious Revolution, on the breaking of oaths and the betrayal of James:

Sultan: Oh, lovely Youth! My Heart bleeds Tears; for thee Dies
 Thus are we punish’d for our rash Resolves.
 Our cruel Vow be expiated here.
 On this dear Prince, our lov’d and sworn Successor.
 Let all by him, be warn’d of Breach of Faith.
 His Life, repay’d his falseness to *Zoradia*
 By me, let ’em avoid unlawful Oaths.
 (Nor think that Provocation’s an Excuse,
 Robb’d as I am, of my Succession here.
For Heav’n no Hopes but Penitence allows.
*Either for cruel, rash, or perjur’d Vows.*¹³⁵

This goes close to revealing Jacobite sympathy, although the references are veiled. As Krueger points out, Manley ends her play by demonstrating that ‘penitence is the best method for ensuring a rehabilitated, secure state ... and a happier forecast for the nation, one endowed with natural succession and responsible leadership.’¹³⁶ Her hope for responsible political leadership was a theme through all her political works.

Manley’s next literary endeavour was *The Unknown Lady’s Pacquet of Letters* and its sequel, *The Remaining Part of the Unknown Lady’s Pacquet of Letters*.¹³⁷ Blanchard noted that both were published by Benjamin Bragg in 1707, the first in January, the second in November.¹³⁸ They were collected with secret histories by Marie Catherine d’Aulnoy, the

¹³⁴ Krueger, ‘Vengeance, Vows, and “Heroick Vertue”, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 44.

¹³⁵ [Manley], *Almyna*, p 68.

¹³⁶ Krueger, ‘Vengeance, Vows, and “Heroick Vertue”, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 52.

¹³⁷ Anonymous, [Delarivier Manley], *The Lady’s Packet of Letters, Taken from her by a French Privateer in her Passage to Holland. Suppos’d to be written by several Men of Quality. Brought over from St. Malo’s by an English Officer at the Last Exchange of Prisoners.* [added to Madame d’Aulnoy’s] *Memoirs of the Court of England: in the Reign of King Charles II. In Two Parts*, By the Countess of Dunois, Author of the Ingenious and Diverting *Letters of the Lady’s Travels into Spain*. Writ during her Residence in that Court, 2nd edition corrected, Printed and sold by J Woodward and J Morphew, London, 1708: first published by Benjamin Bragg in 1707; Anonymous, [Delarivier Manley], *The Remaining Part of the Unknown Lady’s Pacquet of Letters, taken from her by a French Privateer, in her Passage to Holland, suppos’d to be Written by several Persons of Quality: Brought over from St. Maloes by an English Officer, at the last Exchange of Prisoners.* [Added to Madame d’Aulnoy’s] *The History of the Earl of Warwick, Sirnam’d The King-Maker: Containing the Amours And other Memorable Transactions.* By the Author of the *Memoirs of the English Court*. Printed and sold by J Woodward and J Morphew, London, 1708.

¹³⁸ Blanchard, *Corr. Steele*, p 425.

Countess of Dunois (1650–1705): *Memoirs of the Court of England: In the Reign of King Charles II* and *The History of the Earl of Warwick, Sirnam'd The King-Maker*. Carnell states that the first, published by Bragg, 'appeared in early January 1707', the *Remaining Part* was published in 1708 by Morphew and Woodward.¹³⁹ The 1707 publication is not available online but its 1708 reprint by Morphew and Woodward is, presented as a 'Second Edition, Corrected.' The *Remaining Part* does not carry this information, suggesting this was its first printing. Considering that Morphew and Woodward were trade publishers who fronted for John Barber, although he was not their only source of business,¹⁴⁰ the 1708 publications of both *Parts* could be Manley's first connection with Barber, which led to their association for her next venture, the *New Atalantis*.

The *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters* and its sequel were Manley's rehearsal into the secret history genre, although in epistolary form.¹⁴¹ The *Remaining Part* has more overt political overtones than the *Unknown Lady's Pacquet*, embellishes old gossip, and includes intertextual references; all these will be integral elements in the *New Atalantis*. In both 'Parts' she uses gutted names, not *roman à clef*, but others are clearly named. Both *Pacquets* have a journey of 'translation', 'taken from a French Privateer, to Holland,' then 'bought over from St Malo's by an English Officer,' with the added intrigue, 'at the Last Exchange of Prisoners.'¹⁴² This dissembling 'journey' conforms to the secret history trope. The letters are 'suppos'd to be written by Several Men of Quality.' Both *Parts* were republished again in 1711 but this time under the title, *Court Intrigues In a Collection of Original Letters, from the Island of the New Atalantis, &c, by the Author of those Memoirs* and Manley claimed without her permission. This seems doubtful considering the printers were again Morphew and Woodward.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 154.

¹⁴⁰ cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 154-55.

¹⁴¹ cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 152-58.

¹⁴² [Manley], *Court Intrigues*, Printed for John Morphew and James Woodward, London, 1711, Title page.

¹⁴³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 216-17.

Manley, Finch and Swift

One letter worth particular discussion appears in the first part, *The Unknown Lady's Pacquet*, certainly in its 1708 reprint but presumably also in the original 1707 publication, then again in its 1711 republication, *Court Intrigues*.¹⁴⁴ 'Letter XI' includes a poem by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, introduced as 'A Riddle on a Sigh, by the Lady that wrote the Verses upon the Spleen'. Manley writes:

I have found the Lady's Riddle, which I need not tell you is interpreted a *Sigh*. A famous poet has inverted the Subject, in a manner not civil enough for your Conversation; however, if it be Wit, you'll grant 'tis the worst sort, and that nothing is more easie than burlesquing the best things, tho' none has succeeded in the way, nor ever will, I believe, like *Hudibras*.¹⁴⁵

Finch's poem, 'A Sigh', follows with four stanzas, each with four lines.

Gentlest Air, the Breath of Lovers,
Vapours from a Secret Fire,
Which by thee it self discovers,
E're yet daring to aspire. ll 1-4
... / ...
Shapeless Sigh we ne'er can show thee,
Fram'd but to assault the Ear,
Yet e're to their cost they know thee,
Every Nymph may read it here. ll 13-16¹⁴⁶

This poem was first transcribed by Finch's husband Heneage (1657–1726) in her 'calf-bound' folio MS that he commenced in 1694 or 1695 and circulated privately.¹⁴⁷

Considering Manley's low social status and enduring poverty, it seems improbable that she would have been on Finch's subscription list. Barbara McGovern discussed this poem's inclusion in Manley's *Court Intrigues* (1711) but had not then found its earlier appearance in her 1707 *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*. McGovern suggests that Swift was probably Finch's connection to Manley, based on his friendship with Finch and later assistance in arranging the publication of her own first and only miscellany in 1713 by his

¹⁴⁴ [Manley], *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*, (1708), pp 43-44; [Manley], *Court Intrigues*, p 56-57: there is no digitised copy of the 1707 first publication available; cf. Blanchard, ed., *Corr. Steele*, p 34n7.

¹⁴⁵ [Manley], *Court Intrigues*, p 56.

¹⁴⁶ [Manley], *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*, (1708), pp 43, 44.

¹⁴⁷ Barbara McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia, 1992, pp 68-70, 120-21; Myra Reynolds, ed., *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea*, 'Table of Contents', pp xi, xiii, 138.

printer, John Barber.¹⁴⁸ This was a plausible conclusion to make of 1711 but not of 1707; not least as this first edition was printed by Benjamin Bragg.

Swift had arrived in London in December 1707, having ‘sailed for England in the entourage of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Thomas [Herbert, eighth] Earl of Pembroke’ (c.1656–1733) on his first mission to obtain Queen Anne’s grant to remit the First Fruits and the Twentieth Parts, otherwise known as Queen Anne’s Bounty.¹⁴⁹ She had granted the English church this financial relief in 1704.¹⁵⁰ December 1707, however, left little time for Swift to have delivered Finch’s poem to Manley before publication in ‘early 1708’. Anne and Heneage Finch moved to London in late 1708, having lived in Kent at the family estate, Eastwell Park from 1690 with nephew Charles Finch (d.1712), fourth Earl of Winchilsea, following James II’s flight into exile in 1688. Swift could well have visited the Finches in Kent during 1708 before they moved. A letter places him staying in Kent relatively near Eastwell Park in September 1708, staying with the Rev. Richard Coleire at the rectory of Harrietsham in Kent. Woolley notes that Coleire had lurches ‘from Jacobite to Whig grandee in his chaplaincies.’ He must have been involved in the tightly supported Nonjuror community. If he was not Winchilsea’s chaplain, Coleire’s link to the Jacobite adherents may have at least introduced Swift to the family.¹⁵¹ Following the Revolution, Tory Jacobites who refused to abjure their oath to James II were named Nonjurors and were denied their right to participate in parliament or take Anglican communion. They formed their own churches ministered by Nonjuring clergymen. Monod describes

¹⁴⁸ McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry*, pp 94, 120.

¹⁴⁹ David Woolley, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift D.D.*, in four volumes, Peter Lang, Frankfurt Am Main, 1999, Vol. 1, Letter from Swift to Archbishop King, dated from Leicester, December 6, 1707, pp 163-65, headnote and n 2.

¹⁵⁰ Clive Probyn, ‘Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26833>, accessed 8 Feb 2017 4 April 2013].

¹⁵¹ Two letters from Swift to Ambrose Phillips. September 14 from London, October 20 from Kent: Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 1, pp 206-07, 210, 211, headnote and n4.

Nonjurors as, ‘that long-suffering remnant of the Restoration Church, ... unflinching adherents of Divine Right.’¹⁵² Pincus explains that:

Jacobites and nonjurors ... did much more than toast the king who resided over the water ... celebrate royal birthdays, and mock Williamite fast days. [They] developed and enunciated an ideological case against the revolution. They distributed pessimistic glosses on current events.¹⁵³

Anne and Heneage Finch had worked closely with the Catholic Duke and Duchess of York respectively as gentleman and lady of the bedchambers. They remained Nonjuring Anglicans to their deaths, not wavering even throughout the reign of Queen Anne.

Manley included two more poems by Finch in *New Atalantis*: ‘Life’s Progress’, but retitled ‘The Progress of Life’ in the first volume and ‘The Hymn’ in volume two.¹⁵⁴ ‘The Progress of Life’ was transcribed into the folio MS and therefore circulated. McGovern states that ‘The Hymn’ was transcribed into Finch’s earlier ‘gilt-edged moroccan-bound octavo MS’ that was not circulated, but Reynolds does not show this.¹⁵⁵ McGovern reveals however that all three poems, including ‘The Sigh’, in the form as they appeared in Manley’s texts differed slightly to the versions transcribed into Finch’s MSS, with biblical themes altered to classical equivalents. She claims that these were earlier versions than those transcribed into the folio and the octavo.¹⁵⁶ Finch’s earliest poems, sighted in the 1680s by ‘an obscure poet known only as Mrs Randolph’, were written during Finch’s time at court while she was still the ‘versifying maid’, Anne Kingsmill. She wrote of this time years later, ‘itt is still a great satisfaction to me, that I was not so far abandon’d by my prudence, as out of a mistaken vanity, to let any attempts of mine in Poetry, shew themselves whilst I liv’d at court.’¹⁵⁷ Perhaps Manley had acquired these earlier versions that somehow did escape from the confines of court. Finch may have provided these early versions, using Swift as her

¹⁵² Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people*, p 17.

¹⁵³ Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009, p 444.

¹⁵⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, ‘Life’s Progress’ under the title ‘The Progress of Life’, pp 169-171; *NA*, II, ‘The Hymn’, pp 160-163; McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, pp 93-98, 120-21.

¹⁵⁵ McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, p 121; Reynolds, *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea*, p xiii.

¹⁵⁶ McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, pp 93-98, 120-21; Reynolds, *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea*, pp xiii, xv, 136-37, 263-264.

¹⁵⁷ McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, pp 25, 121.

conduit or, equally plausible, her nephew Charles, then fourth Earl of Winchilsea, who promoted her work. He was also an occasional poet who had developed a number of literary friendships, including Swift and Addison.¹⁵⁸ One poem by Charles Finch was collected by Gildon in *A New Miscellany of Original Poems* (1701), which also included poems by Anne Finch, George Granville, Richard Steele, Henry St John and Thomas Yalden.¹⁵⁹

By 1706 twelve of Finch's poems had appeared anonymously in other miscellanies. The three that appeared in Manley's publications were not among them. Most, if not all, had been published with her permission. Finch may have supplied Manley with this poem, as Barbara McGovern suggests. By then Finch had allowed a few poems to be published individually by others and even self-published one, albeit anonymously, 'On the Death of King James'. Its subject was important enough to the Jacobite Nonjuror, Anne Finch, for her to disregard her society's censure for a woman of quality to publish her work.¹⁶⁰ Swift only convinced her to publish the one miscellany in 1713.¹⁶¹ Finch was by then, Countess of Winchilsea and Swift's 'old Acquaintaince', as he wrote to Stella in August 1712 on the death of Charles Finch, fourth Earl of Winchilsea, of whom he described 'a worthy honest Gentleman, & particular Friend of mine.'¹⁶²

In her poem 'The Introduction', Finch demanded her right to 'attempt the pen', but she did not dare even to publish this poem in her 1713 miscellany.¹⁶³ Manley, however, did

¹⁵⁸ McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, pp 70-72.

¹⁵⁹ Charles Gildon, *A New Miscellany of Poems, on Several Occasions, Written by ... And Several other Eminent Hands*, printed by Peter Buck, and George Gordon, London, 1701, pp 1-6, 53-59, 60-88, 99-115, 141-159, 237-239, 311-18, 335-39.

¹⁶⁰ For example: Charles Gildon, 'The Spleen' in *A New Miscellany Of Poems On Several Occasions, Written by ... Several Eminent Hands, Printed for Peter Buck, London, 1701*, p 60; Anonymous, *Vinculum Societatis: Or the Tie of good Company, being a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs now in Use*, Printed by T. Moore, at his shop at the Middle Temple Gate, London, 1691; Henry Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus, A collection of all the choicest songs for one, two, and three voices compos'd*, Printed by J Hepsinstall, London, 1698; Nahum Tate, Ed. *Miscellaea Sacra: Or Poems on Divine and Moral Subjects*, Printed for Henry Playford, London, 1696, pp 82-97; [Finch], 'On the Death of King James,' By a Lady, published in 1701, to mark the death of James II.

¹⁶¹ McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry*, pp 94-95.

¹⁶² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., Letter 51, dated 7 August 1712, p 443.

¹⁶³ McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry*, pp 2, 33, 69; Pamela Kelly, *Miscellaneous Ardelia: The Private and Public Publishing of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, 1661-1720: A Literary History*, Thesis component for the completion of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, with Honours in English, unpublished, Flinders University of South Australia, 2012, pp 7-9, 28, 44.

dare to publish, and the first three works in 1696 even carried her name. Political themes also determined Finch's selection of poems to publish. Manley dared to 'throw' her incendiary political 'stone', her *New Atalantis*, into her society's political and social discourse.¹⁶⁴ The parallels in their proto-feminist ideals are striking but not surprising. Crucially, however, this all predates Swift's known 'first' meeting with Manley in January 1711. It also shows, however, that Swift encouraged women in their literary endeavours, against prevailing social mores. In London in 1710 again seeking the remission of the 'first fruits' from Queen Anne for the Irish Anglican church, he expected to remain only for as long as it took to gain her grant. With Harley returned to power the grant was achieved quickly and Swift was soon transitioned into Harley's Tory propagandist, delaying him in London a few years more. Swift's *Journal* of letters to Stella (Esther Johnson, 1681–1728) similarly dates his 'first' meetings with St John and Harley in 1710.

In 1708-1709 Swift was a Whig, although as early as 1709 Archbishop King (1650–1729) in 1709 'expressed surprise that Swift could "contrive to pass for a Whig" in England'.¹⁶⁵ Manley was prepared to accept patronage from Whigs throughout her early career up to and including her play *Almyra* staged in late 1706. From 1708, as discussed above, the Tory printers, Morphew and Woodward published her work, and perhaps this was for Barber. In February 1708, Harley was removed from office and, within a few months, Manley must have started writing *New Atalantis*. She must have reflected hard on her next literary move, and initially returned to epistolary prose. Perhaps she drew on her historian father's endeavours and, realising that political history was where her natural inclinations lay, wrote this but in secret history form. In her era this was the best means to convey a political message but with her own satirical flair. She also had a personal story to tell.

¹⁶⁴ Reynolds, ed., *Poems of Anne Countess of Winchelsea*, p xi 'Table of Contents', McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry*, pp 2, 69.

¹⁶⁵ Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A study in disaffection*, (Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth Century English Literature and Thought, 20), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p 20: 'Letter of 10 February 1709, citing Harold Williams, *Corr.* 1, p 123.

SECTION II

THE *NEW ATALANTIS*: A POLITICAL SATIRIST EMERGES

What is most essential and the very Soul of Satire, is scourging of Vice and Exhortation of Virtue. Satire is of the nature of Moral Philosophy. He therefore who instructs most usefully will carry the Palm. And again, 'Tis an Action of Virtue to make Examples of vicious Men. They may and ought to be upbraided with their Crimes and Follies: Both for their own Amendment, if they are not yet incorrigible; and for the Terror of others, to hinder them from falling into those Enormities, which they see are so severely punish'd in the Persons of others. The first Reason was only an excuse for Revenge. But this second is absolutely of the Poet's Office to perform.¹

¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

Chapter 5

New Atalantis, part one: Manley's contextual framing

Virtue]: *Astrea*, Thou didst choose well in abandoning a World unworthy of thee: I had long since follow'd thee, if great Jupiter had not forbid my Flight, lest these Creatures of his Fancy, clods of Earth, who, by his Command were impregnated by Phœbus, should be entirely destitute, ev'n of the pretence of those Ornaments which are call'd Virtue. ... Thee they have not mourn'd for since thy Flight, but have constituted a false Appearance in the Divine *Astrea's* room, a mock sort of Justice, whom they invoke upon every Occasion, without any real regard to Right or Wrong. Me they have thrust out from Courts and Cities.¹

From the mixed reception she received for her early work, Manley rocked London's partisan literary scene in 1709 with her celebrated and notorious political satire, *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean*.² In this and the next chapter I will unpack a few of her anecdotes to reveal the background to her selection of characters, her motivations for her ridicule, her use of early sources and past events, and her method of construction. The point of her satire was to reveal those who claim the elite space but whose behaviour shows they do not deserve it. She did not do this in a dispassionate or balanced way, however, but refracted judgement through a Tory lens.

It was clear from the names identified in the Keys to the *New Atalantis* that her secret history was a Tory text, aiming its satirical narrative toward the Whigs. A number of Tories were also mocked, but this had more to do with settling a few personal scores than with clouding her message. Readers were also keen to identify the characters portrayed and some compiled their own speculations; the Nonjuror Thomas Hearne being one.³ Further research on the Keys has been conducted by scholars since to identify more characters, principally, as discussed earlier, Ballaster, Herman and Carnell. The wealth of knowledge

¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 2-3.

² Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 1.

³ Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, 'Introduction', p xv: Thomas Hearne copied keys for the first volume on 24 October 1709 and for the second volume in 13 May 1710, cites C. E. Noble, ed., *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Vol 2, 1707-10, 1886, p 292.

this offers has enabled present-day readers and researchers more than three-hundred years removed from the period to unlock the contextual mystery that *New Atalantis* otherwise presents. This research had followed earlier work by Paul Bunyan Anderson in the 1930s,⁴ Delores Duff in 1965,⁵ Fidelis Morgan, who published the first monograph on Manley in 1966,⁶ and Patricia Köster in 1971 who acknowledged Manley's mastery of prose and took seriously her place in the development of the English novel.⁷ These earliest modern scholars drew Manley from the obscurity of the margins where the more prurient nineteenth-early-twentieth-century literary historians had relegated her, into the more favourable light of current scholarship in its focus on eighteenth-century female writers. Others since have continued this research within their specific topic focus. I am working to extend this scholarship in Section II, while building an understanding of the text that will permit a fully rounded approach to my thesis question in Section III: who 'bid her write?'

From its title alone, Manley established the key elements of her text, its form, function and trope, to apprise her readers of her intent. As I have established above, it is a 'secret history', in 'memoir' form, of disparate anecdotes linked together by didactic moral reflection. It is a political satire on the 'manners' or behaviour, of the political elite 'of both sexes', esteemed as 'persons of quality'. Their status was a privilege not earned for good character but merely by chance of birth, wealth or the monarch's grace and favour. For eighteenth-century readers already familiar with this form, Manley's reference to 'secret memoirs' and 'manners' would have signified the satirical aim of her text. She selects Varro as her source of satire that is carnivalesque in tone, both serious and mirthful, its emphasis on scourging vice and exhorting virtue.

⁴ Paul Bunyan Anderson, 'Delarivier Manley's Prose Fiction,' *Philological Quarterly*, Xiii, 2 April 1934, and 'Mistress Delariviere Manley's Biography', *Modern Philology*, 1936, pp 261-278.

⁵ Duff, 'Materials Toward a Biography of Mary Delariviere Manley', 1965.

⁶ Morgan, *A Woman of No Character*, 1966, and *The Female Wits*, 1981.

⁷ Köster, ed., *The Novels of Many Delariviere Manley*, 1971.

The imagined geographical setting in her title would link readers' minds to Francis Bacon's provocative utopian text, the *New Atlantis* (1626),⁸ with its fictitious island setting in an ocean beyond England's shores and its partisan intrigues. Like Bacon's *Atlantis*, her island *Atalantis* is also to be interpreted as England. Readers would also recall this island allusion to England 'redefined in vision' in Thomas More's (1478–1535) 'political fantasy' *Utopia*;⁹ its genesis shaped from Plato's *Republic* (c.380BC).¹⁰ The 1660 edition of Bacon's *New Atlantis*, 'Continued by R. H. Esquire', is dedicated to 'Charles II, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith':

Since the Sunset of that Glorious Martyr your Father of ever blessed memory, and Astræa's flight with him to heaven, here hath been such an Inter-regnum of tyranny and oppression, that all laws, both divine and human, have lain dead, ... But the brightness of your Majesty so happily now returned, ... and not only restore our Laws to their pristine vigour, by restoring them to us and all of us to our own; but make Religion, as well as Justice, shine again in every corner of your Kingdoms.¹¹

Manley has taken her lead from Bacon for her title. She might also have drawn from this edition in particular to develop her framework of *Astrea* and the reason for her return to the 'World' that she had 'forsook' having fled its tyranny 'in Disgust'.¹² *Astrea*'s flight from the world was a trope that had classical roots familiar to her readers. R.H. also links his 'Astrea' reference to the return of Charles II after the tyranny of the Interregnum and his father's murder. Drawing from this *Astrea* typology Manley might also be alluding to James II's flight. This establishes clearly her Royalist background, but also that her secret history is a Tory text. She might also be hinting at Jacobite loyalties.

She had set the scene in her title by establishing the place: *Atalantis*, 'an Island in the Mediterranean', implicitly England. In her epigraph she introduces her divine protagonists *Astrea* and *Virtue* and the schema of her work:

⁸ Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis*, first published 1626; cf. Herman, *Business*, p 76.

⁹ Peter Ackroyd, 'Introduction, *On the Best State of a Commonwealth and on the New Island of Utopia*, by Thomas More, The Folio Society, London, 2011, reprint of W.W. Norton & Co. Ltd., 1975, p x.

¹⁰ Plato, *The Republic*, reprinted with new Introduction by Melissa Lane, Penguin Books, London, 2007, p xxxix.

¹¹ R.H., *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans: and Continued by R. H. Esquire., Wherein is set forth A Platform of Monarchical Government. With A Pleasant intermixture of divers rare Inventions, and wholsom Customs, fit to be introduced into all Kingdoms, States, and Common-Wealths*, Printed for John Crooke, St. Pauls Church-yard, London, 1660, Dedication (unpaginated).

¹² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 1.

*Oh Sacred Truth inspire and rule my Page.
So may reforming Satir mend a vicious Age:
Whilst thy enlightening rays adorn and guard ye place.
Astrea's glorious form Survey's the Race –
And Virtue wears the bright Ormonda's Face.*¹³

Phrased as a prayer or invocation, her satirical game has commenced. She promises her readers that what they are about to read is true; but not merely temporal truth, for her words are 'divinely' inspired. As she entreats 'sacred truth' as a divine imprimatur to inspire and rule her page she conflates her meaning by couching in sacred terms her call on the literary muses as her celestial inspiration. She then introduces the literary tropes that carry layers of allusion so familiar to her readers: *Astrea* and *Virtue*, from the classical era, goddesses of justice and virtue, to provide an allegorical framework to her real, political text.

Once upon a time, *Astrea* (who had long since abandon'd this World, and flown to her Native Residence above) by a new form'd Design, and a Revolution of Thought, was willing to Revisit the Earth, to see if Humankind were still as defective, as when she in a Disgust forsook it. Her Descent was as soon perform'd as thought upon; the *European* World being the most fam'd above for Sciences, she resolv'd her Visit should be there. Accordingly (by a little too strong a Propension of one of the Winds that bore her) she alighted upon the Clifts of an *Island*, named *Atalantis*, situated in the *Mediterranean Sea*.¹⁴

Both are multi-layered tropes to represent the concept of justice and nature of virtue. As discussed in the previous chapter, 'Astrea' is also a conveniently pertinent reference to her literary *Sapho the younger*, Aphra Behn. She then constructs the political context by adding a narrative-framing allusion to an unnamed prince in need of education on English customs, justice and court etiquette. This reference also links intertextually to R. H.'s 1660 'continued' edition of Bacon's *New Atlantis*. In his unpaginated Preface, R. H. writes to Charles II: 'I should now discover [reveal] how a Prince should avoid the darts of reveng[e] and malice. But against such rancour and slie poison I know no such Antidote, no such guard, as his own Virtue and Innocence.'¹⁵ That *Astrea* is given this task to educate the 'heir' to England's throne is yet another allusion to imply the lack of justice, both natural

¹³ [Manley], *NA*, I, (May) 1709, Epigraph.

¹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 1.

¹⁵ R.H., *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans: and Continued by R. H. Esquire.*, Preface.

and temporal, in England's social mores. In 1708 there was no hope that Anne would provide an heir. Manley's nebulous prince provides a non-defining allusion to either a Hanoverian, Jacobite or an alternative socio-political framework.

Having clearly established her intertextual links to Bacon's political utopia, Manley signifies her text's dystopian nature as neither a political idyll nor a philosophical treatise by inserting an extra 'a' into her *Atalantis*, perhaps to denote its alternate view. Spelling in the period was still unstable, but Manley's is a clear allusion to the Arcadian 'huntress' *Atalanta*, of classical Greek mythology, 'whose husband was her cousin';¹⁶ an unmistakable allegory of herself. She could have identified with and drawn strength from this courageous and fiercely independent amazon-like woman, the would-be 'Argonaut', who killed two men when they attempted to rape her. To avoid marriage *Atalanta* challenged all suitors to a race, with herself the prize. If they lost, they would lose their lives. Fleet of foot, she outran them all, even when she was loaded down with armour and they ran naked. That was, until she was seduced by her wily cousin, *Melanion* who threw three enchanted golden apples in her path. *Atalanta's* suitors all risked entering her race of life and death. Only one contender won her hand and thereby retained his life.¹⁷ Through this one letter she added political and personal meaning to her text, alluding not only to Bacon's text and its elements of parallel themes, but also to her personal story.

She also alludes to *Atalanta's* race of life in her Dedication to 'His Grace, Henry, Duke of Beaufort', in the first volume of her *New Atalantis*:

But as he who enters not the List, can never pretend to win the Race, this Attempt, how daz'ling soever, had never been mine, without a proportionate degree of Admiration for those Heroic Qualities conspicuous in Your Grace[.]¹⁸

¹⁶ Jenny March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Cassell, London, 1999, reprint. 2000, p 75; cf. published subsequent to writing this passage, Carole Sargent, 'Why Ovid's Atalanta (and not Bacon's *New Atlantis*) was the source of Manley's title, *The New Atalantis*,' *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 65(2), pp 229-233, © The Author(s), Oxford University Press, 2018. Sargent argues that Manley was heavily influenced by 'Dryden's interpretations of [Ovid's] *Metamorphoses* that appeared in Tonson's *Examen Poeticum* (1693) and Dryden's own *Fables Ancient and Modern*.

¹⁷ March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 75.

¹⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, Dedication, p ii.

Again addressed to Beaufort, in her Dedication to her second volume, cited above, she drew from Dryden's Dedication to his translation of *Juvenal* to establish the form of her satire and outline the premise of her work, that 'most essential' and the very Soul of Satire, is scourging of Vice and Exhortation of Virtue', and that 'Tis an Action of Virtue to make Examples of vicious Men' and is 'the Poet's Office to perform.¹⁹ This Juvenalian form of satire, is Manley's chosen function for her text. The task she set herself was to 'reform' or 'mend' her 'vicious Age'; viewed as such through her Tory ideological lens. She did however enjoy some personal 'Revenge'. Through all these signifiers, she establishes her credentials by indicating her knowledge of earlier works and literary techniques. She weaves multiple layers of meaning through her text, showing that along with its political present there is a deep historical past, as we can see through acquainting ourselves with some of the major characters in the narrative.

Manley obfuscated her authorship with a fictitious claim that the text is a translation of an ancient text that has gone through several hands and cultures over the centuries. She then set her scene and her partisan allegiance by using earlier historical references to establish the preceding time and political events that had shaped their time, but also her own. Her opening historical character is identified in the Key as the Queen of Bohemia: Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I (1566–1625) and sister to Charles I. In 1613 she married Frederick Elector Palatine (1596–1632), elected Frederick V of Bohemia in 1619 but deposed within a year.²⁰

There was an Emperor [James I] who gave life to a Daughter, born a Master-piece of *Nature* for *Beauty*, *Virtues* and *Sorrows*. She was marry'd to a Neighbouring Prince, who had more *Ambition* than *Success*: ... [she was] a *Miracle* of suffering-Goodness, wander'd with her wretched Children from *Territory* to *Territory*; and at length refug'd in the *Court* where she was born.²¹

¹⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

²⁰ Nadine Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II, 1632-1642, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p 1122; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 309nn 22, 23, 30.

²¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 5.

Queen of Bohemia for only one year, Elizabeth became known as ‘the winter Queen,’ characterised as such in literature for her brief reign and forty years in exile. Manley describes her as ‘a Miracle of suffering Goodness,’ who spent years in exile, fighting for her son’s rights as heir to the Electorate of the Palatine.²² Manley directs her view next to Elizabeth’s daughter, her twelfth child, Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover (1630–1714), the nearest Protestant heir in Britain’s Royal hereditary line. By her allusion to the Hanoverian succession Manley could be attempting to dissociate herself from the Jacobite tendency among Tories, cleverly obfuscating any insinuation of adherence even while she dedicates her text to the High Tory second Duke of Beaufort.

Having introduced the Electress Sophia, Manley then frames her narrative with a fictitious character, the ‘Prince in want of Royal education’. On meeting her mother *Virtue*, *Astrea* explains her task:

... she dy’d in Exile, the young Prince descended from her, born indeed with generous Inclinations, is in danger of suffering under the greatest of Misfortunes, the want of Royal Education; ... In this Task I have undertaken, I have thought it necessary to visit this lower Globe, where all the Arts and Virtues are profess’d with more Ostentation, than in the *Lunary*; with my own Eyes to see the Change of Manners, that I may the better regulate his. ... I will go to the Courts, where *Justice* is profess’d, to view the Magistrate, who presumes to hold the Scales in my name, to see how remote their Profession is from their Practice; ... the better to teach my young *Prince* how to avoid them, and accomplish him.²³

The identity of Manley’s ‘prince’, if she is alluding to an actual person at all, has been speculated by many scholars but remains unresolved.²⁴ The most obvious suspect, named in the *New Atalantis Keys*, is the ‘Prince of Hanover’.²⁵ In her narrative, he had ‘descended from the Beautifullest of her Daughters’, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. This is clearly Georg Ludwig of Hanover, who became George I (1660–1727). Carnell sees this reference to a Hanoverian prince as Manley framing her ‘tableau of gossip and vice in London through the conceit of a future

²² Akkerman, ed., *Corr. Elizabeth Stuart*, Vol. II, p 1; [Manley], *NA*, I, p 6.

²³ [Manley], *New Atalantis*, First Vol, pp 7-9.

²⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 169-170; Herman, *Business*, p 77; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, pp 7, 270n17; Bannet, “‘Secret History’: Or, Talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie”, p 386.

²⁵ Anonymous, *The Key to Atalantis Part 1*, no publishing details.

succession.²⁶ A prince needing education also provides a convenient framing device to her narrative and gives context to *Astrea's* and *Virtue's* voyeuristic wanderings around London. As an imagined character, Manley's 'prince' provided a further example to justify her claim to her inquisitors at her interrogation that her text was entirely her own imaginings.

A second suspect is Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, who died in October 1708, after Manley had begun writing *New Atalantis*. It was already certain that Anne would not provide an heir. Her only child to survive past infancy, William, Duke of Gloucester, had died in 1700, 'a few days after his eleventh birthday', seven months after Anne's seventeenth and last pregnancy failed.²⁷ In 1701, before Anne ascended the throne, parliament passed an Act of Succession that nominated 'the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover', and 'the heirs of her body', to succeed Anne to the Kingdoms of England and Ireland.²⁸ Even with this legislation passed, the succession continued to be a subject of contention, expressed in poems and pamphlets, of both praise and propaganda.²⁹ There were others who believed themselves or their offspring to be more entitled. When the Jacobite court at St Germain heard about Gloucester's death, they were 'laying wagers' that they would 'be called home by Christmas.'³⁰ A third possibility is James II's son, James Francis Edward, the 'pretender Prince of Wales', who was then twelve years old. An invitation to return as King was extended to him – in secret – but with the condition he convert to the Protestant faith. This could not be agreed to while in his

²⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 169.

²⁷ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 201, 239-244.

²⁸ Andrew C. Thompson, 'The Hanoverian succession in British and European politics, c.1700–1720', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/theme/106970, accessed 5 Aug 2014; cf. G. C. Gibbs, 'George I (1660–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/10538, accessed 25 June 2017: 'when Sophia ... died on 8 June 1714, ... Georg Ludwig of Hanover became Anne's direct heir, and the immediate beneficiary of these measures (with parliament's support).'] On 21 June 1714 Queen Anne issued 'a proclamation offering a reward to anyone who apprehended and brought to Justice James Francis Edward Stuart (the Pretender) in case he landed or attempted to land in Great Britain or Ireland)']

²⁹ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 242-247, 258-268.

³⁰ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 262.

minority. Neither did he agree to recant his Catholic faith in his maturity following Queen Anne's death in 1714.³¹

In 1701 'an anonymous pamphlet was published': *The Succession to the Crown of England Considered*. Its authorship was attributed at the time to be the writer of *The True Born Englishman*, later revealed to be Daniel Defoe.³² As Winn suggests, Defoe wrote 'in his characteristically blunt style' that the "Death of the Duke of Gloucester, ... may very justly be accounted a Misfortune to the Nation, ... By putting us to the trouble of looking about the World for a Successor".³³ In this pamphlet:

Defoe carefully lists all of those with claims to the throne, beginning with Anne's first cousin Anne-Maria [Duchess of Savoy] (1669–1728), with whom Anne had shared a nursery during her childhood visit to France.³⁴

Within a month of Defoe's pamphlet appearing the Duchess of Savoy, wife of Victor Amadeus II (1666–1732), 'dispatched a formal message to Parliament arguing her case.'³⁵ She 'declared her title "indisputable".'³⁶ It was also rumoured that she 'might allow her infant son, the Prince of Piedmont, to come to England and be reared as a Protestant, thus qualifying him for the crown.'³⁷ This prince, mentioned as early as Trevelyan,³⁸ is a fourth suspect who aligns closest to Manley's imaginative portrayal of her prince. In drawing on this succession controversy for her prince as a framing device, Manley could also be alluding to the Marlboroughs' attempts to be the power behind the throne. It was clear even in 1703 that Anne would not provide an heir. When in June that year, Anne 'told Sarah she yearned for "the inexpressible blessing of another child,"' as Somerset cites, 'Sarah had suggested it would be sensible to bring over a young prince from Hanover so that he could

³¹ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 262-63, 620, 623; cf. Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 507-08, 540-41; cf. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people* pp 39, 147-48.

³² Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 261, 694n36.

³³ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 261.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 263.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Trevelyan, 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession', *England Under Queen Anne*, Vol. 3, pp 213-14.

learn more about the kingdom he would one day rule.’ This had upset Anne so much that she retorted, “nobody of her age and who might have children would do that”.³⁹

Concern about Anne’s succession continued to reverberate through the British populace. Hope that she would provide an heir was still being expressed in 1705:

In her brave offspring still she’ll live,
Nor must she bless our age alone;
But to succeeding ages give,
Heirs to her virtues, and the throne.⁴⁰

This literary and political controversy that a prince waited in the wings to succeed Anne, could have given Manley the contextual reason for her imagined divinities, *Astrea* and *Virtue*, to wander unseen the streets of London. This might not have been merely a plot-device. She could also have been offering homage to Anne’s mourned son, the queen’s longest surviving child and heir, alluding to his spirit living on to guide the nation for whom he should have been king. Having established this historical context, Manley continues, drawing many of her anecdotes from events that took place in the earlier years from the 1688 Revolution and joint reign of William III and Mary II (1662–1694) that led to and helped shape her own. She weaves her narrative stealthily but not chronologically through the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III and Mary II to Anne’s, setting her tales in the former reigns as analogy to actions in her own.

Revealing Manley’s characters: the people, politics and vice

A secret group of seven, political and religious *Principal Lords*, as Manley named them,⁴¹ otherwise referred to as the ‘Immortal Seven’, signed a letter of invitation that was hand-delivered by others to stadtholder, William of Orange, husband of James’s eldest daughter Mary. Until the birth of her stepbrother, she was next in line to England’s throne. The signatories were William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire; Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby,

³⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 181, 560n19: citing [BL] Add. 61416f93 and Add. 61418f164.

⁴⁰ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 261: anonymous poet, Winn suggests, possibly ‘a student celebrating Anne’s visit to Cambridge in April 1705’.

⁴¹ Shrewsbury is discussed further in *NA*, I, pp 135-42 and *NA*, II, pp 119-140, 250.

later Duke of Leeds (1632–1712); Charles Talbot, twelfth Earl, later Duke of Shrewsbury; Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney (1641–1704); Henry Compton, Bishop of London (c. 1631–1713); Edward Russell, Earl of Orford (1652–1727) and Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough (1650–1721). Manley mentions these *Principal Lords of Atalantis*, only once collectively who, ‘in concert sent to Prince *Henriquez* [William of Orange] to invite him over to their Relief, from Oppression and *holy Fears* of Slavery.’⁴² Other than William Cavendish, her earlier patron discussed in the previous chapter, only one of the group receives specific attention from her, and in both volumes: Shrewsbury, elevated to Duke by William III in 1694. He was named by Manley, *Prince of Sira*, whose ‘Employment’ with Queen Anne, ‘gave him Audience when he pleas’d[.]’⁴³ Perhaps it was well-known, otherwise Manley had been told that Anne felt fondness for the ‘charming’ Duke.⁴⁴

Three commanders of the fleet are the first contemporary ‘persons of quality’ Manley selects for ridicule in *New Atalantis*.⁴⁵ Her intent is to highlight naval mismanagement and corruption under Whig administration in her own period, by portraying misconduct in their duties and in their private lives in previous decades that had a basis of truth. The first was Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torrington (1648–1716), who delivered the invitation to William of Orange. He was master of the robes at James’s coronation but later dismissed.⁴⁶ He is ‘that old seignior’, stretch’d at his full length upon the Crimson-Damask Couch[.] That Youth he seem’d so fond of, was no other than a Woman so disguis’d’:

The Admiral, careless of Glory, or the preservation of that Renown he formerly had acquired, forgetful of his Nation’s Interest, that was intrusted into Hands so feeble, forbid ’em to advance, and so lost a considerable opportunity of taking or burning most of the Enemies Ships, and suffer’d ’em to make off with the reputation of Victory.⁴⁷

⁴² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 41.

⁴³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 135.

⁴⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 408-09.

⁴⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 12-14.

⁴⁶ John B. Hattendorf, ‘Herbert, Arthur, earl of Torrington (1648–1716)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13017, accessed 6 March 2016].

⁴⁷ [Manley] *NA*, I, p 12.

Torrington had commanded the battle at Beachy Head, fought in the early hours of 30 June 1690 that ended in defeat and retreat. He was accused of ‘base treachery or cowardice’, court martialled but, having argued lack of adequate resources, was acquitted. He ‘always voted with the court (Whigs) during the reign of Anne’. Near ‘the end of his life, he was described as “very fat”, ... abandoned to luxury and vice’.⁴⁸ ‘In March 1687’ when James II ‘pressed Herbert to agree to his proposal ... to repeal the Test Act of 1673,’ Herbert answered the king very plainly that he could not do it either in honour nor conscience. The king said he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience.⁴⁹

In July 1688 Herbert sailed to join William of Orange, ‘disguised as a common sailor’, carrying ‘the invitation for William to come to England as well as the news that the seven bishops had just been acquitted.’⁵⁰

Manley then shifts her divinities’ gaze to Peregrine Osborne, second Duke of Leeds, Marquis of Carmarthen (1658–1729). He is the ‘eminent Commander’ to whom the ‘Virgin Daughters’ at every port ‘are left an easy conquest’:

Our young Commander, more inconstant than the Element on which he presides, makes every one of these guilty Meetings subservient to the gratifying a fresh Inclination. The destin’d Damsel, at the breaking up of the Assembly is conducted by him to the place of her own abode; he is all the while protesting his never-dying Passion, slips in, and goes up to her Chamber with her. She dares make no noise, for fear of awaking her Parents; he improves the Hint, takes advantage of the silent opportunity, swears that he’ll marry her; which the credulous Fair easily believes, because he has already two Wives, and does not know but he may as well have toleration to increase them to two hundred; and, without more difficulty, is robb’d of her Honour, and reputation of Honour.⁵¹

Named Marquis of Carmarthen in the key, he was Viscount Dumblane in 1688 when he carried letters to William of Orange from his father, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, later Duke of Leeds. Carmarthen was with William when he landed at Torbay.⁵²

⁴⁸ Hattendorf, ‘Herbert, Arthur, earl of Torrington (1648–1716)’, *ODNB*: Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham accused him of base treachery, John Macky, *Memoir of the Secret Service*, p 78 described him as very fat and Gilbert Burnet (History) that he was ‘abandoned to luxury and vice.

⁴⁹ Hattendorf, ‘Herbert, Arthur, earl of Torrington (1648–1716)’, *ODNB*: citing Burnet’s *History*, 1.428.

⁵⁰ Hattendorf, ‘Herbert, Arthur, earl of Torrington (1648–1716)’, *ODNB*.

⁵¹ [Manley] *NA*, I, pp 13-14.

⁵² Basil Morgan, ‘Osborne, Peregrine, second duke of Leeds (*hap.* 1659, *d.* 1729)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/20879>, accessed 10 April 2015].

The third mariner Manley targets is James Berkeley (1680–1736), named Lord Dursley in the Key, who became third Earl of Berkeley after the death of his father, Charles Berkeley, second Earl of Berkeley (1649–1710).⁵³ His mother was Elizabeth *née* Noel, aunt of Rachel Noel who, in 1706 married Henry second Duke of Beaufort, Berkeleys' nearest neighbour.

That very handsom [*sic*] Commander, [who] has lately taken a Girl from the Opera: She it was that sat upon the Eminence on his right Hand. ... He has been what this Age calls it, a fortunate Man among the Ladies; they tell a great many pleasant Stories of him; pleasant I mean to the Ears of the Vicious.⁵⁴

In 1688 Dursley was only eight years-old, so therefore not involved in the Revolution. He rose to captain in the fleet at age twenty-one, by then already MP of Gloucester. In 1708 he was 'raised to flag rank as vice-admiral of the red at the age of twenty-eight.'⁵⁵ The girl from the Opera is the actress 'Mrs Mountford' (Susanna, 1690–1720).⁵⁶ Swift referred to Dursley as a 'young rake'.⁵⁷ Although the Berkeleys were Tory, they and the Beauforts were political rivals.⁵⁸ Manley ends this exposé of Whig corruption in naval ranks through *Virtue's* moralising reflection on the excess and debauchery, the commanders 'waste the time, not in improving Conversation.'⁵⁹ She highlights the dangers mariners face daily at sea:

Tempests, or Thunder, by Cannon, or Destruction ... The Diseases ... thro' unwholesome Food, ... their Contempt of Death, ... all ought to have an equal share in what they have equally purchas'd, at the expence of their Blood, the Commanders appropriate as well the Glory, as the Purchase.⁶⁰

She might be remembering her brother Francis, captain of a non-combat vessel, killed in battle against the French in 1693 while 'assigned to protect the mackerel fishery'.⁶¹

Perhaps she thought they had been given little support of provisions. *Virtue* reflects

⁵³ John B. Hattendorf, 'Berkeley, James, third earl of Berkeley (1680–1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/2216>, accessed 21 Jan 2016].

⁵⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 14.

⁵⁵ Hattendorf, 'Berkeley, James, third earl of Berkeley (1680–1736)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁶ 'Key to New Atalantis, Part I'; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 311n44: names her Susanna Mountford, (1690-1720) 'daughter of the comic actress', also Susanna Mountford (1666-1703).

⁵⁷ Hattendorf, 'Berkeley, James, third earl of Berkeley (1680–1736)', *ODNB: citing Swift, Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 143-44.

⁵⁸ Paley and Seaward, *Honour, Interest & Power*, p 328; McClain, *Beaufort*, p 207.

⁵⁹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 16.

⁶⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 15-16.

⁶¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 56.

however that there is now a ‘great good Man’ appointed as Lord High Admiral, following the death in 1708 of George Prince of Denmark (1653–1708). The moderate Tory, Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke, she forewarned, with the Whigs in power, was already at risk.⁶² Under intense pressure, he was removed in November 1709.⁶³

Having established her broad accusation of Whig corruption and vice, Manley begins her satirical campaign to undermine the power exerted by the Churchills, Godolphin and the Whig Junto. She does not intend her anecdotes to be interpreted as accurate depictions of a person’s actions. Instead they are innuendo based on known character traits and details still documented in secondary sources. Her primary target was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. In her first volume he was the fortunate but unfaithful *Count Fortunatus*, Manley’s pseudonym an ironic twist on his family’s motto, *Fidelis sed infortunatus* ‘faithful but unfortunate’.⁶⁴ She also alludes to the Renaissance play by Thomas Dekker *Old Fortunatus*,⁶⁵ in which its eponymous character’s avaricious nature, bore a striking similarity to Manley’s portrayal of Marlborough. The play also portrays three goddess characters contending with virtue and vice, contributing another layer to this perennially developing trope that Manley extends further for her parallel binary theme, but also for her indictment of Marlborough’s concern for fortune. *Virtue* is ‘exiled’ ... she ‘withers’, she ‘pines.’ *Vice* ‘flourishes,’ and ‘in glory shines.’ But that *Virtue* or *Vice* ‘Flourish or wither, *Fortune* cares not which.’⁶⁶ The two together provided Manley with the unmissable allusion with its delicious irony hinting to both his unfaithfulness to James II and the fortune he had amassed during Anne’s reign. He was ‘exalted’ in James of York’s ‘favour’.

⁶² Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 170-71.

⁶³ R. O. Bucholz, ‘Herbert, Thomas, eighth earl of Pembroke and fifth earl of Montgomery (1656/7–1733)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/13050, accessed 8 April 2017].

⁶⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 174; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 272n48; cf. Christopher Hibbert, *The Marlboroughs, John and Sarah Churchill, 1650-1744*, Viking, the Penguin Group, London, 2001, p 2: references this motto to his father, Sir Winston Churchill due to his losses during England’s Civil War. Hibbert gives the motto in Spanish, *Fiel Pero Desdichado*, which translates to ‘Faithful But Unhappy’.

⁶⁵ Thomas Dekker, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, 1600.

⁶⁶ Ernest Rhys, *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Dekker*, pp 288, 290, 292, 303, 313.

She reminds readers of his self-profiting betrayal of James during the Revolution with his response: ‘I, more faithful than fortunate can only wish, not expect a Destiny so Glorious’.⁶⁷ This is to be interpreted as an analogy to the Tories’ accusation that he and Godolphin were deliberately continuing the War of Spanish Succession for their personal gain. To diminish his prestige and sharpen her point that his actions showed his lack of integrity and greed, Manley taunted him through her goddess *Virtue* with satirical wit: ‘I never heard of him before; alas! What pity ‘tis, that a Person of his graceful Appearance should make no Application at all to Virtue!’⁶⁸ Manley sums up Godolphin’s character derisively as ‘the *greatest Genius* of his Age, with the least of it in his *Aspect*’.⁶⁹

With romantic flair and flounce she dramatises Marlborough’s affair with the Duchess of Cleveland when he was still a youth. The Duchess had been Charles II’s favourite and most favoured mistress, but her position at Court had long past as the king’s eye had moved to others much younger. At the height of her fame and favour, however, she had financed the young Churchill’s rise at court and place in the military. Manley portrays him abandoning the fortunate Duchess for the fortuneless but beguiling Sarah Jenyns:

The Dutchess De *L’inconstant*, *Sultanta*-Mistress to Sigismund the Second ... full of native Love and high Desire, for an Object so entirely New and Charming, she bid him [*Count Fortunatus*] attend her after the King’s *Couchee*, who that Night was to lie of his own side. ... The Dutchess was enchanted with the pleasers of her new and innocent Lover, a Lover whom she had made such, and who first sigh’d and felt, in favour of her, those aimable Disorders, and transporting Joys, that attend the possession of early Love; she presented him with an unlimited Bounty. ... six thousand Crowns for a Place in the Prince’s [of *Tameran*, James] Bed-chamber ... and procured him a rise in the Army[.] ... [But *Count Fortunatus*] fell passionately in love with young *Jeanitin* [Sarah], a Companion of his Sisters [Arabella Churchill, James’s mistress], and in the same Service about the Princess [Anne]. ... a young Girl then without Interest, or the appearance of any, Maid of Fortune, that was sent to Court ... but for the Count, who depended for most of his great Expençe upon the Dutchess, and to whom he ow’d all his Fortune, ’twas Ruin inevitable, ’twas Destruction bare-fac’d; yet Love, assisted by his ever propitious Fortune, carried him through⁷⁰

⁶⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 21, 24.

⁶⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 21.

⁶⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 113-14.

⁷⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 21-22, 23, 27.

The truth about the ending of his affair with Cleveland as documented by Hattendorf, does not correspond with Manley's account.⁷¹ Her purpose, however, is more for symbolic effect than truth, while she also takes this opportunity to ridicule the Duchess. Their affair was also satirised in *The Secret History of Queen Zarah*. Initially attributed to Manley, its writing style does not match her skill,⁷² but does match her message that Churchill was disloyal to James and politically unfaithful.⁷³ Manley establishes her point by mocking him through the voice of *Astrea*: 'Methinks I shudder with the dread or apprehension of the Count's Ingratitude! ... he was more beloved and trusted ... we shall find no Goodness in him that is Ungrateful, as we are sure to find but little Evil in the Grateful.' She continues, leaving her readers in no doubt that Churchill is her chief target with *Astrea's* remark:

let me mark him down the foremost in my Pocket-Book. I will claim an especial Audience of Jupiter, in relation to the particular good Fortune of the Favourite Count, and resolve to lead my Prince wide of the Road he has travell'd in.⁷⁴

Manley portrays his 'courage' as being more show than substance. His avarice is epitomised in her comment 'Excessive in nothing, but his love of Riches; whether Ambition lies smothered beneath, and that he has some distant Views, a depth of Design, which none has yet had Line enough to fathom.'⁷⁵

In her second volume Marlborough is the *Marquis de Caria*. Amid further layers of allusion, Manley focusses on Churchill's earlier betrayal of James II at the Revolution. Charles had elevated him to Baron Churchill, William III and Mary II created him Earl of Marlborough, Anne elevated him to Duke.⁷⁶ As in many of her tales, Manley is writing back to the past, but alluding to her present. Applying the title *Marquis* straddled the reality of these titles but also his prominence in events and royal affirmation throughout.

⁷¹ Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

⁷² Downie, 'What if Delarivier Manley did *Not* write *Queen Zarah*? pp 261-263; Herman, *Business*, pp 16, 63-65.

⁷³ [Anon], *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, pp 7-85 *passim*; cf. Ophelia Field, *The Favourite*, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Sceptre, London, 2002, p 17-18, 477nn39,40.

⁷⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 25.

⁷⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 26-27.

⁷⁶ Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

Within the overlaying conceit of Anne's succession, Manley represents James as the female *Princess Ormia*; not for his cowardice in his flight to exile, Carnell suggests, but again as allegory to the succession, replacing the religious context with one of gender.⁷⁷

Still the *Princess Ormia* [James] pursu'd her Design, which so alarm'd the *Duke of Venice*, [William of Orange], that he brought his Dutchess [Mary] over with him to Utopia [England], by her [Mary] Presence to put a stop to her Mother's [James] Proceedings. ... Most of the discontented flock'd to him [William]; their Numbers were so great, that he quickly form'd an Army capable of making a stand, till the Estates could be assembled, and Methods found to secure the Succession, according to the known Laws of Utopia. / The *Princess Ormia* justly alarm'd, to hear not only of the Number, but Quality of the Deserters; consulted with those nearest to her Heart, and most in her Confidence. No Courier, no Hour arriv'd, but brought some fatal Addition to her Misfortunes. She saw her Error, but she saw it when it was too late: She would have recover'd those false mistaken Steps, she had made in the Administration; but alas! What avail'd that Recovery? ... The Hands and Hearts of the People were every way devoted to him [William]. The *Marquis de Caria* [Churchill] advis'd her [James] to fly, till the Reign of some more propitious Star.⁷⁸

In the Revolution it was largely Godolphin who encouraged James to flee into exile.⁷⁹

Churchill had demonstrated the same message by deserting while James slept.⁸⁰ Godolphin had trod a careful middle road between James and William but ultimately turned to the protestant Dutchman as England's better hope.⁸¹ Manley depicts Godolphin's 'Favourite Diversion' as 'gaming', perhaps alluding to him choosing whichever political hand offered the better reward: *Count Biron* 'would show the World, that even in so great a Man it is impossible for *Virtue* to subsist without the relay of *Vice*.⁸²

Ingratitude and betrayal of oath are two themes of Manley's accusation against Marlborough, adding to avarice and a lust for power. As James II's most trusted military officer who had saved his life in an earlier campaign, his defection alarmed James deeply:

The *Marquis*, whom she [*Princess Ormia*, James] had ever treated with so tender a Confidence; the *Marquis*, who by that very Confidence had it so often in his Power to have remonstrated to her the Errors she was pursuing, and which wou'd possibly have prevented 'em. She remain'd astonish'd! Speechless! Full of Horror and Diffidence! She now thought it time to fly for Safety, for Life! Whom cou'd she trust?⁸³

⁷⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 176.

⁷⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 134-35.

⁷⁹ Roy A. Sundstrom, 'Godolphin, Sidney, first earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10882>, accessed 3 June 2014].

⁸⁰ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 99; Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

⁸¹ Sundstrom, 'Godolphin, Sidney, first earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)', *ODNB*.

⁸² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 42.

⁸³ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 140-41.

James returned to London shattered by the sheer number of desertions by previously loyal influential peers. He was further alarmed, but not surprised, to discover that even his daughter, Princess Anne, had fled.⁸⁴ He had anticipated the possibility and sent word ahead that she be confined to her rooms, but his orders were poorly heeded.⁸⁵ Manley signifies the succession through James's disputed son, who became the innocent cause but also the symbol of his father's downfall. At the time of writing, James Francis Edward, the Pretender, was considered by some a contender to succeed Anne. To Jacobites he was James III, the true heir to Britain's throne:

She [*Princess Ormia*, James] imparted her Designs to none of any Figure; but at the fall of Night, ordering her young Son to be brought her; with only his Nurse and one under Servant, she convey'd her self thro' the Gardens to the River side, ... they saw her excessively griev'd; she wept incessantly; holding her helpless Babe in her Arms, the Tears ran from her Eyes upon his Face... .⁸⁶

Manley dramatises the depth of despair that was the tragedy of James's collapsing reign.

Throughout her narrative, Manley's portrayal of these events spins creatively on themes of betrayal and succession.

It is not surprising that James conceded defeat with very little fight, considering the number of formerly loyal subjects who had deserted him. His military officers' fears that he planned to replace them with Catholics was great and not unfounded.⁸⁷ As Catholics counted only two to three per cent of the population,⁸⁸ it is doubtful that this could have been achieved to any great extent. He realised too late how extensively he had eroded his support base and destabilised his rule.⁸⁹ What convinced him most was the discovery of who the deserters were, so many of them his most trusted peers, officers, bishops, even family.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 103.

⁸⁵ Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 141.

⁸⁷ Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁸ Peter Ackroyd, *Rebellion: The History of England from James I to the Glorious Revolution*, Thomas Dunne Books, St Martin's Griffin, New York, 2014, p 459.

⁸⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 99.

⁹⁰ W. A. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633–1701)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/14593>, accessed 31 July 2017 4 April 2013].

William landed at Torbay on 5 November [1688]. Most county militias provided little resistance; some joined the rebellion under the command of their former leaders. A formerly staunch Tory, John Granville, earl of Bath, handed over to William the west country militia together with Plymouth Castle and harbour. The sacked lord lieutenant of Oxfordshire, James Bertie, earl of Abingdon, led a company to join William's invading army, while his replacement, Edward Henry Lee, earl of Lichfield, struggled to raise any forces for the king.⁹¹

Just who turned against James must have been well known. Manley points out perceptively however, through the 'voice' of the *Marquis de Caria* (Marlborough) that the motivations of many, but in particular Marlborough, were more self-serving than altruistic in their efforts toward the religious 'greater good' of the nation:

[*Marquis*]: Does not the *Princess* [*Ormia*, James] totter in the Throne? And how shall we be able to Stand? I so plainly perceive her fall, that for my part I have determin'd with my self this very Hour to abandon her Mistakes and Her, and go over to the Duke. ... She is ruin'd! She is sinking! Will not she crush us in her Fall? If we stay longer, 'till the Duke [William] have no occasion for us, of what Merit will be our Attempt? I have in vain indeavour'd to make her secure her Person by Flight.⁹²

In portraying here that Marlborough and Godolphin had convinced Anne to desert her father in the Revolution, Manley is alluding also to their growing Whig support.

The reality of Princess Anne's departure from London with Sarah was only a little different to Manley's imagined portrayal. They did leave together but were accompanied in the coach to Nottingham by others who had Anne's welfare in their hands and also had sided with William.⁹³ Barbara Berkeley, Viscountess Fitzhardinge (*d.*1708) was another, Anne's only lady in waiting privy to their plan. Her husband Colonel John Berkeley, Viscount Fitzhardinge (1650–1712), Princess Anne's Master of Horse, had also deserted James with Churchill. His family was 'one of the greatest landowners in eastern Somerset.'⁹⁴ He was Manley's *Lord Giraldo*, 'a Man of Wit and Pleasant Conversation' ... who 'condemned a Book for the Author as if Genius or Expression were always the same'.⁹⁵ She accuses him of

⁹¹ Paley and Seaward, eds., *Honour, Interest & Power*, pp 158-59.

⁹² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 137.

⁹³ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 163; Andrew M. Coleby, 'Compton, Henry (1631/2–1713)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/6032>, accessed 16 July 2017].

⁹⁴ Andrew Warmington, 'Berkeley, Charles, second Viscount Fitzhardinge of Berehaven (1599–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/66517>, accessed 9 Jan 2017].

⁹⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 207.

not reading the books he ‘condemned’. Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Grafton (1663–1690), the natural son of Charles II and Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, therefore James’s nephew, also deserted with Churchill: ‘See that beautiful Gentleman at Loll in the next Chariot, born from as beautiful a Mother!, he has made a dreadful Havock among the Ladies.’⁹⁶ The three took with them ‘some 400 officers and men.’⁹⁷ It was a well-planned and successfully executed rout, entirely treasonous but believed to be justified.

Henry Compton, Bishop of London and Anne’s spiritual advisor had also been dismissed for speaking out against James II’s plan to repeal the Test Act.⁹⁸ He offered his support to the seven bishops, who included William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (1617–1693). They were all sent to the Tower for refusing to read James’s declaration of indulgence in their churches in 1688.⁹⁹ All were acquitted on 30 June 1688. Sancroft returned his allegiance to the exiled James and was deprived of his clerical office by Queen Mary on 1 February 1690. Along with ‘five bishops and about 400 clergy in England’, their ‘deprivation, and replacement by Williamite bishops, gave rise to the nonjuring schism, which weakened still further a church that had already lost its legal monopoly of national religion by the passage of the 1689 Toleration Act. An ‘ardent Jacobite’, Sancroft remained ‘true to his passive principles’, refusing ‘to be drawn into political conspiracy.’¹⁰⁰ James II’s ‘Declaration of Indulgence’ had signalled further threats to England’s established church, but Compton’s removal had distressed Princess Anne who relied on his spiritual support. This was a contributing factor to her decision to desert her father.¹⁰¹ James’s eldest daughter

⁹⁶ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 171.

⁹⁷ Paula Watson and Andrew A. Hanham, BERKELEY, John, 4th Visct. Fitzhardinge [I] (1650-1712), of Bruton, Som. and Pall Mall, Westminster, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/berkeley-john-1650-1712>; Hattendorf, ‘Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁸ Winn, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts*, p 118.

⁹⁹ Andrew M. Coleby, ‘Compton, Henry (1631/2–1713)’, *ODNB*; Ackroyd, *Rebellion*, pp 461-63.

¹⁰⁰ Beddard, R. A. P. J. "Sancroft, William (1617–1693), archbishop of Canterbury and nonjuror." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press. Date of access 27 Feb. 2019, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24610> .

¹⁰¹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 95-102.

Mary was a willing supporter of her husband's landing on 5 November. As Manley described perceptively, with her usual flair for irony:

The Duke [William of Orange] was concern'd in the Interests of a People, whom one Day he pretended to govern in Right of his *Dutchess*, and therefore was resolv'd to pursue them though it even cost him the Irregularity of assuming a Crown before it was his turn to wear it. The very Soldier, who as it has been remark'd, us'd to have no *Law*, no *Religion*, but *Pay* and *Plunder*, now pretended to Conscience and Remorse, and would not fight against *Law* and *Conscience*; they deserted in great Numbers, notwithstanding, all their Princess's [James's] Endeavours, in repeated Assurances of desisting from the intended Innovation.¹⁰²

James was soon to discover how few formerly loyal subjects remained that he had previously relied on. When he did realise, his reversals of policy came too late.

Marlborough and Prince George of Denmark had assured James of their steadfast loyalty up to their defections, leaving notes for him to find after their departure to justify the 'moral' necessity of their decision to defect.¹⁰³ Only later would James learn that Anne had written to William the week before this to advise him that her husband, Prince George, would defect to join his side.¹⁰⁴ James did not know she had 'resolved to join the Prince of Orange at least three months before he actually invaded England.'¹⁰⁵ Manley sharpens Churchill's betrayal with his expression of devotion. In the words she gave the *Marquis de Caria* to avow, can be heard Marlborough's later assurances of fidelity to Anne:

This Minute would I offer my devoted Head to secure my Divine Princess [James] in her Rights of Birth and Sovereignty, a grateful Glorious Sacrifice. Farewel [*sic*], Madam, permit me to kiss your Royal Hand, as an Omen of that good Fortune, I am going in search of: Before to morrow Night, expect to hear of some Action, worthy of him you have so advantageously distinguish'd.¹⁰⁶

Although William benefited from their turns of allegiance, he did not fully trust them. They had turned once, they could again. Like many others, it was not many years before all three found themselves off-side from the king they had supported. Before this however, Churchill

¹⁰² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 135.

¹⁰³ W. A. Speck, 'George, prince of Denmark and duke of Cumberland (1653–1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/10543>, accessed 19 Oct 2017]; Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁴ Speck, 'George, prince of Denmark and duke of Cumberland (1653–1708)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Gregg, 'Anne (1665–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, Jan 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/560>, accessed 4 April 2013].

¹⁰⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 136–37.

had been raised to Earl of Marlborough and Prince George to the English titles of ‘Baron of Ockingham, Earl of Kendal, and Duke of Cumberland.’¹⁰⁷ On William III’s death Manley describes him as ‘applauded by most, yet condemn’d of many[.]’¹⁰⁸

In volume one Manley segued her narrative from *Count Fortunatus*’s (Churchill’s) affair with *the Dutchess De L’inconstant* (Cleveland) to his marriage to *Jeanatine* (Sarah) who would become the ‘Favourite Countess’.¹⁰⁹ She moved through the rebellion of *Cæsario* (Monmouth) ‘who pretended to succeed’, to *the Prince of Tameran* (James) who was crowned ‘with the Fears, more than Acclamations of the People’:

There was no Honours that the *Count* and his Sister [Arabella Churchill, James’s mistress] might not expect in this new Reign; but he immediately saw that the Monarch had not the Hearts of his Subjects; he was a bigoted Christian, a different Religion from that Established in Atalantis.¹¹⁰

Manley mocks these ‘Favourites’ and the gains they made from their respective monarchs: ‘The Count dreaded falling (as a Favourite) a Sacrifice to the incens’d Rabble.’¹¹¹ She later acknowledges that they lost little and gained vastly more from each succeeding monarch, depicting *Astrea* asking *Lady Intelligence*, ‘pray what will become of the late Favourites in this new Reign [Anne’s]’. *Lady Intelligence* replies, ‘Why they will be Favourites still; it is not as in former Times, when down go the Kings, down go the Favourites.’¹¹²

Between these two mocking reflections Manley elides the Favourites of these two eras to allude to this early Williamite period being the forerunner of the Whig corruptions in her own. In one sentence she moves from William III’s ‘Favourite’, William Bentinck, Earl of Portland (1649–1709), to Anne’s Favourite, *Count Fortunatus*:

[a]fter this the young Favourite (tho’ formerly but of his Pleasures) became his first Minister ... He it was that encourag’d *Count Fortunatus*, and the Disaffected Lords of *Atalantis*, to expel their Bigotted Monarch.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Speck, ‘George, prince of Denmark and duke of Cumberland (1653–1708)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 86.

¹⁰⁹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 20–40.

¹¹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 41.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹¹² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 87.

¹¹³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 49.

She accuses Bentinck of gaining handsomely from his position of influence with William, just as she will accuse Marlborough too of gaining from Anne:

Now rais'd to be Duke and Peer, General of the Army, in possession of the Ear and Cabinet of the Prince, who we must henceforward (if we have occasion to speak of him) call King. He gave up himself to amass up Riches! His Ambition was not satisfied! He aim'd at something more! 'Twas Glorious to be a Sovereign Prince, tho' but of a Petty State!¹¹⁴

Marlborough's affair as a youth with Cleveland was consensual. Manley depicts Portland,

The Duke, seducing his young ward *Charlot*, who was named in the key 'Mrs. Howard,

Maid of Honour to Q. Mary. She is identified in secondary scholarship as Stuarda

Werburge Howard (c.1667–1706), daughter of the playwright James Howard (c.1640–

1669), grandson of the second Earl of Suffolk, and 'Charlotte Jemima Henrietta Maria

Boyle, alias Fitzroy (1650–1684), the natural daughter of Prince Charles when exiled in

France.'¹¹⁵ Manley gives the daughter her real mother's name. The orphaned Stuarda

became Portland's ward after Queen Mary died. Carnell suggests that the genesis of

Manley's tale was an erroneous report by Luttrell which 'many believed was true,' that

Bentinck had married Howard in 1692'.¹¹⁶ Manley uses her imagined tale of seduction and

betrayal to commence her accusations against the Whigs of private iniquities. 'Her Virtue

was becalm'd, or rather unapprehensive of him for an Invader. He press'd her Lips with

his, ...'.¹¹⁷ *The Countess* befriends *Charlot* and offers support with warning advice, but

then marries *the Duke*.¹¹⁸ Manley alludes to the known fact that in 1700 Bentinck married

Lady Berkeley *née* Temple (1672–1751), widow of John Berkeley, third Baron Berkeley of

Stratton, (1663–1697).¹¹⁹ Manley portrays her character 'the *Countess*', Lady Berkeley, as

friend and confidante, but ultimately, betrayer of *Charlot*, the young ward of *the Duke*:

We may be sure she often exclaim'd against *breach* of *Trust* and *Friendship* in the Countess, as well as Ingratitude and Faithlessness in the Duke. The remainder of her Life was one continu'd Scene of

¹¹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 50.

¹¹⁵ J.P. Vander Motten, 'Howard, James (c.1640–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/13918>, accessed 3 Feb 2017]; Carnell, *Selected Works*, II *NA*, p 320n144.

¹¹⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 178, 272n73; Luttrell, *State Affairs*, vol. 2, p 644.

¹¹⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 64.

¹¹⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 82.

¹¹⁹ Ballaster, ed., *DM NA*, p 275n100.

Horror, Sorrow, and Repentance. She dy'd a true Landmark, to warn all believing Virgins from shipwr[e]cking their Honour upon (that dangerous Coast of Rocks) the Vows and pretended Passion of Mankind.¹²⁰

The details of Manley's narrative in this longer anecdote than most are her usual mix of embellished elements of truth vague on details and chronological order. She bookends her first volume of *New Atalantis* with this tale of seduction and betrayal and another; a merging of two 'crimes', one real, perpetrated by William Cowper (1665–1723) and his brother Spencer (1670–1728). As Manley tells it, each story ended tragically for the young women involved; one a ward, the other a family friend, each tricked into believing the protestations of love expressed by the men they had trusted most. Manley was not very far from the truth. One was kept a mistress, believing she was his wife, the other lost her life.

William, Earl Cowper who she named *Hernando Volpone*, and Spencer Cowper who she named *Mosco the younger*, were of a powerful Whig family. Lady Mary Cowper, *née* Clavering (1685–1724) wrote contemptuously of Manley years later, no doubt motivated by Manley's scathing attack on her husband William.¹²¹ At the time Manley was writing, although not in the timeline she was writing about, he was Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (May 1707 to September 1710).¹²² Spencer was a noted lawyer and justice of the peace for his district.¹²³ Manley exploited rumours about William's affair with Elizabeth Culling she names *Louisa*, an 'orphan left in his care.'¹²⁴ She merged this with the factual case of Spencer Cowper, who was charged in 1699 with the murder of a Quaker friend, Sarah Stout (*Zara*), who was in love with him. He was married. Manley concluded volume one with these anecdotes, devoting the greatest number of pages to their crimes:

Hernando was indefatigable in his Pursuits, yet he would rather have had it in *Ambition* than *Love*; he did not care how easie he came by his Pleasure, nor how dearly he paid for 'em, ... *Madamoiselle Louisa* found nothing so obliging as her Guardian; whatever she requested was granted; whatever she but seem'd to wish, she enjoy'd; ... My Lady had instructed her in all that was necessary to make a young Maid set a value upon her Chastity, ... all Appearances were against him and yet, in sight of

¹²⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 82-83.

¹²¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 2, 132: citing Hertfordshire Archives, DE/P/F211.

¹²² Carnell, *Selected Works*, II, *NA*, p 352n449.

¹²³ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 213-246; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 132; also see p 138.

¹²⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 214; Carnell, *Selected Works*, II, *NA*, p 353n454.

Appearances, he resolv'd to proceed, and undermine that seemingly invincible Chastity. It would be a sort of triumph over his Wife, whom he hated, as well as over Louisa, whom he lov'd, ...¹²⁵

There was truth in Manley's assertions. William Cowper did keep Culling as his mistress, and she bore him two children. His wife Judith was not pleased but had to accept.¹²⁶ Adding to Manley's ire was the implication of bigamy in Cowper's relationship with Culling.¹²⁷

Manley follows this anecdote with an imagined account of his brother Spencer's affair with Sarah Stout that ended in her death. Manley then intertwines the two accounts and the two brothers' vice and crime, each embellished in salacious detail and ironic wit:

*Mosco (Hernando's Brother, much about the same pitch in Devotion, and very well match'd for their Morals) was engag'd in a sort of an Amour very like this, only the Lady seem'd rather to be the Aggressor: ... The young Creature took a fatal Passion for him which was not in her Power to conceal, ... the afflicted Zara ... perpetually talk'd of dying ... deplorably Melancholy, ... he ask'd her if they should take a Walk by the River-side?*¹²⁸

She uses both sons' crimes to not only ridicule the Cowper family but, with their political prominence, as a broader analogy to illustrate the breadth of corruptions to accuse the Whig elite as a whole. Lady Sarah Cowper, *née* Holled (1644–1720), the matriarch of the clan, wrote in her diary about the family's acute embarrassment over Spencer's highly publicised arrest and documented trial for the murder of Sarah Stout.¹²⁹ Lady Sarah poured into her diary her boredom and loneliness, and noted the family's sense of being under siege.¹³⁰ She had been treated contemptuously by her husband, also William Cowper (*bap.* 1627–1686). Manley portrayed him as *Volpone the Elder*, 'of the Party opposite to the Court; an old *Debauchee*, given to irregular Pleasures, not such as the Law of Nature seem to dictate.'¹³¹

¹²⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 215.

¹²⁶ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 227-28, 235-36; Anne Kugler, *Errant Plagiary: The Life and Writing of Lady Sarah Cowper, 1644-1720*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2002, pp 29-30, 226n63; Geoffrey Treasure, 'Cowper, William, first earl Cowper (1665–1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/6511>, accessed 7 Aug 2017]; Mark Knights, COWPER, William (1665-1723), of Hertford Castle and Colne Green, Hertingfordbury, Herts. and Ratling Court, Kent, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer [<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/cowper-william-1665-1723>].

¹²⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 226.

¹²⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 226-27, 230, 237, 238, 239.

¹²⁹ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, pp 36-46; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 179.

¹³⁰ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 45.

¹³¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 213.

As Anne Kugler described wittily: ‘... on April 11, 1664, Sarah Holled and William Cowper embarked on more than forty-two years of wedded misery.’¹³² Manley writes that:

After marrying Hernando to a Wife he hated, and Mosco to one that had been his own Mistress, he dy’d suddenly in the midst of his Excesses. ... he did not bestow a liberal Education upon his Son [Spencer], but bred him to the practice of the Law ... but *Hernando* had natural Parts, that surmounted all those Inconveniencies, together with a good paternal Estate, that his Father could not hinder him of.¹³³

Kugler’s biography written centuries later bears out Manley’s claims. Writing this as an analogy of Whig vice, for Manley to revisit Spencer’s case ten years after his trial would have refreshed the memories of the populace and the Cowper family’s rage. Spencer Cowper, a lawyer, spent around two months in the King’s Bench prison awaiting trial.¹³⁴ His three co-accused were soon freed on bail. The acute embarrassment his arrest and trial brought his powerful Whig family caused them to withdraw from their social circle, but also stand together ‘to present a united front to the public.’¹³⁵

Spencer Cowper’s social position ensured his acquittal.¹³⁶ The judge gave his verdict that Stout had committed suicide. The summing up of his trial, available online in *State Papers*, suggests that Spencer’s actions could have drawn a conviction.¹³⁷ Kugler describes the trial as a ‘travesty of judicial process’ that relied on little positive evidence, asserting that its presiding judge ‘hardly qualified as impartial.’¹³⁸ She cites Luttrell’s note on the trial, ‘it appearing ... in all probability she had drowned her self.’¹³⁹ Kugler misses

¹³² Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p. 1.

¹³³ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 213-14.

¹³⁴ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 44; David Lemmings, ‘Cowper, Spencer (1670–1728)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/6507>, accessed 16 Sept 2017]; Mark Knights, COWPER, Spencer (1669-1728), of Hertingfordbury Park, Herts.; Lincoln’s Inn; and Bridge House, St. Olave’s, Southwark *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/cowper-spencer-1669-1728> : Kugler states that Spencer Cowper was called to the bar in 1690, Lemmings (ODNB) and Knights (*History of Parliament*) record the date as 1693.

¹³⁵ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 44.

¹³⁶ cf. Paley and Seaward, *Honour, Interest and Power*, p 182.

¹³⁷ *State Trials, William III and Mary II*, 405: ‘The Trial of Spencer Cowper esq., Ellis Stephens, William Rogers, and John Marson, at Hertford Assizes, for the murder of Mrs. Sarah Stout’: 11 Wlm III, 1699, pp 1105-1250.

¹³⁸ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 38.

¹³⁹ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 38; Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 4, p 539.

Manley's irony entirely however, in her mocking imagined dramatisation of the events, stating that 'Zara "flounced herself with all her strength into the river".' Manley's ironic incredulity that even this could be decreed the woman's fault is palpable, but Kugler interprets this as Manley agreeing with the Judge that Sarah had committed suicide.¹⁴⁰ Neither did Sarah's mother accept the verdict.¹⁴¹ The official account of actions at the trial, as Manley mocks, suggested that Sarah Stout was a willing partner to her illicit affair with Spencer Cowper. So too was Elizabeth Culling. This may well have an autobiographical intent for Manley, perhaps paralleling Sarah Stout's naivety to her own. Both anecdotes also dramatise elements of her own experience of seduction, bigamy and betrayal.

Manley concludes volume one with no moralising denouement from her divinities but provides it herself. With her flair for ironic wit she acknowledges that *Hernando* 'made a Truce with Love, and apply'd himself more closely to Business[.]'¹⁴² Elizabeth Culling had died in 1703.¹⁴³ With incisive wit, Manley observes that he then married:

That Lady who last left the *Prado* [Lady Mary *née* Clavering] who had a considerable Fortune[.] She had the good fortune to fix, as well as to survive this wandering Star; though it must be own'd, That there are Follies like some Stains, that wear out of themselves, among which, Love is generally reckon'd to be one.¹⁴⁴

Manley again warns young girls not to be fooled, as she had been, by devious men. She used the acts of betrayal by male political elites against their female victims as an analogy to illustrate her broader theme of betrayal, both public and private. This again raises the question that ignited my research: why? Why would a penniless, powerless woman of colourful character, a social outcast, decide to risk her liberty, or even her life, by writing so salaciously about the most powerful people in the land and closest to the queen. Were there others equally powerful she was relying on for support and protection?

¹⁴⁰ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 222n87; [Manley] *NA*, I, p 243.

¹⁴¹ 'The case of Mrs. Mary Stout widow', no author or printer details provided, [London: s.n. [1699?].

¹⁴² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 246.

¹⁴³ Kugler, *Errant Plagiary*, p 67.

¹⁴⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 246; Knights, COWPER, William (1665-1723), of Hertford Castle and Colne Green, Hertingfordbury, Herts. and Ratling Court, Kent, *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

Chapter 6

New Atalantis, part two: the age of party

... you seem to expect from me an Impartial History. Her Vertues are her own, her Vices occasion'd by her Misfortunes; and yet as I have often heard her say, *If she had been a Man, she had been without Fault*: But the Charter of that Sex being much more confin'd than ours, what is not a Crime in Men is scandalous and unpardonable in Woman, as she her self has very well observ'd in divers Places, throughout her Writings. ... It is certain, considering that Disadvantage, she has the most easy Air that one can have; ...¹

In this passage, as discussed earlier, Manley processes the proto-feminist argument being waged by many women in her society. Anne's ascension as queen and her attempt to resist the domination of party, gave women the courage to challenge patriarchal domination in their lives. The small gains they made then assisted further advances achieved by successive generations. As Manley says in the context of her political writing, she had 'the courage to throw the first stone' into the partisan debate of England's political ferment.²

Karen O'Brien points out however, that 'the legal and economic status of women remained at best unchanged'.³ She contends that:

after the first decade of the eighteenth-century, debates about the place of women began to lose much of the sharp sense of political analogy that characterised those of the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries.⁴

Manley was one woman contributing to her society's discourse, leading on from Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (c.1623–1673), Aphra Behn and alongside Finch.

Another contemporary agitator was Mary Astell (1666–1731), an early feminist and a philosopher, who fought for the rights of women to education and provided a school for girls.⁵ Her friend Lady Mary Wortley Montagu *née* Pierrepont introduced the inoculation of children for smallpox into England in 1721, having witnessed this folk medicine in

¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 7-8.

² [Manley], *Rivella*, p 109.

³ Karen O'Brien, 'Woman's Place', *The History of British Women's Writing, 1690-1750*, Vol. 4, Ros Ballaster ed., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, 2013, p 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ruth Perry, 'Astell, Mary (1666–1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/814>, accessed 17 Feb 2014].

Constantinople. She did this against the backdrop of her society's vilification.⁶ Summing it up for all of them, Mary Astell opined that '[i]n truth women must be by far the stronger sex, psychologically, to be capable of so difficult a duty as submission.'⁷ She wrote to women on various feminist, political and religious themes.

Notwithstanding these promising signs, women were discouraged from participating in activities considered the domain of men. They were disenfranchised and disempowered by structural barriers imposed by rules of inheritance and ownership of land, insufficient education, or simply by stepping beyond the boundaries to earn their society's disapproval.⁸ There were some exceptions, Queen Anne being the exemplar but also the anomaly, whose royal birth ensured her an unrestricted space of hereditary right. A few influential women forced their right to create spaces of power for themselves, through strength of personality, astute determination or pressure of circumstance. They participated directly in the political process or agitated on the sidelines through their husbands. Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough achieved most, wielding power autonomously at the highest level of court politics. She profited grandly from her privileged position and grateful queen. Her cousin Abigail Masham also forged her own space, in the same close proximity to Anne at court, stepping into the privileged space Sarah abandoned. Masham was undemanding and solicitous of Anne's needs, but she also had a determined resolve to advance.⁹

Manley also sought autonomous power as a political propagandist and became arguably the first female journalist, disempowered by her society but nonetheless influential in its political discourse. She also controlled her public image, so as not to include in *New Atalantis* her relationship with the married but underhand barrister and

⁶ Isobel Grundy, 'Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley (*bap.* 1689, *d.* 1762)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/19029>, accessed 8 June 2013].

⁷ Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell*, pp 158, 320-323.

⁸ cf. Pat Rogers ed., *The Eighteenth Century*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1978, pp 28-29.

⁹ Frances Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?-1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/18261>, accessed 31 Jan 2014].

governor of Fleet Prison, John Tilly, for example. She avoided discussing it directly in *Rivella*, only revealing their involvement in the long running Bath–Albermarle trial.¹⁰ Neither did she mention three children she may have borne him.¹¹ Meanwhile, many of the seventy plus women appearing in Manley's *New Atalantis* had earned their place in print through private acts of impropriety, either by their own act of infidelity in marriage or being deceived into reputation-destroying conduct by the abuse of devious men. Through diverse layers of meaning and innuendo, Manley attempts to expose the many betrayals of men: of their monarch, marriage partner or vulnerable wards in their charge. Through this she exposes the plight of women: enduring unhappy marriages, some choosing adultery as the only way to gain agency in their lives, or young vulnerable wards seduced and betrayed by their powerful guardian Lords they were meant to trust.

The 'persons of quality' who Manley censures are portrayed parading at the 'Prado' with an ostentatious show of wealth that for some was merely affectation. The 'Prado' was her name for Hyde Park, between St James and Kensington Palaces:

Intell]: You are now, Ladies, very near Angela; but just at hand is the Prado, a Place eminent for what's either Illustrious or Conspicuous; here the Rich and the Fair, adorn'd in their most distinguishing Habits, come to take the Dust, under pretence of Air. If a Lady be new-married, and longs to shew her Equipage, no Place so proper as the Prado. A Beauty just come to Town, that has a mind to be a Toast, exposes herself first upon the Prado; the Gamester, after a lucky Run, from no Shoes, and a Coat out at Elbows, steps into a large well-built Coach with Pillars and Arches, glorious Horses, and Trappings, with rich Liveries, and where's the place so proper for Admiration as the Prado?¹²

Comically, these quality persons 'come to take the Dust, under pretence of Air.' In most cases it is the male characters and their conduct towards their female victims Manley used to illustrate her broader theme of their betrayal of the nation. Ultimately, this highlighted Whig corruption as she perceived it. Representing Whigs in private acts of immoral behaviour to imply a parallel with their public life was a leitmotif of Manley's narrative.

¹⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 64-108; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 2, 116-20, 132-35.

¹¹ Carnell, *Political Biography* p 132: citing Hertfordshire Archives, DE/P/F211, Carnell; 'Delarivier Manley's Possible Children by John Tilly', *Notes and Queries*, December 2007.

¹² [Manley] *NA*, I, pp 163-4.

A further irony is that these ‘Persons of Quality’, as she describes them in her title, have provided her with such rich fodder to work with, but she receives the blame for revealing it. Much of it was well-known gossip, related with her distinctive embellishment that Maynwaring described as ‘old, false and incredible scandal ... only fit to be laughed at.’¹³ The Whigs, however, were not laughing.

Queen Anne was exhausted by her attempt to avoid being ‘in the hands of party’ during the Whigs’ hold on power.¹⁴ Although a two-party system of Whig and Tory was developing at the time these labels simplify ideological complexity. These partisan labels ‘Whig’ and ‘Tory’ had their roots as terms of abuse in events of the previous century’s civil war, the former in Scotland and the latter in Ireland.¹⁵ Each adopted the abusive ‘Whig’ and ‘Tory’ as their political badge of allegiance. In the early 1700s, however, these partisan identities were still not so fixed, and adherence was fluid. There were many shades of both: court and country, old Whig and High Tory, Jacobite, Williamite, Hanoverian and whimsical, with each dividing on religious lines and political principle of personal or family choice in adherence. Holmes points out, while acknowledging this was the complex political reality during Anne’s reign, that all these shades are still only parts of the Whig and Tory whole.¹⁶

Although Anne’s inclination was to the Tory party, also referred to as the High Church party who, in the main, were members of her favoured Church of England, she strongly resisted being controlled by either.¹⁷ She feared Whig supremacy more however, and being dominated by the Whig Junto most.¹⁸ Throughout Anne’s reign these intense but loosely

¹³ Letter from Maynwaring to Duchess of Marlborough, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, ‘Saturday, past one o’clock’, [Oct. or Nov.] 1709, Vol. 1, p 230.

¹⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 285.

¹⁵ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 31, 189.

¹⁶ Geoffrey Holmes, ‘Introduction’, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, Macmillan, St Martin’s Press, New York, 1967, pp 1-9 *passim*; also see Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 132-135.

¹⁷ Hill, *Harley*, p 12; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 15-16, 134-35, 182-232, 255-59, 281-96.

¹⁸ Somerset, *The Politics of Passion*, pp 208, 302, 349, 352, 367-373, 393, 408, 425; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 133, 188-232, 255, 283-96 *passim*.

aligned political affiliations solidified into an adversarial two-party system, similar in ideological division to the modern Westminster system style parliaments operating today. Then as is still largely the case today, ideological agenda, political intrigue and the propensity for self-serving corruption ruled where, as Manley argued, integrity and virtue should. Anne was no feminist, but she did react against the mistreatment of women when she learned of it. For example, St John's callous disregard of his first wife and his dissolute behaviour motivated Anne's refusal to elevate his title beyond Viscount.¹⁹ She cashiered General George Macartney (1660–1730) from the army for mistreating his wife and 'brutally raping his landlady, a clergyman's widow.'²⁰ Anne also went to extraordinary lengths to protect Masham from the Duchess of Marlborough's barrage of paranoid accusations.²¹

Revealing Manley's characters: The Whig Junto

From early 1708 power was held firmly by an oligarchy of Whig political elites, who had wrested control from Harley when it became clear he was not working in their favour.²² Following his removal the five dominant leaders referred to as the Whig Junto, the party power-block so abhorred by Queen Anne, with Godolphin, led her ministry.²³ They steadily increased their dominance over Anne until, by the time Harley returned in early 1710 she was exhausted by their attempts to control her.²⁴ Manley must have started writing within a few months of Harley's removal. She targeted four of the five, omitting only Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, then first Lord of the Admiralty. She included two 'renown'd politicians,' John Somers, Baron Somers (1651–1716), *Lord Artaban* in volume two,²⁵ and Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax (1661–1715), who appears in both volumes,

¹⁹ H.T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, Constable & Co. Ltd., London, 1970, pp 7, 126, 130; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 439; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 143.

²⁰ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 431, 486; cf. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 287, 300.

²¹ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 111, 234-286, 288-296; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 260-437 *passim*.

²² Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 281-296.

²³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 189, 218-219, 223, 225, 232, 238-259, 281-296.

²⁴ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 296; cf. Hill, *Harley*, p 120.

²⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 261, 264-65.

as 'Horace and Mæcenaes both'. These 'Atalantick-Poetick-Lord[s]' ... 'both wrote, and both with Success'.²⁶

They have had a successful *Ministry*. Time was when their young Ambition durst not cast away one improbable Wish of being Masters of the Tenth Part of what they are now in Possession of. Then all they pursu'd was to be applauded for Men of *Genius* in the *Airy* Region of *Parnassus*; they *both wrote*, and *both with Success*. ... True, they have had a larger Power than most, and have more distinguish'd it. Have they enrich'd themselves suddenly and surprizingly? ... The Methods they have took to raise their Fortune, gives us but little hopes that they would have persever'd in any Principle that should but one appear to be contrary to their *Interest*: But since no such Change has arriv'd, let us charitably applaud 'em, as Men remaining true to their first Professions; a Virtue rarely found in a Statesman.²⁷

Manley would also mock Halifax in *Memoirs of Europe* as the avaricious *Julius Sergius*, 'whose growth is now past knowledge', who 'thriv'd in all his Pretences, whether to serve the Party he had espous'd, or himself: ... in a little time he found himself Master of a prodigious Fortune.'²⁸ Manley accuses Halifax, as she does Marlborough, of gaining corruptly from his position of privilege, as he had been accused earlier in his career when first Lord of the Treasury in the House of Commons.²⁹ By 1709 he was distrusted by both parties. Marlborough opined his 'unreasonable vanity'. Harley did not appoint him.³⁰

The third member of the Junto is Thomas Wharton (1648–1715), named the *Marquiss*: one of the most artificial Men of the Age; he loves nothing the plain way all must be intrigue [*sic*] and Management where he is concern'd; yet far greater are the Party that wonder at his Cunning, than those that approve or esteem his Capacity.³¹

He was created Earl in 1706 then marquess in 1715, so Manley was ironically prophetic in her naming. Wharton's young fourth wife, was the promiscuous Lucy, 'daughter and sole heir of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne in the Irish peerage, ... a toast of the whig Kit-Cat Club and the target of tory scandalmongers.'³² As the *Marchioness de Cœur* in *New*

²⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 262, 265.

²⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 262.

²⁸ [Manley] *ME*, I, pp 278-279.

²⁹ [Manley] *ME*, II, p 60; Stuart Handley, 'Montagu, Charles, earl of Halifax (1661–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/19004>, accessed 12 Jan 2016].

³⁰ Handley, 'Montagu, Charles, earl of Halifax (1661–1715)', *ODNB*.

³¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 156.

³² J. Kent Clark, 'Wharton, Thomas, first marquess of Wharton, first marquess of Malmesbury, and first marquess of Catherlough (1648–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/29175>, accessed 6 Aug 2017].

Atalantis and *Ariadne* in *Memoirs of Europe*, she receives as much attention from Manley.³³ These three members of the Whig Junto, old political stalwarts, were named in the Keys. The last person to join them, Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, was not.

Sunderland was the youngest member but the first to gain a place in Anne's ministry. He was responsible for Manley's arrest, proving she was right to be cautious. Initially, she had depicted Sunderland merely as, 'amusing himself with the Politeness of the Turin Court[.]'³⁴ Her restraint vanished however after her incarceration, 'where she had been 'tyrannically and barbarously insulted [beaten]'.³⁵ In return, in her first volume of *Memoirs of Europe* published in May 1710, only weeks before Harley had achieved Sunderland's dismissal in June, she mocked him scabrously as '*Cethegus!* The Executioner of the *Junto*':

... A Bigot to Idolatry, and the Party he had embrac'd! Relentless and remorseless, a zealous Image-Worshipper and Faction Broacher! Yet affected to be thought learned and wise! But Wisdom and Learning never take up their Dwelling in a Breast where all the Passions are sulphureous burning and destroying to the very Root; so that merciless *Cethegus* never preserv'd but when he cou'd not *ruin*.³⁶

Although Queen Anne loathed Sunderland, she had reluctantly agreed to his appointment as Secretary of State, southern department, in 1706, capitulating to Whig demands through the urging of Godolphin and her favourites, also Sunderland's parents-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Manley made it clear by her ridicule of the Marlboroughs, Godolphin and the Whig Junto that she was not intimidated by those who wielded the greatest power in her society. Given her lack of position, this would seem to indicate that she felt secure in the support of others similarly powerful.

In *Memoirs of Europe*, Somers was *Cicero*: 'His Wisdom and Sedateness of Temper, preserv'd and kept together the *Cabal* [Junto]. Furious *Cethegus!* [Sunderland] And precipitate *Cataline!* [Wharton] Cou'd only be restrain'd by him.'³⁷ Manley accuses Somers

³³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 156; *NA*, II, p 50; *ME*, I, pp 299-300; *ME*, II, p 125.

³⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 17; Henry L. Snyder, 'Spencer, Charles, third earl of Sunderland (1675–1722)', *ODNB*.

³⁵ [Manley] *Rivella*, p 114.

³⁶ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 218.

³⁷ [Manley] *ME*, I, pp 218-19.

of having an affair with Elizabeth Blount, but more scathingly that he arranged for her husband to be sent to debtors' prison so she could live with him:

Cicero himself (an Oracle of Wisdom) was whirl'd about by his lusts at the Pleasure of a fantastic worn-out Mistress: He prostituted his inimitable Sense, Reason, and good Nature, either to Revenge, or Reward, as her Caprice directed; and what made this Commerce more detestable, this Mistress of his was a Wife!³⁸

If there is any truth in this rumour, perhaps she learned about it when living with Tilly. In volume two she devotes forty pages to her imagined depiction of *Cicero's* affair with *Thais* (Blount) and their shared betrayal of her husband *Clodius*.³⁹ Handley asserts that Manley is embellishing rumours about Somers's 'sexual excess' – that he had contracted syphilis, never married, and that Elizabeth Blount lived in his household, which was run by his niece. Manley's attack on Somers was followed by another by Swift in *The Examiner*.⁴⁰ Considering her relationship with Tilly she had little to deride of Blount, other than the gossip about her husband's incarceration. Blount was the 'daughter of the Restoration diplomat Sir Richard Fanshawe', who is also named in the Key for the second volume of *New Atalantis* in an unrelated and possibly fictional account.⁴¹ Davidson contends that she was mocking the Fanshawes for the wife's vain attempts to recover debts from an increasingly indifferent royal Treasury.⁴² They lost far more in the Royalist cause than was ever reimbursed by Charles II. This, however, paralleled Manley's father's experience. A more plausible motivation is her identification in volume two that 'Thais's sister' is 'Mrs Anne Fanshaw, alias Mrs Rider'.⁴³ She was Manley's earlier gossiping neighbour with the malicious tongue.

³⁸ [Manley] *ME*, I, p 219; cf. Stuart Handley, 'Somers, John, Baron Somers (1651–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26002>, accessed 20 Jan 2014].

³⁹ [Manley] *ME*, II, pp 66–110.

⁴⁰ Handley, 'Somers, John, Baron Somers (1651–1716)', *ODNB*.

⁴¹ [Manley] *NA*, II, p 250; Carnell, pp 76–77; cf. *Rivella*, Key and p 31.

⁴² Peter Davidson, 'Fanshawe, Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625–1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/9146>, accessed 10 June 2017].

⁴³ [Manley] *ME*, II, Key included at the end of this second volume.

Manley elevates Shrewsbury, to *Prince of Sira*, possibly for his close connection to Charles II: the king's first godchild after the Restoration. One of the so-called 'Immortal Seven', Shrewsbury was also referred to by William III as the 'king of hearts'.⁴⁴ In this imagined anecdote Manley again depicts a young woman naively but voluntarily entering into a love intrigue. This account also demonstrates Manley's weaving of fact and fiction amid multi-layered allusions that included personal references and rumours that abounded at the time. The *Prince of Sira* appears with the *Baron of Somes*, identified in the key as Sir Robert Howard (1626–1698), 'a dramatist and prominent "Country" Whig,' and 'Auditor of the Exchequer from 1677 to 1698.'⁴⁵ Howard's young widow, Manley's *Baroness*, is identified as Lady Annabella Howard, *née* Dives or Dyves (c.1675–1728) in the Key.⁴⁶ She was a maid of honour to Princess Anne described by *Astrea* as, 'a Lady with a majestic Mien, beautiful, and her Motions genteel.'⁴⁷ At eighteen she married the sixty-six-year-old dramatist and courtier, Sir Robert Howard in 1693. She was his fourth wife. He died six years later, naming her sole heiress to his 'considerable' fortune.⁴⁸ Dives – Howard 'was an excellent English singer and patroness of Purcell, to whom *Orpheus Britannicus*, a posthumous collection of [Henry] Purcell's songs, was dedicated in 1698.'⁴⁹

In Manley's tale, *the Baroness*, is depicted in conversation with the *Count Meilliers* who is not named in the Key but is identified as Hugh, Earl of Cholmondeley (c.1662–1725).⁵⁰ *Meilliers* attempts to seduce the young but very wealthy widow, Lady Annabella Howard. Through *Astrea*, Manley reveals her message by establishing *Meilliers*'s intent,

⁴⁴ Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n144; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, p 329n247; Stuart Handley, 'Talbot, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/26922>, accessed 29 June 2017].

⁴⁵ cf. Key to *NA*, I; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 329n245; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n142.

⁴⁶ Key to *NA*, I; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n142; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, p 329n243.

⁴⁷ [Manley] *NA*, I, p 132: cf. pp 132-146; Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n142; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, p 329n243.

⁴⁸ [Manley] *NA*, I, p 138; J. P. Vander Motten, 'Howard, Sir Robert (1626–1698)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/13935>, accessed 3 Feb 2017].

⁴⁹ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 186; cf. Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 141-42.

⁵⁰ Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n143; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, p 329n244.

‘there is a Cavalier with her, who seems earnest in perswading’. With playful irony Manley portrays the fallacy in the admirer’s seduction technique:

Bar.] Why will you force me (my Lord) to give you so fatal a Proof of my Esteem, as must destroy all yours for me? Can nothing else prevail with you to leave me in repose? Must I demonstrate, as well as tell you, the impossibility there is of ever touching my Heart?⁵¹

Manley relates that *the Baroness*’s mother had been the *Baron*’s mistress. He had always been solicitous of her welfare, while she, a young girl grew up aware of her mother’s affairs. Following her mother’s death, the *Baron* had offered Annabella marriage that would provide her with financial security when he died, which he knew would not be long. She agreed. As Manley relates, and was the case, the young Annabella faithfully cared for her aged husband for six years to his death:

The real Honour and Friendship I had for my Husband ... had made easie, ... a true Concern for his loss; had not my Heart been prepossess’d for the Prince, I doubt not but I shou’d have been much more inconsolable.⁵²

Having first not noticed her, the *Prince of Sira* then pretended his agreement to an informal contract promising to marry her following a suitable period of mourning:

He came according to my Desire, the Moments were favourable; we were alone, ... I gently reproach’d him for leaving me so long in my Affliction, without attempting to alleviate it ... he renew’d his Pretensions to me; though, had I not been wilfully blind, I must needs have concluded he could not love me very much⁵³

The *Prince of Sira* then left England and the *Baroness* did not hear from him again. Some years later, *Meilliers* informs her that the *Prince of Sira*, the object of her passion, is soon to return; married. *Meilliers* offers the *Baroness* compassion. ‘Lose your Cares in little Amusements; put the Ax to the Root; use your own Endeavours (powerfully) to tear this corroding Anguish from your Heart[.]’⁵⁴ As Manley’s narrative unfolds, she shows readers his duplicitous intent towards her seduction. Ultimately and unsurprisingly to fit Manley’s purpose, he has his sights on her fortune. From *Astrea*: ‘The Count must himself have

⁵¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 132.

⁵² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 138.

⁵³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 139.

⁵⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 145.

worth, that can so worthily instruct and admonish her. *Lady Intelligence replies*, He has indeed the appearance of it, no more; all this fine Advice tends only to his own Interest[.]’⁵⁵

Like most anecdotes there are elements of truth in Manley’s account, offering further example of her skill in merging known facts within a fictitious imagining. Shrewsbury was a familiar presence at Court, liked by Anne.⁵⁶ He left England for Europe in 1700, a little later than Manley’s setting. In 1705 he married the Italian Countess Adelaide Roffeni (*d.* 1726) of Bologna and they returned together to England.⁵⁷ In 1706 Cholmondeley was a Court Whig but a moderate in Anne’s Privy Council and in 1708 appointed both Comptroller of the Household and Treasurer of her Majesty’s household.⁵⁸ As a courtier he had reason to attend court regularly and opportunity to converse with the queen’s ladies in waiting. Manley again uses known facts to build a scenario then launches into fiction. In chastising Shrewsbury, she again underlines the subject of oaths, of keeping them when promised but then breaking them with little concern:

Bar: the Oath you have took to keep inviolably my Secret, will make me discover [reveal] to you the only important Action of my Life: A Life wasted in Disgusts, and not so much as chequer’d with Pleasurers ... there are still found Women that confide in our false Oaths and Promises; ... the Perfidy of the *Prince of Sira*; he has robb’d a Woman of her Honour upon a specious Pretence: He has not been afraid to play with Oaths; how criminal is this!⁵⁹

Within Manley’s reflections that decry the immoral actions of men, the character voicing them, *Count Meilliers*, hints to her own hard-learned lessons of life:

Count]: ... The World that are not in Passion, when they are judges of yours, will condemn you for too hastily believing what you desir’d, and for trusting a Man upon his Promise: There’s something unaccountable, ’tis one of the *Arcana*’s of Nature not yet found out, why our Sex cool and neglect yours after possession, and never, if we can avoid it (and have our Senses about us) chuse ourselves Wives from those who have most obliged us: ’Tis, I confess, the grand Specifick of Ingratitude; but it seems so in-born in all, that I wonder there are still found Women that confide in our false Oaths and Promises; and that Mothers do not early, as they ought, warn their Virgin-Daughters from Love and Flattery and Rocks upon which the most deserving are generally lost.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 146.

⁵⁶ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 141-42, 408.

⁵⁷ Handley, ‘Talbot, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718)’, *ODNB*; [Manley], *NA*, I, p 143.

⁵⁸ Ballaster, ed., *DM:NA*, p 278n143; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA’, p 329n244.

⁵⁹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 133, 144, 147.

⁶⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 144.

Through this blurring of private and public, fact and fiction, she again sets out to educate young women not to be naive and trusting when it comes to the wiles and designs of men, within a context that serves to highlight again the Whigs' devious nature.

'Manley's gossip about this prominent Whig', Carnell argues, 'fits into her larger satire protesting the increasing Whig control of Anne's ministry in 1708-09.'⁶¹ Within this account, Manley again targets Sarah Churchill, insinuating by association, infidelity within Whig ranks. *The Baroness* divulges to *Count Meilliers* that the *Prince of Sira* is 'every day ... engag'd with the first Favourite of the Princess of Inverness' [Anne] who, Manley insists pointedly, is married. She stresses this further by showing that he, the *Prince of Sira* only became interested in the Lady Howard once she too was married.⁶² A dalliance with a married woman was only a trifling diversion that avoided the risk of marriage expectations. Manley had discovered this to her cost when she lived with John Tilly, but also in her amorous correspondence with Richard Steele. Both men had promised much but left her to marry wealthier women of quality. Betrayal was a constant motif throughout her work.

Revealing Manley's characters: West Country connections

Two people who appear as Manley's characters, both also from the West Country, were legal and political associates of John Manley. Thomas, Earl of Coningsby (1657–1729), a Whig, had supported James's exclusion from England's throne and William and Mary's coronation.⁶³ Sir Thomas Powys (1649–1719), a Tory legal associate, judge and politician from Truro, had been active in promoting James II's policies.⁶⁴ Manley portrays both men as corrupt. Coningsby is *Don Tomasio Rodriguez*, ridiculed for his adultery with the wife of his neighbour John Scudamore (*hap.*1649, *d.*1697), 'the *Conde*', of Holme Lacy in

⁶¹ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p. 329nn243-248.

⁶² [Manley] *NA*, I, pp. 136, 138.

⁶³ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John', *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁶⁴ Paula Watson / Basil Duke Henning, 'Truro', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/constituencies/truro>; Roger Turner, 'Powys, Sir Thomas (1649–1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/22679>, accessed 8 Aug 2017].

Herefordshire. In real life, Frances Scudamore, barely disguised as *Madam de Bedamore*, did elope with Coningsby. Scudamore sent his men to force her home, ‘at pistol point.’⁶⁵

Manley’s depiction was a highly salacious embellishment of a true event:

Henriquez [William III] drew him from out of his Obscurity, ... to *shine* at the *Head* of a Court! A Country! Where his Desertion of Lady *Diana* had so far ruin’d his Credit with the Ladies, that he was forced to be regular, and confine his Caresses to his Wife.⁶⁶

She follows the known facts, notorious at the time, to show that Coningsby’s reputation with ‘the Ladies’ was ‘ruined’, but his opportunities in public office continued unhindered.⁶⁷

The Tory Sir Thomas Powys is *Vagellius, A Gentleman of the Long Robe*.⁶⁸ Manley may have borrowed his pseudonym from Samuel Garth’s (c.1660–1719) successful mock-heroic poem, *The Dispensary*, which appeared in 1699.⁶⁹ Manley also borrowed seven lines from its fourth Canto, asserting in mocking tones that, ‘nothing can be added to the Satyrists’ excellent Description of him,’ but then adds ‘a Word or two of his Person’:

_____ One reputed long,
For strength of Lungs and Pliancy of Tongue:
Which way he pleases, he can mould a Cause,
The Worst has Merits, and the Best has Flaws.
Five Guineas makes a Criminal to Day,
And ten to morrow takes the Stain away:
Whatever he affirms is undeny’d, &c.⁷⁰

An elected M.P. for Ludlow, nominated by Godolphin, Powys was ‘a highly successful barrister.’ He made a successful career from defending state prisoners, including the Jacobite conspirator John Fenwick, ‘author of the Jacobite Plot,’⁷¹ in whose trial John Manley played a prominent part.⁷² Manley insinuates that Powys gained corruptly from his

⁶⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 217-240; A. E. Stokes, ‘Coningsby, Thomas, first earl of Coningsby (1657–1729)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/6076>, accessed 9 Aug 2017]; Ian Atherton, ‘Scudamore family (per. 1500–1820)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/71878>, accessed 18 March 2017].

⁶⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 239.

⁶⁷ Stokes, ‘Coningsby, Thomas’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 178-80.

⁶⁹ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA,’ pp 252, 382nn238, 239.

⁷⁰ Samuel Garth, *The Dispensary, A Poem. In Six Canto’s, Canto IV*, Printed by J. Bradford and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1709, p 30; Carnell *Selected Works*, II, pp 252, 382nn238, 239.

⁷¹ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA,’ pp 252, 382-383nn238, 239, 240.

⁷² Cruickshanks and Handley, ‘MANLEY, John’, *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

clients, and *Vagellius* is yet one more suitor rejected by *Corinna*, who is named in the Key, ‘Mrs. Parker,’ Da[ughte]r of ‘Lady Ashe.’ She was in fact Anne Packer, married to Philip Packer who was declared ‘lunatic’ in 1708 after shooting two men.⁷³ Manley’s *Corinna* was abused and betrayed by everyone she would have hoped she could trust; as was the real Anne Packer. *Corinna* was ahead of her time, seeking financial independence and the right to choose not to marry. This challenged social mores. Her father had facilitated her wishes, but Manley portrays him dying under the weight of his wife’s wrath, leaving his daughter a beacon for suitors and exacerbating the controlling hatred of her mother, Lady Ashe. When *Corinna* also rejects *Vagellius*’s advances, he too turns against her. He takes up her mother’s case to have her daughter declared a lunatic to reclaim the generous inheritance her husband had left *Corinna*. This anecdote immediately precedes Manley’s autobiographical tale, its placement suggesting she intended it as an early personal feminist metaphor to her own desire for the right to live financially independent, perhaps a subversive dream to live free of the need to be reliant on men.

These are just a few examples of the ‘persons of quality’ Manley singled out for censure in *New Atalantis* for their misbehaving ‘manners’. Of the more than two hundred and fifty people featured in the two volumes, identified in the Keys published at the time and discerned since, more than a third are from the West Country. Considering the small group of peers who held titles and lands, giving them franchise in county elections and constituency government, from both sides of the political fence, all would have known each other. Many of the people Manley exposed as characters in *New Atalantis* and its sequel *Memoirs of Europe* were connected to her patron the second Duke of Beaufort and others active in West Country constituency politics, much of which fell within Beaufort’s political interest. Beaufort family members to appear in either brief or longer depictions were Mary, *née* Capel, Duchess of Beaufort (*bap.*1630–1715), wife of the first Duke of

⁷³ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, ‘NA,’ pp 252, 382-383nn238, 240: citing Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol 6, p 373.

Beaufort (1629–1700) and grandmother to the second, Manley’s *dowager Beaumont*, a botanist who designed the ‘pleasing Retreat, in the grounds of the ‘goodly pile’, Badminton. Those ‘beautiful delightful Avenues, noble Vista’s accomplish’d blendings of Art and Nature!’⁷⁴ James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde (1665–1745), Manley portrays as the *Prince Adario*, ‘famously indifferent to personal morality’.⁷⁵ He often appeared in *New Atalantis* with Beaufort, his nephew through his marriage to Beaufort’s aunt Mary *née* Somerset, the *Princess Ormonda Adario*.⁷⁶ Also featured prominently is Beaufort’s second wife, Rachel *née* Noel, daughter and coheir of Wriothlesley second Earl of Gainsborough, (c.1661–1690) ‘A Vertue rarely to be found in Wives’.⁷⁷ Rachel Noel’s mother Catherine, *née* Greville (d.1704), was included obliquely with the three wives Manley describes as ‘Ladies of Beauty and Merit’ of John Sheffield, third Earl of Mulgrave, later Duke of Buckingham (1647–1721), portrayed as *Count Orgueil*: he had ‘already touch’d the Skies in his Imagination’, was ‘thrice advantageously Married’.⁷⁸ Catherine Noel married Sheffield in March 1699.

Previously in the same volume, to reflect the earlier period when Anne was princess and Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Manley portrayed him as *Count Lofty*, ‘whose good Sense was totally obscur’d by Pride, [he] cast his ambitious Thoughts so high, as to pretend to please the Princess, whilst yet she was a Maid.’⁷⁹ Sheffield was elevated to Duke of Buckingham in 1703 by Queen Anne who had retained a fondness for him that stemmed from her teenage infatuation.⁸⁰ Later in the volume Buckingham, as *Count Orgueil*

⁷⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 193-97; McClain, *Beaufort*, pp xv, 6, 120-22, 210-215.

⁷⁵ Toby Barnard, and Jane Fenlon, eds., *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge Suffolk, 2000, pp 10, 33-34, 185, 214-15.

⁷⁶ T.C. Barnard, ‘Introduction’, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 31, 33.

⁷⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 165.

⁷⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 85-86; Margaret D. Sankey, ‘Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/25297>, accessed 15 Aug 2014].

⁷⁹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 40.

⁸⁰ Sankey, ‘Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)’, *ODNB*; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 37-40, 205, 399.

‘depends much upon the Merit of his former Admiration for the Empress, and does not doubt but to rival the most fortunate in her Favour.’⁸¹ He had supported James II through the exclusion crisis, turned to William and Mary, then returned to High-Tory in Anne’s. Mulgrave was ‘patron and collaborator’ of John Dryden, ‘was the dedicatee of Dryden’s *Aureng-Zebe*’ (staged 1675, printed 1676) ‘whose protagonist was a dispossessed prince’⁸² and ironically, ‘reflects on man’s capacity for self-deception’.⁸³ In the Key Buckingham is named ‘D. Bucks Author of the *Memoir*’, perhaps referring to the ‘Essay on satire which circulated in MS in 1679 and attacked prominent figures at court including King Charles and the Duke of Rochester,’ Dryden was blamed and physically assaulted, but the friendship between patron and poet survived.⁸⁴ Mulgrave also became the patron of Alexander Pope.⁸⁵ Catherine Noel died two years before Rachel’s marriage to Beaufort., Rachel’s older sister Elizabeth also in 1707 married Henry Bentinck, Viscount Woodstock (c.1682–1726),⁸⁶ son and heir of the Earl of Portland, William Bentinck, first minister to William III. As discussed in Chapter 5, Manley also mocked the Williamite Portland as *The Duke*, accusing him of seducing and betraying his young ward *Charlot*.⁸⁷ Also given a brief appearance in *New Atalantis* are the father and brothers of the first Duchess of Beaufort. The royalist Arthur Lord Capel (1604–1649), ‘who fell a *glorious Martyr* in the Cause of his *Royal suffering Master*,’ executed for his support of Charles I;⁸⁸ his son, Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex (*bap.* 1632–1683), a Whig, who suicided in the Tower while imprisoned for treason, or was murdered according to later Whig propaganda;⁸⁹ and his

⁸¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 85.

⁸² Sankey, ‘Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)’, *ODNB*.

⁸³ Paul Hammond, ‘Dryden, John (1631–1700)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/8108>, accessed 16 March 2016].

⁸⁴ Sankey, ‘Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁵ Sankey, ‘Sheffield, John, first duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁶ Paula Watson / Ivar McGrath, BENTINCK, Henry, Visct. Woodstock (c.1682-1726), of Titchfield, Hants. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/bentinck-henry-1682-1726>.

⁸⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 40-41, 50-83, 85-86.

⁸⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 197; McClain, *Beaufort*, p 1.

⁸⁹ Melinda S. Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1999, p 117; Richard L. Greaves, ‘Capel, Arthur, first earl of Essex

brother Henry Lord Capel (*d.*1696) of Tewkesbury. The dowager Duchess of Beaufort's 'Loyalty [and] Perseverance, is of Force to atone for the Misfortune of one of her Brothers, and the Errors of both.'⁹⁰ Another connection to the second Duke of Beaufort is not a peer but his chaplain Thomas Yalden, *The Grand Druid*, who will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 10, along with Henry and Rachel, second Duke and Duchess of Beaufort and his aunt and uncle, Mary née Somerset, second Duchess of Ormonde and her charming but inconstant husband James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde.⁹¹

More peers of the West Country appear in her narrative who were not directly related to Beaufort but certainly had political connections. A number have been discussed in chapters above: John Granville, Earl of Bath, '*Count de Grand Monde*', who secured 'the strongest Citadel of the Kingdom, against the reigning Prince, and naming it the *Glorious Cause*';⁹² his nephew, her friend and sometimes patron, George Granville, 'a near Favourite of the *Muses*';⁹³ John Hervey, who was 'a certain *Chevalier* almost as much renown'd for his *Nicety*, as his two Wives were for Gallantry'.⁹⁴ Thomas, Earl of Coningsby, *Don Tomasio Rodriguez*, who was enraptured by 'Madam de Bedamore's Eyes', and her husband, John Scudamore second Viscount Scudamore, who forced her home at pistol point.⁹⁵ Hugh Earl of Cholmondeley, *Count Melliers*, who became the seducer of the *Baroness of Somes*. He held the offices of 'Lord Lieutenant for Cheshire and north Wales from 1704 to 1713'.⁹⁶ This included Denbighshire, the location of the Manley family's ancestral lands.⁹⁷ Thomas Wharton, was of Malmesbury; Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury *Prince of Sira*, but also

(*bap.* 1632, *d.* 1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4584>, accessed 29 Aug 2016].

⁹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, 197; McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 1, 5-6, 33, 173.

⁹¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 180.

⁹² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 185.

⁹³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 177.

⁹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 245.

⁹⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 221, 222.

⁹⁶ T. F. Henderson, 'Cholmondeley, Hugh, first earl of Cholmondeley (1662?-1725)', rev. Philip Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5346>, accessed 4 Aug 2017].

⁹⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 9.

‘*de jure* Earl of Waterford in the Irish peerage’.⁹⁸ Sidney Godolphin, her major target alongside the Marlboroughs, had family roots in Cornwall, but his infamy for Manley was more, as Harley also accused, that he had sided with the Whigs to prolong the war for his and Marlborough’s personal gain.⁹⁹

Many other powerful families in the region who appear in *New Atalantis* were connected to Beaufort, from both sides of the political divide. There was Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset (1662–1748), who was known in his own time as the ‘Proud Duke’.¹⁰⁰ Manley depicts him as the ‘Prince of the Empire, a man of a proud, sullen, yet choleric and avaricious Temper’, who loved money and horse racing in equal measure’.¹⁰¹ He is portrayed at the ‘chariot’ races with Lucy Wharton who knew she had to lose to him.¹⁰² Seymour married Elizabeth Thynne, *née* Percy (1667–1722), ‘the greatest heiress in England’ and a lady of Anne’s bedchamber from 1702 of whom Anne was particularly fond.¹⁰³ To his shame, Swift called her ‘carrots’.¹⁰⁴ Manley did not target her but in *Memoirs of Europe* referred to the murder of her first husband, Thomas Thynne, of Longleat in Wiltshire.¹⁰⁵

The Beauforts held lands and business interests in Wales and the first Duke’s offices of Lord Lieutenant of Wales and Lord president of the Council for the Marches of Wales, linked him with the leading gentry families of Denbighshire.¹⁰⁶ The Beaufort’s also had

⁹⁸ Handley, ‘Talbot, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718)’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 114; cf. Sundstrom, ‘Godolphin, Sidney, first earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁰ R. O. Bucholz, ‘Seymour, Charles, sixth duke of Somerset (1662–1748)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/25158, accessed 4 Aug 2017].

¹⁰¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 154–55; cf. Carnell, *Selected Works*, p 331n271.

¹⁰² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 155.

¹⁰³ Bucholz, ‘Seymour, Charles, sixth duke of Somerset (1662–1748)’, *ODNB*; R. O. Bucholz, ‘Seymour, Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/21925, accessed 18 Sept 2017].

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous, [Jonathan Swift] *The W—ds-r [Windsor] Prophecy*, Printed in 1711, no author, printer details.

¹⁰⁵ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 137; Marshall, Alan. "Thynne, Thomas [nicknamed Tom of Ten Thousand] (1647/8–1682), landowner and murder victim." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, Date of access 5 Dec. 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27423; Henry Lancaster, ‘Thynne, Thomas, first Viscount Weymouth (*bap.* 1640, *d.* 1714)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/27424, accessed 17 Aug 2016].

¹⁰⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 101, 173–177.

business interests with Humphrey Mackworth (1657–1727), Manley’s ‘*Successful-projecting-Chevalier*:

successful I mean to himself, he has found in a corner of *Atalantis* the *Mines of Potosi*. By a dextrous manner of *Intrigue*, the *Essay* of his *Oar* gave *Indies* of hopes to the Sanguin. This new sort of *Philosopher’s Stone* drew thither in Crowds, *numbers* of those, who would venture *Certainties* to make themselves Master of *Imaginaris*. But like that *great Work*, the *Day of Projection* is not yet *arrived*; nor I don’t find that they can so much as guess when it will.¹⁰⁷

Mackworth was a Tory MP from Shropshire and Beaufort’s associate. He created his wealth by smelting copper ore from Cardiganshire and Cornwall and, through all his colliery ventures, ‘transform[ed] the Welsh industrial scene.’¹⁰⁸ He also set out to improve the working and living conditions for the poor and for the ‘unemployed poor set up a national system of workhouses.’¹⁰⁹ As both supporter and critic of Harley in that order, Mackworth was also suspected of promoting the controversial *Memorial of the Church of England* (1705).¹¹⁰ Harley was not included in volume one of *New Atalantis* but is praised as *Don Haro Geronimo* in volume two. Something had changed even at this point. His High Tory associate St John is given two pseudonymous identities, first a dandy in flashy clothes, then in the second volume he is *Julius* and a *Star*. Both will be discussed in more depth in Chapters 11 and 12. Suffice to mention here, significantly, Harley is identified in the key to volume two, but St John is not identified in the keys to either volume.

~ ~ ~

Along with London, the West Country provides her narrative with a strategic sense of place, but her underlying theme of betrayal of oaths is its context and her inference of immorality and vice was the overall message she was attempting to convey. Betrayal and corruption were her core themes; hypocrisy being the inherent charge levelled at those she

¹⁰⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 256.

¹⁰⁸ William P. Griffith, ‘Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/17631>, accessed 6 Sept 2017].

¹⁰⁹ D. W. Hayton, MACKWORTH, Sir Humphrey (1657-1727), of Gnoll Castle, Neath, Glam., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, gen. eds. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/mackworth-sir-humphrey-1657-1727>.

¹¹⁰ Griffith, ‘Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727)’, *ODNB*.

targeted, the prevailing theme of satire and secret histories in the period.¹¹¹ The hypocrisy of grandees who flaunted their position and wealth over the populace, but who privately behaved without honour: shedding their virtue with their clothes, their integrity with their deceptions, as she portrayed. This is an incomplete list of the many twists of allusion and fabrication Manley entwined to create *New Atalantis*. Through the voice of her imagined eponymous divinity *Virtue*, she elides both the personified and the concept, dramatising the absence of virtue in her society, from the nobility to the ‘clod-born’:

Virtue]: Quite exploded from *Courts* and *Cities*, I was reported to have refuge’d among the *Villagers*, but alas! They knew less of me there, than in the Cabinets of Princes. For Mortals being by Nature as well as Custom, corrupt, the Lessons of *Philosophers* and *Humanity*, only refine and fit ’em for the Study of *Virtue*; a generous Education illuminates the *Clod-born-Birth*, without which Man is the greatest Brute of the Creation; the Rustic Soul looks out in *Native Ignorance, Cruelty, Avarice, Distrust, Fraud, Revenge, Ingratitude, Self-Interest*; the whole ignoble Train, that fly before the dawn of knowledge, and the sweetness of Science.¹¹²

‘*Cruelty, Avarice, Distrust, Fraud, Revenge, Ingratitude, Self-Interest*: Manley lists ‘the whole ignoble Train’ of immorality and corruption committed by many from all ranks of England’s ‘persons of quality’, their double-standards, she has set out to expose. The age-old adage, ‘power corrupts’ is portrayed, but wealth and privilege can also breed contempt. By writing political satire in secret history form her primary aim is propaganda to assist in a Tory return to ministry. She framed this with the Juvenalian argument, presented by Dryden: to ‘reform’ or ‘mend’ her ‘vicious Age’. Manley indicts her society for vice, through *Virtue*’s observation that it is endemic in town and country. There was still far more partisan complexity in the political situation and its major political players were not yet fully defined by party. To align Tories into an effective force to remove the Whigs from office, as Bullard argues,¹¹³ is undoubtedly her prime objective, but there is more complexity in the polemic and literary construction. She weaves literary, political and social references to craft her Tory polemic and help the Tories to election victory.

¹¹¹ cf. Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, *passim*.

¹¹² [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 4-5: ‘Clod-’ is spelt ‘Cold’ in some editions.

¹¹³ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 81.

Chapter 7

New Atalantis, Astrea and Virtue: a speculative interpretation

Once more view that lovely Face! please the Divine Astrea to observe the Resemblance! Is there not the very Features and Air of your Beautiful Mother, Virtue? 'Tis she, 'tis her very self! so Graceful her Motions! So enchanting her Smiles! Her Glances so very bewitching! Does she not alike create Love and Admiration, in the Hearts of all her Beholders? Were your Ladyship for ever to disappear from mortal Eyes: You would yet live below in that glorious Representative!¹

Manley's divinities *Astrea* and *Virtue* are central to her narrative's framing, providing context and connection for her *chronique scandaleuse* tales of gossip. In this chapter I will argue that Manley's imagined divine goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue* were modelled on Rachel, second Duchess of Beaufort, and Mary, second Duchess of Ormonde. The last line of Manley's epigraph seems an unmistakable linking of *Virtue* and *Ormonda*:

*Astrea's glorious form Survey's the Race –
And Virtue wears the bright Ormonda's Face*

Virtue elides with *Ormonda*, *Virtue* is *Ormonda*, Manley's pseudonym for the Duchess of Ormonde. This then reveals more meaning in the previous line, as reading the two together suggests *Astrea* is *Beaumont*, the Duchess of Beaufort. Unpacking this a little further, with their portrayal throughout her narrative and mythical origins, reveals more layers of allusion. *Astrea*, the goddess of justice, 'the starry maiden', in her heavenly 'glorious' form surveys the [human] Race. In classical mythology *Astrea's* mother, is possibly *Eos* who married her cousin *Astraeus*.² Manley also could be inferring a double meaning in 'glorious', alluding a hidden reference for the Jacobite Henry, second Duke of Beaufort to the 'Glorious' Revolution and hope of a Jacobite return. Her reference to 'the Race' is also loaded with meaning. In her Dedication to Beaufort, as I discussed in Chapter 5, she alludes to the Race of life run by the goddess of Greek myth, *Atalanta*: 'as he who enters

¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

² Ballaster, *DM:NA*, p 269; Carnell, *Selected Works*, p 8: Carnell notes that *Astrea* could be the daughter of *Zeus* and *Themis* or of *Astraeus* and *Eos*; cf. March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, pp 73, 147.

not the List, can never pretend to win the Race'.³ In this line *Astrea* and *Atalanta* merge. In these two lines, but also in the narrative that follows, the human Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde, represented as the *Princesses Beaumont* and *Ormonda* also become her divine goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue*.

The two Duchesses usually appear together in *New Atalantis*, portrayed by Manley as the Princesses *Beaumont* and *Ormonda*. The young but 'fabulously wealthy' Lady Rachel Noel would have been only seventeen or eighteen years old when she married Beaufort in 1706.⁴ She is, 'a Woman as to his Temper, of inimitable Merit, because she was Passive and Obedient' and 'yet too young to have a Character unless for her Person.'⁵ Manley commends Lady Rachel for 'the Goodness of her Temper, her Inclination to Virtue [that] gives us a Promise of all Things that are Excellent and worthy the Noble honest Race from which she is descended';⁶ the daughter and co-heir of Wriothesley Noel, second Earl of Gainsborough and Catherine, *née* Greville, who had married in December 1687. Her father was a 'moderately active Member of James II's Parliament' and remained a Jacobite and Non-juror following James's flight. Noel succeeded to his father's title in 1689 but died within a year and never took his seat in the House of Lords.⁷ Rachel Noel's family and Beaufort's were therefore of the same political mould.

Considering Rachel's youth and recent loss of her mother, the older Mary Butler *née* Somerset, Beaufort's aunt, more than twenty years Rachel's senior, may have assumed the role of motherly protector of her new niece-in-law. Manley portrays, as was possibly the case, that the two developed a close bond. Mary, first Duchess of Beaufort, the second

³ [Manley], *NA*, I, Dedication, p ii; cf. March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 75.

⁴ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 209; Eveline Cruickshanks / Basil Duke Henning, NOEL, Wriothesley Baptist, *Visct. Campden (c.1661-90), of Titchfield, Hants. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/noel-wriothesley-baptist-1661-90>.

⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 164.

⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 203.

⁷ Cruickshanks / Henning, NOEL, Wriothesley Baptist, *Visct. Campden (c.1661-90), *The History of Parliament: House of Commons, 1660-1690*.

Duchess of Ormonde's mother, bragged about 'Mall's virtues'.⁸ In Manley's autobiographical anecdote the second volume, in which, as *Delia*, she pours out her troubles to Beaufort's chaplain Dr Thomas Yalden, her *Grand Druid*, she portrays him promising to advocate on her behalf to the two Duchesses for assistance in seeking Beaufort's patronage. By this she alludes to their compassion:

Grand Druid] Believe me, Madam, there shall be nothing wanting on my part, to make you an Exception to the general Rule. A Penitence so sincere as yours, a Distress so moving, has pleaded powerfully for you. . . . The Princess of *Beaumont*, and the Princess *Ormonda Adario*, his Aunt, is now with his Highness of *Beaumont*; the first opportunity that offers shall be yours, I will even ingage his Eminence to compassionate your Sufferings; and know you can not that in so great, so true a Hero, to Compassionate is to Redress?⁹

This could be merely wishful thinking on Manley's part that someone in her unforgiving world understood her situation and did not judge by her dishonoured reputation. It could be that through Yalden's encouragement, the Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde had offered her genuine compassion and acceptance. They may have been the first 'persons of quality' to have done so since her unwise sham marriage. The goddesses of classical Greek antiquity *Astrea* and *Virtue*, with all their symbolic mythology of character and integrity from whom Manley fashioned her imagined divinities, also resembled Princesses *Beaumont* and *Ormonda*, her literary personas for the very human second Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde. The mythical goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue*, the latter not a goddess by that name but the characteristic symbolising many, by Manley's era had amassed numerous references familiar to readers.

Manley's intertextual framing

The mythical name *Astrea* has a rich typological heritage of diverse references, all with topical relevance and equal validity as a literary and political trope in Manley's early eighteenth-century period. Manley's *Astrea* has returned to the world she 'long since

⁸ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 112.

⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 191.

abandon'd ... to see if Humankind were still as defective, as when she in a Disgust forsook it.'¹⁰ 'Astraea', the mythological 'starry maiden' was, as Carnell describes:

One of the heavenly beings who lived on earth with mortals during the 'Golden Age'. As this innocent age came to an end, Astraea was the last of the immortals to leave what Ovid describes as 'lands dripping from slaughter' (*Metamorphoses*, 1.149-50). When she withdrew, she was placed among the stars where she was called Virgo.¹¹

Astraea the starry maiden or celestial virgin and goddess of justice in Greek mythology,¹² became Edmund Spenser's (c.1552–1599) *Astraea-Virgo*, an allusion in the *Faerie Queen* glorifying Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603).¹³ This 'goddess of justice' symbolism was later also applied to Queen Anne, joining the two great Protestant queens.¹⁴

Pittock contends that '[t]he accession of Anne defused Jacobite xenophobia, and this was one of the reasons her twelve-year reign produced an interlude of consent to the new regime on the part of many natural Jacobites.'¹⁵ In November 1702, the year Anne ascended the throne, a poem appeared that proclaimed her reign "The Golden Age Restor'd" and portrayed her 'as a "Second Restoration of the Stuarts", a *renovatio* of Astraea and thus a legitimate exemplar of the iconography of her father's dynasty.'¹⁶ Some did not agree, seeing her instead as 'one of the instruments by which William had gained and held power.'¹⁷ This, Carnell explains, 'allied her with the long-established Elizabethan imagery that links Astraea to Elizabeth I as a virgin wielding a sword of justice.'¹⁸

Herman contends that 'Manley chose *Astrea* for her links with Elizabeth I', explaining that 'Gloriana was the monarch most commonly associated with Anne (principally for her gender and vigorous defence of the established Church against the threat of Papacy and

¹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 1.

¹¹ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 307n5; cf. Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn, A Secret Life*, p 207.

¹² March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 73.

¹³ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen: The Shepherds Calendar: Together with the other Works of England's Arch-Poët, Edm. Spenser, Collected into one Volume, and carefully corrected, Printed by H.L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611.*

¹⁴ Herman, *Business*, p 78.

¹⁵ Murray G.H Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p 49.

¹⁶ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 49.

¹⁷ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 49: citing 'Ellis, *Poems on Affairs of State*, 6: pp 449, 453, 465, 487, 648, 651.

¹⁸ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 307.

Dissent).¹⁹ ‘Astrea’s function in Elizabethan imagery was as the “One Virgin whose sword of Justice smote down the Whore of Babylon and ushered in a golden age of pure religion, peace and plenty”.²⁰ Herman argues nonetheless that *Astrea* was not Anne, but ‘[a]ll ranks linked these two great Protestant queens and Elizabeth’s birthday was celebrated ‘enthusiastically during Anne’s reign.’²¹

Thomas Dekker used this allegory of Queen Elizabeth as both ‘Gloriana’ and ‘Astraea’ in his play *Old Fortunatus*, mentioned earlier, that was probably also Manley’s source for her ironic *Fortunatus* pseudonym for John Churchill. In Dekker’s Prologue he eulogises Elizabeth:

Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?
Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling. Some call her
Pandora: some Gloriana: some Cynthia: some Belphoebe: some Astraea:
All by several names to express several loves: Yet all those names make
But one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.
I am of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza.²²

‘*The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus* was first published in 1600, having been produced at Court on the Christmas before.’²³ Elizabeth-Gloriana-Astraea: ‘empress of the world, guardian of religion, patroness of peace, restorer of virtue ... hailed with a Roman triumph which extols the wealth and prosperity which her golden age ha[d] brought.’²⁴

John Dryden added to this trope with his poem *Astraea Redux* (1660), celebrating Charles II’s ‘Happy Restoration and Return’²⁵ that, as Paul Hammond suggests, ‘saw Charles II as a second Augustus’.²⁶ Astraea then also entered Jacobite imagery for James II: ‘The Muses Glory and Astraea’s Pride’, used by his defenders to speak of royal power

¹⁹ Herman, *Business*, p 78.

²⁰ Herman, *Business*, p 78; Frances A. Yates, *Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, Pimlico, London, 1975, p 47.

²¹ Herman, *Business*, p 78.

²² Yates, *Astraea*, p 29, citing T. Dekker, *Works*, London, 1873, I, p 83.

²³ Ernest Rhys, ed., *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Dekker*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1894.

²⁴ Yates, *Astraea*, p 60.

²⁵ John Driden [sic], *Astraea Redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second*, Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, London, 1660.

²⁶ Hammond, ‘Dryden, John (1631–1700)’, *ODNB*.

in the ‘language consistent with that used of his predecessors.’²⁷ Dryden also attributed the typology to James’s wife Mary of Modena (1658–1718), who:

belongs both to the typology of the *Aeneid* and the Fourth Eclogue, with its prophecy of the birth of Christ / return of Astrea / coming of Augustus. As Astraea, Mary of Modena is ‘virgo spicifera’; as a type of the Blessed Virgin, she is ‘Porta caeli et stella maris’ ... May is Mary’s month, and as ‘Stella Maris’ Mary was a name appropriate for the mother of the soon-to-be-exiled Aeneas, since Venus herself, Aeneas’ mythological mother, was both a star (planet) and born of the sea.²⁸

For Manley to draw from but also build on this *Astrea* typology could reveal a further hint to *New Atalantis* being more a Jacobite text than she admits. Contending that ‘James had an unequalled claim to legitimacy ... the manifest inheritor of a millennium of indefeasible hereditary right’, Pittock states:

Hence it was of the utmost importance to his opponents that the legitimacy of his successor should fall under suspicion: the origins of the warming-pan story lie in the rock-solid nature of James’s claims. ... But in the last four months of the old-style year 1688/9, he was challenged: and defeated.²⁹

Setting aside the Whig argument against the Tory claim that a King’s divine appointment and hereditary right of succession, both arguments challenged by the Exclusion Crisis,³⁰ Manley’s theme of Astrea who ‘forsook the earth,’ and returned, is echoed in the Jacobite typology Pittock describes, in that ‘England was compromised, and Astraea left the earth, as seemed proven by the famines of William’s reign.’³¹

Another ‘Astrea’ reference equally relevant for Manley is Aphra Behn, ‘the Excellent Astraea’,³² discussed in Chapter 5. In linking the two, Janet Todd, describes Behn as an author of some startling and innovative fictions ... an originator or precursor of the modern English novel, along with Daniel Defoe and the trio of early women writers, Margaret Cavendish, Eliza Haywood and Delarivier Manley.³³

²⁷ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 27.

²⁸ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 28.

²⁹ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 28.

³⁰ Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics*, p 46.

³¹ Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p 28.

³² J.W. ‘To the Excellent ASTRAEA,’ *The Works of Aphra Behn*, Vol. VI, Ed. Montague Summers, Phaeton Press, New York, 1967, p 131.

³³ Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn, A Secret Life* (2017), p xiii.

The codename 'Astraea' had been applied to Behn while she operated as a spy for Charles II in the new British colony of Surinam in South America, founded in the 1650s. She then adopted it when continuing her espionage work in Antwerp writing 'her reports partly in cipher'. From this Behn chose 'Astraea' as her pen name for her literary career.³⁴ She 'constantly' referred to the 'myth of the Golden Age' that 'goes back as far as Hesiod in about 700 BC ... a time when gods and men lived together amicably under the benign rule of Saturn or Cronos and under the influence of the goddess Justice or Astrea' and:

Subsequently, it was imagined as a time of civilization, but without its discontents, an era of fecund plenty without effort, when war, work, property, shame and sexual constraints were unknown. ... In the Renaissance, the Golden Age was reimagined with great intensity, especially by Tasso.³⁵

'The Golden Age' was 'one of her most successful pastoral poems', expressing 'a yearning for past innocence' in which wealth was shared and 'sex was pleasure not power.'³⁶

Carnell also points out the allegory of 'Astrea' in 'the genre of romance writing' prevalent in the eighteenth century, citing 'Astrée' as 'the heroine of Honoré d'Urfé's (1568-1625) popular pastoral romance *L'Astrée* (1607-27)',³⁷ published in English in 1657.³⁸

'Virtue' has an even richer heritage of allusion. Carnell equates her with 'Themis in Greek religion,' again 'the personification of the justice,' but also 'goddess of wisdom and good council and interpreter of goodwill.'³⁹ Jenny March describes this mythological Greek goddess *Themis* as the daughter of *Uranus* (heaven) and *Gaia* (earth), 'who 'bore to *Zeus* the three *Horae* (Seasons) and the three Fates, all of whom personified aspects of order in the universe.'⁴⁰ March describes *Gaia* as 'the first goddess to be born after *Chaos*'.⁴¹ *Themis* is 'closely associated with justice, law and order' and 'like her mother ... had powers of

³⁴ Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn, A Secret Life* (2017), pp xxiii, xxiv, 29-30, 45-46, 80, 428.

³⁵ Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn, A Secret Life* (2017), p 207.

³⁶ Janet Todd, *Aphra Behn, A Secret Life* (2017), p 206-07.

³⁷ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 307n5.

³⁸ Astrea. A Romance, Written in French by Messire Honorè D'Urfe; and Translated by a Person of Quality, Printed by W.W. for H. Moseley, T. Dring, and H. Herringman, London, 1657; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 307n5.

³⁹ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 308n9.

⁴⁰ March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 376.

⁴¹ March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 166.

prophecy.⁴² Although not equating *Themis* with *Virtue*, March's collective description bears strong semblance to Manley's portrayal of her divine *Virtue*. Throughout the ages, *Virtue* is the personified proto-feminist champion of classical mythology, the highest measure for morality, a religious ideal, a poetic allusion and an artistic representation or model of moral integrity. In short, *Virtue* became a trope to depict a righteous ideal personified in a virtuous heavenly or temporal being. This allegorical goddess of *Virtue* gained a rich folklore in literature and became a popular trope of symbolism by poets from biblical and classical times into the present that influenced so profoundly the literature and art of Manley's period.

Poet Laureate, John Dryden, was a rich source of intertextual allusions in Manley's work. In her dedication to her second volume she describes the form of satire in *New Atalantis* as: 'written like Varonian [*sic*] *Satyrs*, on different Subjects, Tales, Stories and Characters of Invention, after the Manner of Lucian, who copy'd from Varro.' She cites Dryden's 'Discourse of Satire' in his translation of *Juvenal*, 'observ[ing] thus': 'What is most essential, and the very Soul of Satire, is scourging of Vice, and Exhortation to Virtue.'⁴³ An allusion may also be seen in his translation of *Persius*, 'Satyre III' (1693), with its theme of 'spiritual and moral deterioration,' Dryden transforms *Persius*'s "most famous line", as Emrys Jones suggests, citing D.M. Hooley: "'Let them have sight of Virtue and pine at having left her",' to '— Set Virtue in his Sight, / With all her Charms adorn'd; with all her Graces bright: ...'.⁴⁴ Jones contends that Dryden 'decided ... not just to translate *Persius* but to transform him', 'masterfully' imposing 'his own style' with a 'literary finish' he believed *Persius* did not achieve.⁴⁵

⁴² March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 376.

⁴³ [Manley], *NA*, II, 1709, Dedication (unpaginated).

⁴⁴ Emrys Jones, 'Dryden's *Persius*,' Claude Julien Rawson and Aaron Santesso eds., *John Dryden (1631-1700): His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 2004, pp 127-132, 138nn9-11: citing *The Satires of Persius*, trans. Guy Lee, with introduction and notes by William Barr (1987) and D.M. Hooley, *The Knotted Thong: Structures of Mimesis in Persius* (1997); See also, John Dryden, *The Satires of Decimus, Junius, Juvenalis, Translated into English Verse*, By Mr. Dryden and Several Other Eminent Hands, Together with *the Satires of Aulus, Persius Flaccus*, Printed for Jacob Tonson, London 1693, (republished 1697 and 1702) 'Persius, Satyr III,' ll 69-70.

⁴⁵ Jones, 'Dryden's *Persius*,' Rawson and Santesso, eds., *John Dryden: His Politics, Plays, and Poets*, p 128.

Jones explains that Dryden's line 'personifies the abstraction Virtue, but as soon as Virtue begins coming into view as a woman, something tired and commonplace seeps into the language.'⁴⁶ This view of the 'tired and commonplace' woman is evident in Manley's depiction of *Virtue*, 'pensive and forlorn ... her Habit obsolete and torn'.⁴⁷ Even more so when twinned with a line from Dryden's translation of the 'Third Satyr of Juvenal' that her dedication shows she was certainly familiar with: 'And ragged Virtue [has] not a Friend at Court.'⁴⁸ This resonates with the statement made by Manley's *Virtue*: '*Me* they have thrust out from *Courts* and *Cities* ... I have no Sanctuary among the *Lovers* of this *Age* ...'.⁴⁹ Two following lines in Dryden's 'translator's voice',⁵⁰ venting his frustration and dismay over the policies and direction of William III's reign, might also have inspired Manley in her satirical attack on the Whigs:

'Tis time to give my just Disdain a vent,
And, Cursing, leave so base a Government.⁵¹

In this late phase of his career, the period devoted more to translations,⁵² through which he sought to get political criticism out in code, as Phiddian points out, Dryden was 'a politician throughout his life, even in the supposedly neutral activity of translation'.⁵³ In his *Juvenal*, Dryden also spoke of the virtues of Mary Butler, but in particular his verse epistle in *Fables, Ancient and Modern* addressed 'To Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond':

Bless'd be Pow'r which has at once restor'd
The Hopes of lost Succession to Your Lord,
Joy to the first and last of each Degree,
Vertue to Courts, and what I long'd to see,
To You the Graces, and the Muse to me. [ll 147-150]⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Jones, 'Dryden's Persius,' Rawson and Santesso, eds., *John Dryden: His Politics, Plays, and Poets*, p 132.

⁴⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 2.

⁴⁸ John Dryden, *The Satires of Decimus, Junius, Juvenalis*, third satire, line 40, p 34.

⁴⁹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 3.

⁵⁰ Hammond, 'Dryden, John (1631–1700)', *ODNB*.

⁵¹ Dryden, *Satires of Decimus, Junius, Juvenalis*, Satyr III, ll 43-44, p 34.

⁵² Hammond, 'Dryden, John (1631–1700)', *ODNB*.

⁵³ Phiddian, *Swift's Parody*, p 130: in the context of Dryden's translation of *Virgil*.

⁵⁴ Mr. [John] Dryden, *Fables, Ancient and Modern, Translated into Verse, From Homer, Ovid, Baccace, and Chaucer, With Original Poems*, Printed for Jacob Tonson, London, 1700 and verse epistle: 'To Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond, with the following Poem of Palamon and Arcite, from Chaucer,' unpaginated.

Written in the last year of his life, in this epistle Dryden compares the second Duchess of Ormonde, ‘whose beauty and virtue stands as an inheritance’ to Chaucer’s ‘Emily’ in ‘The Knight’s Tale’, of *The Canterbury Tales* opus, elaborating ‘the themes of female beauty and virtue’.⁵⁵ He refers to the Duchess of Ormonde’s loss of their only son and her recent recovery from an illness in her breast, wishing her a return to full strength so she could then provide the longed-for heir to the Ormond dynasty who would ‘wear the Garter of his Mother’s Race.’⁵⁶

In 1707, the year before Manley began writing *New Atalantis*, a poem by Joseph Browne was published, ‘The most Celebrated Beauties at Court’, with the ‘virtuous’ Duchess of Ormonde included as one for whom he expressed admiration:

So Ormond’s Graceful Mein attracts all Eyes,
And Nature need not ask from Art Supplies;
Forgiving Goodness shines thro’ ev’ry part,
And shows that Form contains the Noblest Heart.
In vain Mankind adore, unless she were
By Heaven made, less Virtuous, or less Fair.⁵⁷

Writing in 1709, Manley’s characterisation in her *New Atalantis* second volume echoes Browne’s theme: ‘so Graceful her Motions! So enchanting her Smiles! Her Glances so very bewitching!’⁵⁸ In her description she elides *Princess Ormonda Adario*, the Duchess of Ormonde, with her goddess character *Virtue*, just as she also elides the two in her epigraph, ‘And Virtue wears the bright Ormonda’s Face.’

Along with this mirror-image of the ‘*Bright Ormonda*’, Browne also ‘celebrates’ the Duchess of Beaufort:

Behold the Off-spring of a Tuneful Sire,
Fair Beauford! Blest with more than Mortal Fire.
Such are her Charms, as was the Poet’s Song,
When Orpheus did Enchant the list’ning Throng:⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ohlmeyer, Jane and Zwicker, Steven, ‘John Dryden, the House of Ormond, and the Politics of Anglo-Irish Patronage’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Sep. 2006), p 697.

⁵⁶ Mr. [John] Dryden, *Fables, Ancient and Modern*, ‘To Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond, line 168.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, [Joseph Browne], *The British Court: A Poem, Describing The most Celebrated Beauties at St. James’s, the Park, and the Mall*, Second Edition, Printed at the Publishing Office, London, 1707, p 6.

⁵⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁵⁹ [Browne], *The British Court*, p 11.

Browne's first line would better describe Beaufort's first wife, Mary Sackville (1683–1705) married in 1702.⁶⁰ She was the daughter of Charles, sixth Earl of Dorset, one of Charles II's literary wits.⁶¹ Rachel's father, Wriothesley Noel, was not a noted poet. Unless Browne wrote this earlier, in 1707 he could only mean Rachel, as Mary Sackville had died in 1705. His description otherwise bears similarity with Manley's subsequent elegy written of the deceased young, second Duchess of Beaufort: '... irremediable Death having for ever clos'd her Eyes! she was yet in her Bloom of Life! An Air of Sweetness still remains! Something that speaks of the Goodness of her Temper, and the Agreeableness of her Manner.'⁶²

In the scene that followed this, in the narrative if not of historical events, she depicts the two Duchesses alive, walking with Beaufort; and merges the theme. Voiced through her character *Lady Intelligence*, she is talking to *Astrea* and *Virtue* but speaks about them, eliding the human with the divine:

Once more view that lovely Face! please to Divine *Astrea* to observe the *Resemblance!* Is there not the very Features and Air of your *Beautiful Mother, Virtue.* 'Tis she, 'tis her very self. so *Graceful* her Motions, so *enchanting* her *Smiles.* Her *Glances* so very bewitching. Does she not alike create *Love* and *Admiration* in the Hearts of all her Beholders? Were your Ladyship for ever to disappear from mortal Eyes: you would yet live below in that glorious Representative!⁶³

Astrea had found her 'Beautiful Mother,' *Virtue*, 'so Graceful her Motions, so enchanting her Smiles,' so bewitching her eyes. 'Pensive and Forlorn', *Virtue* had recognised the Divine *Astrea* as her daughter, and 'ran ... to embrace' her.⁶⁴ She had remained on the island of *Atalantis* in the hope of bringing change from within, but is now found wretched, all hope of her 'existence' extinguished by the crimes of 'vicious men.'

As personified beings, *Astrea*, goddess of justice, and *Virtue*, eponymous goddess of morality, both knew that neither justice nor virtue have value in their eighteenth-century world. 'Astrea] I don't find Lady Intelligence, that in this World of yours, Vice is an

⁶⁰ Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)', *ODNB*.

⁶¹ Bucholz and Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*, p 149.

⁶² [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 164-65.

⁶³ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁶⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 2.

Obstacle to Advancement.’⁶⁵ Manley ‘Exhorts Virtue’ and merges her personified *Virtue* with the purity of ‘Virtue’ from classical mythology to construct her scene. Jessica Murphy argues that ‘the transformative power of feminine virtue is a common trope in conduct literature’ in this early modern period.⁶⁶ She argues that ‘[e]arly modern women were not taught to be unquestioningly obedient but rather that they had a responsibility to be virtuous: to perform submission in order to reform others.’⁶⁷

The name *Beaumont* that Manley applied to the young second Duchess of Beaufort has no tricks of allusion towards a deeper meaning and requires little guesswork from the reader. ‘Ormonda’, is also self-evidently, the second Duchess of Ormonde, second wife of the much-liked but constantly unfaithful and debt-laden, James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde. Despite constant burgeoning debt, the Butlers were the most powerful family in Ireland, the only titled family bestowed an English Dukedom.⁶⁸ Also barely disguised by his pseudonym, ‘Prince *Adario Ormondo*’, Ormonde’s infidelity, both political and marital, drew more criticism than admiration from Manley’s pen. His pseudonym ‘Prince’ denoted his Dukedom and family’s royal connection. She could have drawn *Adario* from a fictional character in 1703 a publication, detailing its author’s travels, ‘Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony of Placentia in Newfoundland, now in England’.⁶⁹ *Adario* was an indigenous leader of the region with whom Lahontan ‘discussed’ the Christian religion along with the manners and culture of *Adario*’s people. That Ormonde was her patron’s uncle-in-law and the husband of her revered *Princess Ormonda*, did not hinder Manley in mocking his failings. Dryden, who received patronage from three generations of the family, and dedicated work to each, expressed glowing admiration for the second

⁶⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 239.

⁶⁶ Jessica C. Murphy, ‘Feminine Virtue’s Network of Influence in Early Modern England,’ *Studies in Philology*, Summer 2012, Vol.109 (3), p 258.

⁶⁷ Murphy, ‘Feminine Virtue’s Network of Influence,’ *Studies in Philology*, p 260.

⁶⁸ T.C. Barnard, ‘Introduction’, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., *Ormonde*, pp 1, 3, 24.

⁶⁹ Louis Armand de Lom d’Arce, Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America, Containing An Account of the several Nations of that vast Continent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation*, Printed for H. Benwicke, T. Goodwin, M Wotton, B. Tooke, S Manship, London, 1703, pp 43, 90-183.

Duchess of Ormonde but not for the second Duke.⁷⁰ Writing at the turn of the Seventeenth-Eighteenth centuries, ‘Dryden praises the aristocratic, indeed royal, inheritance of the second Duchess who through her Beaufort lineage claims descent from Edward III.’⁷¹ He laments her ‘waste of tears and widowed hours’ due to Ormonde’s long absences abroad fighting for William III.⁷²

In *New Atalantis* volume one, Manley portrays *Lady Intelligence* with her divinities at the *Prado* (Hyde Park):

See there the Prince *Adario*, conspicuous for his Equipage, but much more for his having his Princess in the same Coach with him. ... My Lady *Vertue*, she is certainly of our Court, and the greatest Ornament of that of *Angela’s*: Is not her Person graceful, her Air sweet and modest? Would not one believe her Charms are sufficient to conquer a thousand Hearts? Yet they make no impression upon that only One she desires to touch.⁷³

Manley is again ambiguous. *Lady Intelligence* elides *Princess Adario* (Duchess of Ormonde) and ‘My Lady Vertue’ (*Virtue*), even though *Princess Adario* as the long-suffering virtuous but ignored wife, Mary Butler, second Duchess of Ormonde. She metaphorically mocks James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, for his neglect of her. He dresses grandly to be noticed on the Prado, but more noticed is that on this rare occasion he is accompanied by his wife, not his latest mistress. In her dramatisation of Rachel’s death Manley shows that the Duchess of Ormond had long resigned herself, to the point of relief, to her husband’s infidelities:

His own Lady, retir’d of Temper, pleas’d when he was diverted, tho’ apart from her Conversation, seldom mingling her own with theirs, conscious of an inferior Capacity, a Vertue rarely to be found in Wives, who think the Name alone of sufficient Force to center all Regard. Virtue and Goodness are indeed extremely Meritorious, and should beget Esteem, nay Admiration to the Professor ...⁷⁴

Manley again elides ‘his own Lady’, Ormonde and *Virtue* into one: ‘a Vertue rarely to be found in Wives.’ Further on in her narrative, she returns again to the theme of Ormonde’s inconstancy and his Duchess’s patience, her ‘*Perseverance* in her Duty; without ever

⁷⁰ Ohlmeyer and Zwicker, eds., ‘John Dryden, the House of Ormond,’ pp 698-703, *passim*.

⁷¹ Ohlmeyer and Zwicker, ‘John Dryden, the House of Ormond, and the Politics of Anglo-Irish Patronage’, p 697.

⁷² *Ibid*.

⁷³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 165.

⁷⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 165-66.

giving her Lord the least Excuse for a Failure in his!’⁷⁵ ‘[U]pon repeated News’ of Ormonde’s inconstancy, Manley nonetheless acknowledges his charm and good-nature when *Lady Intelligence* exclaims, with some irony: *‘Who can but love that Man!’*⁷⁶

To illustrate again the Duchess of Ormonde’s ‘Virtue and Goodness’, Manley relates a probably fictional story of a poor butcher, through the voice of *Lady Intelligence* speaking to her divine visitors *Astrea* and *Virtue*.⁷⁷ In this anecdote Manley shows *Princess Ormonda*’s compassion for those who relied on the family, even at a time of financial hardship. It is set during William III’s reign when the Duke of Ormonde was ‘in the Army abroad’ and his Estate ‘lay under the miserable Harrass of civil War ... the Affairs in his Hous[e]hold subsisted chiefly upon Credit.’⁷⁸ The *Princess* is unaware of the amount her family owed suppliers or their level of destitution. In desperation her butcher, threatened with debtors’ prison by his own creditors, attempts to see her to plead his case. Her ‘haughty Domesticks’ try to prevent him access:

The Divine *Ormonda* heard the Noise, and call’d to know what it was. The Officious Page ran to give her an Account, in Terms no way advantageous to the poor *Butcher*, who pressed after him close to the Door, and begg’d, for the sake of all that was *Cæstial*, to let him come to the *Princess*. ... the poor Man and his Children were like to be undone for ever. Here the Divine *Ormonda* was all her self! was all *your selves!* However heavenly you are? I have no Money, answer’d the sweet *Princess* but take this Diamond-Neck-lace (which lay upon her Toilet) ’tis worth a great deal more than your Debt. Borrow upon it as much as you can to relieve your Necessities. Keep it ‘till I can redeem it,’⁷⁹

The *Butcher* is overwhelmed with joy, ‘a-kin to Madness. He bless’d! he pray’d! he ador’d the *Princess!* He cry’d out! What my Wife and all my children sav’d from Beggary! My Debts paid! And my own Body preserv’d from Prison!’⁸⁰ ‘Tears of gracious Goodness fill’d *Ormonda*’s Eyes: She said, How happy am I, that can make one Wretch happy! This was her Divine Reflection upon so good an Action.’⁸¹ She is the ‘Divine *Ormonda*’ and

⁷⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁷⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 200.

⁷⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 200-03]; Anonymous, *The Key to Atalantis*, Part II.

⁷⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 200.

⁷⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 202.

⁸⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 202-03.

⁸¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 203.

through this tale, Manley again elides the human Duchess of Ormonde with her character but now 'Divine' Princess Ormonda. *Lady Intelligence* exclaims to her celestial 'visitors', *Astrea* and *Virtue*, 'The Divine Ormonda was all her self', but then turns her words towards them, 'was all your selves! However heavenly you are?'⁸² Manley displays *Princess Ormonda's* quasi-divine virtue through an act of selfless compassion. Her esteem for the Duchess of Ormonde suggests extreme gratitude, and there is never a word of criticism for *Princess Ormonda* throughout her narrative.

Through this anecdote Manley merges metaphors. With echoes of the biblical parable of 'the unmerciful servant',⁸³ she compares the Duchess's munificence against the actions of a 'favourite' and much favoured Minister of *Sigismund the Second* (Charles II), named in the key, perhaps erroneously as a ploy, 'Old Lord Halifax' who is portrayed refusing to pay his Stonecutter for his work in building a house at Newmarket.⁸⁴ This is Sir George Savile, first Marquis of Halifax (1633–1695), the first creation of the Halifax title. Savile was favoured by Charles, but never built a house at Newmarket. Others did, including the first Duke of Ormond, to provide them with continued access to the horse race loving king. Manley could have been alluding instead to Halifax's betrayal of James to support William's invasion, despite great favour from Charles.⁸⁵

~ ~ ~

Manley spins literary cartwheels to merge the human with the divine while portraying her allegorical divinities observing their own human realities. In the 'guilty apartment' where the grieving husband is unmistakably Beaufort, *Astrea* is the invisible observer narrating the scene. For the 'glorious' *Astrea* to be Manley's celestial representation of the *Princess de Beaumont* who is the veiled representation of the very human Rachel, Duchess

⁸² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 203.

⁸³ Matthew 18:21-35, *The Holy Bible*, New International Version, Hodder and Stoughton, London, p 27.

⁸⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 203; Key to the *New Atalantis*, Second Part.

⁸⁵ Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, p 387nn275, 276; Mark N. Brown, 'Savile, George, first marquess of Halifax (1633–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/24735>, accessed 9 Aug 2017].

of Beaufort, whose death *Astrea* is now relating, Manley is weaving an intricately layered tapestry of allegory. In this scenario, *Astrea* would be viewing her own funeral scene and her husband's feigned show of grief. Supposedly observing herself, *Astrea* (Manley) comments that:

... Her *Merit* you have confirm'd, and her Face even in Death, without *Hyperboly*, is more agreeably than that of either of the two Ladies stretch'd on either side of the Mourning Husband. Whatever we conclude of his Grief, we must commend his cunning, that has chose to wear it away with Objects, who by their Presence alone forbid the Continuance of it. But what seems most wonderful to me, is, how the Person can so far impose upon himself, as to fancy he is griev'd! That he can thus outrageously regret her *Dead*, for whom he had not the greatest Consideration when living!⁸⁶

As the 'Mourning husband' must be her patron Beaufort, the last sentence is surprisingly candid. With her ironic pen firmly in hand, she has *Lady Intelligence* reply:

The Person whom you lately saw, has not only these two Ladies for his daily Consolation; but his Grief being excessive, he is not willing by Night to be trusted with himself. His Lady's Woman, for whom he was suspected to have more than a Platonick-Liking, is henceforward to set up in his Bed-chamber: He is too nice, too delicate, to permit any Servants but those of the softer Sex to such Intimacies, and even among them, none but the Young and Agreeable.⁸⁷

Beaufort might not have smiled at the image Manley constructed of him. He is not the patron of her third novel. She does not have one. To fill the space, she feigns a dedication to Isaac Bickerstaff while she ridicules her erstwhile friend Richard Steele.

Rachel, Duchess of Beaufort died in September 1709. Manley published her second volume in November. Her sequence of events suggests that she chose to insert her dramatisation of Rachel's death into her text as she was nearly finished writing and not as an addendum at the end. Some pages after Rachel's death scene, Manley depicts 'the auspicious *Beaumont* walking in the gardens of Badminton between his illustrious Consort', the very much alive Rachel, and 'the Princes[s] *Ormonda Adario*, his aunt, Mary, Duchess of Ormonde. Again, *Lady Intelligence* is narrating the scene to *Astrea* and *Virtue*:

How does your *Divinities* like the *Princess* of *Beaumont*? Does she not resemble *Cytherea*? Has not she Charms enough to bless her *Hero*, and give her self the Promise of ever filling his Arms without the dread of a Rival? She is yet too young to have a Character unless for her Person. But the Goodness

⁸⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 168-69.

⁸⁷ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 169.

of her Temper, her Inclination to Virtue, gives us a Promise of all Things that are Excellent and worthy the Noble honest Race, from which she is descended.⁸⁸

In Manley's admiring portrayal of Rachel, the goodness of her character shines through. She also resembles the character of *Astrea*. To describe Rachel, however, as 'yet too young to have a Character' and then depict her resembling *Cytherea* is curious. In Greek mythology *Cytherea* is from the typology of Aphrodite, the goddess of erotic love.⁸⁹

Astrea is given the final words to this scene that encompasses Manley's grateful esteem for the Beauforts and her disguised characterisation:

I am charm'd with all I see! The pleasing Habitation! The well-order'd Family! The Perfections of the Prince, and both the Princess's, had we but a few more such Examples, I shou'd be tempted to a second Aboad upon Earth! How Young and Graceful is Beaumont! Are not all the Charms of a hundred Monarchs, his Royal Ancestors, united in him alone?⁹⁰

Beaufort could perhaps smile again at her portrayal of him and his family, for the mocking criticisms are dispelled. This perhaps explains why she inserted the funeral account earlier in her narrative.

Not only did the Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde receive her gratitude but Manley also heaps praise on Beaufort's chaplain, Thomas Yalden, '[t]he magestick Genius of this Isle... the peculiar Guardian of *Beaumont*!':⁹¹ 'See! How *Bounty, Hospitality, Honest-Love, Heroick-Courage*, smile upon his Face! Emblems of what he inspires into the Breast of the Young *Hero* his Illustrious Charge!'⁹² His 'Illustrious Charge', Manley's patron, earns her high esteem. That Manley must have written this before Rachel's untimely death, makes her words sound prophetic:

Beaumont shall uninterruptedly enjoy the blooming *Cytherea*! And the charming *Cytherea*, without a Partner or Pang of Jealousie, possess the accomplish'd *Beaumont*. Death only shall have Power to shift the Scene, and cause 'em to change their mortal, for immortal Joys. Oh illustrious Prince! To be perfect you have but to remain your self; nor can we raise our Wishes for you to a higher Pitch than to say, *Be always as you are! Persevere but to the End, and you shall be crown'd with a never fading Garland, the graceful Blendings and Contribution of all the Virtues.*⁹³

⁸⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 203-04.

⁸⁹ March, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p 55; Carnell, ed., *Selected Works*, II, 'NA', p 385n260.

⁹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 204.

⁹¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 195.

⁹² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 196.

⁹³ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 204.

When writing this in 1709 Manley was nearly forty years old, the Duchess of Ormonde a few years older. Beaufort was only twenty-five, not long stepped out on his ducal stage.

She writes to encourage, to praise, but also to inspire. Her words remind of her first

Dedication: ‘as he who enters not the List, can never pretend to win the Race ...’.⁹⁴ Her gratitude bore admiration for *Princesses Beaumont* and *Ormonde, Astrea* and *Ormonda*:

See! The Crown or Garland of the whole, the auspicious *Beaumont* walking between his illustrious Consort, and the Princes[s] *Ormonda Adario*. Once more view that lovely Face! please the Divine *Astrea* to observe the *Resemblance*! Is there not the very Features and Air of your Beautiful Mother, *Virtue*? ... Were your Ladyship for ever to disappear from mortal Eyes: You would yet live below in that glorious Representative! Your *Temples* and *Altars* would be still crowded and oppress’d with the *Incense* and *Adoration* of *those*, who beholding her, would have wherewithal to justify their Mistakes, and make even *Idolatry* excusable. / Then is her *Soul* as much of *Kindred* to you, as her *Form*!⁹⁵

This is the clearest hint that the two Duchesses: Rachel, Duchess of Beaufort and Mary, Duchess of Ormonde are the models for her *Princesses Beaumont* and *Ormonde*.

Manley’s gratitude and admiration for both Duchesses is evident. She shows an intimacy of knowledge. Through the character *Lady Intelligence*, Manley motions *Astrea* ‘to observe the *Resemblance*’ of *Ormonda Adario* ‘in the very Features and Air of your Beautiful Mother, *Virtue*. ... Does she not alike create Love and Admiration, in the Hearts of all her Beholders?’⁹⁶ She offers one more hint, however, that expands my speculative argument one step further of their human – divine fusing. In volume one, *Lady Intelligence* draws her divine guests to behold Beaufort, exclaiming:

... see that magnificent, young and graceful *Prince*, the *Duke de Beaumont*; ... he will imitate his illustrious Grand-father in his Practice of all the *Virtues*. Oh *Astrea*! We must lead you to his Palace, where both your Divinities will be satisfied, will be charm’d, to find so perfect a Resemblance of yourselves.⁹⁷

This leads them to ‘*Beaumont*’s [Beaufort’s] Palace’ where *Astrea* and *Virtue* will find in the ‘magnificent’ young Prince an example of virtue, *Lady Intelligence* elides ‘virtue’ and *Virtue* and *Astrea*, observing of *Princess Ormonda*: ‘Then is her Soul as much of Kindred

⁹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, p ii.

⁹⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁹⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁹⁷ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 179.

to you, as her Form'.⁹⁸ 'Once more view that lovely Face! please the divine *Astrea* to observe the *Resemblance* [of *Ormonda Adario* in] the very Features and Air of your Beautiful Mother, *Virtue*. 'Tis she, 'tis her very self!'⁹⁹ The human and divine representations merge into one.

There is no evidence that Manley had visited Badminton. My visit to the Muniments Room at Beaufort House only yielded the letter I had gained permission to consult, that I will discuss more in Chapter 10. Manley had periodically retreated to the West Country from 1696 however, and the second Duke of Beaufort became her patron in 1709. The letter written just after her death shows an ongoing connection, and admiration. In relating her conversation with the *Grand Druid*, Thomas Yalden, Beaufort's chaplain, and by her description of the setting, Manley could be describing the grounds of Beaufort House from the view of someone who was there.¹⁰⁰ This will also be discussed further in Chapter 10, but Manley's description of Mary, dowager Duchess of Beaufort's paintings and embroidery that decorated its walls and the expansive beauty of the gardens she established, suggests personal experience.¹⁰¹ There is an intriguing hint of evidence to support my argument that Manley characterised the two duchesses as the goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue*. A funerary monument erected to venerate the first Duke of Beaufort represents him 'in his garter robes with full length female figures depicting truth and justice, and reciting his virtues and many high offices.'¹⁰² This is a conventional allegorical representation used in the period to honour a grandee such as the first Duke of Beaufort, characterising human qualities through classical mythology. It is unlikely that Manley could have seen it or known of its existence. It was 'originally erected in St George's Chapel, Windsor', then moved later to 'the church at Great Badminton.'¹⁰³ It would have

⁹⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

⁹⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 199.

¹⁰⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 180-199.

¹⁰¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 197-198.

¹⁰² Paley and Seaward, *Honour, Interest & Power*, p 90; cf. McClain, *Beaufort*, p 199.

¹⁰³ Paley and Seaward, *Honour, Interest & Power*, p 90.

been an intertextual gift for her if she had known of it: a direct connection to the Beaufort family represented in the classical archetypes of truth and justice on which she framed her goddesses *Astrea* and *Virtue* to fuse the divine with the human Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde, all inspired by her profound gratitude for their compassion. She might not have seen this monument at Windsor, but these literary tropes permeated her eighteenth-century neo-classical age.

I do not suggest that the Duchesses ‘bade her write’ the *New Atalantis*. Rather, I speculate that their virtue and compassion represented for Manley an alternative view of female agency in a male-dominated social and political world. Her writing shows strong references to a proto-feminist view, illustrated through her tales of gender inequalities suffered by all woman whether rich or poor, including herself. The Duchesses, portrayed as the *Princesses Beaumont* and *Ormonda*, are a crucial element of her consciousness of female agency, or the lack of it. Consequently, they are an important part of the whole experience of her life that, impacting collectively, ‘bid her write’. It is clear that she was much more than a hired scribbler. She certainly needed the funds, but she retained independence while being dependent on those who would pay her. In Section III I will necessarily take this level of satirical self-determination into account, arguing that she was well aware of the Tory message being promulgated, matched her own to it, but retained independence and wrote in her own style.

Chapter 8

Writing beyond the *New Atalantis*

I have since endeavour'd to make my self as useful as my ill state of Health would give leave, by writing several little phamplets [sic] and papers, of which, if I am rightly inform'd, some have not been disaproved by your Lordship, and the World. / Upon these accounts, and the promises Mr Barber was orderd to bring me from a number of Great men who were calld The Society for Rewarding of merit, I had hopes yt. my poor endeavours to do service might have given me some mark of your Lordships favour;¹

Writing in 1714, there is a tone of resigned disappointment in Manley's words that her endeavours had not met with more favour as she had hoped. In 1710 however, having established her credentials as a political satirist with her sensational *New Atalantis* followed by her first volume of *Memoirs of Europe*, Manley joined St John's *Examiner* team, writing one issue in September, the month before the Tories were swept to victory at the 1710 election. Harley appointed Swift as principal editor in November. That St John had enlisted Manley to write for *The Examiner* soon after he launched it, suggests she was well known to him personally, not merely through her recent *Atalantis* fame.² Swift enjoyed the close association that Harley was cultivating with him as their principal propagandist.³ It is clear from his letters to Stella that he regularly dined with St John and Harley, but also with Barber, who would become his printer also, but who he was careful not to name: 'I dined with people that you never heard of, nor is it worth your while to know; an authoress and a printer.'⁴ Harley and Swift distrusted the Whig Junto, and both agreed with Queen Anne's wish that she 'might not ... be under the Guidance ... of either [party].'⁵ This was Manley's message too, with a strong emphasis towards Tory allegiance. It is significant that she was invited as one of the founding editors of the *Examiner* in its

¹ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford, 3 June 1714, BL., Add. MSS, 70032 (unfoliated): Herman, *Business*, p 257.

² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 122; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 199, 275n35.

³ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., Letter 10, 27 November 1710, p 75; Duff, 'Materials', p 38.

⁴ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., 'Letter 13, written 4 to 11 January 1711' N.S., p 112 and n1, see also, pp 237, 377, referred to as the author of the *Atalantis*, pp 88, 305; cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 201.

⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199.

earliest formation. Not only does it show that she was then known well enough by St John to be invited, but crucially, that she was also respected for her writing skill and political fidelity in the Tory cause.

Manley, arguably the first female political journalist

It is accepted that Manley's first *Examiner*, Number 7, dated 7-14 September 1710, as its subject, Charles XII of Sweden, is also discussed in *Memoirs of Europe* and the *Examiner* Number 49, which is known to be written by Manley.⁶ Herman suggests that 'Manley is using the King of Sweden's involuntary stay with the Turks as an allegory of queen Anne's isolation from the Tories who are depicted as her loyal subjects.'⁷ Writing as the only female member of Harley's propaganda team, Manley's first pamphlet, *A True Narrative of what pass'd at the Examination of the Marquis De Guiscard, at the Cock-Pit, The 8th of March, 1710/11*, was published on 19 April 1711.⁸ She had been asked by Swift to write this pamphlet to recount the stabbing of Harley in his chambers by the French spy, the Marquis De Guiscard (1658-1711). Swift had reported this attempt on Harley's life in the *Examiner*, Number 33, recounting St John's assertion that he had been the intended target. Harley's family were incensed that St John would attempt to gain some merit for himself while it was Harley who lay gravely ill. Swift had asked Manley to write a second account as a retraction in apology, to dispel the family's distress.⁹ That he asked her to do this bore a double irony considering her gender and recent unbridled attacks in her *New Atalantis* political satires against 'persons of quality', but also his previous, albeit privately expressed, qualified view of her work.¹⁰ Her pamphlet must have soothed the family's

⁶ Needham, 'Tory Defender', p 271; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199; Herman, *Business*, p 111; cf. Herman, *Selected Works*, V, 'The Examiner, Pamphlets, Plays', p 244.

⁷ Herman, ed., *Selected Works*, V, 'The Examiner, Pamphlets, Plays', p 235.

⁸ Anonymous, [Manley], *A true narrative of what pass'd at the examination of the Marquis de Guiscard at the Cock-Pit, 8th March 1710/11, His stabbing Mr Harley*, 1711; Herman, *Business*, p 152.

⁹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 207; Herman, *Business*, pp 153-155; cf. Herman, *Selected Works*, V, p 253.

¹⁰ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., pp 158-59, 162, 186-87; Herman, *Business*, pp 152-66 *passim*; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 207-208; Woolley, *Corr. Swift*, Vol. I, Letter from Swift to Joseph Addison, August 22, 1710, pp 286-88.

pain. Swift then asked her to complete his last *Examiner*, Number 46, dated June 7-14, 1711 when he was unable to continue. She then wrote the next six issues to Number 52, dated 19-26 July 1711, thus ending the *Examiner's* first series.¹¹

To mark Swift's departure from the *Examiner*, Maynwaring gave him a proverbial kick in the cassock send off, in his *Medley* on 18 June 1711:

I wou'd advise him to subjoin to the next Invective he makes against the Whigs, this short Anathema of Peter's in that religious Tale [of a Tub], – if you will not comply in all and singular the Premises, G---d damn you, and all your Posterity; and so we bid you heartily farewell.¹²

Maynwaring's words carry a double meaning, eliding Peter the character in Swift's *Tale* with St Peter who had betrayed Christ, insinuating that Swift had betrayed the Whigs.

Carnell states that Manley 'left London for the country' in mid-July 1711.¹³ She returned to London in September and wrote her next pamphlet, which appeared on 2 October 1711, the ironic, *The D. of M--h's Vindication: In Answer to a Pamphlet lately published called Bouchain: or a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner*. She was responding to a tract ascribed to Francis Hare, which was possibly by Maynwaring: *Bouchain: in a Dialogue Between the Late Medley and the Examiner*. *Bouchain* is 'a glorified account of Marlborough's brilliance as a general' and one of many Whig tracts 'warning against making a peace with Spain.'¹⁴ Manley's *Vindication* countered this by again accusing Marlborough of gaining personally from the war, 'our greatest Victories have been obtain'd more by the Courage of the Soldiers than the *Finesse* of the Commander; yet he

¹¹ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., p 315: Swift claims obliquely that thirteen issues had been written before he laid down Number 46. Herman discusses from that premise, pp 128-29; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199 states that he took over after twelve had been written and that he handed over to Manley at Number 45. Herbert Davis began his collection of Swift's issues in *The Examiner and Other Pieces Written in 1710-11* with 'Number 13', but this is numbered 14 in the digitised originals accessed from 'Eighteenth Century Journals', I have taken my numbering from these original editions digitised separately; Needham, 'Tory Defender', pp 271-72 has also drawn from Swift.

¹² Herman, *Business*, pp 129, 281n18: citing [Frank] Ellis, *Swift versus Mainwaring*, p 487.

¹³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199.

¹⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 210; Anonymous, *Bouchain: in a Dialogue Between the Late Medley and the Examiner*, Printed for A. Baldwin, London, 1711.

has reap'd all the Advantage. Is he not the Richest and greatest Subject in *Christendom*?'¹⁵

The following day, on 3 October 1711, Manley published a second response: *A Learned Comment Upon Dr. Hare's Excellent Sermon Preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to PEACE*.¹⁶ In this she 'refutes each of Hare's points in turn' as he had processed in 'a series of pamphlets entitled *The Management of the War in Four Letters to a Tory member*,¹⁷ reiterating her arguments against the war that she had raised in her earlier tract. Dr Francis Hare (1671–1740) was Marlborough's chaplain. Manley's tone was clearly ironic and ferociously biting, shown particularly in her question, 'May we not very well Query whether this be Sense or Truth?'¹⁸

~ ~ ~

The smoke and mirrors of allusion was a game Manley played well. In 1714 she would publish her quasi memoir written in third-person, *The Adventures of Rivella*, with its obfuscating male narrator and provocatively revealing rider, 'History of the Author of the Four Volumes of the New Atalantis, with Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Considerable Persons, Her Contemporaries.' In its Preface the author claims that it was translated from the French for the benefit of its English Readers, but also that:

The French *Publisher has told his Reader, that 'the Means by which he became Master of the following Papers, was by his being Gentleman of the Chamber to the Young Chevalier D'Aumont when he was in England with the Ambassador of that Name.* The English Reader is desir'd to take Notice that the Verses are not to be found in the French Copy; but to make the Book more perfect, care has been taken to transcribe them with great Exactness from the English printed Tragedy of the same Author yet extant among us.¹⁹

This circuitous route of pretended translation, the clue that it should be read as secret-history, confuses its source, but also hints at its author – proclaimed on its title page – author of 'the Four Volumes of the New *Atalantis*.' French Ambassador Louis Duc d'Aumont

¹⁵ Anonymous, [Manley], *The D[uke] of M[arlboroug]h's Vindication: In Answer to a Pamphlet lately published called [Bouchain: or a Dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner]*, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1711, p 6.

¹⁶ Herman, *Business*, pp 171-72.

¹⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 212; Herman, *Business*, p 171.

¹⁸ [Manley], *A Learned Comment Upon Dr. Hare's Excellent Sermon Preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to PEACE*, Printed for John Morphew, 1711, p 4.

¹⁹ [Manley], *Rivella*, Preface.

(1667–1723), who was staying in London at the time she was writing. He had hosted a masked ball for six hundred people at Somerset House in 1713.²⁰ This must have provoked Manley's choice of setting. Presented as truth, her life story was either embellished for effect or seamlessly merged with the imagined, leaving readers – and researchers since – unable to be truly sure what is real. Fictitious characters with pseudonyms that mock character traits are again used; except, significantly, for Richard Steele, whose name is emblazoned on its title page. By 1714, their argument, had been conducted so publicly that there was little point in subterfuge. *Rivella's* protagonist role is shared between the male *Lovemore*, revealed in the Key to be Sir John Tidcomb who had died the year before she was writing and her persona *Rivella* who would 'reveal' her story. It is not her whole life story however, only a partial memoir, embellished, as she admits, to show only 'the bright Part of her Adventures'.²¹ She had excised most references to her political endeavours and partisan scrutiny, as well as key events in her personal life. She left a mostly benign record, most of it known. She knew that soon those in power would be the Whigs she had targeted in her secret histories. She left little for them to take issue with.

If *Rivella's* printer Edmund Curll can be believed, Manley wrote it in short order after being told that another writer, Charles Gildon, had begun writing her biography, under that title and pseudonym for its principal character.²² She expected Gildon's would be an unsympathetic rendition. It is possible that Curll used Gildon as a ruse to force her into writing her life story, tricking her in the process to gain the rights to publish. In 1714, with her phenomenal acclaim for *New Atalantis*, Curll would have been expecting high sales. Barber would have known what he'd missed. Rivington suggests this undermined 'mutual confidence between Manley and Barber' and, within a few years he had transferred his

²⁰ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 615-16.

²¹ Manley], *Rivella*, p 120.

²² Edmund Curll, *Mrs. Manley's History Of Her Own Life and Times Published from her Original Manuscript*, 4th Edition, with *A Preface concerning the Present Publication*, Printed for E. Curll, London, 1725, posthumous publication of Manley's *Rivella* (1714) 'To The Reader,' (unpaginated); Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 217-218.

affections to Sarah Dufkin, or Dovekin, (*bap.*1699, *d.*1758), a woman employed as Manley's servant. She also became his co-executor and main beneficiary of his Will.²³ Considering that he earned the nickname 'tyrant' in his own lifetime, referred to as such 'by the Duke of Ormond in a letter to Swift' in 1715, Manley might have been relieved.²⁴ She continued to live with Barber at Lambeth Hill for much of the years until her death, and expressed no animosity towards him in her Will.

Writing before the accession of George I in 1714 and the Whigs' return to power, Manley attempts to minimise the effects of *New Atalantis* as she anticipates their return, indicating in *Rivella* that she knew it was time to lay down her political pen:

... and promis'd not to repeat her Fault, provided the World would have the Goodness to forget those she had already committed, and that hence-forward her Business should be to write of Pleasure and Entertainment only, wherein Party should no longer mingle; but that the Whigs were so unforgiving they would not advance one Step towards a Coalition with any Muse that had once been so indiscreet to declare against them: She now agrees with me, that Politics was not the Business of a Woman, especially of one that can so well delight and entertain her Readers with more gentle pleasing Theams,²⁵

She is careful not to praise Tories too thoroughly, nor condemn Whigs entirely. With her keen sense by 1714 that she would need to be self-preserving, she crafted her 'life story' with obfuscation and apparently innocent candour, with a third person male narrator and names disguised. Through *Lovemore* in *Rivella* she states in its closing pages that 'henceforward her Business should be to write of Pleasure and Entertainment only, wherein *Party* should no longer mingle'.²⁶ From then on, she kept a low political profile, until her fourth and last known play, *Lucius, the First Christian King of Britain* was performed in 1717. Through this she writes the final chapter on her political writing in which, Carnell

²³ [Curl], *Impartial History of John Barber*, pp xxiii, xxvii, 4, 8-10, 24; Charles A. Rivington, *Tyrant: The Story of John Barber 1675-1741, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, William Sessions Limited, York, 1989, pp 50-53, 110-15.

²⁴ Nicholas Rogers, 'Barber, John (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/37148>, accessed 4 April 2013]: citing Rivington, *Tyrant*, p 71.

²⁵ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 116-17; cf. Herman, *Business*, p 11.

²⁶ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 117.

states, she ‘would recount the restoration of the true heir to the English throne.’²⁷ She again worked on themes of virtue and vengeance, betrayal and the breaking of oaths.

Through *Lovemore* again she alludes to her play *Lucius* being in the planning. She ‘has accordingly set her self again to write a Tragedy for the Stage.’²⁸ She could not then anticipate the length of time the Tories would remain out of office, and may subsequently have toned down its message from her original plan. Carnell explains in her close reading of the play that it is, ‘a complicated plot [that] while ostensibly being a patriotic celebration of British Christianity, succeeds in being multi-interpretable, from both a Jacobite and a Hanoverian perspective.’²⁹ She contends that *Lucius* ‘may be interpreted as offering a message of support to either side of the political divide, loyal Hanoverian or Jacobite.’³⁰ She later argued that ‘*Lucius* expresses a dream of an idealist and Protestant style of Jacobitism, a desire for a Stuart restoration [but] only if the Stuart claimant would convert to (an acceptable British form of) Christianity.’³¹ Her bipartisan approach may have encouraged Steele to stage the play and to pay her far more than was usual for the rights. His patronage also revived the friendship of two foes who had fought publicly and now reconciled equally publicly:

... but while common Dedications are stuff'd with painful Panegyricks, the plain and honest Business of this, is, only to do an Act of Justice, and to End a former Misunderstanding between the Author, and Him, whom, She, here, makes Her Patron. In Consideration that one knows not how far what We have said of each other, may affect our Character in the World, I take it for an Act of Honour to declare, on my Part, that I have not known a greater Mortification than when I have reflected upon the Severities which have flow'd from a Pen, which is now, You see, dispos'd as much to celebrate and commend you. On Your Part, Your sincere Endeavour to promote the Reputation and Success of this Tragedy, are infallible Testimonies of the Candour and Friendship you retain for me. I rejoice in this publick Retribution, and with Pleasure acknowledge, That I find by Experience, that some useful Notices which I had the good Fortune to give You for Your Conduct in former Life, with some hazard to my Self, were not to be blotted out of Your Memory by any Hardships that follow'd them.³²

²⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 17; Carnell and Herman, eds., *Selected Works*, V, pp 281-284.

²⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 117; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 17, 242n33.

²⁹ Carnell and Herman, eds., *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p 281.

³⁰ Carnell and Herman, eds., *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p 39.

³¹ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 222.

³² Mrs. Manley, *Lucius, The First Christian King of Britain, A Tragedy*, Printed for John Barber, London, 1717: Dedication ‘To Sir Richard Steele’.

She acknowledges his patronage, regrets her heated words, but does not resile from the intense hurt, emotional and physical, she had felt by his refusal to help in her desperate financial need that had precipitated her vitriolic response. She signed the conventional ‘Your most humble, most faithful, and most-oblig’d Servant,’ but then her name in full: ‘De la Rivier Manley’; resolving the perennial confusion in scholarship about her correct name. In his turn, Steele responded with an oblique complimentary Prologue in verse:

But the Ambitious Author of these Scenes,
With no low Arts, to court your Favour means;
With Her Success, and Disappointment, move,
On the just Laws of Empire, and of Love!³³

Steele affirms her talent, it was not ‘low Arts’. His full apology was implied in his generous payment for her play. This enabled her to purchase a house at Beckley in Oxfordshire. *Lucius* was an extremely popular play, revived in 1720, also for her benefit.³⁴ In this latter stage of her career she was finally reaping the rewards of her life’s work. She referred to this in her last extant letter, dated 19 March 1719/20, to Matthew Prior, thanking him ‘for Lord Harley and Lady Harrietts Bounty.’

Sir, ... I have received several marks of your favour, and had not been this late in my thanks, if I durst have intruded myself before, but as I often begd my acknowledgements might be made to those persons that recommended my Interest, so I hope there has been so much justice done me, that I do not stand in your Esteem either as one insensible of benefit or ungrateful. / Through Ld Chamberlains wize management a play I had designed for the Town is deferrd till the next season. To make some amends, they have promised me to revive *Lucius* for my Benefit; gracious Mrs Oldfield has agreed to speak that admirable Epilogue you honoured me with which must ever Claim my most particular acknowledgements.³⁵

The play she mentions has never been identified but could be one of two plays she requested in her Will to be kept with her effects: ‘a tragedy called the Duke of Somerset’.³⁶ Another work that has not appeared is the ‘Miscellany not yet collected, of valuable Pieces in Verse and Prose,’ mentioned in Barber’s *Life* that was ‘Printed for Cooper’.³⁷

³³ Manley, *Lucius*, ‘Prologue by Sir Richard Steele’.

³⁴ Carnell and Herman, eds., *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p 281.

³⁵ Herman, *Business*, p 261: Letter from Delarivier Manley to Matthew Prior, 19 March 1719/20, Institute of Historical Research, Prior Papers, Vol. 7, f.127.

³⁶ Manley’s Will: TNA: PRO, PROB 11/599, 194–5; also see Herman, *Business*, pp 32, 268n129; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 236–37; Ballaster, ‘Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)’, *ODNB*.

³⁷ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 10; cf. Ballaster, ‘Manley, Delarivier’, *ODNB*.

In 1719 Manley had moved into the safer literary mode, with her last work of prose published, her innocuous and entirely non-political romance novels, *The Power of Love in Seven Novels* (1719). Each novella has a different title and subject, five were loosely based on William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, first published in 1566 but, Carnell describes, 'her phrasing of the translation is quite different from his and in many cases she develops the plots more fully.'³⁸ Relevant here however is that her first novella of the seven, *The Fair Hypocrite*, 'shares the same plot with Painter's, *The Duchess of Savoy*';³⁹ a suggestive echo from her fourth secret history, *Memoirs of Europe*, volume two, dedicated to *Louisa of Savoy, Countess of Angoulesm*. Prescott points out that by the 1720s 'no one was making a living by writing plays'; drama had been replaced in popularity by fiction.⁴⁰

As late as 1723, the year before she died, Manley was again subjected to government harassment. The meddlesome printer Edmund Curll wrote to then Lord Treasurer, Robert Walpole (1676–1745) claiming he had seen:

A letter, 'under Mrs Manley's own hand, intimating that a fifth volume of *New Atalantis* had been for some time printed off and lies ready for publication; the design of which, in her own words is "To give an account of a sovereign and his Ministers who are endeavouring to overturn that Constitution which their presence is to protect; to examine the defects and vices of some men who take a delight to impose upon the world by the pretence of the public good; whilst their true design is only to gratify and advance themselves".'⁴¹

Other than *Lucius*, which had not caused partisan controversy, she had stayed out of the political fray since the accession of George I. If she had written a fifth play this would indicate that she had decided again to apply her satirical pen. Anti-government satire was beginning to revive at the time, having quietened for a few years due to the alarm caused by the Jacobite 1715 Rising. Secretary of State, Charles Townshend (1674–1738), issued a Warrant to search Barber's premises and 'the house of a neighbour, the Groves Widdow also on Lambeth Hill' for a 'Seditious and Traitorous Libel entitled the *New Atalantis* Vol.

³⁸ Carnell and Herman, eds., *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp 39-41; Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier', *ODNB*.

³⁹ Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture*, p 18.

⁴⁰ Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture*, p 18.

⁴¹ Herman, *Business*, pp 33, 268n135: citing letter from Curll to Robert Walpole, 2 March 1723.

the Fifth or with some like Title’ and to ‘Seize and Secure any copies found either written or printed as well as the Person or Persons in whose Custody they are found and bring him or them before me to be examined ...’.⁴² Barber was not in England in 1723. He had travelled to Rome ‘bearing £50,000 in bills of exchange’; donations from English Jacobites to the Jacobite court. Barber had been denied re-entry into England until August 1724, not returning until a few weeks after Manley’s death.⁴³

If Curll had learned about a fifth volume, which would have been a significant culmination to her political oeuvre, it has never surfaced. She was not arrested. The only evidence lies in a letter to Harley dated 30 August 1714, where she suggests writing another secret history, positing whether ‘a true account of the Changes made just Before the Death of the Queen would not be very acceptable to the Publick?’:

As your Lordship has nothing to fear on this part, your Actions always aiming at the Good & Glory of the Nation and the Service of your Prince [Anne]; so out of common justice, they ought to be fairly represented, to sett those men right, who only condemn for want of information, & to make others ashamed, who have only mens persons in admiration, with out regarding the interest of their Country.⁴⁴

She could not have known that Swift had this in hand; writing *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen Ministry*, although it was not published until posthumously in 1758 ‘by the late Jonathan Swift’.⁴⁵ She suggested that for her history ‘[William] Dampier [1651–1715] in the Second Vol. of his travails’, in the court of Queen of Achin, ‘would furnish a very commodious Scene.’⁴⁶

⁴² Herman, *Business*, pp 33, 268n136: Warrant order of Charles Townshend, PRO, SP 44/8: Warrant consulted while I was in England, dated 11 March 1723/4, Townshend and Walpole Secretaries of State: State Papers’ Entry Books, Criminal: Correspondence and Warrants; cf. Ballaster, ‘Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)’, *ODNB*.

⁴³ Nicholas Rogers, ‘Barber, John (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741)’, rev. *ODNB*; D.W. Hayton, ‘Dependence’, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., *Ormonde*, p 250n55: BL., Stow MS 2501.78; Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 109-13, 232: citing Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 44-48; [Curll], *Impartial History*, pp 22-23.

⁴⁴ Letter from Delarivier Manley to Earl of Oxford, FL., Add. MSS, 70033 (unfoliated), 30 August 1714: Herman, *Business*, p 260.

⁴⁵ The late Jonathan Swift, D.D. D.S.P.D., *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen Ministry*, ‘Published from the Last Manuscript Copy, Corrected and Enlarged by the Author’s own Hand’, Printed for A. Millar, London, 1758.

⁴⁶ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford, BL., Add. MSS, 70033 (unfoliated), 30 August 1714.

With the phenomenal success of *New Atalantis* to her credit, but also a tarnished reputation, it seemed on the surface that Manley was just a hack writer of scandal fiction with little literary merit. This superficial judgment sells the reality of her skill desperately short. Kathryn Temple illustrates this in her discussion of Manley's engagement with the law in her texts:

Manley's arrest for the *New Atalantis* brought the issues of authorship, fictionalization, and critique represented by her works and her body into close intersection with the law in order to exploit the forum that Westminster Hall presented. The very sources of her legal troubles in the *New Atalantis*—its construction of authorship, its fictionalized non-fiction, its disguises and display of secrets—performed as critiques of law's own authorship and fictions.⁴⁷

Temple argues that Manley was 'one of the most prolific propagandists of her time,' who was 'part of a larger circle that included most of the major political commentators of the first third of the century' and that 'although arrested was released with little harm done.'⁴⁸

Toni Bowers also points out that 'Manley wrote with confident awareness of her work's generic heritage' and sees in the 'salacious allegories' in *New Atalantis* 'oblique new-tory manifestoes for the children of Charles II's reign – Manley's generation – who had been too young to participate in the "Glorious Revolution" and had struggled ever since with the tory inheritance of complicity.'⁴⁹ Indeed, as Phiddian also asserted:

restoration enterprises were concerned urgently with problems of explaining recent history and restoring legitimacy to a fractured body politic. Practical projects and rhetorical projections abounded, before and after the watershed of 1688-89, and few writers recognised the inevitability subsequently ascribed to the course of events by the progressive, or Whig, reading of British history.⁵⁰

He points out that 'the Revolution Settlement itself meant radically different things to people of differing ideological bents.'⁵¹

In December 1710, Swift playfully chastised his friend Stella for her incorrect spelling by mocking Manley: 'Ridiculous madam? I suppose you mean ridiculous: let me have no

⁴⁷ Temple, 'Fictions of Law', p 584.

⁴⁸ Temple, 'Fictions of Law,' p 575.

⁴⁹ Bowers, *Force and Fraud*, pp 163, 164.

⁵⁰ Phiddian, *Swift's Parody*, p 43.

⁵¹ Phiddian, *Swift's Parody*, p 44.

more of that? 'tis the author of the Atalantis's spelling.'⁵² This was early in the process of regularising English spelling, but Swift had attempted some standardisation in his pamphlet, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining The English Tongue* published in May 1712. Swift had been taken in by Manley's playful manner of writing; deliberately fashioning her text in the style of salacious gossip and seemingly 'not well written', as Sarah had described contemptuously. By the following year, Swift had altered his opinion of Manley's skill enough to trust her to finish writing his last *Examiner* and continue as editor from there.

Her oeuvre ended as it began, with a posthumous reprint of her first work, without her permission. *Letters Writen*, was republished by the notorious plagiariser Edmund Curll in 1725 under the new title: *Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter*. At its first appearance, 'J. H.' had claimed to have published their letters without her consent. This could have been a literary conceit on her part; she neither acknowledged nor denied her involvement publicly. Neither could she control this posthumous resurrection, which suggests, ironically, that she would live on. Manley styled her works – her secret histories in particular – as performance. Everything was written for its effects. As a proto-feminist, well before the movement was even defined, she set out to educate women about the traps inherent in their society, the dangers that women faced in their patriarchal world. She did not set out to keep entirely to the facts, but twisted them, embellished and even invented some, to provide enough detail to illustrate the broader issues of justice and virtue. Indeed, nothing can be taken at face value in Manley's writing, especially her autobiographical work. In her early career she did not shy from publishing under her name, even though convention dictated that it was undignified for a woman to write but even more damaging to her reputation if she were to publish.⁵³ In the middle period of her career her writing was predominately of

⁵² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 88.

⁵³ Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture*, pp 7-8, 15, 17, 26.

a political nature and so required anonymity to avoid prosecution, although her identity did not remain concealed for long and did not prevent her arrest. Her involvement in Harley's propaganda team was also a badly kept secret. She left no written evidence, however, that could show who of her cohort may have 'bid her to write.'

Following the return of the Whig government in 1714, she avoided drawing attention to herself, careful not to antagonise the new ministry and Britain's new king, George I. She wrote equivocally in *Rivella* about her work for the Tories, even offering an olive branch by suggesting that the Whigs looked after their writers far better than had the Tories. All her literary activity together adds further to the question 'who bid her write?' Scholars in the main have suggested that the anecdotes Manley related in her first volume of *New Atalantis* were 'old tales of gossip' she had heard about from those who patronised the Duchess of Cleveland in her gambling house.⁵⁴ She may well have gained more from her connections to the political elite and her literary friends. Sunderland, the Duchess of Marlborough and Sarah's secretary Arthur Maynwaring, all believed Manley received her information from someone inside the court. It may be that someone powerful had prevented further arrests, but more likely that, as her remaining political publications appeared during the Tories' tenure in office, she was in no further danger. After 1714, however, Harley could no longer protect her from censure, though he did assist her financially. She was supported by friends right up to her death and was not forgotten.

New Atalantis, Parsons posits, was 'contested in print by authors who took issue with its political vision.'⁵⁵ It was also referred to or appropriated by other authors seeking to gain from its success.⁵⁶ It was a 'best-seller', and reprints appeared in quick succession,

⁵⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 78-81.

⁵⁵ Parsons, *Reading Gossip*, pp 8-9.

⁵⁶ Parsons, *Reading Gossip*, pp 8-9; see Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 15, 141; a few examples: [Anonymous], *The Idol of Paris, With what may be Expected, if ever the High-Flying Party should Establish a Government agreeable to that pernicious Doctrine of Absolute Passive Obedience, &c.*, Written by a Young Lady, now upon her Departure for the New Atalantis, Printed by J Baker, London, 1710; [Anonymous], *The Northern Atalantis: Or, York Spy, Displaying The Secret Intrigues and Adventures of the Yorkshire Gentry; more particularly the Amours of Melissa*, Printed for A Baldwin, London, 1713;

then into the second and third decades, with the last appearing in 1740, over a decade after Manley's death. As Carnell puts it, *New Atalantis* 'continued to resonate with the public long after its immediate topicality had faded.'⁵⁷ Indeed, it was still read long after most of those she targeted had exited public, even mortal, life. The period that began after James II's reign, so transformed by the events of the 1688 revolution, also gave rise to a clamour of voices no longer suppressed by an autocratic king. Ballaster points out that print culture developed, 'alongside the continuation of a thriving culture of social authorship in manuscript', which also gave 'women and lower-class men new opportunities ...'.⁵⁸ With this growing print culture and Anne's presence on the throne, women's place 'in the moral, intellectual, and social life of the nation' was discussed and debated as never before', with the notion also 'gaining ground, of women as guardians and shapers of manners and morals ...'.⁵⁹ Through her political satires, Manley placed herself at the forefront of this intellectual and social controversy. As one of the leading female voices in the period, to use Manley as an illustration of O'Brien's point, she was one female writer who had 'inherited a rich and politically resonant language of gender controversy', involving herself forcefully 'in questioning the problem of women's subjection and lack of civil identity in terms of the household as a mirror and microcosm of the state.'⁶⁰

Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) later said of Swift what could also be applied to Manley:

as an author, it is just to estimate his powers by their effects. In the reign of Queen Anne, he turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation.⁶¹

Bowers acknowledges Manley's 'genius for using scandalous gossip to score political points, stating that it 'remains [her] signature quality even today', giving Manley her serious literary due when she contends that:

[Anonymous] *The German Atalantis: Being a Secret History of Many Surprising Intrigues, and Adventures transacted in several Foreign Courts*, Written by a Lady, London, 1715.

⁵⁷ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 1.

⁵⁸ Ballaster, ed., 'Introduction', *History of British Women's Writing*, p 6.

⁵⁹ O'Brien, 'Woman's Place', Ballaster, ed., *History of British Women's Writing*, pp 19-21.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, Vol. 3, Methuen & Co., London, 1896, p 26.

... *Atalantis* is not merely an ideologically-inflected fable, where tory virtues and whig vices come into principled conflict; more pointedly, it is a compendium of gossip about particular people calculated to achieve specific, measurable results. And at this ambitious goal, surprisingly enough, Manley actually succeeded. Both Sacheverell's triumph and Queen Anne's late surprising shift to a Tory ministry took place in 1710, less than a year after *Atalantis*'s first appearance, and in part as a result of the novel's influence on partisan affairs.⁶²

Bowers' perceptive analyses both *New Atalantis* and Manley's intention in writing it. Carol

Fungaroli Sargent also recognises that:

Manley used commonly recognizable material rather than original work for protective camouflage, and she did a remarkable job of hiding dangerous political points behind witty tales and society card-table gossip that anyone of fashion could identify and she could therefore use to exonerate herself.⁶³

It was by her 'arcane and complex stories often muttered in confusion' that she was regarded 'a low writer who didn't know how to construct a coherent narrative[.]'⁶⁴ While Swift showed a low estimation of her work in early comments, he would come to express a kinder view after their association on Harley's propagandist team, handing to her the task of writing for the *Examiner* when he needed to depart.⁶⁵ Sargent also acknowledges that:

Throughout *The New Atalantis*, and in particular [her 'hot apple pie' scene] Manley crafted a highly visual mix of fact and fiction to distract enemies from her legally actionable content and gave her an admissible plea in court; her outsized human caricatures functioned in much the same way as would later political cartoons.⁶⁶

Manley used these 'echoed bits' and "secret disguises" of which [her *Examiner* colleague, William] King (1663–1712) spoke, as 'false fronts for coded messages to those who had ears to hear, especially the political readers like King who had a grand time puzzling out her images and catching her allusions.'⁶⁷ It is these secret puzzles and disguising artifice that makes Manley's writing so clever, but so easily misread. If indeed she was writing her Tory polemic for others behind the scenes, camouflage techniques would also have been necessary to hide the existence and identity of those who may have 'bid' her write.

⁶² Bowers, *Force or Fraud*, p 163.

⁶³ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict in Delarivier Manley's *The New Atalantis*', pp 529-30.

⁶⁴ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 530.

⁶⁵ cf. Swift, Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 1, p 287; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 88; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., pp 158-59, 162, 186; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., pp 315, 377.

⁶⁶ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 517.

⁶⁷ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 530.

SECTION III

MANLEY'S NETWORK AND CONNECTIONS

I stared upon her and thought her directly mad; I began with railing at her Books; the barbarous Design of exposing People that never had done her any Injury; she answer'd me she was become *Misanthrope*, a perfect *Timon*, or *Man-Hater*; all the World was out of Humour with her, and she with all the World, more particularly a Faction who were busy to enslave their Sovereign, and overturn the Constitution; that she was proud of having more Courage than any of her Sex, and of throwing the first stone which might give a Hint for other Persons of more Capacity to examine the Defects, and Vices of some Men, who took a Delight to impose upon the World, by the pretence of publick Good, whilst their true Design was only to gratify and advance themselves.¹

¹ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 109.

Chapter 9

With a little help from friends

My Lord, I had the Fortune two years agoe to publish some pieces for which I suffered imprisonments injured my Health and prejudiced my little Fortune: Tho the performances were very indifferent yet they were reckoned to do some service having been the publick attempt made against those designs & that ministry which have been since so happily changed. My Friends have told me that I had some little pretence to be considered for what I had done as well as suffered, and my Lord Peterborow as well as Mr Granvile have promised to recommend me to your Lordship's Protection: I hope I may venture to add that I had once the honour of a Note from your Lordship, to command my Attendance, which I endeavoured in vain.¹

'Who bid her write?' Manley asks rhetorically in *Rivella*, ironically reprising Sunderland's line of questioning at her trial.² I do not contend that Manley could not, or indeed did not, write *New Atalantis* alone. As Section II has shown, she had plenty of cause and capacity to write the *New Atalantis*, both as a woman seeking a voice and as a loyalist to the Tory cause. It remains implausible, however, that she would have decided without external influence, to satirise the most powerful people in her society with no more motive than to earn a meagre living from her writing. She could have intended to show the Tory ministers – with the primary candidate being Harley – that she could be useful as their polemicist, particularly if she knew he was already using other writers to generate propaganda. Her life circumstances, progression of writing and the people she wrote with along the way, however, offer a plausible argument that she was writing to a collaborative 'bigger-picture' agenda. In past chapters I have discussed the motivations her life experience brought to her work, the people she interacted with while honing her craft, and the many intertextual sources that influenced its direction. In this section, I will explore the figures most likely to have influenced, and perhaps sponsored, her satirical project.

This chapter will outline briefly the influences that culminated in her working within a coterie of powerful friends who supported her financially; albeit rarely at a life-sustaining

¹ Manley, Letter to Earl of Oxford, 19 July 1711, BL., Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated); Herman, *Business*, p 255.

² [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 110-111.

level. In the excerpt of her letter to Harley in 1711 in the headnote above Manley identifies two of her 'Friends' who encouraged her to write to Harley to seek financial assistance: the Whig Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough and the Tory George Granville, soon to become Baron Lansdowne. Both offered her some patronage during her career, Granville remaining a dependable friend throughout her life and Manley praised both in *New Atalantis*.³ They offered to speak to Harley on her behalf and allowed her to use their names. They were both members of Harley's political circle of trusted friends and associates. These were just two who could be counted among her cohort of patrons, supporters and friends, who she could rely on at times for a little help.

In the chapters that follow I will explore in more depth those who can be identified as the most likely to have 'bid' her to turn her career towards political propaganda. The first and most obvious is her patron for the *New Atalantis*, Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort. The most probable however is Harley who had the most to gain. Henry St John clearly stands out as a further possibility, considering the evidence they had met and he is known to have first employed her pen. Abigail Masham, her last dedicatee in her secret history quartet, who is addressed ambiguously under pseudonym, probably passed on information but also financial patronage. Jonathan Swift is a possible but unlikely suspect who first viewed her work with some cynicism but came to admire her. He was Harley's principal propagandist, but also a trusted friend and it was through this change of political fortune in his life that she became his associate at the *Examiner*. He was in London in 1708 but there is only circumstantial evidence that could connect him to Manley at the time.

Throughout her career Manley gathered influential patrons among peers, politicians, and others such as Barber and Masham. As her career evolved, those willing to support her work were drawn in as they became useful but departed as circumstances changed. Much of the time, however, notwithstanding their wealth, she battled against poverty; often just

³ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 177; *NA*, II, pp 270-272.

one step ahead of the bailiffs. From Beaufort's patronage, Granville, Hervey, Harley, St John, with the most lasting, her printer Barber, were the few friends or colleagues who assisted her financially at times to the end. In the earlier years as a playwright, the patronage she gained from others, most of them Whigs, was fleeting. She could not then afford the luxury to be partisan, if she had cared. From 1708, however, around the time she might have begun living with Barber, she swam mostly in a Tory propaganda pond, with perhaps the disaffected Whig, the third Earl of Peterborough, a notable exception.

Manley and Barber

For at least the last fifteen years of her life Manley resided mostly, with some intervening sojourns away, with her printer John Barber after 'they came to an 'Ecclarissement' [*sic*] and 'a much more intimate Correspondence':

for the Sake, only, of being near the Press and more at hand, to see her own Work done correctly, and better attended to than it had been; she has an Apartment fitted up for her, at the House of Mr. Barber, with whom she resided, to the Day of her Death.⁴

It is accepted in scholarship that she was Barber's mistress, but this may not have been the case. Their relationship apparently cooled after she had been coerced by Edmund Curll into writing her quasi autobiography *Adventures of Rivella* for him to publish.⁵ In it, she addresses the censure she carried through her life, for both her bigamist marriage to her cousin John Manley that she may or may not have knowingly entered into, but also her subsequent relationship with Tilly. She declaims openly from the start of *Rivella*, through the conversation between *Lovemore* and the young *D'Aumont* discussed earlier that: 'There are so many Things [to] Praise, and yet [are] Blame-worthy, in Rivella's Conduct ...'.⁶ She then challenges the double standards her society accepted, continuing through *Lovemore* expressing that, had she 'been a Man, she [would have] been without Fault: But the Charter of that Sex being much more confin'd than ours, what is not a Crime in Men is scandalous

⁴ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 13.

⁵ [Curll], *Impartial History*, pp xxiii, xxiv, 4, 8-10, 24; Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 50-53, 110-15.

⁶ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 7.

and unpardonable in Woman'.⁷ She concludes *Rivella* on the same note, in the conversation between *Lovemore* and *D'Aumont*, and in this rejects her society's 'unequal' distribution of blame. Through *D'Aumont's* statement to *Lovemore*, she has the last word:

Let us not lose a Moment before we are acquainted with the only Person of her Sex that knows how to Live, and of whom we may say, in relation to Love, since she has so peculiar a Genius for, and has made such noble Discoveries in that Passion, that it would have been a Fault in her, not to have been Faulty.⁸

She had to survive, however, at a time that did not offer many palatable options for women to earn a living, and few reputable for one with a tarnished reputation that could offer security and sustenance. Even her choice in writing barely supported her, and neither was it considered by her society a reputable occupation for a woman.

To be described an 'intimate' of Barber's in this period merely meant a good friend, not necessarily a lover. The ambiguity of their relationship bears some similarity to that of Swift and Stella. An 'eclaircissement' could be interpreted in this passage as making clear their true intentions and expectations. It could have been platonic, or something much closer. That Barber added a room on his premises for her to 'be near' the printing press blurs their intent. Swift had noted that he dined with Manley and Barber from 1710 but did not define their relationship.⁹ He did not need to. Neither did he indicate that her presence at Barber's was a recent arrangement. He describes her in letters to his friend Charles Ford as an *Inmate* at John Barber's.¹⁰ In their early eighteenth-century period this could merely mean a lodger. Regardless of their relationship by then, considering she had not openly acknowledged that they shared a close intimacy she would hardly have described their living arrangement any other way.

Manley could have moved in with Barber even earlier. In the memorial to John Barber printed by T. Cooper in 1741 the writer relates, ambiguously, that she and St John could

⁷ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 7.

⁸ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 120.

⁹ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., 'Letter 13, written 4-11 January 1711' N.S., p 112 and n1.

¹⁰ Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, II, pp 291: letter to Charles Ford, Feb 16th 1718-19.

have met at Barber's premises in or after 1705.¹¹ Its ambiguity leaves the possibility that this could still have been closer to 1708, the year Barber, perhaps, first published her work. The best clue to her first connection with Barber is the aforementioned reprint in 1708 of her epistolary publication *The Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters* by his trade printers, Morphew and Woodward, that was first printed by Benjamin Bragg in 1707. They then also printed its sequel in 1708, *Remaining Pacquet of Letters*. It is not known whether she had agreed to these being published, or whether she had any direct involvement with the printers. As they also published for other printers, it cannot be assumed they printed these for Barber. Determining whether this is so might also reveal when she moved in with him. I would argue that it was before she wrote her first volume of *New Atalantis*.¹² This could also indicate that St John and Barber provided some initial impetus to her writing *New Atalantis*. There is no evidence however that Barber influenced the content of her writing and I do not mean to suggest that he did. She was certainly living at Barber's when she published her third and fourth volumes, *Memoirs of Europe* and then all her publications that followed, including *Court Intrigues*, although she 'disclaimed' this as 'a pirated edition' in *The Examiner*, Number 47 on 14 June 1711.¹³ This was printed by Morphew and Woodward, however, as was the *Examiner*. Morphew's name only appears on her political pamphlets that she wrote for Harley's propaganda team. Neither printer dared put their name to her pamphlet, *A True Narrative Of what pass'd at the Examination of the Marquis De Guiscard*. She would also have written her quasi-memoir *Adventures of Rivella* at Barber's, but furtively without his knowledge; as its printer, the unreliable Curll, claimed after her death.¹⁴ She continued to live with Barber until her death, although with periodic retreats to the West Country or to stay with her sister at Finchley, then a village

¹¹ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 9- 10.

¹² Cf. Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)', *ODNB*.

¹³ Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)', *ODNB*.

¹⁴ Curll, ed., 'To the Reader', *Mrs Manley's History of Her Own Life and Times*, pp iii-viii.

north of London. She also purchased a house at Beckley in Oxfordshire in 1717 with the proceeds from her play, *Lucius*, where she lived in the summer months. She died at Barber's home in London, on 11 July 1724' of a 'most violent fit of the cholic.'¹⁵

~ ~ ~

Manley drew from a wide range of contemporary and historical sources as well as court gossip for her information. Sunderland's and the Duchess of Marlborough's suspicions that she had been fed information a woman such as her could not have known, indicates that much of her salacious gossip was true. Sarah believed that in writing *New Atalantis* for the Tories, Manley was writing in concert with Harley, Masham and Peterborough. By the time Manley was released on bail, Harley had begun corresponding with Anne, cleverly crafting his return. By her acquittal in February 1710, he had begun meeting with Anne through access arranged by Masham. Harley's scheme to remove the powerbase of the Whig Junto from Anne's ministry, feeding into Anne's desire to not be controlled by party, was fulfilled by Anne's dismissal of both Sunderland and Godolphin in June and August 1710 respectively. Harley was appointed within a week of Godolphin's departure and he appointed St John to his coveted position, Secretary of State, northern department, in September. This was two weeks after St John invited Manley to join the *Examiner's* editorial team. St John had commenced the paper on 3 August with William King his inaugural editor. By November Harley had taken over and was treating Swift as his principal propagandist.¹⁶ All three continued to employ her pen through to her last political pamphlet in 1714, *A Modest Enquiry*.¹⁷ In the writing that followed *New Atalantis*, she and they would 'speak' as one, so was there the question arises of the extent she spoke with them in her breakthrough work of 1708.

¹⁵ Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c.1670–1724)', *ODNB*; [Curl], *Impartial History*, pp 45-46; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 167.

¹⁶ Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: the man, his works, and the age*, Methuen, London, 1962-1983, Vol. 2, pp 406-09.

¹⁷ [Manley], *A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Sett of People upon the Spreading of a Report of Her Majesty's Death*, Printed by John Morphew, London, 1714.

The maverick Whig, Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, naval commander-in-chief of the fleet,¹⁸ may have offered her some financial support. She certainly repaid him in encomium: ‘... the awful [awe-inspiring] *Count of Valentia!* His Genius sparkles in his Air!’¹⁹ Her last word of her second volume was to sing Peterborough’s praise: ‘When all objects disappear but those which Fancy represents, and your Attention undiverted by what may prevent the Report of the immortal Valentia’s Glory!’²⁰ In 1707 Peterborough had been recalled by parliament, accused of misconduct in his naval command in Spain before the battle of Almanza. This battle then ended in defeat. Censured, he was out of favour with but critical of his Whig colleagues. He was both useful to and favoured by Harley. They dined together frequently.²¹ Swift also dined with Peterborough, having known him since an earlier visit to London in 1703.²² When visiting the Earl on 3 July 1711, he met Manley there seeking ‘some pension or reward’. Swift ‘seconded’ her request, as he wrote later in a letter to Stella, that he hoped ‘they will do something for the poor woman’.²³ Referring to ‘they’, indicates that he knew there were others with the Earl who would assist her. He may have been referring to the ‘Society of Brothers’ or ‘Brothers Club’, an ‘informal dining circle’ of Tory wits and gentlemen, initiated by St John in June 1711 with its ongoing meetings organised by Swift and ‘six more ‘men of wit or men of interest.’²⁴ Harley was not invited to join, although he sponsored their meetings.²⁵

Considering Manley’s praise of Peterborough as ‘that *renown’d General of Utopia,*’ with which she concludes her second volume of *New Atalantis* published in October 1709,²⁶ it seems likely that he offered her the financial assistance she requested. He could also have

¹⁸ John B. Hattendorf, ‘Mordaunt, Charles, third earl of Peterborough and first earl of Monmouth (1658?–1735)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/19162>, accessed 21 Aug 2016].

¹⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 270.

²⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 272.

²¹ Hill, *Harley*, pp 114-15; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 72, 103, 109-10, 251, 271, 481.

²² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 40, 45, 72, 103, 109, 251; Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 1, p 147.

²³ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 237: entry dated 3 July 1711.

²⁴ Herman, *Business*, p 29; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 227: entry dated 20-30 June 1711.

²⁵ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 227, 237, 402.

²⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 270-272.

suggested that she write to Harley, allowing her to use his name in support of her appeal for financial help. Both her visit to Peterborough and letter to Harley show that she was assisted by this group. This also suggests that Sarah and Maynwaring were not far wrong in suspecting that she had been assisted by Peterborough, Harley and Masham. They would later also suspect St John but did not at first. He had always made it clear that Marlborough was his hero. Regardless of all these clues and considering that Manley was known to be working as one of Harley's propagandists from early 1711, her visit to Peterborough that year does not prove she was working for them earlier than that, when she first began to write *New Atalantis*. By the same reasoning, neither does her dedication to Abigail Masham for the second volume of *Memoirs of Europe* published in November 1710, prove earlier association, or exclude it as a possibility.

Harley and St John also provide clues which could build a plausible argument that indicates either one, or both, could have sought her satirical assistance in the Tory cause. There is only a hint of evidence by association on which to argue that it could have been Swift, who was in London between 1708 to 1709. He dined with John Manley, the Tory lawyer and politician who had been her cousin-bigamist husband but this may not have connected them.²⁷ Swift also knew his brother, the staunch Whig Isaac Manley (*d.*1737), Ireland's Postmaster general, who he knew opened all mail, including his own, and whom he derided as 'the most violent Party-man in Ire^{ld}'.²⁸ He was reacting more to the Postmaster's extreme party allegiance than that he was Whig. Swift could have heard about Manley through her cousin Isaac and his wife Dolly who were close friends with Stella and Rebecca Dingley (*c.*1666–1743) and with whom they regularly played cards.²⁹ Ian Higgins argues that Swift may even have been Jacobite,³⁰ as was Barber. Swift was a friend of the

²⁷ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 69, 115, 242.

²⁸ Ferris, MANLEY, John (c.1622-99), of Bryn y Ffynnon, Wrexham, Denb., London, *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1660-1690*; Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 1, pp 586-87; letter to Archbishop Wells, dated 1713/14.

²⁹ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 27, 28, 35, 155, 260, 301, 303, 334, 363.

³⁰ Higgins, *Swift's Politics*, pp 6-17.

Jacobite poet, Anne Finch, her husband and nephew Charles, fourth Earl of Winchilsea. In 1709, Swift ‘teased’ Finch ... that in receiving his compliments she would have to endure being praised by “a Whig and one that wears a gown”.³¹ As discussed in Chapter 4, Finch’s poems appeared in Manley’s *New Atalantis*, but one had been printed before this in her earlier *Unknown Ladies Pacquet of Letters*, first published in 1707. Thus, there are threads of possible connection before Manley and Swift definitely met in 1710, but not concrete evidence of a link with him early enough to have influenced *New Atalantis*.

Morgan suggested that the judge at Manley’s trial for libel had attempted to prove John Manley was the source of her information for *New Atalantis*, which makes him a possible influence, though an unlikely one.³² Considering his connection to Harley and the West Country he certainly had much gossip he could have supplied. It seems less plausible, however, that John Manley would have suggested to Delarivier that she write Tory propaganda. He had deceived and betrayed her. After their separation in 1693 he did not pay her ongoing maintenance for their son, although she may have left him with John and Anne Manley to raise. John Manley had at times assisted her, but more to benefit himself, through their involvement in underhand schemes, discussed in Chapters 1 and 4. A supporter of William’s invasion, John Manley, like many, had turned against the King after he was not adequately recompensed for his support. Manley describes him thus:

Yet can this Man talk of *Honour*, of *Loyalty*, of it, when he join’d *Henriques* [William] with the *Count de Grand Monde* [Earl of Bath], securing the strongest Citadel of the Kingdom, against the reigning Prince [James II], and naming it the *Glorious Cause*. But not succeeding in his first Pretensions (where he put in for being one of the Divan) he revolted back to the Royal Party, and made himself all that Reign, a *distinguishing nosy* Tool,³³

Harley saw John Manley as an ‘important Member following the ministerial changes of 1710’,³⁴ appointing him Surveyor General. With the familiar tone of Harleyite intrigue, Cruickshanks and Handley suggest, John Manley was tasked to help ‘detect the

³¹ Ehrenpreis, *Swift: the man, his works, and the age*, Vol. 2, p 252: citing *Poems*, 1, 121.

³² Morgan, *A Woman of No Character*, p 152: no reference cited.

³³ [Manley], *NA II*, pp 185-86.

³⁴ Cruickshanks and Handley, ‘MANLEY, John’, *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

mismanagements of the previous administration' but also to 'ensure that the hunt for the perpetrators of the misdeeds by the Whig ministry did not get out of hand.'³⁵

John Manley was Harley's informant on West Country matters. He also worked closely with Granville, Harley's Secretary at War, on both ministry and constituency matters. He was also useful to Beaufort. In 1711 he attempted to smooth an uneasy relationship between the High-Tory Beaufort who was becoming dissatisfied with Harley's attempts at moderation, evident in a letter from him. As Cruickshanks and Handley recount:

[John] Manley's key role as a loyal ministerialist under Harley can be seen in his correspondence in November 1711 with the Duke of Beaufort, one of the High Tories becoming restive at Harley's management. Manley's requests to the Duke to come up to London in order to support the government were resisted by Beaufort, who nevertheless acknowledged Manley's efforts:

I know that my dear Manley is of so good an inclination towards some of my acquaintance, as to believe everything they say, but let him remember how often they have told him and made use of him as a person to keep me easy, while both he and I were deceived, and then think that it does neither become a bold Cornishman and a relation to the Welsh to be caught so often in the same gin. I can't omit reminding you of an expression you frequently used last winter: 'all will be well before the Parliament rises. If not I'll own that I am deceived, and for your sake, my Lord, nobody else will trust them.' These are your own words, which you will remember.³⁶

As late as 1712 John Manley continued to be used to 'bolster the Tory interest in Cornwall' and as Harley's informant on county proceedings.³⁷

Beaufort could also have been involved in her decision to write Tory propaganda. A Tory and Jacobite who loathed the Whig Junto and would not participate in politics while they were in power, had the motive and inclination to suggest she write a satire against them. There is no evidence they had met by 1708, although many of her characters and all her cohort connect to him in some way. They also connect with each other. If Manley had modelled her divinities *Astrea* and *Virtue* on Beaufort's wife and aunt, this would suggest that she knew these two ladies before she began to write in 1708. They therefore could have spoken to Beaufort on her behalf. Like Harley, Beaufort wanted the Whig Junto and their escalating power expelled from Queen Anne's ministry. It was their final removal in

³⁵ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John', *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

1710 that ‘famously’ stirred Beaufort to inform Queen Anne ‘it was only now’ he ‘could call her Queen in reality.’³⁸

George Granville, Manley’s friend and John Manley’s political associate, could have suggested she write for the Tory cause. In a letter to Harley dated 19 July 1711 she had named Granville in support of an appeal to Harley for financial assistance. Granville remained Manley’s friend and sponsor until her death in 1724. By then he was supporting the Jacobite Court in France.³⁹ A Tory and Jacobite, Granville was also a close friend and associate of both St John and Harley. Swift also enjoyed Granville’s company.⁴⁰ Granville also included political themes in his plays and poems,⁴¹ but did not produce partisan satire. Nor is he known to have written for Harley’s propaganda team.

It is improbable that the Whig John Hervey would suggest she write a satire against his political associates and he could have been annoyed when she did. Like Harley and Swift, Hervey had changed his political allegiance, but in reverse. At first following his father’s moderate Tory path, after his second marriage to Elizabeth Felton in 1695, he followed his father-in-law, Thomas Felton’s embrace of Whig ideology. He came into contact with powerful patrons such as John and Sarah Churchill, then Earl and Countess of Marlborough. They enabled his creation as Baron of Ickworth in 1703.⁴² As the Manley family’s benefactor and with his professed admiration, it could be speculated that Hervey felt obligated in 1709 to assist the family’s wayward author to be released on bail.

The third person in the Duchess of Marlborough’s trio of most suspected accomplices of Manley, along with Harley and Peterborough, was Abigail Masham. By 1709 and into 1710, Sarah’s animosity towards Masham had escalated to paranoia. She believed that

³⁸ Carter, ‘Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)’, *ODNB*.

³⁹ Herman, *Business*, pp 18-20; Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘Granville, George, Baron Lansdowne and Jacobite Duke of Albemarle (1666–1735)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/11301>, accessed 30 Jan 2014].

⁴⁰ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., p 150.

⁴¹ Higgins, *Swift’s Politics*, pp 57-62.

⁴² Carter, ‘Hervey, John, first earl of Bristol (1665–1751)’, *ODNB*.

Manley's satire against her, her husband, and their Whig friends, especially Godolphin, was just one more example of Masham's devious plotting against her. Nothing was too extreme for Sarah's imagination and she allowed it to fester against her sovereign to levels that bordered on treason.⁴³ The tales spun by Manley were her imagined versions of 'old, well-known gossip', as Sarah had described so dismissively, but some were also more recent, along with a few that were pure fiction. Through barely disguised gossip embroidered with innuendo and allusion, Manley had dramatised the real or invented private affairs of the court grandees and the young maids tricked by their cunning. This suggests that through little more than a wisp of truth, where there was smoke, there might be flame. By the time Manley published the first volume of *New Atalantis*, Sarah's long-standing friendship with the queen was strained to breaking point. Manley's attack against Sarah fuelled the latter's paranoia further against Anne – and Masham. Even so, Manley could not have known that the Whigs' hold on power would soon come to an end. Neither could she have been sure that if pressed, the queen's first loyalty towards Sarah would not prevail.

By mid 1710, Anne had been pushed too far and severed her friendship and contact with Sarah.⁴⁴ Sunderland and Godolphin were dismissed in June and August respectively. The Marlboroughs were removed from their positions the following year, the Duchess near its beginning and the Duke nearer its end of 1711. With Godolphin's earlier dismissal, Harley's propaganda scheme was fulfilled. When the Whigs lost their champions with the queen, they also lost her confidence. With the help of Manley's satire and Dr Henry Sacheverell's incendiary sermon, they would also lose the confidence of the people. A plethora of anonymous propaganda had been disseminated since 1704 to influence public opinion. Much of it was at Harley's instigation, some written by himself although most

⁴³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 228; cf. Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986: Chapters 8 & 9, 'If you have any enemies', and 'Give Losers Leave to Talk', pp 218-276.

⁴⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 405-06, 433-36, 454.

was by Defoe his 'discreet' writer. This will be discussed in Chapter 11. The number of anonymous political pamphlets increased after Harley's removal in 1708, some by Harley, many by Defoe at Harley's instigation.⁴⁵ When the queen began more openly to seek Harley's advice from early 1710, even earlier by correspondence, the wheels of government steered once again in his favour. His success was cemented by the results of the 1710 election held in October, although a little more fixedly Tory than he had desired.

After Harley's appointment in August, initially as Chancellor of the Exchequer, his closest associates were St John, Swift, John Manley, George Granville, Barber, Masham and, although at a little more distance, the second Duke of Beaufort. They were all Manley's friends or colleagues, connected to her informally in a network with a strong West Country colouring. The Beaufort, St John, Manley and Granville families' heritage and political interests were, like Harley's, 'ancient' landed gentry based in the West Country. Harley's was Herefordshire, St John was born and raised in Battersea, but his family lineage and political interest were embedded in Wiltshire. He later moved both residence and electoral interest to Berkshire in the Midlands. John Manley was from Wales, but his marriage, employment and political interest with the Granvilles, grounded him in Cornwall; the Granville family's political heartland. Granville paid John Manley to 'keep Harley informed' on West Country affairs.⁴⁶ From Badminton in Gloucestershire, Beaufort's influence stretched wide throughout the region into Wales. West Glamorgan was his family's original heritage, where they still held lands, ran collieries and controlled its political interest.⁴⁷

If Manley and St John had met prior to her writing *New Atalantis* it could be speculated also that he could have assisted in her release from gaol. In 1709 he too was out of favour

⁴⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 70-75.

⁴⁶ Cruickshanks and Handley, 'MANLEY, John', *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

⁴⁷ Hayton, MACKWORTH, Sir Humphrey (1657-1727), of Gnoll Castle, Neath, Glam., *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1690-1715*.

with the Whig ministry but was liked by Marlborough who 'held him in high regard.'⁴⁸ Meanwhile the Marlboroughs had found themselves at the sharp end of Manley's pen and had sought her arrest, even when Harley had them in his sights. Within months of her release, she was employed by St John and then Harley. As Downie suggests, her 'efforts did much to assist Harley's cause'.⁴⁹ In 1703, Daniel Defoe had been released from gaol by Harley with Godolphin's sanction.⁵⁰ From 1704 Defoe became Harley's discreet writer, generating a stream of pamphlets to shape public opinion in Harley's propaganda scheme. Something similar could have happened to Manley. When the wheels fell off Harley's moderate Tory government in 1714, she did not risk writing another satirical assault against the Whigs who, from Anne's death and George I's accession, remained in power beyond her lifetime. Defoe, perhaps more willingly, left off supporting the Tories at the same time. In the previous chapters I have pointed to a number of people who connected with Manley in the early years and with each other. In the chapters to come I will explore those in her network who most plausibly could have assisted or encouraged her to write secret history to support the Tory cause. Although my argument relies to an extent on circumstantial evidence, I will test my hypothesis against established research, both primary and secondary texts, to hopefully discern which of her friends might have 'bid her write.'

⁴⁸ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 59.

⁴⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 115.

⁵⁰ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 62-63.

Chapter 10

Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort

To His Grace HENRY Duke of BEAUFORT, Marquiss and Earl of Worcester, Earl of Glamorgan, My Lord, How vast must be the Ambition of an unknown and meer Translator, to dare to Hope from so Great a PRINCE, his most Noble Protection for so Small a Trifle? But as he who enters not the List, can never pretend to win the Race, this Attempt, how daz'ling soever, had never been mine, without a proportionate degree of Admiration for those Heroic Qualities conspicuous in Your Grace; thence Inspir'd, my Presumption may Hope to avoid your Frowns, if the Performance be not so Happy to meet Your Smiles.¹

I have established in Chapter 7 a thorough identification of the Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde, allegorised as *Astrea* and *Virtue* as major figures in the text. Drawing from classical mythology for her divine characters, *Astrea* and *Virtue*, she merges her admired human archetypes of goodness with her divine exemplars of virtue. Now we turn to the Duchess of Beaufort's, husband, Henry Duke of Beaufort, Manley's dedicatee of her first two volumes. In this chapter I will show how Manley's association with Beaufort could have developed, but also the close ties between the Beaufort and Ormonde families.

Described by Manley as 'daubings of flattery,'² her dedications to Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort in her first two volumes of *New Atalantis*, conform to the conventions of patronage that prevailed in her times.

Not only did she live and work in the period termed since as the 'age of party', but also by Oliver Goldsmith (c.1728–1774) as the 'great age of patronage'. He was referring to the period 'from the Revolution in 1688 until the death of Queen Anne in 1714.'³ Dustin Griffin explains that patronage was a peer's responsibility:

For an aristocratic patron to give his opinion in favour of a play – especially if the Town follows suit – is to confirm aristocratic authority over 'the taste of the Town'. ... By dispensing favors the patronage class also fulfilled its traditional responsibility for promoting the honor of the nation by promoting culture.⁴

¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, May 1709, Dedication, p i.

² [Manley], *NA*, I, Dedication, p v.

³ Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650-1800*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p 46: citing *Enquiry into Polite Learning*, in *Collected Works*, Vol 1, pp 310-11.

⁴ Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650-1800*, pp 39-40: citing John Dennis, *Critical Works*, ed. E. N. Hooker, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939) Vol. II, p 277.

Together with her third and fourth volumes of secret history, *Memoirs of Europe*, the Dedications of all four volumes show her progression of thought in their import and context as her circumstances changed. In the dedication to Beaufort in volume two, Manley continues her effusive praise, claiming that:

The first volume of the *New Atalantis* flourish'd under your Grace's auspicious Sunshine! ... It's whole Hopes and Merits Sum'd up by the great Name of Beaufort in the Front. ... Let me loudly tell the World how truly conscious I am that all its Success was owing to your Grace's Favour.⁵

Her first volume had indeed 'flourished' under her patron's 'auspicious Sunshine!' It may of course have had more to do with its exposé of scandalous intrigues and private misdemeanours by past and present 'persons of quality' strutting the public stage.

Considering her anti-Whig rhetoric and stated royalist stance, her attempt to gain patronage from this wealthy High-Tory peer, would not surprise anyone. Hers was an audacious choice, however. His title made him one of England's most prestigious grandees, his 'ancient' lineage enhanced by early royal connection. She was a mere gentlewoman whose family was also of 'ancient' lineage but lower and descending status. She was also marginalised by her tarnished reputation. By gaining patronage from a Tory peer suspected of Jacobitism, provided a cover of protection, but could have also implied that this was where her own partisan loyalty lay. Beaufort had sworn oath to Queen Anne so was not a recognised Non-juror, but he nonetheless chose not to take his seat in the House of Lords. Manley would have been reasonably sympathetic to this stance. She did not challenge the Hanoverian succession and referred to James II, portrayed as the *Prince of Tameran*, as 'bigoted' for the unyielding Catholic adherence that he placed above his people's wishes and his own hereditary right to rule. However, the Revolution and betrayal of oaths, was a powerful recurring theme of her narrative. As a leading and wealthy peer, described in *History of Parliament* as 'that Leviathan of the Welsh borders',⁶ it could also be imagined

⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

⁶ D. W. Hayton, Constituencies and Elections, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/survey/constituencies-and-elections>.

that he was willing to take the heat of public exposure as dedicatee to conceal others working with her behind the scenes.

In the autobiographical anecdote in her second volume, she portrays herself at *the Palace of Beaumont* (Badminton House in Gloucestershire) relating her tale to Beaufort's chaplain, Thomas Yalden, who she names the *Grand Druid*. Applauding Beaufort, her *Prince of the Prado*, for his patronage of the arts, the *Grand Druid* assures her character *Delia* that Beaufort was 'not afraid to raise and reward obscure Merit'.⁷ His patronage of Manley's *New Atalantis* is the only evidence found in original sources of his literary philanthropy and her accolade to him is an extension of her dedicatory supplication. Taking Griffin's point, as a leading grandee however, philanthropic support of artistic merit was an endeavour in which Beaufort would want to be seen participating. Certainly, he was not a noted patron in the mould of his first wife's father, Charles Sackville (1643–1706), sixth Earl of Dorset, 'Charles [II]'s unofficial minister of the arts'.⁸ Or like his second wife's stepfather, also Dorset's relative, John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. Before them both, came William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (*bap.* 1593, *d.* 1676), whose 'reputation as patron lasted throughout the century'.⁹ Manley's early patron William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, was a descendent of Newcastle's cousin. One of the 'Immortal Seven', he spent much of his wealth renovating Chatsworth House into 'an architectural masterpiece'. He was 'dissolute' and 'easily distracted by his desire to be a 'courtier among ladies'.¹⁰

Griffin asserts that '[b]y dispensing favours the patronage class also fulfilled its traditional responsibility for promoting the honor of the nation by promoting culture'.¹¹

⁷ Herman, *Business*, p 29; [Manley], *NA*, II, p 192.

⁸ Harold Love, 'Sackville, Charles, sixth earl of Dorset and first earl of Middlesex (1643–1706)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/24442>, accessed 7 April 2017].

⁹ Love, 'Sackville, Charles, sixth earl of Dorset and first earl of Middlesex (1643–1706)', *ODNB*; Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England 1650-1800*, p 46.

¹⁰ Hosford, 'Cavendish, William, first duke of Devonshire (1641–1707)', *ODNB*.

¹¹ Griffin, *Literary Patronage*, p 40.

Aaron Hill (1685–1750), writer and a patron of writers, wrote in 1724 that ‘[i]t is “the Duty of the Great, to draw up Merit, out of Obscurity,” ... and it is also in “a State’s true Interest,” because it will “do Honour to our Nation”.’¹² This could have been Beaufort’s motivation in joining St John’s Society of Brothers in 1712. The date of Manley’s letter to Harley shows that she was one of the first Tory writers to receive their support.¹³ This however was two years after she had written both volumes of *New Atalantis*. Whether she and Beaufort had connected in 1708 before she began to write it, or whether he could have suggested that she write propaganda to assist the Tory cause, cannot be discerned. Her high admiration of him and his family however hints towards the possibility.¹⁴

It is possible that Manley had visited Badminton while on retreat to the West Country. She had lived in Bristol, sometime between 1703 and 1704 following her break-up with Tilly. She had retreated to that area at the end of 1706 having fled London before the opening of her ill-fated play *Almyna*. To lead her readers into her autobiographical account that was so central to her theme of betrayal, Manley portrays her narrators approaching Badminton. *Lady Intelligence* describes the ‘Glorious’ vista before them as they approach. Manley bookends her tale with *Astrea*’s equally effusive description as they conclude their ‘visit’, perhaps the sights and emotions personally experienced by Manley herself:

Behold the illustrious Palace of *Beaumont*, in Prospect! Has your *Divinity*, since your second *Descent*, seen any thing so Glorious? ... Oh how pleasing is this Retreat! those beautiful delightful Avenues, noble Vista’s, accomplish’d blendings of Art and Nature! How they prepare our Expectation for what it terminates in, that goodly Pile, which with its proud Eminence aspires almost above human Sight.¹⁵

Lady Intelligence describes in rich botanical detail the gardens and the Duchess’s plant collection she had procured from exotic lands,¹⁶ and the reader could imagine she is

¹² Griffin, *Literary Patronage*, p 40; Gerrard, Christine. "Hill, Aaron (1685–1750), writer and entrepreneur." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 04, 2007. Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 Aug. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13264>.

¹³ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., p 402; cf. letter to Harley, 19 July 1711, Herman, *Business*, p 255.

¹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 180-199.

¹⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 180, 195.

¹⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 210-15.

describing the scene before her. Manley may be alluding to having been invited inside the house in her description of the dowager Duchess's needlework on display:¹⁷

Is not all that you see greatly Beautiful! ... Has not, in these Hangings, Art almost exceeded Nature? Does not the Rose blush here with a purer Red than upon the Bush? ... 'Tis to her Needle we owe this true and wonderful Representation of Nature! ... Leave we these high-bought Ornaments of Art, to behold what an equal mixture of it, with *Nature*, in the Enchanting Gardens ... this Wilderness of Beauty? These Verdant Labyrinths ... Flowers that adorn the Banks beneath ... Foreigners supply their Bloom, and maintain an everlasting Spring ... All that is admirable of that kind throughout the known habitable World, are transplanted here!¹⁸

This detailed description could be imagined, as also could be her depiction of herself related in third person pleading her case with the *Grand Druid*, Yalden, to provoke his compassion and agreement to speak to the young Beaufort on her behalf.¹⁹

Delia] You would, my Lord, know the particulars of the unhappy *Delia's* Misfortunes. Ah! It is not of the smallest Pennance you could have enjoy'd me: Where I should be so fond of Esteem, I am entring upon Methods to destroy it. Can you allow for extreme *Youth* and *Innocence*? Will not that atone for my unwary Conduct? However, since it is my Wish, as well as Glory, to obey any Commands of yours; the *Native Love* I have for *Truth*, as well as due Respect to the Person I am entertaining, who, perhaps, has it in his Power to disprove me, if I in the least Tittle depart from it, shall make me carefully consider nothing so much, in the Relation I am going to make you.²⁰

Delia then rails against her society's 'unequal distribution' between the sexes of fault and responsibility. 'Is there no retrieve for Honour lost?'²¹ Her story of betrayal and her society's disregard for the betrayals against all women, is the core of her text. Manley asks the proto-feminist questions that were the anguish and dilemma of all women then, as they had been from well before her time and only recently began to be addressed in our own:

Why are your Sex so partially distinguish'd? Why is it in your Powers, after accumulated Crimes, to regain Opinion? When ours, tho' oftentimes guilty, but in appearance, are irretrievably lost? Can no regularity of Behaviour reconcile us? Is it not this Inhospitality that brings so many unhappy wretches to Distruction? despairing of Redemption, from one vile degree to another, they plunge themselves down to the lowest ebb of Infamy.²²

As *Delia* concludes her tale, she appeals to the *Grand Druid's* charity to represent her with his 'persuasive enchanting Eloquence' to:

¹⁷ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 214.

¹⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 197-198.

¹⁹ Nigel Aston, 'Yalden, Thomas (1670–1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/30182>, accessed 1 Sept 2016].

²⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 181.

²¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 190.

²² [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 190-91.

the two shining Princess's of *Adario* and *Beaumont*: Wou'd either of such bright Examples, but lend a Ray of Favour to the unhappy *Delia*, who shou'd dare to dispute her *Virtue!* Nay, her *Merit?* Have they not by their own unblameable auspicious Conduct, got into their hands, the Power of Life and Death? Their Authority can preserve or Ruin! Introduce me with Success, let me be but there receiv'd, and I have never had a Stain!²³

Through her persona, *Delia*, Manley portrays Yalden, the *Grand Druid*, expressing compassion, so rarely heard then from a male in authority to a female with none. 'Believe me, Madam, there shall be nothing wanting on my part, to make you an Exception to the general Rule. A Penitence so sincere as yours, a Distress so moving, has pleaded powerfully for you.'²⁴ She has clearly found a sympathetic ear.

Beaufort and Manley shared mutual acquaintances in their respective networks, through his political and her literary connections. George Granville, John Manley and Robert Harley of her story were also associates in his West Country constituency partisan intrigues.²⁵ Throughout the eighteenth-century's first decade, the High-Tory (Jacobite) second Duke of Beaufort had removed himself from mainstream court politics during the years of the Whig junto.²⁶ It is largely accepted by commentators that he did not become politically active until 1710 when Harley had returned to lead Anne's ministry and removed the Whigs from it. Beaufort then finally took his seat in the House of Lords but did not often warm it. His 'first tangible impact on county politics' was felt earlier however, in Monmouthshire County elections in 1705.²⁷

Beaufort's father, Charles, marquess of Worcester (1660–1698) had held the seat since 1677, elected at age seventeen 'on his father's interest', the first Duke of Beaufort, until

²³ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 191.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ The Beauforts were involved in many of the constituencies in the region, both Boroughs and Counties. Those the second Duke is mentioned in having direct involvement in elections and show political connections who also feature in Manley's cohort are found in entries for, Boroughs: Bath, Bristol, Cardiff and Gloucester; and Counties: Glamorgan, Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/glamorgan>.

²⁶ Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)', *ODNB*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Charles withdrew in 1695.²⁸ Charles Somerset died in a coach accident in 1698. As often in the early Modern world, seniority could come early to the young, with premature death ever-present from casualties in interminable wars, the prevalence of disease and limited knowledge of hygiene, and the threat of childbirth to mother and child. The age of twenty-four, even twenty-one, was not too young in the period for a peer to have stepped onto the political stage to play a leading role. Beaufort had not personally experienced the trauma of war, but he had encountered death repeatedly from a young age. His father died when he was fourteen and his grandfather, the first Duke of Beaufort, two years later. His father was the eldest surviving child of the first Duke and the only male heir, so the title continued to Henry, who was created the second Duke of Beaufort.²⁹

McClain relates that to help prepare him for his Ducal role the young Beaufort's grandmother, the dowager Duchess insisted that he live with her at Badminton.³⁰ Having lost his father and grandfather in quick succession, aged sixteen, he was also separated from his mother. His determined grandmother also retained control of the first Duke's personal estate and refused to relinquish the role after Beaufort attained his majority in 1705.³¹ He then entered local constituency affairs, motivated by established family business interests in both England and Wales, but also in an attempt to shore up Tory strength. In the Welsh County of Glamorgan, where the Beauforts owned and operated collieries in Swansea, the inexperienced twenty-one-year-old second Duke of Beaufort set out to revive the family interest following the first Duke's political retirement. His first attempt was unsuccessful, his actions likened to 'a bull in a china-shop where elections

²⁸ D. W. Hayton, SOMERSET, Charles, Lord Herbert of Raglan (1660-98), of Troy, Mon. and Badminton, Glos., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/somerset-charles-1660-98>.

²⁹ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 112-13; Hayton, SOMERSET, Charles, Lord Herbert of Raglan (1660-98), of Troy, Mon. and Badminton, Glos., *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1660-1690*.

³⁰ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 195-196.

³¹ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 203-205.

were concerned[.]’³² He also joined in a coalition with Sir Humphrey Mackworth, MP for Cardiganshire and constable of Neath Castle, to challenge Thomas Mansel (1667–1723) whose family had held the seat from the early 1600s. He was again unsuccessful.³³

The High-Tory Mackworth was suspected of promoting the controversial *Memorial of the Church of England* (1705), ‘a full-blown High Church attack on the Godolphin administration and its policy of “moderation” [that] caused an outcry’, upset Queen Anne and brought Godolphin ‘close to tears.’³⁴ It supported the cry that the Anglican ‘Church was in Danger’ and argued against the Toleration Act that would enable Dissenters to hold public office. Downie reveals that it placed Harley in the tricky position of privately agreeing with some aspects of the document but publicly prosecuting it.³⁵ By 1708 Beaufort had allied with the Harley-aligned Whig Mansel, and by 1710 the seat had become Tory.³⁶ Meanwhile in 1709, Beaufort was ‘advised’ by his ‘mother’s second husband, John Granville of Potheridge’ (1665–1707), to demand that his grandmother ‘turn over her lands and possessions to him’ but, McClain asserts, she refused.³⁷ He joined his mother and aunts in litigation to gain control. Mary, second Duchess of Ormonde did not join them and the Dukes of Ormonde and Powis defended the dowager Duchess of Beaufort’s case.³⁸ The Duke of Beaufort won the first round, but his grandmother won her appeal. In the midst of this litigation, in September that year, his wife Rachel died. He

³² D. W. Hayton, Monmouthshire, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/monmouthshire>.

³³ Hayton, Glamorgan, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, Boydell and Brewer; Griffith, ‘Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727)’, *ODNB*; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 85-87.

³⁴ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 80.

³⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 81-93 *passim*.

³⁶ Griffith, ‘Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727)’, *ODNB*.

³⁷ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 205.

³⁸ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 205-07; cf. P. E. Kell, ‘Somerset, Mary, duchess of Beaufort (*bap.* 1630, *d.* 1715)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/40544>, accessed 12 Jan 2016].

established ‘the Honourable Board of Loyal Brotherhood’, a high-tory drinking society, intended more for heavy drinking than politics.³⁹ It is not credited with supporting the arts.

The seventeenth-century’s factional twists and turns that determined family fortune had, by Queen Anne’s reign in the eighteenth, brought fortune to the Beauforts but constant financial struggle and need for royal preferment to the Ormondes, their Irish relations. The Beauforts were as influential in the West Country as the Ormondes were in Ireland. The families had close ties, through marriage and business interests, since at least the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁴⁰ Both were ‘princes of the blood’, each with ancestral lineage that traced back to England’s earlier royal line: the Beauforts through the Tudor Henry VII (1457–1509) to ‘their common ancestor John de Beaufort’ and the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt (1340–1399).⁴¹ The Ormondes also shared this ancestral line to Tudor Queen Elizabeth through her mother, Anne Boleyn (1507–1536), but they had been Royalists in Ireland since the twelfth century.⁴² James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde had first married Anne Hyde (*bap.*1667, *d.*1685), daughter of Laurence, Earl of Rochester who was uncle to Queen Anne and brother-in-law to James II.⁴³ Beaufort and Ormonde were both powerful peers with business links in their respective countries. Neither had full use of their wealth. The vicissitudes of war and extravagant living by the first and second Dukes, left the Ormonde’s in constant debt.⁴⁴ Beaufort’s grandparents endured similar caprices of war and royal favour but had secured and built their wealth. The second Duke did not administer it, however, while his grandmother retained control.

³⁹ Carter, ‘Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)’, *ODNB*; McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 206, 208; Paley and Seaward, *Honour, Interest & Power*, p 233.

⁴⁰ A.H.D., SOMERSET, Thomas (c.1579-1649), of Troy, nr. Monmouth and Badminton, Glos., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, 1981, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/somerset-thomas-1579-1649>.

⁴¹ T. C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 6-7, 163, 173-74; McClain, *Beaufort*, p 11, 172, 174.

⁴² T. C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 3, 7, 166, 171-74.

⁴³ T. C. Barnard, Jane Fenlon, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 7, 31, 46, 147.

⁴⁴ T. C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., p 26.

Beaufort's rich inheritance that included a £30,000 annual rent-roll,⁴⁵ provided him the luxury of choosing 'graceful retirement from public life' during the Whigs' tenure of power, just as his grandfather had during William's reign.⁴⁶ The first Duke of Beaufort had an active political life of service to Charles II, but became disenchanted with the policies of James II and in the 1690s also those of William III. His grandson, the second Duke, left little mark on the political stage. During the 1700s, his youth, but also his antipathy toward the Whig Junto's increasing power, together influenced his decision to not take his seat in the House of Lords. He became an English Jacobite supporting the exiled James II.⁴⁷ Beaufort land, business holdings and political interest extended through the West Country into the counties south and west into Wales.⁴⁸ Alliances through marriage with England's nobility added to their ongoing power and wealth. He was twenty-one when he married Lady Mary Sackville (1683–1705), daughter of the sixth Earl of Dorset, in 1702. She died three years later in childbirth, leaving three sons. In 1706, at twenty-five he married Rachel Noel, co-heir of Wriothsley, second Earl of Gainsborough.⁴⁹ She died in 1709, also after three years and three sons; again, in childbirth.⁵⁰

The young Beaufort must have smiled at the image Manley constructed of him:

... see that magnificent, young and graceful *Prince*, the *Duke de Beaumont*; his Horses are, in their kind, almost as well cast as himself, and all from his own Breed. He claims a Descent from a long Race of Kings, and an untainted Loyalty, deriv'd from his glorious Predecessors. He is young you see, just step'd upon the Stage of the World; his Inclinations are adequate to his Birth: He will show what it is to be a Prince, that is, what a Prince ought to be, Magnificent, Humane, Sedate, free from all those Vices that ruffle the Calm of Youth, and cost the best part of their Time to reform from, if ever they reform. He's an Encourager of the real Ingenious, not fond of Applause; nor yet with Pride and Sullenness rejecting it from those who know where to give it; he will imitate his illustrious Grand-father in his Practice of all the *Virtues*. Oh *Astrea!* We must lead you to his Palace, where both your Divinities will be satisfied, will be charm'd, to find so perfect a Resemblance of yourselves.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort', *ODNB*.

⁴⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 196.

⁴⁷ Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort', *ODNB*.

⁴⁸ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 11-12, 14-20; Hayton, MACKWORTH, Sir Humphrey (1657-1727), *The History of Parliament: House of Commons, 1690-1715*; T. C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, p 173.

⁴⁹ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 209.

⁵⁰ Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort', *ODNB*.

⁵¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 179.

Manley's skill in panegyric is evident from her first sentence to the last, here 'spoken' by *Lady Intelligence*. *Beaumont* was 'young', had 'just step'd upon the stage of the world'. He was twenty-five and just entered his majority when *New Atalantis* was published. He was not an old stalwart of the Revolution and certainly not of Queen Anne's ministry. He was perhaps also commencing his responsibility as a peer to patronise the arts. Manley showers him with panegyric praise. He is a 'Prince' who 'claims descent from a 'long Race of Kings', and an untainted Loyalty deriv'd from his glorious Predecessors'. Manley knows that Beaufort descends from the Tudor King Henry VII. This established his status as the foremost peer in England. Charles II had elevated his grandfather, then Lord Herbert, third marquess of Worcester, to Duke of Beaufort, for his steadfast loyalty. This not only denoted the young restored King's profound gratitude but also acknowledged the Beaufort family lineage of royal blood.⁵² Manley ends this passage by suggesting that her divine guests will find in the 'magnificent' young Prince 'a Resemblance of [them]selves'. She might also be alluding to *Astrea's* divine *Prince* in need of education. Having modelled her goddesses on the Duchesses of Beaufort and Ormonde, Manley could have similarly modelled her 'Prince' on the young second Duke of Beaufort himself, who had just stepped out on the political stage.

There also could be a double meaning in her reference to his 'glorious predecessors': referring to his grandfather's descent from royalty, but also an ironic allusion to the 'Glorious' Revolution that in Beaufort's case was not for its whiggish rejoicing, but for his Jacobite loyalty to James II. He was a 'prince' of his eminent family, but also to the Tories and to James II. In her first volume's dedication, to honour him for his 'Eminent Vertues and Heroick Principles', she again extols his Jacobite fidelity, an open secret and perhaps attractive to Manley. She was by now living with Barber, who years later also will be revealed to be a Jacobite. With Barber's involvement in this clandestine political group, he

⁵² McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 11, 172.

could have connected her with Beaufort. She exalts Beaufort as the ‘young Prince in the Prado’ and later in the narrative writes of, ‘Virtue and Astrea repair[ing] to the Young Hero’s Palace,’ ... ‘that magnificent, young and graceful, Prince, the *Duke de Beaumont*.’⁵³

There were less flattering ways she could have portrayed him. Beaufort’s grandmother ‘spoke slightly’ of him, as McClain relates, that he had little ‘understanding’ or ‘honour’ and that ‘[h]e was known as “a weak man, vain and drank hard”’.⁵⁴ One family friend referred to his ‘abundance of good humour’, but a relation thought him “silly”.⁵⁵ Constant criticism and domination of a child does not grow a confident adult. His ‘weakness’ could be merely that he had learned it was futile to challenge his strong-willed grandmother and perhaps instead made impetuous decisions. McClain cites a letter written in 1709 to the ‘Earl of Clarendon’, who could be either his great-uncle Henry Hyde (1638–1709) or his son Edward (1661–1723) who immediately succeeded to the title:

No man was ever treated as I am. I am now out of patience with her Grace and must beg that your Lordship will use your endeavours that these scandalous reflections may be retracted ... I think it my duty to bear any reflection upon my understanding from a grandmother but no one shall reflect upon my honour.⁵⁶

The Duchess of Marlborough called him an ‘idiot’, no doubt reflecting her own partisan bias against his ‘High-Tory’ stance, as she also referred to him as a ‘known enemy of the Revolution.’⁵⁷ Overall, as McClain asserts – and the *History of Parliament* records also show – his ‘political achievements were limited.’⁵⁸ With perhaps a modicum of self-awareness and critical irony on having ‘never exercised any political influence,’ he wrote that, ‘it is now a common proverb that to fail in getting any preferment one desires, is to make use of the Duke of Beaufort’s interest with the Ministry.’⁵⁹ In a letter to Harley dated October 9, 1710, at the time Harley was reshaping the ministry, Beaufort writes that he

⁵³ [Manley], *NA*, I, Dedication p iv, 179.

⁵⁴ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 208n239n44: citing Bad. Mun. FmT/B 1/3/18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 36, 208, 239n43: citing Bad. Mun. FmF 4/2/2; FmT/B 1/2/2; FmH 4/I. p 92.

⁵⁷ Somerset, *Queen Anne: Politics of Passion*, p 399.

⁵⁸ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 208.

⁵⁹ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 208: citing Bad. Mun. FmT/B 1/3/18; BL Add MS 47,000, f. 125v; FmH 4/1.

regrets that the queen has appointed the Earl of Berkeley, his political rival, as Lord Lieutenant, the role his grandfather had fulfilled. He insists that he is nonetheless ‘resolved to pursue her Majesty’s service to the utmost of my power’.⁶⁰

In September 1709, the month his second wife Rachel died, Beaufort’s relationship with his grandmother broke down completely. As McClain relates, he evicted her, from Badminton at almost eighty-years-old, forcing her out of the home she and the first Duke had spent many decades and much wealth to develop into a grand estate.⁶¹ His reaction to her unyielding control may have been exacerbated by his grief over the death of his second wife. His case against her was at first supported by the court but reversed in 1710.⁶² The dowager Duchess of Beaufort moved to the family residence in Chelsea, with cartloads of furniture and personal belongings, a trip of over one hundred miles by coach that must have taken weeks.⁶³ She left behind most of her book collection and exotic plants and would never again see the ‘paradise of a garden’ she had established. Recorded in an inventory collated at the time, she took with her a selection of favourite books and her needlework to continue her work at Chelsea.⁶⁴ She and her husband, the first Duke had bought this ‘fifteen-acre estate’ in ‘an increasingly fashionable area where other high-ranking noblemen ... lived’ in 1681.⁶⁵ They had ‘modernized’ the house and its grounds into a ‘showplace ... and extended the garden parterres down to the Thames.’⁶⁶ There is irony, considering the utopian theme of Manley’s *New Atalantis*, that Beaufort House at Chelsea had been owned centuries before by Sir Thomas More.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Letter from the Duke of Beaufort to [Robert Harley], BL., HMC, Portland Papers Fifteenth Report, Part IV, the MSS of the Duke of Portland, Vol. IV, Printers Eyre and Spottiswood, London, 1897, p 611.

⁶¹ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 206.

⁶² McClain, *Beaufort*, p 207.

⁶³ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 206; ‘History of Transport’, *History World*, at <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?ParagraphID=kws>, accessed 6 July 2018.

⁶⁴ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 206; James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane*, Allen Lane, London, 2017, p 204.

⁶⁵ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 103.

⁶⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, pp 103, 210-11.

⁶⁷ Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, p 291.

This is the setting Manley chose for her imagined funeral scene conducted for Rachel, second Duchess of Beaufort. *Lady Intelligence* guides her divine guests, *Astrea* and *Virtue*, from England's 'Court and Divan' [Parliament]:

over two or three agreeable Meadows ... to the Palace of the young Prince *de Beaumont*, who so remarkably distinguish'd himself yesterday to your radiant Eyes, in the Prado, by a thousand Graces peculiar to himself.⁶⁸

The distance between Whitehall and Chelsea, about three miles via today's road system, would have been a brisk evening stroll 'over two or three agreeable Meadows.' Ruth Perry calculated in the 1980s that 'to walk from Chelsea to Trafalgar Square' took 'an hour and a half each way.'⁶⁹ This 'Palace', as referred to in the Key, is 'D. of Beaufts House at Chelsea'.⁷⁰ It is plausible that Rachel would move there to be closer to London physicians for the birth. Indeed, one of Queen Anne's physicians, Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), lived nearby.⁷¹ However, considering that Rachel died in childbirth in the same month Beaufort evicted his grandmother from Badminton, according to McClain, it is unlikely that she would have died at Chelsea. Manley's portrayal of her patron's grief is entirely imagined, but consistent with her characterisation of him.

Chelsea fits well, however, with Manley's depiction of her imagined divinities' voyeuristic wanderings around London. More important than a factual account is the message behind her representation that she is attempting to convey. '[T]o oblige Lady *Virtue* in her *Devotions*', Manley precedes her depiction of the death scene of Rachel Somerset, with 'The Hymn' by Anne Finch, discussed earlier in Chapter 4.⁷² Rachel died in the month before Manley published her second volume. She does not add a hurried addendum at the end, but inserts her portrayal into her text, placing it before another anecdote in which Rachel is depicted walking with Beaufort, very much alive.⁷³ *Lady*

⁶⁸ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 164.

⁶⁹ Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell*, p 315.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *Key to Atalantis Part II*: listing p 164.

⁷¹ Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, pp xviv, xxii, 173, 204, 291.

⁷² [Manley]. *NA*, II, pp 160-63.

⁷³ [Manley]. *NA*, II, pp 199, 203-04.

Intelligence and her divinities ‘arrive’ late at night, ‘the hour seems by Nature assign’d rather for Repose, than matter of Observation; yet Grief as well as Love measuring Time only by the Duration of it self ... Day and Night having neither Light nor Darkness to those whom Passion has render’d incapable of distinguishing’:

Grief, say, being of a restless Nature, incapable of Repose; You may, in entering this House upon your Left, see what it can do on a young Hero, whose Wife (a Woman as to his Temper, of inimitable Merit, because she was Passive and Obedient) lies Dead amidst her Relations, to whom she was very dear.⁷⁴

Again, Manley layers her words with ambiguity. McClain asserts that the young Duke had been governed by strong-willed aristocratic women all his young life.⁷⁵ Manley could be suggesting that Rachel was one woman with whom he had felt at ease. Conversely, she could be insinuating that by her passive and obedient nature, she was the one woman he was able to dominate.

Lady Intelligence leads her divine charges inside to observe Manley’s imagined depiction of the mourners in their sorrow:

See! The Bed incompass’d with her weeping Kindred and Acquaintance; behold the breathless Fair! An Iron slumber sits upon her painful Brow! Irremediable Death having for ever clos’d her Eyes! she was yet in her Bloom of Life! An Air of Sweetness still remains! Something that speaks the Goodness of her Temper, and the Agreeableness of her Manner. In that Face, his Aspect is neither Grim nor Terrible! An absence of Mind, an uninforming Faculty; something we find wanting, something that is inexpressible, and yet not frightfull; Something that has banish’d Life, and yet has made it defective of no other Charm, but Motion. Who would not be reconcil’d to the Arms of Death, if his Possession were everywhere so lovely!⁷⁶

She depicts Beaufort numb with shock, his mind shut down, overloaded with grief following his second wife’s death but added to so many cumulative deaths: his father and grandfather, his first wife and now his second, both in childbirth. With only two sons mentioned in McClain’s account, his *ODNB* and *History of Parliament* record, it is possible that his second son by Rachel had also died.⁷⁷ Even though marriage in the period

⁷⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 164.

⁷⁵ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 209.

⁷⁶ Manley], *NA*, II, pp 164-65.

⁷⁷ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 209; Carter, ‘Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort’, *ODNB*; Eveline Cruickshanks, SOMERSET, Lord Charles Noel (1709-56), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick, 1970, Boydell and Brewer accessed at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/somerset-lord-charles-noel-1709-56>.

was more a joining of families to build and consolidate wealth and-power and in many there was little love,⁷⁸ by Rachel's death his emotions could have been numb from so many significant family deaths and separations in quick succession.

Manley then guides *Astrea* and *Virtue* to the next 'apartment' with its continuing imagined scene. Through *Lady Intelligence* we are told:

There's her Husband! Behold that goodly fair extended Person! He is weeping, and he believes himself in earnest: See! How advantageously his Sorrow has posted him on a Bed, between two Ladies of different *Merits* and *Pretensions*. The youngest of them is his Cousin, who does all her Endeavour to divert his Sorrow, through a Desire of having her fatigue of Duty, her Attendance upon Decency the sooner over. Not so the Lady on the left, her Concern is real, and for himself, but he regards her not, because he will not, he cannot reward her; his Heart is for his *Niece*.⁷⁹

In this passage the husband's identity is ambiguous. Until this point in her tale Beaufort was the grieving husband being depicted, but the 'goodly fair extended Person ... weeping' is a better description of Ormonde; the conclusion generally accepted by scholars. His 'Niece' who has his heart, is probably the deceased Rachel. The sorrow expressed, however, would be more appropriately Beaufort's. Ormonde was charming, good-natured and well-liked. Honour, virtue and loyalty were highly prized family values.⁸⁰ He did not emulate them all, but his endearing nature usually overrode reproach. Barnard assesses him however, a 'political and intellectual pygmy' in want of advisers, but later draws a far different picture of Ormonde's importance to James III and the Jacobite court years in exile.⁸¹ In her first volume Manley mocks him for having 'corrupted more Women than a *Grand Signior*; his Pleasure consists in Variety'.⁸² She portrays him in both volumes as inconstant in his allegiance and constantly unfaithful to his wife; behaviour that would draw her mocking censure. Long after Manley wrote, he remained faithful to James II and

⁷⁸ T.C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., p 31.

⁷⁹ Manley], *NA*, II, p 165.

⁸⁰ T.C. Barnard, D.W. Hayton, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 174-75, 236.

⁸¹ T.C. Barnard, Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 16, 243-262.

⁸² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 166.

James III, and spent his last years in pleasant retirement, in exile in his favourite city Avignon, then a Roman enclave under the jurisdiction of the Pope.⁸³

As with many of her tales, Manley was not attempting to be literal. Her depiction of the griever, Ormonde, lying on the bed between a female cousin and a Lady he does not notice, but ‘his Heart is for his Niece’, is a metaphor to signify unfaithfulness. Moral infidelity infiltrates both the private and public behaviour. Manley is doubtless dramatising both his infidelity to his wife and his political turns from Royalist to Williamite to High Tory to Jacobite. In 1709 Ormonde was forty-four years old, a habitual ‘womaniser’, with at least one illegitimate son.⁸⁴ The Ormonde’s own firstborn son had died in 1688, six months after the death of the first Duke of Ormond. Five daughters followed.⁸⁵ Only two reached adulthood: Elizabeth, the eldest, who never married and Mary who married John Baron Ashburnham in 1710.⁸⁶ Plausibly, either could have been present at Rachel Somerset’s funeral in 1709.

Mary, Duchess of Ormonde had two sisters.⁸⁷ A daughter of either or both could have been present, sharing the family’s sorrow. Beaufort’s cousin Elizabeth wrote of once spending ‘a prodigiously dull’ afternoon at Beaufort House when ‘her Grace’ was ‘very cross’.⁸⁸ The unnoticed ‘Lady on the left’ represents Ormonde’s wife Mary, *Princess Ormonda*, who is resigned to her husband’s infidelities. She has ‘a Vertue rarely to be found in Wives,’ and should ‘beget Esteem’, but he seeks his amusement’s elsewhere:

In this guilty Apartment, he has not wasted, but liv’d away his Winter Hours, in the Company you see. His own Lady, retir’d of Temper, pleas’d when he was diverted, tho’ apart from her Conversation, seldom mingling her own with theirs, conscious of an inferior Capacity, a Vertue rarely to be found in Wives, who think the Name alone of sufficient Force to center all Regard.

⁸³ René Moulinas, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 255-262.

⁸⁴ Handley, ‘Butler, James, *ODNB*; D.W. Hayton, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., p 214.

⁸⁵ Jane Ohlmeyer and Steven Zwicker, ‘John Dryden, the House of Ormond’, p 690, 698.

⁸⁶ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 190; Handley, ‘Butler, James, second Duke of Ormond (1665–1745)’, *ODNB*; Andrew A. Hanham, ASHBURNHAM, Hon. John (1687-1737), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/ashburnham-hon-john-1687-1737>.

⁸⁷ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 190.

⁸⁸ McClain, *Beaufort*, p 202.

Virtue and Goodness are indeed extremely Meritorious, and should beget Esteem, nay Admiration to the Professor:⁸⁹

Manley then compounds the ambiguity of the grieving husband, whose ‘Cousin’ cannot ‘suffer him to impose upon her’, but he cannot be torn ‘from his Niece’s conversation.’

Does Manley suggest Ormonde had tried to seduce Rachel? Does his wife Mary leer? Or is Beaufort the mourning husband who laments Rachel’s death but neglected her living?:

Humankind being fonder of Diversion than of Instruction. This was our Mourner’s Case: He laments her Dead whom he neglected living. See his Irruptions of woe! What Sallies of Mourning? What incessant Tears? Behold his Cousin! Who cannot for Life, suffer him to impose upon her, as he does upon himself. She too well remembers all he said to gain her Heart; how no Intreaty, no Extremity of his Lady’s, could scarcely tear him, though but for a moment from his Niece’s Conversation to whom, which all his Endeavours, he was never acceptable. See how she leers, and almost smiles, upon her Partner in Consolation! Who tho’ Mistress of more Sense, yet has she the Command of Less, because Love shows her the wrong end of the Perspective, and makes her, against her Reason, believe all that the Object of her Passion requires her to believe.⁹⁰

Through *Lady Intelligence*, Manley continues to describe this funeral scene in long refrain.

Then through *Astrea* she offers a didactic comment in which she refers to ‘the deceased Lady’s ‘inconstant Husband’. This must be Beaufort, yet her description of the grieving husband resembles his uncle more, the adulterous Ormonde:

Astrea] With what Charms has Nature adorned Variety? ’Tis that only could recommend any other Object before the deceased Lady to her inconstant Husband: Her *Merit* you have confirm’d, and her Face even in Death, without *Hyperboly*, is more agreeably than that of either of the two Ladies stretch’d on either side of the Mourning Husband. Whatever we conclude of his Grief, we must commend his Cunning, that has chose to wear it away with Objects, who by their Presence *alone* forbid the Continuance of it. But what seems most wonderful to me, is, how the Person can so far impose upon himself, as to fancy he is griev’d! That he can thus outrageously regret her *Dead*, for whom he had not the greatest Consideration when *living*!⁹¹

If this is Beaufort being portrayed, this could explain why he was not the patron of her third volume.

Soon after volume two was published, Manley began to work for St John and then Harley. In 1711 she may have received financial support from Peterborough and possibly also Harley, sponsored by the Society of Brothers. Against Swift’s misgivings, Beaufort was invited to join the Society on 21 February 1712 and within weeks was their

⁸⁹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 165-66.

⁹⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 166.

⁹¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 168-69.

President.⁹² For their kindness and support, Beaufort is a *Prince*, the *Young Hero*, the *unalterable Beaumont*.⁹³ Yalden is the *Grand Druid*, the *Guardian of Beaumont!* He *dares be Honest ... dares be Loyal ... when it is so much the manner to be otherwise; it's become scarce more than a Name*.⁹⁴ The Duchesses are exemplified with grateful praise: *Astrea*, who's *glorious form Survey's the Race – and Virtue who wears the bright Ormonda's Face*.⁹⁵ Beaufort is a Great Prince, whose *auspicious Sunshine!* enabled her *New Atalantis* to *flourish*.⁹⁶ He might not have been the one to have *'bid'* her write. That she dedicated *New Atalantis* to him however, could indicate that he was connected to those in her network who did.

The family letter held in the archives at Badminton House, shows that her portrayal of the kindness shown by Yalden first and Beaufort's patronage was not an embellished fiction. Written soon after Manley's death, Lord Arthur Somerset writes to his sister:

Thaⁿ [Then] the Duke of Beaufort, Dr [Thomas] Yalden, and Several Loyal Jacobites admired the Famous De La Riviere, Mrs Manl[e]y. Yet her No-worshipper having Bought Some Memoirs Relating to her, they are Recommended to your perusal. By Lord Arthur Somerset.⁹⁷

Lord Somerset is acknowledging that although she was not a Jacobite, Manley was much admired by the Beauports and the English Jacobite community. This short letter, more a note written on the back of another signed by Henry Somerset (1707–1745), third Duke of Beaufort and dated August 22, 1724, shows that members of the Beaufort family continued to admire Manley throughout her life. Her recent death had given them cause to remember the family's earlier association and Lord Somerset's sister perhaps asked to read the work so connected to the family. The sentiments suggest her connection with them was more than would be the case if her request for patronage had merely been one of convention. It

⁹² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., pp 371, 376, 388, 392, 402.

⁹³ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 196.

⁹⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 195, 196.

⁹⁵ [Manley], *NA*, I, 1709, epigraph.

⁹⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

⁹⁷ Lord Arthur Somerset, Badminton Estate archives, FmT/B 1/2/22(12), the reverse side of letter dated August 22, 1724, consulted at Badminton Estate archives and used with permission.

appears however that they had to purchase a copy. This letter indicates also that Yalden, an Anglican clergyman who was also a 'High-Tory' and therefore a Jacobite,⁹⁸ had advocated on Manley's behalf to the Duchesses Beaufort and Ormonde as she depicted that he, the *Grand Druid*, had promised to do. They in turn could have presented her needs to Beaufort seeking his promise of patronage.

At the time this letter was written the Beauforts remained a strong Jacobite household. James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde, exiled at the Jacobite court was James III's general-in-chief of his army and his prime minister.⁹⁹ Henry Somerset Scudamore, third Duke of Beaufort from 1714 and Charles Noel Somerset (1709–1756), fourth Duke of Beaufort from 1745, sons of Henry and Rachel, second Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, continued to support the exiled Jacobite court long past the unsuccessful 1745 Rising that attempted to return Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), to Britain's throne.¹⁰⁰ Henry, third Duke of Beaufort died that year. Charles, fourth Duke of Beaufort supported a subsequent secret visit to England by Charles Edward in 1750 and presided over a meeting of English Jacobites during the visit.¹⁰¹ Henry agreed to add the Scudamore name on his marriage to Francis Scudamore of Holme Lacy in 1729, whose Non-juror parents had imposed this condition. They were also the focus of Manley's tale of adultery between Thomas Coningsby, *Don Tomasio Rodriguez*, and Frances Scudamore (*d.1694*), *Madam de Bedamore*, discussed in Chapter 6.

Manley was Tory but Lord Arthur Somerset's comment shows that he believed she was not a Jacobite. She never claimed to be. She did not overtly challenge the Hanoverian succession, but she was no Williamite either. She mocks William but also refers to James II

⁹⁸ Aston, 'Yalden, Thomas (1670–1736)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁹ René Moulinas, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 255, 257.

¹⁰⁰ T.C. Barnard, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., pp 34, 174; Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people*, pp 209, 286, 294.

¹⁰¹ Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people*, pp 178, 286, 294, 332; Carter, 'Somerset, Henry, second duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)', *ODNB*; Cruickshanks, SOMERSET, Lord Charles Noel (1709–56), *The History of Parliament: House of Commons 1715–1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick, 1970.

and his second wife Mary Beatrice as ‘bigoted Christian[s], [espousing] a different Religion from that Established in Atalantis’.¹⁰² The 1688 Revolution and betrayal of oaths however is a strong theme in the *New Atalantis*. Kreuger argues that Manley’s play *Almyna* (1706) has a strong political context that went close to revealing Jacobite sympathy. Manley appears to argue that the best method to ensure a rehabilitated, secure state was through penitence and that ‘a happier nation’ would be ‘endowed with natural succession and responsible leadership.’¹⁰³

Of all the peers in England from whom she could have sought patronage, with others noted as patrons of the arts, it was the suspected Jacobite, Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort selected for her most overt – and successful – political works. The Beaufort title with its royal heritage made him one of the foremost peers in England, but he had barely stepped out on its political stage. He had only recently begun his role as a peer but did not have full control of the Duchy’s finances. He had no track record as a patron of the Arts but would have known his responsibilities to support the nation’s cultural resource. His grandmother, the first Duchess, had filled his environment with objects of beauty and an extensive library. She had also been deeply involved in furthering her husband’s political aims, responsibilities and schemes. Beaufort may have seen that supporting Manley’s project was a good start in establishing himself in the role of patron. She may have written as close to the Jacobite wind as she dared to honour his political adherence. He, nevertheless, may not have been so pleased about her portrayal of him in her first two volumes, and is not the patron of her third volume. Perhaps her ironic dedication to Bickerstaff/Steele was a necessary replacement. When it was published in May 1710 Beaufort was about to take his seat in the House of Lords. He had not yet taken a political stand other than in constituency matters and, having remained aloof from ministry involvement, found it difficult to gain an

¹⁰² [Manley], *NA*, I, p 41.

¹⁰³ Kreuger, ‘Vengeance, Vows, and “Heroick Vertue”’, *New Perspectives*, Hultquist and Mathews, eds., p 52.

appointment. Perhaps he had kept his distance from politics too long. He died at Badminton four years later, on 24 May 1714, from the effects of excess alcohol after heavy exercise.¹⁰⁴ This was little more than two months before Queen Anne died.

All this leaves the question of Manley's Jacobite sympathies tantalisingly open. She lived with her printer John Barber, who was revealed to the authorities in 1722 to be a Jacobite but that would surely have been known by her all along. Perhaps Manley's inclusion of Finch's poems in her *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters* (1707) is an indication that even then she was sympathetic to the Jacobite cause. Previous to this however, most of the poems Finch had allowed to be published were printed by Whigs; for example, her first significant publication of poetry in a miscellany published in 1696 by William's Poet Laureate, Nahum Tate (1652–1715).¹⁰⁵ Manley moved in with Barber sometime after publication of her *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*, but perhaps before she wrote *New Atalantis* and seriously joined the Tory cause. From this she wrote for *The Examiner* and Harley's propaganda team. She reconciled with the Whig Sir Richard Steele, having written her politically ambiguous play *Lucius, The First Christian King of Britain*. Perhaps 'Lucius' was more an analogy of James than suspected. Or perhaps not.

In the last years of her career and life, she received patronage from the Whig John Hervey, Earl of Bristol, the Tory Jacobite George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, and the moderate Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford through his benevolent trust administered by his son Lord Edward Harley (1689–1741) and Matthew Prior (1664–1721). She may have written a fifth secret history, unpublished and undiscovered, which probably criticised the Walpole government then in power. This rattled the government enough to search Barber's and his neighbour's premises. If it existed it has never been found, so Manley started and ended her career politically ambiguous. Her most consistent views were strongly Tory,

¹⁰⁴ Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ormonde*, Barnard and Fenlon, eds., p 250; Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 111-13, 232.

¹⁰⁵ Nahum Tate, ed., *Miscellea Sacra: Or Poems on Divine and Moral Subjects*, pp 82-97.

possibly coloured by Jacobite sympathies. She did not support James's Catholic faith, however, nor did the Anglican Jacobites Anne and Heneage Finch, nor the Duke of Ormonde. Their bottom line was not religion but the hereditary right of a home-grown Stuart to rule as Britain's King rather than the German George Ludwig of Hanover, close to fiftieth in line; but a protestant.¹⁰⁶ There is little to suggest that Beaufort, considering his circumstances, would have initiated Manley's decision to write for the Tory or the Jacobite cause. This chapter shows, however, that he was part of her network and connections that included the Jacobite community. Bolingbroke and Oxford were both suspected of contacting the Jacobite court near the end of Anne's reign. Years later, John Barber certainly did. This narrows her network to the possibility that not only was she writing within a cohort of Tory writers, but also that many of them were High Tories, sympathetic to the Jacobite cause.

¹⁰⁶ Gibbs, 'George I (1660–1727)', *ODNB*.

Chapter 11

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer

I willingly devote my ease and interest where my principles are engaged [*sic*] and if I have the fortune to do some small service my Design is answered. I have attempted some faint Representations some imperfect pieces of painting of the heads of that party who have mislead Thousands. If any thing sir moves your Curiosity I will explain what you desire. Yet, perhaps I am all this time offending where I aim, and hope to please, the uncertainty of that gives me to ask yr. pardon for my presumption, & to conclude with the profound respect of Sr.

Your most obedient Servnt, Dela Manley¹

Scholars have speculated about whether there were others involved in Manley's decision to write *New Atalantis*, if indeed her motivation to write it was not entirely her own. I have argued that she could not have chosen to write without someone powerful behind her.

Harley is the most probable suspect. Of all her cohort, he had the most to gain. From mid 1708 to early 1710 he was out of ministry but plotting his return. This coincided with the period Manley would have been writing her first volume of *New Atalantis*. The most certain evidence shows that their first contact is her letter dated 12 May 1710, cited above. Another letter dated only 'Sunday 16' may have preceded this. Herman suggests its date is either April, or July,² and I prefer the latter. With the May letter she enclosed a copy of her just published third volume of secret history, *Memoirs of Europe*.

Harley cannot but have known of her first two volumes which created a sensation, landed her in gaol, and satirised the Whig politicians then in power, as 'vicious men'. He had also written against them: Godolphin, the Marlboroughs and the Junto, those he called 'the family'.³ She was released on bail within days and acquitted of the charge in February 1710. Within three months she published this third, even more scathing assault. She clearly had not been cowed by criticism or imprisonment. Within months she would publish a fourth. By then Harley was back in power and she had begun writing for the *Examiner*.

¹ Letter from Delarivier Manley to Robert Harley, 12 May 1710, Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, pp 157-58, 254 284n28; Harley Papers, XXVI, 1710, BL., Add. MSS, 70026 (Unfoliated).

² Herman, *Business*, pp 26, 30, 157, 253, 267n96, 268n121, 285n29.

³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 105-09.

Sunderland, who had ordered her arrest and Godolphin, Harley's earlier nemesis, had been dismissed. Harley was forming his moderate mixed party ministry. He did not get back on his own. He had been communicating with Anne with the assistance of his relative Abigail Masham from, at the latest, March 1710 (N.S.) but probably much earlier. Certainly, he and Anne had been meeting from early that year, his visits facilitated by Masham via the now infamous backstairs.⁴ Harley was disseminating propaganda through his 'stable of pamphleteers' producing a range of newspapers and periodicals that were targeting both a Whig and Tory audience. Two pamphlets that appeared before the end of 1708 were by his own pen. Downie notes that in 1709, Manley's *New Atalantis* was an unexpected aid to his propaganda scheme.⁵ Just how unexpected this really was is the subject of this chapter.

The few extant letters Manley wrote to Harley, are the first concrete evidence of their acquaintance, but need not be of their first connection. Beginning with a customary show of deference but perhaps also ambiguity, Manley writes:

I had less despondence in attempting part of your character to the world, even when it was an unforgiving Sin to speak of you with Respect, than now to speak to your Self. / And, yet, Sir, my presumption [*sic*] is upheld by many Great and Good, who think I deserve some Regard for exposeing the enemies of our Constitution for having, with hazard to my Self, first Circulated their vices and open'd the ey's of the Crow'd, who [were] dazzled by the Shine of Power into awe and Reverence of their Persons.⁶

While acknowledging that she felt intimidated in writing to him due to the great gulf between their social class and professional positions, Manley nonetheless has the self-assurance to refer to his recent removal from ministry and relegation to the political edge, 'it was an unforgiving Sin to speak of' him. In this letter dated 'Sunday 16' Manley first refers to the 'many Great and Good' who suggested she write to him. They support her efforts for the Tory cause. She states that they believe she deserves 'some Regard' for her efforts in 'exposeing [*sic*] the enemies of our Constitution, with hazard to [her] Self.'

⁴ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 284-85, 300; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 324-5, 355, 379-80, 385, 407-08; HMC, Portland Papers, IV, p 536; HMC, Portland Papers, V, p 649.

⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 115.

⁶ Letter from Manley to Robert Harley, 'Sunday 16', British Library, Add. MSS, 70290, Folio 1: Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, 'Letter 2', dated 'Sunday 16', [April/July 1710?], p 253.

In the next letter, as collated by Herman, this time clearly dated 12 May 1710 and therefore written either a month after or two months before the first letter, Manley encloses her hot-off-the-press third political satire, the first volume of *Memoirs of Europe*. ‘My Respect only prevents [me] from waiting upon you in person (to beg your acceptance of this Book) least I be thought to have the honor of your acquaintance which I can only covet never hope.’⁷ Her deferential statement suggests they had not met. Another interpretation, however, could be lurking behind her words. She could be hinting to a prior connection that he would understand she ‘dare not’ make public. She clearly knows he has returned to a position of political influence. Edward Gregg states that his return was then becoming ‘commonly known’, that there were ‘persistent rumours’ about changes Anne was making to her ministry.⁸ In sending him her latest work of political satire, she explains that she has been writing ‘some faint Representations’, in the form of secret history, and for the purpose of propaganda in the hope of gaining employment to write more.

She could not have known that in 1703 Harley had organised Defoe’s release from Newgate to then engage him as his ‘discreet writer’. With the hindsight of this precedent, however, it is plausible that he could also have arranged for her release in 1710 and then encouraged her to write a third volume to his propaganda scheme. Herman favours April as the date of the first letter, but also notes that it was sent after the first volume of *Memoirs of Europe* was published in May.⁹ This suggests that the letter dated only ‘Sunday 16’ would better fit her alternative suggestion of July. It would therefore follow, not precede, the letter dated 12 May. Reading the letters in this order makes my speculation more plausible. If written in July, that would explain why she would claim that ‘many Great and Good’ supported her, having not mentioned their support in her letter of 12 May 1710.

⁷ Letter from Manley to Robert Harley, BL Add. MSS 70026 (unfoliated), 12 May 1710: Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, ‘Letter 3’, pp 157, 254 284n28; cf. Carnell *Political Biography*, pp 160, 269n6.

⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 300.

⁹ Herman, *Business*, pp 157, 267n96; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 189.

This could then also provide a hint to when their patronage commenced. Another clue to its date is that in the ‘Sunday 16’ letter she notes at the bottom, ‘Enclosed to Mr Markham’ at the Bell & Dragon in Pater-Nostre Row’, but it is in the May letter that she first advises Harley to send any communication to her at that address. A further suggestion that July is the more plausible date is that in her next extant letter, written a year later on 19 July 1711, she names ‘Friends’, ‘my Lord Peterborow’ and ‘Mr Granvile’, two of the ‘many Great and Good’ she had referred to in the letter dated only ‘Sunday 16’ but not in the May 1710 letter. This adds further weight to July being more probable for this partially dated letter. In the letter of 19 July 1711, she also claims to have ‘had once the honour of a note’ from Harley commanding her attendance, which she had ‘endeavoured in vain.’¹⁰ To say ‘*had once* the honour’ suggests this was not recent. This implies that Harley had replied to her letter the previous year. She was in the country when she wrote the July 1711 letter, again to ease her finances, having completed her last issue of the *Examiner*. Swift can help with further plausible background to her comment. In a letter to Stella, he notes that Harley’s ‘porter’, or doorman, was over-zealous in refusing admittance to the many who arrived at the door of his ‘master’ without their payment of a tip.¹¹ In that circumstance, if she had returned to meet with Harley, she would not have even a few spare coins to pay his bribe and would therefore have been turned away. Harley may not have been aware she had attended and been refused admittance. He may not have known about his porter’s little side earner and, in his busy workload, may not have noticed her non-appearance.

Her letters written in 1710, whatever their date, preceded the formation of St John’s Society of Brothers that Manley referred to as the Society for Rewarding Merit, in her letter to Harley. Its members, all politicians, peers and writers, included James, second Duke of Ormonde, George Granville, William Wyndham (c.1688–1740), Samuel Masham, Harley’s

¹⁰ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford, BL., Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated), 19 July 1711’: Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, ‘Letter 4’, p 255.

¹¹ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 90, 193, 259.

son Edward, Lord Harley, Abigail Masham's brother Jack Hill (*d.* 1735) Beaufort. On 6 March 1712, Swift wrote that 'we are now in all 9 L^{ds} and ten Commoners.'¹² Barber attended as their printer and so could relay business between them and Manley.¹³ Harley was not invited to join, for which he 'rallied' Swift, but also raged at their extravagant meals.¹⁴ Manley could not join, but many in this group played a role in her career, either as supporters, friends or patrons.

In a 1714 letter to Harley seeking financial assistance, she writes:

my Lord Masham and Sr. William Wyndham, two of the Society were commissioned by the rest to desire in their names, that your Lordship would send me an hundred pound, with assurances att [*sic*] the same time of their farther favour. I have been likewise informed, that your Lordship agreed to their request, and that my Lord [Edward] Harley ingaged to put you in mind of it.¹⁵

That she mentioned 'many great and good' in the letters she wrote before this group formed indicates that she was already being encouraged or supported by them. In a previous letter dated 'October 2nd [1711]', she names St John, whom she 'hopes ... has spoke for me [as] he had the goodness to promise.'¹⁶ He had been instrumental in her inclusion in Harley's propaganda team. She 'begs' that Harley 'know', as if he did not already, that she was the author of the 'Narrative', recounting the recent attempt on his life by the French spy, 'Monsr. De Guiscard',¹⁷ also, an answer to 'Dr Hares pamphlet of Bouchain'.¹⁸ She trusted St John's promise that he would intercede for her, writing in 1714 that she was 'told by many that your Lordship will have the goodness to consider my misfortunes, but had never so much hopes of since the gracious Secretary promised to intercede for me.'¹⁹ St John,

¹² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 227 and n3, 258, 260, 261, 280, 333, 362, 383, 397-98, 402 and n40, 407, 496, 511.

¹³ Herman, *Business*, pp 29, 257; Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 196; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 511.

¹⁴ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 237, 402.

¹⁵ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford, BL., Add. MSS, 70032 (unfoliated), 3 June 1714': Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 257.

¹⁶ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford, BL., Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated), October 2nd [1711]': Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 256.

¹⁷ Anonymous, [Manley], *A True Narrative of what pass'd at the Examination Of the Marquis De Guiscard*.

¹⁸ Anonymous, [Manley], *The D. of M--h's Vindication*, 1711.

¹⁹ Letter from Manley to Earl of Oxford: Herman, *Business*, 'Letter dated 3 June 1714, p 257.

who was by this time Secretary of State, northern department, continues to assist her. This suggests a strong, perhaps long-standing, association.

In her earlier letter to Harley dated only 'Sunday 16' [1710], she claims audaciously that she was the 'first' to have 'Circulated the vices of 'the enemies of [England's] Constitution' and 'open'd the ey's of the Crow'd, [who were] dazzled by the Shine of Power into awe and Reverence of their Persons.'²⁰ She would have known that many other satirical pamphlets had been published during the previous years against those same people whose 'vices' she had 'exposed' in *New Atalantis*. She may not have known – even if she was then working for the circumspect Harley – that many of these pamphlets were written by him or at his behest. She had exposed their vices in far more prurient detail than had anyone else. For Manley to suggest to Harley that she was the 'first' to 'Circulate their vices', however, was either bold audacity or misjudged self-aggrandising naivety. If we accept that the letter was dated July, her claim could be a veiled hint to their shared secret of her involvement at this time in his propaganda scheme.

Harley had begun 'using the emerging press for political propaganda' as early as 1701, in response to 'a brilliant propaganda campaign' waged by baron John Somers 'to discredit the government' and force a general election. He and Harley were 'bitter rivals.'²¹ Harley's earliest discreet collaborators were the Whig writers John Toland (1670–1722), who had published, among other pamphlets, *The Art of Governing by Parties* (1701) and Charles Davenant (1656–1714), *The True Picture of a Modern Whig* (1701) both were timed and designed to 'pave the way for parliamentary debates.'²² In 1703 Harley had orchestrated Defoe's arrest, but then organised his release from Newgate when he recognised Defoe's usefulness to assist him in shaping 'public opinion through manipulating the press.'²³ The

²⁰ Letter from Manley to Harley dated 'Sunday 16': Herman, *Business*, [April/July 1710], p 253.

²¹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 3-4.

²² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 2, 37, 42-43, 49-50.

²³ Novak, *Master of Fictions*, p 193.

offending pamphlet that had sent Defoe to the pillory and gaol for sedition in 1703 was his satire against the Tories, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702).²⁴ It appeared in the year Manley's relationship with Tilly had ended. In 1703 she was in the West Country recovering from her dejection when Defoe stood in the pillory. It became known that Defoe was the writer, but not that soon after he became Harley's 'discreet writer'. Harley convinced Godolphin that Defoe was useful to the ministry but argued that Defoe would be suitable as a spy in Scotland. He did not reveal that his plan was for propaganda.²⁵

Claydon describes Harley as the 'master manipulator of public opinion.'²⁶ His 'stable of pamphleteers' had 'cheer-led the military' and 'answered critics with devastating speed and ridicule.'²⁷ In 1702 *The London Gazette* was the only newspaper disseminating the government information. By 1713 Harley had added four new or existing political journals that had both Whig and Tory audiences to process his propaganda project and disseminate his moderate and mixed ministry view. He also aimed at two other audiences: those within the ministry and the public without.²⁸ Defoe's 'whiggish' *Review* was the first, started in 1704. Abel Roper's (*bp.*1665–1726) *Tory Post Boy* was later taken over by Abel Boyer (*c.*1667–1729). He had sought to join Harley's scheme, and was possibly paid by him.²⁹ Roper was also 'given a minor role in the office of Secretary [at War] St John.'³⁰ St John had begun the Tory *Examiner* in 1710 before Harley took it over to moderate its tone.³¹ In 1713 Defoe started *The Mercator*, devoting it to commerce and trade.³² Novak contends that

²⁴ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 61-63; cf. Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, pp 201-07.

²⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 61-63.

²⁶ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p 1.

²⁷ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p 131.

²⁸ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 1-9.

²⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 1, 6-10, 123-24; cf. Gibbs, G. C. "Boyer, Abel (1667?–1729), lexicographer and journalist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 15 Mar. 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3122>.

³⁰ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 13.

³¹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 1, 122, 127.

³² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 1.

this ‘constituted work for Bolingbroke rather than Harley.’³³ Swift linked them all with his printer, John Barber, in 1710.³⁴

From 1704, Harley’s primary intent in his propaganda scheme was to diminish the power of the Marlboroughs, Godolphin and loathed five-member Whig Junto. He regarded them as rapacious and self-serving. In 1709 these would be Manley’s main targets in *New Atalantis*; although she broadened her satirical attack further, to weave a personal layer into her theme. When the Tories were returned to power in 1710 Harley tried to retain some moderate Whigs in his ministry. He and Queen Anne agreed that neither party should gain complete domination.³⁵ Defoe’s *Review of the Affairs of France* had first appeared in February 1704, carrying an assurance that “this shall not be a party paper”, desiring instead a ‘free affairs “from the false glosses of parties”’.³⁶ In practice he presented both a Whig and Tory arguments as required to reflect Harley’s conviction even then that government should not be controlled by one party. Defoe, a dissenting Whig at heart, ‘bent the *Review* to reflect the administration’s opinion,’ but this, Claydon also points out, left him with the problem of ‘reconciling this new position with his prior statements.’³⁷

As Novak suggests, Defoe ‘expanded the function of this section of the *Review* to handle discussions of various social and ethical issues of the period.’³⁸ He soon found himself at odds with his ‘fellow news writers,’ but ‘[u]ntil Steele began his *Tatler* in 1710 and introduced a type of entertainment that better suited the polite social humour of the times Defoe had no real rival among contemporary journalists.’³⁹ This theme of ‘entertaining scandal’ suggests another parallel to Manley’s *New Atalantis*. It could have provided her with a further hint as she considered ways to shape its form. *The Review* was

³³ Novak, *Master of Fictions*, pp 431-32; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 171.

³⁴ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 169-70.

³⁵ Hill, *Harley*, pp 91-92, 126-29.

³⁶ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 2, 65; *Review*, 1, ‘Preface’; Novak, *Master of Fictions*, p 213.

³⁷ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p 205.

³⁸ Novak, *Master of Fictions*, p 214.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

not Harley's only enterprise for propaganda and Defoe was not his only paid propagandist, but at the time Harley's 'discreet writer' was not revealed, as neither was his involvement in many other periodicals and publications. This implies that the involvement of other writers and their identity could have equally remained hidden while being used by Harley to pursue his propaganda scheme. Boyer had also sought 'shelter' under his 'powerful protection'.⁴⁰ This leaves scope to speculate that Manley too could have joined his stable of discreet writers before, not after, she wrote *New Atalantis*.

In the second volume, written during 1709, Manley recounts Harley's removal from office the previous year, orchestrated by Godolphin, Marlborough and the Junto. She includes in this their attempt to also remove Masham, a suggestion Anne resisted vociferously as interference in her choice of her personal staff. Manley's account shows she had knowledge of the coercion applied against Anne by Godolphin and the Whig Junto who had clearly aligned:

Count *Biron* [Godolphin] assum'd to himself all the Courage he could, and even more than was natural to him, to push this once for the removal of Don *Haro* [Harley] and Hilaria [Masham]. He told *Olympia* [Anne] they were of a *Party* obnoxious [Tories] to her true Interest; that if Don *Geronimo's* Councils prevail'd, he would retire himself from Business, because he foresaw the Miscarriages that would ensue; and for which possibly he should be answerable.⁴¹

While accusing Godolphin of weak leadership, Manley shows that the Lord Treasurer is now aligned with the Whigs. He threatens Anne that unless she agrees to remove both Harley and Masham, he and Marlborough, who 'had hitherto manag'd with such Success as had rais'd the Nation to a pitch of Glory abroad' will 'lay the *Batoon* [*sic*] at her Feet'.⁴²

On 11 February 1708, while shedding tears in private, Queen Anne had agreed to Harley's removal, her hand forced by Godolphin and Marlborough, following the latter's threatened resignation in response to her threatened dismissal of Godolphin.⁴³ They were supported by the clamour of 'either Harley goes, or we go' ultimatums from Whig peers

⁴⁰ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 123.

⁴¹ [Manley, *NA*, II, p 150.

⁴² [Manley, *NA*, II, pp 150, 151.

⁴³ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 341.

who refused to work *with* Harley and *without* Marlborough. She had finally capitulated to their demands when even her husband, Prince George, until then a Harley supporter, advised her there was no other choice.⁴⁴ Harley had seen his political end coming. In the last months leading up to his dismissal he was ‘battling hard against the Junto’ and his once triumvirate relationship with Marlborough and Godolphin was dead.⁴⁵ He was soon planning his return to ministry as a moderate Tory.⁴⁶ He achieved it within two years.

Harley was convinced that the War must end. What the nation needed most was peace. He was equally convinced that this could only be achieved if its political centre was taken out of the controlling hands of the court Whigs (led by their Junto, Godolphin and the Marlboroughs), and returned to those who held ‘country’, principles (in the main, Tories). Harley’s Tory sympathies, however, were moderate at best. His plan of moderation was to include some Whigs. The court Whigs were predominantly wealthy merchants who had built their fortunes, both financial and political, through trade and local production of goods. During the early years of Anne’s reign, he had adopted a stance on policies that placed him in opposition to them, convinced that the Whig Junto’s zealous support for the war was motivated by self-interest. He believed the war against France was not in England’s best interest. Its cost was borne mostly by the ‘country gentlemen’ through a levy on land, not by those enthusiastically waging it: the wealthy Whig merchants.

By 1708 he had moved away from this Whig policy as Godolphin and Marlborough moved inexorably toward it. As the war raged on through the two years he was out of ministry, with the Junto, Godolphin and Marlborough leading the charge. He believed they were encouraging the war for their own personal gain. This was also Manley’s accusation. In the months leading to his dismissal in February 1708 he had come to view Godolphin and Marlborough as power hungry and corrupt. By the end of 1709 they had ‘so

⁴⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 340-41.

⁴⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 77-78.

⁴⁶ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 103-05.

manipulated both political parties that they themselves had near-absolute power in their hands.⁴⁷ As their power grew Anne's diminished and she felt reduced to their cypher; the very outcome she had battled so hard to avoid.⁴⁸ From 1709 he aimed to keep Britain's parliament free from this extreme partisan divide. In this his view aligned with Anne's. The theme of the political press that then appeared at his instigation reflected his views and orchestrated propaganda scheme. There were, of course, just as many written against it.

Downie shows that Harley was integral to 'the rise of the free press in Great Britain', but also in the development of party propaganda. In essence, he was 'anti-party'.⁴⁹ His 'Old Whig virtues' were steeped in 'country' ideology. His views sat well in conversations with his circle of friends in the Grecian Coffee-house who grated against the self-promoting actions of the Whig Junto during their years of dominance at court. Neither, however, could Harley embrace the extreme Tory views pushed by those who would become his colleagues in ministry in 1710 but from 1711 would plot their political strategy against moderation at the October Club.⁵⁰ Whig or Tory were party divisions that did not fit his 'vision ... of a single-party house of commons, separate from the executive, working for the good of the "people" – the political nation.'⁵¹ By 1706 he was orchestrating propaganda through a stream of anonymous polemic pamphlets, largely penned by the prolific and necessarily pragmatic Daniel Defoe. He now pushed a more Harleyite moderate message to encourage a desire for peace.⁵² To turn the tide of public opinion against the Whig rhetoric of 'no peace without Spain' that was embedded in the peoples' hearts and minds and only helped to prolong the war, he knew he had to smash the power of the Whig Junto and neutralise Godolphin and Marlborough. Before he could set in place his own propaganda strategy, however, a flurry of anonymous pamphlets appeared soon

⁴⁷ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 78, 104-05.

⁴⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 296; cf. Hill, *Harley*, p 120.

⁴⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp ix, 1-2, 21-23.

⁵⁰ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 3, 22-23, 36.

⁵¹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 23-24.

⁵² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 70-75.

after his dismissal that aimed ‘scurrilous lampoons’ against him with ‘epithets such as *Harlequin le Grand* and the *Welsh-monster*.’⁵³

In the general election that followed his dismissal in 1708, these and pamphlets like them helped Whigs to a resounding victory, their success augmented by the scare caused by ‘the abortive invasion attempt of the Pretender on the coast of Scotland.’⁵⁴ Also influencing the mood of voters was a subsequent anonymous pamphlet, *Advice to the Electors of Great Britain Occasioned by the intended Invasion from France*, authored by Maynwaring and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, that manipulated the public’s fears of Jacobite elements in Tory ranks.⁵⁵ ‘During the phase of the Junto hegemony following the summer of 1708,’ as Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock contends, ‘the discarded Harley tried to recover politically by putting before the public incriminating views of Whig rule – a deliberate appeal to the electorate in order to embarrass the Administration.’⁵⁶ The public mood was already turning when Addison’s pamphlet *The Present State of the War* appeared in 1708.⁵⁷ Supporting Whig demands for the war’s ‘vigorous prosecution’ it did not receive the resounding approval that had been hoped.⁵⁸

Harley’s first personal sally against Marlborough and Godolphin, Downie details, was his unpublished manuscript, ‘Plain English to all who are Honest, or would be so if they knew how.’ Circulated in manuscript form in August 1708, it was not published in Harley’s life-time.⁵⁹ ‘It is plain’, he wrote in his first draft but did not include in the circulated manuscript, ‘that everything they do is calculated to support either the power or

⁵³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 103: citing publications: *A dialogue between Louis le Petite, and Harlequin le Grand* [by Joseph Browne]; and [Anon], *The Welsh Monster: or, the Rise and Downfal [sic] of that late Upstart, the R ___ t H ___ ble Inuendo Scribble*, London, Printed in the Year of Grace, and Sold by the Bookseller.

⁵⁴ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 103-104.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Anonymous, [Joseph Addison], *The Present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation, Consider’d*, Printed and Sold by J. Morphew, London, 1708.

⁵⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 107.

profit of one family.’⁶⁰ This theme is continued by Manley in *New Atalantis* published the following year. That she could have read ‘Plain English’ then is doubtful. If this manuscript was distributed through a circulation list, it is improbable that it would have reached her. She may, perhaps, have read it by 1711. That her secret history pursued a parallel theme suggests some correlation with Harley’s scheme. The views expressed by Harley in ‘Plain English’, that Downie describes as a ‘definitive anti-Marlborough thesis’, reappear in Swift’s later *Conduct of the Allies* (1711), on which Harley and St John were both intimately involved.⁶¹ Swift’s pamphlet was a ‘savage attack on the allies’, accusing them of not bearing ‘a fair share of the burden of war while being prepared to neglect Britain’s legitimate interests.’⁶² It supported St John’s view that the ministry must use strong measures to counter the complaints of the opposition.⁶³ Müllenbrock too notes the similar themes in Manley’s 1711 political pamphlets, in particular her ‘witty reply’ to Dr Hare’s panegyric on Bouchain that had ‘struck a popular note’, her message also pointing ‘to the polemical colouring of *Conduct of the Allies*.’⁶⁴

The next broadside in Harley’s attack was the anonymous *An Account of A Dream at Harwich, In a Letter to a Member of Parliament about the Camisars*, which appeared in late December 1708-early January 1709 (O.S.).⁶⁵ Müllenbrock parallels its ‘basic affinities to the approach adopted by Harley in *Plaine English*.’⁶⁶ Downie suggests that although Harley never acknowledged his authorship, it could be this pamphlet he hinted about in a

⁶⁰ J.A. Downie and W.A. Speck, eds., ‘Introductory Note’, ‘Plain English to all who are honest or would be so if they knew how, a tract by Robert Harley’, *Literature and History Journal*; Mar 1, 1976; 3, Periodicals Archive Online p 100; Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 105-106.

⁶¹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 105; Anonymous [Jonathan Swift], *Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry*, Second Edition Corrected, Printed by John Morphew, London, 1711: First published, 27 November 2011, Probyn, ‘Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)’, *ODNB*; Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention* p 31; H. T. Dickinson, ‘St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/24496>, accessed 26 July 2013].

⁶² Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 89.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 56.

⁶⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 106-07; Anonymous, *An Account of a Dream at Harwich, In a Letter to a Member of Parliament about the Camisars*, Printed for B. Bragg, London, 1708.

⁶⁶ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 31.

letter to his friend Dr William Stratford (1671–1729), dated 26 September 1708: ‘I have some reason to believe by hints that are sent me ... that you will quickly see something in writing.’⁶⁷ Peter Wentworth (*d.*1739) also wrote about it to his brother Lord Raby, Thomas Wentworth (1672–1739), Earl of Strafford on 25 January 1709:

There’s a dream from Harwich which sells well, and is reckoned a very cunning and insinuating paper, it is too scurrilous ... Most people I have talked with of it will have it Harley’s style, by what you will see it is reckoned no foolish thing.⁶⁸

Its form of parody and allegory is different from Harley’s essay, ‘Plain English,’ but its Harleyite themes, Downie proposes, were similar to its scheme and clearly recognisable in its allusion ‘of a drugged nation, blindly allowing the family to plunder its resources’:⁶⁹

for I should find it a certain Truth, that when Men had once lost their Vertue, and were grown profligate, they are capable of any thing their Interest or Pleasure shall prompt them to do; and that those I had seen had not any left to hinder them, their infamous Behaviour made evident.⁷⁰

The digitised copy is dated ‘Harwich Dec. 21, 1708’, signed ‘A.M.’ and was printed for Benjamin Bragg in 1708. Mansel, Harcourt and St John, who had all resigned with Harley, collaborated with him in its construction. Harleyite themes also resonate with Manley’s allusions in *New Atalantis*. Its narrator is waiting for passage’ ... to a land where there is ‘Disorder and Confusion, Treachery and Violence’ ... a Guide interprets as they walk through the town ... Virtue is lost.⁷¹ There are also similarities in the Horseman in Golden Armour [Marlborough], an old man on a hill who shakes his stick [Godolphin] and the enchantment the townsfolk. ‘Mercury’s fly about whispering Scandal [propaganda] ... there sat under a Purple Shade one whose every Look, and every Motion, spoke of Majesty, and Goodness, Justice, and Truth. Sad and dejected was the Posture, yet calm and serene; ... an oldish Woman [Sarah]... breathes sulfurous Smoke ... and ... Flames of Fire

⁶⁷ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 106-07, citing Loan/29/171/2, letter dated 26 September 1708: Downie does not state that the pamphlet is mentioned in this Loan 29 document but notes its date as ‘21 September 1708.’ But *An Account of a Dream at Harwich* is clearly dated ‘Harwich, 21 December 1708’; see also Hill, *Harley*, p 198 for Harley’s friend, Oxford Tory, Dr William Stratford.

⁶⁸ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 106, citing *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, ed. J.J. Cartwright, London, 1833, p 74, letter dated 25 January 1709 [N.S.].

⁶⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 107.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *An Account of a Dream at Harwich*, p 6.

⁷¹ Anonymous, *An Account of a Dream at Harwich*, pp 3, 4, 5, 6.

... her Eyes Rage and Fury.’ A ‘Guardian Angel [Anne] watches over the Town. The allegory concludes, as do each of Manley’s anecdotes, with a didactic referent to virtue: ‘it will come safe to him who is with Truth.’⁷²

This pamphlet, *A Dream at Harwich*, provoked two pamphlets in reply, although how soon after the first and whether before *New Atalantis* appeared in May is not revealed. The first is an *Interpretation* of the *Dream* but confuses the message by inverting the first *Dream* into upholding the war and revering Marlborough. It also decries popery in its attempt to denounce Tories by alluding to their Jacobite allegiance and adherence to passive obedience. Instead of Harley’s allusion to a ‘drugged nation,’ in this *Interpretation* the people of England are ungrateful. They are ‘an unhappy set, obstinate, and ignorant of their own happiness, under the most glorious and successful reign, and the mildest government, and most careful ministry that ever was will be still Deaf and Blind to their own Interest.’⁷³ Its most derisive message is to insinuate that those now promoting peace at the expense of Spain are on the side of Louis XIV and implies through its anti-Jacobite message they support a Stuart restoration. This pamphlet was joined by *An Account of a Second Dream at Harwich* that supplied *all the Omissions and Defects in the First Dream*. It too is signed ‘A.M.’ and subtitled a ‘second Dream of A__r M__m on the subject of the first *Dream*’ and directed to ‘the same member of Parliament...’. Like the first *Dream*, it is written in the form of allegory and retains many of the elements of the first but subverts their meaning. It parodies Harley as ‘a little black man’ and Abigail Masham as a Gentlewoman, ‘a certain female viper’, to whom he whispers in secret.⁷⁴

⁷² Anonymous, *An Account of a Dream at Harwich*, p 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁷³ Anonymous, *The interpretation of the Harwich Dream. In a Letter to a Reverend Member of the Convocation, by Don Pedro de la Verdad, the famous Spanish interpreter of Cardinal Portero[']s Dream on the Death of King Charles II of Spain*, Printed for the author, Don Pedro de la Verdad, London, 1709, p 2; Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 111.

⁷⁴ Anonymous (A.M.) *An Account of a Second Dream at Harwich, Supplying all the Omissions and Defects in the First Dream, In a Letter to the same Member of Parliament, about the Camisars*, [Printer not shown] London, 1709, p 12.

Another pamphlet that appeared in 1708 (reprinted in 1709, that copy digitised), *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius, Tribune, to the People of Rome. Translated from Sallust*, also pressed the views expressed in ‘Plain English.’⁷⁵ Its classical setting of ‘Rome’, an allegory for England, could have been a model for *New Atalantis* the following year, or even her third secret history, *Memoirs of Europe* (1710) set in the eighth-century reign of Charlemagne. Like both her secret histories, the message of *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius* continued Harley’s theme against Marlborough and Godolphin: ‘Men most wicked, Bloody-minded, of an unsatisfied Avarice, full of Guilt and swelled with Pride: resolv’d, right or wrong, to persue their Interest, tho’ it be at the Price of Faith, Honesty and Conscience.’⁷⁶ This pamphlet was dedicated to Lord Haversham who, as Downie explains, ‘had broken irrevocably with Somers and the Junto in 1704. By 1708 he was in the Harley camp.’⁷⁷ Ironically for Haversham, Somerset asserts, by then Somers had also come to distrust Godolphin and Marlborough and was being cultivated by Harley.⁷⁸

John Thompson (1648–1710), first Baron Haversham had, like Harley, started as a dissenting Whig and turned Tory but at heart ‘remained a maverick’ who was never a moderate. He ‘attacked corruption’, was opposed to over-powerful politicians and in 1708 warned Anne that the Whigs were plotting against her.⁷⁹ In a particularly slanderous anecdote Manley portrayed Haversham is an ‘old-out-of-fashion-lord’, whose twin son and daughter, *Urania* and *Polydore*, are involved in an incestuous relationship.⁸⁰ They and he are identified in the key to her second volume, published after she had joined Harley’s propaganda team. It is an entirely imagined tale. He did have five sons and eight daughters

⁷⁵ Anonymous, *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius, Tribune, to the People of Rome. Translated from Sallust, no Printer or place of publication shown, 1709.*

⁷⁶ Anonymous, *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius*, p 5; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 111-12

⁷⁷ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 97.

⁷⁸ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 408.

⁷⁹ Alan Thomson, ‘Thompson, John, first Baron Haversham (1648–1710)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/27269>, accessed 26 Oct 2016].

⁸⁰ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 19-40.

by his first wife and on 10 May 1709 he married his housekeeper, Martha Graham (1647–1724).⁸¹ There is no evidence of incest, so Manley’s rendering of this fallacy is again political allegory, perhaps alluding to his partisan reversal. It also affords her another didactic opportunity to alert young women to the dangers of allowing love to take them down the rocky paths of wrong decisions. As in many other tales, the female is complicit in her own affair.

In 1709 Harley, Haversham and Harcourt were planning strategy in concert, preparing speeches to expose ‘the family’s’ abuse of power. In respective speeches delivered to the House of Lords, Harcourt accused Godolphin of ‘influencing election results’ and Haversham’s speech was ‘levelled at the ministry.’⁸² Their combined action continued the views of *Caius Memmius* and all linked back to Harley’s ‘Plain English’ in exposing the ‘squandering of public money and of the exorbitant riches and excessive power of some particular persons,’ who ‘are so far from being contented to go off with impunity that they have again worked themselves into power.’⁸³ Although its title does not begin with ‘The secret history of ...’ its form and setting in the classical past suggests its imitation of this then popular style that was so effective as a propaganda tool. This pamphlet also signifies a foreshadowing of Manley’s *Memoirs of Europe* that was set ‘Towards the close of eighth century’ in the court of Charlemagne. *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius* also received a sharp riposte from those it attacked, via the pamphlet *The True Patriot’s Speech to the People of Rome, answer’d paragraph by paragraph* (1708). This too accuses the Tories (derided as the Popish party) of supporting the French, of wanting England to be ‘a field of blood’ and being in the ‘possession of the French King.’⁸⁴

⁸¹ Thomson, ‘Thompson, John, first Baron Haversham (1648–1710)’, *ODNB*; J. S. Crossette, THOMPSON, Sir John, 1st Bt. (1648-1710), of Haversham, Bucks. and Upper Gattton, Surr., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Boydell and Brewer <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/thompson-sir-john-1648-1710>.

⁸² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 112-113.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Anonymous, *The True Patriot’s Speech to the People of Rome, Answer’d Paragraph by Paragraph*, Printed for F. Langley, London, 1708.

These are just a few of the pamphlets driving Harley's propaganda scheme, or written in opposition to it, that appeared in the months from his dismissal that may have influenced Manley in writing *New Atalantis*; whether it was entirely her own idea or written partly to Harley's plan. In a broader discussion of Manley's subsequent work as one of Harley's propagandists Müllenbrock suggests that:

The presence of all the important aspects of subsequent Tory propaganda in these writings of Mrs. Manley suggests long-term planning, the acceptance of a possibly lengthy incubation period for the full rhetorical implementation of certain aspects and careful timing.⁸⁵

This is the clearest suggestion that Manley could have allied with Harley before writing *New Atalantis* in 1708-09. Downie's earlier assessment that 'there is no firm evidence to suggest that the association stretched back to 1709' shows that this possibility was then at least being considered. His continuing comment, 'Mrs Manley's efforts did much to assist Harley's cause',⁸⁶ indicates how close Manley's theme aligned with Harley's scheme.

Manley's 'design' in *New Atalantis* aligns with Harley's scheme: to return the Tories to power and turn the tide of public opinion against the Whigs' ruling Junto, Godolphin and the Marlboroughs in an attempt to undermine their personally profitable support of the war. Edward Gregg explains in his discussion on the actions of key players in Queen Anne's battle against 'party' that 'Harley's desire for peace was sincere and of long standing, but he also wished to drive Marlborough from public office.'⁸⁷ The two letters Manley wrote to Harley before his return to Anne's ministry was formalised seem to imply that they had not met before she wrote *New Atalantis*. If there had been no prior contact between them, however, the question that remains is why Manley presumes to write to him if she did not know that he was again in a position of influence with the queen. In April 1710, or even May when she published *Memoirs of Europe*, there was some awareness outside the court that a significant change of ministry structure was imminent. She had

⁸⁵ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 88.

⁸⁶ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 115.

⁸⁷ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 299.

mentioned ‘many great and good’ had suggested she write to him requesting help in May 1710. Gregg dates this ‘growing awareness’ that Harley ‘was the queen’s backstairs advisor’ from ‘the beginning of 1710’ and that ‘persistent rumours’ were circulating about the ministerial changes being made by Anne on Harley’s advice.⁸⁸

Somerset also asserts that their ‘backstairs’ intrigue, assisted by Masham, began in early 1710, at Queen Anne’s invitation, but that Harley and Masham had been meeting and corresponding from much earlier.⁸⁹ Edward Harley (1664–1735) Auditor of the Exchequer, noted that his brother ‘only came up to London just before Sacheverell’s trial began’ in January 1710 and that Harley ‘did not have access to the Queen at that point.’⁹⁰ In a letter to Harley dated March 10, 1709-10, Masham indicates that the queen ‘would not consent’ to her meeting with Harley or to ‘say anything to you of what passed between us.’ She expresses extreme concern that her ‘aunt’ (Anne) is allowing herself to be controlled by the Whigs:

She is angry with me and said I was in a passion, perhaps I might speak a little too warm but who can help that when one sees plainly she is giving her best friends up to the rage of their enemies. I have had no rest this night, my concern is so great, and for my part I should be glad to leave my aunt before I am forced from her, and will see you very soon to talk about that matter whether she will give me leave or no.⁹¹

Somerset notes, however, that ‘within a short time Anne began approaching Harley herself. In the ‘Memoirs of the Harley Family’, recorded by Harley’s brother Edward, he referred to ‘messages and letters, that were sent and written by the Queen’s direction to Mr. Harley, between the time of his giving up the seals, and his being commanded by the Queen into her service, 1710’.⁹² If Edward Harley is correct about the timeline of these letters, this shows clearly that Anne was contacting Harley throughout 1708 and up to his return to ministry in 1710, not only from early 1710.

⁸⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 300.

⁸⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 324-5, 355, 379-80, 385, 407-08; cf. also Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 284-85.

⁹⁰ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 407.

⁹¹ Letter from [Abigail Masham to Robert Harley] March 10 1709-10, HMC, Portland Papers, IV, p 536.

⁹² Edward Harley, ‘Memoirs of the Harley Family, especially of Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, HMC, Portland Papers, V, p 649; cf. Somerset, *Politics of passion*, pp 407, 532n36.

On Harley's suggestion, in April 1710 Anne appointed Shrewsbury as Lord Chamberlain, replacing Henry Grey, the Earl of Kent (*bap.* 1671, *d.* 1740) whom she 'made a Duke in compensation.'⁹³ Both were Whigs, so this change may not have raised much concern that something bigger was underway. Shrewsbury was a moderate and 'willing to work with Harley'. Anne liked the 'charming Duke of Shrewsbury' and had been meeting him in 'regular private talks' since 'the autumn of 1708.'⁹⁴ More revealing however was Sunderland's dismissal in June, followed by Godolphin's in August;⁹⁵ Harley's greatest triumph. Considering their vastly unequal status, Manley presumably would have felt more confident in asking Harley for assistance if she had written *New Atalantis* to assist his propaganda scheme. She would also feel confident that he could assist her if she knew he was again in close connection to the queen. Downie acknowledged, writing in 1979, there was a lack of 'firm evidence' to suggest that Harley's association with Manley 'stretched back to 1709,' although he also suggests that 'Harley's genius lay in exploiting help from whatever source it came,' citing Swift's observation that he would turn to his advantage incidents as they came rather than initiate them.⁹⁶ The date of Manley's letters to Harley in 1710 and Swift's notes in his *Journal to Stella* that he commenced writing on 2 September 1710 are the first documented evidence of when they connected but this does not disprove that she and Harley had not met or communicated earlier. Swift met Harley on 3 October 1710.⁹⁷ His first mention of meeting Manley was in his letter to Stella that he dined with his 'printer and an authoress', who are known to be Barber and Manley, on 4 January 1711 (N.S.).⁹⁸ If McGovern is correct in her suggestion that Swift was the link between Manley and the poet Anne Finch, as discussed in Chapter 4, they could have connected, as early as 1708 or even 1707.

⁹³ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 409; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 309-10.

⁹⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 408-09.

⁹⁵ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 412-416, 419-421.

⁹⁶ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 115: citing Swift, *Prose Works*, Vol. VII, p 73.

⁹⁷ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 3, 26.

⁹⁸ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 112.

After Manley's second volume of *New Atalantis* appeared in November 1709, Sarah and Maynwaring suspected that Harley and Masham were the link to Manley, providing her with court gossip.⁹⁹ Rabb points out that the Secretary of State was literally a repository of secrets who was "sent a constant stream of intelligence from correspondents in every city and from 'evidences' [spies] or informers eager to prove their loyalty."¹⁰⁰ Harley knew all the gossip. Sarah was aware that messages flowed between Masham and Harley.¹⁰¹ Maynwaring had helped to fuel the Duchess's escalating paranoia about Masham's intrigue between Harley and the queen.¹⁰² Harley had learned well that the most effective way to win the political war was by appealing to public opinion. But first this opinion needed to be shaped.¹⁰³ To consider all these clues alongside Manley's later ironic comment, 'who bid her write?' could interpret this as a winking hint that someone – and the options are few – had indeed suggested she write a political satire that aligned with Harley's scheme.

Müllenbrock acknowledges Manley's contribution to Harley's plan more than most. Although he describes Manley's secret histories as 'scandal mongering' and 'malicious poisoning[s]', 'by no means suitable for an intellectually adequate approach to politics,' he nonetheless acknowledges that *New Atalantis* and its sequel, *Memoirs of Europe* 'may nevertheless be supposed to have performed a useful function in furthering disaffection with the Whig Government.'¹⁰⁴ He contends that '[b]y denouncing Marlborough's avarice, for instance, [*New Atalantis*] played a contributory part [in] preparing the ground on the level of society gossip for Swift's more incisive and damaging indictments.'¹⁰⁵ Her *New Atalantis*, 'with their strong emphasis on corruption', he suggests were a 'notable

⁹⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 115; Needham, 'Tory Defender', p 265; *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, pp 235-36.

¹⁰⁰ Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy*, p 42.

¹⁰¹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 323, 354; Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, 1709, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, pp 232-33.

¹⁰² Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 360-364.

¹⁰³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 40-43.

¹⁰⁴ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 43.

¹⁰⁵ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 44.

contribution to the airing of discontent with the Junto'. In this Müllenbrock refers to Swift's issues of the *Examiner* and his pamphlet *Conduct of the Allies*. He points out that *New Atalantis* was published at the 'preparatory stage of Tory propaganda when the Whig Ministry was still in full power'. He also notes that 'it was no mere coincidence that the second volume of *Memoirs of Europe* appeared in November 1710, when the new [Tory] Government had to tackle the difficult problem of peace and further depended on sustained popular support.'¹⁰⁶

Müllenbrock also suggests that Manley's first two pamphlets in 1711 'betray insider knowledge': *The D. of M-h's Vindication* and *A Learned Comment on Dr Hare's Excellent Sermon*, were the first disseminated by Harley's propaganda team and 'anticipate in a nutshell the strategy of Tory propaganda in the coming months.'

These two complementary publications, written under the particular auspices of St. John, revealed, ... that the Government would in the end be unable to avoid stepping up the pace in its use of propaganda. Thus there is a unity of theme stretching over this half-year which despite all continuity with previous discussions, gives the turning-point debate its own character.¹⁰⁷

Through these pamphlets, Müllenbrock points to '[t]he presence of all the important aspects of subsequent Tory propaganda in these writings of Mrs Manley' and that this 'suggests long-term planning.'¹⁰⁸ Viewed together with his assertion that *New Atalantis* was 'published at a merely preparatory stage of Tory propaganda,' implies that Manley was already then writing to Harley's plan. She would be writing more integrally to his plan and in his propaganda team within a year.

Harley was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer on 9 or 10 August 1710.¹⁰⁹ The first issue of *The Examiner*, dated August 3, 1710, was authored by William King. It was the Tories' propaganda tool established largely, as Carnell states, 'to counter such Whig

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention*, pp 86-88; cf. Needham, 'Tory Defender', pp 265-268.

¹⁰⁸ Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention*, p 88.

¹⁰⁹ Hill, *Harley*, p 129; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 441.

periodicals as George Ridpath's (*d.1726*) *Observer* and Steele's *Tatler*.¹¹⁰ Maynwaring's *Medley* followed in response. Manley commenced in early September. On '14 October [1710]' the anonymous poem, 'The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod', described as an 'attack on the recently ousted chief minister, Lord Godolphin', was published by John Morphew, who also printed *The Examiner*.¹¹¹ Swift first indicated his authorship of this pamphlet in letters to Stella, on 26 September that he 'writ part of a lampoon', on 1 October that he had 'almost finished' it and on 12 October that it was printed.¹¹² His personal resentment towards the Whig Junto and Godolphin also aligned with Harley's. Swift became his principal propagandist within months of Harley's return to ministry and his own arrival in London, taking over the *Examiner* after the first twelve issues.¹¹³ He then authored thirty-three weekly issues, from Number 14, dated 26 October-2 November 1710, until number 46, dated 7-14 June 1711 that he asked Manley to complete. She then wrote Numbers 47 to 52, her last issue and the series' last dated July 19-26.¹¹⁴

Carnell notes that 'the author of the *Medley* suggests in number 21 (19 February 1711)' that the *Examiner*'s authors were 'a Poet ... a Priest ... a Physician ... a silly academic and sometimes even an old Woman'.¹¹⁵ She identifies them respectively as 'probably' Matthew Prior, Francis Atterbury (1663–1732), Dr John Freind (1675–1728), William King and Manley.¹¹⁶ The priest instead could have been Swift. Maynwaring did not then include St John. That he was writing this four-months before Manley had taken

¹¹⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199; digitised copies of *The Examiner*: BL publishing details state, 'An "ultra-tory journal", begun by Henry St. John, Francis Atterbury, Matthew Prior, John Freind and originally edited by William King, the paper was soon controlled by Robert Harley; its editor and major contributor during most of 1711 was Jonathan Swift. cf. McLeod. Successive editors after Swift were Delarivier Manley and William Oldisworth, who took over the paper at the end of 1711. Many earlier issues reprinted soon after the printing to meet demand. cf. McLeod, W. and V. Graphical directory, 1702-1714, p. 14-15 NCBEL, II:1271 Stewart, P. Brit. newspapers, 69 Times handlist, p. 36 Crane & Kaye, 226'.

¹¹¹ Pat Rogers, *Documenting Eighteenth Century Satire: Pope, Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot in Historical Context*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 2012, p 7.

¹¹² Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., pp 19, 25, 36.

¹¹³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199.

¹¹⁴ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 199; cf. Needham, 'Tory Defender', pp 271-2; Herman, *Business*, pp 128-29.

¹¹⁵ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 275n35: citing Needham, 'Tory Defender', (1948), pp 271-2.

¹¹⁶ Carnell, *Political Biography*, p 275n35.

over Swift's last issue shows that she had written one or more issues before that and before February; giving credence to Needham's suggestion that she had written Number 7 in the previous September. St John had launched the *Examiner* before Harley's appointment and also before Harley appointed him Secretary of State, in mid-September.¹¹⁷ Therefore Harley had established his propaganda team before he began appointing his ministry. Swift described in a pamphlet written following the change of ministry in 1714, but did not appear in print until 1765, that Harley's idea for the *Examiner* was 'to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings of the new ministers'.¹¹⁸ Manley was, as McDowell quips, the 'first avowed female political propagandist in English in the "never dying War of Pen and Tongue"'.¹¹⁹

Manley proved she had the capacity to produce pamphlets with 'devastating speed and ridicule', in Harley's 'stable' of pamphleteers'.¹²⁰ Some preparation would have been necessary to spin so many scandalous tales with so many layers of political and literary intertextual allusions in her first volume of *New Atalantis*. Published in May 1709 and considering her previous publications of the *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters*, she could not have started writing it much before mid-1708. Crucially, this is the year of Harley's discontent that followed his forced resignation and coincided with his retaliation to it. His propaganda scheme to influence public opinion through the publication of anonymous tracts now had a sharpened intent: to remove Godolphin, Marlborough and the Whig Junto from power. By breaking the Junto nexus and replacing them with a mix of moderate Tories and Whigs, he could begin the process of negotiating an end to the war. Hill shows that after Anne had appointed Shrewsbury to Lord Chamberlain and Baron William Legge

¹¹⁷ Hill, *Harley*, p 131.

¹¹⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 199, 275n36: citing 'Swift, *Memoirs Relating to that Change which Happened in the Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710*, written in October 1714 [N.S.], first printed in Hawkesworth's edition of Swift's works, 1765 (London: W. Johnston) vol. 8, part 1 (this volume edited by Swift)'.
¹¹⁹ McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, pp 217-218: quoting Manley, *ME*, I, p 189: "never dying War of Pen and Tongue".

¹²⁰ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p 131.

(1672–1750), created Earl of Dartmouth in 1711, to replace Sunderland as Secretary of State, southern department, Harley appointed his remaining key ministers between 18 and 23 September: St John to Secretary of State, northern, Sir Simon Harcourt returned to his pre-1708 position of Attorney General. Harley's school friend, Sir John Trevor 'took the Great Seal' and Anne's uncle the Earl of Rochester was appointed Lord President. Sir John Leake (1656–1720) was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, replacing Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. George Granville gained Secretary at War and James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde was returned to the almost hereditary title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.¹²¹

Of all the cohort who could have 'bid her write', Harley had the most to gain. Like Masham, he does not appear in her *New Atalantis* narrative until her second volume, in which he is disguised by the larger than life pseudonym, *Don Geronimo de Haro*:

In the Houshold there was one who possess'd a considerable Post, named *Don Geronimo de Haro*, who had not only Capacity for the Affairs of the Cabinet, but eminently possess'd a Virtue that often vanishes, as it approaches there.¹²²

In this early modern phase of partisan political formation Manley had already discerned the perennial fact that still applies in politics today, that the process soon separates its members from the moral convictions that led them there. The name *Geronimo* could have been merely another pseudonym borrowed from an earlier text. With its Spanish origin, a derivative of Jerome, however, she may have intended an allusion to the War of Spanish Succession. By adding, *de Haro*, perhaps she was implying that he will succeed where others had failed to negotiate a Treaty to end the war. In 1659, the final year of England's bloody interregnum, '*Don Luis de Haro*' was principal minister of Philip IV of Spain (1606–1665).¹²³ involved in 'negotiations between France and Spain' over a treaty for the marriage of Louis XIV (1638–1715) to the Spanish *infanta*. Just a year before his

¹²¹ Hill, *Harley*, pp 129.

¹²² [Manley], *NA*, II, p 148.

¹²³ Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5144>, accessed 23 Jan 2016].

Restoration, Prince Charles Stuart had hoped that the resulting conjunction of the two monarchies would support his own cause to be returned to England's throne as Charles II.¹²⁴ As the first volume of *New Atalantis* appeared in May 1709, preliminary negotiations towards peace had commenced. Louis XIV had refused to sign, unable to agree to Article 37, that he remove by force his grandson from Spain's throne.¹²⁵ Harley was then out of office so was not involved in the Whigs' failed attempt at negotiating peace. Manley's combined pseudonym thus lauds Harley for his personal and political virtue. Not everyone would have agreed with her assessment. Her accolade, 'He was *Honest!* He was *Brave!* Understood the interest of the Nation and fearlessly proclaimed and pursu'd it,' drew the exasperated response from Maynwaring, in a letter to the Duchess of Marlborough, 'Could any one but an idiot call him honest, in a good sense?'¹²⁶ In this phrase, she could have been alluding to his unpublished MS, *Plain English*, if she knew of it.

Writing *New Atalantis* at the latest during the winter-spring months of 1708-09, the major thrust of Manley's theme is the same as Harley's in 'Plain English' and *The Dream at Harwich* – the latter's parody and allegory more like *New Atalantis* than 'Plain English' – to expose the abuse of power and personal greed of Godolphin and Marlborough. Her magnified portrayal of the Duchess of Marlborough expanded further Harley's brief aside: 'the impotent rage & illbred hautiness of a wild woman,' but parodied dramatically the *Dream*'s portrayal as an 'oldish Woman breath[ing] sulfurous Smoke ... Flames of Fire ... Eyes [all] Rage and Fury.'¹²⁷ Manley's satire could never be a dry polemic treatise.

The Mother of the Maids is call'd *Hypocrisie*, and is very busie in keeping all under her Charge in exact decorum. They have the *Lares* and *Houshold-Gods* in *Angela*, as in *Old Rome*; the *Favourite* is the *God of Riches*, set upon a shining Altar within an Alcove, but she lets none have the Key of it but her self: There are found kneeling upon the Steps three Figures, inscrib'd, *Corruption*, *Bribery*, and *Just Rewards*; ...¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁵ Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p 504.

¹²⁶ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 148; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 184, 273n104; Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 'Letter from 'Maynwaring to Sarah, 'Saturday, past one o'clock, 1709', *Priv. Corr. Duch. of Marl.*, Vol. I, p 229.

¹²⁷ Downie and Speck, eds., 'Plain English ... a tract by Robert Harley', p 101.

¹²⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, p 205.

In choosing satire as her medium, she wrote of serious matters with a light-hearted but biting flair to highlight the corruptions and inequalities inherent in her society; of misused power in politics, misappropriations in financial dealings and sexual immorality and abuse in private affairs. Above all, however, she wrote to entertain, with her eye always more on performance than absolute truth, on enticing readers than on writing historical analysis. Using literary techniques that were popular at the time, in the form of secret history in *chronique scandaleuse* style with *roman à clef* illusory names, she dramatized in salacious detail the views Harley expressed in dry argument.

Manley probably had not read the privately circulated 'Plain English,' unless it was passed on by Harley if she had begun working for him. She may have read the published *Dream at Harwich*, however, which bears similarities in its tone and allegorical elements to her *New Atalantis*. It would seem that even though 'Plain English' was not published in Harley's lifetime, his first salvo reached a wider audience than was usual for a privately circulated manuscript.¹²⁹ Another pamphlet was published in 1712 that by its title alone shows a clear connection, *Plain English, With Remarks and Advice to some sort of Men who need not be nam'd*, but also in its Harleyite views expressed:

Having Observ'd for some time past, the unaccountable Liberty, taken both in Publick, and Private conversation, as well as the Press, Highly insulting the present Government, which without doubt arises from the great Encouragement of some Men (who need not be nam'd) I thought it my duty to endeavor to set matters in a true Light, that the Innocent, and misguided People may no longer be deceived. / ... and such is the Insatiable Temper of some Men, that they never can be easy unless they have the whole Power, and Wealth of the Kingdom in their own Hands again, whereby they have Inrich'd themselves, and their Friends with Immense Treasure.¹³⁰

Harley was not the only person to hold this view. This is attested by his success in drawing disaffected Whigs into his scheme of moderation to create a ministry of coalition.

Following Harley's return to the ministry and coinciding with the publication of Manley's second volume of *Memoirs of Europe*, in November 1710 a pamphlet was

¹²⁹ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

¹³⁰ Anonymous, *Plain English, With Remarks and Advice to some sort of Men who need not be nam'd*, London, 1712, p 3.

published that can be considered a response to this change of ministry: *The Secret History of Arlus* [Harley] and *Odolphus* [Godolphin], *Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula* [Queen Anne], with its sub-title explanation that clearly states its thesis:

In which are discover'd the labour'd Artifices formerly us'd for the removal of Arlus, and the true Causes of his late Restoration, upon the dismissal of Odolphus and Quinquinvirate [the Junto]. Humbly offer'd to those Good People of Grandinsula, who have not yet done wond'ring, why that Princess wou'd change so notable a ministry.¹³¹

A secret history in the manner of *New Atalantis* but not style, it has allegory and pseudonyms but does not use salacious anecdotes and is more moderate in its tone. In the 'Word With The Reader,' its author advises:

This History being writ originally by a native of Grandinsula, in the Language of that Country, and design'd only for the use and information of its Inhabitants, you are desir'd not to be surpris'd if it falls immediately upon the Business in hand, without giving you the least account of the Clime, Soil, Government, Prince or People of that strange Island. Therefore, if upon Perusal of the Title-page you find yourself in the dark, whisper the first Honest Gentleman you meet (whom you will now easily distinguish by a certain new Life in his Looks, and you will be set right in a moment: But, if this Book's in your Hand don't enquire in St James Coffee-house, lest you should meet with a surly Answer.¹³²

Again, it is a feigned translation from the language of an unnamed strange Island, a common secret history trope. The 'Honest Gentleman', who is 'distinguished by a certain new Life in his Looks' is Harley, then back in power and perhaps picks up Manley's depiction of Harley as 'Honest' that elicited Maynwaring's consternation. To indicate his partisan shift to the Tories, the reader is advised to not look for Harley in St James Coffee-house 'because he won't be there.' St James was the meeting place of Whigs.¹³³

Intriguingly, Marlborough is given the same pseudonym as in *New Atalantis: Fortunatus*. As Müllenbrock describes, intended more to denote a 'corrupt court favourite' than a 'war-mongering Whig politician.'¹³⁴ Its narrator is omnipresent and shows an intimate knowledge of the ministerial changes that took place inside the court over the previous two years. Published anonymously, its use of *Fortunatus* is a direct rip-off from *New Atalantis*.

¹³¹ Anonymous [Colley Cibber], *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula*, author and printer not stated, 1710.

¹³² [Cibber], *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus*, 'Word with the Reader', p 3.

¹³³ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 198.

¹³⁴ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 43.

It is now attributed to the staunch Whig actor, playwright, theatre manager and later poet laureate Colley Cibber (1671–1757),¹³⁵ although it is not mentioned by his Oxford biographer.¹³⁶ Its secret history form and focus on the political contenders for power during the 1708 – 1710 period, are an ironic hint to her *New Atalantis*. As the narrative unfolds its author appears to be treading a political middle road. Cibber was a staunch Whig who sought gravitas from his friendship with members of the Whig oligarchy.

As Manley completed her last issue of the *Examiner* in July 1711 she wrote again to Harley, by then Lord Treasurer and Earl of Oxford appointed on 23 May 1711.¹³⁷ In her letter dated 19 July 1711, writing from ‘Mr Barbers House on Lambeth hill in Old Fish Street [London]’, she refers to her two volumes of *New Atalantis*, and pleads ‘your Lordship’s protection’ for ‘some pieces I had the Fortune’ to publish ‘two years agoe’:

for which I sufferd imprisonments [that] injured my Health and prejudiced my little Fortune: Tho the performances were very indifferent yet they were reckoned to do some service having been the publick attempt made against those designs a& that ministry which have been since so happily changed.¹³⁸

She was seeking financial reward for writing her secret histories that had ‘done the most damage’ to the Whig ministry in 1709.¹³⁹ She does not mention the eight issues of the *Examiner* she had just completed. He probably knew. She left London soon after, again to reduce her living costs. That she is living with her printer who was Harley’s private and official printer – as he was Swift’s – does not seem to prevent her need to retreat. Having named her friends in the hope this will tip his hand of favour she pleads her plight:

¹³⁵ Eighteenth-Century Books Online, citation: ‘ “Advertised as 'by Mr Cibber' at end of Parnell, *Poems on several occasions*. 1726" (NCBEL, v.2, 778). Sometimes also attributed to Robert Harley or to Daniel Defoe’.

¹³⁶ Eric Salmon, ‘Cibber, Colley (1671–1757)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5416, accessed 1 Nov 2016].

¹³⁷ Speck, W. A, ‘Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/12344, accessed 10 Jan 2014].

¹³⁸ Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 255: Manley, to Oxford, 19 July 1711, BL, Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated).

¹³⁹ Trevelyan, *England Under Queen Anne: The Peace and the Protestant Succession*, Vol. 3, p 38.

My Friends, have told me that I had some little pretence to be considered for what I had done as well as suffered, and my Lord Peterborow as well as Mr Granvile have promised to recommend me to your Lordship's protection:¹⁴⁰

Her friends are also his. In September 1710 he had appointed Granville as Secretary at War in his ministry. Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough was another disaffected Whig drawn into Harley's circle and scheme. Manley had praised him in her second volume and visited him to seek financial support.¹⁴¹ Always hovering in the shadows is Henry St John.

In closing her July 1711 letter, she refers to her need to leave London to live in 'a cheaper part of the Kingdom':

My Infirmities and misfortunes are forcing me away into a cheaper part of the Kingdom. If your Lordship think I have been any way serviceable, however accidentally, yr. justice will inspire you to give me your protection; if not I hope your generosity will incite you to reward my good endeavours, whether by some small pension (which in probability I shall not live long to enjoy) or some other effect your bounty, which I humbly leave to your Lordships Choice, & remain with the greatest Respect, and veneration, My Lord, ... Dela Manley.¹⁴²

By then she had written eight issues of the *Examiner* and one political pamphlet on his propaganda team. Perhaps also her four secret histories. She also had permanent living quarters and enough food each day, though she was still battling poverty and ill-health. Following her return to London in September, she would write two more political tracts on 2 and 3 October 1711.¹⁴³ There is no indication that Harley had responded to her requests for payment for her work. He may have, but the only evidence is her letter of thanks for fifty pounds dated 14 June 1714. Her short letter is worth citing in full:

Having been out of Town for some time I was wholly unacquainted with yr Lordships goodness to me; till yesterday Mr Barber took an opportunity to ride over & put into my hands a Bill of fifty pounds from your Lordship with Commands of Secrecy which I shall punctually obey. This supply is so noble, so seasonable, directed to make me easy under the pressure of my misfortunes; that I wish for nothing more than some opportunity, by which I may shew my gratitude & the Respect and Value I have for yr. Lordships favour. I am, My Lord, Yr Lordships most devoted and most obliged humble serv[a]nt, Dela Manley.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 255: Letter from Manley, to Earl of Oxford, 19 July 1711.

¹⁴¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, pp 270-72; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 237.

¹⁴² Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 255: Letter from Manley to Oxford, dated, 19 July 1711.

¹⁴³ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 210-11.

¹⁴⁴ Herman, *Business*, p 259: Manley to Earl of Oxford, 14 June 1714, BL., Add. MSS, 7002 (unfoliated).

For all her success, and security living with Barber, she was still ‘under the pressure of [her] misfortunes.’ She had written her life story *Rivella* and allowed it to be published by Edmund Curll and this had cooled her relationship with Barber. Harley sent this payment just after Anne had dismissed him for the last time. Perhaps he was finalising all his obligations and debts.

Manley’s letters to Harley suggest she knew far more than she would have done without direct links. Müllenbrock detects aspects of Manley’s writing which suggest ‘long-term planning’ toward the Tories’ ongoing propaganda scheme. She and Harley each wrote in their own way, to undermine the power of Godolphin, the Marlboroughs, and the Whig Junto, with the ultimate aim to bring peace. Manley’s arrest made her a *cause célèbre*. If Harley was not in London then, he would have heard. He had been intriguing with Masham since around 1706 and was meeting with Anne in ‘backstairs intrigues’ at the time of Manley’s acquittal in February 1710. Masham is suspected of supplying information and within months was her patron. Harley was the repository of gossip. He had the most to gain and the opportunity to ‘bid her write’. Although it cannot be demonstrated definitively, it seems likely that the relationship of mutual interest that certainly existed from 1710 had a secret history which stretched back to the time of the *New Atalantis*’s composition.

Chapter 12

Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke

Your Divinities having naturally a regard to the Ingenious, be pleas'd to direct your Eyes towards that Pair of Beaus in the next Chariot; the Equipage belongs to him that is of the left-hand, by boasting of an intimate Friendship with the other, he has got himself enroll'd among, and in the Catalogue of Wits, not forgetting a very necessary Ingredient, a good Estate; as large as you see him, his Father and Grandfather are both profess'd Sparks, and spruce up in Cherry, and other gaudy colour'd silk Stockings; he talks of *Rochefoucault*, *Fontanelle*, *la Bruyere*, as his intimate Acquaintance, and ev'n gives the latter the Preference; when I can't but find what seems most eminent in him, is but borrow'd from the other two.¹

Harley certainly had much to gain by using Manley's talents to foster Tory cohesion, but so too did St John. Evidence that he may have 'bid her write' can largely be found in the timeline of their association. Was she encouraged to write political satire, autonomously but within a loosely formed coterie of Tory propagandists? If so, St John could have been a major contributor, and Manley's relationship with her printer, John Barber, a crucial vector for this influence. A St John link was suggested by Gwen Needham in 1949, but not explored critically since.² If there is something in this, it suggests that they knew each other before she wrote *New Atalantis*, not merely after, as is clearly shown by her involvement in the *Examiner* from September 1710. It is probable, as Herman suggests, that they had first met at the theatre in 1696.³ A less reliable source, the memorial to Barber printed for Cooper in 1741, places them together from some time after 1705 but certainly before 1710. As unreliable as this source is in its imprecise dating of events, it would explain why and perhaps when she began to live with Barber. Manley would have been well aware of St John's dissolute character, but her own reputation was also dubious. She was making the best of the damage done by her 'unwary' fall into a bigamist marriage. He had chosen his licentious lifestyle. His charm of personality and brilliance as a politician – and the fact that

¹ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 175-76.

² Needham, 'Tory Defender', pp 267-68.

³ Herman, *Business*, p 20.

he as a man of rank who would never pay the price in their society – protected his reputation. Manley mocked him in her first volume of *New Atalantis*, but by her last in the *New Atalantis* stable, the second volume of *Memoirs of Europe* published in November 1710, her portrayal of him had changed.

St John is unmistakably the pretentious wit and libertine rake depicted in the headnote above, in the coach beside his friend George Granville on a late-night carousing around town. Granville is identified in the Key, but St John is not. *Lady Intelligence* has directed the attention of her divinities, *Astrea* and *Virtue* to this ‘Pair of Beaus’ on the Prado, but Manley’s portrayal of St John illustrates perhaps why she was cautious not to name him:

he angles not without a Strain of Affectation for Hearts; catches at Applause; softens his Eyes and Voice, gives Snuff to the Ladies upon his Knees, that his fair Person may appear to advantage, with that graceful and submissive Turn; his business (‘till of late) has rather been to make Love than take it; but a certain Military’s Wife has had more Darts for him than is necessary; he was too nice to divide her even with her Husband; far from suspecting Partnership with another, and therefore took her to subsist upon his Fortune, which was lavish’d with the prodigality of a new and true Lover; he had a troublesome Place of profit in the government, a thing quite out of his Road; he lov’d writing, indeed, but not that sort; it engross’d too much of the Time he could not spare from his fair Mistress, and the Muses, but to quit it with the better Grace, he took the laudable and singular pretence, of being disgusted, because a Friend of his, who procur’d it him, was discharg’d from an Office upon which his, in some measure depended, tho’ the truth is, himself had made such Discoveries against the ill Management of the Minister, that it was but vain for him to hope to keep it after.⁴

This seems biting satire, but it could also be construed as humorous banter from a friend, as cover to obscure their connection. Manley highlights St John’s dissolute behaviour and lack of moral character, an accurate portrayal at this time in his life and for which he admitted regret years later when age had added a modicum of emotional wisdom:

It is now six in the morning. I recal the time, and am glad it is over, when about this hour I used to be going to bed, surfeited with pleasure or jaded with business, my head often full of schemes, and my heart as often full of anxiety.⁵

Manley portrays St John enjoying the prestige he gained from the company of wealthy friends. By her wit and pen, he affects a pretentious pose in gaudy dress and attempts to impress with an affected show of knowledge in the classics. He prizes study, loves learning

⁴ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 175-77.

⁵ Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 3, pp 373-74: Letter from Bolingbroke and Pope to Swift, March 20, 1730/31.

and writing, but loves women more and the delights of London's nightlife. He neglects his work for his play. He excelled in both public life and in private dissipation, but shamelessly mistreated his wife, Frances Winchcombe (d.1718), an heiress with estates in Berkshire.⁶ To this point St John may have been more amused than offended by her depiction. He might not have appreciated her insinuation, however, that he was not suited to the duties of his position as Secretary at War, or that he had personally profited from it and had left only for reasons of self-interest when Harley was forced out. He was accused of the first point and she was correct on the second. She seems to know more than would a person not associated with the corridors of Whitehall. Before resigning with Harley in 1708, St John had been questioned in parliament about a discrepancy in his accounts, though he was subsequently able to justify the allocation.⁷ Her insinuation that he had 'Discovered' Godolphin's 'ill Management', however, referring to his allying with the Whigs and Harley's unsuccessful attempt to oust him,⁸ suggests insider knowledge of parliamentary business, perhaps passed on by someone involved. That she was so close to the truth of events she should ordinarily not have known about would have added to the suspicions held by Sarah and Maynwaring that Harley or Masham were Manley's source. They also came to suspect St John was assisting her on the *Examiner* in 1710.

Of George Granville, St John's companion in the 'chariot', and of his literary talent, Manley is more admiring. Granville was one of the few who remained her true friend, as he did also with St John and Harley, mediating between them both to smooth their relationship:

That Friend of his on the right, is a near Favourite of the Muses, he has touch'd the Drama with truer Art than any of his Contemporaries; comes nearer Nature and the Ancients, unless in his last Performance, which indeed met with most Applause, however least deserving; but he seem'd to know what he did, de[s]cending from himself, to write to the many, whereas before he wrote to the few: I find a wonderful deal of good Sense in that Gentleman; he has Wit, without the Pride and Affectation, that generally accompanies, and always corrupts it.⁹

⁶ cf. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 4-10 *passim*; date of death from Dickinson, 'St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751)', *ODNB*.

⁷ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 55-57.

⁸ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 58-62; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 336-37; Hill, *Harley*, pp 114-117.

⁹ [Manley] *NA*, I, pp 177-78.

With this last point Manley juxtaposes Granville's virtuous character against St John's immoral conduct. Within a year, her assessment of him had changed. Near the end of her second volume of *Memoirs of Europe*, dedicated to Abigail Masham under pseudonym and published on 16 November 1710, her treatment of St John is glowing. He is a 'Star' and, significantly, is named in the Key:

... *Julius*, who had already join'd the Wisdom! Council! Experience! Capacity of age, to the Fire, Vivacity, and Execution of the young. ... His Person is indeed such as cannot but be infinitely agreeable to the Fair; to look on him, one wou'd think it the end of his Creation! But to hear him speak! To know, and understand him! We quickly learn that he is equally form'd for all Things: A *Star* which is risen in our dusky Horizon, to light the warring Factions into the immortal Day of Concord, and Agreement. If this Task be ever to be accomplish'd, *Julius* must be the Man; he only is fit to work the Miracle: Who has such glorious Youth! Indefatigable Industry! Fine Sense! finish'd Politicks, as *Julius*? He sets down at an early Age a Martyr to the Empire! To *That* he resigns, in his invaluable Bloom, those Hours so fit for another Monarch, and which can never return again. *Herminius*, [Harley] that awful [awesome] Friend, whose Darling he is, knows such a Genius is scarcely the produce of ten Ages, and therefore ought to be devoted to publick Good! ... *Julius* can Judge as well as Reward; Perform as well as Judge; what pity Business shou'd take from us so excellent so eminent a Genius? His Word is as Sacred as the inviolable Oath of *Sjyx*, from which *Jupiter* himself can never recede:¹⁰

There is as much a hint of ironic banter in this characterisation as there was in her first.

With only one year elapsed, there is no limit to Manley's hyperbolic praise for the new Secretary of State, Henry St John. She could be mocking him, nonetheless. By this time, he had returned to ministry and by his invitation she had written her first *Examiner*.

Harley had avoided the inevitable for a month before capitulating to St John's demand for nothing less than Secretary of State. He assigned him the more prestigious northern department to mollify him for delaying his appointment.¹¹ Their dissension this early might not have been widely known outside ministry circles but was playing out as she wrote her fourth volume. While writing the first volume of *New Atalantis*, both were out of office but desperate to return. During that time, although St John affected a pose to his friends of being happy in 'retirement', he was anything but and was certainly not idle. He was instead actively engaged in efforts to return himself and the Tories with him to power.¹² Harley

¹⁰ [Manley] *ME*, II, pp 289, 299-300.

¹¹ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 72.

¹² Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 63- 74 *passim*.

was producing propaganda in 1708 and 1709 to shape public opinion and assist his return. St John had assisted him, along with Mansel and Harcourt, to write *The Dream at Harwich*.¹³ This was written in parody and allegory, more in the style of *New Atalantis*.

The only evidence that she and St John had met before 1709 and therefore before she wrote *New Atalantis*, is the imprecisely dated reference to their meeting at Barber's home, sometime from 1705, as recorded in Barber's *Life*, printed for T. Cooper in 1741 following Barber's death.¹⁴ Novak suggests that its author could be Benjamin (Norton) Defoe (1690–1770), eldest son of Daniel Defoe.¹⁵ The second memorial, more critical of Barber, is edited and published by Edmund Curll, presented as written 'by several hands.' It too relates her life with Barber, the 'Atalantick Delia', but only from 1710.¹⁶ St John and Manley may already have been acquainted, if they had met a decade earlier at the playhouse. As Herman suggests, he could have been one of the 'men of Vogue and Wit' that Manley's apartment 'was daily crouded with.'¹⁷ This is plausible considering St John's predilection for late-night carousing that would have drawn him into the 'hedonistic atmosphere surrounding the stage', in which Manley also admitted in *Rivella* to being 'an eager participant.'¹⁸

The biographer of Barber's *Life*, claims that after only a few years' service to both Whig and Tory elites and those 'with no pretensions', by 1705 Barber's publishing business was flourishing. He had made his first hundred pounds from publishing Daniel Defoe's 'satyr,' *The Dyet of Poland* (1705).¹⁹ Curll claims that Barber made his first fifty pounds from Charles Davenant's propaganda pamphlet 'The History of Tom Double', referring to *True Picture of a Modern Whig / Tom Double return'd out of the Country*,

¹³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 107.

¹⁴ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 9-10.

¹⁵ Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 7, 232; Novak, *Master of Fictions*, p 92.

¹⁶ [Curll], *Impartial History*, pp xxii, xxiv, 1-9, 24, 35-36, 44-47.

¹⁷ [Manley] *Rivella*, p 42.

¹⁸ Herman, *Business*, p 20; [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 42-44.

¹⁹ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 6-9; Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 10-11, 232; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 1-3, 6, 9, 89.

(1701-02).²⁰ No printer details are stated on either this pamphlet's or Defoe's title page. As Davenant was also Harley's 'discreet writer', if the claims in both memorials can be accepted, this would connect Harley with Barber even earlier than primary sources show. St John probably would have been aware of Harley's early connection to Barber.

The rising success in Barber's fortunes is the prelude to his connection with Manley and St John. The biographer of Barber's *Life*, asserts that by accepting all comers, he had 'become the Idol of a Set of Persons of Distinction whose Wit and Sense will never be disputed, but by those who have not pretensions to either.' Barber's '[f]ame among others': drew the Beaux and the Belles to Lambeth Hill; and tho' we might readily imagine, that neither could have any Thing to do with the Printer, tho' they might with the Man; yet among the Number of those, who paid a regard to Mr Barber, we shall at least find two, to whom he was under greater Obligations, as a Printer, than to any other Persons upon the Face of the Earth; a strong Proof, that Learning, Wit and good Sense are not incompatible with Gayety.²¹

A sardonic tone may be detected in the biographer's near panegyric appraisal of Barber's success, but even more so for his two visitors who he claims assisted Barber in attaining it. These 'Beaux and Belles' with 'Wit and Sense,' both 'Persons of Distinction' are the unlikely eighteenth-century odd-couple, St John and Manley, to whom the biographer contends, Barber owed the most 'obligation':

A Gentleman, one of the brightest Parts in Britain paid Mr Barber a Visit which was succeeded by another from a Lady of distinguished Merit; whose Works will be prized, whilst Eloquence Wit and good Sense are in Esteem among Mankind: The former was the late Lord Bolingbroke; but it seems almost needless to mention that the Lady's Name [was] Mrs. Manley, to whom we are indebted for the *Atalantis; Lucius, first Christian King of Britain*, and a Miscellany, not yet collected, of valuable Pieces in Verse and Prose. The Effects of these Interviews proved very fortunate and happy to our Alderman; from hence a Friendship and Intimacy commenced, which raised him in time to be above wanting the Friendships of any other Persons but themselves, and of those they led him to an Acquaintance with.²²

That Manley arrives after St John does not suggest she was living with Barber at the time, however. It is claimed that together their ongoing collaboration brought to Barber their network of Tory associates and friends and Barber's business thrived. The biographer soon

²⁰ [Curl], *Impartial History*, p 2; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 2, 37-39, 49-55, 167; Rivington, *Tyrant*, pp 8-11.

²¹ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 9-10.

²² Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 10.

shifts forward in time, detailing professional achievements that in 1705 were still in the future. Manley was still to become the celebrated ‘Atalantick Lady,’²³ but the writer insinuates this has already taken place, as it is ‘almost needless’ to identify her. She was then, however, a penniless author still to reach her fame.

Vague references and generalities of praise in the biography obfuscate specifics of chronological detail. Timelines blur as the biographer looks back from his 1741 view. From 1704 to 1708 St John was Secretary at War in Godolphin’s ministry and considered one of the most dazzling politicians of his time. His reputation for political and (later) his brilliance in polemic argument, contrasts sharply with his deeply flawed character and inability to seize opportunities when presented.²⁴ Manley’s ‘distinction’ however, is not an elevated position in polite society, but instead her scandalous notoriety derived from her *Atalantis*’ fame. The only works mentioned from her oeuvre are her *Atalantis* and her fourth and last play, *Lucius*, performed in 1717.²⁵ The biographer also mentions a miscellany ‘not yet collected’ that has never appeared.

The biographer claims that from 1705 or soon after, Barber’s success was entirely due to the network of friends and associates Manley and St John sent his way. This suggests she was already connected into a network of influential friends. As surprising as this would seem to nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholars who largely dismissed her as a hack writer of salacious gossip, this speaks highly of her standing within an influential circle of her own society. It suggests that perhaps she was not as excluded by her scandalous writings and reputation as is generally believed. It is documented that Manley was in Fleet Debtors’ Prison in December 1705, but she cannot have stayed there long.

²³ Giles Jacob, *Poetical Register*, p 167.

²⁴ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 6-15, 44, 75-133 *passim*.

²⁵ Manley’s inspiration for *Lucius*, *The First Christian King of Britain*, is likely *Lucius Annæus Florus, his Epitome of Roman History, from Romulus to Augustus Cæsar*, printed for John Nicholson, at the Queen’s Arms in Little Britain, London, 1714, three years before Manley’s play was performed; cf. cited by Bertrand A. Goldgar and Ian Gadd, eds., *Jonathan Swift: English Political Writings, 1711-1714: The Conduct of the Allies and other works, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2008, p 250n16.

Someone must have assisted as she probably did not have the funds to cover her living costs there let-alone pay her debts to gain her release.²⁶ She is next known to have staged her third play, *Almyna*, in December 1706, but left London before the play's 'ill-fated' Christmas opening due to her resulting continuing straitened finances. She then published the two epistolary works, *Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters* in 1707 and *The Remaining Pacquet* in 1708, the latter published by John Morphew that was possibly her first literary connection to Barber.

Using metaphor and a romance style of prose to eroticize the relationship that developed between Manley and Barber, which could instead have been merely one of landlord and lodger, the biographer elides years and achievements until it is difficult to sort out fact from fiction and chronological progression. He may not have had all the facts and embroidered the few he did. St John and Manley joined with Barber as a triumvirate of mutually beneficial friends:

Mr Barber was now sure of a Set of Friends, whom he was determined to oblige at all Events; ... and 'tis certain that the great Regard Mr St. John upon all occasions showed for him, and the peculiar Attachment of Mrs Manley to him, were Incidents to which he was now indebted for the Prosperity thro' every future Year of Business ... and to these, especially to Mr St John, he was obliged for becoming acquainted with most if not all of those Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction,²⁷

The 'Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction' introduced by St John provides other clues to the timeline and sequence of their ongoing association:

An Acquaintance with Mr St John ... was followed by many agreeable, as well as valuable Acquisitions on the Alderman's Part. Mr St John immediately liked, and soon loved the Man he introduced him to[:] the great Mr Harley ... Lord High Treasurer of Great-Britain; to the Duke of Ormond and to the unfortunate Dr Atterbury, late Lord Bishop of Rochester: He brought him to the Knowledge of Dr Swift, the inimitable Mr Pope, Mr Prior, Mr Olsworth [*sic*], and of many other Persons of Distinction and Worth, who became his Friends, and continued their Regard and Value for him to the last. / Even in this brilliant Circle, our Alderman filled his Place, and behaved equal to the Expectations, and high Opinion which had been entertained of him, and now, as he used to say he was at the best School that ever Man was in; ... by a Conversation with a Set of the brightest Men of the Age; who for Learning, Wit and Judgment, fine natural Parts, for every amiable Quality of Mind, and valuable Accomplishments, ... These were the Persons by whom he regulated his Conduct; he became devoted to their Interest and they sufficiently afterwards took Care of his;²⁸

²⁶ cf. David Edwards, *Ormonde*, Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon, eds., p 62.

²⁷ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 10.

²⁸ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 10-11.

St John and Barber remained friends throughout their lives,²⁹ while Manley lived with Barber for the rest of hers. By this account he clearly appreciated their patronage. Relating this from 1741, the biographer progresses to 1710 and into the period of the Oxford ministry and the decades that followed. He alludes to St John having introduced these Tory ‘persons of distinction’ to Barber. His tone implies esteem but also could be pointing to Barber’s integral role in the Tory propaganda network. Many of the people mentioned in this passage were Jacobites. Some were also members of the Society of Brothers, the literati group supporting artists that St John established in 1711. Manley had been one of the first offered support.³⁰ That she moved in to live with Barber is certain, but just when is unknown. ‘Cooper’s’ account is vague on timeline and equivocal on their relationship:

He had been acquainted with Mrs Manley some Years before this more than ordinary Intimacy commenced; but then ‘twas only a slight Acquaintance, such as arises between an Author and a Printer; the Employer and the Employed; but when they came to an Ecclarissement [*sic*], they came to a much more intimate Correspondence; and for the Sake, only, of being near the Press and more at hand, to see her own Work done correctly, and better attended to than it had been; she had an Apartment fitted up for her, at the House of Mr Barber, with whom she resided, to the Day of her Death.³¹

This meeting in or after 1705, the writer states, ‘proved very fortunate and happy to our Alderman[.]’ Barber was then ‘above wanting the Friendships of any other Persons but themselves, and of those they led him to an Acquaintance with.’³² His business grew from 1710 and the Tories return to power. Swift ensured Barber was appointed as government gazetteer in 1711 and, although this ended in 1714, his business continued to flourish. In 1720 he made a £30,000 profit from South Sea Stock.³³ He was elected Alderman in 1722 and Lord Mayor in 1732. He was still involved in mayoral elections until at least 1740.³⁴

²⁹ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 189, 217, 220, 233.

³⁰ Herman, *Business*, p 253, 255-57: second letter dated 19 July 1711; Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 227: dated 21 June 1711.

³¹ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 10.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., p 246; Rogers, ‘Barber, John (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741)’, rev. *ODNB*.

³⁴ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 189; Rogers, ‘Barber, John (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741)’, rev. *ODNB*.

St John's regard for Harley while he was Secretary at War and his propensity for hero-worship had provoked him to call him 'master'. By 1708 he had aligned with the moderate Harley and distanced himself from his more extreme Tory friends. When Harley capitulated to the Junto's ultimatum and resigned, St John had voluntarily followed him out of ministry. His decision was a calculated one, however. With a 'modicum of political principle', as Dickinson puts it, he knew that staying to work in a ministry dominated by the Whigs would 'cut him adrift from his former Tory colleagues' completely. When he returned to ministry in 1710 after eighteen months in the political wilderness, St John supported Harley's moderate line but their relationship had already begun to strain.³⁵

St John launched the *Examiner* in August 1710. His *Letter to the Examiner* appeared in its second edition dated 3-10 August 'as part of his election platform', Oakleaf explains, but it also read 'like his extreme Tory manifesto for the journal.'³⁶ With irony coursing through his pen St John gloats over Sunderland's and Godolphin's recent dismissals:

Your letter has been received in England, but meets with a more general Applause from the Whigs than from us: ... But we Tories find no such great Matters in it: ... Why did not you tell us of the Alterations you have lately made in your Ministry? We hear you have chang'd the *Controller* of your *Treasury*, and One of your *Secretaries*. Does not this put your whole Kingdom in a strange Ferment? Can you carry on the War any long? ...³⁷

St John argued that England 'had been tricked by her allies into taking part as principals in a war that was not really in her own interests' and had cost her far more.³⁸ The 1710 election contested in each county over the month of October swept more Tories into parliament than Harley had desired, as Downie contends, these 'were not the men to play down the High-Church victory' but 'Tory writings were useless for Harley's [bipartisan] purposes.'³⁹ Harley had not appreciated St John's strident message that, adding to the

³⁵ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 60-63.

³⁶ David Oakleaf, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2008, p 107.

³⁷ [St John], *The Examiner: Or, Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences*, Numb. 2, From Thursday, August 3 to Thursday August 10, 1710, Printed for John Morphew, London, p 1.

³⁸ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 134.

³⁹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 122: *Faults on Both Sides: Or, An Essay upon the Original Cause, Progress and Mischevous [sic] Consequences of the Factions in this Nation*, Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London, 1710.

broader political debate, ‘was intended to polarize response.’⁴⁰ He took over its supervision in November, appointed Swift his principal editor and used it as yet another component of his propaganda scheme to disseminate more moderate views. Müllenbrock contends that ‘[t]he stir caused by St John’s pilot publication was an important prelude to the war debate as it developed much later when the peace offensive was launched by the Tories under more propitious circumstances.’⁴¹ To temper St John’s vociferous discourse, Harley ‘took the precaution of stating his own policies in *Faults on Both Sides* and other pamphlets.’⁴² Writing through an amanuensis, Simon Clement, he ‘urged a general reconciliation of the imaginary differences that divided the nation, and allowed the family to perpetrate its excesses.’⁴³ Clement, Downie claims, was the first of the new propagandists recruited by Harley in 1710 as the basis of his new press agency’.⁴⁴ He was not included by St John or Harley on the *Examiner*. This shows, however, that Harley was enlisting further discreet writers after Defoe.

That Manley was drawn in so early to contribute to this Tory offensive shows she was respected for her writing. When Swift took over in November, he claimed that ‘the previous authors had grown weary with the work or [were] otherwise employed.’⁴⁵ Neither claim was true of Manley. There is no positive evidence that Manley had met the other writers of the *Examiner* prior to joining its editorial team. William King, its inaugural writer, Dr Francis Atterbury, Dr John Friend, and Matthew Prior must have known of her success as the writer of the *New Atalantis*. King certainly admired her work in it,⁴⁶ so perhaps she was invited on his recommendation. Swift had expressed less admiration for her, in a letter written to Addison before he left Ireland.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 122; Oakleaf, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift*, p 119.

⁴¹ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 42.

⁴² Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 122.

⁴³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 106.

⁴⁴ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 122.

⁴⁵ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 127: citing Swift, *Prose Works*, VIII, p 123.

⁴⁶ Sargent, ‘How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict’, p 530.

⁴⁷ Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, 1, pp 286-89: Letter from Swift to Joseph Addison, from Dublin, August 22, 1710.

John Morpew is named the printer of the *Examiner* from the first edition. He also printed, with James Woodward, the *New Atalantis*. They were Barber's booksellers, but they also printed and sold for others. Considering the West Country connections of St John, Harley, Granville and John Manley, along with the Jacobite loyalties of Barber and Granville, any one of them could have been the link between her and Beaufort. If she was living with Barber in 1709,⁴⁸ it is plausible that Barber could have paid her bail. He had been arrested with Manley and, along with Morpew and Woodward, had been questioned but then released four days before her.⁴⁹ Whether she was his lodger or lover, she was certainly a client from whom his business would benefit. That she was released on the day Sacheverell preached his infamous sermon to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London for the anniversary of William III's landing, adds a delicious irony to their dual influence on the Tories' return to power.

Her altered view of St John, from derision in 1709 to acclaim in 1710, could perhaps suggest that they had not met until she was enlisted to write for the *Examiner*. Writing her first issue in September and publishing her fourth volume of political satire in November has her writing the two concurrently. It is more probable that her first portrayal of him as an affected, libertine rake in her first volume hinted to an estimation formed from their much earlier meeting at the playhouse. She would not then have cause to change her view, even if they had met between 1705 and 1708, until their closer collaboration – and perhaps his increased maturity – caused a reassessment in her fourth volume as a 'star' and 'genius'. She later admitted in *Rivella* to her own participation in backstage frolics, her ironic self-exposure related through her male protagonist *Lovemore*, '... the Incense that was daily offer'd her upon this Occasion from the Men of Vogue and Wit: Her apartment

⁴⁸ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 161, 164-66.

⁴⁹ Sunderland's Warrant Book: PRO SP 34/11/45 and 44/78, Folio 69, pp 64-5; Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 6 (1706-1714), 1857, pp 506, 508.

[sic] was daily crouded with them.’⁵⁰ Also through *Lovemore* she described herself with witty self-mockery, as a woman of passion and desire. The two depictions together portrayed her as a woman who, like St John, enjoys the pleasures of the night:

Wives and Mistresses accuse her of Fascination: They would neither trust their Husbands, Lovers, Sons, nor Brothers with her Acquaintance upon Terms of the greatest Advantage ... The softer Passions have their Predominancy in Her Soul.⁵¹

By the time she wrote *Rivella* in 1714, having gained confidence from her success and being taken seriously as a writer, she had matured with the self-assurance to turn deprecating wit against herself.

For Manley to be included as a founding editor of the newspaper suggests she was already well known by St John, but crucially, was respected for her writing. To portray him as a ‘star’ and ‘genius’, although she could still be mocking him, also reads like encomium or gratitude. She glossed over his continuing licentious behaviour that even as Secretary of State, he did not amend.⁵² Viewed against all these clues: the implied evidence of their earlier meetings; connections in their personal and professional lives; their mutual friends and associates; shared Tory political views that are more intense than Harley’s moderate line but certainly aligned with his hatred of the Junto; and her early invitation to write for the *Examiner*; together suggest the possibility that St John could have also ‘bid her write’, the *New Atalantis*, or enlisted her to write in some way for the Tory cause. With her success he might then have introduced her to Harley. Both were out of office, but both were actively working toward their return.⁵³ Both needed a politically astute storyteller.

When Manley joined Harley’s propagandist team in 1710, she became an important member – even the first female member – of an exclusive Tory political and literary coterie. How closely she associated with them or wrote with little contact is not known. John Barber, Manley’s printer from 1708, or 1709, linked with Swift through the *Examiner*

⁵⁰ [Manley] *Rivella*, p 42.

⁵¹ [Manley] *Rivella*, pp 7, 9.

⁵² Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 439.

⁵³ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 56, 62; Hill, *Harley*, pp 118-132.

from the end of 1710. His association with Harley and St John must have begun before Swift facilitated Barber's joint appointment as government gazetteer in partnership with Benjamin Tooke in 1711. As pointed out earlier, Manley was also to gain a percentage from the agreement, though she only ever received twenty pounds in fact.⁵⁴ In this first year Harley was the cynosure of Anne's moderate Tory ministry, but his brilliance would soon dim. By the second year, as discussed in the previous chapter, those he had drawn into his political orbit began to gravitate toward St John's dazzling charm.

From 1711 St John began 'to see himself as the natural leader of the Tories,' sharing the extreme view of the High-Tories' October Club that 'every Whig should be driven from office'.⁵⁵ As he became less moderate and more critical of Harley's bipartisan plan, he attempted to undermine him at every turn. That year he also initiated the Society of Brothers with Swift organising its ongoing meetings. Writing to Lord Orrery, Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery (1674–1731), St John stated his intentions that it 'will prove to be of real service' and explained its purpose was for, '[t]he improvement of friendship and the encouragement of letters.'⁵⁶ Harley was not invited to join. Guiscard's attempt on Harley's life in March 1711 was the spark that eventually led to the Oxford ministry's demise. St John attempted to shift the focus of Guiscard's attack to himself and ultimately the queen.⁵⁷ Swift attempted to report the event based on St John's assertions.⁵⁸ Harley's family were so distressed, Swift asked Manley to write 'A True Narrative' to soothe the hurt caused.⁵⁹ The turning point of Harley's loosening grip on power and downward spiral could be dated back to this event, although he won this first round.⁶⁰ By the end of that year, Manley had written two more pamphlets to assist his propaganda scheme. Following

⁵⁴ Woolley, ed., *Corr. Swift*, II, p 292n6.

⁵⁵ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 439: citing, HMC, Portland V, p 157.

⁵⁶ Herman, *Business*, p 29: G. W. Cooke, *Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke*, vol. 1, Richard Bentley, London 1835, pp 183-84.

⁵⁷ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 440; Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 81-82.

⁵⁸ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams ed., pp 158-59, 162, 186-87.

⁵⁹ [Manley], *A true narrative of what pass'd at the examination of the Marquis de Guiscard*, 1711.

⁶⁰ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 439-40; Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 82-83.

this attack, the naturally circumspect Harley drew further into himself. Even before this, he had gained a reputation for being tricky, a view held by the extreme Tories and Whigs alike and earned, as a contemporary noted at the time, for knowing ‘better [than most] all the Tricks of the House.’⁶¹ Harley held his political cards close to his moderate chest. Many of Harley’s once loyal associates drew away from him, becoming referred to as ‘the Dragon’ and gravitated toward the ‘charming’ and ‘brilliant’ Bolingbroke.⁶² Abigail Masham was one of the first, when she found she was no longer needed by the previously appreciative Harley, Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer from 23 May 1711.⁶³

As Harley’s mood grew more morose, Bolingbroke’s influence increased. Harley’s old school friend and reappointed Attorney General, Sir Simon Harcourt (c.1661–1727) also gravitated to St John in the last months of the Oxford ministry, becoming his ‘closest friend’.⁶⁴ To an extent, so too did Anne. She became dissatisfied with Harley’s performance.⁶⁵ Even Swift drew towards Bolingbroke, although he remained a loyal friend of both and continued to enjoy dining with each, separately.⁶⁶ George Granville, created Baron Lansdowne in 1712 remained loyal and attempted without success to act as an ‘intermediary to prevent a breach’ between Harley and St John.⁶⁷ He stayed frequently with St John at Bucklebury. For most of the four years of the Oxford ministry, St John cultivated people who would benefit him but also undermine Harley. He aimed for leadership, but when his chance came in 1714, not only did Anne not trust him, he showed that he did not have the political acumen to fulfil the role he had for so long craved.⁶⁸ As

⁶¹ Hill, *Robert Harley*, p vi: citing ‘John Macky’s “character” of Harley, *Memoirs of the Secret Services*, (Roxburgh Club, 1895), p 84’, first published by his son Spring Macky, London, 1733, pp 115-116.

⁶² Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 75-83, 127-30; Hill, *Harley*, p 220-25; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 519; Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 632.

⁶³ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 499; Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 116, 119.

⁶⁴ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 85, 102-03, 113; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 525.

⁶⁵ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 500, 509, 522-24; Hill, *Harley*, pp 199-221.

⁶⁶ Eveline Cruickshanks and Stuart Handley, GRANVILLE, George (1666-1735), of Stowe, Cornw., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Boydell and Brewer, accessed at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/granville-george-1666-1735>.

⁶⁷ Cruickshanks, ‘Granville, George, Baron Lansdowne and Jacobite duke of Albemarle (1666–1735)’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁸ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 127-131.

she lay dying, Anne's last frail act was to sign Oxford's removal as Lord Treasurer and appoint Shrewsbury in his place. So that neither Oxford nor Bolingbroke could 'be one of the Regents' after Anne's death, the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Ormonde, Somerset and Argyll, together with the assistance of John Arbuthnot (*hap.* 1667–1735) and his fellow physicians 'had kept her alive just long enough to appoint the Duke of Shrewsbury as Lord Treasurer on 31 July, frustrating any seizure of power by Bolingbroke.'⁶⁹

By 1741, with Manley, Harley and Barber all deceased, Benjamin Defoe's recall of events in Barber's *Life*, if he is the biographer, could not be verified or refuted. Indeed, there are details included that only a few would know. With no clear evidence of a connection earlier than 1710 left by St John or Manley themselves, the writer of Barber's *Life* would need to have been closely associated with this period of their lives for the details to be true. Considering both Memorials' inherent ambiguities and satire, scholars are understandably cautious in relying on their veracity, although, the biographer's recall synchronises with events too well to be dismissed.⁷⁰ While discussing the calibre and specifics of Manley's works the biographer of Barber's *Life* claims that, 'Several political Pieces of that Day, which common Fame ascrib'd to other Pens came wholly from her own; ...'⁷¹ The writer could merely be borrowing from Charles Gildon's claim in his 'improv'd and continued down to this time,' *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (1699), started by Gerard Langbain (*d.* 1692), claiming that 'This Lady has Publish'd several other Books, which have not her Name to 'em and which, for that Reason, I shall forbear to mention their Titles.'⁷² Researchers today would have appreciated less circumspection.

⁶⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 527; Field, *The Favourite*, p 338; Angus Ross, 'Arbuthnot, John (*hap.* 1667, *d.* 1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/610>, accessed 19 Jan 2016].

⁷⁰ Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 164-65, 220-21.

⁷¹ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, p 16.

⁷² Gildon, *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, pp 90-91.

It is improbable that St John and Manley would have visited Barber by chance in or after 1705 purely for a social call. St John was then Secretary at War, she a minor writer and playwright of dubious reputation. There would have been a reason. If the meeting took place after February 1708, however, he had as much to gain as Harley in orchestrating his return. He collaborated with Harley to write the *Dream at Harwich*. Perhaps he also asked Manley to write another on the same theme, along with a discreet printer to disseminate further Tory propaganda. This would have also answered Manley's need, to connect with a patron for her work and a printer mutually sympathetic to the Tory cause. They may have formed the idea together for her to write political satire, with Barber offering to be its printer and providing her space in which to write, unencumbered by the abject grind of poverty she had until then endured. Certainly, by 1708 she was financially desperate.

From 1702 to 1705 Manley was without funds or a permanent place to live. She sought solutions peripatetically, but none brought success. Following her breakup with Tilly in 1702 and Steele's subsequent panicked flight, she left London to recover in the West Country. She had been imprisoned in Fleet Prison, following her return to London in November 1705.⁷³ Her play *Almyra* had been a financial failure. Whatever proceeds she may have received from her *Unknown Lady's Pacquet* epistolary publications. The Tories had lost the 1705 election and the Whigs were flexing their power. It is plausible that Manley and St John visited Barber after her release. It could even be speculated that St John could have defrayed some of her debts. With an urgent need to survive, this arrangement would solve her financial troubles, while he secured both a sympathetic Tory writer and printer. Harley had used Charles Davenant in 1701 and Daniel Defoe from 1703 as his 'discreet' writers, to process his propaganda scheme. That Defoe and Davenant, both used Barber suggests that he was Harley's 'discreet' printer. He could have been aware of

⁷³ Morgan, *Woman of No Character*, p 143; Herman, *Business*, pp 22-24; Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 11, 51, 116-120.

St John's plan to solicit Manley and perhaps suggested they use Barber. This could provide the context of St John's and Manley's visit. St John had also moved toward Harley's stance of moderation but his ideology, like Manley's, was weighted far more to the Tories. Manley, like Barber, could not afford to discriminate when it came to financial support. In her early career she had received some patronage, but she was Tory. Like Barber, as had her father, she knew that to feed on the grit of political partisanship alone is not a nourishing meal.

Harley had been appointed Secretary of State in Godolphin's ministry in 1704 and soon began walking his path of bipartisan moderation in support of independent country gentlemen. His stance then was clearly more Whig than Tory, a moderation of party aligned with the wishes of Queen Anne, who 'wanted the monarchy to be considered as being above party.'⁷⁴ Yet he recognised more than she did that government without party was impossible.⁷⁵ In shifting towards Harley's moderate line, St John had abandoned his more extreme High-Tory friends. Neither wavered from their initial purpose of supporting the country landed-interest.⁷⁶ St John would soon however reassert his oratory skills in the House of Commons as unofficial leader of the High-Tory backbenchers, the younger agitators fixed only on Tory supremacy. In 1711 formed as the October Club.⁷⁷ The Tories had lost their clear majority in the 1705 election.⁷⁸ They also lost the 1708 election and the Whigs' power was escalating. This could also clarify the context of his visit to Barber to meet Manley. In any other political circumstance, considering their backgrounds his collaboration with Manley would seem unlikely. Scholars are understandably cautious about giving credence to the 1741 biographer's account of Barber's *Life* 'printed for Cooper', considering its ambiguity in dating and undisclosed author. Its imprecision makes it difficult to place their meeting sequentially with other events and so remains an

⁷⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 199.

⁷⁵ Sheila Biddle, *Bolingbroke and Harley*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1975, p 102.

⁷⁶ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 68-69.

⁷⁷ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 146.

⁷⁸ Biddle, *Bolingbroke and Harley*, p 105; Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 23.

unreliable account. If this meeting had taken place perhaps closer to 1708, this would indicate that St John could have influenced Manley to write – just as he would later invite her to write for the *Examiner* and Society of Brothers.

Considering their unequal social positions, for Manley and St John to meet, other than backstage, would seem improbable. St John moved in his society's centre, while Manley hovered on its fringe. She was a gentlewoman and a penniless author, he was a 'brilliant' politician. He was enjoying the connections his role as Secretary at War offered him in working with his 'hero' the Duke of Marlborough and with Harley, his 'master' and 'dearest friend.'⁷⁹ This position 'gave him the opportunity to make a reputation in office, to match his fame as a backbench orator.'⁸⁰ His rakish behaviour in private life did his reputation little harm, other than a few comments of disquiet from his friends. He did later receive censure from Anne for his lifestyle and neglect of his wife when she refused to create him an Earl or appoint him to replace Harley.⁸¹ There is irony in that whereas the 'brilliant but wayward genius'⁸² Bolingbroke is discussed by historians today for his political writings, while Manley is more often denigrated by commentators for hers, disregarded and even air-brushed entirely out of events in which she clearly played a part.

Herman contends that in 1711 'Sarah Churchill seem[ed] to be in no doubt that it is her chief persecutor' who had taken over from Swift from *Examiner* Number 46 and remained the author to Number 52, the last issue in the first volume of periodicals. The Duchess also seems in no doubt that St John was the link to Manley:

I have very good reason to believe that Mr St John's is the chief instruction of the person that writes it, who has not one single qualification of any merit and is notorious for being of a scandalous & profligate life and conversation.⁸³

⁷⁹ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 8, 35, 41, 45.

⁸⁰ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 49.

⁸¹ Biddle, *Bolingbroke and Harley*, pp 62-69; Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p 7.

⁸² Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, p xi.

⁸³ Herman, *Business*, p 129, citing letter from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough to her physician Dr David Hamilton, Blenheim, G-I-8, also citing David Green, *Queen Anne*, p 235.

She would have been sure had she known he was the paper's sponsor. In a letter dated either October or November 1709 Sarah expressed her suspicions that Masham, Harley and Peterborough were passing Manley court gossip. By 1709 and certainly 1710, she was highly suspicious of Masham's role at court.

Whether Manley had met St John prior to writing *New Atalantis* cannot be conclusively shown. St John is recorded by Barber's biographer in 1741 as one of the 'Beaux' of 'Wit and Sense,' even, the 'brightest part', who visited Barber in or after 1705 at Lambeth Hill. Manley is 'distinguished of Merit', and depicted arriving after him. This account is too ambiguous even to be sure when they visited, though the biographer implies that they were associates, each with influential friends. In claiming they led Barber 'to an Acquaintance with,' people who could benefit his business suggests an intimate knowledge of the volume of customers each brought to Barber and the depth of friendship between the two men. The biographer states that by 1710 'St John immediately liked, and soon loved the Man [Barber] he introduced to the great Mr Harley.'⁸⁴ Notwithstanding all ambiguities and obfuscations, the biographer claims that from 1705 Barber's success is due to the network of friends and associates St John and Manley each sent his way. This discussion shows that their networks were interlinked, and the biographer's tenuous account is possible.

Manley's inclusion on the *Examiner's* editorial team indicated that she was known and well regarded as a political satirist by Tory politicians and literati. This also connected her more firmly to the set of powerful Tory 'persons of quality' in the West Country. By then three of her four secret histories were causing a stir in London's political and literary circles and the fourth was soon to appear. Notwithstanding Swift's earlier reservations about Manley's skill, he asked her to take over to complete his last edition when he needed to step aside. Through all these linkages, it is reasonable to suggest that in several ways an early association between Manley and St John could have occurred – and even more so

⁸⁴ Anon., *Life of Barber*: Cooper, pp 10-11.

than with Harley. Either way, both politicians would have thought it wise not to leave evidence that could be traced, as they wanted to return to the ministry, particularly to end to the war against France. From their different positions in society St John and Manley would seem the most unlikely associates, but each could have met and benefited the other.

To give Manley the last word on Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, we return to her encomium near the end of her final political satire, *Memoirs of Europe*, volume II, the fourth volume of *New Atalantis*, published after Harley's and St John's return to power:

Oh! My Lord, said the Princess, let us go to Constantinople, to see the Young *Julius*: It is worth losing one's Heart to so well made, so inimitable a Conqueror, as you describe him. In this little History, we reverence! And admire Herminius! [Harley] but with the same Sentiments of Respect, we have something of more Tender: In a word, it may be said, you have made us love Julius. Is it his Youth or the Expectations we have from him, that more intimately inclines the Heart? Herminius has already perform'd, is in possession of our Esteem and Gratitude; but future Hopes carrying the Mind beyond the present Possession, let the Good be never so great, we have a reserve for Julius, that only himself can inspire. Herminius, answer'd Albinus [Lord Raby], will not be displeas'd at the distinction; as a Proof that he is wholly free from Envy or Emulation; he durst bring that extra-ordinary Genius into the Light, and is pleas'd to see the World cannot but applaud his Choice: Julius repays him back in the tenderest Specie; their Converse is the Wonder of a degenerate Age, who can no more comprehend than imitate the Beauty of honest Friendship.⁸⁵

She uses more than 'a word' to praise St John. This clearly shows Manley's altered view.

Historians say, in Words nicely applicable to our *Julius*, That to the Grandeur of his Mein, he was endow'd with the greatest Soul, the most magnanimous Spirit, and of the most wonderful Abilities and Accomplishments, that Rome, or perhaps the world, ever saw; whether we consider him in his Care and Vigilance, in his Valour and Conduct, in his Knowledge and Learning, in his PARDONING and FORGETTING INJURIES! All which noble Qualities him belov'd and reverenc'd by the People, honour'd and ador'd by his Friends, esteem'd and admir'd, even by his Enemies!⁸⁶

This could still be mockery. Published in November 1710, in the first months of Harley's and St John's return to ministry and coinciding with Harley's take-over of *The Examiner* – an act that may have angered St John and begun the fracturing of their relationship – she was writing the latter as she finished off the former, her last volume of secret-history. She alludes to a subtle shift in support from Harley to St John. She also cautions St John, pointing out that he is his own self-publicist. Only by changing his behaviour, can he inspire the respect he craves.

⁸⁵ [Manley], *ME*, II, pp 301-302.

⁸⁶ [Manley] *ME*, II, p 301.

Chapter 13

Abigail Masham

The French Translator's Epistle Dedicatory to LOUISA of Savoy, Countess of ANGOULESM.
MADAM,

The First Volume of *Eginardus* having been Sacred to *Francis*, our August Monarch; the Second wou'd have esteem'd it as an Indignity, to have implor'd Protection from any but your Highness. / THITHER, Madam, all Honest Hearts have a natural Propensity; with Pleasure we behold you the Happy Favourite of a Virtuous Prince; our Souls replenish'd with Delight! Our Eyes crouded with Tears of Joy! Acknowledge none so worthy. / Your Highness, Madam, succeeds the Dutchess of *Beaujon* in the Council and Esteem of the King ... By her false Glare to display the true Brightness of your Highnesses's Virtue.¹

Abigail Masham *née* Hill does not appear in the first volume of *New Atalantis*, but her significance in Manley's secret history narrative develops through the second to the fourth. Portraying her in different guises of pseudonym and character, Manley highlights Masham's rising influence at Court, from her arrival as a commoner and departure, after Anne's death, a Baroness. In both volumes of *Memoirs of Europe*, Masham was assigned key roles under three pseudonyms, two female, one male; and was portrayed as the person behind the scenes managing Queen Anne's private affairs. That Manley dedicated her last political satire, her second volume of *Memoirs of Europe*, to Masham at the point that she began openly writing for St John and Harley suggests that a strong connection had developed by then between the two women. This volume was published subsequently as the fourth volume in the *New Atalantis* series that had been so successful in its aim to influence the outcome of the 1710 election to a Tory victory. Masham continued to work closely but clandestine with Harley, as she had since 1706, while Manley had begun writing for the *Examiner*, also anonymously. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough was sure Manley was writing for St John on the Tory paper and that he was providing her with information. She also believed there was a connection between Masham and Manley. Sarah also suspected that Masham was providing Manley with patronage. Although she

¹ [Manley], *ME*, II, Dedication: 'Eginardus, Secretary and Favourite to Charlemagne'.

was no longer attending the royal court, in 1710 she had informers reporting on Masham's meetings with Harley and the messages relayed between them. It was a hotbed of intrigue in which Masham was at the heart of many networks. I will start by exploring Masham's place within Manley's narratives before attending to the links that might make Queen Anne's last favourite a direct source for the work.

Masham was not a prestigious peer of the realm from whom writers would typically seek patronage. She had only recently arrived at the lowest rung of the peerage ladder, only through Harley's persuasive urging. Beaufort had patronised Manley's first two volumes and they had achieved their aim. Perhaps she had exhausted her chance for more by not portraying him as kindly in her representation of his wife's death. She had dedicated her third novel to the literary persona Isaac Bickerstaff, to attack Richard Steele, the writer behind the *Tatler's* imaginary eidolon. Bickerstaff was at least a 'character' who readers were familiar with. Manley's fourth volume, however, was dedicated to a pseudonym: 'Louisa of Savoy, Countess of Angoulesm', but revealed in its key to be 'Mrs Masham'. This also had a factual historical context to this allegorical persona: the powerful female ruler of the French Renaissance period, Louise of Savoy (1476–1531). Manley continues her skilful merging of allusions by setting this volume in its illusory eighth century setting, referring to *Eginardus*, the secretary of Charlemagne but also factual people from history. Keeping with the secret history subterfuge that it is the 'French Translator's Epistle Dedicatory',² Manley opens her dedication with conventional encomium, that sounds like gratitude for services rendered, expressed as effusively as she had for Beaufort.

Similarities in the lives of Louise and Masham show Manley's knowledge of this history. At the age of eleven, Louise of Savoy was pressured by her controlling aunt and guardian, Anne of Beaujeu, into marrying Charles, d'Angoulême (1459–1496); his family a branch of the royal house of Valois, at the time close in line to the French throne and the

² [Manley] *ME*, Title page, referring to her illusory puff on the title page of *New Atalantis*.

Bourbon lineage of Louis XIV (1638–1715).³ The ‘Dutchess of Beaujou’, named in the Key as ‘Lady Marlborough’, unmistakably links the dominating Sarah Churchill to Savoy’s domineering aunt. Manley cleverly merges this fifteenth-century French royal power struggle, with its even earlier Carolingian conquest for empire that had shaped the whole region, referred to in her subtitle as, ‘the court of Charlemagne in the eighth century.’ Her setting in the classical past was a contemporary allusion to the War of Spanish Succession, the latest attempt to reshape Europe, the contemporary context to her narrative. Similarities can also be seen between her *Memoirs of Europe, Towards the Close of the Eighth Century. Written by Eginardus, Secretary and Favourite to Charlemagne*, and a third volume by Tory historian Laurence Echard published in 1705 that chronicled *The Roman History From the Removal of the Imperial Seat By Constantine the Great, ... To [the] Restitution by Charlemagne*.⁴ Bullard points to ‘the extensive debt’ Manley’s less studied *Memoirs of Europe* owes to Echard’s *Roman History*.⁵ In its title, setting, and characters this historical text appears to have provided Manley with a basis on which to spin the ‘imagined’ narrative for her last secret history. The pseudonym *Eginardus*, like most names Manley drew from other sources, is only marginally altered from the name recorded by Echard as Charlemagne’s secretary: ‘Eginhard’.

Many other names from all three volumes of Echard’s *Roman History* appear as the pseudonyms of characters in Manley’s *Memoirs of Europe*. In Echard’s *Roman History* ‘The Empress Irene, Daughter to Chagan, King of the Avari’, was married at a young age to Constantine, son of Emperor Leo III. In Manley’s volume one, *Empress Irene* is also identified in the Key as ‘Lady Marlborough’ (Sarah Churchill) and is portrayed dominating

³ Kathleen Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2013, pp 116-117.

⁴ Mr. Echard, *The Roman History From the Removal of the Imperial Seat By Constantine the Great, To the Taking of Rome By Odoacer K[ing] ... To its Restitution by Charlemagne*, Vol. III, Being a Continuation of Mr. Echard’s History, Printed for [five printers named, two unreadable], London, 1705.

⁵ Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, pp 103-04.

her son *Constantine* (Queen Anne) who, wisely, Manley does not identify in its Key.⁶ ‘Stauracius’ is ‘Irene’s chief Favourite’ in Echard’s *Roman History* and the same in both volumes of *Memoirs of Europe*, with *Stauracius* identified in the Keys as the Duke of Marlborough.⁷ Further names Manley used in both her volumes unchanged from Echard’s are *Honorius* and *Honorina* in the first volume and *Aurelia* (Mrs B—n), *Fulvia* (Countess of Sunderland), *Julia* and *Valens* in the second.⁸ *Cicero* (Somers), *Chæreas* (Oliver Cromwell), *Cataline* (Wharton), *Nicephorus* (Rochester) and *Poplicola* (Nottingham) in both; each bearing some similarity in their roles and actions to the factual people named in Echard’s *Roman History*.⁹ *Germanicus* (Henry Jermyn) was another name she must have drawn from Echard for her first volume of *New Atalantis*.¹⁰ ‘Theodorick’ is the ‘King of the Goths’ in Echard’s *Roman History* and Manley’s ‘King of Sweden’ in both volumes of *Memoirs of Europe*.¹¹ Echard writes that ‘Stilicho’ was a Senator who fought in war but voted for Peace and was executed for refusing to fight.¹² Manley alters the name to *Steelico*, identified in the Key as ‘The Tatler’, thus mocking her former friend Richard Steele, a Whig; the party not then seeking Peace, but also for having turned his back on her when she was left by Tilly.

In volume one of *Memoirs of Europe*, Masham is named *Theodecta*, a probable allusion to her increasing importance to the queen via either ‘Theodorick’, King of the Goths or the Emperor ‘Theodosius’, another character in Echard’s *Roman History*. In volume two however, Manley gives Masham two personas with different names and gender to indicate both her increasing importance and influence with Anne. As *Louisa of*

⁶ Echard, *Roman History*, Vol. III, p 500; [Manley], *ME*, I, p 381: A Key to the Third Volume of the *Atalantis*, call’d, *Memoirs of Europe*, the characters *Constantine* and *Empress Irene* on p 130.

⁷ Echard, *Roman History*, Vol. III, p 518-22; [Manley], *ME*, I, p 131, [Manley], *ME*, II, p 23.

⁸ Echard, *Roman History*, Vols. I, II and III, variously; [Manley], *ME*, I, pp 80, 93; *ME*, II, pp 236, 324.

⁹ Echard, *Roman History*, Vols. I, II and III, variously; [Manley], *ME*, I, pp 202, 205, 206; *ME*, II, pp 54, 162, 250, 284, 285.

¹⁰ Echard, *Roman History*, Vols. II, pp 41-66 *passim*; [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 30-39.

¹¹ Echard, *Roman History*, Vol. II, p 213, Vol. III, pp 267-68; [Manley], *ME*, I, p 3; *ME*, II, p 202.

¹² Echard, *Roman History*, Vol. III, p 183-86; [Manley], *NA*, I, p 236.

Savoy, Manley elevates Masham to Countess, raising her fictionally to a traditional rank for those appointed to the position of ‘Lady’ in a queen’s ‘bedchamber’. Masham had, in fact, started as Anne’s dresser.¹³ In this Manley was prophetic, as Masham was raised to the peerage by Anne on 31 December 1711, when she elevated Samuel Masham to Baron, along with eleven others to increase the number of Tory peers. This was a political fix to ensure the passage of legislation through the House of Lords. Until then she had refused to elevate Masham, with the excuse that ‘she would ‘lose a useful servant about her person, for it would give offence to have a peeress lie on the floor and do several other inferior offices.’¹⁴ In the end she had agreed as long as Abigail ‘remained as bedchamber woman, “and did as she used to do”.’¹⁵ But Manley portrays Anne’s increasing reliance on Abigail with her second pseudonym and persona: the male ‘*Lacedemonian* youth, born among the Spartan Ruins, call’d *Leonidas*’.¹⁶ Echard records that ‘Leontius’ was made Commander in Chief to the Emperor Justinian’s forces.¹⁷ The Byzantine historian Procopius’s secret history on the Emperor Justinian had also earlier provided Manley with some illusory framing for *New Atalantis*. Together these various historical references illustrate yet again Manley’s shrewd weaving of multifarious allusions collected from various sources to fashion her ‘imagined’ text.

Somerset states that Anne’s growing fondness and reliance on Masham was noticed by others in her household as early as 1703, as Masham increasingly assumed the role of royal companion.¹⁸ Frances Harris dates Abigail Hill’s rise to ‘the most influential of the queen’s personal servants after the Duchess of Marlborough’ to 1705.¹⁹ She asserts that the growing estrangement between the Duchess and her mistress through the latter’s political

¹³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 110.

¹⁴ Harris, ‘Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)’, *ODNB*: citing *Bishop Burnet’s History*, 6.36n.

¹⁵ Harris, ‘Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶ [Manley], *ME*, II, p 253.

¹⁷ Echard, *Roman History*, Vol. III, pp 484-85.

¹⁸ Somerset, *Ladies in Waiting*, p 177; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 260.

¹⁹ Harris, ‘Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)’, *ODNB*.

power play was not then public knowledge. Harris also dates Harley's political association with Abigail from 1706.²⁰ By the end of 1710 and Manley had published two volumes of *Memoirs of Europe*, Sarah had departed court permanently. She never fully appreciated that she had gone too far, and by early 1711 Anne had removed her from all her 'places'.²¹ Masham did not replace Sarah in all her positions. She was, however, appointed Keeper of the Privy Purse in early 1711, having deputised for Sarah in that role before the Duchess lost Anne's confidence entirely.²² Sarah accused her cousin of ingratitude, deriding her for having been 'raised from the dust'.²³ Masham had betrayed her, she accused, claiming that 'never any family had received such benefits as hers had done from me'.²⁴

Just as Manley had combined fact with fiction, reality with invention, when she elided Richard Steele and Isaac Bickerstaff in her dedication to her third volume, Manley repeats this ruse in dedicating her fourth volume to a fictional character based on a factual and easily recognisable historical person. As an analogy to the young Louise of Savoy who was bullied into an early marriage by her aunt, Anne of Beaujeu, Manley elides Sarah's bullying of both Abigail and Anne. To achieve this, she reverses her characters' role and gender: Queen Anne to the male *Constantine*; Sarah Churchill to 'his' mother the *Empress Irene*; James II to the female *Princess Ormia*; and Masham to the title 'Countess' of Savoy, the powerful female French Regent, but also the male youth *Leonidas*. As the *Countess of Savoy*, Masham is also referred to as 'your Highness.' She is 'the Happy Favourite of a Virtuous Prince': *Constantine* (Queen Anne).²⁵ Manley is clearly aware of Masham's standing with the queen. Masham, as *Leonidas*, 'succeeds' the *Dutchess of Beaujou* (Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough) as Anne's confidante. She is regarded as the *new* favourite.²⁶

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 406, 433-37.

²² Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 241, 322-23, 327, 437.

²³ Somerset, *Ladies in Waiting*, p 179; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 333.

²⁴ Draught of letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to the Queen, 'written in Mr. Maynwaring's hand, imperfect, written probably in 1709, or early 1710', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 238.

²⁵ [Manley], *ME*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

²⁶ Ibid.

Through these dual characters, Manley alludes to Sarah's domination of Anne and her bullying animosity towards her cousin. It was the topic of satirical pamphlets at the time that she had replaced Sarah in Anne's affections during her protracted volatile and vitriolic exit from the Royal Court.

This analogy of Louise of Savoy for Masham is one of Manley's strongest feminist references. Masham is not a victim of fate but, like Louise of Savoy, is instead determining her destiny. Manley's clever merging of 'Louise/a of Savoy', d'Angoulême/*Angoulesm* and the d'Orleans connection to the House of Valois, would also be a recognisable link for her readers to England's current adversary in war, King Louis XIV's brother Philippe I, Duc d'Orleans (1640–1701). Louise of Savoy gave birth to a daughter at age sixteen, a son at eighteen, but was widowed at nineteen. Her daughter Marguerita became Queen of Navarre and the celebrated author of the *Heptameron*, written c1542, published in English 1654.²⁷ Savoy's son Francis ruled France from 1515 to 1547. Appointed her son's Regent during his minority, she 'wielded the greatest authority over Francis', and remained 'his greatest political partner' during his reign, exerting control until her death in 1531.²⁸ Skilled in both 'domestic policy and international diplomacy,'²⁹ in 1529 Louise and her sister-in-law, Margaret of Austria, successfully negotiated the Treaty of Cambrai, known informally as 'The Ladies Peace.'³⁰ Perhaps providing a lead for Manley, Savoy's French biographer describes her as 'one of the greatest "men of state" France has ever known.'³¹

With just a few references Manley shows that she is familiar with Louise of Savoy's story but also how the characters fit so well as analogy for Sarah and Abigail. She knew about the intrigues of Anne's bedchamber and how perfectly the two so elided past and present women into her contemporary political context:

²⁷ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, pp 110, 113, 162.

²⁸ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, pp 114-116, 118-120.

²⁹ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, p 113.

³⁰ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, pp 146-47.

³¹ Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, pp 114: citing Paule Henry-Bordeaux, *Louise de Savoie*, p 13.

No sooner was your Highness the just Object of Esteem, but You became one of Hatred to the Duchess of Beaujou, she found her Error in bringing You to Court, and wou'd have retriev'd it; which being impossible, she began to Persecute and Reproach; she thought it Ingratitude and Presumption to dare to be Good near her Person; she wou'd Ruin what she had Rais'd.³²

Manley's portrayal of the *Dutchess of Beaujou*, (Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough) was an allusion to Louise of Savoy's domineering aunt, Anne of Beaujeu, so she elides the two strong-willed Duchesses. Masham had succeeded Sarah by gaining Anne's trust and, as Sarah believed, had usurped her role as Anne's confidante. Sarah never realised how she had abrogated her place of privilege alongside the queen to Masham but believed only that Masham had usurped it all. She was also wrong about the extent of Masham's influence. Abigail was never as close to Anne nor so influential as Sarah had been, despite Sarah's increasingly paranoid imaginings.³³ Anne did not become over-dependent a second time, in part also to protect Masham. She also relied on the Duchess of Somerset, a relationship Swift misjudged so badly in his parody, *The Windsor Prophecy*. As Sarah distanced herself from the queen and the royal court in her attempt to bring Anne to heel, the queen turned to Abigail, receiving solace from her undemanding words of comfort. Anne shielded Abigail from Sarah's accusations and, for this reason, in 1707 facilitated her marriage to the younger Samuel Masham without Sarah's knowledge. She knew that Sarah would try to prevent it. Harley had supported the match, and Anne had attended the wedding.³⁴

Manley relates in perceptive detail Sarah's animosity towards Masham, but juxtaposes this against Masham's 'Ever Faultless' virtue:

You no sooner appear'd, Madam, but we breath'd a new Air, from the sweet Odour of solid Virtue! Sound Religion! Unfeign'd Piety! Unaffected Generosity! Affectionate Reverence to the Throne! The Graces were seen to take their Residence amongst us, instead of Looser Gallantry, Heterodox Opinions, Ridiculing of Devotion, Rapacious Avarice, Contempt and Neglect of our Lawful Monarch, by a Fashionable Pride, that made it a Mode to Despise what, next to our Religion, is Dearest to us.³⁵

³² [Manley], *ME*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

³³ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 405-06, 437, 484.

³⁴ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 325-26; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 236-37.

³⁵ [Manley], *ME*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

Linking her to the great French regent, Louise of Savoy, elevates Masham's role in Anne's royal household. It also alludes subliminally to England's favoured ally, Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. Masham was close in age to Manley. Her roots in the West Country were more distant, through her father, but he connected her to Harley.³⁶ It is well established now, and it became known then, that Masham enabled Harley to gain access via the 'backstairs' for clandestine meetings with Queen Anne after his dismissal in 1708. Sarah, even had informants track Masham's meetings with Harley and reported to Anne that 'some people in your service' were seen carrying messages between them.³⁷ She also suspected their involvement in Manley's writing of *New Atalantis*, stating that 'those greater wretches, the nobles that encourage it deserve the punishment which Augustus gave the author of a libel; ...'.³⁸ Manley's second volume was the subject of consternation and ridicule in letters between Sarah and her secretary Maynwaring, as well as in the Duchess's letters to Queen Anne. It was a 'nauseous' and 'vile' book, only 'fit to be laughed at'. But, as Maynwaring also commented perceptively, '... for so long as people will buy such books, there will always be vile printers ready to publish them: and low indigent writers will never be wanting for such a work.'³⁹ Through her escalating hostility towards Masham, Sarah and Maynwaring had suspected after the second volume that Masham had aided Manley with information.⁴⁰ Their suspicions would have only increased by Manley's positive portrayal of Masham and Harley in the third and fourth volumes, along with the veracity of detail Manley included regarding Sarah's private dealings with the queen, particularly in the fourth.

³⁶ Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?-1734)', *ODNB*.

³⁷ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, 1709, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, pp 232-33; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 323.

³⁸ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, 1709, *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 230.

³⁹ Letter from Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough, 'Saturday, past one o'clock, 1709', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, pp 228, 230.

⁴⁰ 'Draught of letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to the Queen', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 238-39.

That Masham was identified in the Key to this fourth volume, appearing in an incident with Harley, would have only confirmed the Marlboroughs' suspicions that the two were in league and that Masham must be Manley's source of court gossip:

... there appear'd at Court a new and rising Favourite; who the more alarm'd the Count [Godolphin] and Madam *de Caria* [Sarah], because she was really *wedded* to all those *Virtues*, ... Hilaria, for so was she call'd, had a Soul fitted for *Grandeur*; a capacious Repository for the Confidence of *Royal Favour*. She lov'd and understood Letters, introduced, nay, applauded the Ingenious, and did always her endeavour to make them taste of the Royal Bounty: She remov'd far from her, that *sordid* Vice, which with the blackest Ink had overcast Madam *de Caria's* Mind.⁴¹

In this Manley shows her awareness of Masham's rising position with Anne – and Sarah's rising animosity towards Masham and the queen. It was probably Manley's portrayal: 'a Soul fitted for Grandeur; a capacious Repository for the Confidence of Royal Favour' that motivated Sarah's remark to Anne in a subsequent letter. 'What is all this struggle to form an insignificant party, who have undertaken to carry her up to a great pitch of greatness, from which she will deserve to be thrown down in a fortnight with infamy?'⁴² She had challenged Anne to dispute her earlier accusation 'of the power Abigail had over you,' but Anne would not be goaded. That Anne had opposed 'the advice of all your old servants and councils,' Sarah asserted, must be due to 'that woman, and those that apply to you by her.'⁴³ In this she is referring to Harley and the Tories, about whom she ridiculed Anne by saying that 'these men are the friends that you told me you had somewhere'.⁴⁴ Sarah taunts the constantly gout-ridden queen by insinuating that the Tories were not her real friends, could not be relied on; but goes further, implying that Anne had no friends. It was only Whigs she could and should trust but these she had shunned. She slights the constantly unwell queen further by alluding to Anne's reluctance to hold audiences or socialise with her subjects at Court as was the role of monarch. Sarah intimates that it must be due solely to Masham's influence that Anne no longer listened to advice from the Duke of Marlborough or the Lord

⁴¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 147.

⁴² Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, 1709', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, 'Vol. I, p 232.

⁴³ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Anne, 1709', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 232.

⁴⁴ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Anne, 1709' *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 232.

Treasurer Godolphin, ‘for you see nobody else.’⁴⁵ She gave credit for Anne’s independent ability to perceive their motivations, nor made no allowance for her chronic ill-health. She also had no insight in the fact that in any earlier period under more autocratic rule her harangues against her monarch would have sent her to the Tower.

Manley dramatises Sarah’s attempt to dominate Anne and have Masham removed:

... Will none answer me, enquir’d the gracious *Constantine*? [Anne]. What have you done with *Leonidas*? [Masham]. I have dismiss’d him, answered the Imperious *Irene*; [Sarah] I hope your majesty will think it sufficient, when I tell you, he is thought dangerous, and that, my Lords your trusty Counsellors, and my self, esteem it not prudent, that he shou’d remain longer about your sacred Person; a Spy to that Party who seeks to dethrone you!⁴⁶

In dramatising Sarah’s tirades against the queen attempting to impose her will, Manley shows that she was aware of their fracturing relationship. She knew the details of Masham’s background and introduction at Court through Sarah’s intervention, along with the dynamics of the drama playing out between the Duchess and the queen:

Irene [Sarah] had introduc’d to the Emperor’s [Anne’s] immediate Service, a *Lacedemonian* Youth, born among the *Spartan* Ruins, call’d *Leonidas* [Masham]: Had not the one been Empress [Duchess], and the other without a Fortune, there might have been found a Relation in Blood between ’em: The Modesty, Diligence, and Vertue of *Leonidas*, quickly met a Simpathy [*sic*] from *Cæsar*!⁴⁷

Her portrayal of Sarah’s vitriolic interactions with Anne echoes some details described in Sarah’s private letters. These were first published in the following century, but perhaps Masham did manage to read them. There were mocking insinuations of derision in the propaganda press, most written by Sarah and Maynwaring, accusing Masham of manipulating Anne’s affection. Manley could hardly have known, however, how fully Masham was trusted and relied on by Anne unless told by Masham herself:

Their Tempers were of kindred, sincere! Generous! Not enterprising! Calm and sweet! With a just Reverence of Religion! *Constantine* imperceptibly lean’d that way; *Leonidas* his Manners recommended him first to the Love, and then the Trust of *Cæsar*: The Empress quickly suspected this Distinction; her Spies told her, that *Cæsar* was pleas’d with no one’s Service by *Leonidas*’s; wou’d smile, whisper, and have little Secrets with *Leonidas*. *Irene* remembering these were the first Signs of *Stauracius* [Marlborough] being a Favourite! Was resolv’d she wou’d nip the growing *Blossom*.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Anne, 1709’, *Priv. Corr. Sarah.*, Vol. I, p 234.

⁴⁶ [Manley], *ME*, II, p 257.

⁴⁷ [Manley], *ME*, II, p 253.

⁴⁸ [Manley], *ME*, II, pp 253-54.

It is possible that Manley may have reconstructed this from rumours.⁴⁹ She certainly shows that she knew Masham was becoming a particular favourite with Anne, but this was also insinuated in the anonymous pamphlets being generated by Maynwaring and Sarah. Manley refers to Sarah's 'spies' that the Duchess had hinted at in her letters to Anne, the friends she had at Court keeping her informed.⁵⁰ Masham would have been aware she was being watched, as would have Harley. Anne would not have been surprised. Her bedchamber was a public space, but she nonetheless may have been unnerved by her increasingly hostile estranged friend's insinuations. What is revealing, however, is that Manley also knew of Sarah's reference to her informants in her personal letters to Anne that were not published.

Manley portrays Sarah's consternation when Anne gave Masham's brother Jack Hill a naval commission against Marlborough's advice:

Cæsar had bestow'd an Employment in the Army upon *Leonidas's* Brother, the Empress [Sarah] swell'd to think how the Creature of her raising, durst accept any Advantages for her Kindred, that did not come immediately through her Intercession. With all the Insolence of Power!⁵¹

This is part fact, part allusion. Anne certainly gave Hill, a naval commission in the navy, not the army, in 1710. She had wanted to appoint him two months earlier but pulled back when Marlborough threatened to retire. This time, however, although he again advised against the appointment, he accepted the advice of others that he should not attempt to coerce her.⁵² Anne had also facilitated Masham's marriage without Sarah's knowledge. After accepting the family obligation of responsibility for her cousin's and her family's welfare, it was appropriate that Sarah be consulted. As Masham's patron, it was not unreasonable for Sarah to feel incensed when she learned about the marriage only later. Anne and Harley knew however that had she been told she would have tried to prevent it. Manley again shows that she has knowledge of court conversations and ministry matters:

⁴⁹ cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 193-94.

⁵⁰ Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Anne, 1709' *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 232.

⁵¹ [Manley], *ME*, II, p 254.

⁵² Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp 301-04, 311-12.

But when she was inform'd, that *Herminius* [Harley] had a Friendship with *Leonidas*, and that *Constantine* encourag'd the Union; she laugh'd in Spleen and Contempt, for Irene (who thought her self as superior in Power as in Capacity, and who despis'd the Goodness of her Son [Anne]) gave him to know, in Words well suited to her haughty Airs, 'That she had bestow'd *Leonidas* upon him for a menial Servant, not a Counsellor; He had not Brains enough to direct his own Affairs, much more to advise an Emperor; but like wou'd be like ...'.⁵³

There is no evidence they ever met other than the hints she supplied herself in her narrative. Yet Sarah believed that Manley 'had been given money' by Masham and plentiful circumstantial evidence suggests she was right to suspect a link.⁵⁴

Manley's dedication to Masham in the fourth volume and complimentary portrayal throughout suggests that she was writing about and perhaps for a patron. She is clearly well informed on matters, some that were publicly known but others that took place in the privacy of Anne's bedchamber. There is no concrete evidence that she and Masham had met before she wrote her first volume of *Memoirs of Europe*, yet Masham did appear in her second volume and from Manley's portrayal, was probably its patron. One clear indication of Masham's support is found in the reference cited earlier: '*Hilaria*, ... lov'd and understood Letters, introduc'd, nay, applauded the Ingenious, and did always her endeavour to make them taste of the Royal Bounty.'⁵⁵ This is Manley's strongest hint that Masham had supported her financially, by way of the 'Royal Bounty'. Masham was then keeper of the privy purse and, as Winn states in his Preface, 'during Anne's reign as queen (1702-14) ... the arts flourished under her sceptre.'⁵⁶ From his research it is plausible to surmise that Anne gave Masham approval to use her discretion in making payments to artists. It cannot be argued that Anne would have approved payment to Manley directly, but it could have occurred at Harley's instigation. The reference to Royal Bounty fits with Sarah's suspicions, as well as Manley's suggestion that Masham was a patron of the arts, where she seems to be referring to the patronage Masham had offered her. Masham was

⁵³ [Manley], *ME*, II, p 254.

⁵⁴ Headnote to 'Draught of a Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to the Queen*', *Priv. Corr. Sarah*, Vol. I, p 238; cf. Carnell, *Political Biography*, pp 195, 196, 274n19.

⁵⁵ [Manley], *NA*, II, p 147.

⁵⁶ Winn *Patroness of Arts*, p xviii.

not a Lady of personal wealth, as attested by Somerset's claim that on Anne's death Masham's finances were 'assumed to be deplorable.'⁵⁷

Winn refers to Manley's 'scandalous popular fictions' as he points out that Anne's presence on the throne encouraged women playwrights and poets, some of whom promoted the reformation of manners, but sexual gossip about prominent people, including the queen herself, circulated widely, and women authors participated in that process as well.⁵⁸ Manley's last volume of her *New Atalantis* series, *Memoirs of Europe*, was published the year before St John's Society of Brothers had formed. In her letter dated only 'Sunday 16' [1710], she wrote to Harley claiming 'many great and good' had suggested she write to him. Writing to him again in 1714 she named 'lord Masham and Sir William Windham, two of the Society [who] were commissioned by the rest to desire in their names that your Lordship would send me an hundred pound.'⁵⁹ This letter shows that she was still being supported by the Mashams only a few weeks before Oxford was dismissed. The fifty pounds she had received from Harley was one of his last acts while in office.

During the partisan push toward political supremacy in Anne's last years, both sides produced propaganda pamphlets and ballads. *A New Ballad, To the Tune of Fair Rosamond*, Winn argues, was penned by Maynwaring, probably assisted by Sarah, to deride Masham:

When as Q[ueen] A[nne] of great Renown
Great Britain's Scepter sway'd,
Besides the Church, she dearly lov'd
A Dirty Chamber-Maid.

O! Abi[gail] that was her Name,
She starch'd and stitch'd full well,
But how she pierc'd this Royal Heart,
No Mortal Man can tell.

However for sweet Service done,
And Causes of great Weight,
Her Royal Mistress made her, Oh!
A Minister of State.

Her Secretary she was not,
Because she could not write;
But had the Conduct and the Care
Of some dark Deeds at Night.

⁵⁷ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 530.

⁵⁸ Winn *Patroness of Arts*, p xiv.

⁵⁹ Letter from Manley to Oxford, 3 June 1714: Herman, *Business*, Appendix II, p 257.

The Important Pass of the Back-Stairs
Was put into her Hand;
And up she brought the greatest R[ogue]
Grew in this fruitful Land.⁶⁰

This was published in 1708, when Manley would have been writing the first part of *New Atalantis*. In response, as Winn points out, ‘[b]y picturing *Hilaria* [Masham] as a ‘patroness of “Ingenious” writers’ in her second volume cited above, Manley rejects ‘the false claim that Abigail was illiterate, prominent in the ballad Sarah may have helped to write.’⁶¹

During 1709 both Sarah and Harley were absent from court. In a haranguing letter, Sarah insinuated that her spies had seen Masham passing messages to Harley:

Why did some people in your service ride lately about from her to Mr. Harley’s, at London, and thence to _____, [possibly the Duke of Somerset] in the country, and so again to London, as if they rode post all the while, but about some great scheme, which I dare say would make the world merry if it were known?⁶²

Sarah suspected that Masham had supplied Manley with information. It is plausible that Masham could also have been Harley’s channel to Manley. Her favourable portrayal of both Masham and Harley only confirmed the Duchess’s fears:

Theodecta [Masham], a Relation of the Empress’s [Anne’s], and one of her Maids, was pitch’d upon for this Choice; the Lady had a latent Ambition, Greatness of Soul, Humanity, Ingenuity, Religion, and other conceal’d Vertues, that she had made no noise of, for fear of alarming Irene [Sarah], who always took it as a tacit Reproach to her self when another deserv’d well, or was commended.⁶³

Herminius was then an Officer of State, a Man of great Capacity, Eloquence, true Principles, Generosity, and extreme habile in Business: But not foreseeing the destructive Violence of the Bishop of Rome, and his Adherents, he though by temporizing to gain ground, ’till convinc’d by too dear bought Experience, That that obstinate encroaching Sect, are not to be dealt with by Indulgence whatever you give, is but so many Steps for ’em to get more; ...⁶⁴

Further clues to just when Manley began writing for Harley can also be gleaned from her letters to him, discussed in Chapter 11. All were written after both volumes of *New Atalantis* was published but commenced as she published the third.

⁶⁰ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 471-72, 506, 726n105: *A New Ballad, To the Tune of Fair Rosamond, 1708*, also see pp 467-70; See my discussion above, Chapter 8: ‘Beyond the *New Atalantis*’.

⁶¹ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 506.

⁶² Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Queen Anne, 1709’, *Priv. Corr., Sarah, Duch. Marlb. Vol. I*, pp 232-33; Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, p 323.

⁶³ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 211.

⁶⁴ [Manley], *ME*, I, p 213.

There is a further clue that could indicate Manley had been in contact with Harley and Masham in 1708. Following the death of Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark in October 1708, Sarah chose this emotionally painful event to intrude uninvited into her last hours with him and on into the distraught queen's grief. Anne had 'shut and bolted the door upon herself.'⁶⁵ Masham complained to Harley using their code name for Sarah, 'Lady Pye', that Sarah 'hardly left her so long as to let her say her private prayers but stays constantly with her.'⁶⁶ At the time Sarah had heartlessly 'ordered the removal of the prince's portrait from the Queen's bedchamber', claiming it was to 'ease' her grief but in reality to exacerbate it. Anne was left no option but to beseech Sarah for its return.⁶⁷

The crucial detail in this disturbing affair for my discussion is Masham and Harley's codename for Sarah in 1708: 'Lady Pye'. In her first volume of *New Atalantis*, Manley portrayed a fictitious argument between her erstwhile literary friend, Sarah Fyge and Fyge's new husband the Reverend Egerton, in which Fyge is depicted throwing a 'hot apple pie' over her husband.⁶⁸ Carol Fungaroli Sargent argues that the symbolism of apple pies in the period lies behind Masham's reference to the Duchess of Marlborough as 'Lady Pye'. She also asserts that this tale was not merely a biographical depiction by Manley against her friend, although she derided her friend's reputation. Within her multi-layered allusions her main message was instead political. Sargent states that in this period '[a]pple pie as a symbol of political power alluded to Whig-Tory tensions but also to court power.'⁶⁹ Manley's point was that this power at court was exerted by Sarah and John Churchill. At the time Manley was writing, this apple pie allegory had appeared in a satirical polemic by William King, *The Art of Cookery*, when 'it seemed to Royalist observers that Queen Anne

⁶⁵ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 281: citing Letter from Masham to Oxford, 6 Nov 1708, HMC Portland, IV, pp 510-11.

⁶⁶ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 281.

⁶⁷ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 283.

⁶⁸ [Manley], *NA*, I, pp 158-163.

⁶⁹ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', pp 524-25: citing Carnell, *Political Biography*, 195-96.

was ruled by the puppetmaster Marlboroughs'.⁷⁰ King, a 'lawyer, High Church Tory, friend and admirer of Manley's heroes Dryden and Swift', would later become St John's inaugural editor of the *Examiner*. He had been 'secretary to Anne before she became Queen'.⁷¹ Sargent also notes that King would come to praise Manley's *New Atalantis* publicly, calling her 'clever ... to have evaded dangerous scrutiny with her protective literary tricks':

Even the description of the New Atalantis, from the fluency of its style, and the tenderness of its love-expressions, gained upon several hearts, who were not cautious enough to observe what might lye under them; nor so wise as to consider that it is safer talking of Ants, Elephants, Hedge-hogs, and Butterflies, than of persons of quality under the most secret disguises.⁷²

Sargent emphasises that King 'obliquely but specifically applauds Manley's method of using vivid caricatures in complex political and cultural layers that sailed right past some readers of their own day, let alone those of subsequent generations.'⁷³ She notes 'King's later high opinion of the *New Atalantis* in this passage,' clarifying that Manley's scene may have represented a nod to his work.⁷⁴ King's admiration also suggests that later again he could have suggested to St John that they invite Manley to join the *Examiner* team. Within the context of her discussion, Sargent also asks:

whether Manley possibly could have known that Masham referred to the Whig duchess [of Marlborough] as "Lady Pye," and furthermore whether Manley and Harley knew one another when she published her first volume containing the [apple pie] scene.⁷⁵

She also makes the point that '[o]f all possible code names for the notorious Duchess, however, "Lady Pye" seems a remarkable coincidence, and this scene may yet be admissible as evidence that Manley and Harley worked together earlier than scholars have hitherto been able to document.'⁷⁶ Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough believed this was so.

⁷⁰ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 524, 525: William King, *The Art of Cookery, In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*, Printed for Bernard Lintott, London, [1708].

⁷¹ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 525.

⁷² Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 525: citing William King, "Useful Transactions for May-June 1709, Preface to Part III," *The Original Works of William King*, (London: Printed for the editor, and sold by N. Conant, 1776), 2: 134.

⁷³ Sargent, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict', p 526.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Sargent, "How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict, p 529.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

An intriguing addendum to this argument is the discovery of letters in the Harley Papers, dated 1708 and 1710 addressed from ‘Lady Pye to Abigail Harley’,⁷⁷ the name of Harley’s sister and also his daughter. These letters merely relate general news between friends about people they know. They do not appear to be letters in code. There are other letters in the same folio sent unaddressed but detected to have been from Masham to Harley, their names added in brackets during the folio’s construction. That Harley or Masham would have chosen the name of a Harley relative or family friend to use as a codename for their much-disliked cousin, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, was perhaps merely a convenient cover. There is no evidence that the letters have any bearing on Manley’s writing, but could she have known of this name? Sargent’s speculation adds weight to my own. Had Manley, Masham and Harley connected prior to her writing *New Atalantis*?

By the time this last volume in Manley’s secret history quartet was published in November 1710 Harley had taken power. She had begun writing for St John’s *Examiner* in September, while Harley and Swift drove its message from November. At that point Swift’s view of her writing was equivocal, but would soon turn to respect. He also expressed admiration and concern for her welfare.⁷⁸ Through his association with Harley and St John he had become acquainted with Masham, describing her admiringly later in *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen’s Last Ministry* as being:

of a plain sound understanding of great truth and sincerity ... of an honest boldness and courage superior to her sex, firm and disinterested in her friendship and full of love, duty and veneration for the Queen her mistress.⁷⁹

He was clearly courting her favour in the hope of gaining the same from the queen. He destroyed any efforts she might have made. In 1711 he famously earned Queen Anne’s ire and lost his only chance at preferment to an English bishopric when he published *The*

⁷⁷ Letters from A. Lady Pye, to Abigail Harley at Eywood, Sep 11, 1708, July 15, 1710: HMC, Portland Papers IV, pp 504, 549.

⁷⁸ Swift, *Journal*, A. Williams, ed., p 377.

⁷⁹ Somerset, *Politics of Passion*, pp 322-23: citing *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen’s Last Ministry*, ed. Irvin Ehrenpreis (Indiana) 1956.

Windsor Prophecy, in which he mocked Anne's lady of the bedchamber, Elizabeth Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, by calling her 'carrots' and advised Anne 'to dismiss her and stay close to Abigail Masham.'⁸⁰ He 'thought the Duchess 'a most insinuating woman'.⁸¹ Masham had warned him not to publish, but printing had already begun.

Swift had also described Masham as 'a great and growing favourite of much industry and insinuation'.⁸² Harris says that in the course of Harley's failed attempt to form a moderate political ministry, 'in the winter of 1707–8' it was 'public knowledge that he had the support of his cousin in the queen's bedchamber.' As discussed above, Harris reveals that 'before he retired into the country in May 1708', Harley and Masham had:

arranged to keep up a correspondence in a code ingeniously based on the financial problems of their shared kinfolk. By this means he continued to feed her with accounts of the "Pride, Ambition and Covetousness" of the Marlboroughs and their whig allies, and their mismanagements at home and abroad, "which I think very necessary to be communicated to my [Masham] aunt", [Anne].⁸³

Setting aside Harris's reference to May and not February, these are Manley's themes in *New Atalantis*. Harris also refers to the well documented 'backstairs access to the queen' that Abigail arranged for Harley and his associates 'at both Windsor and St James', but also speculated that she may have also 'encouraged press attacks on their opponents'.⁸⁴ Harley's associates also ascending the backstairs are not usually mentioned in scholars' discussions. Harris then pointed to 'Delariviere Manley's *New Atalantis* ... published in 1709' and noted 'the duchess of Marlborough' writing that 'it was said that Mrs Masham had given the author money.'⁸⁵

St John cultivated Masham's trust as Harley increasingly relied on her less. Harris suggests that '[a]s the queen's health failed, Abigail maintained the partnership with

⁸⁰ [Swift], *The W[inds]o[r] Prophecy*, 1711; Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, p 578.

⁸¹ Bucholz, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)', *ODNB*.

⁸² Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham', *ODNB*: citing Corr. of Swift, 1.69.

⁸³ Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham', *ODNB*: citing Longleat, Portland MSS, X, 16 Oct 1708.

⁸⁴ Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham', *ODNB*: citing *Priv. Corr. Duch. of Marl.*, Vol. 1, p 238.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Oxford for her sake.⁸⁶ Crucially however, it had been suspected as early as 1708 that Masham was relaying messages to Harley through St John. ‘Rumours’ had then been ‘publicly spoken of’:

that messages have been carried as from the Queen to several leading men among the Tory party, to engage them to stand by her Majesty against the Whigs, whose management she was dissatisfied with, and no less with the influence they had upon her ministers. This is laid to the charge of Mr Attorney [Harcourt] and Mr St John, but more particularly the latter, so that they are looked upon as a triumvirate that were framing a new scheme of administration. With the support of the new royal favourite, Mrs Masham, Harley was prepared to undermine Godolphin’s reputation with the Queen.⁸⁷

These suspicions were also held by Sarah. Harley was soon dismissed. The date of this letter is crucial and gives some credence to the biographer of Barber’s *Life* that St John and Manley had known each other before 1708. This letter and Manley’s allusion to Masham could point to St John being one link between Manley and Masham as early as 1708. To extrapolate this hypothesis further, it could be suggested that either St John or Harley, or both, could be the persons who had first ‘bid’, or more so influenced, Manley to ‘write’ to Harley’s Tory scheme. It is possible, as Sarah suspected at the time, that Masham then supplied Manley with court gossip, though probably not financial patronage that she could ill afford. Manley was not Harley’s creature, as Maynwaring clearly was Sarah’s. Neither was Masham, who turned to St John when Harley turned away. Masham and Manley seem to have shared a more mutually respectful relationship: for Masham, of Manley’s agency as a writer of satire; for Manley, Masham was ‘the Happy Favourite of a Virtuous Prince’, her encomium extolling, ‘our Souls replenish’d with Delight! Our Eyes crouded with Tears of Joy! Acknowledge none so worthy.’⁸⁸ Masham was Manley’s source of information, not a director of message. Manley was in charge of the rhetorical choices.

⁸⁶ Harris, ‘Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham’, *ODNB*.

⁸⁷ Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, pp 58, 323n45: Shrewsbury-Vernon Corr., ed. James, iii, 345, 10 Feb. 1708.

⁸⁸ [Manley], *ME*, II, Dedication (unpaginated).

CONCLUSION

WHO BID HER WRITE?

The most severe Criticks upon Tory Writings, were Tories themselves, who never considering the Design or honest Intention of the Author, would examin the Performance only, and that too with as much Severity as they would an Enemy's, and at the same Time value themselves upon their being impartial, tho' against their Friends: Then as to Gratitude or Generosity, the Tories did not come up to the Whigs, who never suffer'd any Man to want Incouragment and Rewards if he were never so dull, vicious or insignificant, provided he declar'd himself to be for them; whereas the Tories had no general Interest and consequently no particular, each Person refusing to contribute towards the Benefit of the whole; and when it should come to pass (as certainly it would) that she perish'd thro' Want in a Goal, they would sooner condemn her Folly, than pity her Sufferings; and may take it for her Pains: Who bid her write? What good did she do? Could not she sit quiet as well as her Neighbours, and not meddle her self about what did not concern her?¹

¹ Manley, *Rivella*, pp 110-111

CONCLUSION

Who bid her Write?

The First Volume of the *New Atalantis* flourish'd under your Grace's auspicious Sun-shine! unknown! Unfriended! An obscure Original, a nameless Translator, no Party interest'd in its Favour, or ready to prepossess others: Its whole Hopes and Merits sum'd up in the Great Name of Beaufort in the Front: An Attempt in me (I confess) so daring, that, like a Hero who has gain'd an almost impossible Victory, I scarce believe the Conquest, but still trembling look back with Wonder at my own Ambition, how it durst put it self to that imminent Tryal, which was mightiest, your Grace's unequal'd Goodness, or my unequal'd Presumption!¹

The overall framework of my project has been, as my title states, the 'secret history' of Delarivier Manley and her writing of her most successful work, the *Secret Memoirs and Manners of ... the New Atalantis*. The focus of my argument is to discern who 'bid' her to write *New Atalantis*, to use her own ironic question, but more in the sense of encouraged than hired. To discern this, I have explored the backgrounds of the people who connected with her throughout her career, focussing on the years leading up to 1710: her network of friends, associates, patrons and colleagues, most of whom, it soon became evident, came from or had connections to, the West Country. Through their own political or literary networks, they also connected to each other. As my exploration deepened, it seemed inexplicable that Manley, a penniless, powerless woman with diminished reputation, would decide to risk her liberty, even her life, to libel so salaciously the people wielding the most political power in her society and who were closest to the queen. It is an insult to her moral and rhetorical capacity to present her as a mere tool, but it is also clear that in taking that risk during the Whig Junto's dominance, she would have felt safer if she was collaborating with powerful others.

My project throughout has been as much about the journey of discovery as it has about the destination in discerning a definitive answer to my question that she had posed so

¹ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication, unpaginated.

provocatively. I have taken more side roads than many scholars would think necessary. The broader brush of my exploration has been to reveal aspects of her life, the network of connections she gathered around her but also the background to the shaping of her work. There is no single puppet-master feeding her lines, but a network of sources and influences that informed her independent judgement and satirical skill.

If we accept that the claim made in her defence at trial that she wrote it entirely alone should be set aside as obfuscation, of all her associates two stand out as the most likely to have solicited her for the task. First, unsurprisingly, is Robert Harley, later Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, whom many scholars see as the person best placed to benefit from the use of her pen. There is no evidence, however, that they had met in or before 1708. Second is Henry St John, later Viscount Bolingbroke, who is also mentioned in scholarship, though less explored. There is evidence, albeit the imprecise record in Barber's *Life*, that they had met, sometime between 1705 and 1708. They could have met even earlier, as Herman suggests, in 1696 at the playhouse. Meanwhile, Harley was heavily engaged in propaganda from mid 1708, at the time Manley would have started writing *New Atalantis*. They each promulgated the same message. Their main targets for ridicule were the same: Sidney Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, John and Sarah Churchill, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Whigs who then held the balance of power in parliament, in particular their five-member Junto. In 1708 St John had assisted Harley to write propaganda. Harley could no longer use Defoe who was then working for Godolphin and had been sent to Scotland.² Mansel, Harcourt and St John all collaborated with Harley to write the *Dream at Harwich*.³ St John employed Manley in 1710 to write for *The Examiner*. He may have also deployed her in 1708. Like Harley, he too was desperate to return to the ministry. Manley was a

² Novak, *Master of Fictions*, pp 334-38.

³ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p 107-08.

writer with a political mindset and would be sympathetic to the Tory cause, so she may have joined more as a political partner like Swift, than as a hired polemicist like Defoe.

Manley makes it clear in the dedication to her second volume that Beaufort had agreed to provide patronage for her first volume, which had ‘flourish’d under [his] auspicious Sun-shine!’ She continues the ruse that it was a translation, while obscuring her counter claim that it is an original work. It is not known who connected her to Beaufort. That he was named her patron could have been a cover to conceal the existence of others in the shadows of partisan propoganda who may have been involved. Beaufort therefore would have known whom he was endorsing but also whom he was concealing. Manley nonetheless expresses a genuine note of surprise that her first volume had met with such success. To give Beaufort the accolade could ensure his ongoing patronage, but his name would also shield her from reprisal. Perhaps it also shielded the involvement of others who did not want to be disclosed. She promises that she will continue to expose the crimes that have gone unpunished, perpetrated by those who knowingly behave without virtue, as she sets out in her dedication, to ‘make examples of vicious men’.⁴ Through this she establishes she is writing self-consciously as a Tory propagandist. She asserted in her letter to Harley dated ‘Sunday 16’, [April or July 1710] that she had set out to expose ‘the enemies of our Constitution’ by circulating ‘their vices and open’d the ey’s of the Crow’d, who were dazzled by the Shine of Power into awe and Reverence of the Persons’.⁵ That she chose to do this entirely alone, leaving herself vulnerable to arrest, seems too big a risk for someone so powerless.

There is no extant documentary evidence that Manley had collaborated with anyone to write her best-selling *New Atalantis*. This thesis martials a case that she received some level of patronage from her dedicatees Beaufort and Masham. Clearly the Duchess of

⁴ [Manley], *NA*, II, Dedication, (unpaginated).

⁵ Letter from Manley to Harley, ‘Sunday 16’ [April/July 1710?]: Herman, *Business*, p 253.

Marlborough suspected at the time that Masham, Harley and Peterborough (with whom she later added St John) were assisting Manley with information. Masham seems certain to have connected with Manley before she wrote her last volume of secret history, the second volume of *Memoirs of Europe* published in November 1710. They may also have connected before she wrote the first volume of *New Atalantis*. Manley had written her first issue of the *Examiner* for St John in September 1710 and from then was the only female member on Harley's team of propagandists. This coincided with Harley's decision to take over supervision of the *Examiner* to control its message. This thesis argues that they could well have connected a little earlier, closer to her acquittal on the charge of libel. I set out to discern who might have assisted her with information, and from this I hoped to extrapolate who had suggested to her that she write political satire. I remain convinced, nonetheless, that she wrote autonomously, chose the method and style of her message, its secret history form with *roman à clef* pseudonyms and salacious gossip that was a popular mode at the time for political propaganda. She had numerous precedents from which she could draw. Evidence that someone had urged her to write a Tory polemic has not been discovered. If there were letters to that effect at the time they have not survived. She asked in her Will that all her papers be burned on her death and, tragically for researchers since, she was obeyed. She asked that two plays, never staged before or since, be retained, and the rest of her papers be destroyed so that 'none Ghost-like may walk after [her] decease' to incriminate others.⁶

Harley, Masham and St John were each suspected by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough of having assisted Manley with information. Harley and Abigail had been intriguing from 1706,⁷ and by 1708 Masham had become influential enough with Anne for her to be a concern to Godolphin, the Marlboroughs and the Whig Junto. In 1710 Sarah believed that

⁶ Ballaster, 'Manley, Delarivier (c. 1670–1724)', *ODNB*.

⁷ Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)', *ODNB*.

Manley was writing for the *Examiner* under St John's direction. There is no clear evidence that Manley had associated with Harley or St John before writing *New Atalantis*. It is accepted that Masham passed on information, as the Duchess of Marlborough accused, but also that she was clearly a patron, perhaps a financial one. This thesis analyses in greater depth than ever before just when or how these significant Tories might have influenced Manley. If she had been writing *New Atalantis* for Harley this would date their association from 1708, not 1710. As I have shown, there are clues to be found in correspondence and other ephemera, but Manley also provides hints within her text, largely in the way she portrays characters, the timing of events and the autobiographical details in both *New Atalantis* and *Rivella*.

Manley was a feminist pioneer, but she was merely a writer trying to survive the best way she knew. She followed the opportunities that life presented and created a few of her own. Her output was not prolific, but it was influential. It would have been a godsend for her to be invited as one of the founding writers, the only female writer, on the *Examiner*. Through this, arguably, she gains the distinction of being the first female journalist and with it the first female political propagandist. She was also the first female author to sign her name in the records of the Stationers Hall, 'in accordance with [Queen Anne's] newly passed Copyright Act', on 11 May 1710.⁸ Other women in the period were agitating on many themes of social politics, challenging their society's mores that denied the rights of women and limited their opportunities and those of the poor. Early proto-feminist writers and social critics such as Mary Astell and the poet Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, had each in very different ways championed education and opportunities for women.⁹

Although events returned a Queen to Britain's throne, Anne did not overtly challenge her society's mores that confined women to their patriarchally defined place. As queen and

⁸ Herman, *Business* pp 95, 277n4: Stationers Hall Records, vol. I. BL, M985/6, f. 21; Vol. II, BL, M985/6, f. 86, 23 November 1710.

⁹ Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell, passim*; McGovern, *Anne Finch Biography*, pp 2-3, 33.

‘a loyal daughter of the church’, however, she wished to ‘advocate for public morality’ and challenged men who mistreated women whenever she became aware of it.¹⁰ Manley pushed through her society’s limitations and double standards to create her own niche in which she not only survived, but also succeeded. She was certainly astute but also wily, experimenting with a range of literary forms, adapting them into her own style, with her form of secret histories a prime example. As McDowell writes, Manley was:

a Key transitional figure in the history of middling women’s political activism through print’, mediating between the female political culture of the seventeenth century and the new wave of women’s writing and self-representation in the eighteenth century.¹¹

Manley may not have seen this herself at the time. When she first dipped her pen into the murky ink of London’s literary and political milieu, she was primarily writing to survive. She nevertheless chafed against and challenged her society’s misogynist mores that were disguised by a veneer of ‘polite’ conventions but in practice were anything but; and in all cases, the female carried all the fault.¹² Manley started out on the cusp of the changing styles of audience and reader appreciation.¹³ From the seventeenth century’s bawdy libertine excess she soon adapted to the new era’s preference for virtuous characters and social manners. This search for moral and loyal behaviour in a viciously opportunistic world became the theme of her secret histories.

Manley was well-read. She drew from a wide array of contemporary and earlier texts, classical Greek philosophies and mythologies and current events to give context to her work and obscure the identities of her characters. Numerous early texts she drew from have been identified by scholars that give context to *New Atalantis*: Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (1626) the most obvious; the anonymous English translation of *Anekdotia* by Procopius (1674); Thomas Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus* (1600); de La Barré’s *The Woman as Good as the Man* (1677) and Honoré d’Urfé’s popular pastoral romance *L’Astrée*,

¹⁰ Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 499, 592.

¹¹ McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, p 220.

¹² [Manley], *Rivella*, p 7.

¹³ Bush-Bailey, *Treading the Bawds*, p 76.

published in English in 1657; and Laurence Echard's *Roman History*, volume three (1705) for her third and fourth volumes, *Memoirs of Europe*. There are also nods to Aphra Behn and other contemporaries such as Congreve, Granville, Dryden and Finch.

When the second volume appeared in October 1709 she was arrested on or after the 28 October 1709 with her printer, John Barber and publishers John Morphew and James Woodward, each on the charge of libel.¹⁴ Her accusers suspected she had been assisted with information that they were sure a woman like her, not of the elite class and living outside the court, could not have known. For them to assume this indicates there was some truth in her embellished tales. She had related court gossip that included details she should not have known. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough's suspicion that Harley, Peterborough and Masham had supplied it was largely based on Manley's favourable portrayal of them in her text; although by then absent at court, Sarah had spies there passing on intelligence. In the case of Masham however, Sarah's suspicions were also motivated by her rising paranoia against her cousin. From 1710 she also suspected that St John was feeding information, but she was not aware that this could have started long before Manley was writing for him on the *Examiner*.

When Anne dismissed Sunderland and Godolphin in June and August 1710 respectively, Harley had achieved his aim to break the Whig Junto's yoke on her ministry. She was relieved, in particular that the odious Sunderland was gone.¹⁵ Their drive to accumulate power had worn her down until she felt reduced to their cypher.¹⁶ She had fought against party domination to avoid being dominated herself. These dismissals were the first step toward Harley's goal to establish a moderate Tory ministry and ultimately stop the War of Spanish Succession and broker peace. This was not possible while Godolphin, Marlborough and the Whig Junto remained in power. Müllenbrock's assessment that it was

¹⁴ Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, 'Warrant Book, Secretaries of State,' State Papers Domestic Anne, PRO SP 34/11/45 and 44/78, Folio 69, pp 64-5.

¹⁵ Hill, *Harley*, pp 120-21, 127-29; Winn, *Patroness of Arts*, pp 528-30, 535.

¹⁶ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p 296.

not '[u]ntil the late summer of 1710' (July-August) that 'the liquidation of the war emerged as the paramount priority in domestic politics',¹⁷ helps to illustrate that Harley's efforts from 1708 had achieved their aim to shape public opinion against the war. It was through the pamphlets he generated, with the help of friends, which began only months after his removal in early 1708. Significantly, Müllenbrock also acknowledges the contribution Manley's *New Atalantis* played in assisting this outcome. Adding to this, however, was the Whigs' massive miscalculation in impeaching Dr Henry Sacheverell for preaching his seditious sermon on *The perils of false brethren, both in church, and state*,¹⁸ that also influenced this election outcome. Claydon also links 'war-weariness' with the 'backlash against Sacheverell's victimisation' as the impetus that 'sank the Whig ministry'.¹⁹

Through all these clues of events and associations, it is clear that St John and Harley were both involved in disseminating political propaganda in the time period of my project: from 1708. There is no 'smoking gun' evidence to prove that either had discussed with Manley that she should write for them. As Secretary of State, Harley had been the repository of all the gossip from around the nation. In 1708 St John also had as much to gain in a Tory return to ministry. He was not idle in his 'retirement'. The writer of Barber's *Life*, as imprecise as this record is, provides the plausible evidence that St John had met Manley, perhaps in 1708, and could have then enlisted her to write for the Tory cause. He also then could have organised the means for that to happen. His friendship with Barber probably began then and they remained friends for life. St John's meeting with Manley at Barber's home and the claim by the writer of Barber's *Life* that from this visit they brought clients to Barber's door, does throw light on a business connection between Manley and St John from that point. In 1708 Harley and St John were producing propaganda and could have sought to use a discreet writer. They would have also needed a discreet printer.

¹⁷ Müllenbrock, *Culture of Contention*, p 31.

¹⁸ Sacheverell D.D., *The Perils of false brethren, both in church and state* ... on the 5th of November 1709.

¹⁹ Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p 262; cf. Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 116-17.

At her trial Manley argued successfully that she had written alone ‘for her own Amusement and Diversion’ while she was ‘in the Country’, entirely from her own ‘Inspiration’.²⁰ Her interrogators could only prove their case against her by admitting that her accusations about them were true. She was acquitted and never charged again. That the Whigs lost office to Harley soon after her release ensured that she had no need to fear further government reprisal, at least while Harley and St John remained in power. My argument is that she was certainly exaggerating her isolation, but that she wrote for and by herself, whatever loyalties and networks of influence informed her choices.

Whether the Whigs and in particular their Junto were as vicious and corrupt as Manley portrayed them is perhaps arguable. Beaufort certainly thought so, as did Harley who portrayed them in the same light. Most of her work until then had revealed political themes, as Mounsey argues, but she had not written so vociferously against the Whigs. Her message in *New Atalantis* was a Tory construct for a political purpose. In many cases, however, the behaviour she depicted being perpetrated by those she accused is now revealed in secondary sources, showing that in most cases there was some truth in her scandalous tales of personal and professional immorality. She did single out a few Tories for ridicule, mostly those who had betrayed her. Targeting Tories did not fit her message, but it helped to obscure her aim, as well as salving her sense of betrayal. Manley’s bigamous marriage defined her future prospects but did not define her. She went on to achieve success in her chosen field of work, gathered a number of influential people around her who in other circumstances would have given her little credit, and engaged in England’s small literary scene and political pond. She left her mark against all odds for a woman – and a woman of dubious character – to survive. She showed through her anecdotes that the fault she carried for lifestyle transgressions was little different to many other ‘persons of quality of both sexes’ who had fallen under her lens.

²⁰ [Manley], *Rivella*, pp 110, 113: cf. Herman, *Business*, p 73.

When setting out on this project I was not confident that it could be resolved any more definitively than had been established in scholarship already that Manley had collaborated with another before writing *New Atalantis*. To argue that it could have been Harley is not new. By digging out and drawing together relevant events and connections, applying new interpretations of facts, most but not all of which are established, I have set out to show more clearly how and when these two men influenced Manley or connected with her. Harley certainly had the most to gain. He was experienced in using the talents of ‘discreet’ writers for the purposes of propaganda to shape public opinion. He had the motive, but there is no positive evidence that he connected with Manley as early as 1708. She could have met St John sometime before 1708, a meeting that could have been enabled if they had met earlier at the theatre. It was suspected as early as 1709 that Masham was passing information to Manley, but St John may have also, earlier than 1710.

Although in 1708 the circumspice Harley clearly had the most to gain, there is no hint in primary sources, even unreliable, that he had met with Manley in 1708 to discuss his ‘determined plan.’ Neither had it been open knowledge in 1703 that he had enlisted the desperate Daniel Defoe to write propaganda for him. This has since been well documented by scholars, discerned from primary sources. It is also known that he used Simon Clement in 1710 to assist in writing his tempering pamphlet *Faults on Both Sides*.²¹ By drawing all these clues together, I would argue that St John first sought Manley to write for the Tory cause. He did not enlist her as an amanuensis but perhaps put the idea to her, to ‘write’ political satire towards a Tory agenda. She chose the method, adapting the popular secret history form into Tory propaganda and fashioning it in her own style. Harley may have known at the time or found out later. Then after seeing the finished product, and the acclaim she received, offered her more. As shown in Chapter 11, his scheme and her theme aligned closely, suggesting that he was directly involved in the arrangement.

²¹ Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp 106, 119-22.

Harley may have suggested to St John that he approach Barber to be their ‘discreet printer’. Printers and publishers were well used to printing anonymously and often risked arrest for political publications. Barber could have then offered to provide Manley with lodging and therefore financial security while she wrote. Harley had received all the gossip of the nation while he was Secretary of State, but they could have been assisted by Masham in passing on this court gossip to Manley. On Masham’s meagre salary she would be hard-pressed to afford to pay patronage. Perhaps she was also the conduit to Manley for Harley. St John then soon employed Manley for the *Examiner*. She then worked on Harley’s propaganda team. This may have been a natural progression, or he may have removed her from St John’s influence, in the same way he had taken over the *Examiner* and passed it to Swift to temper its tone.

Manley had set out, Bullard asserts, ‘to encourage a sense of party identity and cohesion among the disparate, factional Tories in the lead-up to the critical electoral year of 1710’.²² Müllenbrock contends that ‘[t]he presence of all the important aspects of subsequent Tory propaganda in these writings of Mrs Manley suggests long-term planning.’²³ Both assessments seem to acknowledge her early association with Harley and knowledge of his ‘determined plan.’ She was writing Tory propaganda, shrouding it within ‘old Stories that all the World had long since reported’.²⁴ It was ‘[b]y alluding to her own reputation in her work’, as Weil pointed out, that Manley redefined the nature of ‘reforming satire’.²⁵ Her main targets in her hostile assessment were also Harley’s targets. Harley’s pamphlets did indeed achieve their aim. So too did her *New Atalantis*. It was a resounding success and earned her the ongoing epithet, ‘the Atalantick Lady’.

²² Bullard, *Politics of Disclosure*, p 81.

²³ Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention*, p 88.

²⁴ [Manley] *Rivella*, pp 110-111.

²⁵ Weil, *Political Passions*, p 174.

The question Manley posed rhetorically in 1714 to mock the Tories for not supporting their writers, but perhaps aimed most at Harley whose hold on power in 1714 was fast weakening, was laced with bitter irony: ‘Who bid her write? What good did she do? Could not she sit quiet as well as her Neighbours, and not meddle her self about what did not concern her?’²⁶ Beaufort had been willing to have his name attached to Manley’s provocative political satire. He too wanted to see the end of the Whig Junto. It could be that with his peer position, nearly untouchable legally for penalty unless in an act of treason, his disclosure could be cover for others more vulnerable if exposed. Manley’s portrayal of Beaufort family members suggests gratitude but also high admiration, not only for Beaufort himself but also his chaplain, Thomas Yalden, his wife Rachel, who died just before Manley published her second volume, and his aunt Mary Butler, second Duchess of Ormonde. Her admiration for the Duchesses was so profound and her choice of words so revealing, it is possible to argue that Manley modelled her divine characters *Astrea* and *Virtue* on them. The family’s ongoing admiration for Manley was mutual, attested in the letter written by a Beaufort family member following Manley’s death in 1724.

My argument stemmed from a hunch that for a woman so powerless to write so vociferously against Britain’s most powerful politicians was too risky without the strength of others as powerful behind her. The findings are based on circumstantial evidence, but quite a lot of it. It is garnered from the imprecise and somewhat unreliable Memorials to Barber, her correspondence to Harley, her undependable autobiographical writings, the timing of events, and her network of connections to discern whether she had met St John or Harley before or during 1708. Each certainly had the motive but as this thesis shows, also the opportunity, with assistance from Masham and the help of friends, Beaufort and Barber in particular, to have ‘bid’, or prompted, Manley to write Tory propaganda.

²⁶ [Manley], *Rivella*, p 111; cf. Herman, *Business*, p 11.

From whatever seed of suggestion or proposal the idea arose, Manley alone produced *New Atalantis*. St John may have facilitated the ‘bidding’, but all ‘roads’ of her writing from then lead to Harley. Could she have known when she started writing *New Atalantis* that the appearance of her first volume would coincide with Harley’s scheme to remove the Whigs from office? She could not have known, or foreseen, that when her second volume appeared at the end of October 1709 it would be on the eve of Dr Henry Sacheverell sermon that created such a furore and whose trial became the Whig Junto’s nemesis. She also could not have been confident as she was writing that the election being held throughout October, the month of her publication, would be such a resounding Tory victory. *New Atalantis* is credited with having done the most harm. Harley had not wanted such a complete rout of Whig politicians, but Tory propaganda nevertheless continued the following year and throughout his four-year reign; and then Manley was in the thick of it. There are letters from Manley to Harley through those years, from 1710 to 1714. There is no such trail of correspondence found between Manley and St John. It is known that she sent Harley a copy of her third volume, hot off the press. Her pleas for financial assistance were addressed to Harley, although she did also solicit from Peterborough. The confident tone of her letter, from one so powerless to the soon to be most powerful politician at the time, suggests prior association. It appears that Harley did not recompense her efforts as well as he ought; drawing her caustic remark in *Rivella*, that Tories did not adequately reward their writers.

Manley never wrote as a hired hack. Her first literary venture was epistolary prose, perhaps of her own letters sent and received, or possibly invented. She was asked to collate a poetic tribute to John Dryden, to which she contributed two poems, but she was in charge of the project. She wrote for the stage, adapting to the differing genres of changing audience pressure between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She then returned to epistolary prose; its publication collected with a popular writer of secret history. Through

all these ventures she achieved fluctuating success and failure, but mostly the latter. Throughout these years she collaborated with or benefited from the patronage of people of 'quality'. In the beginning they were predominantly Whigs. These connections drew her into a network of the politically influential elite. She then wrote *New Atalantis*. Her network of connections had become more integral to her work and most were Tory, many from the West Country. Manley lived a colourful life but for the most part, an uncomfortable one; as she expressed in her letters to Harley and lamented through her character *Lovemore* in *Rivella*. She was her own best publicist, but largely her own worst enemy. Her first 'unwary' decision to marry her cousin had compromised the rest of her life. Even so, she made the best of her lot. She retained her sense of dignity and her humour and drew support from the highest levels of England's society. She was admired by her contemporaries for her wit and genius. Manley walked her own path, wrote in her own style, and remained her own woman to the end. She was born, not 'bid', to write.

POSTSCRIPT

Soon after commencing this project the world was shocked by the murder in France of staff at the office of satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo. This vicious crime inspired my opening epigraph. Since then our world has endured more acts of senseless violence, carnage and sheer evil, perpetrated in many parts of the world by multiple or lone assailants in the guise of an ideological or religious ideal. The latest act of violence was perpetrated in peaceful, racially diverse and tolerant, New Zealand. As I end my project, with more years intervening than desired due to family commitments, since the Charlie Hebdo murders, the world has even seemed to totter on the brink of war. Between writing this and final submission, the world is enduring yet another more insidious threat to all humanity by a global pandemic, arguably the result of heartless actions by vicious men.

Throughout my research I have seen parallels on many levels between the events of this early eighteenth-century period and the political intrigues in our current time. In this early period when government by party began its formation into the adversarial two-party divide we continue to endure today, political allegiance was not then so fixed to party. Neither was an individual's adherence to one so solid. Political ideologies that began informally developed into formally structured parties that demanded allegiance from members to each of their politburos than to the people electing them. In Manley's era this culminated in a conflict of intent and ideal that Queen Anne and Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, both feared and attempted to avoid. This rule by 'party' has culminated in our present day into vested interest of right and left factions that divide parties further even within their ranks and drive policies that benefit factional agendas, not the party as a whole and in many cases not the country or its people. This early eighteenth-century period also experienced the emerging mass-produced printed newspapers, periodicals and books that replaced earlier forms of hand-scribed manuscripts or verbal communication. This bastion of the printed press is now being displaced by the electronic media and social platforms, all of which, ironically, will be lost if not downloaded, saved, printed and stored.

There are parallels between the ideological plotting by political leaders then and the partisan intrigues by our leaders today. As our twenty-first-century world contends with incompetent or megalomaniac leadership, ideological extremes that both determine and constrain party policies, along with vested interest swayed by either lobbyists' or politicians' personal agenda, it seems little has changed. The constant revelations of private corruptions and political scheming by politicians today show they are little different to the 'vicious men' Manley mocked. In our current fractious times, Harley's and Queen Anne's desired moderation of 'party' and political virtue is an idyll our world has rarely known but most needs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLIC RECORDS

- Manley, Delarivier, Last Will and Testament, National Archive, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/599, 194–5 consulted at the National Archives, Richmond (U.K.).
- Sessions of the Old Bailey, *The Tryal and Sentence of Elizabeth Cellier; for Writing, Printing and Publishing a Scandalous Libel, called Malice Defeated &c., At the Sessions in the Old-Bailey held Saturday, 11th and Monday 13th September 1680*, Printed for Thomas Collins at the Middle Temple Gate, London, 1680.
- Spencer, Charles, third earl of Sunderland, 'Warrant Book, Secretaries of State,' State Papers Domestic Anne, PRO SP 34/11/45 and 44/78, Folio 69, 11 Nov 1709, consulted at The National Archives (U.K.).
- Townshend, Charles, Warrant Book, PRO, SP 44/8: dated 11 March 1723/4, Townshend and Walpole Secretaries of State: State Papers' Entry Books, Criminal: Correspondence and Warrants, consulted at The National Archives (U.K.).
- Stationers Hall Records, Vol. I, British Library M985/6, f. 21; Vol. II, British Library, M985/6, ff. 86, 23 November 1710, cited from Herman, Ruth, *The Business of a Woman: The Political Writings of Delarivier Manley*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 2003.
- State Trials database accessed through Flinders University of South Australia at: <https://app-justis-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/advancedsearch/cases>.
- State Trials*, Albemarle, Duchess of, versus the Earl of Bath, Lords Commissioners, May 23, 24, in Easter Vacation, Anno 1692, accessed online at, *Justis, Chancery Division*, English Reports.
- State Trials 1163-1858*, Josiah Brown, Barrister-at-Law, *Reports of Cases upon Appeals and Writs of Error, determined in the High Court of Parliament*, second edition by Tomlins, Vol. VI, 'Earl of Peterborough, and others – Appellants; Sir John Germaine, et. Ux – Respondents, [24th February 1709]', accessed at: Justis, http://www.justis.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/pdf_temp/444_267_0020893a.pdf.
- State Trials, William III and Mary II*, 405: 'The Trial of Spencer Cowper esq., Ellis Stephens, William Rogers, and John Marson, at Hertford Assizes, for the murder of Mrs. Sarah Stout': 11 Wlm III, 1699: 13 *St Tr* 1106, accessed at: <https://app-justis-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/case/the-trial-of-spencer-cowper-esq-ellis-stephens-william-rogers/overview/c4GZm0mdn5Wca>.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES

Consulted at the British Library, London and University of Nottingham Library, Nottingham U.K.

- British Library, Add. MSS, 70290, Folio 1.
Harley Papers, XXVI, (1710), BL., Add. MSS, 70026 (unfoliated).
Harley Papers, XXVIII, (July-Dec. 1711), BL., Add. MSS, 70028 (unfoliated).
Harley Papers, XXXII, (Jan-June 1714), BL., Add. MSS, 70032 (unfoliated).
HMC, Portland Papers, IV.
HMC, Portland Papers, V.
HMC, Portland Papers, IX.

PRIMARY TEXTS

Most digitised copies of original texts accessed from Eighteenth-Century Collections Online and Early English Books Online, both through the National Library of Australia at:
<http://find.galegroup.com.rp.nla.gov.au/ecco/start.do?userGroupName=nla&prodId=ECCO&finalAuth=true>
<http://eebo.chadwyck.com.rp.nla.gov.au/home>
Some accessed from Hathi Trust Digital Library at <https://www.hathitrust.org>.

PUBLISHED BY DELARIVIER MANLEY, ANONYMOUS OR ACKNOWLEDGED (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

Mrs. Manley, *Letters Written by Mrs Manley*, Printed for R.B. and sold by the Book-Sellers of London and Westminster, 1696.

Mrs. Manley, *The Lost Lover; or, the Jealous Husband: A Comedy*, Printed for R. Bently, F. Saunders, J. Knapton and R. Wellington, London, 1696.

Mrs. Manley, *The Royal Mischief. A Tragedy.*, Printed for R Bently, F Saunders, J Knapton, London, 1696.

Anonymous, [Delarivier Manley, ed.], *The Nine Muses; or Poems Upon the Death of the late Famous John Dryden, Esq.*, Printed for Richard Basset, London, 1700.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *Almyna: Or, The Arabian Vow. A Tragedy*, Printed for William Turner and Egbert Sanger, London, 1707.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *The Lady's Packet of Letters, Taken from her by a French Privateer in her Passage to Holland. Suppos'd to be written by several Men of Quality. Brought over from St. Malo's by an English Officer at the Last Exchange of Prisoners,* [printed with Madame d'Aulnoy's] *Memoirs of the Court of England: in the Reign of King Charles II. In Two Parts, By the Countess of Dunois, Author of the Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady's Travels into Spain.* Writ during her Residence in that Court, 2nd edition corrected, Printed and sold by J Woodward and J Morphew, London, 1708.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *The Remaining Part of the Unknown Lady's Pacquet of Letters, taken from her by a French Privateer, in her Passage to Holland, suppos'd to be Written by several Persons of Quality: Brought over from St. Maloes by an English Officer, at the last Exchange of Prisoners.* [printed with Madame d'Aulnoy's] *The History of the Earl of Warwick, Sirnam'd The King-Maker: Containing the Amours And other Memorable Transactions.* By the Author of the *Memoirs of the English Court.* Printed and sold by J Woodward and J Morphew, London, 1708.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes from the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediteranean [sic]*, Vols. 1 and 2, Printed for John Morphew and James Woodward, London, 1709.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *Memoirs of Europe Towards the Close of the Eighth Century, Written by Eginardus, Secretary and Favourite to Charlemagne, and done into English by the Translator or the New Atalantis*, Vols. 1 and 2, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1710.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *Court Intrigues. In A Collection of Original Letters, From the Island of the New Atalantis &c., by the author of those memoirs*, Printed for John Morphew and James Woodward, London, 1711 [an unauthorised republication of *The Lady's Packet of Letters*, originally published with Madame d'Aulnoy's *Memoirs of the Court of England: in the Reign of King Charles II*].

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to Peace.*, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1711.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *A True Narrative of what pass'd at the Examination Of the Marquis of Guiscard at the Cock-Pit, The 8th of March, 1710/11. His stabbing Mr Harley, and Other precedent and subsequent Facts relating to the Life of the said Guiscard*, [printer not acknowledged], London, 1711.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *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).* Printed for John Morphew, London, 1711.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed by a Certain Sett of People, Upon the Spreading of a Report of Her Majesty's Death*, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1714.

_____, [Delarivier Manley], *The Adventures of Rivella, or the History of the Author of Four Volumes of the New Atalantis*, Second ed., (publisher not identified) London, 1714.

Mrs Manley, *Lucius, The First Christian King of Britain, A Tragedy*, Printed for John Barber, London, 1717.

Anonymous, [Delarivier Manley], *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Manley, author of the Atalantis, containing not only a history of her adventures but likewise an account of the considerable amours in the court of King Charles II*, [reprint of *The Adventure of Rivella*], Printed for E Curll, London, 1717.

Mrs. Manley, *The Power of Love in Seven Novels*, Printed for John Barber & John Morphew, London, 1720 [first published 1719].

Manley, Mrs., 'To the Right Honourable the Countess of Bristol,' By Mrs. Manley, published in 1720.

Mrs. Manley, *A Stage-Coach Journey To Exeter, Describing the Humours on the Road, and the Characters and Adventures of the Company*, [Reprint of *Letters written by Mrs Manley*, 1696] Printed for J. Roberts, London, 1725.

Anonymous, [Delarivier Manley], *Mrs. Manley's History of her own Life and Times, Published from her Original Manuscript*, Published by E. Curll and J. Pemberton, London, first published 1724, digitised copy, 1725.

PRIMARY TEXTS BY OTHER WRITERS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

Anonymous, *An Account of a Dream at Harwich, In a Letter to a Member of Parliament about the Camisars*, Printed for B. Bragg, London, 1708.

_____, (A.M.) *An Account of a Second Dream at Harwich, Supplying all the Omissions and Defects in the First Dream, In a Letter to the same Member of Parliament, about the Camisars*, [Printer not shown] London, 1709.

_____, *Bath Intrigues, in Four Letters, to a Friend in London*, Printed for J Roberts, London, 1725.

_____, *The Character of the Tatler*, Benjamin Bragg, London, 1710.

_____, *Bouchain: in a Dialogue Between the Late Medley and the Examiner*, Printed for A. Baldwyn, London, 1711.

_____, 'The case of Mrs. Mary Stout widow,' London: s.n. [1699?], accessed through Early English books, 1641-1700, reproduction from Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England.

_____, *A Chronological History of Great Britain, in 5 Volumes*, (Vols 4 and 5 state 'By Mr. Brockwell), Bernard Lintot, London, 1714-1720.

_____, *The Conduct of His Grace the Duke of Ormonde, in the campagne of 1712*, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1715.

_____, *The Debaucht Court. Or the Lives of the Emperer Justinian, and his Empress Theodora, The Comedian*, Faithfully Translated into English, subtitled *The Secret History of Procopius*, Printed for R. Baldwyn, London, 1682.

_____, *The Entire Speech of Caius Memmius, Tribune, to the People of Rome. Translated from Sallust, no Printer or place of publication shown, 1709.*

_____, *The German Atalantis: Being a Secret History of Many Surprizing Intrigues, and Adventures transacted in several Foreign Courts*, Written by a Lady, London, 1715.

_____, *The Idol of Paris, With what may be Expected, if ever the High-Flying Party should Establish a Government agreeable to that pernicious Doctrine of Absolute Passive Obedience, &c.*, Written by a Young Lady, now upon her Departure for the New Atalantis, Printed by J Baker, London, 1710.

_____, *The Interpretation of the Harwich Dream. In a Letter to a Reverend Member of the Convocation, by Don Pedro de la Verdad, the famous Spanish interpreter of Cardinal Porterarof's Dream on the Death of King Charles II of Spain*, Printed for the author, Don Pedro de la Verdad, London, 1709.

- _____, 'The Key[s] to Atalantis', Parts I and II, no author printer details.
- _____, *The Life and Character of John Barber Esq; Late Lord Mayor of London, Deceased*, Printed for T. Cooper, London, 1741.
- _____, *Lucius Annæus Florus, his Epitome of Roman History, from Romulus to Augustus Cæsar*, printed for John Nicholson, at the Queen's Arms in Little Britain, London, 1714.
- _____, *The Memorial of the Church of England, Humbly Offer'd to the Consideration of all True Lovers of our Church and Constitution. With Remarks upon the whole Paragraph by Paragraph*, London, 1705.
- _____, *A New Ballad, To the Tune of Fair Rosamond*, no printer details, 1708.
- _____, *The Northern Atalantis: Or, York Spy, Displaying The Secret Intrigues and Adventures of the Yorkshire Gentry; more particularly the Amours of Melissa*, Printed for A Baldwin, London, 1713.
- _____, *Plain English, With Remarks and Advice to some sort of Men who need not be nam'd*, London, 1712.
- _____, *The True Patriot's Speech to the People of Rome, Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph*, Printed for F. Langley, London, 1708.
- _____, *A True Relation of the several Facts and Circumstances Of the intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-day*, Printed for John Morphew, London, and Re-printed for James Watson, Edinburgh, 1711 [London publication not available online].
- _____, 'Person of Honour', [Boyle, Robert] *Curiosities in Chymistry, Being New Experiments and Observations concerning the Principles of Natural Bodies*, London, 1691.
- _____, *Vinculum Societatis: Or the Tie of good Company, being a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs now in Use*, Printed by T. Moore, London, 1691.
- _____, *The Welsh Monster: or, the Rise and Downfal [sic] of that late Upstart, the R___t H___ble Inuendo Scribble*, London, Printed in the Year of Grace, and Sold by the Bookseller, c1708.
- _____, [Addison, Joseph], *The Present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation, Consider'd*, Printed and Sold by J. Morphew, London, 1708.
- _____, [Browne, Joseph], *The British Court: A Poem, Describing The Most Celebrated Beauties at St. James's, the Park, and the Mall*, Printed at the Publishing Office, London, 1707.
- _____, [Browne, Joseph], *The Country Parson's Honest Advice to that Judicious Lawyer, and Worthy Minister of State, My Lord Keeper*, [London, 1706], [no printer, location, date details provided].
- _____, [Browne, Joseph], *A dialogue between Louis le Petite, and Harlequin le Grand*, Sold by the Booksellers, London, c1708.
- _____, [Browne, Joseph] *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians; Being a Looking-glass for _____ In the Kingdom of Albigion*, Albigion, 1705, (Printer not stated).
- _____, [Browne, Joseph] *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians; Being the True Reasons of the Necessity of the Revolution that lately happen'd in the Kingdom of Albigion*, By Way of Appendix to the *New Atlantis [sic]*, Printed in Two Parts, Albigion, 1711, (Printer not stated).
- _____, [Cibber, Colley], *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula*, author and printer not stated, 1710.
- _____, [Defoe, Daniel], *The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner ... by himself*, Printed for W. Taylor, London, 1719.

- _____. [Gildon, Charles], *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this Time by a Careful Hand,' Printed for William Turner, London, 1699.
- _____. [Gildon, Charles], *A New Miscellany of Original Poems on Several Occasions*, Printed for Peter Buck, London, 1701.
- _____. [Giles, Jacob], *The poetical register: or, the lives and characters of the English dramatick poets*, With an account of their writings, printed for E. Curll, London, 1719.
- _____. [Hammond, Anthony], *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations, By the most Eminent Hands*, Printed for T. Jauncy, London, 1720.
- _____. [Harley, Robert], *An Account of a Dream at Harwich, In a Letter to a Member of Parliament about the Camisars*, Printed for B. Bragg, London, 1708.
- _____. [Harley, Robert by amanuensis Clement, Simon], *Faults on Both Sides: Or, An Essay upon the Original Cause, Progress and Mischevous [sic] Consequences of the Factions in this Nation*, Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London, 1710.
- _____. [Leslie, Charles], *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists, Wherein, the Certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated with Infallible Proof: from Four Rules which are Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can Possibly be. In a Letter to a Friend*, Printed for C. Brome, London, 1699.
- _____. [Phillips, John], *Secret History of the Reigns of K Charles II and K James II*, [no printer details], 1690.
- _____. [Sir Humphrey Mackworth], *The Memorial of the Church of England, Humbly Offer'd to the Consideration of all True Lovers of our Church and Constitution*, London, 1705.
- _____. [Somers, Baron John] *The True Secret History of the Lives and Reigns of all the Kings and Queens of England, From King William the First, Called, The Conqueror to the end of the reign of the Late Queen Anne*. By a Person of Honour., In Two Volumes., The Second Edition, printed for D. Browne, London, 1730.
- _____. [Swift, Jonathan], *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a member of the House of Commons in England*, London, 'Printed for John Morphew, 1709.
- _____. [Swift, Jonathan], *A Short Character of His Ex. T. E. of W[harton], L^d. L^r. of I[reland], With an Account of some smaller Facts, during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment, August 30 1710*, no author or printer details.
- _____. [Swift, Jonathan], *Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry*, Second Edition Corrected, Printed by John Morphew, London, 1711.
- 'A Young Lady', [Trotter, Catharine], *Agnes de Castro, a Tragedy.*, Printed for H Rhodes, London, 1696.
- R.H., *New Atlantis. Begun by the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans: and Continued by R. H. Esquire., Wherein is set forth A Platform of Monarchical Government. With A Pleasant intermixture of divers rare Inventions, and wholsom Customs, fit to be introduced into all Kingdoms, States, and Commonwealths*, Printed for John Crooke, St. Pauls Church-yard, London, 1660.
- 'Several Hands', [Curll, Edmund, ed.,], *An impartial history of the life, character, amours, travels, and transactions of Mr. John Barber, ... Written by several hands*, [printer details page missing], London, 1741.
- 'Mr. W. M.', *The Female Wits: Or, the Triumvirate of Poets At Rehearsal. A Comedy.*, As it was Acted several Days successively with great Applause at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane, Printed for William Turner, London, 1704.

- Arbuthnot, John, *John Bull, Still In His Senses, Being the Third Part of Law is a Bottomless-Pit*, Printed from a Manuscript found in the Cabinet of the famous Sir Humphry Polesworth: And Publish'd, (as well as the two former Parts) by the Author of the New Atalantis, Printed for John Morphew, London, 1712.
- Bacon, Francis, The Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, *New Atlantis*, first published 1626.
- _____, *New Atlantis: A Work Unfinished*, Written by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, Printed by Tho. Newcomb, London, 1659.
- Bacon, Sir Francis, *The Novum Organum, ... For a clearer Understanding of his Natural History*, London, 1676.
- Boyer, Abel, *The Political State of the Nation*, [no publication details provided].
- _____, *New Atlantis, A Work Unfinished* (from the original 1624 edition) *Selected Writings of Francis Bacon*, With an Introduction and Notes by Hugh G. Dick, The Modern Library, Random House, New York, 1955.
- Burnet, Gilbert, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, (2 Vols.) Vol. 1 From the Restoration of King Charles II to the Settlement of King William and Queen Mary at the Revolution, Printed for Thomas Ward, London, 1724; Vol. 2 From the Revolution to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, in the Reign of Queen Anne, Printed for the Editor, by Joseph Downing, London, 1734.
- Cavendish, Margaret, *The Description of a New World, called The Blazing World*, written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princesse, the Duchess of Newcastle, London, 1666.
- Chardin, John, *Travels of S^r John Chardin into Persia and Y^e East Indies. Through^h the Black-Sea And the Country of Colchis*, Printed for Moses Pitt, London, 1686.
- Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, *Private correspondence of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, illustrative of the court and times of Queen Anne: with her sketches and opinions of her contemporaries, and the select correspondence of her husband, John, Duke of Marlborough*, Volumes I and II, Henry Colburn, London, 1838, accessed online through Hathi Trust at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015005405181;view=1up;seq=18>.
- Churchill, Sarah Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough From her first coming to Court, To the Year 1710. In a Letter from Herself to My Lord*. Printed by James Bettenham for George Hawkins, London, 1742.
- _____, *The Opinions of Sarah, duchess-dowager of Marlborough*, accessed online through Hathi Trust at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/t58c9sg8h;view=1up;seq=9>.
- Clarendon, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641, In Six Volumes*, Vol. 1, Macray, W. Dunn, ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1888.
- Congreve, William, 'Faded Delia Moves Compassion', c1693-94, MS. Don. d. 197 = Arch. F. d. 44, accessed with grateful thanks at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, 6 June 2016. Catalogue details: Four untitled quatrains.
- Cowper, Mary, *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, 1714-1720*, John Murray, London, 1864.
- Dekker, Thomas, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Bowers, Fredson, ed., Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962.
- _____, *Thomas Dekker (Plays)*, Ernest Rhys, ed., published by T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1904.
- _____, *The pleasant comedie of Old Fortunatus*, Printed by S.S. for William Aspley, London, 1600.
- de Lavergne Guilleragues, Gabriel Joseph, *Five love-letters from a nun to a cavalier*, Done out of French into English, by Roger L'Estrange, Printed for Henry Brome, London, 1680.

- de Lom d'Arce, Louis Armand, Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America, Containing An Account of the several Nations of that vast Continent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation*, Printed for H. Benwicke, T. Goodwin, M Wotton, B. Tooke, S Manship, London, 1703.
- Dennis, Mr. [John], 'Preface', *an Essay on the Opera's After the Italian Manner, Which are about to be Establish'd on the English Stage: With some Reflections on the Damage which they may bring to the Publick*, Printed for John Nutt, London, 1706.
- Driden [sic], John, *Astraea Redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second*, Printed by J.M. for Henry Herringman, London, 1660.
- Dryden, Mr. [John], *Fables, Ancient and Modern, Translated into Verse, From Homer, Ovid, Baccace, and Chaucer, With Original Poems*, Printed for Jacob Tonson, London, 1700.
- Dryden, John, *The Satires of Decimus, Junius, Juvenalis, Translated into English Verse*, By Mr. Dryden and Several Other Eminent Hands, Together with *the Satires of Aulus, Persius Flaccus*, Printed for Jacob Tonson, London 1693, (republished 1697 and 1702).
- D'Urfe, Messire Honorè, *Astrea. A Romance*, Written in French; and Translated by a Person of Quality, Printed by W.W. for H. Moseley, T. Dring, and H. Herringman, London, 1657.
- Echard Mr. [Laurence], *The Roman History From the Removal of the Imperial Seat By Constantine the Great, To the Taking of Rome By Odoacer K[ing] ... To its Restitution by Charlemagne*, Vol. III, Being a Continuation of Mr. Echard's History, Printed for [five printers named, two unreadable], London, 1705.
- Finch, Anne, Countess of Winchilsea, *Poems on Several Occasions*, Printed by J.B. [John Barber], London, 1713.
- Garth, Samuel, *The Dispensary, A Poem. In Six Canto's, Canto IV*, Printed by J. Bradford and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1709.
- Gildon, Charles, *A New Collection of Poems on Several Occasions*, printed by [? Buck], London, 1701.
- Granville, George, *The Genuine Works in Verse and Prose of the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdowne*, (3 Vols.) Printed for J. and R. Tonson, London, 1736.
- _____, *The She Gallants: a Comedy*, As it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincoln-Inn-Fields, Printed for Henry Playford, and Benj. Tooke, London, 1696.
- Guilleragues, Gabriel Joseph de Lavergne, *Five love-letters from a nun to a cavalier*, Done out of French into English, by Roger L'Estrange, Printed for Henry Brome, London, 1680.
- Harley, Edward, Auditor of the Exchequer, 'Appendix: Memoir of the Harley Family,' H.M.C, *Report on the Manuscripts of his Grace The Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey, Vol. V*, Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by the Norfolk Chronicle Co. Ltd., Norwich, 1899.
- Hervey, John, *Letter-Books of John Hervey, First earl of Bristol, 1651-1750, In three volumes*, Vol. I, 1651-1715, Ernest Jackson, Wells, 1894.
- Haywood, Mrs., *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems in Four Volumes, Written by Mrs Eliza Haywood*, Printed for Dan Browne Jn. And S. Chapman, London, 1725.
- _____, *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol, With Extracts From His Book of Expenses, 1688-1742*, Wells: Ernest Jackson, 1894.
- Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*, London, 1651.
- Johnson, Samuel, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, Vol. 3, Methuen & Co., London, 1896.
- Jones, David, *Secret History of White-Hall, from the Restoration of Charles II down to the Abdication of the Late K. James*, London, 1697.

- King, William, *The Art of Cookery, In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*, Printed for Bernard Lintott, London, 1708.
- King, William, "Useful Transactions for May-June 1709, Preface to Part III," *The Original Works of William King*, (London: Printed for the editor, and sold by N. Conant, 1776.
- Lee, Nathaniel, *Lucius Junius Brutus; Father of his Country, A Tragedy, 1681*, Thomas B. Stroup and Arthur L. Cooke, eds. and introduction, *The Works of Nathaniel Lee*, Vol. II, Scarecrow Reprint Corporation, Metuchen, New Jersey, 1968.
- Luttrell, Narcissus, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, Vol 6 (1706-1714), University Press, Oxford, 1857.
- Macky, John, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq; During the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I, including also The true Secret History of the Rise, Promotions, &c. of the English and Scots Nobility; Officers, Civil, Military, Naval, and other Persons of Distinction from the Revolution. In their respective Characters at large; drawn up by Mr. Macky, pursuant to the Direction of Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia*, Published from his Original Manuscript; as attested by his Son Spring Macky, Esq., London, 1733.
- More, Thomas, *On The Best State Of A Commonwealth, On The Island Of Utopia*, translated and edited by George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams, Introduction by Peter Ackroyd, The Folio Society, London, 2011.
- Partridge, John, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, from Mr. John Partridge, touching his Almanack, for the Year 1710, and the Injunction whereby the Publishing of it is Staid for the present*, John Darby, London, 1709.
- Plato, *The Republic*, reprinted with new Introduction by Melissa Lane, Penguin Books, London, 2007.
- Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, Dryden Edition Revised, (3 volumes), Introduction by Arthur Hugh Clough, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1948 (first published 1910).
- Pope, Alexander, *The Rape of the Lock. An Heroi-Comical Poem. In Five Cantos.*, Bernard Lintott, London, 1714.
- Procopius of Cesarea, *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian*; Faithfully rendred [*sic*] into English, Printed for John Barksdale Bookbinder, London, 1674.
- Purcell, Henry, *Orpheus Britannicus, A collection of all the choicest songs for one, two, and three voices compos'd*, Printed by J Hepsinstall, London, 1698.
- Ryder, Dudley, *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716*, Matthews, William (ed.), Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1939 (transcribed from the shorthand of Dudley Ryder).
- Sacheverell, D.D., Henry, *The Perils of false brethren, both in church and state*. Set forth in a sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, on the 5th of November, 1709. By Henry Sacheverell, D.D. fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon, and chaplain of St. Saviour's Southwark, Printed for H. King, London, 1709.
- St John, Henry, *The Unpublished Letters of Henry St John, First Viscount Bolingbroke*, (in 5 Volumes), Lashmore-Davies, Adrian, Mark Goldie (eds.), Pickering & Chatto, London, 2013.
- Somers, Baron John; *The Somers Collection of Tracts: A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, Vols. 1-13, Scott, Walter, (ed.) Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, W. Miller, Albermarle-Street, R.H. Evans, Pall-Mall, J White and J. Murray, Fleet Street and J Jarding, St James's Street, London, 1809-1815 accessed through the Hathi Trust Digital Library at <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Somers%20tracts>.
- Somerset, Lord Arthur, Letter, Badminton Estate archives, FmT/B 1/2/22(12).

Steele, Richard, *The Letters of Richard Steele, Selected and Collated With the Original MSS, With an Introduction by R. Brimley Johnson*, John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., London, 1927.

_____, *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, Rae Blanchard, ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1941.

Swift, Jonathan, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713*, Abigail Williams, ed., The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 2013.

_____, *Jonathan Swift, Journal to Stella*, Harold Williams, ed., Vols. 1 and 2, Oxford/Clarendon Press, London, 1948, reprint 1963.

_____, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, Harold Williams, ed., Reprint with corrections, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.

_____, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, David Woolley, ed., 5 Volumes, Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, Frankfurt Am Main, 2014.

_____, *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, David Nichol Smith, ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford 1935.

_____, [Jonathan Swift] *The W—ds-r [Windsor] Prophecy*, Printed in 1711, no author, printer details.

The late Jonathan Swift, D.D. D.S.P.D., *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen Ministry*, 'Published from the Last Manuscript Copy, Corrected and Enlarged by the Author's own Hand', Printed for A. Millar, London, 1758.

Tate, Nahum, ed., *Miscellanea Sacra: Or Poems on Divine and Moral Subjects*, Printed for Henry Playford, London, 1696.

Varilas, Antoine, *Anekdotia Heterouikiaka. Or, The Secret History of the House of Medicis*, trans. F. Spence, 1686.

Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Robert Halsband, ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.

Wycherley, William, *The Mermaid Series, William Wycherley*, Ward, W.C., ed., T. Fisher Unwin, London, undated, pre 1929.

EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Accessed through Eighteenth Century Journals: a portal to newspapers and periodicals 1685 - 1815, through National Library of Australia at: <http://www.18thcjournals.amdigital.co.uk.rp.nla.gov.au/>.

The Examiner, or, Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences, August 1710 – July 1714:

Numb. 1: [William King], Thursday August 3, 1710.

Numb. 2: [Henry St John], Thursday, August 3 to Thursday August 10, 1710.

Numb. 7: [Delarivier Manley], Thursday, September 7 to Thursday September 14, 1710.

Numbs. 15-46: [Jonathan Swift] Thursdays to Thursdays, November 2-9, 1710 to June 7-14, 1711.

Numbs. 46-52: [Delarivier Manley] Thursdays to Thursdays, June 7-14, 1711 to July 19-26, 1711.

The Female Tatler, 'Mrs Crackenthorpe, a Lady that knows everything', sold by B[enjamin] Bragg, London, 1709.

The Spectator:

No. 51, dated 28 April 1711.

The Tatler, 1709-1711:

No. 63, 3 September 1709.

No. 92, 10 November 1709.

No. 177, 27 May 1710.

No. 292, February 1711.

The Tory Tatler, 1710-1711.

The Visitor, 1720-January 1724.

Gibbs, Lewis, ed., *Sir Richard Steele, The Tatler*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1953.

Smith, Gregory ed., *The Spectator in Four Volumes*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1964.

SECONDARY TEXTS

Ackroyd, Peter, *London: The Biography*, Random House, London, 2001.

_____, *Rebellion: The History of England from James I to the Glorious Revolution*, Thomas Dunne Books, St Martin's Griffin, New York, 2014.

_____, 'Introduction, *On the Best State of a Commonwealth and on the New Island of Utopia*, by Thomas More, The Folio Society, London, 2011, reprint of W.W. Norton & Co. Ltd., 1975.

Aldburgham, Alison, *Women in Print: Writing Women and women's Magazines, From the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1972.

Ahern, Stephen, *Affected Sensibilities: Romantic Excess and the Genealogy of the Novel 1680-1810*, AMS Press Inc., New York, 2007.

Akkerman, Nadine, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, Vol. II, 1632-1642, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

Albanese, Denise, *The New Atlantis and the Uses of Utopia*, ELH 57, No. 3, Autumn 1990, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Alleyn, Susan, *Medieval Underpants and Other Blunders: A Writer's (& Editor's) Guide to Keeping Historical Fiction Free of Common Anachronisms, Errors, & Myths*, Spyderwort Press, New York, 2012, reprinted 2013.

Anderson, Paul Bunyan, 'Delarivier Manley's Prose Fiction,' *Philological Quarterly*, XIII, 2 April 1934.

Anderson, Paul Bunyan, 'Mistress Delariviere Manley's Biography,' *Modern Philology*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (February), 1936.

Andrea, Bernadette, 'A Geocentric Approach to Delarivier Manley's *The Royal Mischief* (1696), *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.

Armitage, David, ed., *Bolingbroke: Political Writings*, [with original texts], *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought*, Series eds., Raymond Geuss and Quentin Skinner, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

Backscheider, Paula R., *Revising Women Eighteenth-Century "Women's Fiction" and Social Engagement*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2000.

_____, *Elizabeth Singer Rowe and the Development of the English Novel*, John Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2013.

Backscheider, Paula R. and Catherine Ingrassia, eds., *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Mass, 2005.

Baldwin Smith, Lacey, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986.

Ballaster, Rosalind, ed., *Delarivier Manley, New Atalantis*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 1991.

- Ballaster, Ros, *Seductive Forms, Women's Amatory Fiction, from 1684-1740*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992.
- _____, ed., *The History of British Women's Writing 1690-1750*, Vol. No. 4, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke Hampshire UK, 2010, reprint 2013.
- Ballaster, Ros, Margaret Beetha, Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron, eds., *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*, Macmillan, London, 1991.
- Bannet, Eve Tavor "'Secret History": Or, Talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie', *Huntington Library Quarterly*; 2005, 68, 1/2, accessed through ProQuest Central 16/10/2013; also collected in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, Kewes, Paulina, Ed., Huntington Library, San Marino, 2006.
- Barash, Carol, *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, repr. 2002.
- _____, 'Gender, Authority and the "Life" of an Eighteenth-Century Woman Writer: Delarivière Manley's *The Adventures of Rivella*,' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1987.
- Barnard, Toby, and Jane Fenlon, eds., *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge Suffolk, 2000.
- Barratt, John, *The Great Siege of Chester*, The History Press, Pt Stroud, Gloucestershire 2003, repr. 2011, ebook published 2013, accessed through Google Books, 13 Aug 2014, page numbers not shown.
- Batchelor, Jenny and Cora Kaplan, *Women and Material Culture, 1660-1830*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2007.
- Baugh, Albert C. ed., *A Literary History of England*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976.
- Beasley, Jerry C., 'Little by Little; Or, The History Of The Early Novel, Now', *Studies in the Novel*; Vol. 30, No. 2, Summer 1998, University of Texas, 1998.
- Bender, John, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1987.
- Besant, Sir Walter, *London in the Time of the Stuarts*, Adam & Charles Black, London, 1903.
- Beutner, Katharine Elizabeth, 'Writing for Pleasure or Necessity: Conflict among Literary Women, 1700-1750,' Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin, May 2011; unpublished thesis.
- Beutner, Katharine, 'Delarivier Manley Understands the Ladies Better Than You: *The Female Wits*, Genre, and Feminocentric Satire', *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.
- Biddle, Sheila, *Bolingbroke and Harley*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1975.
- Blain, Virginia, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy (eds.), *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present*, B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1990.
- Blanchard, Rae, ed., *Richard Steele's Periodical Journalism, 1714-16*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959.
- _____, *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1941, reprint 1968.
- Bloom, Edward A. and Lillian D., *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1980.
- Bosse, Malcolm J. ed., *The Adventures of Rivella, by Mary de la Riviere Manley*, with a new introduction for the Garland Edition by Malcolm J. Bosse, Garland Publishing, Inc, New York & London, 1972.

- Bowers, Toni, *Force or Fraud: British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660-1760*, Part II: 'Collusive Resistance: Seduction Stories and New-Tory Virtue', Ch. 6, 'The Problem of Collusion: Manley's *The New Atalantis*' Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.
- _____, 'The Achievement of Scholarly Authority for Women: Trends in the Interpretation of Eighteenth Century Fiction', *The Eighteenth Century*; Spring 2009, Vol. 50 No. 1.
- Braverman, Richard, *Plots and Counter Plots: Sexual politics and the body politic in English literature, 1660-1730*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, USA, 1993.
- Breashears, Caroline, 'Scandalous Categories: Classifying the Memoirs of Unconventional Women', *Philological Quarterly*; Spring 2003; Vol. 82, No. 2.
- Brewer, John, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, Farrar Straus Giroux, New York, 1997.
- Bricker, Andrew, 'Libel and Satire: The Problem with naming', *ELH*, 81 (3), 2014.
- Brooks, E. St. John, *Sir Hans Sloane: The Great Collector and his Circle*, The Batchworth Press, London, 1954.
- Bucholz, Robert O. and Ward, Joseph P., *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012.
- Budge G., F. Johnston, J.C. Pellicer and M. Purinton (eds.), 'The Eighteenth Century', *Year's Work in English Studies*, Volume 85, The English Association, 2006.
- Bullard, Rebecca, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674-1725: Secret History Narratives*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2009.
- Bush-Bailey, Gilli, *Treading the Bawds: Actresses and playwrights on the Late Stuart Stage*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2006.
- Campbell, Kathleen, *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1932.
- Cannon, John, *Aristocratic Century, The peerage of eighteenth-century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984.
- Carnell, Rachel, *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*, Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Ltd, London, 2008.
- _____, 'The Adventures of Rivella as Political Secret History,' *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.
- _____, *Partisan Politics Narrative Realism, and the Rise of the British Novel* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006.
- _____, 'Delarivier Manley's Possible Children by John Tilly', *Notes and Queries*, doc. 10. 1093/notesj/gim186, ©The Author (2007). Published by Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.
- Carnell, Rachel and Ruth Herman, Gen. Eds., *Selected Works of Delarivier Manley*, (5 Volumes), The Pickering Masters, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2005.
- Cartwright, J.J. ed. *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, London, 1833.
- Chapman, Paul, 'Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766', University of Cambridge, 1983, second edition, The Jacobite Studies Trust, London, 2013; unpublished thesis.
- Chartier, Roger, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, Translated by Arthur Goldhammer, Penn, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2005.

- Clarke, Bob, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street, An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899*, Ashgate, Aldershot, Hants UK, 2004 (Hardback) and Revel Barker Publishing, Brighton, 2010 (paperback).
- Clarke, Norma, *The Rise and Fall of the Woman of Letters*, Pimlico, London, 2004.
- Claydon, Tony, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007.
- Colley, Linda, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-1760*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982.
- Condren, Conal, *Hobbes, The Scriblerians and the History of Philosophy*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2012.
- Cook, Daniel and Amy Culley eds., *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Cottret, Bernard, ed., *Bolingbroke's Political Writings: The Conservative Enlightenment*, [with original texts by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke], Macmillan Press Ltd., London, St. Martin's Press, Inc., New York, 1997.
- Critchley, Simon, *On Humour*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, this reprint, 2008.
- Culley, Amy, 'Prying into the Recesses of History': Women Writers and the Court Memoir', Daniel Cook and Amy Culley (eds.), *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850, Gender, Genre and Authorship*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012.
- Damrosch, Leo, *Jonathan Swift: His Life and his World*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2013.
- Davis, Herbert, ed., *Jonathan Swift, The Examiner and other Pieces Written in 1710-11*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1957.
- Day, Gary and Bridget Keegan, *The Eighteenth-Century Literature Handbook*, Continuum, London, 2009.
- Delbourgo, James, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane*, Allen Lane, London, 2017.
- DeMaria Jr, Robert, ed., *British Literature 1640-1789: A critical Reader*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Massachusetts, 1999.
- Dickie, Simon, *Cruelty and laughter: forgotten comic literature and the unsentimental Eighteenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, online edition 2014, accessed through Flinders ebooks.
- Dickinson, H.T., ed., *A Companion To Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Malden MA USA, 2002.
- Dickinson H.T., *Bolingbroke*, Constable & Co. Ltd., London, 1970.
- Doody, Margaret Anne, *The True Story of the Novel*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick N.J., 1996.
- Downie, J.A., *Jonathan Swift: Political Writer*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984.
- _____, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979.
- _____, 'Swift and Jacobitism', *ELH*, Vol. 64, No. 4, Jacobitism and Eighteenth-Century English Literature, (Winter, 1997, pp 887-901).
- _____, 'Swifts "Corinna" Reconsidered', *Swift Studies*, 23, 2007.

- _____, 'What if Delarivier Manley Did *Not* Write *The Secret History of Queen Zarah?*', *The Library*, 2004, Vol. 5, No. 3, accessed from www.oxfordjournals.org.
- Downie, J.A., and Speck, W.A., eds., *Plaine English to all who are honest or would be so if they knew how, a tract by Robert Harley*, *Literature and History journal*; Mar 1, 1976; 3, Periodicals Archive Online.
- Dubrow, Heather and Richard Strier, eds., *The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1988.
- Duff, Delores Diane Clarke, 'Materials Toward a Biography of Mary Delariviere Manley, Indiana University, Ph.D., Indiana, 1965, Unpublished Thesis.
- Ehrenpreis, Irvin, *Swift: the man, his works, and the age*, 3 Vols., Methuen, London, 1962-1983.
- _____, *Acts of Implication: Suggestion and Covert Meaning in the works of Dryden, Swift, Pope, and Austen*, University of California Press, Berkeley, London, 1980.
- Ezell, Margaret J. M., *Writing Women's Literary History*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1993.
- Fairer, David, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1789*, Longman, London, 2003.
- Fanning, Christopher, 'The Scriblerian Sublime', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, Vol. 45, No. 3, Summer 2005, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ferguson, Margret, Mary Jo Salter, Jon Stallworthy, Eds., *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 5th Edition, W.W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 2005.
- Field, Ophelia, *The Favourite, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, Sceptre, imprint of Hodder and Stoughton, London, 2002, reprinted 2003.
- Flint, Christopher, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011.
- Fox, Christopher, ed., *Teaching Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, AMS Press, New York 1990.
- Fraser, Antonia, *The Weaker Vessel, Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England*, Phoenix, London, 2005, (first published 1984).
- Gallagher, Catherine, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Market Place, 1670-1820*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994.
- Gallagher, Noelle, *Historical Literatures: Writing about the past in England, 1660-1740*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2012.
- Gavin, Michael, 'Critics and Criticism in the Poetry of Anne Finch', *English Literary History*, 78 (2011), The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Glendinning, Victoria, *Jonathan Swift: a portrait*, Doubleday Canada Limited, Toronto, 1998.
- Goldgar, Bertrand A. and Ian Gadd, eds., 'Jonathan Swift: English Political Writings, 1711-1714: The Conduct of the Allies and other works', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK and New York, 2008.
- Gosse, Edmund, *Life of William Congreve*, Walter Scott, London, 1888.
- Grayling, A.C., *The Age of Genius: The Seventeenth Century & The Birth of The Modern Mind*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 2016.
- Green, David, *Queen Anne*, Collins, London, 1970.
- Green, Karen, *The Woman of Reason: Feminism, Humanism and Political Thought*, Continuum, New York, 1995.

- Greene, Jody, *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660-1730*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 2005.
- Greer, Germaine, *Slipshod Sibyls: Recognition, Rejection and the Woman Poet*, Penguin Books Ltd., London, 1996.
- Gregg, Edward, *Queen Anne*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980.
- Griffin, Dustin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
- _____, *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction*, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 1994.
- Grundy, Isobel, 'Anthologizing Early Women Writers', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring, 1994), University of Tulsa, 1994.
- Gwynn, Stephen, *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift*, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1933, reprint 1935.
- Halsband, Robert, ed., *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965.
- Hamburger, Philip, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press,' *Stanford Law Review* 37 (February 1985), accessed from HeinOnline at <http://heinonline.org>.
- Hammond, Brean S., *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670-1740*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.
- Hammond, Brean and Shaun Regan (eds.), *Making the Novel: Fiction and Society in Britain, 1660-1789*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire UK, New York, 2006.
- Harris, Frances, 'The Honourable Sisterhood': Queen Anne's Maids of Honour, no journal source provided, 1993, p 183, © of British Library Journal, property of British Library Board 96, accessed at: www.bl.uk/ebl/1993articles/.pdf/article13.pdf.
- Herman, Ruth, *The Business of a Woman: The Political Writings of Delarivier Manley*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 2003.
- Herman, Dr Ruth, 'An Exercise in Early Modern Branding', *Journal of Marketing Management*, Routledge, published online 26 Sept 2013 at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjmm20>.
- Hibbert, Christopher, *The Marlboroughs, John and Sarah Churchills, 1650-1744*, Viking, London, 2001, reprinted by Penguin Books, London, 2002.
- Higgins, Ian, *Swift's Politics: A study in disaffection*, (Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth Century English Literature and Thought, 20), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.
- Hill, Brian W., *Robert Harley: Speaker, Secretary of State and Premier Minister*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988.
- Holmes, Geoffrey, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, Macmillan, St Martin's Press, New York, 1967.
- _____, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, Eyre Methuen, London, 1973.
- Holmesland, Oddvar, *Utopian Negotiation, Aphra Behn & Margaret Cavendish*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 2013.
- Hook, Judith, *The Baroque Age in England*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1976.
- Hopkins, David, *Notes and Queries*, 'D.F. McKenzie (ed.), The Works of William Congreve,' 2011, Downloaded from <https://academic.oup.com/nq/article-abstract/58/4/619/1186772> by Serials Central Library user, 22 January 2018.

- Howard, James Joseph, 'The English Novel's Cradle: The Theatre and the Women Novelists of the Long Eighteenth Century,' Ph.D., University of California Riverside, March 2010; unpublished thesis.
- Hudson, Nicholas, Aaron Santesso eds., *Swift's Travels: Eighteenth-Century British Satire and its Legacy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.
- Huehns, G., ed., *Clarendon: Selections from The History of the Rebellion and The Life by Himself*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978.
- Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Power, Sex, and Text*, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017 (contributors cited listed separately).
- Hume, Robert D., 'Texts Within Contexts: Noes Toward a Historical Method,' *Philological Quarterly*, ed. William Kupersmith, Vol 71, No. 1, Winter 1992.
- Humphreys, A.R., *The Augustan World: Life and Letters in Eighteenth-Century England*, Methuen & Co., London, 1954.
- Hunt, Leigh, *The Autobiography Leigh Hunt*, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1891.
- Hunter, J. Paul, *Before Novels: The cultural contexts of eighteenth-century English fiction*, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1990.
- James, Susan, ed., *Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle: Political Writings*, [with original texts], *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought*, Series Editors, Raymond Geuss and Quentin Skinner, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.
- Jones, Clyve, ed, *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750, Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, Hambleton Press, London, 1987.
- Jones, Emrys, 'Dryden's Persius,' Claude Julien Rawson and Aaron Santesso eds., *John Dryden (1631-1700): His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, 2004.
- Jones, Vivien, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth-Century: Constructions in Femininity*, Chap 4.3 '[Mary] Delariviere Manley, from *The Adventures of Rivella, or, the History of the Writer of Atalantis*, 1714, Routledge, London and New York, 1990.
- Jordan, Don and Michael Walsh, *The King's Revenge: Charles II and the Greatest Manhunt in British History*, Little Brown, London, 2012.
- Joule, Victoria, 'Manley's "Sentimental" Deserted Mistress, Women Writers in Literary History, and The Lost Lover', *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.
- J.W. 'To the Excellent ASTRAEA,' *The Works of Aphra Behn*, Vol. VI, ed. Montague Summers, Phaeton Press, New York, 1967.
- Karian, Stephen, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010.
- Kelley, Anne, "'What A Pox Have The Women To Do with the Muses?'" *The Nine Muses (1700): Emulation of Appropriation?*, *Women's Writing*, 17:1, 8-29, Routledge, 2010, accessed from Taylor and Francis online 14 June 2013 at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09699080903533254>.
- Kelly, Pamela, *Miscellaneous Ardelia: The Private and Public Publishing of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, 1661-1720: A Literary History*, Thesis component for the completion of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, with Honours in English, unpublished, Flinders University of South Australia, Dept. of English, Faculties of Education, Humanities and Law, October 2012.
- Kent, Roylance C.B, M.A., *The Early History of the Tories: From the accession of Charles The Second To The Death of William The Third, 1660-1702*, Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1908.

- Klass, Stephen Ira, 'Lord Hervey's Memoirs: Unreason and Its Masters,' Ph.D., Yale University, 1967; unpublished thesis.
- Knight, Charles A., *A Political Biography of Richard Steele*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2006.
- Knights, Mark, 'The Tory Interpretation of History in the Rage of Parties,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*; 2005, 68, ½, accessed through ProQuest Central 30/6/2014; also collected in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, Kewes, Paulina, Ed., Huntington Library, San Marino, 2006.
- Köster, Patricia ed., *The Novels of Mary Delariviere Manley, Including the Secret History of Queen Zarah, 1705, Parts I and II, The New Atalantis, 1709, Volumes I and II, Memoirs of Europe, 1710, Volumes I and II, The Adventures of Rivella, 1714, Facsimile Reproductions edited with an Introduction*, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, Gainesville Florida, 1971.
- Kraft, Elizabeth, *Women Novelists and the Ethics of Desire, 1684-1814: In the Voice of Our Biblical Mothers*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, Hampshire UK, 2008.
- Kramnick, Isaac, *Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1968.
- Krueger, Misty, 'Vengeance, Vows, and "Heroick Vertue": Reforming the Revenger in Delarivier Manley's *Almyna: or, The Arabian Vow*', *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.
- Kugler, Anne, *Errant Plagiarist: The Life and Writing of Lady Sarah Cowper, 1644-1720*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2002.
- Kuskin, William, *Recursive Origins: Writing at the Transition to Modernity*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2013.
- Jordan, Don and Michael Walsh, *The King's Revenge: Charles II and the Greatest Manhunt in British History*, Little, Brown, 2012.
- Laurence, Anne, *Women in England 1500-1760, A Social History*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1994 (paperback edition 1995).
- Lehtola, Lori, 'King Aethlstan: Rightwys Kynge Borne of All Englonde', A Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, University of Houston, 2004.
- Linker, Laura, 'Dangerous Women, Libertine Epicures, and the Rise of Sensibility, 1670-1730,' *British Literature in Context in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Farnham U.K., Burlington, U.S.A, 2011.
- Lonsdale, Roger, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.
- Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Loveman, Kate, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literature and Political Culture*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Hampshire UK, 2008.
- Mack, Maynard, *Alexander Pope: A Life*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1986.
- MacNeil, Robert, Robert Crum, William Cran (eds.), *The Story of English*, Faber and Faber and BBC Books, London, 1986, companion book to nine part television series directed by William Cran, broadcast on BBC and PBS, 1986.
- March, Jenny, *Cassell Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Cassell, London, 2000, (first published 1999).
- Marsden, Jean I., *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality, and the English Stage, 1660-1720*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2006.

- Marshall, Ashley, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2013.
- McClain, Molly, *Beaufort: The Duke and His Duchess, 1657-1715*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2001.
- McDowell, Paula, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.
- McGirr, Elaine M., *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire and New York, 2007.
- McGovern, Barbara, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia, 1992.
- McKenzie, D. F., 'A New Congreve Literary Autograph', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15/4 (April 1996), 292-9. McKenzie, *Works*, II, 466. *CgW 3.5. Autograph MS, with revisions in line 11, on one side of a single quarto leaf, once folded as a letter or packet. C.1693-4. Once owned by James Baker. Sotheby's, 26 May 1855, lot 16, to Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-85), first Baron Houghton, author and politician. Christie's, 29 June 1995, lot 327. Edited from this MS and discussed in McKenzie. Facsimile in his article 'Another Congreve Autograph Poem for the Bodleian', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16/5 (April 1999).
- McKenzie, D.F., ed., *The Works of William Congreve*, (3 Vols.), Vol. II., Prepared for Publication by C.Y. Ferdinand, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, pp 466, 683.
- McKenzie, D.F., "A New Congreve Literary Autograph," BLR, 13 (April 1996) pp 292-299, *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, Spring 2000.
- McTague, John, 'The New Atalantis Arrests: A Reassessment,' *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 15 / 4 439-446, 2014.
- Millman, Jill Seal, and Gillian Wright eds., *Early modern women's manuscript poetry*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005; Introduction by Elizabeth Clarke and Jonathan Gibson.
- Monod, Paul Kléber, *Jacobitism and the English people 1688-1788*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, reprinted 1993.
- _____, 'For the King to Enjoy His Own Again: Jacobite Political Culture in England, 1688-1788 (Vols. I and II) Yale University, 1986; unpublished thesis.
- Morgan, Fidelis, *A Woman of No Character: An Autobiography of Mrs Manley*, Faber and Faber, London, 1966.
- _____, *The Female Wits, Women Playwrights of the Restoration*, Virago Press Ltd., London, 1981, reprint 1989.
- Morris, Marilyn, *Sex, Money & Personal Character in Eighteenth-Century British Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2014.
- Mounsey, Chris, 'A Manifesto for a Woman Writer: *Letters Writen [sic] as Varronian Satire*', *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley: Power, Sex, and Text*, Hultquist, Aleksandra and Mathews, Elizabeth J., eds., Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, New York and London, 2017.
- Mullan, John, *Anonymity: a secret history of English literature*, Faber and Faber, London, 2007.
- Müllbrock, Heinz-Joachim, *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1710-1713*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München, 1997.
- Murphy, Jessica C., 'Feminine Virtue's Network of Influence in Early Modern England,' *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 109 (3) Summer, 2012.

- Needham, Gwendolyn B., 'Mary De La Riviere, Tory Defender', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1949.
- Nixon, Cheryl L., *The Orphan in Eighteenth-Century Law and Literature: Estate, Blood, and Body*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Farnham, Surrey UK, 2011.
- Nokes, David, *Jonathan Swift: A Hypocrite Reversed*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985, reprint 1987.
- _____, *John Gay, A Profession of Friendship*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995.
- Novak, Maximillian E., *Daniel Defoe Master of Fictions, His Life and Ideas*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.
- Oakleaf, David, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2008.
- O'Brien, Karen, *The History of British Women's Writing, 1690-1750*, Vol. 4, Ros Ballaster ed., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010, 2013; also published in 'History and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Huntington Library Quarterly*; 2005, 68, 1/2, accessed through ProQuest Central 30/6/2014; also collected in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, Kewes, Paulina, Ed., Huntington Library, San Marino, 2006.
- Ó Ciardha, Éamonn, *Ireland and the Jacobite cause, 1685-1766: A fatal attachment*, Four Courts Press Ltd., Dublin, 2002.
- Ohlmeyer, Jane and Zwicker, Steven, 'John Dryden, the House of Ormond, and the Politics of Anglo-Irish Patronage', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Sep. 2006).
- Onnekink, David, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649-1709)*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, England and Burlington, USA, 2007.
- Orr, Leah, 'Genre Labels on the Title Pages of English Fiction, 1660-1800,' *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 90.1, Winter 2011.
- Osell, Tedra, 'Tatling Women in the Public Sphere: Rhetorical Femininity and the English Essay Periodical', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Winter 2005, Vol. 38 No. 2, published by ProQuest Research Library: Literature & Language.
- Paley, Ruth and Paul Seaward, eds., with Beverly Adams, Robin Eagles and Charles Littleton, *Honour, Interest & Power: An illustrated history of the House of Lords, 1660-1715*, The Boydell Press, for the History of Parliament Trust, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd., Suffolk UK, 2010.
- Parker, Matthew, *Willoughbyland: England's Lost Colony*, Windmill Books, London, 2015.
- Parsons, Nicola, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2009.
- Perry, Ruth, *The Celebrated Mary Astell, An Early English Feminist*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1986.
- Phiddian, Robert, 'A Name to Conjure With: Games of Verification and Identity in the Bickerstaff Controversy,' *Sonderdruck, Reading Swift: Papers from the Second Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift*, Richard H. Rodino and Hermann J. Real, eds., Vilhelm Fink Verlag, München, 1993.
- _____, 'Are Parody and Deconstruction Secretly the Same Thing?', *New Literary History*, Vol 28, No. 4, Philosophical Thoughts, Autumn, 1997.
- _____, 'Satire and the Limits of Literary Theories', *Critical Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2013.
- _____, *Swift's parody*, (Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought; 26), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Cambridge, 1995.
- Phillipson, Nicholas and Quentin Skinner, eds., *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993.

- Pickard, Carol, *Literary Jacobitism: The Writing of Jane Barker, Mary Caesar and Anne Finch*, Presented for the degree of D. Phil, at the University of Oxford, 2006; unpublished thesis.
- Pincus, Steve, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009.
- _____, 'The Glorious Revolution,' *History Compass*, 1, (2003), University of Chicago, Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Pittock, Murray G.H., *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.
- Plunkett, Steven, 'Turning the Key: Keys, Supplemental Glossing, and the Range of Literary Interpretation in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', A Dissertation, Brandeis University, 2015, Published by Proquest (Number 3723549) LLC (2015); unpublished thesis.
- Pollock, Anthony, *Gender and the Fictions of the Public Sphere, 1690-1755*, Routledge, New York, 2009.
- Pollak, Ellen, 'Guarding the Succession of the (E)state: Guardian-Ward Incest and the Dangers of Representation in Manley's *The New Atalantis*,' *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 1998.
- Prescott, Sarah, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture, 1690-1740*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke Hampshire, 2003.
- Rabb, Melinda A., *Satire and Secrecy in English Literature from 1650-1750*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York and Basingstoke, 2007.
- Rabb, Theodore K., *The Last Days of the Renaissance: & The March to Modernity*, Basic Books, New York, 2006.
- Rankin, Deana, *Between Spenser and Swift: English Writing in Seventeenth-Century Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.
- Rawson, Claude, ed., *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010.
- Rawson, Claude, and Aaron Santesso, eds., *John Dryden (1631-1700), His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, University of Delaware Press, Newark, Associated University Presses, London, 2004.
- Rawson, Claude, Ian Higgins, David Womersley, Ian Gadd (eds.), *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2013.
- Rees, Christine, *Utopian Imagination and Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Longman Group Ltd., London and New York, 1996.
- Reynolds, Myra, ed., *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1903, reprinted from an original copy in the collections of the Newark Public Library, AMS Press Inc., New York, 1974.
- Richetti, John, ed., *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2005.
- _____, *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge USA, 1996, repr. 1998.
- _____, *Popular Fiction Before Richardson: Narrative Patterns 1700-1739*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969.
- Rivington, Charles A., *Tyrant: The Story of John Barber 1675-1741, Jacobite Lord Mayor of London and Printer and Friend to Dr. Swift*, William Sessions Limited, York, 1989.

- Rogers, Pat, *Documenting Eighteenth Century Satire: Pope, Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot in Historical Context*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2012.
- Rogers, Pat, ed., *The Eighteenth Century*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1978.
- _____, *Grub Street: studies in a subculture*, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1972.
- Rogers, Katharine M., *Feminism in eighteenth-century England*, The Harvester Press, Sussex, 1982.
- Rose, Craig, *England in the 1690s*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., Oxford, 1999.
- Rozell, Caroline, *Women and the Framed-Novelle Sequence in Eighteenth-Century England: Clothing Instruction with Delight*, D. Phil in English, Corpus Christie College, University of Oxford, 2011.
- Rumbold, Valerie, 'Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises: Polite Conversation, Directions to Servants and Other Works', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, Claude Rawson, Ian Higgins, David Womersley, Ian Gadd, Gen. eds., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013.
- Russell, Gillian, 'Keeping place': Servants, Theater and Sociability in mid-eighteenth-century Britain. *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* Vol. 42 No. 1, 2001.
- Said, Edward, 'Swift's Tory Anarchy', *Jonathan Swift*, Nigel Wood ed., Longman, London and New York, 1999.
- Santesso, Aaron, 'The New Atalantis and Varronian Satire', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 2, Spring 2000.
- Sargent, Carole, 'Military Scandal and National Debt in Manley's New Atalantis', *SEL: Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, Vol. 53, No. 3, Summer 2013, The Johns Hopkins University Press, accessed 31 Oct 2013 at DOI: 10.1353/sel.2013.0024.
- Sargent, Carole, Fungaroli, 'How a Pie Fight Satirizes Whig-Tory Conflict in Delarivier Manley's *The New Atalantis*', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2011.
- Saxton, Kirsten T., *Narratives of Women and Murder in England, 1680-1760: Deadly Plots*, Ashgate, Surrey, England, 2009.
- Schellenberg, Betty A., *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2005.
- Shevelov, Kathryn, *Women and Print Culture: The construction of femininity in the early periodical*, Routledge, London and New York, 1989.
- Seaward, Paul, *Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*; 2005, 68, 1/2, accessed through ProQuest Central 30/6/2014; also collected in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, Kewes, Paulina, Ed., Huntington Library, San Marino, 2006.
- Somerset, Anne, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion*, Harper Press, London, 2012.
- _____, *Ladies in Waiting, From the Tudors to the Present Day*, Phoenix, London, 1984, reprinted 2005.
- Sowerby, Scott, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA and London, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central, accessed at: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/flinders/detail.action?docID=3301239>.
- Speck, W.A., 'The Examiner Re-examined,' *Prose Studies*, J.A. Downie and Thomas N. Corns, eds., Vol. 16.1, April 1993, Frank Cass, London, 1993.
- Spender, Dale, *Mothers of the Novel: 100 good women writers before Jane Austen*, Pandora, London 1986.
- Spender, Dale and Janet Todd, eds., *British Women Writers: An Anthology from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*, Peter Bedrick Books, New York, 1989.

- Spongberg, Mary, Ann Curthoys and Barbara Caine, eds., *Companion to Women's Historical Writing*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2005.
- Staves, Susan, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006.
- Steinman, G. Steinman, *A Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland*, Printed for Private Circulation by James Parker & Co, Oxford, 1871.
- Summers, Montague, ed., J.W. 'To the Excellent ASTRAEA,' *The Works of Aphra Behn*, Vol. VI, Phaeton Press, New York, 1967.
- Sussman, Charlotte, *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2012.
- Swinnerton, Frank, *The Bookman's London*, Allan Wingate, London, 1951.
- Temple, Kathryn, 'Manley's "Feigned Scene": The Fictions of Law at Westminster Hall,' *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*: Vol. 22: Iss. 4, Article 1. Available at: <http://digitalcommons.mcmaster.ca/ecf/vol22/iss4/1>.
- Thomson, Mrs. A. T., *Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and of the Court of Queen Anne*, Volumes I and II, Henry Colburn, London, 1839, accessed online through Hathi Trust at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044036360865;view=1up;seq=7>.
- Thorne, Christian, 'Thumbing Our Nose at the Public Sphere: The Market, and the Invention of Literature' *PMLA*, Vol. 116, No. 3, May 2001 (Modern Language Association).
- Todd, Janet, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1996.
- _____, *Aphra Behn: A Secret Life*, Fentum Press, London, 2017.
- Trevelyan, George Macauley, *England Under Queen Anne*, in three volumes: 'Blenheim' (first published 1930), 'Ramillies' (first published 1932), 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession,' (first published 1934) Longmans, Green and Co., London, reprint 1948.
- Troyer, Howard William, *Ned Ward of Grub Street: A Study of sub-Literary London in the Eighteenth-Century*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1968.
- Turner, Cheryl, *Living By the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2009.
- Ugnow, Jenny, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration*, Faber and Faber, London, 2009.
- Vallance, Edward, *The Glorious Revolution: 1688 – Britain's Fight for Liberty*, Abacus, London, 2006.
- Varey, Simon, *Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1984.
- Vaughan, Robert, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, Vols. 1 and 2, Holdsworth and Ball, London, 1831.
- _____, *History of England Under the House of Stuarts*, Parts 1 and 2, Baldwin & Cradock, London, 1840.
- Wahl, Elizabeth S., *Invisible Relations Representations of Female Intimacy in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford CA, 1999.
- Wall, Cynthia, ed., *A Concise Companion to The Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Maldon MA, 2005.
- Watt, Ian, *The Rise of the Novel: studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1974.

- Weil, Rachel, *Political Passions: Gender, The Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714*, Manchester University Press, Oxford 1999.
- Weinbrot, Howard D., *Menippean Satire Reconsidered, From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2005.
- Weiss, Robin A. and José Esparza, 'The prevention and eradication of smallpox: a commentary on Sloane (1755) 'An account of inoculation'', *Philosophical Transactions B*, The Royal Society Publishing, 2014, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2014.0378> or via <http://rstb.royalsocietypublishing.org>.
- Wellman, Kathleen, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2013.
- Wharnccliffe, Lord, ed., *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Third edition, with additions and corrections derived from the original manuscripts, illustrative notes and a new memoir, by W. Moy Thomas, in two volumes, Vol. I, AMS Press, New York, 1970 (reprinted from the 1861 edition), London.
- Whitmore, Clara Helen, *Woman's Work in English Fiction: From the Restoration to the Mid-Victorian Period*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, London, 1910.
- Whyman, Susan E., *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009.
- Williams, Abigail, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005.
- Williams, Ioan, ed., *Novel and Romance 1700-1800, A Documentary Record*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970.
- Winn, James Anderson, *Queen Anne, Patroness of Arts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014.
- Winton, Calhoun, 'The Tatler: From Half-Sheet to Book', *Prose Studies*, J.A. Downie and Thomas N. Corns, eds., Vol. 16.1, April 1993, Frank Cass, London, 1993.
- Woertendyke, Gretchen, 'Romance to Novel: A Secret History', *Narrative*, Vol. 17, No. 3, The Ohio State University, 2009.
- Wood, Nigel, ed., *Jonathan Swift*, Longman, London and New York, 1999.
- Woolley, David, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift D.D.*, in four volumes, Peter Lang, Frankfurt Am Main, 1999.
- Yates, Frances A., *Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*, Pimlico, London, 1975.
- Zelinsky, Katherine, ed., *The Adventures of Rivella, Delarivier Manley*, Broadview Literary Texts, Broadview Press Ltd., Ontario, 1999.
- Zook, Melinda. S., *Protestantism, Politics, and Women in Britain, 1660-1714*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2013.
- _____, *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in Late Stuart England*, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park PA, 1999.
- _____, 'The Restoration Remembered: The First Whigs and the Making of their History', *The Seventeenth Century*, 17:2, 2002.

OXFORD DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Accessed from Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, through Flinders University of South Australia at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/> and National Library of Australia at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/>.

- [no author name supplied], "Egerton [née Fyge; other married name Field], Sarah (1670–1723), poet. "Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. September 23, 2004. Oxford University Press, Date of access 15 Feb. 2019, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37390>].
- Asch, Ronald G., 'Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>, accessed 23 July 2014].
- Aston, Nigel, 'Yalden, Thomas (1670–1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/30182>, accessed 1 Sept 2016].
- Atherton, Ian 'Scudamore family (*per.* 1500–1820)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/71878>, accessed 18 March 2017].
- Backscheider, Paula R., 'Haywood, Eliza (1693?–1756)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/12798>, accessed 4 March 2013].
- Ballaster, Ros, 'Manley, Delarivier (c. 1670–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/17939>, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Baer, Joel H. and Welham, Debbie, 'Aubin, Penelope (1679?–1738)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/40524>, accessed 10 Feb 2014].
- Bennett, Kate, 'Shadwell, Thomas (c. 1640–1692)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/25195>, accessed 26 Jan 2017].
- Beddard, R. A. P. J. "Sancroft, William (1617–1693), archbishop of Canterbury and nonjuror. "Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press. Date of access 27 Feb. 2019, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24610>].
- Brown, Mark N., 'Savile, George, first marquess of Halifax (1633–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/24735>, accessed 9 Aug 2017].
- Bucholz, R. O., 'Herbert, Thomas, eighth earl of Pembroke and fifth earl of Montgomery (1656/7–1733)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/13050>, accessed 8 April 2017].
- _____, 'Seymour, Charles, sixth Duke of Somerset (1662–1748)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/25158>, accessed 4 Aug 2017].
- _____, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/21925>, accessed 18 Sept 2017].
- Campbell, Gordon, 'Phillips, John (1631–1706?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/22161>, accessed 23 Nov 2017].

- Cannon, John, 'George II (1683–1760)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10539>, accessed 24 July 2014].
- Carter, Philip, 'Grey, Henry, Duke of Kent (*bap.* 1671, *d.* 1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/11538>, accessed 30 June 2017].
- _____, 'Hervey, John, first earl of Bristol', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13117>, accessed 19 Aug 2016].
- _____, 'Somerset, Henry, second Duke of Beaufort (1684–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26010>, accessed 5 Jan 2015].
- Cheesman, C. E. A., 'Manley, Sir Roger (*d.* 1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/17940>, accessed 13 Aug 2014].
- Clark, J. Kent, 'Wharton, Thomas, first marquess of Wharton, first marquess of Malmesbury, and first marquess of Catherlough (1648–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/29175>, accessed 6 Aug 2017].
- Clifton, Robin, 'Manley, John (*c.* 1622–1699)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/67369>, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Coleby, Andrew M., 'Compton, Henry (1631/2–1713)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/6032>, accessed 16 July 2017].
- Cruikshanks, Eveline, 'Granville, George, Baron Lansdowne and Jacobite Duke of Albemarle (1666–1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/11301>, accessed 30 Jan 2014].
- Davidson, Peter, 'Fanshawe, Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625–1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/9146>, accessed 10 June 2017].
- Dickinson, H. T., 'St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/24496>, accessed 26 July 2013].
- Dussinger, John A. "Richardson, Samuel (*bap.* 1689, *d.* 1761), printer and author." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. May 24, 2012. Oxford University Press, Date of access 7 Feb. 2019, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23582>].
- Du Toit, Alexander, 'Jones, David (*fl.* 1675–1720)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/14988>, accessed 3 July 2017].
- Ellis, Frank H., 'Wilmot, John, second earl of Rochester (1647–1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/29623>, accessed 8 July 2017].
- Erskine-Hill, Howard, 'Pope, Alexander (1688–1744)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/22526>, accessed 4 April 2013].

- Falkner, James, 'Churchill, Sarah, duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/5405, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Ferdinand, C. Y. and McKenzie, D. F., 'Congreve, William (1670–1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/6069, accessed 27 June 2015].
- Fitzmaurice, James, 'Cavendish, Margaret, duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne (1623?–1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/4940, accessed 6 July 2015].
- Fritze, Ronald H., 'Kingsmill family (per. c.1480–1698)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/75331, accessed 4 Aug 2017].
- Gerrard, Christine. "Hill, Aaron (1685–1750), writer and entrepreneur." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 04, 2007. Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 Aug. 2018, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13264].
- Gibbs, G. C., 'George I (1660–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10538, accessed 18 July 2012].
- Gibbs, G. C. "Boyer, Abel (1667?–1729), lexicographer and journalist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 15 Mar. 2018, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3122].
- Greaves, Richard L., 'Capel, Arthur, first earl of Essex (bap. 1632, d. 1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4584, accessed 29 Aug 2016].
- Gregg, Edward, 'Anne (1665–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2012 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/560, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Gretsch, Mechthild 'Elstob, Elizabeth (1683–1756)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/8761, accessed 26 June 2015].
- Griffith, William P., 'Mackworth, Sir Humphry (1657–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/17631, accessed 6 Sept 2017].
- Grundy, Isobel, 'Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/19029, accessed 8 June 2013].
- Hammond, Paul, 'Dryden, John (1631–1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/8108, accessed 16 March 2016].
- Handley, Stuart, 'Butler, James, second Duke of Ormond (1665–1745)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4193, accessed 30 Dec 2015].
- _____, 'Cavendish, William, second Duke of Devonshire (1670/71–1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/95499, accessed 27 June 2015].

- _____, 'Harcourt, Simon, first Viscount Harcourt (1661?–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/12244, accessed 27 Oct 2016].
- _____, 'Montagu, Charles, earl of Halifax (1661–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/19004, accessed 12 Jan 2016].
- _____, 'Somers, John, Baron Somers (1651–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26002, accessed 20 Jan 2014].
- _____, 'Talbot, Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/26922, accessed 29 June 2017].
- _____, 'Whig junto (*act. c. 1694–c. 1716*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/theme/92792, accessed 14 Aug 2014].
- Harris, Frances, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/18261, accessed 31 Jan 2014].
- Hattendorf, John B., 'Berkeley, James, third earl of Berkeley (1680–1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/2216, accessed 21 Jan 2016].
- _____, 'Churchill, John, first Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/5401, accessed 4 April 2013].
- _____, 'Mordaunt, Charles, third earl of Peterborough and first earl of Monmouth (1658?–1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/19162, accessed 21 Aug 2016].
- _____, 'Herbert, Arthur, earl of Torrington (1648–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13017, accessed 6 March 2016].
- Hayton, D. W., 'Mansel, Thomas, first Baron Mansel (1667–1723)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/37734, accessed 27 Oct 2017].
- Henderson, T. F., 'Cholmondeley, Hugh, first earl of Cholmondeley (1662?–1725)', rev. Philip Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5346, accessed 4 Aug 2017].
- Hosford, David, 'Cavendish, William, first Duke of Devonshire (1641–1707)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/4948, accessed 27 June 2015].
- House, Seymour Baker, 'More, Sir Thomas (1478–1535)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/19191, accessed 3 June 2014].
- King, Helen, 'Cellier, Elizabeth (*fl.* 1668–1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4990, accessed 2 Sept 2016].

- Kishlansky, Mark A., Morrill, John, 'Charles I (1600–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5143>, accessed 25 July 2014].
- Lancaster, Henry, 'Thynne, Thomas, first Viscount Weymouth (*bap.* 1640, *d.* 1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/27424>, accessed 17 Aug 2016].
- Love, Harold. "Sedley, Sir Charles, fifth baronet (*bap.* 1639, *d.* 1701), writer and politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 May. 2018, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25021>].
- Love, Harold, 'Sackville, Charles, sixth earl of Dorset and first earl of Middlesex (1643–1706)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/24442>, accessed 7 April 2017].
- MacKenzie, Raymond N., 'Curl, Edmund (*d.* 1747)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/6948>, accessed 19 June 2013].
- Malcolm, Noel, 'Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13400>, accessed 8 Oct 2015].
- Marshall, Alan. "Thynne, Thomas [nicknamed Tom of Ten Thousand] (1647/8–1682), landowner and murder victim." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, Date of access 5 Dec. 2018, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27423>].
- McGeary, Thomas N. "Hughes, John (1678?–1720), writer and librettist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 25 Apr. 2018, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14077>].
- McGovern, Barbara, 'Finch, Anne, countess of Winchilsea (1661–1720)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/9426>, accessed 4 Aug 2017].
- Metzger, Edward Charles, 'Montagu, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu (*bap.* 1638, *d.* 1709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/19030>, accessed 6 Aug 2017].
- Milhou, Judith, "Betterton, Thomas (*bap.* 1635, *d.* 1710), actor and theatre manager." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004-09-23. Oxford University Press. Date of access 13 Feb. 2018, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2311>].
- Milling, J. "Goodman, Cardell (b. 1653), actor." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*., September 23, 2004. Oxford University Press, Date of access 16 Feb. 2019, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10974>].
- Milling, J., 'Centlivre, Susanna (*bap.* 1669?, *d.* 1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/4994>, accessed 12 June 2017].
- Morgan, Basil, 'Osborne, Peregrine, second Duke of Leeds (*bap.* 1659, *d.* 1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/20879>, accessed 10 April 2015].

- Nokes, David, 'Gay, John (1685–1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2009, www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10473, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Peltonen, Markku, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/990>, accessed 2 June 2014].
- Perry, Ruth, 'Astell, Mary (1666–1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/814>, accessed 17 Feb 2014].
- Probyn, Clive, 'Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26833>, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Rigg, J. M., 'FitzRoy, Charles, second Duke of Cleveland and first Duke of Southampton (1662–1730)', rev. Matthew Kilburn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2014 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/9629>, accessed 29 Jan 2017].
- Rogers, Nicholas, 'Barber, John (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1741)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/37148>, accessed 4 April 2013].
- Rogers, Pat, 'October Club (act. 1711–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/theme/95203>, accessed 14 Aug 2014].
- Ross, Angus, 'Arbuthnot, John (*bap.* 1667, *d.* 1735)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/610>, accessed 19 Jan 2016].
- Salmon, Eric, 'Cibber, Colley (1671–1757)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5416>, accessed 1 Nov 2016].
- Sambrook, James, 'Gildon, Charles (c.1665–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10720>, accessed 11 April 2015].
- Sankey, Margaret D., 'Sheffield, John, first Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647–1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/25297>, accessed 15 Aug 2014].
- Seaward, Paul, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/5144>, accessed 23 Jan 2016].
- Seddon, P. R., 'Holles, John, Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1662–1711)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/13556>, accessed 6 Jan 2015].
- Snyder, Henry L., 'Spencer, Charles, third earl of Sunderland (1675–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26117>, accessed 1 Aug 2013].
- Speck, W. A., 'George, prince of Denmark and Duke of Cumberland (1653–1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/10543>, accessed 19 Oct 2017].
- _____, 'Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/12344>, accessed 10 Jan 2014].

- _____, 'James II and VII (1633–1701)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/14593>, accessed 4 April 2013].
- _____, 'Sacheverell, Henry (bap. 1674, d. 1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/24440>, accessed 3 Oct 2015].
- _____, 'Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641–1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/26135>].
- Stater, Victor, 'Mordaunt, Henry, second earl of Peterborough (bap. 1623, d. 1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/19163>, accessed 5 April 2017].
- Stoker, David, 'Harley, Edward, second earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2010 at [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/12337>, accessed 5 Sept 2016].
- Stater, Victor, 'Grenville, John, first earl of Bath (1628–1701)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/11492>, accessed 26 March 2016].
- Stokes, A. E., 'Coningsby, Thomas, first earl of Coningsby (1657–1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/6076>, accessed 9 Aug 2017].
- Sundstrom, Roy A., 'Godolphin, Sidney, first earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/10882>, accessed 3 June 2014].
- Thomson, Alan, 'Thompson, John, first Baron Haversham (1648–1710)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/27269>, accessed 26 Oct 2016].
- Thompson, Andrew C., 'The Hanoverian succession in British and European politics, c.1700–1720', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/theme/106970>, accessed 3 June 2014].
- Todd, Janet, 'Behn, Aphra (1640?–1689)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/1961>, accessed 10 Feb 2014].
- Treasure, Geoffrey, 'Cowper, William, first Earl Cowper (1665–1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/6511>, accessed 7 Aug 2017].
- Turner, Roger, 'Powys, Sir Thomas (1649–1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/22679>, accessed 8 Aug 2017].
- Vander Motten, J. P., 'Howard, Sir Robert (1626–1698)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/13935>, accessed 3 Feb 2017].
- Warmington, Andrew, 'Berkeley, Charles, second Viscount Fitzhardinge of Berehaven (1599–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/66517>, accessed 9 Jan 2017].

- Winton, Calhoun, 'Steele, Sir Richard (*bap.* 1672, *d.* 1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/26347, accessed 12 July 2012].
- Wormald, Jenny, 'James VI and I (1566–1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14592, accessed 25 July 2014].
- Wynne, S. M., 'Palmer, Barbara, countess of Castlemaine and suo jure duchess of Cleveland (*bap.* 1640, *d.* 1709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/view/article/28285, accessed 14 Jan 2017].
- Yardley, Bruce, 'Villiers, George, second Duke of Buckingham (1628–1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/28294, accessed 12 Aug 2014].

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT ONLINE

Accessed from History of Parliament Online at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/>

- A.H.D., SOMERSET, Thomas (c.1579-1649), of Troy, nr. Monmouth and Badminton, Glos., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, 1981, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/somerset-thomas-1579-1649>.
- Crossette, J. S., THOMPSON, Sir John, 1st Bt. (1648-1710), of Haversham, Bucks. and Upper Gatton, Surr. Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Available from Boydell and Brewer <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/thompson-sir-john-1648-1710>.
- Cruikshanks, Eveline / Stuart Handley, GRANVILLE, George (1666-1735), of Stowe, Cornw., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer, accessed at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/granville-george-1666-1735>.
- Cruikshanks, Eveline / Basil Duke Henning, NOEL, Wriothlesley Baptist, *Visct. Campden (c.1661-90), of Titchfield, Hants. Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Available from Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/noel-wriothlesley-baptist-1661-90>.
- Cruikshanks, Eveline and Handley, Stuart, 'MANLEY, John (1655-1713), of Truro, Cornw.,' *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002. Available from Boydell and Brewer, accessed at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/manley-john-1655-1713>.
- Cruikshanks, Eveline, 'SOMERSET, Lord Charles Noel (1709-56)', Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick, 1970, Available from Boydell and Brewer, Boydell and Brewer, accessed at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/somerset-lord-charles-noel-1709-56>.
- Ferris, John. P., MANLEY, John (c.1622-99), of Bryn y Ffynnon, Wrexham, Denb. and the Old Artillery Ground, London. Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983 Available from Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/manley-john-1622-99>.
- Handley, Stuart, 'ST. JOHN, Henry II (1678-1752), of Bucklebury, Berks.' and 'Berkshire', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/st-john-henry-ii-1678-1752>.

- Hanham, Andrew A., ASHBURNHAM, Hon. John (1687-1737), Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/ashburnham-hon-john-1687-1737>.
- Hayton, D.W., Constituencies and Elections, Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/survey/constituencies-and-elections>.
- _____, 'FELTON, Thomas (1649-1709), of Whitehall, Westminster and Playford, Suff.', Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, available from Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/felton-thomas-1649-1709>.
- _____, Glamorgan, Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/glamorgan>.
- _____, 'HERVEY, John (1665-1751), of Aswarby, Lincs.; St. James's Square, Westminster; and Ickworth, Suff.', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, eds. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, available from Boydell and Brewer <http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13117/version/0>.
- _____, MACKWORTH, Sir Humphrey (1657-1727), of Gnoll Castle, Neath, Glam., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, gen. eds. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/mackworth-sir-humphrey-1657-1727>.
- _____, Monmouthshire, Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/monmouthshire>.
- _____, RUSSELL, Edward (c.1652-1727), of Chippenham Hall, Cambs., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/russell-edward-1652-1727>.
- _____, SOMERSET, Charles, Lord Herbert of Raglan (1660-98), of Troy, Mon. and Badminton, Glos., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/somerset-charles-1660-98>.
- Helms, M.W., and John P. Ferris, 'SOMERSET, Henry, Lord Herbert of Raglan (c.1629-1700), of Badminton, Glos. and Troy, Mon.', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/somerset-henry-1629-1700>.
- Henning, B.D., ed., 'HARLEY, Robert II (1661-1724), of Brampton Bryan, Herefs.', 1983, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, accessed at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/harley-robert-ii-1661-1724>.
- Knights, COWPER, Spencer (1669-1728), of Hertingfordbury Park, Herts.; Lincoln's Inn; and Bridge House, St. Olave's, Southwark Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/cowper-spencer-1669-1728>.
- Knights, Mark, 'COWPER, William (1665-1723), of Hertford Castle and Colne Green, Hertingfordbury, Herts. and Ratling Court, Kent', Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Available from Boydell and Brewer, accessed at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/cowper-william-1665-1723>.

_____, MASHAM, Samuel (c.1679-1758), of Otes, High Laver, Essex, Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002 Available from Boydell and Brewer at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/masham-samuel-1679-1758>.

Lea, R.S., MONTAGU, Edward Richard, Visct. Hinchingsbrooke (1692-1722), of Hinchingsbrooke, Hunts., Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. R. Sedgwick, 1970 Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/montagu-edward-richard-1692-1722>.

Watson, Paula, and Andrew A. Hanham, BERKELEY, John, 4th Visct. Fitzhardinge [I] (1650-1712), of Bruton, Som. and Pall Mall, Westminster, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002, available from Boydell and Brewer, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/berkeley-john-1650-1712>.

Watson, Paula / Basil Duke Henning, 'Truro', Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*, ed. B.D. Henning, 1983, Available from Boydell and Brewer at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/constituencies/truro>.

Watson, Paula / Ivar McGrath, BENTINCK, Henry, Visct. Woodstock (c.1682-1726), of Titchfield, Hants. Published in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002; Available from Boydell and Brewer <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/bentinck-henry-1682-1726>.