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The literariness of *The Examiner*: *"Man of Gold"* – a portrait of John Churchill, 1st Duke Of Marlborough

https://doi.org/10.34739/clit.2024.18.04

Abstract: The main objective of the article is to analyse the rhetorical techniques that were used to generate anti-Marlborough Tory propaganda in the early eighteenth century. The source material for the analysis comprises two issues of *The Examiner* published at the end of February 1712. This "right-wing" organ, revived in December 1711, became something of a razor-sharp tool for anti-Whig propaganda. With the call for an end to the costly war of Spanish Succession, *The Examiner* targeted criticism towards those who supported a continuation of the conflict. One politician seeking both on the battlefield as well as through the courts a prolongation of the war was John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough. As such he became the subject of a broad wave of criticism expressed in various Tory-writings. The portrait of the Duke, created through a variety of literary tools**,** demonstrates the wide range of literary elements used in non-fiction writings, proving at the same time the links between fiction and non-fiction which eventually led to the emergence of a new genre, that of the novel.

Keywords: periodical essay, novel, *The Examiner,* John Churchill, allegory

During the epoch spanning the Glorious Revolution to the end of Queen Anne's reign, a persistent contest unfolded among political factions[1]. The developing rivalry constituted a pivotal determinant of the early eighteenth-century British political milieu, as underscored by the observations of eminent historian Geoffrey Holmes[2]. This protracted struggle laid the groundwork for the evolution of a ministerial apparatus dedicated to propagandistic endeavours, aimed at impugning adversaries and rationalizing prevailing policies[3]. The political landscape subsequent

[1] Research for this article has been conducted within the project "Literature and Propaganda: *The Examiner* and the rise of literary journalism" funded by European Society for the Study of English.
[2] G. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, London 1987.
[3] A.J. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press. Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*, Cambridge 1979.

to the year 1688 witnessed the ascendancy of Whig statesmen, with Tories attaining power only in the elections of 1710. An acrimonious debate unfolded over the Whig administration's involvement in a conflict with France, particularly concerning the contentious issue of relinquishing the Spanish Crown to the Habsburgs – a facet of governance that elicited robust censure from the opposing Tory faction. The Tories' advocacy for a policy of pursuing peace emerged as a compelling argument, which gained considerable traction following their resounding triumph in the elections of October 1710. The enthronement of William and Mary during the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688 (an act largely implemented by the Whigs) was logically followed by closer cooperation between the Whig parliamentarians and the monarch. The situation changed during Queen Anne's reign, when the politics of the victorious Whigs clashed with the monarch's inclination toward Tory policies. The Queen refusing to be dominated by one party, appointed Tory politicians to balance Whig influences. With the prospective general election in spring 1708 and the threat that the ruling Whig party would not obtain a majority in either of the Houses, "Marlborough… and Godolphin entered into an agreement with Harley to explore a 'moderate scheme' to reconstruct the government, a scheme 'to rescue the ministry and defeat the Junto'"[4]. However, three months later, following Harley's report to the Queen outlining the mismanagement of the war, the report was revealed to the House of Commons by Harley's associate Henry St John: "On 1 February, Marlborough wrote to the queen that he and Godolphin would resign rather than continue in the same cabinet 'with so vile a person' as Harley"[5]. The queen summoned Marlborough to Kensington and informed him that she would dismiss Harley the following day. Harley surrendered his seals of office, and St John Harcourt, and Mansell resigned with their leader. These resignations were crucial to the development of future cabinet solidarity, and they underlined the degree to which these younger, moderate Tories felt betrayed by Marlborough and Godolphin. The queen was humiliated by losing this power struggle and, not least, because it was discussed in every coffee house in town[6]. The long-lasting cooperation between Marlborough and Godolphin – with

[4] E. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, Yale 2001, p. 255.
[5] *Ibidem,* p. 257.
[6] *Ibidem,* p. 259.

apparent Whig support – enabled the former to find financial resources to continue the war against the Tories who had essentially opted for peace.

The failure of the moderate policy mirrored in the February 1708 crisis explicitly demonstrated not only that the party was struggling, but also revealed its dependence on the queen's decisions concerning the appointment of government ministers. This served to divide the political scene, along with the various plans of each side concerning the way British foreign policy should be directed. Subsequently, a concerted effort was made through propagandistic initiatives to establish the legitimacy of the pro-peace stance. The inception of the ministerial newspaper, *The Examiner*, assumed a pivotal role in solidifying public sentiment in favour of the power transition orchestrated by the Tories. Keith Feiling affirms that *The Examiner*, during the first half of 1711, functioned as the linchpin of Tory politics[7], exerting its influence until the conclusion of Jonathan Swift's editorial tenure in June 1711. Notably, John Churchill, the 1st Duke of Marlborough, emerged as a focal point for the broader wave of criticism articulated through ministerial publications, both on the battlefield and within the court.

The publication of *The Examiner* (1710-1714 and later continued in 1715-16) coincided with the beginnings of the periodical essay, with such initiatives by Addison and Steele as *The Tatler* (1709), *The Spectator* (1711), or *The Guardian* (1713). Aimed at diverting the audience from political issues and this way calming down a somewhat divided society, essay periodicals were designed to reach a broader audience. The change in topicality and style eventually resulted in the emergence of literary journalism which Thomas B. Connery aptly defined as "nonfiction printed prose whose verifiable content is shaped and transformed into a story or sketch by use of narrative and rhetorical techniques generally associated with fiction"[8]. Initially, *The Examiner* kept to its purely political design; however, a number of its issues demonstrate more than a straightforward political commentary. Indeed, the variety of literary elements that enriched its political contents embrace poems, visions, dreams, histories with a wide-ranging use of such literary devices, such as hyperbole,

[7] K. Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714*, Oxford 1924, p. 429.
[8] T. B. Connery, *A Sourcebook of American literary journalism: representative writers in an emerging genre*, New York 1992, p. xiv.

allegory and metaphor. For theorists tracing the beginnings of the novel, the development of the essay periodical forms a crucial moment in its formation. As Phillip Stevick concludes, the novel's origins "lie in a dozen different narrative forms: essay, romance, history, 'the character biography', comic and sentimental drama, and so on"[9]. Lennard J. Davis labelled this methodology as 'the convergent model'[10], and defined it as an alternative to the evolutionary and osmotic models:

> The admission here is that the novel really comes out of *everything* that preceded it. This notion can be called 'convergence' since a variety of forms are seen as converging into one discreet genre, yet there is no motive given for this convergence. In this explanation, the novel was not destined to evolve in linear fashion, as in the evolutionary model, nor to be affected by social forces, as in the osmotic model, but somehow to happily agglutinate into existence by taking on the best features of disparate forms such as the essay, the history, and so on[11].

In the history of both the newspaper and literature devoted to the development of the periodical essay, *The Examiner* is clearly defined as political and, consequently, not included among the titles that prove the rise of literary journalism[12]. However, there are voices that point to its literary elements. George S. Marr in his published research on the 18th century essay periodicals remarked that:

> The design of the *Examiner* was different from that of the *Tatler*...There are usually strongly worded remarks and criticism upon politics and politicians ... But here and there we come across some papers of value from the purely literary point of view... Steele in the *Tatler,* had been giving occasional papers or part of papers on political subjects, but in the *Examiner* it is the other way round; only occasionally do we get papers of a purely literary nature[13](49-51).

Though *The Examiner* does not resemble a 'typical' periodical essay, it can be hardly excluded from literary journalism. Hyperbolic his-

[9] Ph. Stevick, (ed.), *The Theory of the Novel*, New York 1967, p. 2.
[10] D.J. Lennard, *Factual Fictions. The Origins of the English Novel,* Pennsylvania 1996, p. 2.
[11] *Ibidem,* pp. 6-7.
[12] I. Italia, *The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century,* Routledge 2005; M.N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals,* Lewisburg 2014.
[13] G.S. Marr, *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth century,* New York (1923) 1970, pp. 49-51.

tories and visions, especially by Swift with his style all 'too bitter, too severe, too unrelenting and savage to deal fitly with the subjects which Addison and Steele loved to touch upon"[14] contributed or even paved the way to what in future would become the novel.

The scope of the present article is the analysis of the two essays published in the 21st and 28th February 1711 issues of *The Examiner,* which take the form of an opiate evoked vision. Among other imaginary descriptions included in the paper, they demonstrate a vivid example of literary elements of the periodical. The coherence of allegory becomes clear after a closer study of the organization of the essays. In addition to allusions to the Bible, their author unveils enthusiasm in referring to ancient history and mythology. The story opens with an image of the crowds gathered in a Roman Circus, probably to participate in The Games. Therefore, from the very beginning readers are inspired to delve into the past.

The Examiner chose not to explore at this time any of the notable historical figures[15]. Thus the reader is presented with a picture of different social strata: senators, patricians and others "gaily habited". Centre stage is reserved for "a LADY in Imperial Robes...her Head adorned with a Crown of Gold, studded with Jewels; of the Diamonds set before were these Letters, composed distinctly *Mater Patriae Augusta",* undoubtedly the image is meant to represent Queen Anne. Two main figures appear either side of *Augusta:* "On the Right Side of the Throne stood a Person clad in Robes of State, bearing the Ensigns of Authority in his Hand, who seem'd earnest in Discourse with *Augusta",* and on the left "attended a Lady... in her Face lurked Ambiguity and Intrigue". The entirely negative image of the left-seated lady, sarcastically addressed by the Examiner as "past the Flower of Youth, yet somewhat graceful in decay" whose "Eyes were quick and penetrating" as "she watched with assiduity every Motion and Word that passed between *Augusta* and the Favourite Statesman" identify her as a spy, though not a professional one but rather driven by her vain need to generate gossip: "She rudely leaned her Ear... so she could but Inform her Curiosity". The woman concerned does not

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 49.
[15] Other examples of the ancient historical figures that appeared on the pages of *the* Examiner, though not always used in the allegorical meaning, include Agrippa (12 July 1711), or Crassus in the famous "Letter to Crassus" (8 February 1710-11).

even seem conscious of the visibility of her spying activity as "one might see she was often stung with what she heard, because flushes of Indignation appear'd on her Visage". The description of these two individuals flanking the Queen are direct satirical portraits of the Lord Keeper Harcourt on the right and Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, on the left. The identification of the eavesdropper and contriver of intrigues fits Sarah Churchill's actions at Queen Anne's court. Sarah Churchill's position arranged in the vision allows one to assume that its plot is set at an earlier time, when the Tories swept into power and she was still present at court, though treating Queen Anne with stiff reserve. In the vision, there is no scent or sign of a friendly relation between the two women. The sitting arrangement does not seem to be coincidental either due to deep symbolism conferred by right or left. Indeed, an elaborated form of left-right significance is found in Pythagorean thought, where right is associated with the male and left with the female[16]. The Bible, itself, is a very rich source of symbolic meanings of right and left, with one of them relating to human wisdom: "A wise man's heart directs him toward the right, but the foolish man's heart directs him toward the left"[17]. Both connotations are recognisable in the vision.

The assembly presided by Augusta is interrupted by the appearance of the grotesque figure of "Man of Gold" who is led by two supporters with the obvious intention of placing him before Augusta's throne. One of the two monstrous leaders holding Man of Gold "pined with Penury and Want ... crouching under the Burthen of a Huge Mass of Treasure, which he eagerly grasped, but could not find in his Heart to make use of, though to supply the Cravings of Nature, and Pacifie his own Hunger" symbolises Avarice. The other, Hagg[18] Ingratitude, seems to be an allusion to *The Examiner's* "Bill of British Ingratitude", a sarcastic reply to accusations of undervaluing the Duke of Marlborough's victories[19]. The symbolic figure of Man of Gold is immediately recognisable. *The Examiner* openly and repeatedly criticized Churchill for corruption and engaging Great Britain in wars which only serve to increase his own wealth.

[16] Aristotle, *Metaphysics* A, 5 986 a. 20.
[17] Ecclesiastes 10:2.
[18] Hugh Douglas in his *Companion to Hogmanay* informs that in Scandinavian "*hagg* means to *kill* or to *cut* and is said to derive from the custom of slaughtering animals for the Yule feast", 1993, p.15.
[19] *The Examiner*, 16 Nov. 1710.

The following noteworthy example, found in *The Examiner* of April 3 1712[20], serves as a satirical imitation of the described passage: "An Estimate of certain Virtues in the Possession of the present General, valued at Nothing". This is obviously part of a counter-attack against Whig accusations that diminish Marlborough's merits. The parallel is obvious as the poem "does not blame the Duke for any faults but cupidity and ambition"[21]. Swift's style characterised by its hyperbole, harshness and the grotesque is aptly used in the description of Man of Gold: "an astonishing Form; the Shape and Features were partly Human, but so altered by Art, that they appeared much taller and larger than Life; they had suffered such Transmutation that the Substance was entirely changed into a solid Gold". Depicted as partly non-human and with a body transformed from flesh into metal, Man of Gold is referred to as an object. What is more, an object which has two supporters "that directed all his Motions". The two helpers constantly accompany Man of Gold wherever he desires to be placed, though this is not always according to their wishes. In the vision, the helpers were "carrying him [...] towards the Throne" but forced by Statesman to move elsewhere, thus the two "drew him with an apparent unwillingness, because they had design'd to seat him in Augusta's Place". There are more passages indicating the passive role of Man of Gold: "Hagg Ingratitude lifted up the right arm of the Man of Gold". In this way, Marlborough is somehow provocatively depicted as a weak and passive person that is unable to move on the political stage via his own volition, but must be helped by the German powers, symbolised by Hagg.[22] This extremely negative image reflected a change in Swift's attitude towards Churchill, which occurred between January and March 1711. At the beginning of January, when commenting on the events described in *The Examiner* to his erstwhile friend, Esther Johnson (Stella)[23], Swift writes "our friends press a little too hard on the Duke of Marlborough"[24]. However, he soon began to express his own bitter criticism

[20] Old style, new year begun on 25 March so the issue was published a few weeks after the vision.
[21] I. Ehrenpreis, *Swift. The man, his works, and the age,* vol. II, Harvard 1967, vol. II, p. 527.
[22] Due to the Scandinavian origin of the word, a possible reference to the supporters of Hanoverian dynasty should not be excluded.
[23] Swift wrote regularly to Esther Johnson between 1710-1713 and the collection of his 65 letters was posthumously published with a title *Journal to Stella.*
[24] Swift Jonathan, *Journal to Stella in The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 2 ed. S. Temple Scott, London 1897, Letter XIII, Jan 4, 1710-1711, p. 97.

towards the General which can be found not only in his later writings to Stella, especially when he confides that "I do not think they [*The Examiners*] are too severe on the duke; they only tax him with avarice, and his avarice has ruined us"[25] but also even more visibly in a "Letter to Crassus".

The ever-growing anti-Marlborough campaign in *The Examiner* echoed Swift's move towards Lord Bolingbroke and the October Club[26]. As a result, the image of a deceitful and corrupt Marlborough became the main subject of the writer's critique presented in *The Examiner*. The invented figure of Man of Gold bears resemblance to other negative representations of the Duke referring to ancient history or mythology mentioned in the Paper. For example, in the 3 Jan 1711 issue of *The Examiner*, Marlborough was portrayed as King Midas. In fact, a vision of mythological divine forces is the principal rhetorical pattern on which the essay is predicated. The goddess Fame descends "towards the Earth follow'd by the two beautiful Goddesses, *Peace* and *Plenty"* bearing a wreath of olives "presented Augusta with that Emblem of *Peace*". Augusta's words directed to the gathered audience on bestowing "the invaluable Blessing of a good and lasting Peace" are followed by the words of "a Person in full bloom, of graceful Fashion" [Robert Harley] who "fully explain'd the Injuries the Empire had suffered not only by Foreigners but even her own Sons, by whose Practices War had ranged among them … at the Pleasure, and for the Interest, only of a Faction". Clearly the passage addresses the issue of the negotiations with France opened by the new Tory ministry in January 1710 aimed at ending the war of Spanish Succession. Both speeches evoke a violent reaction from the Man of Gold who first attempts to silence the two speakers while soon after, horrific disasters occur: "the Winds began to roar, the Earth to shake, the Sky grew dark, and …vast Area was fill'd with Floods of Water …swarms of loathsome Frogs who with their Croakings deafened the Ears of the Multitude; whilst a flight of Vultures and Ravens headed by an Eagle bore down towards the beautiful trembling Goddess of Peace".

This apocalyptic image of natural disasters directly points to early modern perceptions associating a breaking or even reversal of the natural order as a direct result of disobedience against the Divine Order. Fur-

[25] *Ibidem*, Letter XVII, 24 February, 1710-11, p. 133.
[26] This will later result in Harley's decision to dismiss Swift from editing *The Examiner* rather than Swift own step in doing so.

thermore, the frogs figured in the essay resemble one of the seven Egyptian plagues, a horrifying biblical punishment, compared with the dark forces that eventually enthrone Man of Gold. His new kingdom of tyranny, poverty, war and desolation is vividly depicted:

> Tumultuous Strife, Infernal Pain, Revenge, and Heart-burning Hatred; Trembling Fear flew from one corner to another…Rueful Sorrow sate in the Darkness … Shame advanced her ugly Countenance …grim Horror with glaring Eyes, and Iron Wings, hovered over the People's Heads…Faction, clothed in Scarlet became glutted even to a satiety with the Blood of his Opposers.

The visionary description of the political conflict over the British involvement in the War of Spanish Succession was eventually shaped in to a fierce struggle between the "evil Genius" and the "good Genius" of the empire, both embodied in the form of personified passions. The rhetorical pattern of the war between heavenly and hellish forces dominates the latter part of the vision, which eventually, however, reaches an optimistic conclusion in the victory of "Hope and smiling Joy…at which Despair and Horror immediately took their Flight" and "Augusta had been preserved by Heaven […] and with Double Brightness reassumed her Throne". Accompanied by Resolution and Justice, she destroys the physical form of Man of Gold, from the head of whom "rush'd forth a Monster called Faction, arm'd with stings and a forked Tail". Somehow the devilish image of Marlborough corresponds with Swift's depiction of the Duke in his Journal to Stella: "covetous as Hell, and ambitious as the prince of it: he would fain have been general for life, and has broken all endeavours for peace, to keep his greatness and get money"[27]. Moreover, the monster Faction escaping Duke's head bears a strong biblical symbolism: *for where jealousy and faction are, there is confusion and every vile deed*[28]. The apostle Paul addresses the issue of factions within the early Christian community in his first letter to the Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians 1:10-13, Paul admonishes the Corinthians for their divisions, urging them to be unified in their beliefs and not to form factions based on loyalty to partic-

[27] Swift Jonathan, *Journal to Stella* in *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 2 ed. S. Temple Scott, London 1897, Letter XII 23 Dec, 1710, p. 87.
[28] James 3:16.

ular leaders. This rhetoric links Marlborough with hellish forces and is made a puppet guided by them. The fall of Man of Gold who strove for a continuation of the war, opens up the hitherto dark and grotesque vision to the prospect of a brighter future via the mythological image of Augusta (now accompanied by the Goddess Ceres and her Seasons) producing "blooming Spring, delightful Summer, and Yellow Autumn, each bringing a prodigious Supply, that no Year had ever been so fruitful as that in which Peace was renewed to the Empire, and the Empress restored to the full enjoyment of her undoubted Prerogative".

The vision is organised according to the main pattern which sustains a polarisation between demonic and heavenly forces. Passions personified in the essays are depicted as the winged creatures hovering over the earthly scene that may carry associations with angels and demons. The speech of Man of Gold is followed by such a devastating storm that it resembles the biblical image of the Apocalypse.

Though the essay is part of a broader range of anti-Whig propaganda, nevertheless, the main persona blamed for the country's misfortunes is undoubtedly the Duke of Marlborough, who, apart from enlarging his own wealth at the cost of others (the accusation that he was stealing the Soldiers Bread repeatedly asserted in *The Examiner*, for example) is depicted as the leader of a despised Faction and the source of its miserable fate. The fall of Faction presented in the vision imitates the mythological birth of Athena, goddess of self-defence (symbol of the just war) and of wisdom. In this way the Whigs become associated with the very opposite: war and stupidity. Moreover, *The Examiner* admits that Whigs "may be misled or mistaken", a statement that clearly aims at justifying their actions and shifting the blame onto somebody else. The tactics follow *The Examiner*'s approach of separating the Whig Party from Whig followers, blaming the former for stupefying the latter[29]. The image of the Whigs as the Faction Party supported by evil forces is represented in the form of personified human vices which powerfully connect the opposition party with the darker side of the eternal conflict between Heaven and Hell.

The allegorical story presented to 18th-century readers in the two essays discussed in this article exemplifies the necessity to move from the usual *The Examiner's* fact-based comments into the literary world

[29] K. Kozak, *The Hurry and Uproar of Their Passions: Images of the Early 18th-Century Whig*, "English Literature" 2017, vol. 4, pp. 73-89.

of fiction-like stories. Another famous illustration of *The Examiner's* literariness is Essay no. 14 on political lying analysed by Clayton D. Lein, in which the Whigs are called "the immemorial reactions of Satan and his legions, though no less dangerous for their familiarity. His party-Hypocrisy, Envy, Calumny-must always smutch and degrade emerging Truth. But Truth has, despite their efforts, been released from her dark cave"[30]. An analogical pattern is visible in the structure of the two visionary essays, which reflects the biblical struggle between Good and Evil, a frequent characteristic of Swift's employment of the Bible as the final authority[31]. In Swift's imagery of the divine and demonic, in *The Examiner* no. 14, the platform of conflict was placed according to a vertical axis between Heaven and Earth, and presented as a clash between the eternal and the temporal. The scriptural imagery is continued in the essays from February 1711, which echo the biblical Final Judgement, when the Heavenly forces win. Although the vertical axis of Swift's imagery is present within the depiction of celestial interference in human actions, the plot, nevertheless, is focused on a horizontal axis, consisting of the battle between personified human passions. When publishing his essay on the "Art of Political Lying", Swift was trying to "transfer the nation's allegiance from a military junto to a responsible civil government"[32]. In the vison he addressed not only the moral justification of signing a peace treaty with France, but also exposed the Faction Party's lapses in a more complex way. Swift's manoeuvres in defending both current political decisions as well as creating a positive image of the Tory Party, display nothing less than prolific symbolic imagination.

From the perspective of the history of literature, Swift's essays may be considered an example of linking fiction and non-fiction writing, which creates the grounds on which one can acknowledge the periodical essay as one of the genres contributing to the emergence of the novel. The depiction of Marlborough as Man of Gold precisely reflects Swift's approach to writing with its grotesque, hyperbolic and ironical style, so clearly visible, among others, in his *Gulliver's Travels*. What is more, it is in his approach to writing that the key to understanding the rather simple

[30] C.D. Lein, *Rhetoric and Allegory in Swift's Examiner 14*, "Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900", Vol. 17, no. 3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (Summer, 1977), p. 416.
[31] Ch. A. Beaumont, *Swift's Use of the Bible*, Georgia 1965.
[32] Lein, p. 407.

and explicit allegory used in the essays actually lies. The lack of refinement and bitterly dry language, so characteristic of Swift, is clearly opposite to Addison's own methods and style[33]. Indeed, this may be proof of Swift's pragmatic approach to a significant shift that occurred in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century reading audience. It is estimated that in 1714, 45% man and 25% of women in London were literate[34]. Aware of the decline in education, Swift[35] might have reasonably simplified the message, making it very illustrative and, therefore, comprehensible to a wider audience[36].

On 27 November 1711, Swift's book *The Conduct of the Allies and of the Late Ministry in Beginning and Carrying on the Present War* was published. It is well known that Lord Bolingbroke helped Swift in its composition. Swift's fierce attack against the Churchills and his association of the outbreak of the war with their greed for wealth rather than the needs of the state reverberated throughout British society, not least because the book achieved tremendous success[37]. Such anti-war and anti-Whig propaganda helped achieve one of the political objectives of the Tory government, namely to end the war. Doubtlessly, *The Examiner* played its part in achieving this.

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[34] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century*, London 1997, p. 167-8.
[35] Swift remarked on the issue of less educated young generation in his *Essay on Modern Education*.
[36] Addison and Steele's scope was the same, the reasons for reaching wider audience differed (teaching manners and diverting from politics).
[37] With the sale of around 11.000 copies (Holmes 79).

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