

## CONTENTS

### *Acknowledgements* ix

Reading It Wrong: An Introduction	1
1 The Good Reader	23
2 The Christian Reader	40
3 The Classical Reader	67
4 The Literary Reader	98
5 Mind the Gap: Reading Topically	125
6 The Intimacy of Omission	144
7 Unlocking the Past	171
8 Out of Control	195
9 Messing with Readers	219
Afterword	246

*Notes* 251

*Index* 291

# Reading It Wrong

## AN INTRODUCTION

This [allegory] will puzzle the Commentators of the next Age, for even in ours we can hardly guess at it.

—*THE MEDLEY*, 27 NOVEMBER 1710

none but Fools can Laugh heartily without knowing whom they Laugh at.

—*THE FEMALE TATLER* 60, 23 NOVEMBER 1709

WHAT DID EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY readers really understand in what they read? What do we actually know about how the uniquely, frustratingly tricky forms of the period – the satires and coded fictions and allegorical tales and pamphlets and sociable verse – landed in their own time? *Reading it Wrong* explores the role of imperfect readers and misreading in early eighteenth-century literary culture. It looks at literature from the point of view of readers who got it wrong, rather than those who got it right, showing that Augustan literary texts were both hampered and enabled by games of knowing and not knowing. All the works considered here depended on the notion that many of their original historical readers would not have had full understanding: they are works which either attempted to address that fact, or play with their imperfect readerly landings.

This is also a book about modern-day failings. It does not lament the relative paucity of knowledge in contemporary readers – that plaintive cry of so many critics and educators.<sup>1</sup> I am interested instead in the ways in which our own modern discipline and its investment in enlightenment and expertise hinders the recognition of ignorance, muddle, or incompetence. A critical and pedagogical focus on ‘right reading’ can make us peculiarly blind as modern readers to the existence, role, and benefit of reading wrong.

## Historical Contexts

I start from two linked but not often coupled aspects of early eighteenth-century literary culture. The first is the widely recognized reality that the turn of the eighteenth century sees a step change in the evolution of print culture: there is a surge in the numbers and kinds of books available, a crafting of new genres and forms of writing for new kinds of readers. We see this across the board: in the availability of classical works in translation; in the packaging of information and expertise in forms designed to appeal to the amateur reader, one who might not bring a university education or cultural or linguistic fluency with them. This is also, crucially, the era that invented generalist literary criticism. In many studies of the period, such development is commonly described as a socioeconomic progress narrative. It is a story about inclusion and new forms of writing, the culture of the coffee house, or the creation of the bourgeois public sphere, and the opening up of print culture to women writers and women readers, as well as to labouring class writers and their admirers.<sup>2</sup> This changing dynamic between readers, authors, and print can be traced back into the mid-seventeenth century. In 1642, the Church of England clergyman and poet Roger Cocks wrote that: ‘Pamphlets, like wild geese, fly up and downe in flocks about the Country. Never was more writing, or lesse matter [. . .] *There is no end of making many books*.’<sup>3</sup> He was commenting on the proliferation of printed opinion surrounding the English Revolution, a political crisis which unleashed voices and words on a scale hitherto unseen in English

culture. While the number of publications died down after the immediate heat of the civil war debates, the busy culture of printed political dialogue and opinionizing that it had generated was there to stay. Changes to the legal framework of publishing with the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 drove up publication rates, as the number of printers and publishers was uncapped, and restrictions on imported books went unenforced.<sup>4</sup> A growing and hungry market for printed books created a demand for new authors and new forms of writing.

All these changes meant that the world of print looked profoundly different in the early eighteenth century to the way it had less than a century before. One historian claims that the numbers of items in print increased by a factor of ten after 1640, from an average of 300,000 volumes a year from 1576 to 1640 to two million or more between 1640 and 1660.<sup>5</sup> Another notes that there are records of 848 published titles from 1640; just two years later, this had more than quadrupled to 3,666.<sup>6</sup> There was a rise of 270 per cent in titles between 1641 and 1660. We can discern the appetite for debate and current affairs in the evolution of the newspaper. In 1641, the first newspaper trading in English domestic news appeared – less than three years later there were twelve. The rise continued over the course of the civil war period.

As the practice of writing moved away from aristocratic patronage and towards a busier, more populous, and often anonymous print marketplace, it created opportunities, but also profound anxiety – an anxiety resonant of the early twenty-first-century rise of digital culture. It has become normal to compare the advent of the internet with the invention of the printing press, but we might better make the comparison between the online media shift and the commercialization and expansion of print in the early eighteenth century. Both periods of innovation have posed challenges to users and legislators over the authority of the printed word and its credibility. Generic innovation, an uncertainty about the ownership of content, and the role of anonymity are features of digital and of early commercial print circulation. What's more, an uncertainty about how to write for an unknowable and unpredictable mass audience, and the problems created by what we now call 'context

collapse' are features of both eras, and they have shaped the terms of writing and engagement in some strikingly parallel ways.

The changes in consumption of the early eighteenth century were not confined to a rise in print volume or the derestriction of certain kinds of material. The seventeenth and early eighteenth century also witnessed a rise in the number of potential readers in the nation. By the end of the Stuart period, the English had achieved a level of literacy unknown in the past and unmatched elsewhere in early modern Europe.<sup>7</sup> The evidence of historical literacy is complex – many could read but not write, and so using signatures to evidence competence is tricky. Literacy also varied enormously according to social class and geography. The historian David Cressy has shown that overall literacy rates for men during the 1640s were 30 per cent, rising to 58 per cent by the 1740s. For women, the corresponding dates show a rise from 10 per cent to 32 per cent.<sup>8</sup> As this suggests, there was a steady rise in literacy, and the growth was stronger among women. The population was growing too. In 1696, the population of England was 5,118,000 – by 1756 it was 6,149,000.<sup>9</sup> There were more people and there was more money to spend: British GDP rose by approximately 246 per cent (compared with 80 per cent in continental Europe). Correlating the rise in literacy with population growth, and an upward trend in disposable income reveals the remarkable growth of the English reading public over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> In 1700, the English reading public aged fifteen and above was about 1,267,000. By 1756, it was more like 1,894,000.<sup>11</sup> And all those people had better and better ways of accessing books – the improvement of transport networks across the country, the development of the Post Office, and the role of coffee houses and, later, libraries were all crucial to the growth of readers and reading in this period.

## Forms of Confusion

The second historical phenomenon of the period that is crucial to its culture of misunderstanding is the peculiar flourishing of densely referential literary forms that relied on reader interaction. The proliferation

of ironic, coded, and allegorical works – of satirical forms dependent on shared understandings of subtext – means that rarely in the history of English literature has there been a body of texts so dependent on readerly interpretation to achieve an authorial vision. And rarely has there been a readership both in a dramatic state of flux and newly encouraged to interpret imaginative writing on their own terms. So what did these new and diverse readers find in front of them? One of the distinctive features of many works of the period is the hiding of names, places, and identities through a variety of textual and typographical features that signal almost instantly the clandestine or concealed nature of the text's meaning. Pages were pockmarked with half-written words and names, sometimes indicated through an initial and final letter, sometimes only a dash or series of asterisks. The use of palpably fictitious names such as 'Myrmillo', 'Horoscope', or 'Celia' forced readers into interactive engagement, asking them to supplement the text with their own knowledge of the setting or figures involved. Fictional works signalled their allegorical nature from the preface on, usually without spelling out the exact nature of the allegory. Contemporaries mocked the way in which such veneers of subterfuge became a way of spicing up otherwise unremarkable content. *The Female Tatler* observes that the combination of knowing and not knowing the identity of a subject of gossip made the revelation all the more alluring:

it is very easy by giving them Ingenious Nick-Names, and pointing at something or other remarkable about them, to let every body that is not a Stranger to the Town, know whom you mean without naming them, or being very particular; and when thus the Picture is drawn to the Life, whatever is writ underneath must be true, when the Hints that must make 'em known, are finished, put upon them what Scandal you please, it will go for Current.<sup>12</sup>

Other writers claimed that the meanings were hidden but self-evident:

We have several Ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the Danger of the Law. First, we are careful never to print a Man's Name out at length; but as I do that of Mr St——: So that although

every Body alive knows whom I mean, the Plaintiff can have no Redress in any Court of Justice. Secondly, by putting Cases; Thirdly, by Insinuations; Fourthly, by celebrating the Actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the Persons we would reflect on; Fifthly, by Nicknames, either commonly known or stamp'd for the purpose, which every Body can tell how to apply.<sup>13</sup>

Print forms used typography not to clarify content but to obscure it. Here, for example is the title page to a 1704 verse satire entitled *The M——d C——b; or, the L——th. Consultation* (figure 1).<sup>14</sup> What on earth does this mean? It has no meaningful title, yet, although the key terms are blanked out, they do not appear to conceal names or seditious content: 'M——d' stands in for 'mitred', 'c——b' for club or cabal, and 'L——th' for Lambeth. The denial of disclosure is used to create an impression of controversial content rather than genuine protection of identity. There is no information about the author, nor publisher. Its two epigraphs tantalize with suggestions of treachery and vengeance but rely on some classical knowledge to achieve this. The first, famous quotation, 'Et tu Brute?', is Caesar's line to Brutus on realizing his betrayal, while the second quotation, 'Acheronta Movebo', comes from Book VII of Virgil's *Aeneid*: 'flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo' ('if Heaven I cannot bend, then Hell I will arouse').<sup>15</sup> It is a form of paratext, which, like so much of the literature of the period, demands a lot of its readers at the point of entry. The pages which follow sustain this playful withholding of meaning with repeated references to 'm——d' bishops and 'L——th'. And they also supplement it with a scattering of blanks to disguise names:

Can W——r tell with Prophetick Vein,  
When'er he'll be L——d Almoner again?  
Can Gl——r, Br——l, Zealous O——rd know  
The happy Time when they shall not be so.<sup>16</sup>

*The M——d C——b* is a satire relating to a very specific political issue, in this case debates over religious conformity during the early years of Queen Anne's reign. It uses occluded words and names as a way

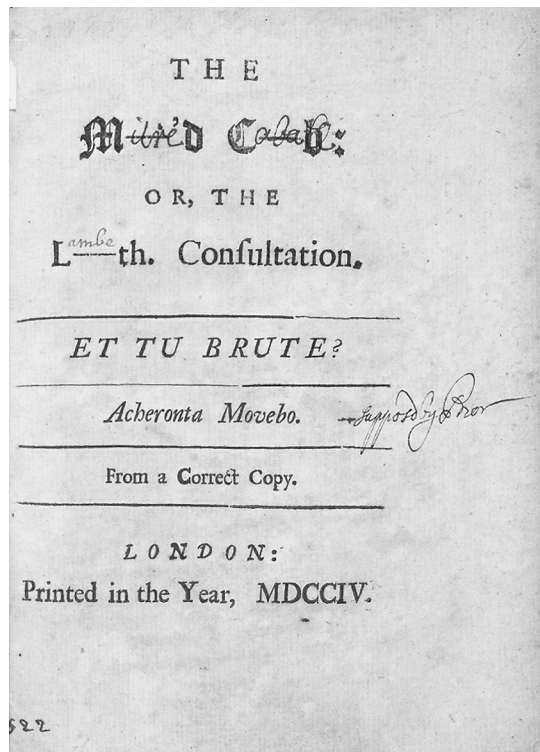


FIGURE 1. *The M—'d C—b: Or, The L—th. Consultation* (London, 1704), title page. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles, \*PR.3291.M682.

of signalling politically risky content and creating an interactive game for its readers, who are forced to complete identities in order to make meaning from the semi-complete text. Such ludic strategies are also used in very different kinds of works. *A Pipe of Tobacco: In Imitation of Six Several Authors*, a 1736 poem by Isaac Hawkins Browne, is a comic exercise in pastiche in which Hawkins Browne imitates six contemporary authors, attempting to hymn the virtues of a tobacco pipe with all the stylistic parody and bathos that that entails.<sup>17</sup> The imitated authors are not anywhere named in the text, so it is left to the reader to firstly work out the intended subject, and secondly, how the resulting imitation relates to their previously published work. One annotated



copy in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library helpfully provides the identities of the six: Colley Cibber, Ambrose Philips, James Thomson, Edward Young, Alexander Pope, and Jonathan Swift.<sup>18</sup> The reader's literary knowledge is gratified (or not) by the identification of the imitated authors, and the joke only works if those identifications are made.

Different again is a work such as the Welsh poet Jane Brereton's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1744), a collection of occasional verses 'written for the amusement of the author, and three or four select friends.'<sup>19</sup> This collection of sociable verse declares its origins in Brereton's local Wrexham social circle, and the content is heavily autobiographical. According to the preface, the poems were not designed for publication: 'only a few can be said to be prepared for Publication, as they were to make their Appearance in a feigned Name'. The contents of the volume both grant the reader access to the genteel friendship group, and withhold it. There are poems such as 'Epistle to Mrs Anne Griffiths', 'On seeing Mrs Eliz. Owen, now Lady Longueville, in an embroider'd Suit, all her own Work', and 'On Mrs Sybil Egerton's singing an Anthem in Wrexham Church' which clearly allude to episodes from the local life of the author. Alongside these there are titles which obscure identity, but which also allow those identities to be easily guessed: 'To J—n M—r, Esq'; 'To Miss W—ms, Maid of Honour to the late Queen'; 'To Mr Y—ke'. Here the interactive game of the presentation seems designed to create an impression of special access to a private world of a friendship group.

Yet at the same time as these forms of occluded meaning proliferated, authors also mocked their contemporaries for being absurdly suspicious. They laughed at their attempts to unpick the words in front of them, and charged them with galloping away with their ingenious hermeneutics, turning the most ordinary words and phrases into hidden codes. In *Gulliver's Travels* we hear of a particular type of reader who is

very dextrous in finding out the mysterious meanings of Words, Syllables and Letters. For Instance, they can decypher a Close-stool to signify a Privy Council, a Flock of Geese, a Senate, a lame Dog an

Invader [. . .] When this Method fails, they have two others more effectual which the Learned among them call Acrosticks and Anagrams. *First* they can decipher all initial Letters into political Meanings. Thus *N.* shall signify a Plot, *B.* a Regiment of Horse, *L.* a Fleet at Sea. Or *secondly* by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet in any suspected Paper, they can lay open the deepest Designs of a discontented Party. So, for Example, if I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother Tom hath just got the Piles*, a Man of Skill in this Art would discover how the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist*;—*a Plot is brought home, The Tour.* And this is the Anagrammatick Method.<sup>20</sup>

It was all very well for Swift to mock these kinds of over-elaborate interpretations, but slightly ironic in the context of his own works, which continue to test our abilities to discern their purpose and topical focus. What is, for example, Swift's real aim in *Gulliver's Travels*? The fact that there are well-developed schools of 'hard' and 'soft' interpretations of the final book shows little consensus on the overall meaning of the text, while *A Tale of a Tub*, a satire in defence of the Anglican church, was read in its own time either as an endorsement of religious heterodoxy, or as being a game with no clear purpose.<sup>21</sup>

All the examples discussed above represent creative forms which needed decoding, which were dependent on shared forms of knowledge, on shared interpretative strategies. In his essay 'What is the History of Books Revisited', Robert Darnton observed that 'of the many kinds of reading that developed in early modern Europe, one that I think deserves special attention is reading as game-playing. You find it everywhere, in libels, novels, and literary reviews, which constantly invite the reader to penetrate into secrets hidden between the lines or beneath the text.'<sup>22</sup> Yet, as suggested above, such forms emerged at a moment at which the game itself was changing, in which shared bonds and understandings were under pressure.

This book explores what happens when tricky books collided with a transformed marketplace and a changing readership eager to engage

with literary texts. It shows how a combination of hyper-referentiality and a shifting dynamic between authors and readers created a particularly acute sense of puzzlement and confusion around the meaning of books and who ought to be able to read them. We don't often stop and wonder what effect these changing points of access and conditions of reading had on readerly competence, on the contracts between author and reader, and on the texts produced. Yet such shifts in print culture and readership are crucially related to the nature of reading and perceptions of reading, and this in turn fed the literature of the period. The history of reading, as well as the evidence of copies of books and of individual reader responses, offers us ways into better understanding how this all played out. *Reading It Wrong* draws on eighteenth-century discussions of the challenges of reading and interpretation, examining how readers were advised to negotiate partial comprehension, looking across the fields of scriptural, historical, and aesthetic understanding. Through a series of examples, we can see the impact that imperfect reading had on the literary works of the time. Rather than seeing the densely allusive and often *recherché* texts of the eighteenth century as a closed circuit of communication which we have to try to tap into, we might instead recognize the degree to which the literature of this period flourished in a climate of partial comprehension and a playful confusion of meaning. Many of the major works of the period depended on the fact that their readers wouldn't know all the answers. Some, like Pope's *Dunciad*, derived their satirical energy from such partial comprehensibility. That poem is not based on a readership that knows everything. Rather, it is dependent on a more flawed and intellectually vulnerable audience, one that has been trained to feel wrongfooted. Other works, like the social verse of the period, used their readers' partial knowledge of particular individuals and contexts to build a sense of exclusivity, or intimacy.

The critical neglect of this cloud of unknowing is partly a product of disciplinary and professional bias towards right reading. In our critical focus as editors, critics, and teachers focusing on correct or good interpretation, we haven't been able to recognize the many ways in which misreading is productive – it is generative of argument, intimacy, and

social cohesion. Our dominant models for thinking about ignorance – shame and silence – equip us poorly for framing partial understanding or misunderstanding in positive ways. The existence of a complex and mixed model of reading and readerly inclusion does not sit well with the ways we teach, edit, and describe this period, all of which, for different reasons, tend towards hypothesized notions of an ideal reader. In thinking again about the role of misunderstanding in the literary culture of the period we can start to move beyond assumptions about paradigmatic ideal readers who have tended to dominate accounts of the period, and instead see the historical, social, and creative value of imperfect reading. We can also move beyond a crude distinction between elite and non-elite readers: as this book shows, the culture of partial knowing was widespread, complex, and not solely determined by class and income.

## Evidence

The material and anecdotal evidence of reading in the early eighteenth century shows us a complex picture of reception. Marginalia on eighteenth-century texts demonstrates that Augustan literary forms generated multiple forms of engagement. Most of the time we don't know the identities of individual annotators and can only guess at what their marks (or absence of marks) mean. But the collation of anonymous multiple marginal responses to works of the period display a proliferation of interpretation and a lack of consensus over the 'right' meaning. One detailed study of 149 different copies and all the various printed keys of Dryden's satirical mock Biblical poem *Absalom and Achitophel* shows that there were almost as many different readings of some individual characters in the mock biblical satire as there were annotated copies.<sup>23</sup> And within this sea of guesswork there were some readers who had only a very partial grip of the figures and places referenced in the allegory: one copy of Dryden's poem, in the library at Townend farm in Cumbria, has only five names identified on its pages.<sup>24</sup> My small-scale comparisons of Samuel Garth's *Dispensary*, or Pope's *Dunciad*, or Delarivière Manley's *The New Atalantis*, confirm a pattern of varied, partial,

and inconsistent application – contemporary readers entertained a much wider range of referentiality than we acknowledge on paper or in teaching.<sup>25</sup> The material evidence of individual annotators of poems with blanked out or fictional names shows that very few readers were able to complete all the hidden identities in a poem.

Letters and diaries offer further evidence of the mixed reception of new works. There is frequently a sense of bewilderment at texts that we now accept as part of the literary innovation of the period. A member of the Ottley family, relaying a first encounter with Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, was both impressed and confounded by what he read in his four-volume edition:

In these tracts are the strangest facts related that ever enter'd the Brain of man to forge, & the Alphabet as strangely distorted in feigned languages and inexpressible words; in short the whole is so unaccountably odd, yet wrote with a great deal of learning, & surprising Genius.<sup>26</sup>

On her first dealings with John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, the diarist Gertrude Savile spluttered that 'it was impossible to expect anything so odd and out of the way', while the trainee lawyer Dudley Ryder commented of Gay's earlier satirical play *The What D'Ye Call It*, 'It is thought he had some design to reflect upon some authors by it, but to me it seems as if he had no design at all but to write something very new and out of the way'.<sup>27</sup> And here is the Swiss theologian Jean Le Clerc talking about Jonathan Swift's prose satire, *The Tale of a Tub*: 'an odd game . . . goes on throughout the book, where we often do not know whether the author is making fun or not, nor of whom, nor what his intention is'.<sup>28</sup> This uncertainty was not just the preserve of those at a distance from the author. Jonathan Swift wrote to his close friend and collaborator Alexander Pope in July 1728 on reading an early printed version of the *Dunciad*: 'I have long observ'd that twenty miles from London no body understands hints, initial letters, or town-facts and passages; and in a few years not even those who live in London'.<sup>29</sup> He wrote to John Gay about his *Beggar's Opera*, 'I did not understand that the Scene of Locket and Peachum's quarrels was an imitation of one between Brutus and

Cassius till I was told it'.<sup>30</sup> John Arbuthnot wrote to Swift discussing *Gulliver's Travels*: 'Lewis [close friend and political ally] Grumbles a little at it & says he wants the Key to it'.<sup>31</sup> And having got themselves an explanatory key to a work, early readers were not necessarily sure what *that* meant: 'His Excellency our Governour Burnet has also obliged me with the *Dunciad*, and a Key to it: But whither the Key be written by a Friend or an Enemy I found something difficult to determine'.<sup>32</sup>

Across all the examples discussed in this book, acts of misunderstanding are found among very different types of readers. Sometimes misreading seems to be related to access to knowledge, and to class and gender, as, for example, in the Somerset writing master John Cannon's transcriptions of Latin he did not understand, or Ann Wolferstan's seemingly irrelevant listing of classical rulers in her edition of Juvenal. And sometimes it appears unconnected to social status: those we might expect to know the answers just didn't, like the figures at the political heart of Queen Anne's reign who were unable to unpick Delariviere Manley's recently published *New Atalantis*. And sometimes readers just had a strange sense of how best to understand things: the customs officer William Musgrave amassed pointless arcane biographical and genealogical detail in order to gloss secret histories of the early eighteenth century.

Two things are worth clarifying at this point: *Reading It Wrong* uncovers many different modes of reader engagement, from ignorance to wilful misinterpretation to uncertainty and muddle. There is an important distinction to be made between deliberate and accidental misreading, between having no answer to a puzzle, and having one different to that intended by the author. However, what all these modes have in common is that they are imperfect responses, and not part of a history of good historical reading with which we have become more familiar. And the second point is that while the transformation of print culture and the expansion of readership in the early eighteenth century clearly opened up many newly challenging textual encounters, it is not possible to describe misreading as a product of a single set of circumstances. It is, however, possible to see that much of the literature of the early eighteenth century created, depended upon, and suffered from acts of imperfect reading and interpretative confusion.

As the quotations and examples above suggest, there is much evidence of imperfect reading in this period: anecdotal evidence, material evidence of annotation, and history of reception. But it is important also to acknowledge the challenges posed by the evidence. As lots of critics have observed, the history of reading is generally the history of writing, of using textual marks to piece together something that is by its very nature impossible to capture. The commonest marking on a page is no marking. Or pen trials. We have to work quite hard to reconstruct reading habits from the slim evidence base of used books and pages. Does marginal annotation represent what readers did know, or didn't know? Sometimes it seems to indicate an absence of knowledge. For example, the National Art Library's copy of Jonathan Swift's edition of Pope's *Dunciad* contains a few markings by Swift (or perhaps Thomas Sheridan, who later owned it), but what was it that they registered on those pages about the Scriblerian masterwork?<sup>33</sup> The volume has got two annotations: next to the line 'Something betwixt a H\*\*\* and Owl' a handwritten note identifies H\*\*\* as 'Heydegger', clarifying that the opera manager Johann Heidegger is the intended recipient of this slur. And next to the line 'Sore sighs Sir G\*\*\*' they have written 'Sir Gilbert Heathcoat', referring to the merchant and Whig politician. Heidegger and Heathcote were definitely not the only identities that either reader would have spotted in Pope's poem. It's much more likely that they were the ones they didn't get, and later found out. Another copy of the 1743 *Dunciad* only has one annotation, next to the line 'Behold yon Pair, in strict embraces join'd', which the reader has marked as 'Tom Burnet and Col Ducket'.<sup>34</sup> Why does this impossibly difficult work have only one annotation? Was this a reference that eluded the original reader? It may be that marginal glosses used to identify figures and references tell us more about an absence of comprehension than they do about what readers did know. But what seems more common is that early modern readers do not often use their marks to indicate a lack of comprehension – they are much more likely to mark a book with supplementary information or correction. So they might write the name of an author on the title page of a pamphlet of anonymous satire, and

summarize its contents below, as in the case of a copy of Defoe's *Shortest-Way with the Dissenters* whose title page bears the note 'Madam, this villainous tract was written by Daniel De Foe, a furious scribbler for the Whiggs with a wicked design to Blacken.'<sup>35</sup> Or they filled in the blanks in a printed page even when the meaning was absolutely clear and in no need of clarification: a copy of a work entitled *A Pair of Spectacles for Oliver's Looking-Glass Maker* (1711; figure 2), probably owned by the historian and collector Narcissus Luttrell, shows him busily filling in all the omitted letters from words which were completely uncontroversial and obvious, such as 'H——e of L——ds' or 'D' for (Duke) and 'K' (King).<sup>36</sup> Or, in a state of uncertainty over a precise identification, they list the possibilities: one owner of a copy of Pope's *Epistle to Bathurst* (figure 3) noted that 'old Cato' was 'Sir Edward Hungerford' while another later annotator added 'or Sir Edward Seymour Bart'.<sup>37</sup>

Other readers acted like amateur textual critics, comparing different versions of a work and transcribing variants, as the Hardman family did with their 1733 copy of Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*.<sup>38</sup> Copies of works are commonly marked up with their owners' observations on printing errors and misquotes, misattributions, or cross references with other reading. The owner of *Rocks and Shallows Discovered: Or, the Ass kicking at the Lyons in the Tower*, writes at the end of the pamphlet: 'Thanks to my Patience, I am at last arrived to the *last* page of his Discourse, where the Author being sensible of drawing near his End, does not justify, but *freely acknowledges* all his *Mistakes*'. They complain next to a particular passage: 'these 2 words clashing so soon together & all ye Nonsense in this Pamphlet is in Imitation of the Author in his Discourses'.<sup>39</sup> The annotator of an edition of Jacob Tonson's *Miscellanies* uses their notes to attribute verses to unnamed authors, and to copy in supplementary verses to create a fuller collection.<sup>40</sup> A reader named William Fletcher uses his comments on a copy of *Aesop's Fables* to correct the verse to make it scan more smoothly, commenting in the margins 'trochaic verse' and 'anapestic'. On one page, next to a correction of the translation is written 'a mistake deserving correction'.<sup>41</sup> The owner of a copy of Pope's *Works* evidently decided to use their marginal space



( 38 )  
vention; as the King's sending the *Earl*  
of *Nottingham* to the *House* of *Lords*, to  
tell *Count Colossus* his Majesty had no farther  
occasion for his Service; and then sending  
for the *Duke* of *Leeds*, and asking him  
what they were doing there, and whether  
the *Earl* of *Nottingham* had not told the  
Reason why the *Count* was turn'd out? The  
*Earl*'s not telling that Reason, when  
he was order'd so to do; The *King*'s  
sending back the *Duke* to tell that  
Reason; Here is posting forward and  
backward from *Kingston* to *Wether*, and  
from *Wether* to *Kingston*, as if it had  
been to prevent some imminent Danger,  
and all to no purpose, for *Colossus* might  
have been laid aside without all that Hurry  
and Ceremony, and then your Story  
would have been a Secret; but to say he  
was discharg'd in the *House* of *Lords*,  
and all that *House* told the Reason, and  
then to call this a Secret, is certainly very  
preposterous, since what is publicly  
transacted in that House, is never pretended  
to be Secret, but generally discours'd all  
about the City before Night. Then your  
Dialogues between the *King* and the  
*Duke*, and the same *Duke* and *Colossus*,  
are such Pieces as will never make for the  
Reputation of those great Persons; and  
particularly the *Duke*'s last Words to *Co-*  
*lossus*, which you tell us were, *But by God*  
*my Lord; for all this, either the King or you*

FIGURE 2. A Pair of Spectacles for Oliver's Looking-Glass Maker (London: J. Baker, 1711), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, College Pamphlets 906 9, p. 38.

to set Pope right about his claims for the superiority of classical languages over English: where Pope had written that Greek and Latin 'became universal and everlasting while ours [is] extremely limited both in extent and duration' the annotator comments 'but neither is used in

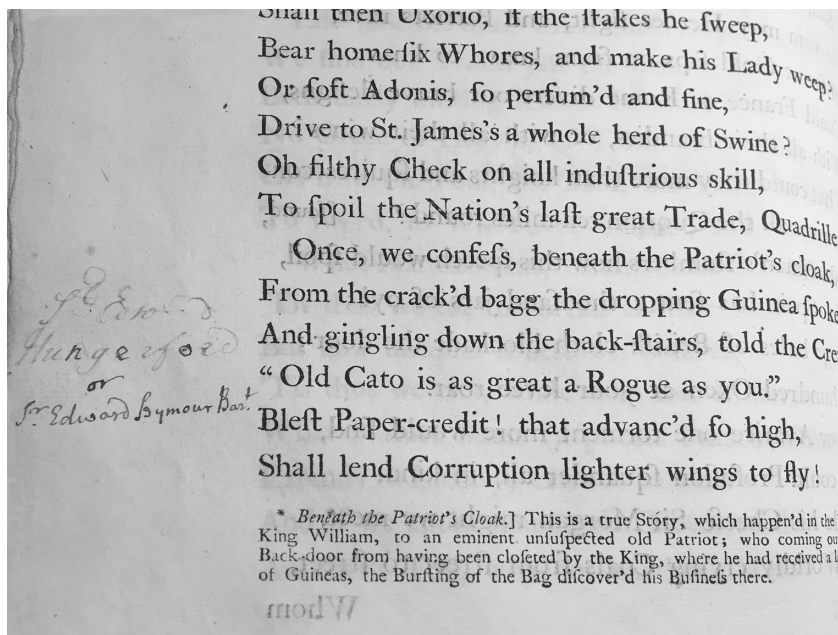


FIGURE 3. Alexander Pope, *Of the Use of Riches, An Epistle To the Right Honourable Allen Lord Bathurst* (London: J. Wright, 1732 [1733]), British Library, C.59.h.9.(4.), p. 4.

any Nation nor Living in any one except by Grammars & Dictionaries: which omit the Pronunciation.<sup>42</sup> A woman identifying herself as 'Eliz Robinson Jun.' marked her copy of *The Grove; or a Collection of Original Poems* (1721) only very slightly, making a correction to the translation in Lewis Theobald's translation of the Greek poet Musaeus's *Hero and Leander*, 'Her *æsie* lilly Fingers with dumb Transport prest', and 'snatch'd her *æsie* lilly hand away'.<sup>43</sup>

We can also find evidence of readers who complete missing information, and as they do so, they replicate the same habits of omission in their annotations that they found in the printed original. An anonymous reader of John Dryden's 1680 comedy *Mr Limberham: or the Kind Keeper* clearly understands that the reference to 'Fleckno' in the dedication refers to the playwright Thomas Shadwell, and in the margin writes 'alias Sh—well'.<sup>44</sup> From whom are they hiding this disclosure, and why do they feel the need to hide it? Perhaps the habits of concealment and

indirection so prevalent in the literature of the time rubbed off on readers in ways that don't necessarily make logical sense now. It is hard to characterize all these discrete interventions collectively, but as an overall picture, it is easier to find readerly self-assertion than readerly doubt. However little they knew, eighteenth-century readers often wanted to show they knew it.<sup>45</sup>

Letters and diaries show a similar pattern – readers don't tend to show off their ignorance. The Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner left multiple volumes of detailed diaries, tracking his reading habits and his responses to individual texts. He was reading some sophisticated works and he was not a sophisticated man.<sup>46</sup> His evaluative comments give insights into the ways in which he understood major works, and he frequently offers up his own judgements on the books he has encountered. Across the five volumes of diaries we learn what he made of works ranging from the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* to *Paradise Lost*, to Richardson's *Clarissa* and Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Lear*. It is intriguing that Turner only very rarely says that he has not understood what he is reading, that it is beyond him, or that he has misinterpreted it: 'Tho. Davy supped with us and stayed near 3 hours with us. I also read Bally's poem on the wisdom of the Supreme Being, which I think is a very sublime piece of poetry and almost too much so for my mean capacity. But as I find the author's views are good, I do, as I am bound in duty, like it very much.'<sup>47</sup> 'Read part of Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, which I find to be a very abstruse book.'<sup>48</sup> We might also note here the way in which appreciation is not dependent on full comprehension: George Bally's poem is approved of because its author's views are approved of, despite the fact that Turner isn't quite sure he understands it.

The diaries of other non-elite readers are similarly unforthcoming on the problems of understanding. John Cannon, a self-taught ploughboy and shepherd turned scribe and notary living in the Somerset levels in the first decades of the eighteenth century was a wide reader.<sup>49</sup> With minimal formal education, he cannot have grasped all the allusions and classical tags in the contemporary satires and literary works that he cites, but nowhere does he state this, or register any doubt about his

interpretative abilities. This habit of omission may be particular to the aspirant reader: in the letters of elite readers we tend to find more examples of uncertainty. There is also a gendered element to the admission of ignorance – eighteenth-century women's correspondence often reveals an anxiety about a lack of knowledge or understanding, particularly of scholarly or theological subjects. But it is worth bearing in mind that we may be looking for signs of habits and responses that readers were reluctant to commit to paper.

### Understanding Misunderstanding

If we accept that, despite these evidentiary challenges, readerly incomprehension was a widespread phenomenon in the early eighteenth century, we might wonder how it was understood in its own time. Contemporary explanations for the gap between authorial intention and readerly understanding were varied. As we have seen, *The Female Tatler* declares that cloaked references were comprehensible to 'every body that is not a Stranger to the Town.' This idea that country readers, or those outside a particular metropolitan social group, were those most likely to struggle with occluded meaning is also evident in the prefaces to allegorical works and secret histories, which commonly blamed the interpretative lack in readers on geographical location. The preface to *The court-Spy; Or, Memoirs of St J-M-S'S* (1744) observed that:

Some *Country* Readers, indeed, may be at a loss to explain the *Characters*, introduc'd in the Place of those *Names* that were in the Original; which, for certain very *important* Reasons, he did not chuse to publish.<sup>50</sup>

Other texts were prefaced with material suggesting that doubt over their meaning might be cleared up through consultation with others: they are suggestive of a world of sociable exchange of information that the reader might need to engage with in order to access meaning. *The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of*

*Grandinsula* (1710), for instance, a thinly fictionalized account of the change of ministry under Queen Anne, contains a ‘Word to the Reader’:

If upon the Perusal of the Title-page you find your self 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.<sup>51</sup>

It’s worth considering that although many of the dominant historiographical narratives of this period have focused on the ways in which spheres of knowledge and understanding were opening up through the democratization of literature, or the spread of enlightenment values, this was also a literary culture in which muddle and uncertainty were at the heart of the reading experience. And that context was in itself generative of much of the literature of the period. We can see this both in the proliferation of forms of print designed to demystify the acts of interpretation and meaning-making, either through generalist literary criticism or keys to satirical works. And we also see it in literary forms which played with readerly comprehension, from the tantalizing references to coterie circles of sociable verse, to the ironies of works such as *Tale of a Tub* or the *Dunciad*, to the blanks, asterisks, and allegories of countless poems, fictions, and prose pamphlets of the era. These texts were built to encourage readerly misunderstanding as much as their authors were frustrated by it. They often depended on a readership that didn’t or couldn’t know all the answers. As this book shows, the response of contemporary readers shows very varied forms of engagement and comprehension. In the flourishing of misunderstanding or uncertainty in this period we find positives. A shared sense of not understanding among readers could be a form of community building.<sup>52</sup> It also seems clear that the act of encouraging readerly confusion or incomprehension was a desired effect in many literary contexts, helping to support a sense of a coterie, or an argument about cultural decline. Rather than seeing incomprehension as a form of failure, we could also recognize it as a generative force, producing new works, new editions, and new forms of engagement. In examining the reading histories of texts which are neither time transcendent nor universally understood

in their own time, we gain transformative, historically nuanced insights into the big questions of literary history: meaning-making, intention, interpretation, access. This book puts the evidence of the printed reception of literary texts alongside the archival evidence of their material form and the marks made by their early readers to open up a lost history of misunderstanding.

The book falls into two halves. The first part explores the changing nature of readerly expertise and the intellectual contexts that have shaped how we think about misunderstanding. We begin with the present moment, and the way literary criticism, pedagogy, and editorial practice have positioned ideas of the ‘good reader’. The second chapter examines perhaps the most universal form of reading in the eighteenth-century – religious and biblical reading. The notion of ‘sola scriptura’, that the good Protestant reader could find salvation through the Bible alone, placed enormous pressure on the individual to work out God’s meanings. In an era of increasing textual democratization, scriptural decoding and unlocking offered an influential model for interpretation. In the third chapter we encounter the nature of access and expertise in classical knowledge, looking at how neoclassical in-jokes worked for the many eighteenth-century readers with mixed literacy in ancient languages. What did it mean to be an expert – what did it mean to be a good reader in the context of profound debates about the Ancients and Moderns and how to interpret words of the past? The fourth chapter takes us to the matter of literary criticism, and the move towards amateur, generalist, and polite appreciation of literary works enabled by contemporary periodicals and other print publications. Each one of these historical sections illustrates a profound shift in ideas about where knowledge comes from, who owns it, and how it might be used. Together they form an essential bedrock for thinking about how understanding and misunderstanding operate in the literature of the period.

The second half of the book explores the consequences of the culture of misunderstanding and misreading for literary texts. Chapter 5 explores the interactive puzzles of topical political satire, and the evidence of historical readers who can show us how the interpretative games of elusive verse forms might have played out in practice. Chapter 6 focuses

on the various ways hidden or allusive meaning was used to create intimacy and exclusivity in the social verse of the period. Chapter 7 examines the use of code, allegory, and the key in the popular scandal narratives of the period, and what this meant for matters of authorial responsibility and interpretative authority. And what about when all this went wrong? Chapter 8 shows what could happen when a book landed disastrously and was read in ways that were damaging to its author. In the concluding chapter we arrive at Pope's *Dunciad*, perhaps the high-water mark of playfully obscure satire in this period. Reading that mock-heroic poem in the context of so many forms of reading it wrong, we see we are all Pope's dunces.

## INDEX

- Absalom and Achitophel* (Dryden), 11, 136  
Act of Succession, 214  
Acts, Bible book of, 61  
Addison, Joseph, 32; literary reader and, 100–101, 112–15, 119–24; polite culture and, 119–24; scandal narratives and, 180; *Spectator* and, 31, 112, 115, 119–22, 180; topical political satire and, 142; Whig Kit-Cat club and, 113  
*Address to the Honorable City of London . . . concerning their Choice of a New Parliament, An* (Luttrell), 136  
*Adventures of Rivella, The* (Manley), 188  
“Adversaria” (Blundell), 48  
*Aeneid* (Virgil), 143, 222, 241  
*Aesop’s Fables*, 15  
Akenside, Mark, 99  
allegory: Christian reader and, 44, 56–58, 60, 63–64; classical reader and, 75, 94; code and, 1, 5, 22, 132, 176, 179; control issues and, 208; guesswork and, 1, 11; intimacy of omission and, 156–57, 166; literary reader and, 94, 98; misunderstanding and, 19–20; nature of, 5; scandal narratives and, 22, 171, 175–83, 187, 189–92; secrets and, 19, 171, 175–76, 179, 181, 187, 189; topical political satire and, 128, 132  
Allestree, Richard, 53–54  
ambiguity, 192, 203  
Ancient/Moderns debate: Battle of the Books and, 87–91, 221; classical reader and, 68, 85–94, 97; Epistles of Phalaris and, 88–90, 95; France and, 86; Renaissance humanism and, 86–87; transcendent vs. historical specific, 87  
*Anekdotia* (Procopius), 172  
Anglicans: Calvinists and, 55; Defoe and, 197–200, 203–4, 207–8; devotional texts of, 52; Hare and, 45; occasional conformity and, 198, 203–4; Sacheverell and, 157; Swift and, 9, 12, 20, 55, 63, 65, 94–95, 184; Test Act of 1673 and, 197; topical political satire and, 129  
annotation: Christian reader and, 49, 54–55, 62–64; classical reader and, 72, 76–77, 84–85, 92, 95; confusion and, 7, 236–38; control issues and, 205, 209; *Dunciad* and, 222–25, 234–45, 289n38; evidence and, 11–17; good reader and, 34–38; intimacy of omission and, 160, 163, 165; literary reader and, 99, 111; scandal narratives and, 185–89; *Tale of the Tub* and, 63, 261n82; topical political satire and, 129–43  
anonymity, 247–48; classical reader and, 74, 84; control issues and, 196, 198, 209–13, 285n49; *Dunciad* and, 225; evidence and, 11, 14, 17; good reader and, 39; historical context and, 3; interpretation and, 209–14; intimacy of omission and, 148–49, 158, 161; literary reader and, 105–6, 120, 122; scandal narratives and, 175, 181, 189; topical political satire and, 126, 135, 143  
*Answer to a Question that No Body Thinks of, viz, But What if the Queen Should Die?, An* (Defoe), 215–16



- Answer to the Great Noise about Nothing, An: or, a Noise about something* (Anonymous), 126
- Apostles, 48–49, 54
- Apparition, The* (Evans), 128–32, 270n10, 271n11
- appendices, 92, 94, 180, 221
- Arbuthnot, John, 13, 144, 183, 239
- Ariosto, 102
- Aristotle, 88, 101
- Art of English Poetry, The* (Bysshe), 107–12
- Athenian Mercury* (broadsheet): expertise and, 69–70, 103–8, 113, 119–20; literary criticism and, 103, 106; redaction and, 105–6; synthesis and, 105–6
- Athenian Oracle, The* (broadsheet), 103, 106
- audiences, 247; Christian reader and, 43, 46; classical reader and, 70; confusion and, 10; control issues and, 211–13; *Dunciad* and, 243; Gen Z, 248; good reader and, 31–33; historical context and, 3–4; intimacy of omission and, 159; literary reader and, 102, 115, 119, 122–23; scandal narratives and, 173
- Augustan period, 1, 247; Christian reader and, 55; classical reader and, 67–68, 79, 83–85; control issues and, 218; intimacy of omission and, 147, 155, 166; literary forms of, 11; literary reader and, 98, 123; scandal narratives and, 177; topical political satire and, 125, 132
- Augustine, Saint, 48
- Aureng-Zebe* (Dryden), 110–11
- Authorized Version of the Bible, 53
- Backscheider, Paula R., 164
- Bahktin, 32
- Baker, Geoff, 35
- Bally, George, 18
- Barnivelt, Esdras. *See* Pope, Alexander
- Bart, Edward Seymour, 15
- Battestin, Martin, 36–37
- Battle of the Books, 87–91, 221
- Beggar's Opera* (Gay), 12
- Beinecke Library, 63, 65, 140, 160
- Benson, William, 217
- Bentley, Richard: classics debate of, 88–96; good reader and, 36; Pope and, 221, 239; topical political satire and, 137
- Beresford, Alexander, 56
- Bernard, Richard, 73
- Bible, 165; Acts, 61; ancillary works on, 56–60; Apostles and, 48–49, 54; Authorized Version, 53; Blundell on, 47–51; Catholics and, 44, 49, 55; Christian reader and, 21, 40–66; classical reader and, 70, 77, 82–83; comprehension of, 40, 42, 46–66; confusion and, 62, 83, 125, 222; control issues and, 196; Dryden and, 11, 136; *Dunciad* and, 222; Ecclesiastes, 59; Ezekiel, 58, 83; First Corinthians, 50; Genesis, 60; Geneva printing of, 43, 54, 61; God and, 21, 40, 42–49, 53–60; Greek and, 47, 51; Hebrew and, 47; Hebrews, 54; Henry VIII and, 43; Holy Spirit and, 58; interpretation and, 41–48, 52–57, 60–66; Jesus Christ and, 45, 49, 58; Job, 58–59; John, 49; literary reader and, 105; Locke on, 40, 46–47, 56, 62; Lowth on, 45–46; marginalia and, 49–55, 61–64; Mark, 45; Matthew, 48–49, 58; New Testament, 47, 51, 53; Numbers, 53; opposition to, 43–44; parables and, 45, 58; paratextual materials and, 54–55; Pauline Epistles, 45–47; profound impact of, 41; Protestants and, 21, 41, 43–44, 47, 55; Queen Mary's ban of, 43; received text of, 44–45; Reformation and, 43; Revelation, 50; as revelation, 44–45; salvation and, 21, 41; satire and, 11, 42, 60, 63, 83, 222; scandal narratives and, 184; *sola Scriptura* and, 42; St. Paul and, 45–47; topical political satire and, 125; translation of, 43; truth of, 44–45, 57–60
- Birkett, George, 72, 78
- Blackmore, Richard, 137, 142
- Blackwell, Samuel, 56

- Blackwell, Thomas, 59
- Blake, William, 107
- blacked-out names: Christian reader and, 41; classical reader and, 84; confusion and, 6; control issues and, 196, 202; *Dunciad* and, 225, 230–32, 236; evidence and, 12, 15; intimacy of omission and, 151–52, 161; literary reader and, 116, 120; misunderstanding and, 20; Pope and, 225, 230–32, 236; scandal narratives and, 183, 190; topical political satire and, 126, 128, 131–34, 137–40, 143
- Blindness and Insight* (de Man), 25
- Bloom, Harold, 24–25
- Blundell, William, 258n21; Catholicism and, 35, 47–48, 73–74; Christian reader and, 47–49, 51; classical reader and, 74; good reader and, 35
- Bodleian Library, 53, 130, 131, 152, 185, 226–27
- Boileau, Nicolas, 87, 133
- Book of Common Prayer, 52–53
- Boscawen, Frances, 244
- Boswell, James, 120
- Boyle, Charles, 88–91, 95–96, 137
- Boyle, Robert, 142
- Brayman Hackel, Heidi, 34, 256n35
- Brent, Charles, 60
- Brereton, Jane, 8, 164
- Breviary* (May), 74
- Brewer, David, 210
- Bridges, Ralph, 182
- Brief Explanation of a Late Pamphlet Entitled The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters, A* (Defoe), 203–4
- Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714, A* (Luttrell), 136
- British Recluse, The; or Secret History of Cleomira, Suppos'd Dead* (Haywood), 173
- British Recluse, The* (Haywood), 175
- Browne, Benjamin: Christian reader and, 53–54, 63, 260n74; classical reader and, 72, 78; literary reader and, 111–12, 123–24; topical political satire and, 125
- Browne, George, 148–49, 152, 157, 275n28
- Browne, Joseph, 187, 192, 203
- Buchanan, George, 162
- Buckingham, George, 184
- Burgess, Daniel, 129
- Burnet, Thomas, 14, 88, 217
- Byfield, Nicholas, 40, 50–52, 61
- Byles, Mather, 158
- Bynn, Anne, 171, 182–83
- Bysshe, Edward, 107–12, 124
- Calamy, Edmund, 43, 47, 56, 60
- Cale, John, 233–34
- Calvinists, 55, 63–64
- Cannon, John: background of, 18–19; classical reader and, 80–84; Latin and, 13
- Card, Ben, 259n37
- Cardiff University Library, 110, 122
- Carruthers, Robert, 152
- Caryll, John, 147–52, 219
- Catholic Poet, The* (Oldmixon), 155
- Catholics: Arabella, 144; Bible and, 44, 49, 55; Blundell, 35, 47–49, 73–74; Christian reader and, 44, 47–49, 55, 63; image worship of, 63; imposition of, 215–16; Jesuits, 172; as national religion, 215–16; Pope, 74, 148, 152, 155–57; Popish plot and, 172, 175; Protestant disputes and, 55
- Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety, The* (Allestree), 53–54
- Celebrated Beauties, The: Being an Heroick Poem, Made on the Colledge Green and Queen's Square Ladies*, 160
- Censor, The* (periodical), 74–75
- Chandler, Mary, 168–69
- Charles II, 132, 172
- Chetwode, Knightley, 166
- Chetwood, William Rufus, 231
- Christ Church College, 88–91

- Christian reader: allegory and, 44, 56–58, 60, 63–64; annotation and, 49, 54–55, 62–64; apocryphal works and, 40; Apostles and, 48–49, 54; audiences and, 43, 46; Augustan period and, 55; Bible and, 21, 40–66; blanked-out names and, 41; Blundell and, 47–49, 51; Book of Common Prayer and, 52–53; Browne and, 53–54, 63, 260n74; Catholics and, 44, 47–49, 55, 63; competence and, 41; comprehension and, 40, 42, 46–66; confusion and, 58, 64; consumption and, 44; context and, 40–41, 57, 59, 62–63, 66; *Dunciad* and, 55; evidence and, 49–52, 60–63; expertise and, 41, 44, 53, 57–58; footnotes and, 55; glosses and, 53, 55, 63; Greek and, 47, 51, 54; Holy Spirit and, 53, 58; interpretation and, 41–48, 52–57, 60–66; irony and, 41, 59–60; keys and, 43, 55–57, 60–64; literacy and, 40, 50–53; Locke and, 40, 46–47, 56, 62; marginalia and, 49–55, 61–64; meaning and, 42–47, 50, 56–66; metaphor and, 41, 44, 57–60; misreading and, 41, 55, 63–64; misunderstanding and, 42, 47, 55, 66; obscurity and, 41, 45–47, 51, 57; paratextual materials and, 54–55; philology and, 44; Pope and, 55; print solutions for, 54–60; Protestants and, 41–47, 55; satire and, 42, 60–66; secrets and, 58; Swift and, 55, 63–65
- Chronicles* (Cannon), 80–83
- Churchill, Charles, 37–38
- Churchill, Sarah, 187, 190
- Church of England, 2, 197–99
- Cibber, Colley, 8, 179, 239, 280n29
- civil war, 3, 74
- Clarissa* (Richardson), 18, 108
- classical reader: allegory and, 75, 94; Ancients/Moderns debate and, 68, 85–94, 97; annotation and, 72, 76–77, 84–85, 92, 95; anonymity and, 74, 84; Aristotle and, 88; audiences and, 70; Augustan period and, 67–68, 79, 83–85; Bentley and, 88–96; Bible and, 70, 77, 82–83; blanked-out names and, 84; Blundell and, 74; Boyle and, 88–91, 95–96; Browne and, 72, 78; Cannon and, 80–84; coffee houses and, 67, 70; competence and, 68, 71, 73, 79, 89, 91; comprehension and, 75, 83, 96; confusion and, 82, 86, 94; consumption and, 82; context and, 68, 72–77, 84–87, 95; Dryden and, 77–78; Epistles of Phalaris and, 88–90, 95; Erasmus and, 82; evidence and, 68, 73, 78–80, 86–90, 96; expertise and, 68, 85–93; *The Female Tatler* and, 67, 75; footnotes and, 92–95; gender and, 67–69, 73–78; glosses and, 78, 84, 92, 95; grammar and, 70–72, 82, 93; Greek and, 69, 74–75, 78–80, 89, 95, 102; guesswork and, 85; Homer and, 18, 87, 92, 102, 222, 237, 239, 241; Horace and, 18, 67, 72, 92–93, 102, 222, 239; ignorance and, 74, 76–77, 85; imagination and, 92; interpretation and, 70, 77–78, 86, 90–97; Juvenal and, 77–78, 84; keys and, 69; Latin and, 67–84, 95; literacy and, 68, 70, 76, 79; literary criticism and, 84, 95–96; Livy and, 88; Makin and, 70–73, 78; marginalia and, 73, 76, 95; meaning and, 85–87, 92–94; misreading and, 78, 85, 92–97; misunderstanding and, 86, 95; mocking pedants and, 93–97; obscurity and, 78; Ovid and, 67, 123–24; Persius and, 77, 84; philology and, 76, 86–94; Plato and, 88; Pope and, 74, 84–85, 92; printing and, 68–83; satire and, 68–69, 73–74, 77–79, 82–86, 92–95; secrets and, 80; Swift and, 74, 92, 94–95; Temple and, 88–94; Terence and, 72–73; translation and, 67–84, 87–92, 95, 263n40; Virgil and, 69, 72, 73, 75, 88, 143, 222, 237, 239–41; Wolferstan and, 76–78; women and, 70–73; Wotton and, 88–92, 95
- Clavis Bibliorum* (Calamy), 43, 47, 56, 60
- Clavis Cantici: A key to Catechisms*, 60
- Clavis Cantici: An Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, 60

- Clavis Virgilinae: Pars Prima. A Numerical Key to the Bucolics of P. Virgilius Maro*, 69–70
- Cocks, Roger, 2
- code: allegory and, 1, 5, 22, 132, 176, 179;  
control issues and, 196, 203, 209, 216, 218;  
decoding and, 9, 21, 44, 58, 63–64, 85, 126,  
135, 152, 160, 169, 171, 173, 179, 181, 218,  
223, 228, 246, 248; *Dunciad* and, 225, 230;  
encoding, 128–29; good reader and, 38;  
guesswork and, 8; hidden, 8, 22, 203;  
intimacy of omission and, 22, 148, 152;  
scandal narratives and, 173, 176, 179, 193;  
topical political satire and, 126, 132, 135
- coffee houses: classical reader and, 67, 70;  
historical context and, 2, 4; intimacy of  
omission and, 144; literary reader and,  
104, 116–17, 119, 121; scandal narratives  
and, 179–80
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 142
- Collection of Poems Relating to State Affairs*,  
140
- Commendatory Verses on the Author of the Two  
Arthurs, and the Satyr against Wit*, 137
- Common Reader, 146
- Companion to the Altar, A* (Anglican devo-  
tional), 52–53
- competence: Christian reader and, 41;  
classical reader and, 68, 71, 73, 79, 89, 91;  
*Dunciad* and, 226, 229, 242–43; evidence  
and, 4, 10; good reader and, 25, 33–38;  
ignorance and, 2; intimacy of omission  
and, 146; literary reader and, 98, 103;  
scandal narratives and, 179, 193; topical  
political satire and, 135, 140–42
- Compleat Key to the Dunciad, A* (Curl),  
231–34
- Complete Key to the Four Parts of Law is a  
Bottomless-Pit, A*, 183
- comprehension, 246, 248; Bible and, 40,  
42, 46–66; classical reader and, 75, 83, 96;  
confusion and, 10; control issues and,  
211; *Dunciad* and, 10, 14, 20, 55, 219, 225,  
229–30, 230, 245; evidence and, 14, 18–19;  
good reader and, 26–27, 30–36; intimacy  
of omission and, 145, 165, 169; literary  
reader and, 98, 115–17; misunderstanding  
and, 19–20, 42, 55, 184, 219; print solutions  
for, 54–60; scandal narratives and, 180,  
184; social, 60–66; topical political satire  
and, 128, 132, 140
- Concanen, Matthew, 74
- confusion, 248; annotation and, 7, 236–38;  
audiences and, 10; Bible and, 62, 83, 125,  
222; blanked-out names and, 6; Christian  
reader and, 58, 64; classical reader and, 82,  
86, 94; comprehension and, 10; context  
and, 9–10; control issues and, 196, 204,  
208–9, 213–17; *Dunciad* and, 222–28, 231,  
236–38, 240, 243; evidence and, 10–12;  
forms of, 4–11; good reader and, 23–27, 36;  
historical context and, 24–31; ignorance  
and, 11; interpretation and, 5, 9–11, 13;  
intimacy of omission and, 10, 145, 153–58;  
irony and, 5, 9; literary reader and, 103, 111;  
meaning and, 5–10; misreading, 1, 24–31;  
misunderstanding and, 20, 25, 27, 63, 86,  
196, 209; obscurity and, 6, 8; sedition and,  
6; Swift and, 8–9; topical political satire  
and, 125, 129, 132; typography and, 5–6;  
uncertainty and, 146–53
- Consolidator, The* (periodical), 208
- conspiracy theories, 156–57, 172, 204, 246
- consumption: casual, 108; Christian reader  
and, 44; classical reader and, 82; *Dunciad*  
and, 220; historical context and, 4; intimacy  
of omission and, 161–62, 165; literary  
reader and, 108, 115, 119–20; topical political  
satire and, 139
- context: Christian reader and, 40–41, 57, 59,  
62–63, 66; classical reader and, 68, 72–77,  
84–87, 95; collapse of, 3–4; confusion and,  
9–10; control issues and, 198, 203, 210–12;  
*Dunciad* and, 220, 225–26, 237, 243, 245;  
Felski on, 29–30; good reader and, 23,  
28–29, 36–39; intimacy of omission and,  
145, 169; literary reader and, 103, 109, 114, 124;

- context (*continued*)  
misunderstanding and, 20–22; scandal narratives and, 173, 193; topical political satire and, 126–27, 131–32, 135–36
- Corinthians, First Bible book of, 50
- Corona Civica, 138
- Council of Trent, 48
- Country Parson's Advice to Those Little Scriblers Who Pretend to Write Better Sense Than Great Secretaries, The: Or, Mr. Stephen's Triumph over the Pillory (Anonymous), 126
- Country Parson's Honest Advice, The (Browne), 192, 203
- Court of the King's Bench, 192–93
- court-Spy, The; Or, Memoirs of St J-M-S'S, (Hervey), 19, 179
- Cowper, William Earl, 177
- Coxe, Daniel, 141
- Cressy, David, 4
- crosswords, 64, 247
- cryptography, 225, 247
- Culling, Elizabeth, 177
- Curl, Edmund: *Dunciad* and, 231–34, 239–41; *The Tunbridge Miscellany*, 168–70
- Dacier, Anne, 87
- Dalrymple Murray Kynynmound, Hugh, 99–100
- Dalrymple, David, 99
- Darnton, Robert, 9
- deception, 60, 174, 204
- Dee, John, 34
- Defoe, Daniel: Anglicans and, 197–200, 203–4, 207–8; anonymity and, 209–14; appearance of, 197; *An Answer to a Question that No Body Thinks of, viz, But What if the Queen Should Die?*, 215–16; *A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet Entitled The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*, 203–4; control issues and, 196–218; good reader and, 32; imprisonment of, 201–2; interpretation and, 209–14; libel and, 201–2, 205, 217, 283n20; meaning and, 202–9; as nonconformist, 197–99, 283n7; occasional conformity and, 198, 203–4; Paterson and, 195; Pope and, 238; *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain*, 285n45; Protestants and, 198, 214, 217; Queen Anne and, 202, 214, 217–18; *Reasons Against the Succession of the House of Hanover*, 215–16; scandal narratives and, 173; *Secret History of the White Staff*, 173; sedition and, 197–209, 217; *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*, 15, 196–209, 212–16; and succession crisis, 214–18; Test Act of 1673 and, 197; topical political satire and, 32, 195–218; truth and, 204; *And What if the Pretender Should Come?*, 215; Whigs and, 15, 200, 216–17, 233
- Defoe, Norton, 233
- de Fontenelle, Bernard, 87, 88
- DeForest Lord, George, 132
- DeLaune, Thomas, 283n20
- Delight and Judgement, or the Great Assize . . . a Discourse Concerning the Great Day of Judgement* (Horneck), 59
- Delights for Young Men and Maids: Containing Near an Hundred Riddles with Pictures and a Key to Each*, 166
- de Man, Paul, 25
- Denham, John, 139
- Dennis, John, 232, 236–37
- Description of Bath, A* (Chandler), 168–69
- diaries, 12, 18, 72, 99, 249
- Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (Fowler), 211
- Directions for the Private Reading of the Scriptures* (Byfield), 40, 50–51
- Directions to a Painter* (Denham), 139
- Discussion of Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style, A* (Felton), 111
- Dispensary* (Garth), 11; Pope and, 30, 140, 273n53; topical political satire and, 129, 133–35, 140–41
- “Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris” (Bentley), 90, 95

- Diverting Muse, or the Universal Medley*.  
Written by a Society of Merry Gentlemen, for the Entertainment of the Town, *The (Ward)*, 167–68
- Dobrée, Bonamy, 30–31, 68
- Dog in the Wheel. A Satyr, The (Anonymous)*, 126
- double entendre, 124, 220
- Drake, William, 35
- Dryden, John, 168; *Absalom and Achitophel*, 11, 136; accessibility and, 112; *Aureng-Zebe*, 110–11; classical reader and, 77–78; deferential discussion and, 105; as Father of English Criticism, 101–3; Felton on, 111; good reader and, 30, 32–33, 37; intimacy of omission and, 168; literary criticism and, 30, 100–103, 111; literary reader and, 100–107, 110–12; Luttrell and, 136–37; Malone on, 136; *The Medal*, 136; *Mr. Limberham*, 17; *Of Dramatic Poesy*, 101–2; “Of Heroic Plays: An Essay”, 102; Pope and, 11, 33, 107, 221, 233, 237; *Satires of Juvenal and Persius* and, 77–78; Seidel on, 32; topical political satire and, 33, 136–37, 142, 221; Virgil and, 237; Wolferstan and, 77–78
- Ducket, Col, 14
- du Guernier, Louis, 152
- Dunciad Variorum, The (Pope)*: annotation and, 222–25, 234–45, 289n38; anonymity and, 225; Arbuthnot on, 13; audiences and, 243; Bible and, 222; blanked-out names and, 225, 230–32, 236; Christian reader and, 55; code and, 225, 230; competence and, 226, 229, 242–43; comprehension and, 10, 14, 20, 55, 219, 225, 229–30, 245; confusion and, 222–28, 231, 236–38, 240, 243; consumption and, 220; context and, 220, 225–26, 237, 243, 245; Curll on, 231–34, 239–41; Dennis and, 232, 236–37; Dunton and, 232–33; editorial approaches to, 222–23; evidence and, 11–14; footnotes and, 223, 225, 232, 242; general/particular changes of, 222–25, 287n10; glosses and, 221, 223, 234; guesswork and, 231–32; help for readers of, 229–36; ignorance and, 219, 242; interpretation and, 219, 225, 229, 232, 236, 239–43; Irish edition of, 229–30; irony and, 244; keys and, 220, 230–34, 237, 240; meaning and, 221–34, 243–45; metaphor and, 223–24; misreading and, 220, 222, 237–38, 242–43; misunderstanding and, 20, 22, 55, 229, 238, 243; obscurity and, 228, 230–33, 238, 243; satire and, 10, 22, 127, 221–23, 229–30, 233–40, 245; secrets and, 231; sedition and, 236; as social commentary, 221–22; translation and, 222, 237–40; Twickenham edition of, 219–20, 289n57; typography and, 225, 233–34; versions of, 219–20, 225–28, 287n3, 289n57; Whitehead and, 127; Williams on, 223–24
- Dunton, John, 69; *Athenian Mercury* and, 70, 103–8, 113, 119–20; *Dunciad* and, 232–33; literary reader and, 103–8, 113, 119–20; Whigs and, 233
- Dutch Wars, 132
- Earl of Clarendon, 188
- Earl of Godolphin, 141
- Earl of Mulgrave, 139
- Easy and Compendius Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories, An (Prideaux)*, 78
- Ecclesiastes, 59
- Edson, Michael, 37–38, 256n41
- endpapers, 186, 188
- engaged reader, 52, 85, 186–89
- English Revolution, 2
- English Short Title Catalogue, 69, 209
- Epistle of Phalaris, 88–90, 95
- Epistle to Bathurst (Pope)*, 15
- Erasmus, 82
- Essay Concerning Human Understanding, An (Locke)*, 18, 40, 46
- Essay on Man (Pope)*, 15
- Essay on Propriety and Impropriety in Thought, Design and Expression, An (Hill)*, 238
- Essay on Satire (Earl of Mulgrave)*, 139

- Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (Makin), 70–71
- Essay Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (Temple), 88–89
- Evans, Abel, 128–32
- evidence, 249; anecdotal, 11, 14, 113, 116, 178, 188; annotation and, 11–17; anonymity and, 11, 14, 17; Beinecke Library, 63, 140, 160; blanked-out names and, 12, 15; Bodleian Library, 53, 130, 131, 152, 185, 226–27; British Library, 17, 50, 138, 140, 143, 160–61, 186, 187, 189, 205, 206; Christian reader and, 49–52, 60–63; classical reader and, 68, 73, 78–80, 86–90, 96; competence and, 4, 10; comprehension and, 14, 18–19; confusion and, 10–12; control issues and, 197, 205, 209–10; diaries, 12, 18, 72, 99, 249; *Dunciad* and, 11–14; glosses and, 13–14; good reader and, 25–26, 29, 32–36; grammar and, 17; historical context and, 4; ignorance and, 13, 18–19; interpretation and, 13, 18–19; intimacy of omission and, 145, 152, 157, 165, 167; keys and, 11, 13; letters and, 12; literary reader and, 110; Luttrell and, 15, 135–42; marginal, 11, 14–17, 34–36, 49–55, 61–64, 73, 76, 95, 110–11, 126–28, 132–35, 138, 141, 152, 165, 186, 205, 249; meaning and, 11, 15; misreading and, 13; misunderstanding and, 21; Pope and, 11–17; scandal narratives and, 181, 184–85, 190, 194; sources for, 11–19; Swift and, 12–14; topical political satire and, 132, 135, 143; translation and, 15, 17
- Exclusion Crisis, 132, 136
- expertise, 249; *Athenian Mercury* and, 69–70, 103–8, 113, 119–20; Christian reader and, 41, 44, 53, 57–58; classical reader and, 68, 85–93; *Dunciad* and, 230; good reader and, 26, 28, 37–38; historical context and, 2; intimacy of omission and, 166–67; literary reader and, 99–110, 113, 117, 120, 123–24; misunderstanding and, 21; Penny Post and, 104–5; topical political satire and, 125, 127, 134, 136, 139, 141
- Ezekiel, 58, 83
- Faerie Queene* (Spenser), 24–25, 38
- Faulkner, George, 161
- Felski, Rita, 29–30
- Felton, Henry, 111
- Female Spectator* (Haywood), 121, 173–74
- Female Tatler, The* (periodical), 1; classical reader and, 67, 75; historical context and, 5; literary reader and, 112, 116–18, 121–22; misunderstanding and, 19; Pope and, 223; scandal narratives and, 194
- Fenton, Elijah, 161–62, 165
- Fermor, Arabella: Catholics and, 144; Petre and, 147–50; Pope and, 144, 147–55
- Fielding, Henry, 107
- Finch, Daniel, 201
- Fish, Stanley, 28–29
- Fletcher, William, 15
- footnotes, 246, 249; Christian reader and, 55; classical reader and, 92–95; *Dunciad* and, 223, 225, 232, 242; intimacy of omission and, 161, 163, 168; scandal narratives and, 180; topical political satire and, 126–28
- Foreigners, The* (Tutchin), 140, 193
- Fowke, Phineas, 77
- Fowler, Henry, 211
- Fox with his Fire-brand Unkennell'd and Insnar'd, The: Or, a Short Answer to Mr Daniel Foe's Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*, 206–7
- Fuller, William, 283n20
- Gallagher, John, 70
- Garretson, John, 82
- Garth, Samuel: *Dispensary*, 11, 30, 129, 133–35, 140–41, 273n53; Pope and, 30, 140, 273n53; topical political satire and, 129, 133–37, 140–41
- Gay, John, 12, 92, 94, 136, 146, 239
- gender: access to knowledge and, 13; classical reader and, 67–69, 73–78; control issues and, 209; good reader and, 31; ignorance and, 19; intimacy of omission and, 167, 274n10; literary reader and, 102, 115; printing and, 2, 4, 33, 68–71
- genealogy, 13, 52, 188

- Genesis, Bible book of, 60  
Geneva Bible, 43, 54, 61  
*Gentleman's Journal*, 120  
*Gentleman's Magazine*, 82  
Gen Z, 248  
George I, 188  
George II, 188  
Geree, John, 40, 50  
Gildon, Charles, 104, 146, 155, 237  
Ginzburg, Carlo, 35  
glosses: ancillary works on, 56; Christian reader and, 53, 55, 63; classical reader and, 78, 84, 92, 95; *Dunciad* and, 221, 223, 234; evidence and, 13–14; intimacy of omission and, 160, 163, 168; scandal narratives and, 181, 185; topical political satire and, 126–28, 132, 134, 142  
God: Bible and, 21, 40, 42–49, 53–60; Holy Spirit of, 53, 58  
Godolphin, Sidney, 202  
“Golden Age Restored, The” (Walsh), 140  
Goldsmith, 107  
good reader: annotation and, 34–38; anonymity and, 39; audiences and, 31–33; Bentley and, 36; Blundell and, 35; code and, 38; competence and, 25, 33–38; comprehension and, 26–27, 30–36; confusion and, 23–27, 36; context and, 23, 28–29, 36–39; Defoe and, 32; Dryden and, 30, 32–33, 37; evidence and, 25–26, 29, 32–36; expertise and, 26, 28, 37–38; gender and, 31; guesswork and, 28; historical context and, 31–39; ignorance and, 23, 26, 36; interpretation and, 24–36, 39; literary criticism and, 23–31; marginalia and, 34–36; meaning and, 25–30, 36–39; misreading and, 23–31, 35; misunderstanding and, 23, 25–27, 39; obscurity and, 38; Pope and, 30, 33; Robbins on, 23–24; satire and, 30–34, 37–39; truth and, 25, 28; women and, 33  
Grafton, Anthony, 34  
grammar: classical reader and, 70–72, 82, 93; evidence and, 17; literary reader and, 102; scandal narratives and, 189  
Gray, Thomas, 219, 277n58  
Greek: Bible and, 47, 51; Christian reader and, 47, 51, 54; classical reader and, 69, 74–75, 78–80, 89, 95; literary reader and, 102, 114; New Testament and, 47; Pope on, 16–17, 239  
Green, Thomas, 244  
Greetham, David, 256n41  
Griffin, Dustin, 31  
*Grove, The: or a Collection of Original Poems*, 17  
*Guardian*, 123  
guesswork, 249; allegory and, 1, 11; classical reader and, 85; codes and, 8; crosswords and, 247; *Dunciad* and, 231–32; good reader and, 28; intimacy of omission and, 144, 160, 166–69; scandal narratives and, 171, 177; topical political satire and, 127, 129, 133–35; Wordle and, 247  
*Gulliver Decypher'd* (Anonymous), 74  
*Gulliver's Travels* (Swift), 8–9, 12–13, 74, 94  
Habermas, Jürgen, 98  
Hamilton, Anthony, 186  
*Hamlet* (Shakespeare), 99  
Hammond, Brean, 31–32  
Hare, Francis, 44–45  
Harley, Edward, 231  
Harley, Robert, 151, 218  
Harvey, Gabriel, 34  
Hatchett, William, 179–80  
Hawkins Browne, Isaac, 7  
Haywood, Eliza, 173–75, 188  
Hazlitt, William, 146  
Hearne, Mary, 231  
Heathcote, Gilbert, 14  
Hebrew, 47, 76  
Hebrews, Bible book of, 54  
Heidegger, Martin, 14, 232  
Henry VIII, 43  
*Hero and Leander* (Musaeus), 17  
Hewet, Frances, 181  
Hill, Aaron, 238  
Hirsch, E. D., 28



- historical context: anonymity and, 3; audiences and, 3–4; evidence and, 4; *The Female Tatler* and, 5; good reader and, 31–39; literary culture and, 2–4; misreading and, 24–31; satire and, 31–34
- “History of Insipids, The” (Pope), 140
- Hitchcock, T., 132
- Hodge’s Vision* (Marvell), 140
- Holdsworth, Ralph, 51
- Holt, John, 192
- Holy Spirit, 53, 58
- Homer: classical reader and, 18, 87, 92, 102, 222, 237, 239, 241; *Iliad*, 18, 92, 241; *Odyssey*, 18; Pope and, 92, 237, 239, 241
- Horace: classical reader and, 8, 67, 72, 92–93, 102, 222, 239; Pope and, 84–85
- Horneck, Anthony, 59
- humanism, 86–87, 262n16
- Hungerford, Edward, 15
- Hunter, J. Paul, 159
- Hyperion* (Keats), 142
- ignorance: classical reader and, 74, 76–77, 85; confusion and, 11; dominant models for, 11; *Dunciad* and, 219, 242; evidence and, 13, 18–19; gender and, 19; good reader and, 23, 26, 36; literary reader and, 106, 109, 116–19; misunderstanding and, 11; recognition of, 2; scandal narratives and, 174, 180; topical political satire and, 134
- Iliad* (Homer), 18, 92, 241
- imagination: Addison on, 31–32; classical reader and, 92; Hammond on, 31–32; intimacy of omission and, 153, 157; literary reader and, 99, 113; *The Rape of the Lock* and, 153–55; scandal narratives and, 192
- Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (Pope), 84–85
- innovation, 2–3, 12, 42, 103, 109, 125
- interpretation, 248–49; ancillary works for, 56; anonymity and, 209–14; authorial vision and, 5; challenges of, 10; Christian reader and, 41–48, 52–57, 60–66; classical reader and, 70, 77–78, 86, 90–97; confusion and, 5, 9–11, 13; control issues and, 196, 202, 207–10, 216–18; *Dunciad* and, 219, 225, 229, 232, 236, 239–43; evidence and, 11, 13, 18–19; good reader and, 24–36, 39; Hirsch on, 28; intimacy of omission and, 145–47, 150–58, 170; legal issues and, 189–94; literary reader and, 98, 102, 112, 118; misunderstanding and, 19–22, 39, 42, 66, 86, 196, 229, 243; over-elaborate, 9; printed advice on, 42; responsibility in, 189–94; scandal narratives and, 171, 180–83, 186–94; topical political satire and, 125–31, 134–35, 137, 140
- intimacy of omission: allegory and, 156–57, 166; annotation and, 160, 163, 165; anonymity and, 148–49, 158, 161; audiences and, 159; Augustan period and, 147, 155, 166; blanked-out names and, 151–52, 161; code and, 22, 148, 152; coffee houses and, 144; competence and, 146; comprehension and, 145, 165, 169; confusion and, 10, 145, 153–58; consumption and, 161–62, 165; context and, 145, 169; Dryden and, 168; evidence and, 145, 152, 157, 165, 167; expertise and, 166–67; fictional occasions and, 167–70; footnotes and, 161, 163, 168; gender and, 167; glosses and, 160, 163, 168; group-think and, 159–67; guesswork and, 144, 160, 166–69; imagination and, 153, 157; interpretation and, 145–47, 150–58, 170; irony and, 146, 154–55, 157; literary criticism and, 156; Locke and, 148, 151; marginalia and, 152, 165; meaning and, 145–50, 155–61, 165, 170; metaphor and, 148; misreading and, 149, 154–55; obscurity and, 156; Pope and, 30, 144–63, 170, 192, 275n28; *The Rape of the Lock* and, 30, 144–48, 151–61, 170, 192; revelation and, 171; satire and, 145–50, 154–58, 161, 166–67; secrets and, 150–51, 156; Swift and, 144, 158, 166, 181; translation and, 162; typography and, 166; uncertainty and, 146–53; women and, 147, 155, 160, 163–64

- Irish Rendezvous, or a Description of T—ll's Army of Tories and Bog Trotters*, 138
- irony: Christian reader and, 41, 59–60; confusion and, 5, 9; control issues and, 196, 200–218; *Dunciad* and, 244; intimacy of omission and, 146, 154–55, 157; literary reader and, 111, 119; Pope and, 127, 146, 157, 244; scandal narratives and, 192–93; Swift and, 9; topical political satire and, 127
- Jackson, Heather, 35–36
- Jacobites: Defoe and, 205, 214–18, 286n63; Assassination Plot of, 172–73; *Manlius* and, 143; *The Plotters* and, 126
- James II, 173
- James III, 172, 214
- Jardine, Lisa, 34
- Jerome, Saint, 40
- Jesuits, 172
- Jesus Christ, 45, 49, 58
- Jews, 49
- Job, Bible book of, 58, 59
- John, Bible book of, 49
- Johnson, Samuel, 84, 101, 107
- Justinian, 172
- Juvenal, 13, 77–78, 84
- Keach, Benjamin, 57–61
- Keats, John, 142
- keys: Christian reader and, 43, 55–57, 60–64; classical reader and, 69; Cobb's trips and, 163; contemporary, 134, 240; control issues and, 195–96; *Dunciad* and, 220, 230–34, 237, 240; engaged reader and, 186–89; evidence and, 11, 13; literary reader and, 113; misunderstanding and, 20, 22; numeric, 69; printed, 11, 55, 63, 180, 185–86; rhetoric of secrecy and, 183; riddles and, 166; scandal narratives and, 171, 173–75, 180–90; topical political satire and, 126, 131–34, 141; Trumbull and, 182
- Key to Atalantis*, 180–83
- Key to Catechisms*, A, 43
- Key to Count Grammont's Memoirs*, A (Hamilton), 186
- Key to Some Important Transactions, A: in Several Letters from a Certain Great Man, No Body Knows Where, Wrote No Body Knows When and Directed to No Body Knows Who*, 190
- Key to the Lock*, A (Pope), 156–58, 163, 237
- King Lear* (Shakespeare), 18, 111–12
- Kit-Cat club, 113, 141
- Klein, Lawrence E., 268nn42–43
- "Kubla Khan" (Coleridge), 142
- Ladies Mercury* (broadsheet), 103, 106
- Latin: Cannon and, 13; classical reader and, 67–84, 95, 262n16; literary reader and, 102, 114, 117; Pope and, 16–17
- Law is a Bottomless Pit. Exemplified in the case of the Lord Strutt, John Bull, Nicholas Frog, and Lewis Baboon* (Arbuthnot), 183
- Leakes, James, 168
- Leavis, F. R., 98
- Le Clerc, Jean, 12
- Le Comte de Gabalis* (Villars), 154–55
- Lehrer, Seth, 253n45
- Le Lutrin* (Boileau), 133
- Lely, Peter, 148
- L'estrangé, George, 185
- libel, 282n74, 283n20; Darnton on, 9; Defoe and, 201–2, 205, 217; Pope and, 238; scandal narratives and, 189–94; topical political satire and, 131, 143
- Licensing Act, 3
- Life of John Dryden* (Luttrell), 136
- Lintot, Bernard, 239–40
- Litany of The D. of B.* (Anonymous), 126
- literacy: Christian reader and, 40, 50–53; classical reader and, 68, 70, 76, 79; comprehension and, 40; Cressy on, 4; historical context and, 4; literary reader and, 116; misunderstanding and, 21

- literary criticism: *Athenian Mercury* and, 103, 106; classical reader and, 84, 95–96; Dryden and, 30, 100–103, 111; evolution of, 102–3, 266n1, 267n12; good reader and, 23–31; historical context and, 2; intimacy of omission and, 156; literary reader and, 20–22, 98–103, 106, 111, 114, 116, 122–24; Manley and, 195; misunderstanding and, 20; Pope and, 195, 222, 237
- literary culture, 2–4
- literary reader: Addison and, 100–101, 112–15, 119–24; allegory and, 98; annotation and, 99, 111; anonymity and, 105–6, 120, 122; audiences and, 102, 115, 119, 122–23; Augustan period and, 98, 123; Bible and, 105; blanked-out names and, 116, 120; Browne and, 111–12, 123–24; Bysshe and, 107–12, 124; coffee houses and, 104, 116–17, 119, 121; competence and, 98, 103; comprehension and, 98, 115–17; confusion and, 103, 111; consumption and, 108, 115, 119–20; context and, 103, 109, 114, 124; Dryden and, 100–107, 110–12; Dunton and, 103–8, 113, 119–20; evidence and, 110; expertise and, 99–110, 113, 117, 120, 123–24; *The Female Tatler* and, 112, 116–18, 121–22; gender and, 102, 115; grammar and, 102; Greek and, 102, 114; ignorance and, 106, 109, 116–19; imagination and, 99, 113; interpretation and, 98, 102, 112, 118; irony and, 111, 119; keys and, 113; knowability and, 120–21; Latin and, 102, 114, 117; literacy and, 116; literary criticism and, 20–22, 98–103, 106, 111, 114, 116, 122–24; marginalia and, 110–11; meaning and, 103, 106, 118, 124; misreading and, 102–3, 112; misunderstanding and, 117–18, 121; obscurity and, 121; philology and, 10–12; polite culture and, 119–24; Pope and, 107; satire and, 98, 101, 118–21; secrets and, 120; *Spectator* and, 112–24; Steele and, 112–13, 118–21, 124; talking about ideas and, 112–19; translation and, 101, 103, 114; women and, 115
- Livy, 88
- Locke, John: Christian reader and, 40, 46–47, 56, 62; *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 18, 40, 46; intimacy of omission and, 148, 151
- London* (Johnson), 84
- London Gazette, The*, 196–97
- London Journal*, 120
- Louis XIV, 215
- Lowth, William, 45–46, 208
- Lutherans, 63
- Luttrell, Narcissus: *An Address to the Honorable City of London*, 136; background of, 135–36; *A Brief Historical Relation*, 136; evidence and, 15, 135–42; *Life of John Dryden*, 136; topical political satire and, 135–42, 230
- Mack, Maynard, 140, 146
- Makin, Bathsua, 70–73, 78
- Malone, Edmond, 136
- Manley, Delarivière: *The Adventures of Rivella*, 188; legal issues of, 189–91; literary criticism and, 195; Montagu and, 191; *The New Atalantis*, 11, 13, 176–86, 189–92; scandal narratives and, 176–86, 189–92; as Tory journalist, 176
- Manlius or the Brave Adventurer: A Poetical Novel* (Anonymous), 143
- Map of Misreading, A* (Bloom), 24–25
- marginalia: Christian reader and, 49–55, 61–64; classical reader and, 73, 76, 95; control issues and, 205, 285n50; evidence and, 11, 14–17, 34–36, 49–55, 61–64, 73, 76, 95, 110–11, 126–28, 132–35, 138, 141, 152, 165, 186, 205, 249; good reader and, 34–36; intimacy of omission and, 152, 165; literary reader and, 110–11; scandal narratives and, 186; topical political satire and, 126–28, 132–35, 138, 141
- Mark, Bible book of, 45
- Marshall, Ashley, 32, 255nn25–27, 285n42
- Marvell, Andrew, 140

- Matthew, Bible book of, 48–49, 58
- May, Thomas, 74
- meaning: Christian reader and, 42–47, 50, 56–66; classical reader and, 85–87, 92–94; confusion and, 5–10; control issues and, 196–97, 202–7, 211, 213, 217–18; *Dunciad* and, 221–34, 243–45; evidence and, 11, 15; good reader and, 25–30, 36–39; intimacy of omission and, 145–50, 155–61, 165, 170; keys to, 11 (*see also* keys); literary reader and, 103, 106, 118, 124; misunderstanding and, 19–22 (*see also* misunderstanding); scandal narratives and, 171, 178–94; sedition and, 202–9; topical political satire and, 125–28, 132, 134, 137–43
- Medal, The* (Dryden), 136
- Medley, The* (periodical), 1
- Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, 94
- Memoirs of the Court of Europe*, 181
- Menocchio, 35
- Merry Wives of Windsor* (Shakespeare), 18
- metaphor: Christian reader and, 41, 44, 57–60; control issues and, 204; *Dunciad* and, 223–24; intimacy of omission and, 148
- Milton, John, 18, 24, 98–99, 113, 122, 222
- Miscellanies* (Tonson), 15
- misreading: Bloom on, 24–25; Christian reader and, 41, 55, 63–64; classical reader and, 78, 85, 92–97; control issues and, 196–97, 200, 203, 205, 208–10, 213–14, 217–18; Dobrée on, 30–31; *Dunciad* and, 220, 222, 237–38, 242–43; evidence and, 13; Fish on, 28–29; good reader and, 23–31, 35; Hirsch on, 28; historical context and, 1, 24–31; intimacy of omission and, 149, 154–55; literary reader and, 102–3, 112; maps of, 24–31; as productive, 10–11; Richards on, 26–28; scandal narratives and, 183, 188–89, 194; topical political satire and, 125
- misunderstanding: access to knowledge and, 13; blanked-out names and, 20; Christian reader and, 42, 47, 55, 66; classical reader and, 86, 95; comprehension and, 19–20, 42, 55, 184, 219; confusion and, 20, 25, 27, 63, 86, 196, 209; context and, 20–22; control issues and, 195–96, 209; culture of, 4; *Dunciad* and, 20, 22, 55, 229, 238, 243; evidence and, 21; expertise and, 21; *The Female Tatler* and, 19; good reader and, 23, 25–27, 39; ignorance and, 11; interpretation and, 19–22, 39, 42, 66, 86, 196, 229, 243; keys and, 20, 22; Le Clerc and, 12–13; literacy and, 21; literary reader and, 20–22, 117–18, 121; obscurity and, 22; Pope and, 22; scandal narratives and, 184; understanding of, 19–22
- Molyneux, William, 62
- Montagu, Elizabeth, 244
- Montagu, Mary Wortley, 181, 191, 232
- Mordecai's Memorial: or, There's Nothing done for him. Being a Satyr upon Some-body, but I name No-body* (Anonymous), 126
- Morgan, Matthew, 67
- Morley, Elisabeth, 275n28
- Morley, Gertrude, 275n28
- Morley, John, 275n28
- Morton, Charles, 197
- Motteux, Peter, 120
- Mr. Limberham: or the Kind Keeper* (Dryden), 17
- Musaeus, 17
- Musapædia, or Miscellany Poems*, 161–62, 165
- Musgrave, William, 13, 186–88
- Nash, Beau, 168
- National Art Library, 14
- New Atalantis, The* (Manley), 13; evidence and, 3, 11; key to, 180–81; scandal narratives and, 55, 176–86, 189–92; unlocking of, 176–81
- New Criticism, 28, 31, 192
- Newington Green, 197
- New Rehearsal, A* (Gildon), 146, 155
- News from both Universities. Containing[. . .] Mr Cobb's Tripos Speech at Cambridge, with a complete Key inserted*, 163

- newspapers, 3, 80  
New Testament, 47, 51, 53  
nicknames, 5–6, 225  
Nicolson, Catherine, 38  
nonconformists, 44, 62, 76, 197–99, 283n7  
Norris, John, 104  
novelty, 146  
Numbers, Bible book of, 53
- obscurity: allusion and, 22; Christian reader and, 41, 45–47, 51, 57; classical reader and, 78; confusion and, 6, 8; control issues and, 204; *Dunciad* and, 228, 230–33, 238, 243; good reader and, 38; intimacy of omission and, 156; literary reader and, 121; misunderstanding and, 22; nicknames and, 5–6, 225; satire and, 5–7, 22, 121, 126, 135, 222, 233, 238; scandal narratives and, 190; typographical, 5–7
- Observer, The*, 100  
occasional conformity, 198, 203–4  
*Odyssey* (Homer), 18  
*Of Dramatic Poesy* (Dryden), 101–2  
“Of Heroic Plays: An Essay” (Dryden), 102  
*Of the Perspicuity of Scripture* (Williams), 46  
Oldham, John, 111  
Oldmixon, John, 155, 237  
Osborn, James M., 140  
*Othello* (Shakespeare), 111, 122–23  
Ovid, 67, 123–24  
Owens, John, 62  
*Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems*, 161–62  
*Oxford Handbook of Eighteenth-Century Satire*, 32–33
- Pair of Spectacles for Oliver’s Looking-Glass Maker, A*, 15, 16  
*Palace Amours: or, The Genuine History of Alexis*, 177–78, 188–89  
Pallavicino, Sforza, 58  
parables, 45, 58  
*Paradise Lost* (Milton), 18, 24, 98–99, 113, 122, 222  
paratextual materials, 54–55, 127, 161  
Parker, Lord Chief Justice, 217  
Paterson, William, 195  
Pauline Epistles, 45–47  
Paulson, Ronald, 289n38  
Penn, Joseph, 160  
Penny Post, 104–5  
Periam, John, 99  
*Perplex’d Dutchess, The* (Haywood), 188  
Perrault, Charles, 87  
Persius, 40, 77, 84  
Peter, Saint, 64  
Petre, Robert, 147–50  
Petronius, 102  
*Phalarides Agrigentorum Tyranni Epistolae* (Boyle), 90  
Phiddian, Robert, 33–34  
Philips, Ambrose, 7  
philology: Christian reader and, 44; classical reader and, 76, 86–94; literary reader and, 10–12  
*Pipe of Tobacco, A: In Imitation of Six Several Authors* (Hawkins Browne), 7  
piracy, 274n18  
Plato, 88  
*Pleasures of the Imagination* (Akenside), 99  
*Plotters, The* (Anonymous), 126–27, 148–49  
Plutarch, 54  
Poekrich, Richard, 160–61  
*Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714* (DeForest Lord), 132–33  
*Poems on Several Occasions* (Brereton), 8, 164  
*Poems Relating to State Affairs*, 139  
*Poem to the Queen upon the King’s Victory in Ireland, and His Voyage to Holland, A* (Morgan), 67  
Poe’s law, 212–13  
*Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (White and Stallybrass), 32  
*Poor Robins Dream, of the Visions of Hell: with a Dialogue Between the Two Ghosts of Dr. T. and Capt. B.* (Anonymous), 126

- Pope, Alexander, 7; Bentley and, 221, 239;  
blanked-out names and, 225, 230–32, 236;  
Caryll and, 147–52, 219; Catholicism and,  
74, 148, 152, 155–57; Christian reader and,  
55; classical reader and, 74, 84–85, 92;  
confusion and, 10, 153–58; control issues  
and, 195; Curll and, 231–34, 239–41; Defoe  
and, 238; Dryden and, 11, 33, 107, 221, 233,  
237; *Dunciad* and, 10 (see also *Dunciad  
Variorum*, *The* [Pope]); *Epistle to Bathurst*,  
15; as Esdras Barnivelt, 156–58; *Essay on  
Man*, 15; evidence and, 11–17; *The Female  
Tatler* and, 223; Gildon on, 146–53; good  
reader and, 30, 33; on Greek, 16–17, 239;  
“The History of Insipids”, 140; Homer  
and, 92, 237, 239, 241; *Imitation of the  
First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*,  
84–85; *Imitations of Horace*, 84; intimacy  
of omission and, 30, 144–63, 170, 192,  
275n28; irony and, 127, 146, 157, 244; *A  
Key to the Lock*, 156–58, 163, 237; on Latin,  
16–17; libel and, 238; literary criticism  
and, 195, 222, 237; literary reader and, 107;  
misunderstanding and, 22, 55; occasional  
verse and, 169; *The Rape of the Lock*, 30,  
144–48, 151–61, 170, 192; scandal narratives  
and, 192; sociable verse and, 169; *Spectator*  
and, 223; Swift and, 8, 12, 14, 74, 92, 158,  
229–30, 233, 239; topical political satire  
and, 127, 139–41; truth and, 223; uncertainty  
and, 146–53; Virgil and, 239–41; White-  
head and, 127; *Works*, 16; Wotton and, 239
- Popish plot, 172, 175
- Post Boy* (periodical), 73
- Practical Criticism* (Richards), 23, 26–27
- Presbyterians, 129
- Present State of the Parties in Great Britain,  
The: Particularly An Enquiry into the State  
of the Dissenters in England* (Defoe),  
285n45
- Prideaux, Mathias, 78
- Prince of Orange, 181
- print culture, 2–4
- printing: Authorized Version of the Bible,  
53; Christian reader and, 54–60; classical  
reader and, 68–83; gender and, 2, 4, 33,  
68–71; Geneva Bible, 43, 54, 61; historical  
context on, 2–4; paratextual materials and,  
54–55, 127, 161; translation and, 68–83
- Procopius of Caesarea, 172, 180
- Professional Imaginative Writing in Britain*  
(Hammond), 31–32
- Protestants: Anglicans, 45 (see also Anglicans);  
Bible and, 21, 41, 43–44, 47, 55; Christian  
reader and, 41–47, 55; Defoe and, 198,  
214, 217; occasional conformity and, 198,  
203–4; Presbyterians, 129; Queen Anne  
and, 198, 214; salvation and, 21, 41
- Prynne, William, 221–22, 232
- pseudonyms, 156, 178, 185, 193, 209, 225
- “Quaker’s Tea Table, or Tea Spattered and  
China Scattered, The” (Cannon), 83
- Queen Anne, 157; Churchill and, 190; confu-  
sion and, 6; death of William III and, 198;  
Defoe and, 202, 214, 217–18; occasional  
conformity and, 198, 203–4; politics of,  
13, 20, 179; Protestants and, 214; topical  
political satire and, 132; Whigs and, 198
- Queen Elizabeth, 142
- Queen Mary, 43
- Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, 187–88, 190
- Rape of the Lock, The* (Pope), 30; biographi-  
cal classification and, 145–46; Caryll and,  
147–52, 219; confusion and, 10, 153–58;  
Fermor and, 144, 147–55; imagination and,  
153–55; indecency of, 155–56; intimacy of  
omission and, 144–48, 151–61, 170, 192; as  
*jeu d’esprit*, 144–45; *A Key to the Lock* and,  
156–58, 163; modern syllabus for, 145;  
occasional verse and, 169; origin myth of,  
147–50; sociable verse and, 169;  
uncertainty and, 146–53
- Rapin, René, 175
- Reading and Not Reading* (Nicolson), 38

- Reasons Against the Succession of the House of Hanover* (DeFoe), 215–16
- Rehearsal, The* (Buckingham), 184
- Renaissance, 34, 86–87, 110
- Restoration, 79, 111, 221
- Revelation, Bible book of, 50
- Review, The* (periodical), 216
- Revolution of 1689, 132
- Richards, I. A., 23, 26–28
- Richardson, Samuel, 18, 107–8, 244
- Ricoeur, Paul, 25
- Ridpath, George, 217
- Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, The* (Tindal), 128–29
- Robbins, Bruce, 23–24
- Robinson Jun, Eliz, 17
- Rocks and Shallows Discovered: Or, the Ass kicking at the Lyons in the Tower*, 15
- Rowe, 127
- Rumbold, Valerie, 152, 224
- Ryder, Dudley, 121
- Ryland, John, 62
- Sacheverell, Henry, 132, 157, 201, 283n10
- salvation, 21, 41
- Satan, 54, 128–32, 129
- satire, 1, 9; anonymous, 14; biblical, 11, 42, 60, 63, 83, 222; Cannon and, 18; Christian reader and, 42, 60–66; classical reader and, 68–69, 73–74, 77–79, 82–86, 92–95; control issues and, 196, 202, 205–8, 211–14, 218; *Dunciad* and, 10, 22, 221–23, 229–30, 233–40, 245; Gay and, 12; generalist literary criticism and, 20; good reader and, 30–34, 37–39; historical context and, 31–34; intimacy of omission and, 145–50, 154–58, 161, 166–67; lampoons, 41, 95, 137–38, 140, 194, 203; literary reader and, 98, 101, 118–21; obscurity and, 5–7, 22, 121, 126, 222, 233, 238; *Oxford Handbook of Eighteenth-Century Satire*, 32–33; perspectives on, 31–34; scandal narratives and, 181, 184–85, 188–89, 192–94; subtext and, 5; topical political, 21 (see also topical political satire); typography and, 6; women and, 33, 74, 77, 147, 155
- Satires of Juvenal and Persius* (Dryden), 77–78
- Satyr against Wit, A* (Blackmore), 142
- scandal narratives: Addison and, 180; allegory and, 22, 171, 175–83, 187, 189–92; annotation and, 185–89; anonymity and, 175, 181, 189; audiences and, 173; Augustan period and, 177; Bible and, 184; blanked-out names and, 183, 190; code and, 173, 176, 179, 193; coffee houses and, 179–80; competence and, 179, 193; comprehension and, 180, 184; conspiracy theories and, 172; context and, 173, 193; Defoe and, 173; engaged reader and, 186–89; evidence and, 181, 184–85, 190, 194; *Female Spectator* and, 173–74; *The Female Tatler* and, 194; footnotes and, 180; glosses and, 181, 185; grammar and, 189; guesswork and, 171, 177; Haywood and, 173–75, 188; ignorance and, 174, 180; imagination and, 192; interpretation and, 171, 180–83, 186–94; irony and, 192–93; keys and, 171, 173–75, 180–90; libel and, 189–94; Manley and, 176–86, 189–92; marginalia and, 186; meaning and, 171, 178–94; misreading and, 183, 188–89, 194; mistresses and, 188; misunderstanding and, 184; *The New Atalantis*, 55, 176–80; obscurity and, 190; *Palace Amours* and, 177–78, 188–89; Pope and, 192; Procopius and, 172, 180; satire and, 181, 184–85, 188–89, 192–94; secret history genre and, 172–81, 187–89; secrets and, 135, 171–82, 185–90, 194, 248–49; sedition and, 171–72, 189–94; *Spectator* and, 173–74, 180; translation and, 174, 177, 181, 184, 189; truth and, 171, 174–75; typography and, 193; Whigs and, 172, 176, 181, 192–93; women and, 178, 189; Wotton and, 184
- Schema Sacrum, or, a sacred scheme of natural and revealed religion* (Blackwell), 59
- School of Manners, The* (Garretson), 82

- Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula, The* (Cibber), 19–20, 179
- Secret History of Mama Oello, The*, 181
- Secret History of Queen Zarah, The* (Browne), 187
- Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian, The* (Procopius), 172, 278n2
- Secret History of the House of Medicis, The* (Spence), 177
- Secret History of the White Staff* (Defoe), 173
- Secret History of Whitehall, The*, 173
- secrets, 9; allegory and, 19, 171, 175–76, 179, 181, 187, 189; Christian reader and, 58; classical reader and, 80; conspiracy theories and, 172; control issues and, 197, 201, 211; *Dunciad* and, 231; historical glosses and, 13, 247; intimacy of omission and, 150–51, 156; intrigues and, 173; literary reader and, 120; scandal narratives and, 135, 171–82, 185–90, 194, 248–49; topical political satire and, 126, 135
- sedition: confusion and, 6; Defoe and, 197–209, 217; *Dunciad* and, 236; meaning and, 202–9; scandal narratives and, 171–72, 189–94; topical political satire and, 142
- Seditious Insects, The: Or, the Levellers Assembled in Convocation. A Poem*, 142
- Seidel, Michael, 32
- Several Methods of Reading the Holy Scriptures in Private Seriously Recommended to Consideration* (Blackwell), 56
- Shadwell, Thomas, 17
- Shakespeare, William, 18, 99, 107, 111–12, 123
- Sharpe, Kevin, 35
- Sherman, Bill, 34–35
- Shevelow, Kathryn, 269n52
- Shortest-Way with the Dissenters or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church* (Defoe), 15, 215–16; anonymity and, 209–14; control issues and, 196–209; interpretation and, 209–14; sedition and, 202–9
- Small, Ian, 38
- Smalridge, George, 91
- Sophia of Hanover, 214
- Spectator* (periodical): Addison and, 31, 112, 115, 119–22, 180; classical reader and, 70; *Female Spectator* and, 121, 173–74; literary reader and, 112–24; Pope and, 223; scandal narratives and, 173–74, 180; Steele and, 31, 112, 118–21; talking about ideas in, 112–19
- Spence, Ferrand, 177
- Spenser, 24–25, 38
- Stallybrass, Peter, 32
- State Dunces, The* (Whitehead), 127
- Steele, Richard, 32; literary reader and, 112–13, 118–21, 124; polite culture and, 119–21, 124; *Spectator* and, 31, 112, 118–21; Whig Kit-Cat club and, 113
- Stillingfleet, Edward, 90
- St. John's College, 132
- Story of the St Alb—ns Ghost, or The Apparition of Mother Hagg, The* (Wagstaffe), 141–42
- Stuart monarchy, 4, 47, 143, 172
- subtexts, 5, 156, 178, 276n36
- Supplement to the Profound, A* (Concanen), 74
- Sutherland, James, 219–20, 223–24, 238–39
- Sweet, Roey, 78
- Swift, Jonathan: Anglicans and, 9, 12, 20, 55, 63, 65, 94–95, 184; Arbuthnot and, 13, 144, 239; Browne on, 63; Chetwode and, 166; Christian reader and, 55, 63–65; classical reader and, 74, 92, 94–95; confusion and, 8–9; control issues and, 215; evidence and, 12–14; *Gulliver's Travels*, 8–9, 12–13, 74, 94; intimacy of omission and, 144, 158, 166, 181; irony and, 9; Le Clerc and, 12–13; Pope and, 8, 12, 14, 74, 92, 158, 229–30, 233, 239; *Tale of a Tub*, 9, 12, 20, 55, 63, 65, 94–95, 125, 184; topical political satire and, 125; Wotton on, 95
- Tale of a Tub* (Swift), 125; Anglicans and, 9, 12, 20, 55, 63, 65, 94–95, 184; annotation and, 63, 261n82; Christian reader and, 55, 63, 65, 260n74



- Tasso, 102  
Tate, Nahum, 221–22  
Taylor, Edward, 262n14  
Temple, William, 88–94  
*Temple-Oge Ballad, The* (Poekrich), 160–61  
Terence, 71–73  
Test Act of 1673, 197  
Theobald, Lewis, 17  
Thomas, Elizabeth, 239–40  
Thomson, James, 7  
*Three Hours After Marriage* (Gay), 94  
Tindal, Matthew, 128–29, 131  
Tonson, Jacob, 15, 137  
topical political satire: Addison and, 142;  
    allegory and, 128, 132; Anglicans and, 129;  
    annotation and, 129–43; anonymity and,  
    126, 135, 143; Augustan period and, 125, 132;  
    Bible and, 125; blanked-out names and, 126,  
    128, 131–34, 137–40, 143; Boyle and, 137;  
    Browne and, 125; code and, 126, 132, 135;  
    competence and, 135, 140–42; compre-  
    hension and, 128, 132, 140; confusion and,  
    125, 129, 132; consumption and, 139; context  
    and, 126–27, 131–32, 135–36; Defoe and,  
    32, 195–218; difficulty of, 125–27; Dryden  
    and, 33, 136–37, 142, 221; *Dunciad* and,  
    127; editing difficulty and, 132–35; Evans  
    and, 128–32; evidence and, 132, 135, 143;  
    expertise and, 125, 127, 134, 136, 139, 141;  
    footnotes and, 126–28; Garth and, 11, 129,  
    133–35, 137, 140–41; glosses and, 126–28,  
    132, 134, 142; guesswork and, 127, 129,  
    133–35; ignorance and, 134; interpretation  
    and, 125–31, 134–35, 137, 140; irony and,  
    127; keys and, 126, 131–34, 141; knowing  
    readers and, 135–43; libel and, 131, 143;  
    Luttrell and, 135–42, 230; marginalia and,  
    126–28, 132–35, 138, 141; meaning and,  
    125–28, 132, 134, 137–43; methods of,  
    128–32; misreading and, 125; obscurity  
    and, 126, 135; *Poems on Affairs of State* and,  
    132–33; Pope and, 127, 139–41; Queen Anne  
    and, 132; secrets and, 126, 135; sedition  
    and, 142; Swift and, 125; typography and,  
    126, 128, 131; Whigs and, 136, 138, 141–42  
Tories, 138, 142, 176, 198, 201, 246  
Tottenham High Cross, 70–71  
translation: Bible and, 43; classical reader  
    and, 67–84, 87–92, 95, 263n40; *Dunciad*  
    and, 222, 237–40; evidence and, 15, 17;  
    Greek and, 69; historical context and, 2;  
    intimacy of omission and, 162; Latin and,  
    69; literal, 69; literary reader and, 101, 103,  
    114; loose reworkings and, 69; printing  
    and, 68–83; scandal narratives and, 174,  
    177, 181, 184, 189  
transparency, 40  
*Tropologia: A Key to Open Scripture-Metaphors*  
    (Keach), 57–61  
Trumbull, William, 171, 182, 230  
truth: Bible and, 44–45, 57–60; Defoe and,  
    204; de Man on, 25; desire for, 249; good  
    reader and, 25, 28; obscuring of, 156, 171;  
    Pope and, 223; scandal narratives and,  
    171, 174–75  
*Tunbridge Miscellany, The* (Curll), 168–70  
*Tune of the Devonshire Cant, The: Or, an*  
    *Answer to the Parliament dissolved at*  
    *Oxford* (ballad), 138  
Turner, Thomas, 18, 98–99, 122, 165, 254n46  
Tutchin, John, 100, 140, 193, 284n24  
typography: confusion and, 5–6; *Dunciad* and,  
    225, 233–34; intimacy of omission and,  
    166; scandal narratives and, 193; topical  
    political satire and, 126, 128, 131  
“Uncritical Reading” (Warner), 246,  
    255n10  
*Validity in Interpretation* (Hirsch), 28  
*Vanity of Human Wishes* (Johnson), 84  
Vickery, Amanda, 78  
Villars, Abbé, 154–55  
Villiers, George, 281n51  
*Vindication of the Divine Authority* (Lowth),  
    45–46, 208

- Vindiciae Evangelicae* (Owens), 62
- Virgil: *Aeneid*, 143, 222, 241; classical reader and, 69, 71, 73, 75, 88, 143, 222, 237, 239, 240–41; *Clavis Virgilinae*, 69–70; Dryden and, 237; Pope and, 239–41
- Wagstaffe, William, 141–42
- Waller, 127
- Walpole, Horace, 277n58
- Walpole, Hugh, 107
- Walsh, William, 140
- Warburton, William, 238–39
- Ward, Edward, 167–68
- Warming Pan scandal, 132, 172
- Warner, Michael, 246, 255n10
- Warner, William, 38
- Warton, Joseph, 275n27
- Watts, Isaac, 107
- West, Richard, Jr., 219
- What D'Ye Call It, The* (Gay), 12
- What if the Pretender Should Come?, And* (Defoe), 215
- “What is the History of Books Revisited” (Darnton), 9
- Whigs, 246; Addison and, 113; Benson and, 217; Browne and, 203; Burnet and, 217; Defoe and, 15, 200, 216–17, 233; Dunton and, 233; Heathcote and, 14; Kit-Cat club and, 113, 141; Oldmixon and, 237; Queen Anne and, 198; *The Review* and, 216; Ridpath and, 217; scandal narratives and, 172, 176, 181, 192–93; Steele and, 113; topical political satire and, 136, 138, 141–42; Tutchin and, 200, 284n24
- White, Allon, 32
- Whitehead, Paul, 127
- Whole Book of Psalms, The* (devotional), 52–53
- Whole Duty of Man, The* (devotional), 116
- Wikipedia, 107
- William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 7
- William II, 201
- William III, 168, 172, 198
- Williams, Aubrey, 146–47, 223–24
- Williams, John, 46
- Wilner, Arlene, 153
- Wit Newly Reviv'd: Being a Book of Riddles. Set forth for the Trial of Wit and Diversion of all Persons of Either Sex, to create Mirth and Merriment*, 166
- Wolferstan, Anne, 13, 53, 76–78
- Wolfreton, Frances, 77
- women: access to knowledge and, 13, 19; classical reader and, 70–73; *The Female Tatler* and, 5, 19, 67, 75, 116–18; good reader and, 33; Greek and, 74–75; intimacy of omission and, 147, 155, 160, 163–64; literary reader and, 115; Makin and, 70–73, 78; printing and, 2, 4, 33; satire and, 33, 74, 77, 147, 155; scandal narratives and, 178, 189
- Worcester, David, 30
- Wordle, 247, 290n1
- Works* (Pope), 15
- Works of John Dryden*, 37
- Wotton, William, 88–92, 95, 184, 239
- Wrexham, 8, 164
- Young, Edward, 7