

Abbreviations

- LL* Aphra Behn, *Love Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*, vol. 1, *The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, 7 vols. (London: Pickering, 1992–1996).
- D* *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. E. N. Hooker, H. T. Swedenborg, Vinton Dearing, Alan Roper. 20 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956–1989).
- Guerinot J. V. Guerinot, *Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope, 1711–1744* (London: Methuen, 1969).
- SJ* *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*. Gen. ed. John H. Middendorf. 18 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- Lives* Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*. Ed. George Birkbeck Hill. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.
- AR* Delarivier Manley, *The Adventure of Rivella*, ed. Katherine Zelinsky (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999; 2003).
- NA* Delarivier Manley, *New Atalantis*, ed. Ros Ballaster (New York: New York University Press, 1992).
- ME* *Memoirs of Europe in The Novels of Mary Delariviere Manley*, vol. 2., ed. Patricia Koster. 2 vols. (Gainesville, FL: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1971).
- EP* *Essays and Poems and Simplicity, a Comedy*, eds. Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
- CL* *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband. 3 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–67).
- TE* *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, Gen. ed. John Butt, 11 vols. (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939–1969).

- Corr* Alexander Pope, *Correspondence*, ed. George Sherburn. 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956).
- C* *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963).
- JS* Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948).
- P* ———, *Poems*, ed. Harold Williams, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958).
- PW* ———, *Prose Works*, ed. Herbert Davis, 14 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1939–1968).
- Tatler* *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).
- Spectator* *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).
- POAS* *Poems on Affairs of State, 1660–1714*, ed. George de F. Lord, 7 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963–1975).

Journals

- ECS* *Eighteenth-Century Studies*
- ELH* *Journal of English Literary History*
- PMLA* *Publications of the Modern Language Association*
- PQ* *Philological Quarterly*

Notes

Introduction: Public versus Secret, Not Public versus Private

1. Harold Love's *English Clandestine Satires 1660–1702* (published in 2004 when this project was near completion) corroborates extensive covert circulation of manuscript, oral, and illegally printed satires from the accession of Charles II to that of Queen Anne.
2. See also Lodwick, Wilkins (1641), and Bridges.
3. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas argues that from the middle of the seventeenth century, men gathered in London coffee-houses where “critical debate ignited by works of literature and art was soon extended to include economic and political disputes.” Habermas imagines that satires by members of the Scriblerus Club were a “critical organ of a public engaged in critical political debate” (60), forging alliances across traditional barriers of class and birth. My argument takes a contrarian position.
4. In light of Downie (2004), I refrain from attributing *Queen Zarah* to Manley.
5. Love describes the circulation of manuscript satire as “the principal medium of free comment” for Restoration poets.
6. The claim that by the 1670s “coffee houses were considered seedbeds of political unrest” (59) is supported by Habermas with a secondary quote from Emden (1959:323) that “establishes the connection between the coffee houses and the beginnings of ‘public opinion’” (262).
7. Warner writes specifically of print in early American republicanism, not of secrecy.
8. “Is not every Body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaseth; and to publish his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit; especially if it serve to strengthen the Party which is in the Right? . . . Does any Man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes one syllable of the Matter? And is any Man worse received upon that Score; or does he find his Want of Nominal Faith a Disadvantage to him, in the Pursuit of any Civil, or Military Employment?” (*P II*. 29–30).
9. Sedgwick, in *The Epistemology of the Closet* (67–68), cites Miller’s “aegis-creating” passage on secrecy as “the subjective practice in which the oppositions of private/public, inside/outside, subject/object are established, and the sanctity

- of their first term kept inviolate. And the phenomenon of the ‘open secret’ does not, as one might think, bring about the collapse of those binarisms and their ideological effects, but rather attests to their fantasmatic recovery” (207). Their interest in the novel does not extend to satire.
10. Sex as a metaphor for political corruption is not exclusive to women writers. *POAS* contains many, often crude, examples lacking in irony and in self-consciousness about gender.
 11. If Burney and Austen are reliable indicators, antipathy between satire and the feminine increases during the eighteenth century. In *Evelina*, Mrs. Selwyn’s “masculine” satirical tendencies arouse resentment, and the Dashwood sisters in Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* are sneeringly “rumored to be satirical.” Habermas would seem to corroborate the impossibility of women participants in satire by asserting inaccurately that “only men were admitted to coffee-house society” (33).
 12. My understanding of irony as a linguistic practice is modeled on the theory of metaphor. Both signify nonliterally and require a body of information that adjusts (and destabilizes) meaning. See Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies in the Creation of Meaning in Language* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).
 13. See Watkins, DePorte, Max Byrd, and Ingram. Foucault’s *Madness and Civilization* (1965) has done much to reinforce this theme in eighteenth-century studies generally.
 14. Even Samuel Johnson’s satire manqué, *Rasselas*, participates in the madness trope. Imlac says, “If we speak with rigorous exactness, no human mind is in its right state.”
 15. See Hekman.
 16. The debate over performance and performativity is ongoing in Parker and Sedgwick’s collection of essays. I was intrigued to read their ruminations on Austin’s word choice “etiolation” because the word also implies processes that go on in secret (3; Austin, 22). The sickly plant that grows out of the light, out of the knowledge of anyone, has an ominous possibility—like the dark secret love of Blake’s invisible worm or the tubers sprouting in Roethke’s “Root Cellar.” Their investigation, of course, takes issue with Austin’s rejection of performative utterance as “hollow or void if said by an actor on the stage.”
 17. Themes of succession, legitimacy, desire, and libertinism may be said to extend into a work like *Tom Jones*. Fielding represented himself as a second generation satirist, H. Scriblerus Secundus. And he set his novel in the second generation of Catholic—Protestant conflict, rebellion, and invasion associated with the Stuart line—the Jacobite rebellion.

1 A History of Secrecy

1. For perspectives on theater history and its relationship to politics, see Owen, Braverman, Backscheider, Canfield and Payne, Maclean, and Macguire.
2. See Ranum, as well as Fumerton and Stewart, for important discussions of the early modern closet and the experience of privacy.

3. See Foucault 1977.
4. Rambuss refers to the “Envois” to Jacques Derrida’s *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* (3:45). Derrida discusses the implied inversion of power in Matthew Paris’ thirteenth-century engraving of Plato and Socrates.
5. Manley was a companion to Lady Castlemaine (mistress to Charles II) and presumably used information learned during this period of dependency. Swift spent ten years intermittently at Moor Park as secretary to Sir William Temple who “grew increasingly to recognize and rely upon his talents” (Nokes, 20). Eventually Swift was able to play an ironic Plato to Temple’s Socrates in *The Battle of the Books*. Pope’s relationship with William Wycherley follows a similar pattern, although Pope did not live with and was never officially employed during the two years he worked on Wycherley’s writing (“you have prun’d my fading laurels” wrote Wycherley).
6. See Markman Ellis, “Coffee-woman, ‘The Spectator,’ and the Public Sphere” in *Women, Writing, and the Public Sphere 1700–1830* (2002): 27–52.
7. Habermas’ theories have been criticized for overreliance on secondary texts, neglect of women, and neglect of the antisocial aspects of coffeehouses. See Ellis in Eger, 43–45.
8. Swift’s critics have long debated the erotic references to drinking coffee in Swift’s correspondence with Esther Vanhomrigh. In the context of Ellis’s research, the sexual meaning of these references seems less idiosyncratic.
9. Coffee was more popular than tea until around 1720. “All the major European colonial powers introduced coffee into their tropical settlements” (Walvin 1997:44) where production reached multiple millions of pounds.
10. Examples of the good merchant as icon of pragmatism and morality appear in Edward Young’s *The Merchant*, (1729) Edward Glover’s *London, or the Progress of Commerce* (1741), and George Lillo’s *The London Merchant* (1731). Joseph Addison (who was commissioner of trade and plantations) wrote cheerfully in *Spectator* No. 69 that London was the “Emporium” of the world. Defoe, and Pope in “Windsor Forest,” are other voices on this theme.
11. The *OED* defines ‘intelligencer’ as “one employed to obtain secret information, an informer, a spy, a secret agent,” as in “Central Intelligence Agency.”
12. The transition from the Invisible College to the Royal Society, is discussed by Yates, 171–306. See also Webster, de Castells, and Shumaker.
13. See Roberts, 97–113.
14. See also Pinkus and Andreassen.
15. Sprat edited *The History of the Royal Society* to downplay the presence of ‘secret arts’ among its members and to recommend ‘objective’ scientific writing.
16. Pucci discusses Western fascination with the harem, not scientific knowledge, per se.
17. Yates presses this argument: “Bacon himself seemed aware of such connection, that parts of the myth of *New Atlantis* are actually modeled on the myth of the invisible R.C. Brothers . . . their great college unknown to the rest of the world. . . . Bacon was certainly aware of the Rosicrucian myth when he wrote *New Atlantis*” (179–180).

18. Recent discussions about the function of surveillance and display in early modern culture are indebted to Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977). These debates are complicated by the fact that Bacon, Swift, and Manley make invisibility a key feature of their utopias/dystopias. 'Display' as power is displaced by the power of the secretive, and by the possibility of putting power into many unseen hands. (See Archer, 6).
19. Rochester, for example, is not 'a homosexual' despite his references to the performance of same-sex acts. Similarly, the relationship between William III and William Bentinck is recorded without rendering William III a 'gay king.'
20. Manley's father published narratives about the Ottoman Empire, Siam, and Japan. In his section of Rycout's history, peeking into the seraglio is typically provocative. Murder, rape, and polygamy are among its dark secrets, as is homosexuality: "this love of theirs is nothing but libidinous flames. . . . This passion likewise reigns in the society of women; they die of amorous affections one to the other" (16–17).
21. Manley's *Almyna* (an anagram on the author's name) appeared within a year of the English translation of *Arabian Nights* (1707). The play liberates women from a Sultan's sexual oppression.
22. The earliest usage cited in the *OED* is dated 1737 "The Prodigious Increase of Secret Service Money in the Late Reign." *Gentleman's Magazine* 1737 7:531:3).
23. See Gregg, 363–395 and Brooks-Davis, 3.

2 Toward a Theory of Satire I: Gossip and Slander

1. Meredith, 292. Also quoted in Spacks, 52.
2. I paraphrase Edward Rosenheim's definition of satire (31): an "attack by means of a manifest fiction upon discernible historical particulars."
3. For a summary of views of satire as an imitator or borrower of forms, see Knight 1992, 22–41.
4. Austin proposes two general views of language. First, language that transmits truth, that assumes congruence between utterance and referent is *constative*. Second, language that performs, rather than informs, that cannot be judged true or false, but rather successful or unsuccessful utterance, is *performative*.
5. 'Performative' "indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action" (Austin, 6). Felman elaborates on performatives: "expressions whose function is not to inform or describe, but to carry out a 'performance,' to accomplish an *act* through the very process of their enunciation" (15). Gossip, slander, seduction, and satire share a disinterest in the absolute 'truth' of statements in order to privilege the *effect* of statements.

6. Austin's first example is the wedding vow ("I do") in order to show the high stakes, if not the danger, of the promise.
7. Derrida might object that all 'acts' are textual or linguistic, and that the focus on speech acts reflects Western logocentrism. However, Austin's theory, as here applied, meets these objections in its precise and situational applications, that is, in its particular examples of language enabling certain further acts such as sexual consummation, legal exchange of property, obligation to progeny, and so on. The reverse process is not possible: sexual consummation, joint property, children, and so on do not traditionally constitute the words "I do."
8. The year 1811 documents the earliest usage of gossip as a verb cited in the *OED*.
9. According to Robin Dunbar, as primate social groups grew in size and complexity, nonverbal behaviors such as grooming were replaced by vocal exchanges. "'Vocal grooming' became increasingly informative, the outcome being speech as 'gossip' or social information exchange" (Hurford, 11).
10. On the debates between linguistics and anthropology, see Hurford, Studdert-Kennedy, and Knight.
11. Spacks' *Gossip*, to which I am indebted, focuses primarily in gossip as "a model . . . for the dialogic aspect of realistic fiction," that is, in the relation between gossip and the novel, not satire. Alluding in passing to Robert Elliot's work on satire's origins in magical rites, she notes: "the idea of talking in secret . . . recalls old conceptions of words as dangerous weapons" (11).
12. I have made Austen's work a touchstone for literary representations of gossip because (1) her novels are familiar, satirical, and woman-authored; (2) a considerable body of critical discussion on gossip refers to her work.
13. The word gossip—like the words spinster and coquette—becomes feminized and acquires antisocial connotations during the eighteenth century; both social roles threaten patriarchal order and the nuclear family.
14. Anthropologists such as Donald Brenneis who study gossip in non-Western cultures, have described situations in which adult males are the sole practitioners, and in which the "co-narration" of "troubling stories" or the surreptitious circulation of private stories, actually strengthens patriarchy. See Briggs, 41–52.
15. Multiple narrators occur in Manley's *New Atalantis*, and in poems by Rochester, Swift, and Pope. Digressive, episodic practices also fracture authority and privilege opinion or partial views over facts: Swift in *Tale*; Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey*; Gay in *The Beggar's Opera*; Manley in *Memoirs of Europe*.
16. In 1559, by act of Parliament, it became seditious to "maliciously, advisedly, and directly say . . . that the Queen's Majesty that now is, during her life, is not or ought not to be Queen of this realm." See Carole Levin, "Gender, Monarchy, and the Power of Words" in *Dissing Elizabeth*, 87.
17. See Deborah Willis, Barbara Rosen, and Laura Gowing in Kermodé and Walker.

18. Other motives include the possibility of offering legal redress to persons harmed by libel, and thereby diminishing private resort to violent redress. I am indebted to Susan Staves for this point.
19. Carl R. Kropf and Michael Seidel write about the same sets of terms, but their definitions do not align. Kropf cites these distinctions: "Defamation is a general term which subsumes the other three. Libel, which is written defamation, could be treated either as a crime or as a tort. Slander, which is spoken defamation, is a tort only. Scandal can be used only to refer to *Scandalum Magnatum*" (155). Seidel arranges categories differently: "[Lampoon is] a lesser form . . . distinguished by the particularity of its reflections. Libel is an actionable defamation, but the term was often used synonymously with lampoon. Slander is libel with a casual or callous disregard for the truth" (33).
20. In addition to 'excitable speech,' twentieth-century American law has debated the concept of injurious language in the "Fighting Words Doctrine," first formulated in 1942 with reference to *Chaplinsky V. New Hampshire*, 315 U. S. 568. "Fighting words" are speech acts (obscenity, libel, lewd or profane insult) incurring direct and immediate violent consequences (a disturbance of the peace). Cases invoking the Fighting Words Doctrine are First Amendment cases because they test the limit of Constitutionally protected free speech which must be preserved unless such words "produce a clear and present danger of a serious intolerable evil that rises above mere inconvenience or annoyance" (*Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U. S. 1 [1949]). "Fighting words" cannot be measured and judged by *content* but only by provable *effect*.
21. The statute against the slander of magnates states that "one who publishes false news or scandal tending to produce discord between the King and his people or the magnates shall be kept in prison until he produces in court the originator of the tale" [Westminster I (1275); c. 34].

3 Toward a Theory of Satire II: Secret History

1. "[T]he end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries was undoubtedly the 'golden age' of secret history in English letters" (Mayer, 95).
2. In *The English Short Title Catalogue*, approximately 450 editions titled 'secret history' were published in England between 1660 and 1800; most (approximately 375) appeared by 1750. Another fifty editions published between 1700 and 1800 use the term 'secret memoirs' in the title, forty-one by 1750.
3. Further support for the association of secret history with political upheaval may be found in Karl Marx's account of Lord Palmerston and the eighteenth century, *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century*. Marx. The dearth of eponymous secret histories in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries makes Marx's title and topic notable.

4. 'Secret history' will serve as the 'umbrella' term for 'scandal chronicle,' amatory fiction, and roman à clef. This choice highlights the essential component of *secrecy* in all variant terms.
5. On Madame D'Aulnoy, see Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, 123–132. D'Aulnoy does not share Manley's political concerns with civil war and succession.
6. The 1682 reissue of the 1674 translation of Procopius coincided with the Exclusion Crisis and Popish Plot, and reflects the politically volatile moment by a change in title: *The Debaucht Court. Or, the Lives of the Emperor Justinian, and His Empress Theodora the Comedian* (Patterson, 183).
7. This reductive quality is a recurrent, although not a constant, feature of secret history and is one of its qualities most readily related to satire. *The Secret History of Europe* summarizes European politics: "Sweden and Denmark had just commenc'd Slaves . . . The Empire was harrass'd by Infidels, and under the Dominion of a Prince who would rather have done his Business by Prayers than Arms. Spain was govern'd by a Child, Portugal by a Madman, Holland by a Faction, England by the Ladies, and France by a King instructed in all the Arts and Enamour'd of the Charms of Power" (107).
8. Susan Owen asserts that the "Exclusion Crisis is a particularly appropriate period to observe the intersection of party politics and sexual politics" (37). In the Restoration theater, rape was sometimes a metaphor for rebellion; for whigs, it could serve as a metaphor for popery.
9. English taste for epistolary fiction usually is traced to translations of French works such as Roger de Bussy-Rabutin's *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (1667), translated as *Love's Empire* (1682); Cesar Vichard de St.-Real's *Memoires de Mme. La Duchesse de Mazarin* (1675 [1676]); *Letters Portugaises* (1669), translated by Robert L'Estrange (1678). Behn's *Love Letters* was written over three years. Part I (1685) is strictly epistolary; Part II (1686) is partly epistolary; Part III (1687) is almost entirely third person narration. Seven more editions appear between 1693 and 1765.
10. *The Secret History of the Lives of the Most Celebrated Beauties... or, Cupid Restored to Sight* (1716); *The Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate* (1717); *The Secret History of the Loose and Incestuous Loves of Pope Gregory VII* (1722); *The Secret History of Clubs* (1709).
11. Parallels shifted, depending on the writer's point of view. Daniel Defoe, in *The Dyet of Poland* (1705), used Charles XII to represent Louis XIV, Stanislaus Leszczyński (the Polish 'Prince of Wales') to represent James Francis Edward (the Pretender), and Friedrich August to represent Queen Anne, in order to stir fears that a Catholic monarch might invade (as France considered invading England), remove the 'elected' ruler, and establish his own choice on the throne.
12. Temple's relevant works include *Letters . . . Wherein Are Discovered Many Secrets Hitherto Conceal'd* (1699), *Introduction to the History of England* (1695), and *Memoirs of What Passed in Christendom* (1692). Abel Boyer's edition of Temple's memoirs adds the phrase "secret springs": *Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple . . . Containing . . . the Most Secret Springs of Affairs of Christendom 1665–1681* (1714).

13. Reresby often laments “the prodigious influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth . . . over the king . . . she betrayed him not in his councils only, but his bed also, and that she certainly lay with the grand prior of France, who often came over, under the mask of love, the better and more efficiently to transmit intelligence and information to his master the French king” (274). The Duchess also torments the Queen: “Her majesty was thereby thrown into such a disorder, that the tears stood in her eyes, while the other laughed at it, and turned it into a jest” (290).
14. Patterson’s argument for secret history as a Whig genre with a significant relationship to early American liberalism adds an important transatlantic dimension.
15. For discussions of paranoia and spying in the Elizabethan court, see especially Patricia Parker, *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context* and Bronfen, 66–80.
16. Patterson dismisses these works from her argument about the rise of liberalism because she does not consider them “political secret history, the . . . most important branch of the new genre.” Of the secret histories of Queen Elizabeth, Patterson remarks: “It is difficult to determine what was the motive behind the revivals of old Roman Catholic propaganda, in *The Secret History of the Duke of Alancon and Q. Elizabeth* (London: Will of the Whisp, 1691) and *The Secret History of . . . Q. Elizabeth and the E. of Essex . . . 1680, 1681, 1689, and 1695*” (183–184). Elizabeth I represented England’s independence from the Catholic powers of Europe. Pope-burning processions held on the anniversary of her ascension were generally anti-Catholic, but different “versions” of her reign were given various political and religious meanings.
17. These accusations occur as early as 1584, in *Leicester’s Commonwealth*, a text that claims that Robert Dudley had secret plans to claim the throne for his illegitimate child after Elizabeth’s death. See North in Walker (185–208).
18. The publication year 1680 saw the appearance of numerous transgressive works, including the unexpurgated “Antwerp edition” of poems by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. The delay in Parliament of the renewal of the Licensing Act allowed the printing of these scandalous works.
19. “[F]rom the perspective of the 1690’s [*sic*] both the word and the idea of satire were fraught with ambiguity and confusion,” note the editors of Dryden’s “Discourse of Satire” [D 4:515]. Geoffrey Holmes calls increased Whig/Tory differences “[a] most important feature of politics in the 1690’s [*sic*],” especially with respect to Britain’s foreign policy and greater involvement with the Continent (64).
20. John Richetti’s *Popular Fiction before Richardson* (1969) denigrated secret history, approvingly citing Bonamy Dobree (*English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century*, 1959) who “disposes of Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Haywood in a sentence” because “they deserve no more than this . . . to us they are absolutely irrelevant in either a moral or an aesthetic sense” (119). Richetti’s recent work reflects a complete reversal of these attitudes.
21. Not all feminist theories of the novel include secret history. Nancy Armstrong’s ‘rise of the novel’ in *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987) effectively begins in 1740, with *Pamela*, and locates ‘female forms of power’ in the respectable domestic ‘sexual contract’ that is modeled on Rousseau’s ‘social contract’ and

- on conduct literature for women, rather than in scandalous and secret writing (in which contracts repeatedly are broken).
22. The modern term 'amatory fiction' reinforces the association between women and love; 'Secrethistory,' 'memoir,' and 'anecdote' are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century terms that have the advantage of embracing a wide array of texts by both men and women that explore the association gossip, scandal, and authority.
 23. Warner cites John Colin Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (1814). Dunlop feels obliged to account for popular women secret historians (an acknowledgment that sets the tone for the next 150 years) by condemning their "faults in point of morals" and "impassioned" characters (13).
 24. Helen Hackett acknowledges a connection between politics and romance that had "been increasingly used through the Civil War as political *roman à clef*" (187). But she sees the evolution of romance traditions in the work of Behn and Manley as increasingly autobiographical, not satirical: "the correlative of putting themselves into their fictions is a tendency to turn their lives into romance" (189).
 25. The specificity and privilege of many characters in secret history make them 'somebodies,' in contrast to the 'nobodies' posited by Catherine Gallagher as linking amatory secret history to the novel. The particularity of these characters contributes to their effectiveness as satiric fictions.
 26. Two-thirds of American public and private libraries listed by Colbourn owned a copy of Burnet *History of His Own Times* (Patterson, 205).
 27. Marvell's verse satire *Last Instructions to a Painter* (1667) participates fully in the corrupt sex/corrupt politics scandals of secret history and state poems in its attack on the excesses of Charles II's court.
 28. Begun in 1683, the first draft of "the 'Secret History' (as Burnet himself terms it) had its own clandestine past. Burnet confided his memoirs to Lord William Paulet who, "desirous of retaining a copy, . . . hired, before the return of the manuscript, a number of clerks; and dividing among them, with every possible precaution of secrecy, the papers in question, he managed to secure . . . a complete transcript" (xi). The secret copy leaked enough to prompt an announcement in 1703 of "the Discovery of a certain Secret History not yet published" that was both "virulent" and "voluminous" (xiii). A full account of the Fragments in the Harleian Manuscripts may be found in H. C. Foxcroft, *A Supplement from the Unpublished MSS. To Burnet's History of My Own Time*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1902, v–xxx.
 29. Further accusations of incest are made, asserting that the king married one of his illegitimate sons to one of his illegitimate daughters (22–23).

4 Contracts and Promises: Speech Acts, Sex Acts, and Don Juan

1. Romantic taste typically abjured the ironic couplets of eighteenth-century satire. Wordsworth and Coleridge's preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798)

- contains the most famous statement of this rejection. Byron is, of course, an exception.
2. See Pateman 1988, 35–36, on the “momentous transition from the traditional to a new *specifically modern* (or fraternal) form: patriarchal civil society” and “the political right of fathers and the natural liberties of sons.”
 3. The preface to *State Poems Continued* reiterates this claim: “the said State-Poems, and this Continuation, are the best *secret history* of our late Reigns . . .” (195).
 4. I have found four spellings: Coningsmark, Coningsmarck, Koningsmark, and Koningsmarck. I use the spelling in the Key to Manley’s *Memoirs of Europe*.
 5. Texts that are not self-nominated secret histories can use the same strategies and vocabulary. Patterson’s discussion of secret history, for example, draws on works by Andrew Marvell, who never uses the term.
 6. Certain Whigs, opposed to the ascension of Catholic James II, saw an alternative in Charles II’s illegitimate Protestant son James Scot, Duke of Monmouth. The most famous supporter was the Earl of Shaftesbury, who generally is portrayed as older, manipulative, and self-serving. Other Whigs, including Ford Grey, conspired on Monmouth’s behalf. A rebellion (summer of 1685), failed miserably, and Monmouth was executed. See Jones J. R.
 7. I am indebted to Pollak’s insightful essay, “Beyond Incest: Gender and the Politics of Transgression in Aphra Behn’s *Love Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*,” in Hutner, 151–186.
 8. ‘Cistern’ is defined as ‘an underground tank for storing liquids’ but also as “a fluid-containing sac or cavity in an organism.”
 9. Philander often is described as “beautiful.” The specific physical trait Behn mentions is that he has the longest hair anyone has ever seen. It is tempting to attribute a Slawkenburgius-like suggestion to this detail, given Behn’s sense of humor.
 10. “Indecencies” here refers to indecent language, rather than indecent physical acts, since nothing in the portrayal of Philander justifies the accusation of brutal or obscene offenses against the body. Further, nothing else in *Love Letters* warrants the repellent idea of inflicting such acts on a postpartum woman.
 11. Dryden’s ‘secret’ version of Shaftesbury as seducer has prevailed over historical evidence of his reluctance to ‘use’ Monmouth, whom he did not believe to be intelligent or reliable enough to carry out the rebellion.
 12. Steven N. Zwicker states, “Associating political radicalism with sexual libertinism had been standard in the civil war years” (1993:142). Zwicker substantiates this point with two poems from 1682: “The Saint Turn’d Courtezan” and “The Lecherous Anabaptist.” He does not cite texts from the civil war period, and thus his point seems a bit misleading, since libertinism was associated clearly with conservative aristocratic figures such as the king and courtiers such as Rochester.
 13. See Donnelly, McKeon, Carver, and Weinbrot. The poem is structured around a series of father-son relationships: David (Charles II) and Absalom (Monmouth); Achitophel (Shaftesbury) and his disappointing “two leg’d

- thing” (Anthony Ashley); Barzillai (James Butler, Duke of Ormond) and the son who was “his eldest hope” (the Earl of Ossory).
14. See Weinbrot, 373.
 15. *An Account of the Proceedings at the Sessions-House in the Old Bayly... against... the Principle Murtherers of Tho. Thin* (London: Roger Evans, 1682); *An Account of the Tryal and Examination of Count Coningsmark... in the Death of T. Thynn* (London: H. Jones, 1681; 1682); *A True Account of the Apprehending and Taking of Count Coningsmark* (London: Langley Curtiss, 1682); *A True Account of the Discovering and Apprehending of Count Coningsmark* (London: R. Baldwin, 1682); *The trials of the persons who committed the barbarous and inhumane murder upon the body of Thomas Thynn* (London, 1682); *Count Coningsmark's letter to the Lady Ogle* (London, 1682); *Capt. Vratz's ghost to Count Coningsmark* (London, 1682); “A Hue and Cry after Blood and Murder” (H3271 [1682]; *POAS* 5:18–23); Elkanah Settle, “Prologue to ‘The Heir of Morocco’” (S2689; *POAS* 5:24–27); Robert L’Estrange, *Observer* 101 (February 20, 1682/1682); John Evelyn, *Diary, from 1641 to 1705* (London, 1895); Narcissus Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs 1678–1714* (Oxford, 1857); Delarivier Manley, *Memoirs of Europe* (London, 1710); Laurence Echard, *History of England* (London, 1718); *Memoirs of the Honourable Sir John Resesby* (London, 1734); Eveline Godley, *The Trial of Count Coningsmark*.
 16. Manley subordinates historical accuracy to the needs of her satiric fictions. She confuses or conflates the two Coningsmark brothers as well as the two sisters, Catherine Marie Bussche and Clara Elizabeth von Platen, mistress to Ernst Augustus, Elector of Hanover (Koster 2:867).
 17. Sophia Dorothea, Electress of Hanover, married George I who divorced her in 1694. She died in prison in 1726. Many, including Manley, viewed her sympathetically.

5 Satire and Secrecy: Rereading *The New Atalantis*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *The Rape of the Lock*, and *The Dunciad*

1. Manley would have been aware of Varro and Menippus' absences through Dryden: “We have nothing remaining of those *Varronian* Satires, excepting some considerable Fragments: and those for the most part much corrupted.... [Varro] Entitled his own Satires *Menippean*: Not that *Menippus* had written any Satires, (for his were either Dialogues or Epistles) but that *Varro* had imitated his Style, his Manner, and his Facetiousness. All that we know farther of *Menippus*, and his Writings, which are wholly lost; is, that by some he is esteem'd... by *Varro*” (4:6–47).
2. The identity of the “young prince” is probably George Augustus, son of George I of England. George Augustus' mother, Sophia Dorothea, had been

- divorced by the king, thus depriving the child of a noble female guide, the role Astrea plans to fill (See Ballaster; *NA* 270).
3. Ballaster (*NA* 291–292) questions the Key’s identification of this pair as the children of Sir John Thompson, first Baron Haversham (1647–1710). Manley takes imaginative license in this episode by merging incest with the secret art of alchemy. The occult concept of chemical union contributes to her sympathetic portrayal of the ‘irresistible’ love between the siblings.
 4. Queen Anne was often pregnant, but she was very much alive when *The New Atalantis* was published.
 5. See Francus on the cultural significance of issue surrounding motherhood and infanticide.
 6. See CaroleFabricant, “The Shared Worlds of Manley and Swift” and Melinda Rabb, “Swift and Manl(e)y Style” in Mell, 154–178 and 125–153.
 7. See Levine, 89–90.
 8. *Abstract of the History of England*, “Of Public Absurdities in England,” “Of Mean and Great Figures” (Brooks-Davis 5:ix–xl).
 9. See Deporte 1990, 419–433.
 10. See Sams 36–44 and Kropf, *Reader Entrapment in Eighteenth-Century Literature*.
 11. See Deporte, “Teaching the Third Voyage,” in Reilly, *Approaches to Teaching Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels*, 57–62.
 12. In Abbe de Montfaucon de Villars’s *Le Comte de Gabalis* (1670; 1700; translations by Philip Ayres and A. Lovell were published in 1680) Rosicrucian philosophy (based on an occult and invisible brotherhood of the Rosy Cross) had “been used for the purposes of erudite and erotic amusement” (Tillotson; *TE* 2:356). References to it occur in many English writers, including Fludd, Burton, Dryden, Warton, Temple, Bayle, Lady Chudleigh, Gildon, Steele, Swift, and Manley.
 13. Manley and Swift contributed pamphlets to the Barrier Treaty controversy in 1709–1711. The treaty gave the Dutch control of territories that were to provide a ‘barrier’ against France. Prolonged hostility between England and France lessened the chances of bringing back a Stuart monarch.
 14. Two unauthorized keys were published before Pope supplied his own “Notes Variorum” (Sutherland; *TE* 5:xl).
 15. Sutherland has in mind the public anticipation that preceded and the furor that followed the publication of the poem (5:xxiii). Pope’s identity was suspected but immediately confirmed.

6 ‘A Life by Stealth’: Autobiographical Satire in Manley, Swift, and Pope

1. The double action of such language in satire is, in J. L. Austin’s terms, both illocutionary and perlocutionary, having both an immediate performative

effect *and* aftereffects that exceed in unexpected ways the initiating linguistic situation. At first Austin's notion of an illocutionary utterance seems incompatible with an Althusser's notion of interpellation. For Austin, the subject who speaks precedes the speech in question. For Althusser, the speech act that brings the subject into linguistic existence precedes the subject in question. Indeed, the interpellation that precedes and forms the subject in Althusser appears to constitute the prior condition of those subject-centered speech acts that populate Austin's domain of analysis. Austin, however, makes it clear that he does not think the workings of the performative always depend on the intentions of the speaker. He refutes forms of psychologism that would require that "fictitious inward acts" (10) accompany the promise, one of the first speech acts he considers, in order to validate that act. Although a good intention may well make a promise felicitous, an intention not to perform the act does not deprive the speech act of its status as a promise; the promise is still performed" (J. Butler, 24).

2. Swift's final will (May 3, 1740) left detailed instructions about a Latin epitaph that should be "deeply cut and strongly gilded":... *Hic depositum est corpus Jonathan Swift, S. T. D. Hujus ecclesiae Cathedralis Decani, ubi saeva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit, abivator, et imitare, si poteris, strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicatorem*" (Nokes, 412).
3. While Habermas, in *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, insists that "language games only work because they presuppose idealizations that transcend any particular language game" (199), Austin argues that irony consists of perlocutionary acts with consequences that can be unintentional and ongoing. These consequences help to account for the satirist's (and for the reader's) struggles over power, personal and political.
4. Pope notes sardonically that secrets individuate dunces as well as geniuses: "But each man's secret standard in his mind, / That Casting-weight Pride adds to Emptiness, / This, who can gratify? For who can guess?" (*Arbushmot*, 176–178).
5. See Miller, 274 and Bella and Schenck, 288.
6. See Rabb, "Angry Beauties," in Gill, 127–158.
7. Ballaster reads Delia's story differently, as "an unabashed attempt at white-washing Manley's complicity in her bigamous marriage" (*Seductive Forms*, 151). But she agrees about the contrast with Rivella "whose very knowingness in the arts of love is what makes her so attractive."
8. Foucault defines confession in masculine terms as "a ritual in which the expression alone, independently of its external consequences produces intrinsic modification in the person who articulates it: exonerates, redeems, and purifies him; it unburdens him of his wrongs, liberates him, and promises salvation" (1978:1: 61).
9. Jane Spencer sees Delia as representing a "type" for womanhood that was gaining ground in eighteenth-century fiction: the innocent, passionless dupe of men (*Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1986]). The idea of parodic confessional as an experiment in ironic feminine self-representation differs but is not incompatible with either Spencer's or Ballaster's views.

10. My understanding of the formation of the subject through alterity is influenced by feminist revisions of Habermas. See Joan Landes in Meehan, *Feminists Read Habermas*, 91–116.
11. Manley's satire on happiness is further analyzed and compared to Swift's treatment of happiness in *A Tale of a Tub* in Rabb, "Swift and the Spider-Woman," in Douglas 1998.
12. See Zelinsky, 27–33.
13. Identified as Katherine Baker, an actress in the King's Company who was actively performing from 1699 (Zelinsky, 94).
14. The abbreviation "md" signifies 'my dear(s)'; "pdfr" stands for 'poor dear foolish rogue'; "ourichar gangridge" signifies 'our little language'.
15. Swift refers to the sensitive matter of an offer of money from Harley and their disagreement over it. Translation: He offered me a bank bill for fifty pounds.
16. For a discussion of Swift's omissions about some personal matters in the *Journal to Stella*, see Rabb, "Swift and the Manl(e)y Style," in Mell, 131–132.
17. See "The Author upon Himself," "The Author's Manner of Living," "In Sickness," "The Dean's Reasons," "The Dean to Himself on St. Cecilia's Day," "Written by Dr. Swift on His Own Deafness," "The Life and Genuine Character of Dr. Swift," "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift," "The Dean of St. Patrick's to Thomas Sheridan," "Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope While He Was Writing the Dunciad," "My Lady's Lamentation against the Dean," "Lady Acheson Weary of the Dean," "A Panegyrick upon the Dean in the Person of a Lady in the North."
18. Swift emphasizes the notion of contradictory texts proliferating after his death in a note to line 168: "The Author imagines, that the Scriblers of the prevailing Party, which he always opposed, will libel him after his Death; but that others will remember him with Gratitude, who consider the Service he had done to Ireland under the name of M. B. Drapier, by utterly defeating the destructive Project of Wood's Half-pence..." (558).
19. Swift added, "Upon the Queen's death, the Dean returned to live in Dublin... Numberless libels were writ against him in England, as a Jacobite" (568).
20. Rogers argues that anonymity "is in some measure *textualized*: that is, the author uses the absence of an acknowledged identity to produce meaning in the ongoing discourse" (2002:235). Rogers considers secrecy as a response to government censorship.
21. Manley's ironic use of her own body as an erotic object and Swift's references to his deafness, vertigo, and idiosyncratic habits, never, in my opinion, express the anxiety that accompanies Pope's references to his disabilities. All three nevertheless contrast their public with their hidden selves.
22. Rogers claims that "in Britain there was less need for secrecy [than in France]... consequently the *choice* to write anonymously was a more positive authorial action" (235).

23. Pope shares Manley's distaste for being the victim of Charles Gildon's pen because Gildon was thought to be the secret coauthor of John Dennis's scurrilous *A True Character of Mr. Pope and His Writings*. See Guerinot, 42.
24. Fuller descriptions are given by Mack, Sherburn, Winn, and Rogers.
25. I am indebted to Todd's illuminating chapter "What the Body Says," in *Imagining Monsters*.
26. John Dennis initiated the pamphlet attacks by ridiculing the *Essay on Criticism* in 1711. Colly Cibber, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Lord Hervey are the most famous of Pope's known detractors, but, as Guerinot shows, their publications constitute only a small percentage of the total assault on Pope. The attacks target not only his poetry but also his physical deformity, his Catholicism and alleged Jacobitism, his masculinity, his profit from the subscription to Homer, and his disingenuousness.
27. "[I]n the face of this image [of AP-E, the deformed Catholic] he gradually constructed for himself another, that of the Poet of the *Imitations of Horace*. . . . The pamphlet attacks . . . played their part in the construction of this persona. . . . It also seems certain that they played a part in changing the application of Pope's genius toward the satiric mode. . . . *The Dunciad* and 'The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot' are sure evidence that Pope had read, and read with care, most of the attacks" (Guerinot, xlvii–li).
28. Richard H. Douglas sees Pope's self-representation in *Arbuthnot* as "internal harmony" and "a balance in the persona" ("More on the Rhetoric," 488). Thomas Maresca describes Pope's autobiographical references in the Horatian poems as a "regenerative, concordant individual in contrast to the depravity and disorder that mark the dunces and their works" and as a "reconciliation of opposite concepts" (*Pope's Horatian Poems*, 110).
29. Pope crudely joked with Martha Blount about the ineffectual management of information: "They conceal'd it as well as a Barber does his utensils when he goes to trim upon a Sunday and his Towels hand out all the way: Or as well as a Fryer conceal'd a little Wench, whom he was carrying under his Habit to Mr. Collingwood's Convent; Pray, Father (sayd one in the Street to him) what's that under your Arm. A saddle for one of the Brothers to ride with, quoth the Fryer. Then Father (cryd he) take care and shorten the Stirrups— For the Girls Legs hung out" (*Corr* 1:269).
30. The rift between Pope and Montagu supposedly followed her laughter when he offered physical love. Colly Cibber also ridiculed Pope's sexuality by supposedly rescuing Pope from a whore "with a finger and a thumb, picked off thy small round Body, by thy long Legs, like a Spider" (*Another Occasional Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope*, Guerinot, 52).
31. Pope's identification with/hatred of Hervey because of a sense of rivalry over Lady Mary may explain why "Pope, surprisingly enough, omitted this pamphlet from his list of attacks in the Appendix to the *Dunciad*" (Guerinot, 115).
32. Peter Brooks describes Enlightenment rationality as creating the need for a different, more secular and psychological, understanding of irrationality and faith ("Virtue and Terror: *The Monk*," 262).

Conclusion: Postmodernizing Satire: Irony, Conspiracy, and Paranoia

1. John Farrell makes the case for Freudian theory as an elaboration of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century satire, that is, he treats Freud's writing as more literary than scientific. He further assumes that Freudian theory is itself predicated on paranoid ideas.
2. *Noir* has come to connote the difficult search for clues and meaning—the detecting of 'detective stories,' for example—in which a degree of radical inaccessibility is maintained and full disclosure or resolution is denied. Linda Charnes calls *Hamlet* the first *noir* text.
3. One assumes a degree of homophobia in Freud's writing, so that his belief that paranoia is always a response to latent homosexuality is tinged with his own anxiety. He did not have the term/concept "homosocial" with which to temper his theory.
4. It is tempting to draw parallels between liquor-and-sex world of the reckless libertine or problematic male aristocrat of the Stuart era and the participants in the drugs-and-sex world of the 1960's invoked in Pynchon's novels and Žižek's essays.
5. Freud associates paranoia as repressed same-sex desire with aggressive feelings of anger and fear, "whereby the libidinous energy directed towards the love-object is reenvisioned as coming back at the subject in the form of aggression" (1959:445).

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